

CLASS, COMMUNITY, AND MATERIALITY IN A BLUE-COLLAR BALTIMORE  
NEIGHBORHOOD: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF HAMPDEN-WOODBERRY

by

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To Angela

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## Foreword

Hampden and Woodberry, two neighborhoods located in what is today central Baltimore, Maryland and once dependent on the now vanished textile industry, are in many ways typical of the American working-class experience. At the same time, however, they are unique products of a particular historical, dialectical interaction between local culture and the larger forces of a constantly evolving capitalist political economy. The goal of this dissertation is to explore the history of this interaction in order to understand where the community has been, why it is the way it is now, and where it might be going in the future.

In the early 19th century the booming agricultural economy of Maryland led to the construction of numerous water-powered grist mills along the Jones Falls River, which flows south from northern Baltimore County, through Baltimore City, and into the Chesapeake Bay at Baltimore's Inner Harbor. As the patterns of domestic and world trade evolved and Maryland's economy became more industrial in nature, many of these mills were converted to the production of cotton duck, or sail cloth. By the 1840s, the sister communities of Hampden and Woodberry were already beginning to evolve out of a series of small mill villages dotting the Jones Falls River Valley just a few miles north of Baltimore City. By the 1870s Hampden-Woodberry had become the world's foremost center for the production of cotton duck.

This prosperity lasted for approximately 50 years; after World War I, however, the mill companies began the process of divesting themselves of their Baltimore operations in favor of locations in the American South that could provide cheaper labor and energy sources. The deindustrialization of Hampden-Woodberry was nearly complete by the early 1970s, and for two decades the community struggled with high unemployment, drug abuse, and racial violence. Beginning in the late 1980s, however, a wave of gentrification has slowly resurrected the local economy even while long-time working-class residents have been left out of the process of revitalization.

This dissertation will be an exercise in two different kinds of "archaeology": both in the traditional meaning of archaeology (the anthropological study of past cultures through the excavation and analysis of material remains, including artifacts, features and written documents), as well as a Foucauldian archaeology (the systematic examination of the genealogy of some social phenomenon or subject; in this case, the contemporary communities of Hampden and Woodberry).<sup>1</sup> As an introduction to the dissertation, chapter 1 places the history of Hampden-Woodberry in the context of the development of metropolitan Baltimore, and in turn, the development of Baltimore in the context of capitalist political economy during the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. In chapter 2 I summarize recent anthropological theories of materiality and lay out a theoretical framework for my analysis of Hampden-Woodberry. The following five chapters each explore various developments in the dialectical interaction of class, community and capitalism in Hampden-Woodberry since its origins in the 1840s.

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<sup>1</sup> See Johnson 1996 for an excellent example of this dual approach to archaeology.

Chapter 3 examines the period between the 1840s and the 1920s. From the 1840s to the early 1870s, a series of small mill villages that would become Hampden-Woodberry grew up around several cotton mills and the Poole & Hunt Foundry. While the half-century between the mid-1870s and the mid-1920s was the era of Hampden-Woodberry's greatest industrial prosperity, it was also a time of almost constant class conflict. The owners of the mills used a variety of common paternalistic strategies to control their employees, such as the provision of company-owned housing; a ban on taverns within one mile of the mills; and bell towers on the mill buildings that operated as panoptic surveillance tools to enforce proper personal discipline. Key to each of these strategies was the use and manipulation of space to inculcate an industrial ideology in mill and factory employees. In turn, local workers employed a variety of tactics to resist the domination of the mill owners and forge their own vision of the community. These included the establishment of purchasing cooperatives; rallies, parades and demonstrations in favor of labor legislation; and strikes that stopped production at the mills. Both groups, then, used space as a material weapon in the struggle to define community identity and values. The nature of this struggle over the control of space changed, however, between the 1880s and the 1910s. A subsidiary goal for this chapter is to assay an explanation of this shift.

In chapter 4 I turn my attention to the private sphere. The fragmentary remains of everyday life that have been revealed by archaeological excavations in Hampden-Woodberry have the potential to reveal much about the lived experience of class in the neighborhood. During the 19th century class boundaries were extremely fluid in Hampden-Woodberry as both local and global forms of capitalism evolved during the

Industrial Revolution. Four archaeological sites containing 19th-century deposits will be analyzed in an effort to understand how this fluidity was manifested in day-to-day life and how it affected class consciousness in the community. The sites chosen for analysis are historically associated with both working-class and middle-class residents and have yielded intact deposits ranging in date from the 1840s to the 1930s. Thus, the data will enable detailed comparisons across lines of class and chronological periods associated with important economic and social developments in local history, revealing how private experiences contributed to the very public creation, reinforcement, and contestation of community values.

Chapter 5 turns from the material traces of everyday life to a different kind of artifact: the written text. During the long period of deindustrialization in Hampden-Woodberry from the 1930s to the 1980s, local residents organized a plethora of historical jubilee celebrations and wrote extensively about neighborhood history. Street festivals celebrating the anniversary of Hampden-Woodberry's incorporation into the city of Baltimore were held in 1938, 1948, and 1988, and souvenir booklets were published on each occasion. In addition, local residents produced a wealth of publications on local history first in the 1930s, and later from the 1970s to the early 1990s. What is fascinating about these bursts of interest in local history is that, with a few exceptions, the resulting documents were written almost exclusively from a middle-class perspective. The role of the mills was briefly recognized, but issues of class and labor were erased from historical memory. I will argue that when the mills began to depart, small business owners rushed into the power void and attempted to rewrite local history with themselves at the center,

replacing a community identity based on production and a strong work ethic with one based on consumption and leisure.

Chapter 6 moves forward in time to the 1970s and 1980s, considered by many local residents to be the nadir of the community's history. Following the failure of economic revitalization efforts in the 1970s, a number of racially motivated hate crimes occurred during the 1980s as working-class Hampden-Woodberry residents struggled to maintain their neighborhood as they had always known it. As one of the few remaining "white" neighborhoods in the city, some residents developed a "siege" mentality. I will work backward in time from the 1980s to explore the role that whiteness and racism have played in shaping shared understandings of community across class divisions in Hampden-Woodberry since the late 19th century. Rather than villainizing local residents or exculpating them entirely, however, I will argue that the particular instantiation of racism in Hampden-Woodberry in the form of violence was the result of the material circumstances in which working-class residents found themselves. In other words, Hampden-Woodberry was not necessarily more racist than other white communities in Baltimore; rather, violence was a predictable consequence of the economic and political disempowerment experienced by neighborhood residents over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Chapter 7 explores the social dynamics of the current gentrification in Hampden-Woodberry, placing this development within the broader context of late capitalism. I argue that gentrification in Hampden-Woodberry is not a homogenous process, but rather is comprised of three different strains of economic and social change that are not always compatible with each other. These include the development of high-priced

condominiums and upscale shopping centers designed to bring new residents into the community rather than serving the people who already live there; HonFest, an annual street festival that has been held in Hampden-Woodberry since the late 1990s and promotes a cartoonish version of working-class culture in the name of bringing in tourism revenue; and the revitalization of the main shopping drag in Hampden, the “Avenue,” over the past two decades as mom and pop stores serving local needs have been replaced by kitschy upscale boutiques that appeal to a wave of new middle-class residents. I will combine archival research, interviews with local residents, and ethnographic observation to explore the ways in which the materiality of gentrification acts to silence working-class residents and to erase their heritage while simultaneously replacing it with a new, decidedly neoliberal definition of community for Hampden-Woodberry. In the conclusion, I will consider the implications of the analysis presented in this dissertation for the future of the community.

The interpretation of the culture and history of Hampden-Woodberry presented here is just one of many possible interpretations. Indeed, local residents and scholars from both within and without the community have not shied away from producing their own histories and ethnographies in abundance (i.e., Beirne 1976; Bullock 1971; Chalkley 2006; Gadsby 2009; Hare 1976; Harvey 1988; Hayes 1938-1939; Hollyday 1994; Jancius 2007; McGrain 1985; Otey 1924; Rizzo 2008a), each with its own valid perspective. As a product of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project, a collaborative, community-based research and community action initiative, this dissertation is a part of an effort to build an informed, critical, and sustainable multivocal dialogue on local issues of development and social and economic justice. By demonstrating how multivocality has



been both successfully achieved and thwarted in Hampden-Woodberry's past and present, I hope to contribute to the ongoing effort to build truly democratic forms of community for the future of this unique neighborhood.

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## Abstract

Hampden and Woodberry, two neighborhoods located in what is today central Baltimore, Maryland, are in many ways typical of the American working-class experience. At the same time, however, they are unique products of a particular historical, dialectical interaction between local culture and the larger forces of a constantly evolving capitalist political economy. As the patterns of domestic and world trade evolved and Maryland's economy became more industrial in nature during the 19th century, gristmills along the Jones Falls in Baltimore County were converted to the production of cotton duck, or sail cloth. By the 1840s the sister communities of Hampden and Woodberry began to emerge as a distinct community; in the 1870s Hampden-Woodberry became the world's foremost center for the production of cotton duck. After World War I, however, the mill companies began the process of divesting themselves of their Baltimore operations. Following deindustrialization, residents of Hampden-Woodberry struggled with high unemployment, drug abuse, and racial violence during the 1970s and 1980s. Beginning in the late 1980s, however, a wave of gentrification has slowly resurrected the local economy even while long-time working-class residents have been left out of the process of revitalization.

This thesis addresses the question of the nature of the changing relationship between global capitalist political economy and local culture in Hampden-Woodberry. I draw from recent scholarship in anthropology to posit that materiality, or the ways in which the material world is a fundamental ingredient in the creation of social experience,

has been and continues to be the link between the global and the local, providing both the means by which and the medium in which the dialectical relationship between these two scales is played out. I utilize archival, archaeological and ethnographic research to explore the ways in which types of material culture as varied as space and landscape, ceramics, printed texts, and performance have been crucial to the long-term development of class consciousness (for both the working class and the middle class) in Hampden-Woodberry, as well as the creation of community and the contestation of its meanings and social boundaries from the 1840s to the present.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

1874<sup>1</sup>

*It was only seven o'clock in the morning, but Jane had been up since four preparing for her family's day. After a small breakfast, the mill bells rang, and Jane, her husband and three children, ranging in age from ten to five, rushed out of the house so that they would not be late for work at the newly opened Meadow Mill in the Baltimore County hamlet known as Woodberry. While the walk from their small house, which they rented from Meadow Mill's owners, was only a quarter of a mile, Jane dreaded the trip as she knew that she would be wheezing by the time she arrived at work. At the ripe old age of 30, Jane had been working in one or the other of the local mills for 15 years, and she was already experiencing the respiratory problems that would come in time to be known as brown lung.*

*Thanks to a recently passed bill in the Maryland legislature, the children would only have to stay at work for ten hours. Jane was proud of the fact that she, her husband Sean and many of their neighbors had participated in marches and demonstrations that had helped to convince the lawmakers in Annapolis to pass the bill. Their oldest child, a son named Ian, was a spinner like his mother. Mary, 7, was just beginning the process*

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<sup>1</sup> The vignettes presented here are fictional, and are intended solely as illustrative devices. Any similarity between the characters in these vignettes and actual persons is purely coincidental.



*of learning how to be a spinner too; Michael, the youngest at age 5, worked as a doffer, replacing the bobbins of thread that had been filled by the spinners with empty ones. This was only an intermittent activity, however, so when he wasn't replacing bobbins Michael swept up the cotton lint that multiplied endlessly on the factory floor. Like most of the women who worked in the mills, Jane could look forward to at least 12 hours of work. Sean, on the other hand, was a carpenter for the mill. While this work thankfully took him outside of the hot, dusty confines of the mill buildings, he frequently had to put in 14- or 16-hour workdays.*

*After such long days on top of six-day work weeks most mill workers did not have much time for leisure activities, but then again, there were not that many leisure-time options in Woodberry or neighboring Hampden anyway. The mill owners had decreed that no taverns would be allowed within one mile of the mills. (Naturally, an enterprising soul had since opened a tavern exactly one mile north of the mills on the Falls Turnpike Road, just above Cold Spring Lane. Sean and many of the neighborhood men were known to patronize the establishment on occasion.) Mill workers played various sports, particularly baseball. Ian played the game whenever he could and he dreamed of growing up to play for a traveling team like the ones that occasionally visited his village. More widely enjoyed were the periodic tent revivals put on by traveling preachers in wooded spots and fields surrounding Hampden-Woodberry. It was not uncommon for a revival to draw several thousand residents from the area and to last upwards of two or even three weeks. Jane and the other neighborhood women particularly enjoyed these events, as it was one of their only opportunities to escape from the weariness of mill work and housekeeping, if only for a short time.*

1925

*It was the first heavy snow of the year. The children of Bay Street in Stone Hill rushed out of their homes, sleds in tow, and began the dangerous repeat trips down the nearby hill that they enjoyed so much. Their parents watched them with a mixture of joy and sadness. Joy, from the pleasure of watching the pure unsullied happiness of children at play; sadness, because they worried for their children's future. When they were children, their parents had known that they would work in the mills when they grew up, and that lifetime employment was virtually guaranteed. Their children's prospects were much less clear.*

*During the previous decade, things had seemed to be looking up. While the Great War had taken many of Hampden-Woodberry's sons to the fields of France (some never to return), it had also brought much increased business to the local textile mills and the Poole foundry, which managed to secure contracts with the federal government. At the same time, after more than two decades of little labor activism in the neighborhood, the ascendant American Federation Labor had come to Hampden-Woodberry through the International Association of Machinists and the United Textile Workers of America. Local workers had joined these unions in large numbers and fought for their rights, demanding fewer hours, higher wages and cleaner and safer working conditions. After the war, however, the Red Scare had largely driven the unions away. The Textile Workers reorganized in 1923, but a disastrous strike at the Mt. Vernon Mills ruined the union and resulted in many blackballed strikers leaving the community, unable to find work in Hampden-Woodberry's mills. Mt. Vernon employees were already well aware*

*that the company, owned by a large New York conglomerate, owned other textile plants in the Deep South; their fears had finally been realized this year when the company announced that it was reducing its Baltimore operations in order to concentrate on the southern mills. As the parents of Bay Street watched their children sledding, they fervently hoped that the other local mills would not follow suit.*

1984

*Mike, Fred, and Dave gathered at eight o'clock at Dmitri's. This was their usual time—it was late enough in the day to allow Mike and Dave to return from their factory jobs in southeast Baltimore. Their parents' generation had been the last to work in the mills; by the time they had reached the age of 16, when most Hampden boys dropped out of school to enter the workforce, their employment options were severely restricted. Mike had managed to get a pretty good job at Bethlehem Steel, while Dave worked at the Chevy AstroVan plant. Fred, on the other hand, had been less fortunate. After working a series of odd jobs as a teenager, he had managed to secure a night shift job at Bilt-In Kitchens in the old Poole foundry. Since that company went under a few years ago, he hadn't been able to find steady work. He was currently working part-time at a local convenience store.*

*Today they had reason to celebrate: Ronald Reagan had just won a second term as President. The three friends were lifelong Democrats, as were the majority of Hampden's residents, but they liked Reagan for his aggressive anti-Communism and his refusal to kow-tow to those damned liberals who seemed to want to take everything that hard-working whites like the three of them had earned and give it away to lazy welfare*

queens. Lyndon Johnson had promised a "Great Society," but it sure hadn't been that great in Hampden. True, Reagan had not been able to bring back any of the jobs that had disappeared from communities like Hampden and Woodberry during the 1970s, but at least it was still an all-white neighborhood—a rarity in Baltimore these days. The three friends, who had known each other all their lives and had, in fact, lived on the same block since they were born, had discussed many times before how they feared that Hampden would suffer the same fate as other neighborhoods like the Edmondson Avenue community, which had fallen victim to the predatory real estate practice of blockbusting and had turned over from all-white neighborhoods to all-black neighborhoods in a matter of years. Nevertheless, Mike and Fred had not been willing to go as far as Dave, who had participated in some activities with certain members of the local Democratic Club who were rumored to belong to the Ku Klux Klan. Hampden already had a bad enough reputation around town, and besides, they figured there were better ways to protect their community than resorting to intimidation and violence.

2007

It was a typical hot and muggy June day for Baltimore, but the "Avenue" was packed with thousands of tourists who had come to witness an event that had come to symbolize Baltimore's working-class heritage: HonFest. George and Thelma didn't use to mind HonFest so much when it was just one day on a Saturday, even if the "Best Hon" competition was a bit offensive to their friends and neighbors. Now that it had been expanded to two days, however, they were irritated--not so much because of the street festival itself, but rather because of the lack of respect that the event organizers had

*shown for the local community. Denise Whiting, owner of the Café Hon and the brains (and money) behind HonFest, had promised that the festivities would not interfere with church services on Sunday morning. Yet here George and Thelma were, sitting in the sanctuary unable to hear the minister's sermon clearly because of the festival music blaring outside.*

*Thelma's mind began to wander. She thought back to her youth, when Hampden was a different place. There had always been community conflicts, she knew, but when she was younger it seemed that at least everyone respected everyone else as part of the same community. Now, though, things were different. Ever since younger families and single professionals had begun moving into the neighborhood, it seemed that the newcomers had no respect for the older community. The Avenue had once been the place where everyone gathered to hang out, to shop, to see and be seen. Now, however, the Avenue was increasingly becoming the province of the rich yuppies, people who had the time and the money to shop at stores with names like "Atomic Pop" and "Mud and Metal." For Thelma and George, there just wasn't anything left on the Avenue worth doing or seeing.*

The community history outlined in the preceding sketches belongs to Hampden-Woodberry, a traditionally white, working-class community in central Baltimore, Maryland. The trajectory that I describe—from mill village to deindustrializing community to economically devastated neighborhood to revitalized, gentrified community—closely matches the dominant narrative reproduced by a number of local historians, an underlying set of ideas about local history and experience that, until the

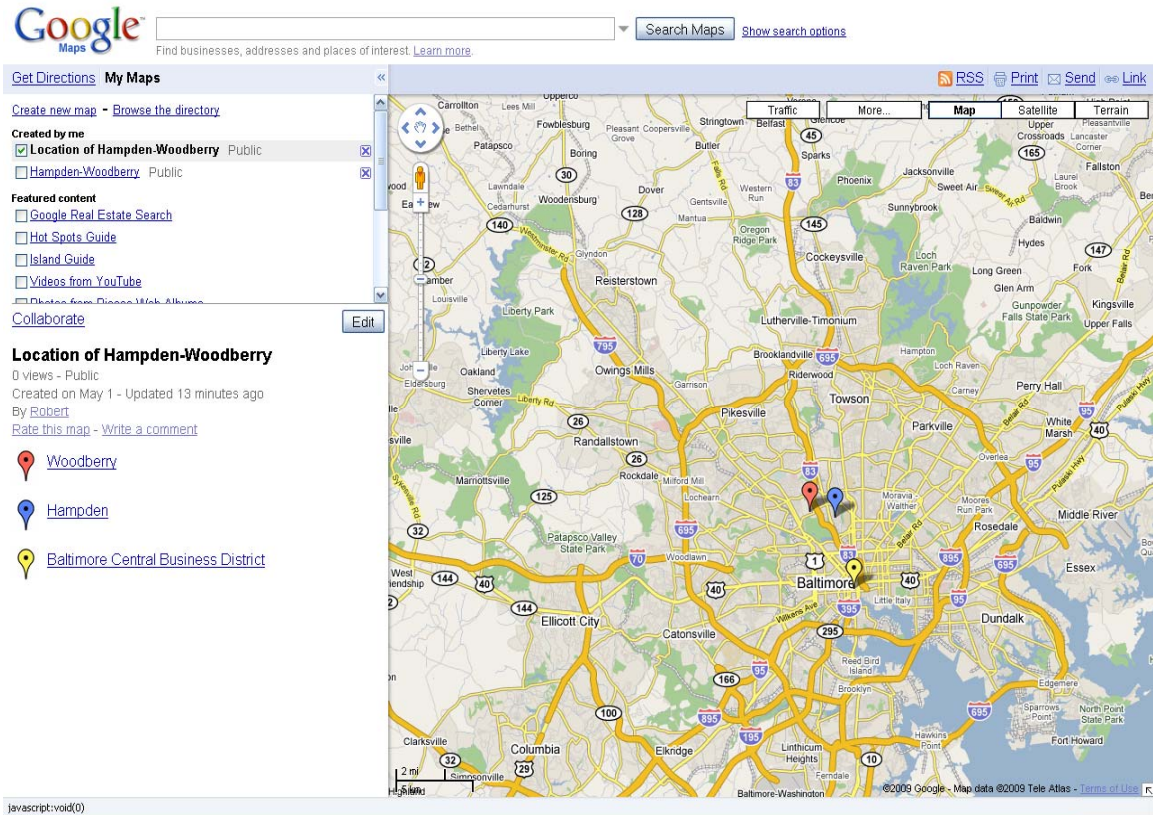
mid-1990s, profoundly shaped the contours and boundaries of community identity in Hampden-Woodberry. Psychological anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere has labeled such narrative structures "myth-models" (Obeyesekere 1991:10), a term that I borrow here. In fact, there are several variations of the Hampden-Woodberry myth-model, but they all share the same broad outlines. Indeed, this myth-model (or portions of it) is still utilized by some local residents for culturally strategic purposes. The recent gentrification and revitalization of Hampden in particular has led to a contentious situation in which the long-time working-class residents of the neighborhood have withdrawn almost entirely from the public sphere. Nevertheless, local identity and the values of community are still very much being fought over by the multiple constituencies that now inhabit the neighborhood. This dissertation is, in part, an exploration of the various manifestations of this struggle from the 1840s to the present.

#### From Rural Mill Village to Urban Community: Hampden-Woodberry in Baltimore

I will return to the issue of the values of community at the end of this chapter, but first it is important to address one of the lacunae of the myth-model of local history: the evolving relationship between Hampden-Woodberry and the rest of Baltimore. In order to understand this relationship more fully, I will begin with a brief discussion of the economic history of the state and the city. The Maryland colony was originally established as a proprietary province in 1632 when King Charles I granted a charter to Cecilius Calvert, 2nd Lord Baltimore, and Baltimore County had been established by 1660.<sup>2</sup> The earliest substantial settlements in Maryland, however, were concentrated on

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<sup>2</sup> The original limits of Baltimore County were much more extensive than at present, including not only the lands that now comprise Baltimore City and Baltimore County but also the entirety of present-day Harford



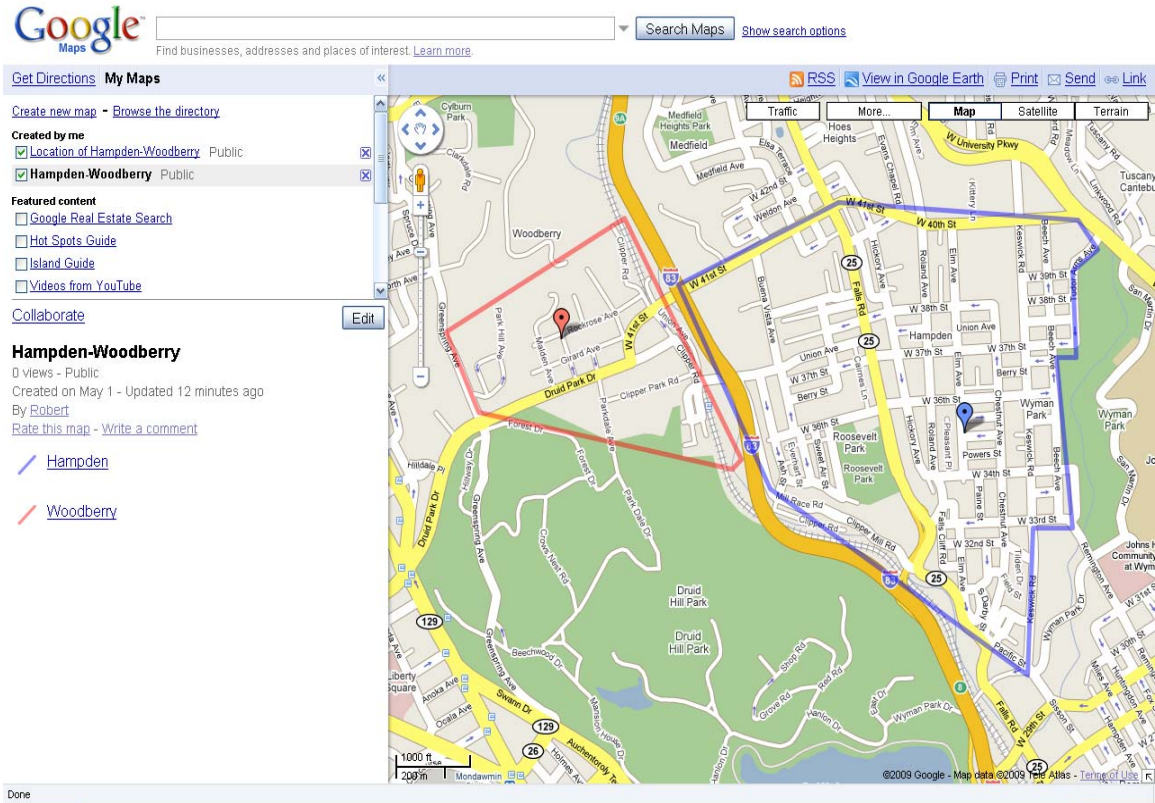
**Figure 1.1. Location of Hampden-Woodberry in Baltimore. (Courtesy of Google Maps)**

the Eastern Shore and in the southern counties—indeed, the first capital of the colony was located at St. Mary's City, incorporated in 1667. Baltimore Town was established by charter in 1729, and its felicitous geographic location (at the spot where the Jones Falls River emptied into the Chesapeake Bay) assured that it would become one of the most prominent settlements in the colony. A greatly enlarged Baltimore Town was incorporated as Baltimore City in 1796, by which time it had become the chief port of trade in the new state (Maryland State Archives [MSA] 2006).

While agriculture dominated Maryland's economy for much of the 18th and 19th

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and Carroll counties as well as large parts of Anne Arundel, Cecil, Howard and Frederick counties. These counties were established at various times over the next 200 years.



**Figure 1.2. Approximate neighborhood boundaries of Hampden and Woodberry. (Courtesy of Google Maps)**

centuries and even into the 1900s, industrialization swept over the state during this period as well. As in other parts of the United States, the Industrial Revolution in Maryland was uneven and occurred on a number of scales. Ironmaking was the earliest industry to rise to prominence in Maryland, primarily because of its usefulness for producing agricultural implements. Foundries and forges popped up wherever convenient sources of waterpower could be found beginning in the mid-17th century, primarily in the piedmont triangle delineated by Cecil, Prince George's, and Frederick counties. Prior to the Civil War, many of Maryland's ironworks utilized enslaved labor; during the post-bellum period the state's largest ironworks handled the transition to free labor without much difficulty. By the end of the century, however, basic iron production in Maryland had



given way to the steel industry centered at Sparrows Point in southeastern Baltimore County (Chidester 2004b; Robbins 1973, 1986).

While ironmaking was the earliest heavy industry in the state, between the 1750s and the 1820s flour milling had become an important commercial enterprise and the state's most important industry. The demand for exportable flour resulted in many farmers' decision to abandon tobacco in favor of wheat as the state's most important crop. Export of flour milled from wheat grown in Maryland's agricultural hinterland was the primary economic engine of Baltimore City's growth during this time. Baltimore's location made it singularly capable of exporting flour to the Caribbean, Europe, and even South America, which it did in successive waves between 1758 and 1830. From 1815 to 1827, Baltimore was the United States' largest flour-exporting market. This trade had far-reaching social and economic consequences. The lack of navigable waterways connecting Baltimore with Maryland's western agricultural regions resulted in the state-sponsored construction of private toll roads, canals, and railroads, including the B&O Railroad; these new transportation routes revolutionized life for many rural Marylanders, connecting them for the first time with other regions of the state and the nation. In addition, many of Baltimore's enduring financial institutions were set up specifically to promote the city's flour trade. By the 1820s, however, the domestic demand for flour had outstripped the international market, and New York overtook Baltimore as the nation's largest distributor of the commodity (Gilbert 1977; Sharrer 1976).

While numerous other industries were developed in Maryland during the 19th century, textiles soon became the state's most important product as the flour milling industry declined. Growing out of the colonial mode of household production,

Baltimore's first cotton mills opened late in the first decade of the 19th century; by 1810 there were 11 cotton or woolen mills listed in the state manufacturing census. As with the flour trade, the Baltimore City region was uniquely situated for a profitable textile industry, with the Jones Falls, the Gwynns Falls, and the Patapsco rivers all providing waterpower, and the Gunpowder Falls not far away. With the introduction of steam power in the 1810s, textile operations became even more widespread despite the national economic hardships of the decade. By the mid-1820s, the growth of the textile industry had made Maryland the largest manufacturing state in the South. About the same time, many of the cotton mills began specializing in the production of cotton duck, or sailcloth, to serve the local market created by the clipper ships that clogged Baltimore's harbor. In the 1850 Census of Manufactures, Maryland was ranked eighth among the 35 states in cotton manufacturing output (valued at \$2,000,000) and fourth in the average number of employees per company (Clendenning 1992; Griffin 1966).

By 1820 Baltimore itself had grown to become the third largest city in the young nation, its approximately 60,000 residents trailing only New York and Philadelphia. The city's phenomenal physical growth during this period was powered largely by an emerging capitalist political economy in which a large percentage of city residents were "unskilled" laborers—a category that included white men and women, free and enslaved African-Americans, and non-English immigrants alike—earning starvation wages to perform the dirtiest, most menial and most dangerous jobs. These men and women toiled their whole lives to build a city for the purpose of enriching those select few who had the economic and political ability to purchase and command the labor of others. Indeed, the very economic instability that characterized the lives of Baltimore's unskilled workers

only served to create further opportunities for the accumulation of wealth and power by the city's mercantile and political elite (Rockman 2009:4-5, 34).

During the middle decades of the 19th century Baltimore continued to expand at high speed even as the basis of the metropolitan economy shifted. Large-scale manufacturing activities began to emerge, and the city's spatial organization and social geography were altered accordingly. Whereas previously Baltimore's spatial organization had been typical of a North American mercantile city, this growth resulted in the increasing clustering of similar industries, commercial activities, and social groups (divided along class and ethnic lines) into discernible districts. Most of the industries that flourished were tied to the city's commercial economy, such as textile mills, iron goods, agricultural processing (flour before mid-century, canned oysters and vegetables later in the 1800s), brickyards, breweries, and tanneries, among others. By 1860, the single most important industry in Baltimore (both in terms of output and employment) was the production of ready-made clothing, which employed about one-third of the city's industrial workforce. The needle trade operations were organized in a number of ways, including large-scale factories and the putting-out, or contracting, system, which resulted in the well-known phenomenon of sweatshops. Employing a cheap labor force of unskilled immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe beginning in the 1870s, Baltimore's men's clothing industry was ranked fourth in the United States by 1900 (Muller and Groves 1976, 1979).

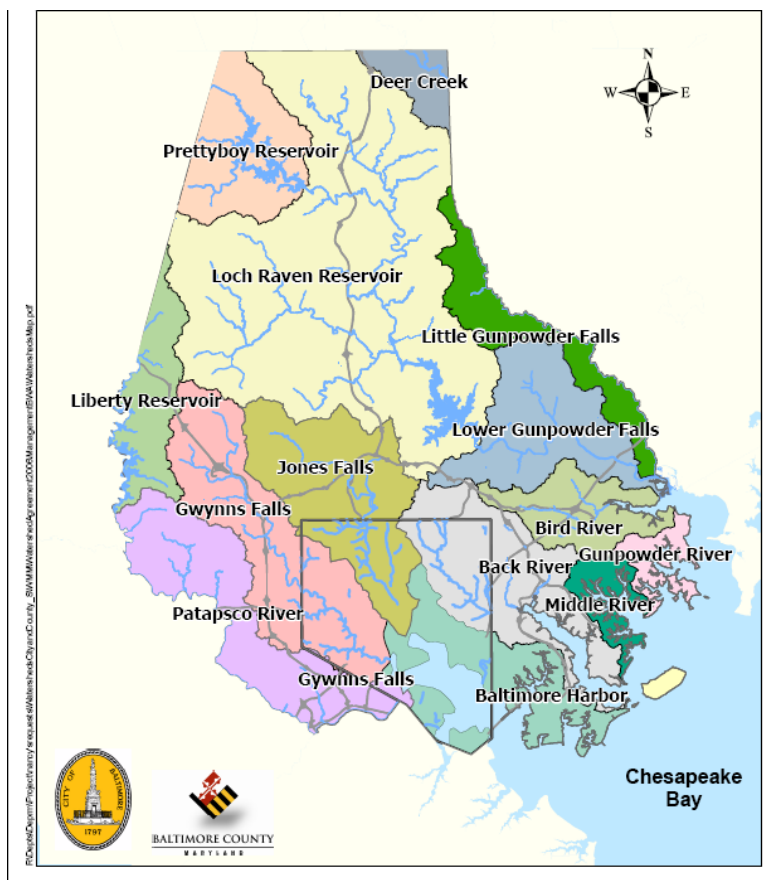
Throughout the rest of the 19th century and up through the 1950s, Baltimore experienced periodic booms during which the city's economy, population, and geographical area grew at a fast pace. Most of this development occurred in concentric

rings around the core business district, just north and west of the harbor. Scholars have attributed this growth largely to periods of high capital investment following the introduction of new production and transportation technologies. Comparing the growth of Baltimore to the growth of a biological organism, geographer Sherry Olson noted, "In each generation a boost in the city's exchange with the outside world was matched by changes in its metabolism, and followed by changes in its morphology" (Olson 1979:561). The most important changes in physical morphology included annexations (two particularly important annexations occurred in 1888 and 1918; see Arnold 1978), the construction of more railroads, and the growth of industrial villages and company towns in the Patapsco River Valley in Baltimore County in response to the increasing importance of extractive and productive industries there (Chidester 2004b).<sup>3</sup> European immigration was the largest factor in the changing social morphology of both the city and the county. Furthermore, during each investment boom and the subsequent "lean" years, as Olson demonstrated, the "redistributive impact of growth" resulted in the regeneration of a basic structure of social inequality, as previous immigrants to the city climbed the social ladder only to be replaced by even more poor and desperate newcomers (Olson 1979:567-568).

The area that eventually became the sister villages of Hampden and Woodberry experienced many of these economic developments. Gristmills had been established along the Jones Falls in this vicinity as early as 1803. In the 1840s, while the area was still an isolated rural outpost several miles outside the city limits, some of these gristmills were converted to textile mills specializing in the production of cotton duck. The

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<sup>3</sup> Nineteenth-century industrialization in the Patapsco River Valley has been exhaustively described by Peirce (2004) and Sharp (2001).



**Figure 1.3. The watersheds of Baltimore County. Note the Jones Falls Valley in the center of the county. (Courtesy of the Baltimore County Department of Environmental Protection and Resource Management)**

proprietors of these original textile mills were Horatio Gambrill and David Carroll, former apprentices at the Savage Mill in Howard County. In 1845 Gambrill's Woodberry Company, already one of the nation's largest producers of cotton duck, introduced steam power to its mills, and in 1848 Carroll and Gambrill were joined by William E. Hooper, a cotton duck merchant. The subsequent success of Gambrill's operations resulted in the concentration of Maryland's textile manufacturing concerns within a 20-mile radius of Baltimore by 1850 (Clendenning 1992:255-258; Harvey 1988:6-13; *Textile Age* 1950:19).

In the earliest years, many of the employees of these first mills followed a

seasonal pattern of circular migration between farm and mill village, only taking up mill jobs when the harvest was finished. During the 1840s and 1850s, many of the mill workers were housed in duplexes owned by the companies; Stone Hill, the oldest part of present-day Hampden, consists of five rows of distinctive stone duplexes built in the 1840s. By this time the textile mills had begun employing entire families and providing a number of services such as churches, schools, and stores, resulting in more sedentary residents and employees. What had originally been a series of discrete smaller mill villages coalesced into the suburban village of Hampden-Woodberry, largely as a result of the consolidation of various local mills under the ownership of William E. Hooper in 1866. (Gambrill built Druid Mill in the western part of Hampden in 1866 and dissolved his partnership with Hooper in the early 1870s.) In 1872 and 1873, the Pennsylvania Railroad attempted to steal some of the local market away from the B&O Railroad, investing approximately two million dollars in improvements to its subsidiary, the Northern Central Railroad, which ran from the harbor north through the Jones Falls Valley and right between Hampden and Woodberry. This convenient shipping access helped to make Hampden-Woodberry the world's largest center of cotton duck production for several decades (*Baltimore Sun* 1874e; Harvey 1988:3-4; Hayward 2004:7:2-7:3; Hollyday 1994:xi, 6-8; McGrain 2004; Olson 1979:564; *Textile Age* 1950).

By the time of the Civil War the success of the mills had resulted in a rapidly growing population that outstripped the mill owners' ability to house them. This led to a construction boom in the late 1860s and early 1870s, facilitated largely by Martin Kelly, a local contractor and pillar of the community. Prior to this expansion, the local mill villages had developed largely along the so-called Fall River (or Rhode Island) plan.

Taking its name from the pattern established by textile establishments in southern New England, the Fall River plan was characterized by the employment of entire families who often obtained housing (in single-family cottages or multiple-family duplexes) from their employers. Stone Hill was one of the best examples of this pattern of mill village development in Hampden-Woodberry. Nevertheless, in 1875 the firm of Wm. E. Hooper and Sons built a dormitory, locally called the Mill Girl Hotel, to house young single women who had recently migrated from rural areas of piedmont Maryland to work in the mills. This form of company paternalism was termed the Waltham Plan, after the predominant practice in the large Massachusetts textile centers such as Lowell and Lawrence, as well as the northern New England states (*Baltimore Sun* 1874e; Clendenning 1992:261-262; McGrain 2004).<sup>4</sup>

Cotton duck was not the only important product coming out of Hampden-Woodberry during the second half of the 19th century. In 1853 the Poole and Hunt Foundry was opened on the eastern edge of Woodberry. It did not take long for this machine shop, which produced a variety of manufacturing machinery (including textile mill equipment), to become one of the most important in the state. Poole and Hunt gained such a stellar reputation that it was chosen to produce the 36 iron columns and their brackets that support the dome of the U.S. Capitol Building to this day. The machine shops provided employment for skilled male workers and drew even more migrants to Hampden-Woodberry (Vogel 1975:15). Thus, by the end of the 1870s Hampden-Woodberry was a curious mix of Waltham-style and Fall River-style company-

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<sup>4</sup> Architectural historian Richard Candee (1992) has argued that scholars should actually divide New England textile settlements into three types: Rhode Island, Waltham, and Lowell. The latter two types would be distinguished by both size and the fact that Lowell and other large centers were multi-corporation settlements whereas Waltham and other small villages were dominated by a single company, as in the Rhode Island plan.

town paternalism and developing suburban settlement.

Throughout the late 19th century and later Hampden remained a racially homogenous community, setting it apart from the rest of Baltimore. Local historian Bill Harvey has identified three main waves of migration to Hampden-Woodberry between the 1860s and the 1920s, all from rural areas of the Mid-Atlantic states. The first wave, which began during the late 1860s when the local mills were first gaining national prominence, consisted of individuals and families from the farming regions of northwestern Baltimore County and northeastern Carroll County, with a smaller number from across the state line in southeastern Pennsylvania. The second wave, which Harvey locates in time at the beginning of the 20th century, consisted of displaced families moving to Hampden-Woodberry from the declining textile mill towns that dotted the Patapsco and Patuxent rivers south of Baltimore. During the industrial boom years surrounding World War I, a third wave of rural families from the Blue Ridge Mountain region of Virginia near Charlottesville came to Hampden-Woodberry. Each time, the new residents were predominantly native-born white Protestants with northern European heritage. Even as late as the 1920s many of these migrants only spent part of the year in Baltimore, returning to their native regions (and extended families) frequently (Harvey 1988:2-4).

What little diversity did exist in Hampden-Woodberry during this period came from the neighborhood's small Irish Catholic population, which had been in place since the construction of toll road and railroad routes north of Baltimore in the 1840s (Skayhan 1973:12-13). A brief sampling of 500 people living in Hampden-Woodberry from the 1920 Federal Census yields the following statistics: 491 (98.2 percent) of the sampled



individuals were born in the United States; 464 (92.8 percent) had fathers also born in the United States and 469 (93.8 percent) had mothers also born in the United States; of these native-born Hampden-Woodberry residents and their parents, the most common states of origin were Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, with a few immigrants from places such as Georgia, Tennessee, West Virginia, New York, Kansas, Vermont and Washington, D.C. For those who were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants, the most common countries of origin were Germany, England and Ireland, with others having Norwegian, Swedish and French heritage. Only a single household contained people born outside of the United States or northwestern Europe: the Padona family included two members (the father and a cousin) who had been born in Italy (Census Bureau 1920).<sup>5</sup>

The situation in Hampden-Woodberry was in marked contrast to the rest of Baltimore, a rapidly diversifying metropolis. The numbers are actually a bit deceiving, as the number of foreign-born immigrants as a percentage of Baltimore's overall population steadily declined between 1870 and 1920. In 1870 this group constituted 21.1 percent of the total population; by 1900 it had fallen to 13.5 percent. In 1920, just before the passage of the Reed-Johnson Immigration Act of 1924 that severely restricted immigration from everywhere *but* northern and western Europe and North America, the foreign-born accounted for just 11.5 percent of the city's residents. Further, during the first three decades of this period native-born white migrants (primarily from other parts

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<sup>5</sup> The sample of census data was taken from the 1920 Federal Census for the State of Maryland, Baltimore City District #212, pages 1-10. Historian Thomas Guglielmo has argued that northern Italians, who migrated to the United States earlier than southern Italians, were often considered to be more racially "white" than their countrymen (Guglielmo 2003:21-23). Interestingly, the early dates of immigration for both the father and cousin in the Padona family suggest that they may have come from northern Italy, thus allowing them to seem less out of place in Hampden-Woodberry.

of Maryland, but also from Virginia and Pennsylvania) were the single largest group swelling Baltimore's population. Of a total population increase of 240,000 people, 114,000 were native-born white Americans (Geospatial and Statistical Data Center [GSDC] 2004; Hirschfeld 1941:156-160).

Despite the fact that the majority of new residents in Baltimore during this time were native-born whites from Maryland and surrounding states, the population diversified in other ways. Between 1870 and 1900, an increase of about 40,000 individuals in Baltimore's African-American population constituted one-sixth of the total growth during that period. Furthermore, while the largest number of these immigrants came from Maryland during all three decades, the percentage that came from other states (particularly Virginia and North Carolina) increased considerably (Hirschfeld 1941:156-158).

The foreign-born and second-generation immigrant population of Baltimore also diversified and gained considerable importance between 1870 and 1920. One factor was the relative birthrate among different sectors of the population: proportionally, the birthrate among foreign-born white women between the ages of 15 and 44 has been calculated to have been twice that among native-born whites from 1870 to 1900. The origins of foreign-born immigrants also changed dramatically. Germans constituted the largest immigrant population in Baltimore from 1870 to 1910 (Hirschfeld 1941:148-149, 159-161), but their numbers as a percentage of the overall city population fell while immigrant populations from southern and eastern Europe, and particularly Russia, rose (see Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1. Immigrants from selected foreign countries as a percentage of Baltimore's population, 1890-1920. (Source: GSDC 2004)**

	<i>Northern and Western Europe</i>				<i>Southern and Eastern Europe</i>			
	Germany %	England %	Ireland %	Sub-Total %	Poland %	Russia %	Italy %	Sub-Total %
<b>1890</b>	9.37	0.71	3.08	13.16	0.22	0.93	0.19	1.34
<b>1900</b>	6.52	0.56	1.90	8.98	N/A	2.06	0.40	2.46+
<b>1910</b>	4.66	0.48	1.22	6.36	N/A	4.44	0.90	5.34+
<b>1920</b>	2.38	0.43	0.69	3.50	1.51	3.16	1.08	5.75

Hampden-Woodberry officially became part of Baltimore when the city's northern and western suburbs were annexed in 1889. The issue was divisive; annexation had passed by a vote of 55 percent to 45 percent in 1888. Proponents and opponents in Hampden and Woodberry were generally split along class lines. Mill owners and the local middle class pointed to improved municipal services, including sewerage, street paving, and lighting that would presumably come with annexation. Opponents to annexation, led by members of the local Knights of Labor chapters, argued that annexation would result in higher taxes for workers at the same time that the mills would get tax breaks (Harvey 1988:20-21).

Following annexation, local leaders became city leaders—two mill owners, Alcaeus Hooper and E. Clay Timanus, later became Republican mayors of Baltimore (Harvey 1988:21-23). Nevertheless, Hampden-Woodberry as a neighborhood generally remained isolated from the rest of city for both geographical and socio-economic reasons. On the south and west Hampden-Woodberry was cut off from other neighborhoods by

the Jones Falls River and Druid Hill Park; on the east, Johns Hopkins University provided a barrier to other neighborhoods; and on the north, the upper-class neighborhood of Roland Park was an impermeable social barrier. Local papers periodically published nostalgia pieces on the neighborhood: In 1923 the *Baltimore Evening Sun* published an article titled, "Woodberry Area Hardly Touched by City Advance" (*Baltimore Evening Sun* 1923), and as late as 1940 it printed another entitled "Woodberry, the Picturesque Old Mill Town of the Hills" (McCardell 1940). This isolation, which I return to in a bit, played an important role in the creation of the myth-model of local history.

For the first six decades of the 20th century, Baltimore continued to expand as an industrial metropolis even as many locally-owned industries were bought up by national trusts (including the Mt. Vernon and Woodberry mills in Hampden). In 1904 a fire devastated 140 acres of the downtown commercial core, destroying over 1,500 buildings. The city rebounded quickly, however, as the business elite rebuilt the central business district in a modern fashion and tightened their grip on local financial power (Olson 1997:246-249). The city's industrial base quickly diversified beyond the textile, clothing, shipbuilding, and canning industries. East Baltimore became home to meatpackers, breweries and tanneries, while glass, ceramic, and brick companies located themselves in the southern suburbs. Both of these areas were annexed in 1918. Other manufacturing concerns popped up in various areas throughout the city: the Crown Cork and Seal Company and the Noxzema Company in the northern central district of the city; creameries and a box factory in the garment district of Jonestown; and car works, gas works, chemical works, and sugar and oil refineries in Canton (Chidester 2004a:82-86).

Baltimore was a vital center of war production during World War I. The clothing manufacturers produced uniforms and other items; the cotton duck mills of Hampden-Woodberry produced canvas for tents; and the Poole and Hunt Foundry made ammunition (Argersinger 1999:62-69; Harvey 1988:32-35). More important, however, was the rise of the steel industry in the southeastern suburbs of Dundalk and Sparrows Point. The Maryland Steel works, later to become part of Bethlehem Steel, opened in 1890. In the years just before the United States entered World War I, the company began building housing for its workers. It couldn't keep up with its growing workforce, however, so in recognition of the vital role that the company played in war production, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, an agency of the United States Shipping Board, stepped in to build the housing for the company (Chidester 2004a:79-81; Sparrows Point Steelworkers [SPS] 2006).

Organized labor was a prominent force in the city, particularly in the clothing and steel industries. Despite propaganda efforts by the local business community to draw more companies to Baltimore by portraying a docile workforce (i.e., Industrial Bureau of Baltimore 1924:8-14), workers across the city fought for their rights consistently from the 1910s through the 1950s. In Hampden-Woodberry alone, there were three major strikes between 1916 and 1918 (Chidester 2007). In the same decade, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) was organized as an alternative to the United Garment Workers, a conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) union that only included skilled tailors. The ACWA quickly rose to prominence nationwide, and the Baltimore locals were some of the most active. As elsewhere across the country, however, the Red Scare backlash against radicals and unions in the early 1920s severely

impacted the union movement in Baltimore. The New Deal led to a revival for the ACWA and other unions, including the United Steel Workers of America (USWA). Originally voted into the Sparrows Point Steel Mill in September 1941, by the 1950s the USWA represented over 31,000 workers at the plant, then the largest steel mill in the world (Argersinger 1999; SPS 2006).

As with many northern and midwestern industrial cities, World War II pulled Baltimore out of the doldrums of the Great Depression. During and after the war, the federal government encouraged the consolidation of Baltimore industry into the shipbuilding, steel, and airplane manufacturing industries. Large corporations such as Westinghouse, Bethlehem Steel, and the Martin Company retooled their physical plants for a peacetime war economy. By 1972, for instance, the aerospace industry in Maryland was worth one billion dollars a year. The port of Baltimore continued to be a vital cog in international trade, connecting the city to new frontiers of global capital. At the same time, local corporations were swallowed up into ever larger global firms and the federal government began directing military and transportation investments to other parts of the country. Geographer Sherry Olson has described Baltimore's situation thus:

Baltimore capital was being invested on the frontiers, and Baltimoreans received dividends, but the headquarters for channeling and managing these investments were not found in Baltimore. . . . Thus, Baltimore was neither frontier nor center, and its growth was hemmed in globally. [Olson 1997:350-355; quote on pg. 352]

The gleaming façade of industrial prosperity had already begun to crack, however, in the 1920s, when the textile industry began its slow withdrawal from the city. Following an enormously bitter and costly strike at the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills in Hampden-Woodberry in 1923 which broke the local United Textile Workers of America union, the company began closing down its Baltimore operations in 1925 in favor of its

southern plants in Alabama and South Carolina, which provided cheaper (i.e., non-unionized) labor (Harvey 1988:34-35). The Hooper Sons' Manufacturing Company, successor to Wm. E. Hooper and Sons Co., attempted to revive its business by developing new cotton duck products, particularly "Fire Chief," a fire- and mildew-resistant form of cotton duck that the company patented in 1936 (*Textile Age* 1950:20-21). Nevertheless, and despite a brief renaissance during World War II (again due to wartime demands on industry), the local mills had mostly gone out of business by the mid-1950s. The Hooper mills shut their doors in 1961 and the last Mt. Vernon Mills operation in Hampden-Woodberry closed its doors in 1972, putting a mere 300 remaining employees out of work (Harvey 1988:34-35).

At the same time that the metropolitan economy was being consolidated in particular industries, the industrial base in Hampden-Woodberry was diversifying in response to the closing of the mills. The Noxzema Chemical Company opened a plant on the southern edge of Hampden in 1926 (Chalkley 2006:45-58), as did Stieff Company, Silversmiths (*Baltimore Sun* 1924). Also in the mid-1920s, the Woodberry Mill was bought by the Schenuit company and converted to a tire factory (*Baltimore Sun* 1925b; *Power Pictorial* 1926); the Park Mill became home to Bes-Cone, maker of ice cream cones (*Baltimore Sun* 1925c; *Power Pictorial* 1926); and yet another one of the old textile mills was converted to the manufacture of paper products (*Baltimore Sun* 1925a; *Power Pictorial* 1927). The Park Mill later became home to the Commercial Envelope Corporation (*Baltimore Sun* 1972a). The Poole and Hunt Foundry was bought by the Balmar Corporation around mid-century and it continued to produce railroad cars and missile components for several decades. By the 1970s the Clipper Mill had become the

Sekine Brush Company. Meadow Mill, whose construction had signaled the beginning of Hampden-Woodberry's industrial prosperity in the early 1870s, was for a time inhabited by the Londontowne Corporation, manufacturer of the upscale London Fog brand of raincoats. Londontowne closed the factory in 1989. The old Druid Mill became home to Life Like Products, which still produces model train parts and Styrofoam coolers there (Chalkley 2006:45-58, 74-76, 117). Right next door, Pepsi installed a bottling and distribution plant in 1967 (Business Research Department 1966:10). Many Hampden-Woodberry residents, however, had to find local service sector jobs or industrial jobs in other parts of the city, such as Sparrows Point.

Following World War II, the Baltimore metropolitan region followed the same trend as many other cities around the nation—a quickening exodus to the suburbs by the white working and middle classes, followed by the slow decay of city neighborhoods (now largely African-American) as they lost essential commercial services and the city's tax base shrank (Durr 2003; Orser 1994).<sup>6</sup> Between 1940 and 1970, the metropolitan population grew from approximately 1.2 million to about 2 million. However, during this same period the population of the city itself declined by about one thousand people per year while the surrounding suburban counties grew by about 30,000 people per year (Olson 1997:347). Historian Kenneth Durr has described the reaction of white workers in Baltimore to the increasing attentiveness of the federal government to the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. According to Durr, "The meaning of citizenship [for the white working class] revolved around community as an arena where family, ethnic, religious, and sometimes workplace-related endeavors could be carried out."

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<sup>6</sup> The classic works in the field of the post-World War II urban crisis in the United States are Arnold Hirsch's study of Chicago, *Making the Second Ghetto* (1983), and Thomas Sugrue's book about Detroit, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (1998). See also Davis 1990; Jackson 1985; Kruse 2005; and Self 2003.



Maintaining the boundaries of community, according to Durr, was the paramount concern of the white working class, and the most important boundaries in this regard were racial and geographic (Durr 2003:53).

While white workers fought to preserve their communities, local realtors were working to make a profit off of white fears of residential integration. Blockbusting was a prevalent real estate tactic in the 1950s and 1960s. Realtors would find a single individual in a white neighborhood (either working or middle class) who was willing to sell his or her home to an African-American family, usually for a price much higher than the actual value of the property. Once the new family moved in, racial panic induced other white residents to sell their homes quickly at prices much below market value.<sup>7</sup>

While the former residents moved to the burgeoning (white) suburbs, the realtors turned around and sold the homes at exorbitant prices to middle-class African-American families desperate to escape the inner city ghettos. Often racial turnover occurred within just a few years. One of the best examples of the impact of blockbusting on city neighborhoods in Baltimore is the west-side Edmondson Avenue area. Originally developed in the 1910s for a rapidly expanding white middle-class, this community of 20,000 people underwent virtually complete racial turnover between 1955 and 1965 (Orser 1994).

As Baltimore's suburbs were booming, the inner city began to decay.

Manufacturing jobs were being replaced by low-paying, non-unionized service jobs, as

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<sup>7</sup> This racial panic was based on an unfortunately very real fear that racial mixture in residential neighborhoods would cause property values to decline precipitously. This economic phenomenon was due in part to the discriminatory policies of federal agencies such as the Homeowners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), which would "redline" particular areas (primarily those with African-American residents), causing it to be nearly impossible for residents to acquire federal assistance in buying or selling homes. See Chatterjee et al. 1976 and Sugrue 1998: chapter 7.

they were in cities across the nation. One recent study of seven Rust Belt metropolitan regions has estimated that between 1960 and 2000 the percentage of manufacturing jobs in these areas fell from 32 percent to 12 percent, while the proportion of service jobs has risen from 15 percent to 36 percent (Orr 2007:12). The Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency (BURHA) was established in 1956 to study the growing problem of blighted neighborhoods and to propose feasible actions for the city to take in response (Olson 1997:375). With its declining industrial employment base and aging housing stock, Hampden-Woodberry was the subject of one such study in 1963 (BURHA 1963). The Jones Falls Expressway had been built along the path of the river in the early 1960s (Olson 1997:360), providing a convenient route for white-collar suburbanites to commute to work in the city but essentially cutting Hampden and Woodberry off from each other.<sup>8</sup> According to the study's authors, the area west of the expressway (Woodberry) was devoted to light industry, whereas east of the road (Hampden) a mixture of land uses was "symptomatic of changing conditions and ensuing blight" (BURHA 1963:5). They suggested a renewal project in this part of the study area to coincide with the extension of a park strip along the Jones Falls River, a joint project of the mayor's office and the Greater Baltimore Committee, a private organization of land developers and businessmen working on the problem of urban renewal.

While the contemporary landscape of Hampden suggests that the city decided not to embark on urban renewal in the neighborhood, the very fact that the BURHA study was conducted in part to further a public-private initiative (the proposed park extension) is indicative of the shifting means by which urban revitalization was to be accomplished,

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<sup>8</sup> This separation continues today—many current Hampden residents are unaware of the two neighborhoods' intertwined history.

as well as significant changes in the players involved. Political scientist Marion Orr has termed this shift, which occurred across the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, the "changing ecology of civic engagement." According to Orr, prior to World War II the movers and shakers in city-level politics were ward and district-level politicians who could trade personal and legislative favors for community support. Following the war, control of city governments became more centralized in the office of the mayor. By the end of the 1960s, however, city politics had become diffuse once again as mayors increasingly shared decision-making power with state authorities and began building strategic alliances with the private business sector, including large financial institutions, to revitalize the inner city. Such state-city-private sector arrangements still characterize city politics in the United States today, with the private sector taking over more and more responsibilities (or, one might say, privileges) including providing non-unionized contract workers for municipal services; operating charter schools; and even making zoning decisions (Orr 2007:14-15).

In the 1970s, Baltimore became one of the nation's best-known examples of this changing ecology of civic engagement through the revitalization of its downtown area. The city government and its private partners decided that a "turn to tourism" would be the best solution to Baltimore's economic problems. The Baltimore City Fair, an unabashed celebration of the power of the free market and unfettered consumption, was inaugurated in 1970. Before long, the waterfront along the Inner Harbor (creatively rechristened Harborplace) became what David Harvey has described as "a permanent commercial circus," complete with "innumerable hotels, shopping malls, and pleasure citadels of all



a



b

**Figure 1.4. “A permanent commercial circus”:** Two views of Baltimore’s Inner Harbor. (a) A view of the Inner Harbor looking north from Federal Hill, 2007. (b) The Power Plant Live at the Inner Harbor. (Photos by David A. Gadsby, courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)

kinds." Far from solving the city's problems with economic decline, poverty and the lack of an adequate service infrastructure for disadvantaged communities, however, this move constituted the "rediscover[y of] the ancient Roman formula of bread and circuses as a means of masking social problems and controlling discontent" (Harvey 1991:236-237). Essentially, Baltimore reinvented its image as a tourist destination while ignoring the social consequences of redevelopment, such as the replacement of high-paying industrial jobs with low-paying service jobs and the wholesale condemnation of entire neighborhoods for the sake of economic "progress" (or their consignment as ghettos).

Harborplace and the surrounding downtown area continue to serve as Baltimore's economic engine by drawing tens of thousands of tourists each year. In other parts of the city the physical and social infrastructure continues to crumble. In a growing number of formerly working-class neighborhoods, however, gentrification has taken root. In these communities, revitalization has been driven primarily by the business community. In Hampden, entrepreneurs Alice Ann Finnerty and Denise Whiting were largely responsible for the transformation of 36th Street, locally called the "Avenue," into an upscale shopping district in the 1990s, their success attracting many other small business owners to the area. Zoning decisions have been made primarily to benefit local businesses, with very little input from residents. The success of the Avenue has drawn a sizeable number of middle-class homebuyers to the community. The result has been rapid development of open space for housing and drastic increases in property values and tax assessment rates, often pushing long-time working-class residents out of their homes (Gadsby and Chidester 2005:7). Similar processes of gentrification are taking place all over Baltimore in communities like Canton (in eastern Baltimore) and Locust Point

(south of the Inner Harbor).

### The Idea of Community in Hampden-Woodberry

Despite the ways in which local history has been tied up with larger currents of metropolitan development and even global capitalism, one of the key elements of the myth-model that has shaped local identity in Hampden-Woodberry is the opposition between the community itself and the outside world, particularly "others" considered to pose dangers to the values of the community. Most often this insularity has taken the form of racism and a desire to keep the dangerous city at bay. Bill Harvey has reported an alleged agreement between mill owners and operatives in the 1870s to keep African-Americans and immigrants, particularly Jews, out of the community (Harvey 1988:22-25). More recently, racial turmoil in the 1980s caused local residents to reflect explicitly on their fears. Following a 1988 incident in which a black family was chased out of their rented rowhouse (see chapter 6), one resident told an African-American reporter from the *Baltimore Sun* that, while he had "nothing against black people," he nevertheless believed, "You bring in one black family and you spoil the whole pot of soup . . . You'll have cocaine and heroin and everything" (Martin C. Evans 1988). More recently, many middle-class newcomers have claimed that what attracted them to Hampden-Woodberry in the first place was a feeling of community, similar to what they imagine a small town would feel like, that is missing in the rest of the city (see chapter 7).

Community identity has thus been defined almost entirely in opposition to the larger city. Perhaps the only traditional symbolic tie with the city that Hampden-Woodberry residents have enjoyed is the annual Mayor's Christmas Parade through the

neighborhood. People outside of the community have been all too happy to agree that Hampden-Woodberry does not quite fit with the rest of the city, as well. Throughout the 20th century numerous newspaper articles repeated the trope of Hampden-Woodberry's uniqueness and isolation (i.e., *Baltimore Evening Sun* 1923; Beirne 1988; Brown 1982; Kelly 1976; McCardell 1940; Porter 1951; Smith 1987; Sussman 1978; Whitehead 1987; Yardley 1947), while city histories and coffee table books have frequently had little or nothing to say about the neighborhood (i.e. Middleton Evans 1988; Geary 2001; Greene 1980; Hall 1912; Hirschfeld 1941; Olson 1997; Rodricks and Miller 1997; Sandler 2002).

But, indeed, this is the area where the myth-model is perhaps most misleading, and not just because of the myriad ways in which Hampden-Woodberry's historical development has been tied up with the city's. Additionally, and more importantly, the myth-model constructs a Hampden-Woodberry largely free of internal conflict, due at least in part to the homogenous Anglo-Saxon Protestant population. In contrast, I argue that Hampden-Woodberry's past development and present condition can only be understood when we realize that the construction of local identity has simultaneously been shaped by a series of struggles over value within the community as well as its relations with the larger world, and particularly its place in the political economy of American and global capitalism.

In defining "value" I follow ethnologist David Graeber (2001), who has identified three different scholarly definitions of value. The first working definition concerns "values": what is considered to be good and proper and desirable in life is valuable. The second meaning of value is economic: value is determined by how much people want something and how much they would be willing to give up to acquire it (or conversely,

how much effort they would be willing to expend in order to keep it). Finally, value can be based on a structure of meaningful difference: conceptual distinctions imply a hierarchy of meanings, which then have value in relation to other meanings. While value can be materialized differently in each of these cases, the important point, according to Graeber, is that each of these kinds of value is a refraction of the same phenomenon, namely, the struggle not just over the acquisition and disposition of value, but the struggle to define what value is (Graeber 2001:1-22, 86-89).

As I demonstrate in this dissertation, community identity in Hampden-Woodberry has undergone a number of transformations and modifications that have been the result of various competing groups' attempts to define and control all three kinds of value. Economic power and personal freedom (economistic value), the boundaries of local citizenship (a variable structure of meaningful difference based on the notion of "insiders" versus "outsiders"), and the rights, duties and privileges attendant upon membership in the community (communal values) have all been contested multiple times over the past century and a half in Hampden-Woodberry. What ties all these struggles together is that in each case, "community" has been the ultimate value. The specific nature of that value, however, has been constantly negotiated and contested by various individuals and groups within the neighborhood. Furthermore, the very nature of "community" and what that concept can or cannot entail has been fundamentally shaped by the evolution of the national and global capitalist political economy.

While a number of different strategies and tactics have been used by all sides in the ongoing struggle over community in Hampden-Woodberry, I argue that materiality has been at the center of the contest at every stage. By materiality, I mean to include



much more than the traditional archaeological definition of material culture (artifacts, features, and sometimes landscapes as well). I follow recent anthropological theorists such as Daniel Miller, Nancy Munn, Julian Thomas, and Lynn Meskell in including a broad array of social phenomena under the rubric of materiality, including production and consumption; everyday, ritual, and theatrical performances; and practices of spatiality—along with material culture, of course. Each of these forms of materiality has different properties, and therefore different potentialities of use, impact and agency. Recent trends in the ethnology and archaeology of materiality are the subject of chapter 2.

## Chapter 2

### Anthropological Theories of Materiality

The study of material culture has long had a place in anthropological research. Early European explorers were fascinated with the artifacts produced by the indigenous peoples they encountered and used material traces of past societies to speculate on the origins of contemporary populations (Trigger 1989:67-69). As anthropology gradually became codified as an identifiable academic discipline in the second half of the 19th century, scholars such as Lewis Henry Morgan actively included measures of technological sophistication in their evolutionary schema (Buchli 2002:2-7); indeed, the inclusion of archaeology under the umbrella of a four-field anthropology in North America can be seen at least in part as the result of archaeologists' and ethnographers' shared pre-occupation with material culture. Beginning in the early 20th century, however, new research emphases on language, psychology and cognition, and social structure in ethnology left material culture largely out of the picture as a subject of study in its own right. Similarly, those following the culture history paradigm in archaeology treated variations within and between classes of material culture as mere reflections of social structure and ethnicity, while their processual successors considered material culture to be merely one item in the toolbox that is humankind's "extrasomatic means of adaptation" to the environment (Leslie White paraphrased in Binford 1965:205).

Beginning in the 1970s, however, a few anthropologists (and historians) embarked on a quest to understand material culture as a domain of human social experience. Crucial to this project has been the theorizing of material culture: How is it produced, consumed, used, discarded, and recycled? What relationship does it bear to various realms of social experience, such as religion, economy, politics, and gender? How do individuals relate to the material world, and how can/do they deploy material culture for strategic purposes? What are the unintended consequences of such efforts? How does material culture affect our individual and social experience of being-in-the-world?

This chapter explores the primary theoretical approaches to materiality that have emerged over the past 35 years. I propose that these approaches can be divided into three main categories: a symbolic, or reflective, approach; a mediative approach; and a performative approach. I summarize the main theoretical statements that inform each of these approaches, and then I examine in more detail one case study representing each. But first, I outline some of the circumstances that have allowed a focus on materiality to return to prominence in anthropology after over a half century of neglect.

Before proceeding, however, a few words on the definition of material culture are in order. In this essay, the terms “material culture” and “materiality” are used more or less synonymously. “Material culture” includes objects that are considered to be standard artifacts—anything that is produced by humans, such as pencils, clothing, buildings, or machinery. But material culture can also include much more. Natural objects imbued with symbolic or sacred meaning, whether modified by humans or not, are part of the material realm of social experience. Geological specimens, fossils and natural (i.e.,

unmodified) landscapes can all be classified as material culture under the proper circumstances. Similarly, the body is a universal medium of experience. Bodily performance, for instance in the form of a ritual dance or body modification, should also be considered a form of material culture. Thus, when the discussion in this essay makes reference to material culture or materiality, it is this inclusive definition that is implied.

One of the factors that influenced the return of materiality to the agenda of anthropology was a renewed interest in Marxian approaches to society and history. Marshall Sahlins's seminal text *Culture and Practical Reason* (1976) represented a turn away from his earlier economic work and towards an emphasis on the symbolic ordering of the world through culture. While it might at first seem odd that a symbolic anthropology would provide a better approach to materiality than an economic anthropology, Sahlins's signal contribution is that he dislodged material culture from the clutches of a modern liberal conception of what constitutes rational economic behavior. In essence, Sahlins reworked Marx's theory of the reproduction of society under the capitalist mode of production into a more general theory of the constitution of symbolic orders. According to Sahlins, the uniqueness of humankind lies not in the fact that we inhabit a material world, but that we engage with this world according to meaningful schemes of our own devising, and which are never the only schemes possible. We may face material constraints on our actions, but we are free to interpret the constraints and possibilities of our material circumstances in any number of ways. The novelty of this approach is that it allowed scholars to explore the form and content of various systems of meaning that structure economic activity without evaluating their "rationality" according to a presumed universal standard.

In a related development, academics finally began to acknowledge the globalization of capitalism and the effects of colonialism as a result of national and international developments in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many anthropologists realized that they could no longer treat indigenous societies as bounded, pristine survivals from a pre-industrial world, but that interactions between societies, especially those between indigenous and European societies, had resulted in irrevocable change, and that this change must be placed at the center of anthropological consciousness. The result was the first stirrings of what would eventually become historical anthropology (see, i.e., Cohn 1987; Evans-Pritchard 1962; Fabian 1983; Wolf 1982). What is important here is that this development encouraged anthropologists to pay attention to processual change and social practice, as opposed to static structure. As I discuss below, this new processualism encouraged a turn to material culture: how it changes over time, how it circulates through the world, and the enormous variety of meanings that can be assigned to any given object.

At about the same time a number of scholars in various disciplines began to break away from the traditional treatment of consumption, premised on an anti-materialist moral philosophy, as an essentially destructive activity. This traditional scholarly approach to consumption, which Daniel Miller has identified as stemming from the work of Thorstein Veblen (1979) (although it has cross-cultural antecedents that extend back thousands of years), essentially held that commodity culture harmed society by promoting “an attachment or devotion to objects which is at the expense of an attachment or devotion to persons” (Miller 2006:343). In the late 1970s, however, the popularity of semiotics in anthropological theory produced two influential volumes that showcased a

different approach to consumption: Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's *The World of Goods* (1979), which proposed that consumption was a form of communication analogous to language, and Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984), in which he argued that differing tastes in commodities do not merely reflect class divisions in society but actively express and reproduce those divisions (Miller 2006:346).

Following upon the influence of these two volumes, works by Appadurai (1986), Miller (1987) and McCracken (1988) all promoted a more rigorous theorization of consumption, particularly the variation in modes and meanings of consumption across different realms of social life, in different places, and at different times (Miller 2006:346). This critical emphasis on context and specificity encouraged other scholars to be more attentive to the materiality of consumption, its relationship to production, and the foundational role of the object in the constitution of social relations (this last drawing on Mauss's classic work on the gift), three themes that had been neglected by the traditional anti-materialist attitude toward consumption (Miller 2006:348, 350). Since the late 1980s, anthropologists and historians have produced a large body of scholarship on the materiality of consumption (i.e., Davidson 1997; Hebdige 1988; Lebergott 1993; Meskell 2004; Miller 1995, 1997, 1998, 2001a, and 2001b; Pyburn 1998).

One final impetus to the reignition of material culture studies was the desire by some anthropologists to move beyond textual metaphors for social structures, relations and processes. Structuralism, in positing a primarily communicative function to material culture, encouraged this linguistic metaphor by suggesting that structures of meaning are analogous to "grammars," the rules of which would presumably be known by anyone

possessing cultural “competence.” Even the post-structuralist emphasis on the dialectical relationship between structure and practice only modified the textual metaphor, by emphasizing the variability of meanings and the processes of constructing and receiving messages (Tilley 2002a:23). A number of scholars have since explored the problematic nature of a direct analogy between words and things (i.e., Fernandez 1985, Goody 1987, Tilley 1999), and some have proposed new approaches. Christopher Tilley, for instance, has explicitly called for an exploration of “solid metaphors” as the material counterpart to verbal metaphors (Tilley 2002a, b), while Grant McCracken (1988) suggested that there is a fundamental difference in the communicative capacities of words and things and that only by understanding these differences can we understand the movement and manipulability of meaning through material culture.

### Three Modes of Materiality

The *symbolic mode* of interpreting material culture is largely drawn from structuralism, and is characterized by the attempt to understand how material culture reflects ideology and social structure. We can interpret the meanings of material culture only if we first understand how those meanings are structured according to specific “grammars.” These grammars, in turn, are reflective of cultural values more broadly. But it is important to understand that these grammars need not be static over time—according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, “The possible combinations of [symbols] are restricted by the fact that they are drawn from the language where they already possess a sense which sets a limit on their freedom of manœuvre” (Lévi-Strauss 1966:19). In other words, while our ability to construct and interpret symbols is not completely unfettered,

symbols are nevertheless part of a generative grammar through which new meanings can be created.

These concepts of generative grammars and the production of symbols were first imported into material culture studies by the folklorist and architectural historian Henry Glassie in his classic work, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (1975). Glassie argued that objects are fabricated according to the generative rules of a structure: an individual conceives of an object relative to his/her internalized ideas about external objects and then goes on to fabricate said object. The object is then placed into the world (*context*), and the cultural *competence* of the producer can be judged according to how closely the newly produced object matches the ideal object of the symbolic grammar. But the point isn't really to judge the competence of individual producers—it is to derive an overall picture of the cultural grammar from the analysis of representative samples of material culture that express varying degrees of competence.

Historians of material culture and archaeologists are the primary adherents of this method, though with one relatively important modification. Whereas Glassie promoted a synchronic analysis of material culture that focuses on the moment of production of a particular type of artifact, subsequent scholars have studied classes of artifacts over time, using these genealogies to explore changes in symbolic systems that presumably reflect changes in cultural values and the structure of social relations. Historians and archaeologists have created such genealogies for artifacts as disparate as Chinese bronze vessels (Rawson 1993), etiquette books (Shackel 1993), and post-medieval English landscapes (Johnson 1996), among many others.



The most detailed application of Glassie's structuralist framework is found in perhaps the most widely read book ever written by a historical archaeologist, James Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten* (1996). While Deetz examined material culture in the United States from a variety of times and places, the core of his book consisted of three chapters that explored cultural change in 17th- and 18th-century Anglo-America. Specifically, Deetz used ceramics, grave stones and architecture to illustrate his thesis about structural and ideological change during the colonial period. For reasons of space I concentrate here on his analysis of ceramics as an example of the symbolic mode of material culture analysis.

Deetz's analysis followed from a particular tripartite chronology of colonial Anglo-America. Prior to 1660, many of the colonists had been born and raised in England. Given that at the time the Puritans controlled both places,<sup>1</sup> the culture of the colonies was similar to that of the metropole. By 1660 many colonists who were born in North America had never set foot in England, and with the restoration of the Monarchy colonial culture grew away from English culture. Then after 1760 the colonies were fully re-integrated into British society through mercantile capitalism—but a British society that was drastically different from that of the mid-17th century. The Renaissance had finally reached England and the result was a shift in worldview (attended by a shift in material culture). Whereas earlier English culture had essentially been unchanged from the “medieval” worldview, this new English culture was “Georgian.” The characteristics of the Georgian Order were essentially those of the Enlightenment: order, control, reason, mechanical segmentation (as opposed to organic growth), and a strong emphasis on the

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<sup>1</sup> Although Deetz's analysis of architecture focused on the Chesapeake, he did not acknowledge that since the Puritans were not in control there, his chronology might need to be adjusted for that particular case study.

individual (Deetz 1996:62-63, 67). According to Deetz, the Georgian worldview was manifested in material culture in two ways: a bilaterally symmetrical three-part form (most particularly in Georgian architecture, for which the Georgian Order is named) and an emphasis on individuality.

Changes in the types and uses of ceramics in New England over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries reflected the cultural shift outlined above. Archaeological sites from the first half of the 17th century generally yield primarily plain utilitarian earthenwares, which were used not for eating but for other subsistence activities such as dairying. (People ate off of wooden or metal dishes.) Thus, ceramics served an almost entirely utilitarian purpose. During the second period, from the 1660s to the 1760s, these ceramics remained prominent but were joined by fancier imported wares like delftware, as a peasant society was slowly transformed into a mercantile society. Delftware plates seem to have been used primarily for display purposes, indicating a new symbolic importance for some kinds of ceramics. In addition, greater numbers of refined earthenware cups, mugs, and bowls mark the beginning of the slow shift to individualized place settings that culminated after 1760. After this date, ceramic plates for actual use and chamber pots were introduced, wooden trenchers disappeared, and matching sets of tableware became common. Thus, we can see both a new emphasis on individuality as opposed to corporate identity (in the increasing importance of individual place settings) as well as an emphasis on rationality and order (in the introduction of matching sets). And as Deetz pointed out, a one person-to-one dish correlation is symmetrical, whereas the earlier practice of several people-to-one trencher was not. Thus, the emergence of the cardinal characteristics of the Georgian Order—individuality, rationality, and order—can

be traced through the genealogy of ceramics in colonial Anglo-America (Deetz 1996:69-88). In other words, changes in material culture were a more or less direct reflection of changing ideologies.

The second approach to material culture analysis can be termed the *mediative approach*. According to proponents of this framework, such as Daniel Miller, Arjun Appadurai, David Graeber, and Mark Leone, material culture should be analyzed in terms of its ability to mediate social relations. The assumption underlying the mediative approach is that the struggle over the acquisition and use of value and power is central to all social relations, whether between individuals or groups.<sup>2</sup> Value, and thus power, is materialized in physical objects, landscapes, and bodily performances. Materiality is simultaneously the medium *and* the measure of value, as well as the mode of its communication. Hence, material culture mediates the struggle over power through the creation, deployment, and even the destruction of value.

Given the importance of value to the mediative approach, a definition is in order. The mediative approach is characteristic of Marxist and other economic analyses of materiality, and thus any definition of value must begin with Marx. In his examination of the fetishism of commodities in *Capital*, Marx argued that the magnitude of value of an object is determined by labor-time, but that value converts products into “social hieroglyphics” such that the social character of labor seems to be an objective character of the product itself. Value necessarily implies exchange, and exchange-value, then, is an abstraction of human labor. On the other hand wealth, in the form of unexchanged commodities, comes to be considered as a use-value (Marx 1976). In one of the most

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<sup>2</sup> In virtually all circumstances, the possession of value implies the ability to manipulate social relations from an empowered position.

forcefully argued approaches to the economic analysis of materiality, however, Arjun Appadurai (1986) rejected the Marxist conception of value in favor of that postulated by Georg Simmel (1900). Simmel believed that value does not come from human labor, but rather is the product of individual desire. This allows us to think about commodities in contexts other than capitalist social and economic systems. Appadurai argued that the Marxian emphasis on production blinds us to other aspects of commodity circulation, and thus to the possibility that value can change. Appadurai proposed a new approach to materiality that would entail following the “life histories” of commodities over time and through space and analyzing the ways in which value is metamorphosed as it passes through different “regimes of value.”

Anthropologist Daniel Miller followed a similar approach in his book *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (1987). He specifically rejected the Marxist notion that people are reduced to objects, and that objects then interpose themselves between people, rupturing social relations. Miller argued that there is no such thing as a society in which social relations are not mediated by the material world in some way: “The relationship between people and the things they construct in the physical world is [not] separable from some prior form of social relation” (Miller 1987:13). According to Miller, we should not be trying to abolish the mediation of social relations through material objects; rather, we should be attempting to resolve the central contradiction of modern society—the simultaneously productive and socially destructive nature of industrial production and distribution.

A variation on this approach to value is Marilyn Strathern's (1988) neo-Maussian framework.<sup>3</sup> She began by rejecting the universal validity of Marx's concept of the essential creativity of labor as well as the Western idea that the products of labor belong to the producer. In fact, the Western idea of the individual is not universally valid; in the society Strathern studied, for instance, the Melpa of Melanesia, people are considered to be what they are perceived to be by others.<sup>4</sup> Objects of exchange are valued both for their manifestation of past social relations (the social relations that went into producing the commodity) and according to the likelihood that they can be separated from this original source of value. Thus, in an exchange relationship one's goods only have value insofar as the exchange partner sees value in them. The process of exchange then creates new social relations between the exchange partners, and the value of the goods becomes their ability to represent one's ability to create new relationships through exchange. Value in this case is not restricted to exchange-value. As David Graeber has summarized Strathern's argument, value is "the meaning they [objects or goods] take on by being assigned a place in some larger system of categories" (2001:41)—a Saussurean definition that hinges on meaningful difference (and that, perhaps not coincidentally, provides a connection between the symbolic and mediative approaches to material culture analysis).

But as already discussed at the end of chapter 1, Graeber has noted that other kinds of things besides commodities can have value and that there are at least three different types of value: economic value, social, moral and ethical values, and value as a reflection of a structure of meaningful difference. Each of these kinds of value is a

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<sup>3</sup> Strathern's approach was labeled "neo-Maussian" by David Graeber (2001:35-43).

<sup>4</sup> Strathern called this the concept of the "partible person"—an individual can be a doctor, father/mother, husband/wife, friend, poker buddy, et cetera, all at the same time, depending on who is perceiving him or her.

refraction of the struggle over not just the acquisition and disposition of value, but also the power to define what value *is* (Graeber 2001:1-22, 86-89). Returning to my original definition of the mediative approach, materiality is the primary medium through which these struggles are waged.

Once again, we can turn to historical archaeology for an illustrative case study of how materiality can be manipulated in struggles over value. In a study of 19th-century Jamaican coffee plantations, James Delle (1998) delineated the ways in which plantation landscapes were manipulated by both owners and slaves (and later free black laborers) in a struggle over the value of labor and the power to decide its disposition. The different “spatialities” that were created and contested by the competing groups provide an example of the use of material culture to mediate social relations. While Delle treated the slavery and post-emancipation eras separately, but for reasons of space I only summarize his analysis of pre-emancipation plantation spatialities here.

Sugar was king in most of the Caribbean during the 1800s, but the Yallahs River Drainage of Jamaica, the site of Delle’s study, became a center of coffee production in the first decade of the century. In large part coffee was able to become a prominent export crop due to the restructuring of capitalism that occurred during a crisis in the sugar-export economy. In reaction to this crisis plantation owners reconceptualized preproductive spaces as property in order to turn them into productive spaces as coffee plantations (Delle 1998:41-42, 121).

Within individual plantations, Delle identified a number of spheres of activity that were kept spatially separate: domestic space (which was further segregated by race and class—the white owner’s great house, the white overseer’s house, and African-Jamaican

slave villages); agricultural spaces of production (again further segregated into elite commodity production [coffee fields] and provision grounds for both subsistence and commodity production by enslaved laborers); the industrial space of production (coffee milling complexes); and intermediate space, or areas that were undeveloped and unused (Delle 1998:120). Although these spaces were kept separate, the social hierarchy of the plantation was represented in their spatial layout as well as their material characteristics. Domestic spaces, for instance, were clearly distinguishable: the “great house” of the plantation owner was (not surprisingly) the largest, followed by the overseer’s house and then slave houses. Great houses could be isolated from other areas of the plantation, but often were situated within view of the industrial spaces of production. Overseers’ houses were placed either within or adjacent to these same spaces. These placements were useful because they allowed the overseers (and sometimes the owners) the opportunity for perpetual surveillance of the process of industrial production—and also, therefore, of the labor of the enslaved workers (Delle 1998:135-143).

Furthermore, the location of slave villages and the materials with which slave huts were constructed attest to their devaluation in the political economy of the plantation. Slave villages were often clustered in areas of a plantation considered marginal to the process of coffee production. The small huts in which enslaved laborers lived were made of perishable materials (unlike the great houses and overseers’ quarters, which were built of stone or strong timber) and thus would have needed repairs more frequently. Perhaps the final indignity was the cartographic practice of either vaguely referring to an area as the “Negro grounds” or leaving any mention of slave quarters off of plantation maps altogether, while other spaces were illustrated in detail. Owners and overseers utilized

other practices of spatiality, such as the restriction of slaves' movement within the plantation and panoptic surveillance of the work process, to control the laboring population. In these ways, the labor of the enslaved population (as well as the laborers' personal dignity as human beings) was devalued by the planter elite (Delle 1998:143-144, 156-161).

Yet the enslaved laborers were able to find ways to carve out their own meaningful spaces within the plantation landscape. For instance, they could avoid coerced labor (at least for a time) by taking advantage of the spaces of respite provided by the plantation hospital and yaws house, faking illness or injury in order to be sent out of the field or mill. Another tactic of resistance consisted of unsanctioned movement. This primarily took the form of temporary absence from the plantation, or escape. Evidence from one plantation book, for instance, indicates that over a four-year period in the 1820s about 16 percent of the adult enslaved population escaped for an average absence of 19 days. Finally, because planters did not want the burden of having to feed their own slaves, they provided provision grounds (again, on some of the least desirable plantation ground) on which the labor force could raise its own food. Despite the poor quality of land provided, many slaves were able to produce enough food for their families as well as some surplus which they were then allowed to sell for cash in local markets (Delle 1998:148-150, 161-166). These are just some of the strategies that enslaved laborers used to contest the devaluation of their labor and their selves by the plantation elite. The interplay between spatialities of control deployed by owners and spatialities of resistance deployed by slaves reveals some of the ways in which materiality is used as the medium for social struggles over the control of value and power.



The final approach to the analysis of materiality that I will outline here can be called the *performative approach*. Taking their cue from James Austin's theory of performative language, which holds that certain utterances do not merely communicate a message but actively *perform* the actions that they describe (Austin 1962), proponents of this framework for the social analysis of material culture contend that material phenomena can have active properties that allow them to shape and influence social relations—in other words, objects can have agency. As Webb Keane (2003b) has argued, however, the challenge is to understand materialized representations of value, power, and identity as being *in the world* rather than merely *about the world*, which allows us to explore the social power of material things without reducing them to either mere reflections of meaning (as in the symbolic approach to material culture analysis) or its ultimate determinants (as in cultural materialism of the kinds championed by Leslie White or Marvin Harris).

The performative approach to the analysis of materiality centers on the argument that material phenomena play an active role in the subjectification of individuals. Returning briefly to Graeber, he put the problem thusly: How do processes of subject-formation become embodied in value-forms (Graeber 2001:66-68, 78-80)? It is through the acceptance or rejection of these value-forms that individuals become interpellated as subjects by specific ideologies. Largely drawing on post-structuralist theory (especially that of Pierre Bourdieu), ethnographers and archaeologists have explored embodied practices of subjectivity ranging from ritual performance as the constitution of the state and its authority (Geertz 1980); to the avid viewing of television soap operas as the constitution of gendered national subjects (Mankekar 1999); and to the rejection of

subject-identities as unindividuated cogs in the production process of a capitalist factory system through the consumption of alcohol (Beaudry et al. 1991).<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps the most influential example of a performative approach to the analysis of materiality comes from the pen of an ethnographer, Nancy Munn. In her study of the Gawa of Papua New Guinea, Munn explored the ways in which material objects create and enlarge “intersubjective spacetime,” which she defined as “a multidimensional, symbolic order and process—a spacetime of self-other relations constituted in terms of and by means of specific types of practice” (Munn 1986:10). This ability to manipulate intersubjective spacetime is the basis for value in Gawan society. Objects have this capability due to the qualisigns that they embody. A qualisign, as defined by the linguist Charles Peirce (1955:101), is a concept that has value within a larger scheme of social relations. Qualisigns must be embodied, but any number of different objectifications will do. For instance, the value “red” can be objectified in apples, Santa Claus suits, Valentines, et cetera. (Concomitantly, this objectification necessarily “bundles” multiple qualisigns together—as in the case of an apple, where the qualisigns red and sweet are combined in one object. These qualisigns have a specific relationality, which can change as the object in question shifts contexts.) Furthermore, actions can embody qualisigns: in Gawa, retention (of food or kula shells, for instance) materializes the negative qualisign “heaviness,” whereas activity (i.e., hunting, fishing, or exchange) materializes “lightness,” a positive qualisign (Munn 1986).

Positive qualisigns are responsible for the creation and expansion of intersubjective spacetime in Gawa. Because qualisigns must be embodied, the objects and actions through which qualisigns are materialized are the agents of the

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<sup>5</sup> See also the case studies in Meskell 2005.

spatiotemporal expansion of intersubjectivity. One example is *vaakamu*, the act of providing others with food, which is the means of achieving influence with them. It is part of a spatiotemporal cycle, as the recipient is expected to return the favor to the donor. If one refuses to provide hospitality to a visitor and eats all the food oneself, the food disappears and loses its productive capabilities; on the other hand, the practice of sharing one's food with a visitor initiates a spatiotemporally extending process. In taking the food away in his body, the visitor turns the food into fame (an extrabodily component of the donor) in the form of news about the donor's hospitality beyond the immediate moment of the donation and the immediate location of the donor (Munn 1986:49-50).<sup>6</sup> But the action of providing food to another is a form of self-deprivation. Everyone wants to eat—it is considered to be the most satisfying action for the individual actor as an autonomous, involuted being. So here is a situation in which eating is a “self-focused form of personal being that cannot initiate positive intersubjective transformations,” and yet without it positive transformations cannot take place (Munn 1986:72). In fact, positive intersubjective transformations presuppose this self-focused form of personal being. The practice of food transmission is a sacrifice (suppression of one's desire to eat in recognition of the other's desire to eat) that is prompted by the self-focused desire of the donor to expand his own will and intersubjective control through a positive spatiotemporal transformation.

The kula exchange is another means for the spatiotemporal extension of one's fame. Essentially, kula exchange is a process of convincing one's trading partner to give up a particular shell or shells. It is a persuasive process, and if one has no fame for

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<sup>6</sup> I use the male gender here because in Gawa the social events described by Munn (hosting and feeding visitors, participating in the kula exchange) are considered to be exclusively male domains, despite the fact that women's labor enables much of what men do in terms of hosting and participating in the kula.

hospitality (as outlined above), then one has no persuasive ability. (And of course, once one has entered the exchange cycle, successful exchanges further extend one's spatiotemporal fame.) Part of the dialogical process of kula exchange is the action of learning about individual kula shells, which have their own names and histories. These names and histories provide the basis for the value of particular shells. The more prestigious a name and the more extensive a history, the greater the ability of the shell to "[condense] potentialities for further transactions" (Munn 1986: 52), which in turn expand the intersubjective spacetime of the individual (and Gawa in general) as his fame is now linked both forward and backward to trading partners all along the circle of exchange, the spacetime of which is attached to that particular shell. The shells thus also "contain a future" (Munn 1986:53) in their ability to achieve further spatiotemporal transformations. This is because the kula exchange, while expressed in action as a dyadic trading relationship, is not in fact closed off from other spacetimes. The shells that are exchanged will go on to be exchanged over and over again.

Thus a connective overlay is constructed that opens up the intersubjective spacetime of a man's different [trading] relationships, creating implications and connectivities that transcend them. . . . [E]ach dyad is matrixed in a more comprehensive spacetime created by the capacity of shells to form linking paths that transcend any given pair of transactors, and any particular transaction between them. [Munn 1986:57]

The shells are capable of linking beyond the specific dyads in which a man participates directly through the various paths that exist.

The spatiotemporal expansion of one's fame is a direct result of the act of kula exchange itself, as the kula shell contains the condition of the possibility of spatiotemporal transformation. Through exchange kula shells possess an emergent spacetime of their own that transcends the specific transaction. The circulation of kula

shells constructs a common inter-island world in which individual transactors can participate (Munn 1986:58-60). In this way, the shells are the agents of social processes—intersubjective social relations are based on the movements and actions of objects.

### Materiality as the Fundamental Medium of Human Social Experience

Despite the schematic way in which the three broad approaches to materiality have been outlined in this chapter, we should not assume that they are totally distinct frameworks. As previously mentioned, the mediative mode of analysis proposes that material culture is both the medium and the measure of value, but it is also the *mode of its communication*. As Marshall Sahlins argued in *Culture and Practical Reason* (1976), the material world only carries meaning in so far as that meaning is assigned to it by people operating within a cultural universe of meaning. In order to understand the meaning of one object, human beings must be able to understand the relationship of that object to the whole universe of objects—the comprehension of meaning is predicated on the ability to understand a system of meaningful differences (see Graeber 2001:41). Where the mediative mode of material analysis improves on the symbolic mode is in its conception of communication. For proponents of the symbolic mode of analysis, communication is a linear process: a message is created by one subject, sent, and received by another subject or subjects. The mediative mode of analysis, on the other hand, takes this process to be dialectical. The recipient of a message does not have to agree with the sender on the location of the represented value within the hierarchy of meaning; rather, this location is precisely what is being contested through a kind of material dialogue.

Similarly, the symbolic and mediative aspects of materiality have a place within the performative framework of analysis. If we return to the example of Gawan kula exchange, we can understand how human actions (a physical phenomenon) mediate the performative properties of objects. The act of kula exchange (including the persuasion phase) has a subjective potential or conversion power—it has the capacity to affect other people’s minds by reconstituting the donor in the mind of the recipient. Through the agency of the shell or shells exchanged, the donor’s own level of control outside of himself is transformed and intersubjective relations between trading partners are created or expanded (Munn 1986:60-61). As such, one might say that the physical act of kula exchange enables and mediates the performative potential of the shells. It is through this mediation of performativity that hierarchy and power are contested in Gawan society. Because of the necessity of releasing a shell to another person at another time, a trader is forced to recognize the persuasive powers of others (to get him to give up the shell) as well as his own decision-making powers about who gets the shell and when. “This transformative intersubjective process thus mediates hierarchy and equality, yielding a positive formation of self” which can lead over time (assuming maximal success) to status as a *guyaw* (a great or famous man) (Munn 1986:71).

Just as the symbolic, mediative and performative approaches to material culture analysis are not exclusive of each other, neither do they embody the full breadth of contemporary approaches to materiality. Indeed, recent years have seen the publication of a number of edited volumes on the subject (i.e., Cornell and Fahlander 2007; DeMarrais et al. 2004; Meskell 2005; Miller 2005; Myers 2001; Tilley et al. 2006) as well as the *Journal of Material Culture* since 1996. Popular topics of study within the

growing field of materiality studies include the relationship between materiality, cognition and experience (i.e., DeMarrais et al. 2004; Keane 2008; Küchler 2005; Spyer 2006); materiality and power (i.e., Rowlands 2004, 2006); the (false) dichotomy between subjects and objects (i.e., Engelke 2005; Keane 2001, 2003a, 2005, 2006; Rowlands 2005); and the relationship between theories of materiality and (usually Marxist) materialist theory (i.e., Maurer 2006; Rowlands 2005).

So where do we go from here? If we take the central question in the debates over materiality to be, “what is the role of the physical world in social experience?”, then we cannot simply stop at the statement that material culture communicates messages about, mediates contests over, and actively engages in the struggle for power. This struggle, after all, is not a zero-sum game. Michel Foucault (1978:92-94) argued that power is not a *thing*, but that it is essentially relational. Therefore, agents immersed in a social field can exercise power, and every exercise of power entails resistance. But all agents cannot exercise power equally: we are all differentially positioned within the social field that is the relational basis of power. This differential positioning both enables and constrains our ability to manipulate power relationships. Part of the way that it does this is through the positioning of material objects within the social field (Thomas 2000:151-153).

One of the assumptions underlying each of the three approaches to materiality discussed here is that of the unified subject, an agent capable of deciphering and deploying the meanings of material things within the struggle over power. However, the concept of the unified subject is a relic of Enlightenment philosophy, specifically Cartesian dualism (Thomas 2004). But if our project is to find a role for material culture somewhere between the two poles of mere referent and ultimate determinant (Keane

2003b), then I believe that the analysis of materiality should be positioned within what Julian Thomas (2000) has called a “post-humanist” theoretical framework. According to Thomas, we should understand human subjects not as pre-formed entities thrust into the world, but rather as relational identities that are called into being through the process of subjectification. Subjectification itself is essentially a result of the process of the materialization of power. (The relationality of identity allows for the possibility of fragmented subjectivities within an individual, as opposed to the notion of a unified subject. As noted previously, attention to the process of subjectification is already a central part of the performative mode of material analysis. However, most examples of the performative mode fail to recognize the cultural specificity of the concept of the unified subject, instead assuming it to be universal.) From this perspective, then, the goal of the social analysis of materiality should be to understand the ways in which the different capacities of material culture within the social field (communicative, mediative, and performative) participate in the processes of subjectification and the attendant struggles over power and value.

There is one further important consideration in some studies of materiality that has yet to be mentioned, namely, the issue of the relationship between the material world of things and the materiality of economic phenomena. Bill Maurer (2005) and Hirokazu Miyazaki (2005) have pointed out for money and economic theory respectively that most scholars and public intellectuals have begun discussions of these subjects from the assumption of money and finance as abstractions, an assumption based on “an evolutionary tale of greater and greater distance from actual things, of greater dematerialization” (Maurer 2005:140). Rather, as both Maurer and Miyazaki argued,



money and, yes, even supposedly abstract financial theory have great efficacy on a number of registers in the material world. In a slightly different version of this argument, David Gadsby (2006a) has outlined the concept of double materiality. In a discussion of cotton textile mills as agents of ideological subjectification, Gadsby noted,

Mills as objects double their materiality because they engage in the production of other objects. While the materiality of mills is important, the materiality of the goods that they produce is of equal interest, because those goods constitute not only the product of the mills' (and millers') work, but also tie the object world of the mill to the rest of the world through economy and transport. [Gadsby 2006a:17]

In other words, objects such as mills that are active within an economy are doubly material in that they are both things in the world *and* they have the ability to produce both further objects and (more importantly) social and economic relations—just as Gawan kula shells do.

In this dissertation I examine the history of Hampden-Woodberry within a theoretical framework that combines a performative approach to material culture analysis with an understanding of the double materiality of many objects within capitalist political economy, as well as a sensitivity to a post-humanist understanding of subjecthood. Material culture has been at the center of the struggle over power, value and community in Hampden-Woodberry since the 1840s. In the chapters that follow I examine classes of material culture that include space and landscape, artifacts of everyday life, written documents, physical and financial capital, and both theatrical and everyday performance. By understanding the ways in which these material things have been deployed and contested and have exercised their own agency in the dialogical contexts of local culture and an ever evolving capitalist political economy, I hope to demonstrate how lessons

from Hampden-Woodberry's past can be useful for addressing issues of social and economic inequality in the contemporary community.

### Chapter 3

#### Control and Conflict: Contested Spatialities and Concepts of Community in Hampden-Woodberry, 1840-1923

1884

*It was eight o'clock in the evening, and the late autumn sun had already set. Jonathan Taylor and his family had eaten a hurried supper after returning home from the mill and set out again immediately to secure a good spot on the parade route. By 8:30 they could see the Chief Marshal up the Falls Turnpike road, coming down toward the main part of town. The crowd was thick, so Jonathan was holding both of his two young sons up on his shoulders to see. As the magnificently costumed Knights of Labor marched past, Jonathan reflected on the events of the previous year.*

*It had all begun with the new governor, Democrat Robert McLane, a true friend to the working man. Upon entering office, McLane had put forth a series of sweeping labor reform proposals that had infuriated the local mill owners but that had rallied the workers. Of particular import to Jonathan and his family, all of whom worked at Druid Mill, had been the proposals to legalize trades unions, to set health and safety standards, and to establish a maximum eight-hour work day for women and children. Jonathan had been eager to sign the petition to the state legislature in favor of the proposals that had been put together by the Druid Assembly of the Knights; his brother Uriah had been part of the delegation that personally delivered the petition to Annapolis in February. In the end, the legislature had approved all of the proposals except for the eight-hour day.*

*July had also been an exciting month for workers in Hampden and Woodberry. Mr. Eichelberger, one of the village's leading merchants, had refused to sell union-made cigars in his store. All local members of the Knights and other organizations had then boycotted Mr. Eichelberger's establishment. He responded by releasing a defiant open letter, to which the Knights responded with their own. While Jonathan's wife Agnes had previously been a regular patron of Mr. Eichelberger's store, he was proud that she had openly refused to purchase anything there since the boycott began. Unfortunately, it did not seem like Eichelberger was going to give in any time soon.*

*As the parade came to an end and they walked back to their company-owned cottage on Ash Street, Jonathan watched his two sons running about and talking excitedly about the bright pageantry of the parade. He was glad that the Knights of Labor had come to Woodberry to fight the evils of the industrial system, and he hoped with all of his heart that Woodberry would be a very different kind of place in 20 years.<sup>1</sup>*

1923

*Anna Wilcox sat quietly observing the raucous crowd that surrounded her in the gymnasium at the Roosevelt Rec Center. Everyone was talking excitedly about the prospect of giving the Mt. Vernon Mills what for, joining the union again, refusing to stay at work more than eight hours a day and demanding a 25% pay increase. Anna had been a faithful member of United Textile Workers Local #977 from 1915 until it ceased to exist in 1920. Like many of her neighbors, Anna had grown up hearing stories from her parents about the glorious 1880s, when the Knights of Labor had given the local mill*

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<sup>1</sup> This vignette is based upon the following sources: *Baltimore County Union* 1884; *Baltimore Sun* 1884a, 1884b, 1884c, 1884d, 1884e; Du Bois 2004; and *Maryland Journal* 1884a, 1884b.

*workers hope that a better day was dawning. They had been devastated when the national organization crumbled in the early 1890s.*

*Anna had felt the same devastation during 1919 and 1920, as the mills in Hampden-Woodberry began fighting back against the wartime gains the workers had made thanks to the union. She had steadfastly refused to participate in any of the gimmicky "welfare" schemes concocted by Mt. Vernon Mills. She knew full well that those fat cats in New York didn't care a whit for the daily struggles of textile workers in Baltimore. When so many of her co-workers had begun losing the sense of urgency that had animated them during the war, believing that the company was finally listening to them, Anna knew better. This meeting was all the more gratifying precisely because it demonstrated that the mill operatives of Hampden-Woodberry were not easily fooled for long. When the Mt. Vernon company had announced recently that they planned to increase hours while offering only a minimal wage increase, the workers had had enough. The mill owners thought they owned the community and everyone in it, but Anna and her friends and neighbors knew better. This time they meant business.<sup>2</sup>*

The sister villages of Hampden and Woodberry came into existence during the mid-19th century as the coalescence of several smaller mill villages that dotted the Jones Falls Valley. While Hampden-Woodberry itself was never a company town in the strictest sense of the term, many of the smaller villages which grew together to form the new community were—villages like Stone Hill, Druidville, and Clipper. Even after the larger entity of Hampden-Woodberry became a recognizable location on the map, it

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<sup>2</sup> This vignette is based on the following sources: *Baltimore Sun* 1923d; Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland 1924:124-126; Harvey 1988:35-37; and Otey 1924:12-15.

continued to share numerous similarities with both true company towns like Manchester, New Hampshire (founded by the Amoskeag Mills) and other planned industrial cities like Lowell, Massachusetts. As in other company towns and industrial cities and villages across the country, Hampden-Woodberry was the site of nearly constant class struggle between the 1840s, when the local gristmills were first converted to the production of cotton duck, and the 1920s, when the mill corporations began the slow process of divestment from Baltimore.

This chapter examines the role of one particular kind of materiality—space—in the struggle over community identity and citizenship during the eight decades of Hampden-Woodberry's industrial prosperity. I begin with two related discussions of the ideological design of 19th-century company towns in the United States and the nature of subjectivity under 19th-century industrial capitalism. Following this, I explore the relationship between space, local culture and citizenship, and the changing political economy of capitalism during three periods of Hampden-Woodberry's history. From the 1840s to the early 1870s, the working population in the community remained relatively small and the owners of the mills exercised nearly complete control over all aspects of their workers' lives. During the 1870s, however, a sudden and dramatic increase in textile production led to a much larger population of mill workers in Hampden-Woodberry. In part because increased numbers meant increased power, but also due to the increasing influence of cooperative ideology and anti-corporatism generally in the United States, the 1870s and 1880s proved to be a period of intense labor activism by workers in Hampden-Woodberry, as was the World War I era. The nature of this activism during these two periods, however, was very different. In tracing the evolution

of class consciousness and conflict through the spatial strategies employed by Hampden-Woodberry's workers and its capitalist and managerial classes, I will explain these differences as well as illuminate the process by which the meaning and content of "community" was transformed between 1840 and 1920.

### Company Towns in the United States

The classic American company town in the 19th century was defined by the following characteristics: They were usually built in a short period of time with large capital outlays by a single individual or a corporation (although some historians include communities that were built collectively by a few different corporations).<sup>3</sup> They were focused around a particular industry; prior to the 19th century, these industries were usually extractive, while production industries (primarily textiles) only turned to company towns during the 1820s. As such, company towns were dependent on easy access to resource sites, either for raw materials (in the case of extractive industries) or for power generation (in the case of production industries). Occasionally company towns were pre-planned, but often they simply grew organically with the success of the industrial enterprise. Everything in the town—not just the sites of extraction or production, but also the churches, schools, stores, and even (perhaps most especially) the workers' dwellings—were constructed or in some way controlled by the corporation, and were subordinate to the goal of making a profit on the industrial enterprise. The mine or factory owners thus controlled every aspect of life in the community, from the

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<sup>3</sup> This part of the definition is meant to exclude the following types of industrial communities from consideration: locales with a dominant industry (but a number of different companies); towns dependent on a single employer but developed by private interests; experimental and communitarian settlements (dependent on a single economic enterprise but owned jointly); and housing projects or suburbs intended for industrial workers but developed separately from industrial facilities (Crawford 1995:1).

educational and religious options available to the kinds of goods one could buy in the company store. (Since many residents of company towns were paid in company scrip rather than cash wages, they had no choice but to patronize the company-owned store.) Populations rarely exceeded a few thousand individuals, often lured from the surrounding countryside (or, in the later 19th century, from overseas) by the prospects of steady work and (relatively) cheap lodging. Virtually all the residents had a direct connection to the company. As architectural historian John Garner has noted, "Social order derived from labor routine, isolation, and company-imposed rules or policies" (Garner 1992:3-4). Because the distinctions between working and living space were blurred in company towns, workers were unusually vulnerable to harsh exploitation by industrialists (Crawford 1995:1, 7).

The earliest company towns, particularly those in England, were often associated in the public imagination with "plunder, pollution and despoliation" (Garner 1992:3). Thus, by the mid-19th century many industrialists were creating what have come to be called "model" company towns. These industrial communities were characterized by the attempt at the social and moral uplift of workers by employers. As such these communities were the expression of a particular ideology of 19th-century Victorian morality. Improvements introduced in model company towns included (but were certainly not limited to) more spacious dwellings and less crowding within them; the construction of parks, libraries, and meeting halls; and the provision of various social programs. While such paternalism was at first justified by reference to Christian beneficence, by the late 19th century it was considered the economically rational course





**Figure 3.1. An early 20th-century postcard view of Eckhart, Maryland. Eckhart was a company town owned by the Consolidation Coal Company in western Maryland's George's Creek Coal Valley (Chidester 2004a:127). (Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Trust)**

of action: providing such amenities was a good strategy for attracting workers and reducing the rate of turnover (Crawford 1995:2; Garner 1992:3-4, 8).

Margaret Crawford has argued that the design of company towns in the United States was not merely functional or utilitarian in nature, but rather was "the product of a dynamic process, shaped by industrial transformation, class struggle, and reformers' efforts to control and direct these forces" (Crawford 1995:1). Indeed, the built landscape of Hampden-Woodberry and the ways in which local residents (both factory owners and managers on the one hand, and factory operatives on the other) utilized both public and private space provide many clues as to the ways in which competing groups

conceptualized the community in which they lived and worked between the 1840s and the 1920s. These competing visions of community, which were distinguished primarily along class lines, were operationalized through various material strategies, including consumption, performance, and the construction of ideologically-charged spatialities. Furthermore, the very idea of community, its possibilities and its limits evolved dialogically with the development of capitalist political economy.

### Ideology, Subjectivity, and Community in Company Towns

Before proceeding to an examination of the evidence, however, I must lay out a theoretical framework for my understanding of class consciousness, class conflict, and citizenship in Hampden-Woodberry. I draw from historian Nayan Shah's (2001) concept of the "citizen-subject." According to Shah, full citizenship (political, economic and cultural) in modern nation-states is dependent upon achieving (and maintaining) the proper subjectivity (in the Foucauldian sense). The production of subjectivity does not result from any coherent state program, however; the purpose of liberal governance is to create subjects who can govern themselves. Often this is achieved through the work of professional "reformers," individuals and groups who, empowered by the state, define certain "social problems" and then delineate solutions. The implantation of these solutions requires individuals to discipline their selves—their bodies, behaviors (especially habitual behaviors), and even thoughts, emotions, and religious or spiritual beliefs. Before one can become fit for citizenship, one must habituate oneself to the dominant norms of society. Because fitness for citizenship is determined by how well one's subjectivity matches the dominant ideological norms, members of certain groups

(the composition of which may change over time) are usually considered to be automatically fit for citizenship, whereas members of other, "outside" groups (primarily immigrants and racial or ethnic minorities) are typically thought to be incapable of achieving such fitness (Shah 2001:6-8).

While Shah was discussing state and federal citizenship for Chinese immigrants in 19th-century San Francisco, the general outlines of his theory of citizen-subjecthood can be applied to the culture of company towns as well. As the material and social manifestations of corporate ideology in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the design of company towns (whether pre-planned or not) was intended to induce the "proper" subjectivity in individuals and families that would make them most amenable to the goals of laissez-faire industrial capitalism (namely, the rapid accumulation of profit, the consolidation of wealth in the hands of a few, and the creation of a stable social order capable of reproducing itself). Those workers who habituated themselves to the necessary norms were welcome to stay and become a part of the local community, whereas those who could not or would not discipline themselves (union organizers, leaders, and even mere supporters, political radicals, "criminals," et cetera) could easily be expelled from the community, given the autocratic control that most industrialists enjoyed over their company towns.

Due to the wide range of variation in American company towns (particularly along lines of industry and region), I focus my discussion of citizenship and subjectivity in company towns on mill towns in the eastern and southern United States.<sup>4</sup> In company towns generally, and especially in mill towns and villages, the built landscape was the

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<sup>4</sup> The following discussion is based (except where individual citations indicate otherwise) largely on the following sources: Beaudry 1989; Candee 1992; Crawford 1995; Hareven and Langenbach 1978; Mrozowski and Beaudry 1990; Wallace 1978.

primary means by which capitalists attempted to instill the proper industrial subjectivity in their employees. While individual communities varied in their physical layout, the basic contours (prior to the late 19th century in New England, and prior to the 1910s or 1920s in other areas) often included a skyline dominated by the mill bell tower or bell towers; the owner's or stockholders' mansions placed prominently on high ridges or hills, overlooking the workers' housing; and plenty of open space, often meticulously landscaped, so as to give the impression that American industry was avoiding the same kinds of environmental and social evils engendered by overcrowded European (and specifically British) company towns. In addition, because most early New England and Mid-Atlantic Waltham-style mill communities relied heavily on the labor of young unmarried women from surrounding rural areas, many companies constructed boardinghouses for these single female employees. The boardinghouses were overseen by older women whose job it was to police the morality of their charges.

Each of these aspects of the company town landscape served a particular function in creating industrial subjectivities. Most important in an immediate material sense was the prominence of the bell tower, intended to inculcate proper work habits—to attune workers' bodies to the new rhythms of industrial time, erasing the habit memory of pre-industrial work rhythms. (Whereas in pre-industrial settings the length of the workday was determined largely by the amount of daylight and the pace of work was set by the individual worker, in the new industrial work setting the length of the workday was standardized into "shifts" and the appropriate pace of work was determined by factory managers and efficiency specialists.) With the clocks on the bell towers now omnipresent, and the periodic ringing of the bells to signify the beginning and ending of

work shifts, employees had to adjust to the new work rhythms lest they find themselves out of a job (Thompson 1967).

In addition to changing work rhythms, mill bell towers served a second purpose: panoptic surveillance. In this, they were joined by the owners' (and sometimes managers') houses located on easily visible high spots. While bell towers and houses on hills are very different from the classic panopticon as devised by Jeremy Bentham (and later famously described by Michel Foucault [1979:200-206]), they nevertheless performed similar psychological functions. They were located in such prominent spots so as to look down upon the entire population of the town or village. As the theory went, employees, unable to tell whether or not anyone was actually watching them from these places, would begin to police their own behavior for fear of being caught doing something that would result in punishment such as docked wages, revocation of the right to live in company housing, or even the loss of their jobs. Eventually, individuals would internalize these good habits, making them more productive employees. (Theoretically, the inability of people to know if they were being watched at any given moment meant that employers did not have to go to the trouble and expense of actually conducting surveillance.)<sup>5</sup>

Boardinghouses were a direct outgrowth of the need to convince rural farmers that their daughters would be safe working in the mills. The Lowell mills in Massachusetts first used the boardinghouse system in 1825, and it continued in use in other places throughout the 19th century. The young women who lived in the boardinghouses were supervised during non-work hours by a housekeeper; the housekeeper's job of ensuring

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<sup>5</sup> For similar non-traditional applications of panoptic theory, see Chidester in press; Delle et al. 1999; Epperson 2000; Leone and Hurry 1998; and Shackel 1996:chapter 3.

the workers' continued moral rectitude was further supported by employment contracts stipulating a number of behaviors, including, for instance, regular church attendance. Violation of the moral codes of a particular company could result in immediate dismissal and blacklisting. This form of what one contemporary observer called "moral policing" was intended to serve two purposes: first, as previously stated, to convince rural farmers that it was safe to send their daughters to work in the mills, and second, to create an industrial discipline that would enhance the productivity of the employees (Crawford 1995:25-26).

By the 1880s in New England and the 1920s in the Mid-Atlantic states, the growth of company towns resulted in either their annexation by nearby large cities or their own urbanization. Accordingly, their landscapes were altered dramatically. The mill bell towers remained, but the owners' mansions began to disappear as individual companies were swallowed up by larger, absentee corporate conglomerates. The composition of the workforce began to shift from rural families and single young women toward immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. As corporations abandoned industrial paternalism, boardinghouses were converted into tenements or even to serve industrial functions such as raw materials storage. Finally, the vast open spaces that had been designed to ameliorate public fears of industrialization gave way over time to an increasing density of industrial buildings as technology forged ahead (see, i.e., Mrozowski and Beaudry 1990:196-201).

Nevertheless, for much of the 19th century the built landscape conformed to a particular spatiality that was intended to mould workers into a specific industrial subjectivity—calling industrial subjects into being through a material process of power.

In so doing, capitalists created particular definitions of, and assigned specific values to, local citizenship. These values included Christian morality, the separation of work and home life (along with adherence to a highly regimented workday), and the internalization of values of productivity, obedience to company rules, and loyalty to a particular employer.

The mill workers who populated these villages, however, did not simply acquiesce to the new industrial subjectivity. Because subjectivity and identity are the products of a relational process by which power is materialized in the world in concrete socio-historical contexts (see pages 56-57), workers' actions in response to the new industrial order embodied by company towns and mill villages were diverse. While some workers took their own moral, educational, and cultural uplift into their own hands (see, i.e., *Baltimore Sun* 1886b; Dublin 1979; Larcom 1986), others rebelled and fought for their rights as individuals, as workers, as producers, and as citizens, among other things (i.e., Kulik 1978; Levin 1985; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Nassaney and Abel 2000; Shackel 1996; Shelton 1986). The dialectical processes by which working-class subjectivity and local citizenship were created were manifestly material processes, involving public performances of class identity and the manipulation of the spatial order that had been created by industrialists in company towns and mill villages throughout the eastern United States. While some methods and strategies employed by workers were similar from place to place, however, the process of subjectification itself varied in its particulars from one locale to the next. In the remainder of this chapter, I explore the formation of community, class identity and local citizenship in Hampden-Woodberry from the 1840s until the 1920s, when the long process of local deindustrialization began.

## Creating Industrial Subjectivity in Hampden-Woodberry, c. 1840-1880

In many ways Woodberry was a typical company town from its beginnings until the 1920s, when the mills began leaving Baltimore. Hampden was a bit more diverse, with earlier sections such as Stone Hill and Brick Hill (not to be confused with Woodberry's Brick Hill, described later) resembling Rhode Island mill communities, while the areas that were developed later (primarily after the annexation by Baltimore City in 1889) were more focused on providing commercial services to both Hampden and Woodberry. From the 1840s to the 1880s, however, the entire area was a rural mill community dominated by just a few textile companies. The architectural and documentary record of the earliest villages in the Jones Falls Valley provides evidence that they were, in fact, designed along lines quite similar to other typical mill towns in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. There is little if any evidence of working-class resistance to the material strategies of industrial subjectification employed by the mill owners until the 1870s.

The location of the earliest mills in the area was dictated by the course of the Jones Falls. The Whitehall Factory (later rebuilt as the Clipper Mill), the Woodberry Cotton Factory and the Mt. Vernon Mill No. 1, as well as the Poole and Hunt Machine Works, were all built adjacent to the river between 1839 and 1854.<sup>6</sup> In the 1860s the introduction of steam power into the mills marked a transition, wherein larger mills purpose-built for textile production (rather than converted flour mills) began to appear.

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<sup>6</sup> Besides the Northern Central Railroad, Poole and Hunt was the only significant employer in Hampden-Woodberry outside of the mills. In fact, many women who worked in the mills and whose families lived in mill housing had husbands or sons who worked as skilled machinists or in other positions for Poole and Hunt. In 1881 the company employed over 700 workers, accounting for about a third of the iron workforce in Baltimore (Betty Bird & Associates 2003:8:1; Goold and Bird 2001:8:4).

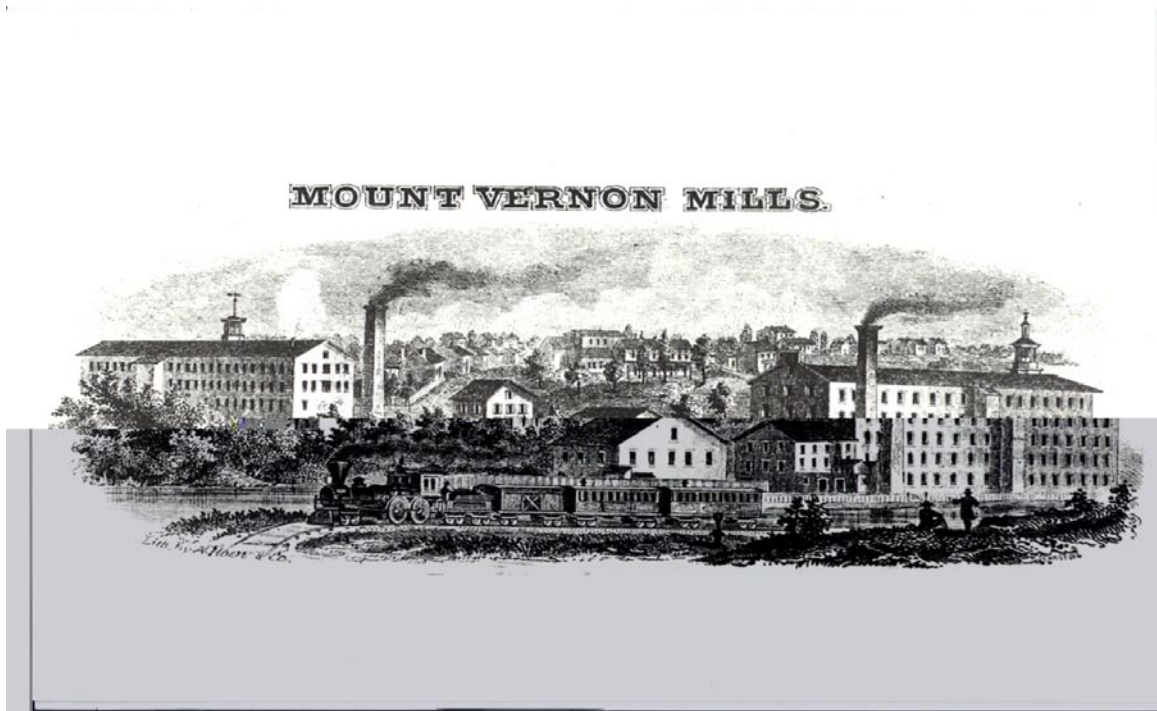


Each of these mills was quickly surrounded by small groups of either duplex stone houses or short rows of frame housing constructed by the mill owners. This housing was meant to attract whole families from the surrounding rural areas of Baltimore County and southeastern Pennsylvania, and essentially each group comprised a distinct village. Workers' houses were constructed just opposite the Clipper Mill along Mill Race Road; sandwiching them on the other side (and up a steep slope) was a group of larger stone and frame duplexes that have traditionally been identified as managers' houses (Hayward 2004:7:2-7:3). Thus, the employees of Clipper Mill and residents of Clipper village found themselves surrounded by the elements of their new occupation and potentially under surveillance from the managers' houses even during their non-work hours.

Further down the river and across the Falls Turnpike Road, David Carroll built Mt. Vernon Mill No. 1 in 1845. At about the same time, he constructed 21 duplexes and possibly a superintendent's house for his employees just east of the mill complex.<sup>7</sup> Called Stone Hill for the distinctive local stone used for construction, this village was purposefully designed to foster a sense of intimacy, connectedness, and consistency among its inhabitants. Laid out in a rough grid, all of the duplexes are evenly spaced on more or less square parcels of land; the rectilinear street grid was an adaptation to the rapidly sloping topography. Only three of the houses, all on Field Street (the northernmost street in the village), face away from either other houses within Stone Hill or the Mt. Vernon Mill Complex; until 1952, they faced a cow pasture used by residents of the village. In addition to the pasture, the rural character of the community

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<sup>7</sup> Land records and archaeological evidence indicate that the superintendent's house may have been constructed a decade or more before the rest of Stone Hill.



**Figure 3.2. Letterhead of the Mt. Vernon Mills dated 1869. Mt. Vernon Mills No. 1 and No. 2 are depicted. In the background is a stylized representation of Stone Hill. Note the rural setting. (Courtesy of the Baltimore County Public Library)**

was emphasized by the large surrounding wooded areas (Bird and Plant 2000:7:1; Goold and Bird 2001:7:3-7:4, 8:3).

The use of spatiality to control workers' behavior and inculcate an industrial subjectivity in them is clearly visible in the layout and architecture of Stone Hill. With the exception of two of the houses on Pacific Street (which include an attic story), all of the workers' duplexes are virtually identical. At the same time, they are clearly different from the supervisor's or manager's house, also on Pacific Street in the southwest corner of Stone Hill. In form, scale, and ornamentation, the supervisor's house conveys a sense of difference: not only is it larger than any of the other houses, it is also much more ornate. It is a two-and-a-half story, five-bay-wide building with a full front porch supported by

Doric columns. During the 19th century it was the only residence in Stone Hill to have a stable (Goold and Bird 2001:7:3, 8:4).

Carroll used other material means to control his employees as well. Most obviously, the fact that the mill company owned the houses its workers lived in meant that it could evict workers for just about any reason; the prospect of having to leave the relatively cheap mill housing upon retirement would also have induced workers to stay on the job as long as possible. The particular amenities (such as indoor plumbing) available in the houses were also controlled by the company until 1889, when annexation by the city resulted in certain renovations necessary to meet housing code requirements. For much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the company also operated a general store that was located on the path between Stone Hill and Mt. Vernon Mill No. 1 (Goold and Bird 2001:8:4, 8:6), thus negating the need for employees to leave the immediate vicinity (and also making continual supervision easier). In addition, the company could decide what kinds of items to stock in the store, controlling workers' consumption habits to a great degree since there were few (if any) other options in the area.

Across the river in Woodberry, another group of 16 stone duplexes was constructed along Clipper Road in the 1840s for the employees of the Woodberry Cotton Factory. Like Stone Hill, a larger and more ornate supervisor's house was implanted in the midst of the workers' duplexes (Goold et al. 2003:7:2). An article in the *Baltimore Sun* from 1847 provides the following detailed description of the community:

The appearance of taste and comfort exhibited in the handsome residences of the operatives of this splendid establishment, situated on the brow of a beautiful hill, the slope of which is adorned with tasteful flower gardens, enclosed with neat whitewashed railings, is one of the most striking features in approaching the factory grounds. The dwellings are about forty in number, mostly three-stories high, and built in a uniform manner, two in a block; they occupy the face of the

hill which is divided from the factory by the Baltimore and Susquehanna railroad. The summit is ornamented with the beautiful mansion of Mr. Gambrill, one of the proprietors. Centrally situated among the dwellings is a handsome Gothic church. . . . It was built by subscription, one-third of the cost being raised by the operatives, and the remainder, with the munificence everywhere displayed in the arrangements for the comfort of the employees of the establishment, was furnished by the proprietors. [*Baltimore Sun* 1847]

In this short description we can discern a number of the spatial strategies of control and subjectification that were common among the early mill villages of the Jones Falls Valley: the workers' houses situated on a slope between the mill owners' mansion above and the mill itself below, allowing for continual surveillance of the mill employees and providing them with a constant reminder of their work; the uniform character of the housing, intended to produce conformity; the presence of flower gardens and whitewashed railings, a symbol of the rural character of America (despite the presence of the factory); and the presence of a religious edifice for the moral uplift (or policing?) of the population, provided (mostly) by the generosity of the paternalistic mill owner.

Yet another small community of workers' housing was constructed in Woodberry around 1877, coinciding with the opening of the Meadow Mill, the Hoopers' largest and most successful mill. Called Brick Hill for the construction material of most of the houses, the community consisted of 25 dwellings (22 of them duplexes) situated on the edge of a cliff west of the river, overlooking Meadow Mill. From the main avenue, Seneca Street, Meadow Mill's tower and belfry dominate the view from the houses out over the Jones Falls valley. In contrast to this striking reminder of the valley's industrial development, residents of Brick Hill were (and still are) surrounded by heavily wooded parkland on the other three sides of the community, just as in Stone Hill in Hampden (Kurtze 1987:7:1-7:2). In addition, the Hoopers made efforts to soften the visual impact



**Figure 3.3. View of Hampden-Woodberry, c. 1901. Woodberry's Brick Hill is in the foreground; note how the bell tower of the Meadow Mill (left of center) dominates Brick Hill's skyline. Behind Meadow Mill at left is Druid Mill; in the upper right corner of the picture is Robert Poole's Maple Hill estate. (Courtesy of the Baltimore County Public Library)**

of the mill itself by landscaping the grounds with curving paths and roads surrounded with flowerbeds and by hanging curtains in the mill windows (Black 1972:7).

Other aspects of social performance and consumption in Woodberry were also controlled by the mill owners through the use of space. As the Hoopers, Carrolls and Pooles were all Methodists, drinking and dancing were prohibited in the community. In the mid-19th century, the mill owners forbid the operation of any saloon or other house of ill repute within a mile of the Woodberry mills (Goold et al. 2003:8:4). Not surprisingly, in looking at maps from the 1870s one can see that several taverns were in business approximately one mile from the mills (Figure 3.4).



**Figure 3.4. Detail of the 1873 Martenet Map of Baltimore County (Martenet et al. 1873). Note the location of at least three taverns (noted as “Tav”) approximately one mile from the mills in various directions. (From the David Rumsey Map Collection, copyright 2000 by Cartography Associates [http://www.davidrumsey.com/index.html]. Reproduced under the terms of a Creative Commons License)**

Over the course of the 1850s and 1860s, as the mills became more successful the area was gradually filled in with more workers' housing. In 1873 William Hooper (now the sole owner of Clipper Mill after Horatio Gambrill sold his interest in the company) built a three-story boardinghouse specifically for young single women who worked in his mills—much like the earlier more famous boardinghouses in Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts (*Baltimore Sun* 1873a, 1874e; Hayward 2004:7:3). A description of the so-called "hotel" was printed by the Maryland Bureau of Industrial Statistics and Information (MBISI) in 1889. According to this flattering portrait,

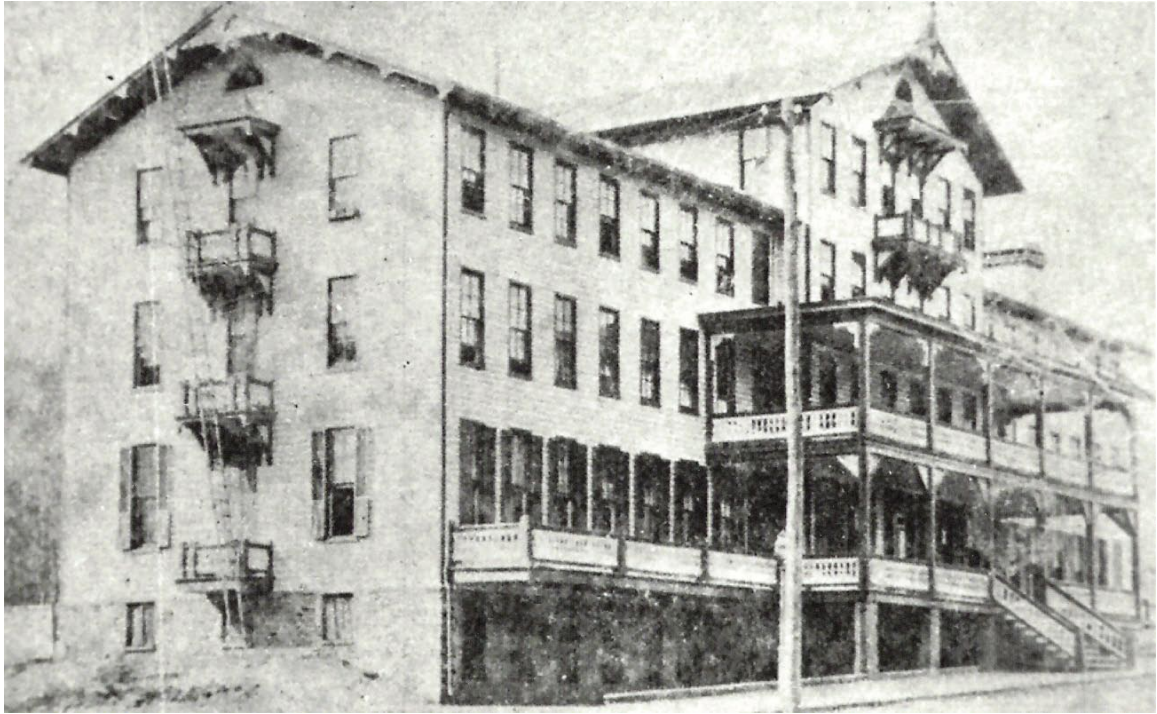
The cheapness of this means of living being an attraction, and the rules of the house being strict only so far as is necessary to the happiness of the whole family

of boarders; . . . [the hotel] affords an evidence of the constant desire of this enterprising firm to give its employees every facility for their well-being and happiness. [*Baltimore* (Magazine) 1935:32]

A similar report in the *Baltimore Sun* (1877d) from a decade earlier emphasized the Hoopers' beneficence, claiming that the board charged (then \$2.50 per week) was insufficient for the company to recoup the costs associated with building and running the hotel. The MBISI report also noted that the hotel could hold as many as 80 young women at a time, two to a room. The practice of rooming multiple boarders together, in addition to being more cost-effective, could also be used as a means of reducing the women's privacy (and, therefore, the opportunity for various kinds of mischief, especially sexual promiscuity; see Crawford 1995:25-26; Mrozowski and Beaudry 1990:195).

In addition to the spatial strategies of control represented by the layout of workers' housing in relation to the mills and to managers' and owners' housing as well as the boardinghouse, churches dotted the landscape of early Hampden and Woodberry (such as the gothic-style Methodist church in Woodberry mentioned above). These religious edifices provided both visual and, on Sundays, experiential reminders to mill workers of the importance of moral rectitude and good behavior. It has been estimated that at one time there were as many as 18 active church congregations in Hampden-Woodberry, many of them belonging to one or another of the 19th-century denominational variations of Methodism (Hare 1976:28-29).

Some of the congregations in Hampden and Woodberry developed organically out of the mill communities; others were more direct attempts by the mill owners to provide supposed safeguards for community morals. In 1879, for instance, David Carroll, owner of the Mt. Vernon Mills, donated funds for a new church building, the Mt. Vernon



**Figure 3.5. The “Mill Girl Hotel,” built and operated by William Hooper to house the young single women who worked in his mills. The boardinghouse was located on Clipper Mill Road near the Clipper Mill. (Courtesy of the Baltimore County Public Library)**

Methodist Episcopal Church. This church was built at the corner of Chestnut Avenue and 33rd Street, at the top of a rise that lead down to both the mill complex and the two communities of associated mill housing, Stone Hill and Brick Hill (the latter constructed in the 1880s).<sup>8</sup> Opposite the church on Chestnut Avenue, new houses were built for mill managers and foremen and their families. Furthermore, the Carroll mansion was located just a block west and south of the church, also on the brow of the hill overlooking the mill complex and workers' housing (Hayward 2004:7:51-7:52). From a spatial perspective, then, the residents of Stone Hill and Brick Hill were surrounded (just as were

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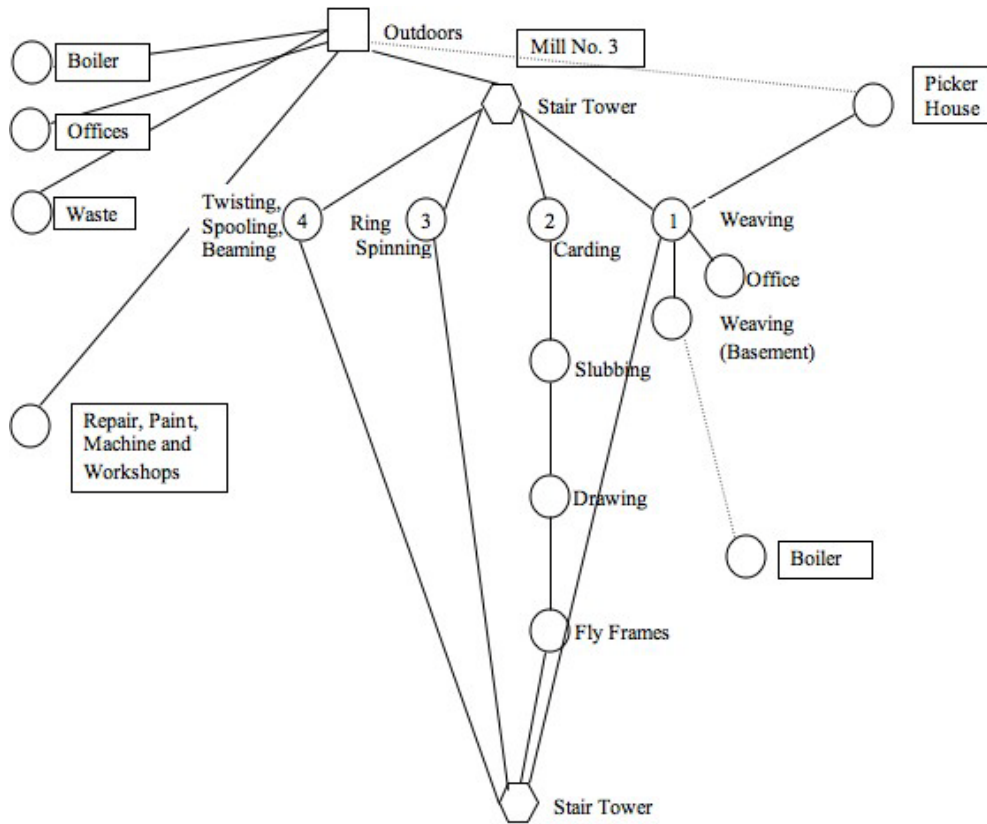
<sup>8</sup> This Brick Hill is not to be confused with Woodberry's Brick Hill, to the north and on the west side of the river.



the residents of Woodberry) by symbols of the new industrial ideology: the mill complex itself between them and running south along the Jones Falls; the managers' and foremen's housing to the north of Stone Hill on Chestnut Avenue; and the church and the Carroll mansion at the top of the hill overlooking the entire area.

Local industrialists and developers sponsored other institutions intended to "uplift" mill workers, including schools and libraries. Robert Poole donated land for the construction of a local branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, which was built in 1900. In earlier decades schoolhouses had been sponsored by the owners of Clipper Mill (for Clipper village), developer Henry Mankin (for the local Episcopal Church), and the Hoopers (twice for the residents of Woodberry) (Goold et al. 2003:8:5-8:6; Hayward 2004:7:3, 7:19, 7:28). Each of these edifices would have been permanent reminders on the landscape of the mill owners' control.

The mills themselves changed over time as well. Horatio Gambrill built Druid Mill on Union Avenue between 1865 and 1872. Druid Mill was the first mill building in the area to have a design that was intended to be more than merely utilitarian. Comprising a complex of four buildings arranged around a central courtyard and constructed in Italianate style, Druid Mill would have provided a striking contrast to the earlier Clipper, Woodberry and Mt. Vernon mills. Druid Mill was also the first to have a clock tower, prominently visible to all of the inhabitants of Druidville, the village of company housing developed directly across Union Avenue from the mill (Hayward 2004:7:5). Meadow Mill, built in 1877, would have its own even more prominent clock tower to provide a visual and auditory reminder to workers of their duty to report to work punctually.



**Figure 3.6. Access map of Mt. Vernon Mill No. 3. (Map by David A. Gadsby; reproduced with permission)**

Even the interiors of the mills were designed with a mix of industrial functionality and ideological subjectivity in mind. David Gadsby (2006a) has argued that mill buildings as physical objects condition both time and space around them, in essence accomplishing the process of ideological subjectification: “Even as they produce the textiles that are their purported product, they serve simultaneously as factories of docile and willing workers whose bodies are conditioned to the life and rigor of industrial production” (Gadsby 2006a:2). Gadsby conducted an access analysis of Mt. Vernon Mill No. 3 that demonstrated the segregation of both individual tasks within the cotton production process as well as the segregation of cotton production from other tasks (such as maintenance, power generation and administrative work) within the mill (Figure 3.6).

Access to the production floors of the mill could only be achieved by entrance through two stair towers at either end of the mill (one built in 1853 and the other in the 1870s); thus workers from different floors were kept separate from each other, lessening the opportunity to develop class-based solidarity. Gadsby further suggested that the location of particular tasks in relation to exterior building doors was an important physical indication of the hierarchical organization of activities within the mill: administrators' and managers' offices were housed near the exits, while the hardest and most dangerous jobs were located furthest from any exterior doors (Gadsby 2006a:20-23).

#### Transgressions: Workers Redefine Local Citizenship, 1873-1886

Despite the mill owners' efforts to inculcate a particular form of industrial subjectivity among their employees—a subjectivity that emphasized strict regimentation of the day, separation of work and home life, obedience to factory and community rules and norms, and absolute loyalty to the company—workers in Hampden and Woodberry put forth their own ideas about the community they wished to build together and inhabit and the definition of local citizenship within that community. Beginning in the early 1870s, when a depression brought on by the financial strain of civil war and reconstruction wracked the national economy, Hampden-Woodberry's working-class population put forth a populist vision of the future in a struggle with local capitalists over class, labor and community.

Just as the mill and factory owners had manipulated space to create an ideologically charged landscape, one that would mould their employees into proper citizen-subjects, so the workers fought back on this very terrain. Over the course of the

1870s and 1880s, Hampden-Woodberry's boom years, local workers expressed a class consciousness that had been invisible in earlier decades. They employed their own strategic and symbolic uses of space and movement to perform new kinds of community and citizenship that were decidedly at odds with those envisioned by the mill owners. Central to the contest over space in Hampden-Woodberry was the use of public space. In a recent study of African-American emancipation celebrations during the 19th century, historian Mitch Kachun (2003) noted the importance that African Americans attached to the ability to occupy public space. One of the fundamental necessities for exercising citizenship is access to the public sphere. By holding their celebrations in public, rather than private, spaces, African Americans actively contested their exclusion from the public sphere. Without the ability to utilize public spaces, then, full citizenship would have been an impossible dream.

In industrial landscapes like those of Hampden-Woodberry, public space was not really public at all—it had been constructed and was controlled by local capitalists as one more tool for the realization of the maximum amount of profit. Thus, by using this space in ways that ran counter to this purpose, local workers were in effect claiming their right to equal citizenship. In this section, I discuss three developments that gripped Hampden-Woodberry during these two decades: the movement for a shorter work day (particularly for women and children) in the early 1870s, the advent of local workingmen's political parties following the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, and the presence of the Knights of Labor in the neighborhood in the 1880s. In each case, workers created and utilized new forms of spatiality to contest the socio-economic order that the mill and factory owners had created and to claim their fundamental rights as citizens.

Before proceeding to an examination of the evidence, however, a brief note concerning the nature of class consciousness in the United States is in order. The issue of why there is no revolutionary class consciousness in the United States has been hotly debated among historians, sociologists, anthropologists and other scholars for over a century, ever since the publication of German sociologist Werner Sombart's (1976) treatise *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* in 1906. Since that time, the debate has been shaped by three assumptions about the character of the American experience that supposedly set it apart from the European experience. These characteristics are: (a) the lack of a feudal heritage in the United States; (b) the importance of the ideology of classical republicanism (which stresses individualism) in shaping the American public sphere since the early 19th century; and (c) the greater heterogeneity of the American working class (along lines of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, et cetera) compared to other countries (Foner 1984). While some scholars have questioned the validity of each of these three "unique" characteristics of the American working-class experience (i.e., Foner 1984; Rancière 1983), they nevertheless continue to inform the debate to this day.

Following from these three assumptions (or their rejection), three primary interpretations of class consciousness in the United States have arisen. The first follows directly from Sombart and posits that there simply is no class consciousness—or at least not a unified class consciousness that is inclusive of all workers. Various reasons have been posited to explain this situation, from the liberal political tradition in the United States (Hartz 1955) to the unique racial identity politics in this country that are a legacy of Southern slavery (Roediger 1999). Other scholars have argued that the lack of a

socialist or social democratic party in the United States is not really evidence of the lack of class consciousness. Rather, these scholars build on the pioneering work of E. P. Thompson (1963) to suggest that class identity is fluid and relational, and has many different concrete expressions in different times and places. By using this definition of class consciousness, rather than the dipstick method of looking for the presence or absence of (viable) radical political parties, these scholars have found class consciousness in abundance in the United States. The interpretive emphasis of this scholarship frequently falls on the examination of the various processes by which groups of American workers move from a class-in-itself (defined by the economic structure of society) to a class-for-itself (defined by political consciousness) (Katznelson 1986; Przeworski 1985; see, i.e., Laurie 1989; Shackel 1996; and Wilentz 1984).

The third general interpretation of class consciousness in the United States posits that working-class identity is only one of many possible subjectivities available for workers to choose from, and that whether or not they do so at any given point in time (as well as whether or not they combine it with other subjectivities such as gender, race, et cetera, and what the consequences of such combinations turn out to be) is dependent on a whole host of variables. Sociologist Rick Fantasia proposed the concept of “cultures of solidarity” as a way to understand this variable nature of class consciousness (Fantasia 1988). Fantasia contended that the shift from “class-in-itself” to “class-for-itself” is a dynamic process, one that can move in unexpected directions. Cultures of solidarity are a kind of emergent consciousness that only exists within specific social contexts and relationships, when workers (who ordinarily would have divided interests) come together to challenge the status quo on the basis of their interests as a class. This emergent

consciousness, however, is never exactly the same twice; it is shaped by the contingencies of structure and context, which determine the actions and solutions that are deemed possible or even imaginable (Fantasia 1988:3-24; see also Sewell 1990).

From this perspective, it is not surprising when workers fail to act in precisely the way that leftist academics steeped in Marxist theory think they should act. It is just as important to understand those instances when a working-class subjectivity does *not* become the dominant factor in personal and group identity as when it does, or when it is combined in novel ways with other subjectivities (see, i.e., Enstad 1999; Kimeldorf 1988). It is this approach that I follow in examining working-class activism in Hampden-Woodberry during the period from the 1870s to the 1920s. The following analysis focuses on the material manifestations of local workers' subjectivities as both workers and citizens. It should not be assumed, though, that these were the only two subjectivities at play for Hampden-Woodberry's mill and factory operatives during this period. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that additional considerations such as gender, race and religion played important roles in shaping workers' identities and aspirations. Limitations of space and available evidence, however, necessitate a narrowed focus on the circumstances under which class and citizenship came to the fore, interacted, and produced (and were in turn acted upon by) strategic spatialities.

As early as 1853 workers in Baltimore County's textile mills began agitating for shorter workdays, particularly for women and children, to little avail. The Baltimore City Council passed a resolution setting eight hours as the standard workday within the city in 1866, but in the county workers had more trouble. Several times the issue had been the subject of bills brought before the Maryland legislature, each time passing successfully

through one house only to be defeated in the other, or to have the provision mandating ten-hour workdays for minors stripped out of the bill during debate (*Baltimore Sun* 1866a, 1868, 1870). When depression struck in 1873, the likelihood of having a bill passed in the near future must have seemed small indeed. While the shipping business fared better than others, the cotton duck mills were nevertheless hit hard. Only one of the 25 cotton mills in Maryland at the time shut down its operations completely, but all of the rest of the mills significantly scaled back their operations, some going so far as to operate on only half-time. (Such reductions in work time usually impacted workers the hardest as they would find their hours reduced or eliminated altogether, erasing their already meager incomes.) Machine shops such as Poole and Hunt, as well, discharged workers as a result of the economic downturn (*Baltimore Sun* 1873b).

Despite the economic troubles, the state legislature did in fact pass a bill in early 1874 mandating that children under 16 years of age should not be forced to work at factory labor more than ten hours in a 24-hour period. When the governor signed the bill into law in February, the action touched off both a series of celebrations in the Baltimore County mill villages as well as fierce opposition from (most of) the mill owners. (William Hooper and his sons were actually supporters of the bill and were instrumental in securing its passage through the legislature, despite the fact that they, too, utilized child labor. The Hoopers' personal involvement in the issue earned them much gratitude from the mill workers of Baltimore County [*Baltimore Sun* 1874b, 1874d].) Just a day after the signing of the bill, the workers of Hampden-Woodberry converged on Hare's Hall in Hampden, then the largest public building in either village, for a "jubilee" celebration. Between fifteen hundred and two thousand operatives made it inside the



hall, while an unknown number had to wait outside. Most of those present were children who were directly affected by the bill, and about five hundred were girls ranging in age from eight to eighteen (*Baltimore Sun* 1874b).

According to newspaper reports, the hall was gaily decorated with evergreen festoons and "a band outside discoursed various airs during the evening." Officers for the meeting were chosen, representing most of the mills in the vicinity as well as a few farther away, and several speakers gave rousing addresses to the assembled crowd (*Baltimore Sun* 1874b). At the end of the meeting, the assembly passed a series of resolutions expressing their joy at the passage of the bill and their gratitude to the Hooper company and various members of the legislature: "When the question of adopting the resolutions was put, the building fairly shook with the tumultuous and unanimous assent that went up, and many of the children laughed with glee afterwards, to think that they had voted" (*Baltimore County Union* 1874).

Naturally, the bill was not so welcomed by most of Baltimore County's mill owners. They claimed that its passage had been a complete surprise, as was the reaction of their employees. The day after the meeting in Hampden among the operatives, the mill owners met in Alberton (in the southwestern part of the county) to discuss their response. The assembled capitalists resented the attempt to characterize them as "uncharitable tyrants," since, after all, they only employed children out of charity or because parents asked them to do so—not to mention the "schools and other conveniences" provided by all the mills. Claiming that they were already operating at a ten percent financial disadvantage compared to the mills in New England, the owners declared that the reduction in hours for child laborers would add another ten percent

disadvantage and would force the mills to shut down (which, of course, "they could very well do, as their stocks were large enough.") As it was, a number of them had been charitable enough to keep their mills running at a loss for up to six months just to keep workers employed (*Baltimore Sun* 1874d).

The factory operatives were clearly not satisfied with the employers' response. A couple of weeks later the operatives staged a dramatic torchlight procession of several thousand people that culminated at Mt. Washington station. The delegation from Woodberry presented a particularly amazing spectacle:

At half past seven o'clock lights commenced to twinkle on Prospect Hill, and the shout went up from all present, "Hurrah! The Woodberry boys are coming!" The Woodberry boys, in a procession about half a mile long with a band of music, light boxes, torches, Chinese lanterns and flags, some in ornamental wagons and some on horseback, but the majority on foot, were on the march. As they entered the village, with flags and streamers well defined by the flood of light, the men marching and the horses prancing to the music, the scene presented was picturesque. [*Baltimore Sun* 1874a]

The Woodberry boys also carried a number of transparent banners. One was in the shape of a coffin, with the inscription, "Ten Hours is Dead—Funeral Sermon to be Preached at Mt. Washington," while another depicted two game cocks, the one labeled the ten-hour cock crowing over the dead body of the other. Mt. Washington station was itself decorated with Chinese lanterns and large transparencies and equipped with a band, while the local crowd carried flambeau and rush lights. When the Woodberry delegation reached Mt. Washington, signal rockets were launched and tar barrels perched on the top of a nearby hill were set ablaze, illuminating the surrounding countryside for several hours. This gathering also featured a number of speeches, including one by T. Sturgis Davis, the state senator from northern Baltimore County who was largely responsible for the passage of the bill (*Baltimore Sun* 1874a).

Despite the mill owners' protestations, it was reported just a week after the governor signed the bill that 12 of the state's 19 textile and woolen mills had already begun operating on ten-hour days. The other seven reportedly had either reduced their employees' wages or shut down altogether (*Baltimore Sun* 1874a). The issue did not die there, however. Less than a month after the demonstration at Mt. Washington, the female operatives at the Druid Cotton Mills staged a brief strike to protest the fact that the Gambrills still required ten and a half-hour days from their adult operatives. Although the recent legislation specifically pertained to children under the age of 16 years, the workers expected the new system to be extended to all employees. While not all of the mill's employees struck, the owners stopped production altogether while the strike was in progress (*Maryland Journal* 1874).

While this conflict apparently lasted just a day or two and was resolved in favor of the operatives, the failure of various mills to adopt the ten-hour day without also reducing wages (among them the Mt. Vernon Mills, which still operated on an eleven-hour day) resulted in another mass meeting of textile operatives from around the region at a meeting hall owned by a Woodberry merchant in early April. Though there was less pageantry this time, the issue of whether to form a trades union for cotton textile operatives was vigorously debated. When the meeting adjourned, the assembled crowd had agreed to put off the question of forming a union for the time being (*Baltimore Sun* 1874c).

While the conflict between manufacturers and operatives over the ten-hour bill lasted for only about a month and a half in early 1874, it showcased two strategies that the workers of Hampden and Woodberry would use to forcefully demonstrate their own

claim to local citizenship and create their own subjectivity over the course of the next 12 years. Firstly, by holding their meetings in local halls and putting on spectacular demonstrations during the initial meeting in Woodberry and the march to Mt. Washington, the workers defied important aspects of the mill owners' enforced spatiality, including limited mobility and total control over private and public space alike. Additionally, these actions showcased the mill operatives as educated and engaged citizens of Baltimore County and the state of Maryland, rather than as just docile workers.

Secondly, the brief strike at the Druid Mills demonstrated that local workers were ready and willing to take the fight directly to the mill owners in the most material manner of all, by stopping production at the mills (and therefore also the accumulation of profit). In stopping production and depriving the Gambrills of the profit that they otherwise would have accrued, the striking women took advantage of a weakness of capitalism: the necessity for capital to be rooted in specific places for the purpose of producing and distributing surplus value. Normally the ability of capital to be highly mobile through abstract space works in capitalists' favor by making it extremely difficult for place-based communities to contest the social order that capitalism creates, since capital can be frequently moved without any significant loss of the ability to realize surplus value (Merrifield 1993:103). In contrast to subsequent capitalist political economies, however, 19th-century industrial capitalism was more reliant on the physical mooring of capital in concrete places, and thus particularly vulnerable to assault by place-based groups.

Four years later the workers of Hampden-Woodberry sprung into action again to further press their cause. During the summer of 1877, shockwaves rocked the social

fabric of the United States. The depression that had begun in 1873 was not yet ended. In attempts to ensure the continuation of stock value inflation, industrialists across the country were cutting costs and snipping loose ends anywhere they could. Laborers, who were already poorly paid, became anxious about their ability to provide for their families. When on July 16th the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad cut wages for many of its blue-collar workers instead of raising freight prices, a fuse was lit. Within the course of just a few weeks in July the country descended into and emerged from the first truly large-scale labor action in U.S. history. From Baltimore to Chicago to San Francisco, workers in all branches of industry went on strike, both in sympathy with the original strikers on the B&O line and to express their own grievances. In some cities, most notably Chicago and St. Louis, the railroad strike quickly snowballed into a general strike lead by the socialist Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS); in St. Louis the WPUS actually managed to constitute itself as a de facto government for a week. A combination of industrialists' determination and some useful firepower provided by state militias and the National Guard quickly diffused the strike, however, and the conflagration was over by August 1 (Bruce 1959; Foner 1977; Stowell 2008).

The strikes on the B&O Railroad would not have touched off a nation-wide conflict had it not been for the massacre of a number of people, both workers and their civilian supporters, in the streets of Baltimore by federal troops (Gillett 1991). The news of the massacre spread quickly, encouraging workers in other cities to strike in sympathy with the Baltimore laborers and in defiance of their own employers. What had begun as a spontaneous local strike quickly became a national labor uprising. Some historians have argued that a new national labor consciousness was birthed in July 1877, but very few of

the strikers gained any material concessions from their employers. Many upper- and middle-class U.S. citizens feared that the Great Strike would rend the social fabric of the nation, and a new wave of anti-union and anti-communist activity took hold.

Nevertheless, workers across the country took the momentum of the event and turned it toward political organizing. The Workingmen's Party of the United States, the first nationwide socialist organization (formed in 1876) and which had played a significant role during the strike, benefitted from the uprising through the creation of local workingmen's parties across the country during the fall of 1877 (Foner 1977:220-227). Not all of these local parties were affiliated with the WPUS, however; in Baltimore City, for instance, the Workingmen's Party exchanged a few friendly messages with the WPUS but never allied itself with the larger organization (Du Bois 1995:67). The workers of Hampden-Woodberry played a vital role in the short-lived Workingmen's Party of Baltimore County.

Hampden-based workers on the Northern Central Railroad (NCR) had participated in the strike during July (Harvey 1988:19), and during the first half of August the workers of Hampden began meeting in Hare's Hall and the Mt. Vernon shops of the NCR to organize the Workingmen's Party of Baltimore County.<sup>9</sup> The purpose of the organization, it was said, was to bring workingmen "to unite themselves together for the purpose of maintaining their rights as American citizens and bettering their condition in life" (*Baltimore Sun* 1877k; see also *Baltimore Sun* 1877e). A week later the party adopted a platform that included opposition to state legislation reducing the hours of

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<sup>9</sup> This action was not unprecedented in Hampden-Woodberry. A newspaper article from 1869 reported that the Workingmen's and Reform Party of Baltimore City had authorized a committee to assist the workers of Woodberry and its vicinity in organizing their own workingmen's party (*Baltimore Sun* 1869). Whether this effort was at all successful is unknown.

work (on the basis that it would give Maryland manufacturers an unfair advantage over other states, and that therefore any legislation regarding work hours should be national in scope); opposition to legislative subsidies that favored any one group over another; a statement of distrust in "professional politicians who have allowed themselves to be the tools of capitalists in all their undertakings;" and the refusal to admit to the party membership all professional men and political party leaders (*Baltimore Sun* 1877f). (A couple of weeks later the party decided to exclude only professional politicians, and to admit professional men [*Baltimore Sun* 1877l].)

The Workingmen's Party of Baltimore County continued to meet in Hampden throughout August and September as its members heard speeches from Baltimore City labor leaders, selected delegates to attend the Workingmen's Party convention, debated the candidates to be put forth for various offices, and enrolled new members—as many as 30 at a time (*Baltimore Sun* 1877a, 1877g, 1877h, 1877i, 1877n). Following these first two months of militant activity, the course of the Workingmen's Party took a turn in early October as different factions emerged and in-fighting began. By the end of the month the party had merged twice, first with the Independent Reform Party of Baltimore County and then with the Baltimore County Reform Party (*Baltimore Sun* 1877b, 1877c, 1877j, 1877o).<sup>10</sup>

In the elections in late October and early November, the various workingmen's and allied parties fared badly: not a single one of the city's Workingmen's Party

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<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, following the first merger the consolidated party nominated William Hooper for the First Branch of the City Council. Referred to as a unity candidate between workingmen and reformers, Hooper was lauded for the fact "that while Mr. Hooper was not a laborer with his hands, that his brains and his capital had been for years at Woodberry in ameliorating the condition of the laboring classes . . . at the manufacturing establishment of the [Hooper] firm, could be seen not only prosperity to the owners, but content and plenty to the employees" (*Baltimore Sun* 1877m:4).

candidates for offices from sheriff to city council to the state legislature won (Du Bois 1995:77). This development was consistent with the fate of the WPUS in other cities. Disputes within the national party and the need for strength in numbers lead to various splits and mergers, and within a year the WPUS had ceased to exist while the Greenback-Labor Party (forerunner of the People's Party, or Populists, of the 1890s) had taken over as the preeminent national independent reform party (Foner 1977:227).

While the Workingmen's Party of Baltimore County lasted as an independent entity for only about two months (and as part of a consolidated party for another month after that) in the heady autumn following the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, it once again served notice to local mill and factory owners that their carefully planned, ideologically charged industrial landscape was in fact contested terrain. Just as in 1874, local workers defied the company town spatiality enforced by the textile manufacturers by holding their meetings in prominent public buildings in Hampden. In so doing, they asserted their right to occupy public space in the community for their own purposes and, by extension, their own concept of what kind of citizen-subjects they wanted to be.

While they were not able to successfully meet their electoral goals in 1877 and their party did not last long as a force in local politics, the workers of Hampden-Woodberry did not give up their struggle for recognition as citizens and as stakeholders in defining the the boundaries of their community and the kinds of subjects it could include. Less than a decade later they came to use the national Knights of Labor as a new vehicle for staking their claims. The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor originated as a small organization with a grand vision in Philadelphia in 1869. The Knights' expansive vision for the future of the nation grew out of the cooperativist



ideology that permeated the American labor movement from the 1860s to the 1880s (Leikin 2005:23). While the first ten years of the Knights' history was relatively unremarkable, it experienced explosive growth between 1879 and 1886. It quickly became the most influential labor organization of the 19th century in the United States before its reputation was marred by an unjustified association with the Haymarket bombing in Chicago in 1886, which led to a demise equally as rapid as its ascendancy. Between 1869 and 1890, however, the Knights of Labor expanded across the continent and established approximately 11,000 local assemblies in large metropolises and rural villages alike (Garlock and Builder 1973:i). Between 1885 and 1886 alone, membership in the Knights increased from 110,000 to 750,000 and hundreds of cooperative stores were established throughout at least 35 states (Leikin 2005:71).

The Knights of Labor were no mere trade union. Rather, they were distinct within American labor history in that they organized across lines of class and skill; they were as much a fraternal organization as a labor union; and they organized on the level of the community rather than the workplace. The Knights espoused an essentially republican ideology that proclaimed the virtue of the “producing” classes as opposed to grifters, idlers, and social parasites. Membership was open to everyone except those who made their living as bankers, speculators, lawyers, liquor dealers or gamblers. Even merchants and manufacturers could join the organization so long as they were sympathetic to the workingman’s cause (for instance, by selling only union-made products in their stores or only employing unionized labor in their factories). While the Knights opposed certain features of industrial capitalism such as the wage system and the aggregation of wealth, believing that these features were endangering the United States’ republican form of

government, they stopped short of calling for the overthrow of the capitalist system itself. Instead, the Knights focused on promoting the twin ideas of the producer-as-citizen and the citizen-as-producer. They therefore opposed the reduction of labor to a mere factor production and encouraged the organization's members to organize cooperative production enterprises and cooperative stores (Fink 1983:3-9; see also Leikin 2005: chapter 3).

Because of their ideological roots in Jeffersonian Republicanism, the Knights were also committed to what one historian has called the “bourgeois ideal of cultivated self-fulfillment” (Fink 1983:10) through education, reading rooms, and public lectures, as well as the strengthening of the working-class domestic sphere. This attachment to distinctly middle-class Victorian values, along with the order's failure to challenge the capitalist system as a totality, has led some historians to debate whether the Knights were radical or conservative (cf. Fink 1983, McLaurin 1978). One area where the Knights were most decidedly radical for their time was their ideological commitment to racial and gender equality. This aspect of the national organization's philosophy, however, was not always embraced by local chapters (Fink 1983: chapter 6; Gerteis 2007; Leikin 2005:39-43; Levine 1984; McLaurin 1978: chapter 7).<sup>11</sup>

In June 1882 the Druid Assembly of the Knights of Labor (Local Assembly No. 1968) was formed in Hampden-Woodberry. Comprising local workers from a mix of

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<sup>11</sup> The study of the Knights of Labor has become something of a cottage industry within American labor history. Historians and sociologists have studied the Knights' political ideology (Fink 1982; Hild 2007); the organization's structure and the reasons for its rapid ascendancy and equally rapid decline (Garlock 1974; Voss 1993; Weir 2000); the practical realities of the Knights' commitment to racial and gender equality (Case 2007; Gerteis 2007; Levine 1984); regional and local variations in the Knights of Labor (Brundage 1994; Goldberg 1985; Kealey and Palmer 1982; McLaurin 1978; Oestreicher 1986; Schneirov 1984); the Knights' leadership, particularly Terence Powderly, the order's Grand Master Workman from 1879 to 1893 (Phelan 2000; Walker 1973); and the fraternal and symbolic culture of the Knights (Weir 1996).

occupations, Druid Assembly boasted one thousand members by January 1885. Between 1882 and 1889, when the local collapsed, members of Druid Assembly repeatedly challenged manufacturers' control of public space, workers' movement, and the local economy through collective action and public performances (*Baltimore County Union* 1885; *Baltimore Sun* 1883a, 1886a, 1886b; Garlock 1982:181; *Maryland Journal* 1883a, 1883b).<sup>12</sup>

In early 1884, the state government once again took up the issue of legislating the maximum hours of work per day in mills and factories. Newly elected Democratic governor Robert McLane made no secret of his allegiance to the workers' cause (*Baltimore Sun* 1884b), and early in his term he proposed a sweeping series of reforms including the legalization of trades unions, the establishment of a state bureau of industrial statistics, the legislation of health and safety standards for factories, and maximum work hours for all workers, not just children (Du Bois 1995:93-96). Naturally, the manufacturers of Hampden-Woodberry (this time including the Hoopers) were particularly opposed to this legislation. In January 1884 the Baltimore Merchants and Manufacturers Association appointed a committee to write up resolutions against the proposed legislation, claiming that annual profits in the textile industry rarely exceeded the costs of operation (*Baltimore Sun* 1884d).

A week later a delegation from the state legislature made a personal visit to the mills in Hampden and Woodberry. The owners and managers of the Mt. Vernon Company, the Hooper mills and Druid Mill personally led the lawmakers on a tour of several of the mills as well as the Clipper Hotel. There were a few embarrassing

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<sup>12</sup> In the spring of 1884, some female mill operatives in Woodberry formed their own local assembly, No. 3214. Knights of Labor records never show the membership rising above 15 persons and the assembly's membership in the national organization lapsed in 1886 (Garlock and Builder 1973:151, 184).

moments for the owners, such as when the legislators were displeased to find that some of the young boys working as sweepers in the Mt. Vernon Mills were illiterate, and when adult operatives in the same mill at first claimed to be in favor of the present system of regulation, then admitted that if they could get the same wages for eight hours of work as for ten hours, they would be in favor of an eight-hour limit. At the end of the tour, the manufacturers reiterated their position that they could not afford to remain in business in Maryland were an eight-hour system to be adopted, and a small contingent of workers were even on hand to express their agreement as well. (Whether these workers were hand-picked [or intimidated] by management is unknown.) The employers also stuck to their position (recycled from 1874) that they only employed small children out of charity. David Carroll of the Mt. Vernon Mills summed up the management's ideology of laissez-faire capitalism combined with paternalism thusly:

As regards the smaller boys, we don't want them; we can get along without them, and in a great many cases employ them through charity only, that they may help to support poor mothers or others. If some of them are not educated it is not our fault. A law taking them out of the factories will not necessarily send them to school. A great many would then grow up on the streets and become vagabonds or worse. Here we are a happy family; we live together, work together, and we do not want any legislation. Our cry is, "Hands off!" [*Baltimore Sun* 1884c]

In response to the manufacturers' ploy to sway the legislature, the Baltimore City Federation of Trades and the Druid Assembly of the Knights of Labor sent their own delegation to Annapolis to meet personally with Governor McLane. They proposed their own amendments to the pending legislation, and countered the mill owners' argument about reduced competitiveness by noting that they had apparently not suffered when the ten-hour law had been passed a decade earlier despite similar complaints. Furthermore, both the Federation of Trades and the Druid Assembly provided their own petitions for an

eight-hour law to McLane and to each member of the legislature representing a district in Baltimore County (*Baltimore Sun* 1884a).

In these two events—the legislative delegation’s visit to the mills and the workers’ delegation to Annapolis—we can see the mill owners and the mill operatives employing opposite but complimentary spatial strategies. For the workers, the act of traveling to Annapolis was a powerful demonstration of their agency to escape the carefully planned spatiality of the company towns in which they lived, a spatiality that was designed to limit their mobility. By hosting the delegation from Annapolis, on the other hand, the mill owners were exercising their power to bring the state to them—a kind of anti-mobility intended to demonstrate the ability of capital to manipulate the levers of government. Here, then, both the mill owners and the working people of Hampden-Woodberry employed mobility as a tactic within broader strategies of spatiality. In their struggle, they were both making powerful material statements about the nature of citizenship in the kind of community that each group wanted to create and inhabit. In the end, both sides met with mixed success. The eight-hour bill was defeated in the House of Delegates by a vote of 56-26, with the vote split between representatives from agricultural areas and those from industrial regions (primarily Baltimore and the western coal-mining region in Allegany County). All of McLane's other reforms, however, were passed (Du Bois 1995:101-103).

The Druid Assembly exerted its influence within the community as well. For instance, during the summer of 1884 the assembly's Boycotting Committee notified local merchants that unless they agreed to sell only those cigars produced by unionized cigar manufacturers, the local Knights members would refuse to deal with them. Apparently

all but two local merchants quickly complied. Of the two that refused, one was put out of business by the boycott. The other, Albert Eichelberger, released an open letter to the Druid Assembly that was described as "a mixture of defiance and appeals." The Knights responded with their own open letter, with which they "flooded the town" (*Baltimore County Union* 1884). While the result of this dispute is unknown, Eichelberger apparently was not forced out of business; he continued residing in Hampden until his death in 1906 (Baltimore City Land Records Office 1913). Nevertheless, the Druid Assembly's ability to force compliance by many local merchants, and even to put one out of business, was an impressive display of their economic influence and a forceful statement of workers' desire to control their own options as consumers.

The Druid Assembly also used spectacular public performances to struggle against the mill owners' paternalistic control of Hampden-Woodberry. They held balls in public buildings, flouting the manufacturers' attempts to prohibit dancing in the community (see page 78), and they organized annual torchlight parades that wound throughout the community (*Baltimore Sun* 1883a, 1885c, 1886a; *Maryland Journal* 1884b, 1884c). One newspaper account of the 1884 parade recounted the following spectacle:

There were nearly 1,000 men in line. At the head of the procession were four torch bearers on foot, followed by the Chief Marshal, Mr. Grafton Jones, and his aids, Messrs. James Morris, Daniel Boone, and Charles Cox, all wearing sashes and plumed hats and mounted on steeds gaily bedecked with ribbons and gaudy pompons. Next came the Sons of Veterans drum corps of Latchford Camp, Woodberry Cornet Band in a wagon drawn by six horses, Can Makers' Protective Union in an open carriage, Golden Rule Drum Corps, Union Stove Makers, Burnside Post Drum Corps, Lord Woodberry and his aids mounted on mules and wearing grotesque masks and tall white paper hats, and various trades wagons brought up the rear. [*Maryland Journal* 1884c]

The scene of "Lord Woodberry" and his assistants riding mules and wearing grotesque masks when the leaders of the Knights were well appointed in their uniforms and mounted on their equally well-appointed steeds would have been a particularly piquant political statement, in effect a carnivalesque performance in which the established social order was turned on its head.

The ability of the Druid Assembly to organize such a grand spectacle; to draw the participation of unions and other organizations from outside of the community; and to do so on the streets of Hampden-Woodberry year after year provides perhaps the best example of the way in which local workers contested the dominant social, economic and political order that had been erected by the mill owners. They did so precisely by appropriating public space for their own purposes—the same public space that had originally been designed by the mill and factory owners to achieve a very different outcome. In the same way, the Druid Assembly's boycott of certain merchants was an instance of active resistance against the capitalists' attempt to control workers' subjectivity by deciding which merchants were acceptable for the community. Instead, the local Knights essentially declared that anti-union merchants like Albert Eichelberger were not fit to serve them as citizens of Hampden-Woodberry.

Thus, in the 1880s the Knights of Labor provided a useful vehicle for class-conscious workers in Hampden-Woodberry to continue the activist tradition of the 1870s. While the mill and factory owners had transformed the natural landscape into their vision of industrial paradise from the 1840s through the 1860s, local mill workers and factory operatives actively contested this vision and put forth their own ideas about community and citizenship in the 1870s and 1880s. They utilized an array of material tactics to

actively contest their domination and exploitation, including strikes, boycotts, public performances, trips to the state capital, and the simple occupation of public space. Just as local capitalists relied on ideologically charged spatialities to produce appropriately subjectified industrial citizen-subjects, each of the tactics employed by local workers was in some way fundamentally about control over space—both the physical space of Hampden-Woodberry and the ideological abstractions of that space created by residents as they contested the definition and boundaries of "community."

Thirty years later this tradition of working-class activism would return in force to Hampden-Woodberry, albeit in altered form. Between 1880 and 1920 American capitalism underwent a radical political economic transformation, one that saw laissez-faire industrial capitalism give way to a system of less open competition and more state regulation. Despite the capitalist class's traditional lament against government intervention, however, the new political economy that emerged—corporate or monopoly capitalism—actually served to stabilize and strengthen capitalism overall and to consolidate wealth and power in ever fewer hands (Heffren 1982:158-161; see also Baran and Sweezy 1966 and Braverman 1974). At the local level this transformation took a variety of concrete material forms in different places. The next section explores the fundamental role that changes in spatiality played in bringing about this new political economy in Hampden-Woodberry.



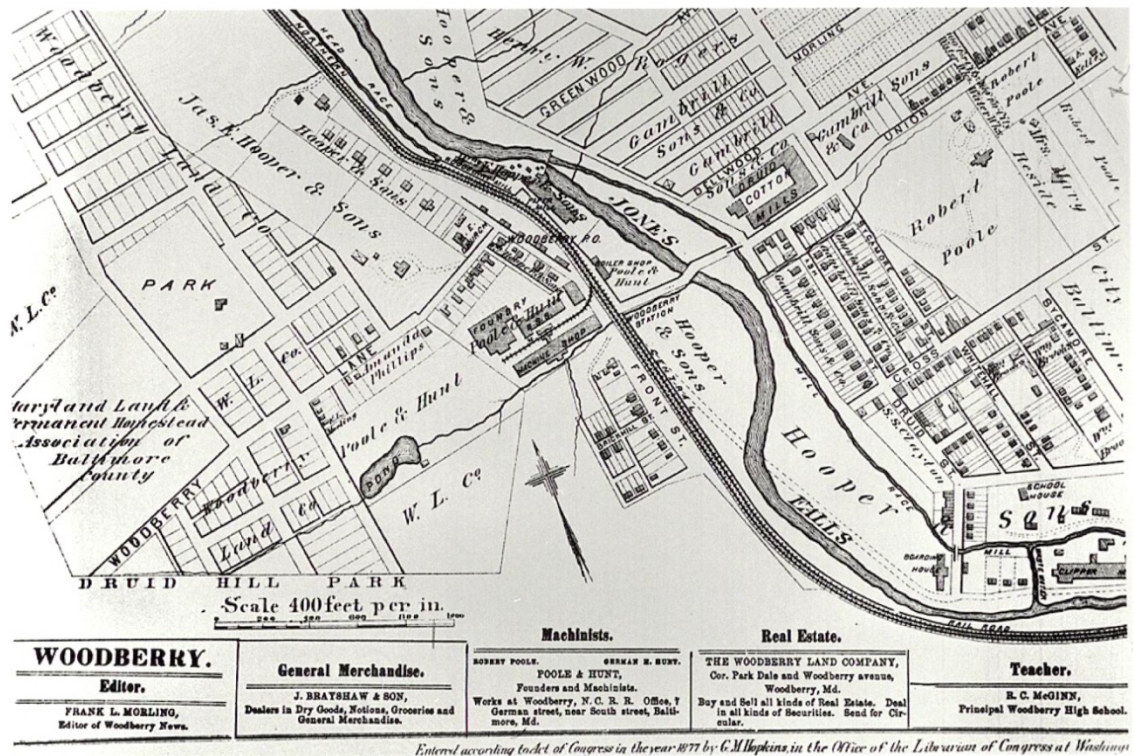
From Rural Suburb to Urban Neighborhood: The Evolution of Landscape and Political Economy in Hampden-Woodberry, c. 1870-1930

By the 1870s the rural character of Hampden-Woodberry had begun to disappear as its vast open spaces were increasingly being filled in with new blocks of rowhousing for the expanding textile workforce. Mt. Vernon Mill No. 1 had been destroyed by fire in 1873, only to be replaced by a new, much larger facility named Mt. Vernon Mill No. 1 and No. 2 (the old Mt. Vernon Mill No. 2 was renamed No. 3.); in 1881 a further addition was built onto Mill No. 2. In 1877 William Hooper added to his group of mills by constructing the Meadow Mill, adjacent to the railroad tracks just west of the river (Hare 1976:2). Naturally, a population boom quickly followed the expansion of the mills. For instance, in 1873 the Mt. Vernon Mills employed about 850 people (four-fifths of whom were women) living in 110 cottages; after finishing the expansion in 1881, the company expected to employ about 1,600 people in Hampden-Woodberry—far more than the company could hope to house on its own (*Baltimore County Union* 5 March 1881 quoted in Hare 1976:11). Unable to supply housing for their rapidly growing workforces, the mill owners established a Building and Loan Association and deferred to local contractors who built up the neighborhoods both east and west of the Falls Turnpike Road and west of Clipper Road (west of the river) with spatially economic (and privately owned) rowhousing over the following several decades. As early as 1876, the Woodberry Land Company owned most of the land in the area (Beirne 1982:13; Goold et al. 2003:7:3, 8:7; Hayward 2004:7:1, 8:1).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, homeownership in the community did not increase along with decreasing mill ownership of the land: As late as 1900, only 20 of the approximately 150 families living in Woodberry owned their own homes (Goold et al. 2003:8:12).

A number of the open spaces that were now disappearing had previously been part of the estates of wealthy local industrialists and landowners. The first development of non-mill-owned housing in Hampden-Woodberry was located on Dellwood, a 10-acre parcel west of the Falls Road and north of Union Avenue that was the former estate of the Rev. Luther J. Cox. Cox died in 1870, and by 1872 the Maryland Land & Building Association had laid out 70 lots along two streets, present-day Dellwood and Morling avenues. The houses on the former Dellwood estate were conveniently located for the employees of Druid Mill (a footpath led directly from the western end of Dellwood Avenue to the mill), Meadow Mill, and the Poole and Hunt machine works (Hayward 2004:7:11-7:12).



**Figure 3.7. Detail from the 1877 Atlas of Baltimore County by G. M. Hopkins. Note the extensive land holdings of the Woodberry Land Company west of the Jones Falls. (Courtesy of the Baltimore County Public Library)**

In 1881 the construction of the new Mt. Vernon Mill coincided with the partitioning of the northern part of the Henry Mankin estate around present-day Roland Avenue north of 36th Street (Mankin had been a prominent early developer). By the end of the 1890s the southern portion of the estate (south of 36th Street) had been filled in with rowhousing as well, connecting two earlier groups of housing centered on Hickory Avenue and the Falls Turnpike Road on the west and Chestnut Avenue and 33rd Street on the east (both built in the 1870s and 1880s and connected to the Mt. Vernon Mills). In the 1920s the former estate of David Carroll near the Mt. Vernon Mill complex (just south of the former Mankin estate) was also built up with Daylight-style rowhouses, completing the erasure of open space from the southeastern quadrant of Hampden (Hayward 2004:7:39-7:49, 7:54-7:55).

Robert Poole's estate, Maple Hill, was perhaps the most visually striking and certainly the most centrally located of the various estates in Hampden-Woodberry. Located between the Jones Falls and Falls Road, Maple Hill and its landscaped grounds were visible from Clipper village to the south, Druidville to the north and west, Brick Hill and West Woodberry across the river to the west, and Kellysville (later Hampden) atop the ridgeline along Falls Road to the east. Over twice as large as Druidville, Maple Hill stretched from Union Avenue on the north to West 36th Street on the south. The grounds were extensively landscaped and included large garden areas, contributing to the rural atmosphere of Hampden-Woodberry. The house itself was built in the Second Empire style and apparently influenced the design of some of the later housing built in Hampden (Hayward 2004:7:5). After Poole died in 1903, Maple Hill was demolished and in 1923 the Robert Poole School, a local landmark for much of the 20th century, was erected on

the grounds of the former estate. Other portions of Maple Hill were gradually developed for new housing in the 1910s and 1920s (Hare 1976:23; Hayward 2004:7:15-7:16). The Hooper mansion and grounds in Woodberry, near the Methodist Episcopal Church, were also donated for the purpose of building an annex to the Woodberry school, originally built by the Hoopers, when Robert Hooper moved away from the area in the late 19th century (Goold et al. 2003:8:6).

Despite the infilling of the former great estates, much of Hampden-Woodberry retained its rural character into the early 20th century. By the 1920s, however, the area had become thoroughly urban: virtually all of the available blocks had been filled in with housing, and the early 20th-century rowhouse lots were much smaller than those of the mid-19th century mill duplexes (so as to accommodate more units). By the end of the 1920s the last large open spaces in Hampden (between 37th and 40th streets and Elm Avenue and Wyman Park) other than Roosevelt Park and Evergreen were filled in with rowhouses and new commercial development (Hayward 2004:7:17; see also Baker 1948 and Porter 1976).

A more traditional, conservative interpretation of the processes by which open space in Hampden-Woodberry was gradually filled in would ascribe this development purely to the entrepreneurial ambitions and abilities of local land developers. When viewed within the context of the transition from industrial capitalism to monopoly capitalism, however, these changes to the landscape can be interpreted as functions of the new political economy that was developing at this time. Prior to the 1870s the mill and factory corporations owned the vast majority of land in Hampden-Woodberry; most of the construction that took place in the two villages was done under their auspices. Public

space was, in essence, not public at all. It was shaped and controlled by local industrial capitalists for the purpose of creating docile workers whose labor they could exploit to create surplus value that they could then turn into profit.

When their employees began to appropriate public space for their own purposes in the 1870s and 1880s, it was no longer worth the expense for the owners to continue their control over this space. Thus, over a long period of several decades they released progressively more control to other factions. In addition to all of the building activity directed by land speculators, two events were particularly important in this process. The first was the annexation of Hampden-Woodberry by Baltimore City in 1889. Previous campaigns to annex the northern belt of suburbs had failed in 1868 and 1874. In 1889, however, the mill owners threw their full weight behind the effort, arguing that annexation would bring municipal utilities and other services such as road repair (Harvey 1988:20-21). Naturally, it also meant that they would not be responsible for providing any of these services themselves.<sup>2</sup>

Opponents of annexation, including former Knights of Labor leader Dixon Tipton and other working-class activists, countered that the mill corporations would receive tax breaks from the city while workers would have to begin paying city taxes—in effect, subsidizing mill profits. In a popular vote on the matter in 1888, annexation was approved by a margin of 55 percent to 45 percent. When annexation was completed the next year, it proved to have more than just financial benefits for the mill owners—several

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<sup>2</sup> In 1885 German Hunt, Robert Poole's business partner, made an inquiry with the city as to the feasibility and cost of supplying Hampden-Woodberry with city water so as to avoid the public health hazards of contaminated well water, which was responsible for high rates of typhoid fever in the community. At least one newspaper editorial castigated Hampden-Woodberry residents for wanting the benefits of city government without the responsibilities, and the chief engineer of the Baltimore City Water Department made it clear that to supply Hampden-Woodberry with city water would be quite expensive and would tax the city's supply from the Jones Falls to a nearly unacceptable degree (*Baltimore Sun* 1885a, 1885b, 1885d).

of them became very active in city politics almost immediately. Alcaeus Hooper was elected mayor as a Republican in 1895, and E. Clay Timanus, also a Republican, served an abbreviated term a few years later (Harvey 1988:21-23). This mutually beneficial relationship between capital and the state was one of the signal characteristics of the emerging political economy of monopoly capitalism (Heffren 1982).

The second event that was important in the process of the gradual withdrawal from responsibility for the community by the mill owners was their decision to begin selling off company-owned worker housing in the 1920s (i.e., Goold and Bird 2001:8:5).



**Figure 3.8. Elm Avenue looking north from 28th Street, 1919. While the utility pole on the right indicates the presence of some municipal works, the nearly impassable condition of the street suggests that the mill owners' promise of improved infrastructure services should local voters approve annexation by the city in 1888 went largely unrealized for at least three decades. (Courtesy of the Baltimore County Public Library)**

Most often houses were offered to the employees who inhabited them, and many took the companies up on their offers. Indeed, when photographer Guy Hollyday bought a house in Stone Hill in the early 1980s, he discovered that many of his neighbors were the children or grandchildren of men and women who had worked in the Mt. Vernon Mills (Hollyday 1994).

It would be a mistake to conclude that the mill companies' relinquishment of control over public and private space in Hampden-Woodberry represented a victory for working-class activists in the struggle to control spatiality and, thus, community and citizenship. Besides the fact that the mill companies could improve their profit margin by passing off responsibility for the local infrastructure, housing stock, and community planning, this development had another important consequence. By divesting themselves of much of their physical presence in the community, the mill companies minimized the degree to which their productive capital had to be rooted in a concrete place. In other words, the mill companies enhanced their ability to exploit the spatial mobility of capital.

As early as 1899 seven different companies from different parts of the country (including the Woodberry Mills and the Mt. Vernon Mills) merged to become the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Cotton Duck Company, a virtual monopoly that controlled between 70 and 80 percent of the cotton duck market in the United States. The Woodberry Mills back out of the new conglomerate just a few years later and remained independent thereafter, but what was left of the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Cotton Duck Company was acquired by the Consolidated Cotton Duck Company in 1906. Yet another major corporate reorganization in 1915 resulted in the creation of the New York-based Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills (Bird and Plant 2000:8:6; Consolidated Cotton Duck Company

1906; Covington 1961:31; Goold and Bird 2001:8:5; Harvey 1988:23). This new spatiality created by the political economy of monopoly capitalism, in which productive capital in one place could be directed by corporate board members in an entirely different place, would have important consequences for the nature of working-class activism in Hampden-Woodberry during the period from 1915 to 1923 and, ultimately, for the social and economic future of the community.

Fighting for Industrial Democracy: The New Political Economy and Militant Labor Activism in Hampden-Woodberry, 1906-1923

In April 1923, employees of the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills Company went on strike to protest the implementation of a six-hour increase in the workweek for only a small increase in pay. Supported by the Baltimore Federation of Labor, the striking mill operatives demanded that the current 48-hour week be continued, but that they receive a 25 percent increase in pay. Despite the intervention of Baltimore's mayor and local businessmen and clergy, the company's owners refused to even meet with a delegation of the strikers, much less to bargain with them. By the end of the summer, worn down by dwindling funds and the refusal of management to negotiate, the strikers conceded defeat in Maryland's largest strike of 1923.

This event marked the end of a sustained outburst of militant labor activism by local mill operatives during the World War I period. Between 1915 and 1923 Hampden-Woodberry's workers joined unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and staged four major strikes, all of them successful but the last. Hampden-Woodberry workers were undoubtedly influenced by the national movement for



“industrial democracy” and the explosion of organized labor during the years just before, during and after U.S. entry into World War I, as workers began to insist that democracy should be established in America’s industrial workplaces before the government could fight a war to plant democracy in Europe.

The labor activism of 1915-1923 followed two decades of relatively little class-conscious worker activity in Hampden-Woodberry. Following the collapse of the Knights of Labor in the late 1880s, the only recorded labor action during the 1890s and 1900s was a single wildcat strike in 1906. In this particular instance, residents of the Mill Girl Hotel walked off the job to demand higher wages and better treatment from their employer, particularly more personal freedom (which was severely curtailed within the confines of the hotel). The young women won the strike and were granted their demands. It was also reported at the time that they began to form an organization, although this effort does not seem to have been successful (Bureau of Statistics and Information of Maryland 1907:76).

This strike was but a prelude to the sustained militancy of the World War I period in Hampden-Woodberry. For eight years local workers again utilized material and spatial strategies to put forth their claim to citizenship and to define their own vision for the future of their community. During the 1870s and 1880s the mill operatives and other workers had utilized a broad range of political and material strategies such as supporting favorable legislation, forming political parties, conducting boycotts of local businesses, and organizing spectacular public performances. During this later period, however, they focused their energies on stopping the production of the mills during particularly crucial periods of wartime production. In the remainder of this chapter I describe the 1915-1923

labor activism and its material and political dimensions, and I will conclude with a brief examination of the interplay between the distinctive spatiality of monopoly capitalism and the range of viable material strategies available to mill workers, a range that had been considerably restricted since the 1880s.

The question of what exactly industrial democracy is (or should be) was one that occupied the minds of many Americans (workers, capitalists, politicians and reformers alike) during the years before and after World War I. With the nation emerging as a global power through the Wilsonian project of making the world “safe for democracy,” labor leaders and progressives seized the opportunity to make sure that the abuses of a laissez-faire capitalist system were put on display for all to see. Historian Joseph McCartin has identified three main contexts in which industrial democracy was able to flourish during this period. First, bitter labor-management conflicts arising from the Taylor system of “scientific management” led employers to institute various practices supposedly for the welfare of their employees. Second, more women, African-Americans and immigrants than ever before entered the workforce. This development allowed radical and socialist ideologies to permeate the labor movement in ways that challenged the supremacy of the American Federation of Labor’s (AFL) “pure and simple” trade unionism. Finally, the federal government under Woodrow Wilson proved to be the most progressive government yet as it established the Department of Labor; passed several important labor laws, including the Clayton Act; and established wartime agencies responsible for overseeing and minimizing labor-management conflict (McCartin 1997:1-4).

The movement for industrial democracy was far from uniform across the nation, however. Workers, labor leaders, reformers, capitalists, bureaucrats and politicians all had different conceptions of what industrial democracy meant, and even within these groups there was considerable dissent. Frank Walsh, for instance, was one of the most polarizing figures in the fight for democracy at home even as he was appointed to lead the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations (USCIR). Walsh's flamboyant tactics and heartfelt belief in labor's cause frequently conflicted with other commission members' aims, such as John Commons's goal of achieving a "balance" favorable to both organized labor and capitalist interests. The Socialist Party of America, too, splintered into pro-war and anti-war factions over the role of the class struggle concept within the socialist and industrial democracy movements. Nevertheless, the overarching themes of the movement for industrial democracy were that workers deserved living wages, better working conditions, and more of a voice in issues of shop-floor governance than capital was willing to grant them; without these rights at home, reformers argued, the U.S. had no moral ground on which to stand for its fight against tyranny around the globe (Hendrickson 1970; McCartin 1997:3-4, 18-37). It is important to note that the central concerns of labor activists associated with the industrial democracy movement were rooted at the point of production, the shopfloor. This emphasis was decidedly different from late 19th-century working-class activism, which had placed equal importance on workers' rights within the broader community.

Perhaps the most visible product of the push for industrial democracy was the increase in militant labor activism during World War I. Despite Samuel Gompers's strident support of the war "preparedness" effort and his promise to Wilson that AFL

unions would not strike for the duration of the war, the years from 1917 to 1919 saw a dramatic increase in strike activity from previous years (McCartin 1997: chapter 5; Salvatore 1984:xxxvi-xxxvii). In Maryland, for instance, there were only 17 strikes in 1917, but 37 in 1918 and 22 in 1919 (Maryland State Board of Labor and Statistics [MSBLS] 1920:164).

Unfortunately, the fragmentation of various interests within the movement proved costly as the country headed into the Roaring Twenties. The end of the war brought with it a steep economic decline as many industries which had provided war-related goods and services to the federal government found their contracts running out with no replacements in sight. In addition, the federal government no longer had a vested financial interest in peaceful industrial relations and so let its wartime labor agencies fade away (McCartin 1997: chapter 7). Furthermore, the combination of the Russian Revolution and the strike wave of 1919—when one out of every five American workers went out on strike at some point during the year—produced the Red Scare of 1919-1921. Many middle- and upper-class Americans believed that foreign radicals were behind the strike wave and feared for the safety of the country. In response, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer summarily ordered the deportation of hundreds of foreign-born left-wing political activists and directed the so-called Palmer Raids—a series of physically destructive raids (conducted without warrants) of the offices of unions and Communist and Socialist organizations looking for evidence of subversive activities (Jones et al. 2008:482-483).

The combination of depression and Red Scare following the war emboldened employers who had had enough of labor militancy to strike back. For instance, in 1921 the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen called a national strike.

Companies simply opted to operate their factories at reduced levels, and through the winter of 1921-1922 many strikers in places like Sioux City, Iowa found themselves battling freezing temperatures and empty cupboards as businessmen simply refused to negotiate. Like many other strikes during the early 1920s, this one ended in utter defeat for the workers (Horowitz 1989:253). The movement for industrial democracy had resulted in important gains for labor during the war, but as a movement it was all but dead by the mid-1920s.

The movement for industrial democracy first appeared in Hampden-Woodberry in 1916, when five hundred men walked off the job at the Poole Engineering and Machine Company on October 12th. The strikers were expressing their dissatisfaction with the recently instituted bonus system (employees believed they were to be paid a seven percent bonus, but the company did not give them the full amount) and to demand a 15 percent increase in wages. The following day another 1,800 employees joined them. Almost all of the 3,000 employees of the foundry were members of Local 186 of the International Association of Machinists, which gave full backing to the strike. This action disrupted the company's government contracts to manufacture munitions, and after 11 days the owners agreed to a five percent wage increase and the abolition of the bonus system (Harvey 1988:33-34; MSBLS 1917:213-214).

The local textile operatives were active as well, joining the United Textile Workers of America (UTW), an AFL-affiliated union, in large numbers from 1915 to 1918. In many ways, the experience of Hampden-Woodberry mill operatives with the United Textile Workers over the next eight years resembled that of textile workers all across the eastern United States during the union's heyday from 1901-1930. Formed in

1901 as the successor of the International Union of Textile Workers, an AFL-affiliated union, the UTW included more conservative skilled craft workers as well as unskilled operatives who had previously belonged to more left-wing organizations like the Knights of Labor (Brooks 1935:50-51).

By March 1916 approximately 4,000 Hampden-Woodberry mill workers had been organized by Local No. 977 of the UTW, and shortly thereafter the union peacefully secured an across-the-board five percent wage increase and official recognition by the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills Company (*Labor Leader* 1916). Labor-management relations were apparently calm for a year after these developments, until 1,600 of the company's 2,200 employees walked out on July 26th, 1917, demanding a 25 percent wage increase. Despite the fact that the striking workers did not have the support of the national union, the company was willing to negotiate. It offered a ten percent bonus retroactive to July 1 and to remain in effect for the duration of the war. After some haggling over the percentage of the increase, within the first few days of August most of the workers "returned to their machines at the company's figures" (MSBLS 1918:161-162).

Mt. Vernon-Woodberry employees again found themselves dissatisfied in early 1918, but this time they had more grievances than just low wages. In addition to a ten percent increase in pay, the operatives demanded a closed shop, a 55-hour workweek, more sanitary conditions, and proper facilities for female workers in the mills. They struck on March 1 despite a reminder from the military to local union leaders that the action would be a violation of the union's agreement not to disrupt the important work of fulfilling large government contracts during the war. Of 2,000 company employees, 1,700 walked out. Again the company proved willing to negotiate, finally granting an

effective wage increase of 12.5 percent. The only strike demand that was not met was the closed shop. Thus one of the most important strikes of the year in Maryland ended on March 17th, only two and a half weeks after it had begun. In a statement released to the press, however, the union local stated that its members had returned to work only in consideration of the military's requests and that the union would continue to agitate for a closed shop (Harvey 1988:34-35; MSBLS 1919:156, 160-161).

Hampden-Woodberry's wage earners also took advantage of the new governmental labor relations apparatus, although with no apparent success. Members of IAM Lodge #12 at the Poole foundry submitted a complaint to the War Labor Board (WLB) in the spring of 1918, demanding higher wages and more sanitary conditions at the plant in Woodberry. The Department of Labor sent two conciliators to examine the situation in May, and while they apparently found little basis for the complaint, they referred it to the WLB anyway. In October an investigator from the WLB, one H. O. Stetson, visited Woodberry and met with the manager of the factory and the president of the company, but no workers. Upon inspection, Stetson claimed to find "[nothing] but the best sanitary conditions," describing the factory as "unusually orderly and clean." While he noted the use of disinfectants as a precaution during the influenza epidemic, he apparently did not consider the possibility that the plant had not been so sanitary when the complaint was originally made six months earlier. And as for the demand for higher wages, Stetson concluded, on the word of the plant manager and the fact that the machinists and engineers were buying Fourth Liberty Bonds at a good rate, that the wages were satisfactory. The case was subsequently dismissed (National War Labor Board 1918a, 1918b).

Things changed after the 1918 strike, although the exact course of events is unclear. There were no strikes in any of Hampden-Woodberry's factories in 1919, despite the explosion of strike activity nationwide that year. Like many UTWA locals across New England, the Mid-Atlantic states and the South (Brooks 1935:52-54), Local #977 slowly withered and disappeared between 1920 and 1921 (MSBLS 1917:224, 1918:179, 1919:218, 1920:239, 1921:262, 1922:189-196). At the same time the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Company had instituted an "Employees' Committee" (essentially a company union), members of which came from both management and shopfloor workers, for the purpose of investigating grievances (Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills, Inc. 1923). Company unions were a common feature of so-called "welfare capitalism" programs adopted by many large companies during the 1920s for the purpose of discouraging union organizing and strikes by raising workers' standard of living. Despite the pretense of giving workers a voice in factory management, company unions were usually dominated by management and anti-union employees and provided workers with little more than basic grievance procedures that were rarely effective (see Fairris 1995; Kaufman 2000a, 2000b; Nelson 1982, 1993).

The combative spirit of industrial democracy returned briefly during the 1923 strike at the Mt. Vernon Mills described above. This strike was kicked off on April 19th when several hundred employees met at the Roosevelt Recreation Center in Hampden. One female operative defiantly declared, "I'm going to work on Monday, and I'm going to work until a quarter after 4, and not one minute after that" (*Baltimore Sun* 1923d). A new local of the United Textile Workers was formed on the spot; ironically, William Eckert, formerly the president of the Mt. Vernon Mills' Mutual Beneficial Association



(part of the corporation's welfare capitalism efforts, which provided insurance to sick workers) and a member of the Employes' Committee at the mills, was elected president of United Textile Workers Local #1538 (*Baltimore Sun* 1923d; *Mt. Vernon-Woodberry News* 1923; Otey 1924:13).

On the evening of April 21 600 workers voted unanimously to go on strike. Already at this point, mill management refused to comment on the situation even to the local newspaper (*Baltimore Sun* 1923g:8). Just over a week later, many other Baltimore union locals (including clothing trimmers, carpenters, lithographers and electricians) had pledged their support, both moral and financial if necessary. According to the strike leaders, 90 percent of the employees of the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills had joined them and all but two of the company's six local mills had been forced to shut down (*Baltimore Sun* 1923f:2). A couple of weeks later the strike was still going strong, with workers adopting "Eight Hours" as a salutation in place of "good morning" and "good evening." On May 9th Harry Eichelberger of the AFL, Edward Callahan of the Textile Workers International Union and Henry Broening of the BFL addressed the strikers in Roosevelt Recreation Center, "compliment[ing] the strikers on the methods which have been employed in conducting the strike, urging unity and assuring them of success" (*Baltimore Sun* 1923e:30).

However, things quickly turned sour. In late May Broening asked newly elected Baltimore mayor Howard Jackson to act as a mediator between the strikers and the mill management. Jackson gladly accepted the invitation, but when the day of the conference came around representatives from the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills did not even bother to show up (*Baltimore Sun* 1923a, 1923b, 1923c; Commissioner of Labor and Statistics

of Maryland 1924:124). After the failed meeting, the strikers struggled on throughout the summer but with considerably less enthusiasm (or press coverage). By the end of the summer, the strike leaders had been evicted from their company-owned housing. Worn down by four months of no paychecks, the refusal of management to negotiate, and their apparent abandonment by the BFL (whose meeting minutes from 1923 barely mention the strike [BFL 1923]), the strikers conceded defeat in what the report of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics called Maryland's largest strike of 1923.<sup>3</sup> Despite the length of the strike, however, it represented but a fraction of the wage-earning population in Hampden-Woodberry; indeed, according to the Commissioner's report, only 434 workers (out of a reported 1,800 at Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills, and several thousand in the community as a whole; and only about half the number that the *Sun* had reported) were involved in the action (Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland 1924:124, 126). Within 18 months of the end of the strike, the company began to sell its mill properties in Hampden and move its operations to its other plants in Tallassee, Alabama and Greenville, South Carolina (Otey 1924:12, 14-15; Harvey 1988:35-37).

### Conclusion: Expressing Class Consciousness and Claiming Citizenship in Hampden-Woodberry, 1874-1923

What was the source of Hampden-Woodberry workers' newfound willingness to challenge the status quo from 1916 to 1923, after two and a half decades of nearly uninterrupted labor-management harmony? What relationship did this brief burst of activism have to the earlier period of the 1870s and 1880s? In order to understand the

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<sup>3</sup> The exact date of the end of the strike is unclear. Elizabeth Otey (1924:13) reported a date of August 1, while the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics (1924:124-126) reported both August 1 and September 1 within the same account of the strike. The *Sun* did not report on the strike after June 2.

specific nature of class consciousness in Hampden-Woodberry, we must place any attempt to come to such an understanding within the context of both Hampden-Woodberry's long era of industrial prominence from the 1870s to the 1920s and the complex changes in the structure of American capitalism during this same period.

Certainly, one can trace the continuity of the fundamental ethic of citizenship in Hampden-Woodberry from the earlier period to the later. In the 1870s and 1880s local wage earners participated in rallies, demonstrations and petition drives in support of protective labor legislation, an indication of the value they placed upon their role as participants in a democratic society. This emphasis on citizenship was consistent with the goals of workers throughout Baltimore and the national labor movement as well during the second half of the 19th century (Montgomery 1993; Du Bois 1995). Strikes were used sparingly, and only after other options had been exhausted; strategic alliances with middle-class reformers were common. Radical though their vision may have seemed, 19th-century workers viewed their lives and struggles through the lens of citizenship. According to David Montgomery,

Out of the profound social revolution that destroyed slavery, reshaped the federal Union, and secured the grip of an industrializing elite on the machinery of national government, workers in many occupations had perceived a need to create new organizations and to cultivate a mutualistic code of ethics in defense of their own interests. They believed that in a society in which most people earned their livelihoods by creating wealth for others, citizenship and collective self-organization were inseparable. [Montgomery 1987:28]

The patriotic fervor of World War I (indicated by local workers' avid purchase of liberty bonds) went hand in hand with the ideology of industrial democracy: that as citizens, wage earners were equal to capitalists in the eyes of the law, and therefore deserving of equal respect and treatment as citizens.

But how can we explain the striking difference between the strategies and tactics used during the two different periods? In the late 19th century, Hampden-Woodberry's workers (as well as workers across the country) put their faith in the power of legislative action, community organization, and economic alternatives such as boycotts and cooperative associations. By World War I, on the other hand, they had largely abandoned these approaches in favor of workplace-based organizing and militant strike actions. David Montgomery (1980) has argued that this discontinuity between the two periods can be explained by the interaction of three factors: the emergence of monopoly capitalism out of industrial capitalism, the changing makeup of the working class, and the reform efforts of middle-class Progressives. According to Montgomery, the deflationary phase of capitalist development that followed the Civil War encouraged the development of a "moral universality" among workers that "directly challenged both the ethic of acquisitive individualism and 'monopoly corruption' of the republic" (Montgomery 1980:215). By the early 20th century, however, capitalists were fighting back against organized labor with their own form of collectivism in monopoly capitalism while the working class was being split into innumerable factions along lines of skill (skilled craft workers were being lifted up by Progressive reforms, while unskilled workers were not), gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and religion. The moral universality of the earlier period was gone, even if militant class consciousness was not.

Montgomery's explanation only partially accounts for the experiences of workers in Hampden-Woodberry. Certainly they faced the backlash of capitalist collectivism in the form of monopoly capitalism; as early as 1884 local mill owners tried to restrict output so as to drive up prices, and as already discussed several consolidations and

mergers occurred between 1899 and 1915. At the same time, however, the demographic profile of Hampden-Woodberry workers remained largely the same throughout the period from 1840 to 1925; thus, the splintering of the working-class would not seem to have played a large role in the strategic and tactical shift by Hampden-Woodberry's workers.

In order to fully explain the transformation of working-class activism between the 1880s and the 1910s, we must return to the evolving political economy of capitalism and workers' material strategies. In participating in the movement for industrial democracy during the years surrounding World War I, Hampden-Woodberry's workers engaged in a significantly narrowed range of spatial tactics from those their forebears had employed 30 to 40 years earlier. Rather than utilizing public spectacle, the inhabitation of public space, and mobility as key tactics, from 1915 to 1923 workers focused on their ability to shut down production at the mills—to exploit the weakness of capital, that it must be rooted in concrete places in order to create surplus value that can be turned into profit. At the same time, this narrowed range of tactics also meant that local workers were fighting for a narrowed range of rights within the community, those having to do directly with their shopfloor experiences rather than with their subjectivities as citizens. In essence, the locus of citizenship had shifted from the community to the workplace. This course of action was not so much a choice by the workers, however, as it was forced upon them by the new political economy of monopoly capitalism. This was a political economy in which the relative unrootedness of capital in specific places (accomplished by the distribution of community resources and responsibilities to other parties) meant that broad-based community activism made much less sense than militancy directed at the one point where capital maintained its physical presence—the shopfloor.

Increasing urbanization was also a significant effect of the new political economy. Following its incorporation into Baltimore City in 1889, Hampden-Woodberry became urbanized at a rapid pace. At the same time, Baltimore was becoming an important financial center (Gadsby and Chidester 2008). Geographer David Harvey has observed that the process of urbanization results in "relatively permanent, man-made resource systems" (Harvey 1974:4). In attempting to realize the most profit from a dwindling supply of available resources (made more scarce in Hampden-Woodberry by the influx of new workers in the first decade of the 20th century [Harvey 1988:2-3]), the focus of capitalism in the United States and Western Europe shifted from industrial production to investment in real estate. The totality of production (including modes of consumption and social wants and needs) replaced immediate production as "the division between producers and appropriators of surplus value." This "hegemonic power of finance capital over the totality of production, circulation and realization of value in society, produces [a] dichotomy between work-based and community-based conflict" in urban communities (Harvey 1974:43)—thus, again, the change in emphasis from community to shopfloor by working-class activists in Hampden-Woodberry.

Due to the new political economy of monopoly capitalism, after 1890 a common cross-class interest in creating and implementing a new vision of community that dominated Hampden-Woodberry during the 1870s and 1880s became harder to sustain. Whereas during the heady days of the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 and the Great Upheaval of the mid-1880s working-class activists had forged alliances with middle-class reformers, after 1890 these two groups drifted apart, each adopting their own new programs for realizing their goals. For workers this meant militant union organizing and

strikes from 1915 to 1923, while for the local middle class it meant something quite different. After the failed strike of 1923, workers abandoned militant activism as the mills slowly disinvested in the community. At the same time, local business owners, religious leaders and other members of the middle class moved to fill in the vacuum in the public sphere created by deindustrialization. This effort is the subject of chapter five. But first, I examine the material basis for the cross-class alliances of the late 19th century in chapter 4.

### *September 1923*

*Viola Nelson looked around at the neighboring houses on Darby Street in Brick Hill as new people moved in to several of them. Three of Viola's neighbors had been actively involved in the failed strike, and all of them (along with their families) had been evicted from their company-owned homes. One of her neighbors who had worked in the mills since the age of nine had moved into a nearby apartment where the rent was double, and had taken a night shift job at another one of the mills. Viola was aware that non-company houses could rent for as much as thirty dollars a month, when she was only paying ten dollars to the Mt. Vernon company for her six-room house.*

*Viola was glad that she hadn't been evicted, but she also felt a sense of foreboding about the future of her neighborhood. She had known before that Mt. Vernon owned mills in the South, and there had always been whispers that the company was planning to shut down its Baltimore mills because the workers earned too much compared to the Alabama employees. Viola had not paid those rumors much attention before, but now*

*she wondered if there might be some truth to them. It seemed that a new day was dawning in Hampden-Woodberry, but it was not a bright one for the mill workers.<sup>4</sup>*

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<sup>4</sup> This vignette is based on Otey 1924:14.



## Chapter 4

### The Ambiguous and Fluid Nature of Class and Identity in Hampden-Woodberry, 1840-1930

1860

*Martin Kelly's family gathered around the table in their small two-story home on the Falls Turnpike Road just north of Hampden village. Although Martin had made something of a success of himself as a construction contractor in this section of Baltimore County, building many of the houses that the local textile mills rented to their employees, he still felt that his economic situation was precarious and that his luck could change at any time. As he ate his meal, he pondered the different plates and dishes that his wife had painstakingly collected to assemble something approximating matched sets of dishes. In fact, the tableware his family used was not much different from that owned by many of the mill operatives. Perhaps that was why Martin felt such an affinity for them. He tried to impart to his boys, Edward and Dennis, an understanding of the basic equality of all men regardless of wealth. He hoped that his lessons would stick.*

As the early mill villages in the Jones Falls Valley grew larger and eventually coalesced into Hampden-Woodberry during the 19th century, the steadily increasing population required a number of services that the mill owners could not provide directly

to their workers. As early as the 1850s land developers, building contractors and merchants who often worked for or in conjunction with the mills were becoming prominent citizens of the new community. It was not uncommon for early developers and contractors in Hampden-Woodberry to take on multiple roles. Sweet Air resident William Brooks was both a butcher and a building contractor. Maryland Land and Building Association president Frank Morling (responsible for developing Dellwood, across the Falls Road to the west of Kellyville) was also the owner of the Woodberry Land Company, published the *Woodberry News* (primarily a booster publication) and was active in the Reform Party during the 1870s and 1880s (Goold et al. 2003:8:7-8:8; Hayward 2004:7:9, 7:11-12). The Benson brothers (Charles, George and John) started out as grain and feed merchants, but later expanded into hardware as well (Hayward 2004:7:29). In addition to grocers and dry goods merchants, by 1880 Woodberry alone boasted multiple shoemakers, cigar makers, and hucksters, a physician, a barber, a papermaker, and a baker (Goold et al. 2003:8:8).

Early merchants and building contractors in the area clustered around the Falls Turnpike Road in the neighborhood then known as Kellysville, named after Irish immigrant developer and contractor Martin Kelly. In fact, the Kelly family was responsible for much of the early physical development of Hampden. Stonemasons Isaac Crowther, Jr. and Richard Armacost also lived in Kellysville; an alley behind Falls Road still bears Crowther's name. By the 1870s the area of Hampden between Falls Road and Roland Avenue north of what is now 37th Street had been largely built up, and a large market house was located just north of Kellysville on Falls Road (Hayward 2004:7:4).

These individuals and others in the community were located structurally within the local economy in what would objectively be considered middle-class positions. They owned their own labor which they freely contracted to sell (meaning that they did not work for wages) and they often owned some amount of land as well as other forms of capital. Most were not, however, capitalists in the sense that the mill owners were—they did not own enough land or capital to purchase either the labor of others or any significant means of production (see Ortner 1998:2-3). Their attitudes toward and actions concerning industrial capitalism and the class system were not always consistent, either with their objective class position or within the group. Some supported the mill owners (for instance, Albert Eichelberger, whose dispute with the Knights of Labor was discussed in chapter 3) while others avidly participated in the political and social reform movements of the 1870s and 1880s. Reuben Gladfelter, Frank Morling, Dennis and Edward Kelly and Isaac Crowther, among others, were all mentioned in various newspaper articles reporting on the ten-hour movement, the Baltimore County Workingmen's Party, and the Knights of Labor (i.e. *Baltimore Sun* 1874c, 1877b, 1877i, 1877k, 1877n; *Maryland Journal* 1884b).

Why would objectively middle-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry, entrepreneurs who presumably had aspirations of upward mobility, align themselves politically with mill operatives rather than the capitalist class? Many archaeological studies of the relationship between socioeconomic status and class identity in the 18th and 19th centuries have concluded that working-class and lower-middle-class people attempted to use material culture to mimic upper-middle-class tastes and values (Walker 2008:116). Moreover, historians and archaeologists alike have generally accepted the

model of a progressive shift from an artisanal production system to an industrial production system between 1810 and 1860. According to this model, journeymen craftsmen, artisans and petty merchants either fell into the industrial working class or, less often, secured their positions in the upwardly-mobile middle class during this period (i.e., Laurie 1989; Shackel 1996; Wilentz 1984).

Historians of the Knights of Labor and other similar organizations in the late 19th century, on the other hand, have emphasized the fact that these were inclusive organizations whose memberships crossed lines of class, gender and sometimes even race. Often these organizations would frame the political-economic struggle in terms of producers versus capital-investing non-producers (although the precise boundaries of these categories were hotly debated), rather than one socio-economic class against another (Leikin 2005:32-39). In terms of the political economy of industrializing America, archaeologist Paul Mullins (1996:158-159) has noted that craftspeople in rural regions found themselves in a seemingly paradoxical situation: while the exchange networks in which they participated provided them with a stable means of subsistence, these same networks hindered their socioeconomic mobility by ensuring their dependence on landed farmers and others with ready access to capital.

The anecdotal newspaper evidence suggests that Hampden-Woodberry's lower middle class identified with mill operatives as fellow producers, rather than with mill owners as fellow capitalists (or even with mill managers as fellow middle-class citizens). The archival record, however, provides only a very partial glimpse of this aspect of life in 19th-century Hampden-Woodberry. While we know that men like Reuben Gladfelter, Frank Morling and the Kellys acted in solidarity with workers during times of economic

and political crisis during the 1870s and 1880s, how did these extraordinary actions compare to their everyday behavior as residents, producers and consumers in a suburban industrial village? Were these men's actions prompted by adherence to an abstract political philosophy only, or did their day-to-day experiences as in-between economic actors during the period when capitalism was undergoing wrenching changes condition their class consciousness?

The archaeological record of 19th-century Hampden-Woodberry, the material remains of everyday life, can provide another partial answer to these questions to complement the historical record. From 2005 to 2007 archaeologists and local residents excavated five sites in Hampden as part of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project. Four of these sites will be used for the analysis presented in this chapter: the Mackey Site (18BC164), comprising four city lots located in the 3800 block of Falls Road; the Wagner Site (18BC165), a single city lot in the 3300 block of Falls Road; the Carder Site (18BC167), consisting of two lots in Stone Hill; and the Thistle Site (18BC168), a single lot also in Stone Hill.<sup>1</sup> Together, these sites were inhabited by a range of 19th- and early-20th-century residents, including unskilled mill operatives, mill managers and foremen, skilled railroad employees, building contractors and developers, and merchants. Through a comparison of archaeological assemblages associated with each of these groups, I demonstrate that the everyday lived experiences of objectively

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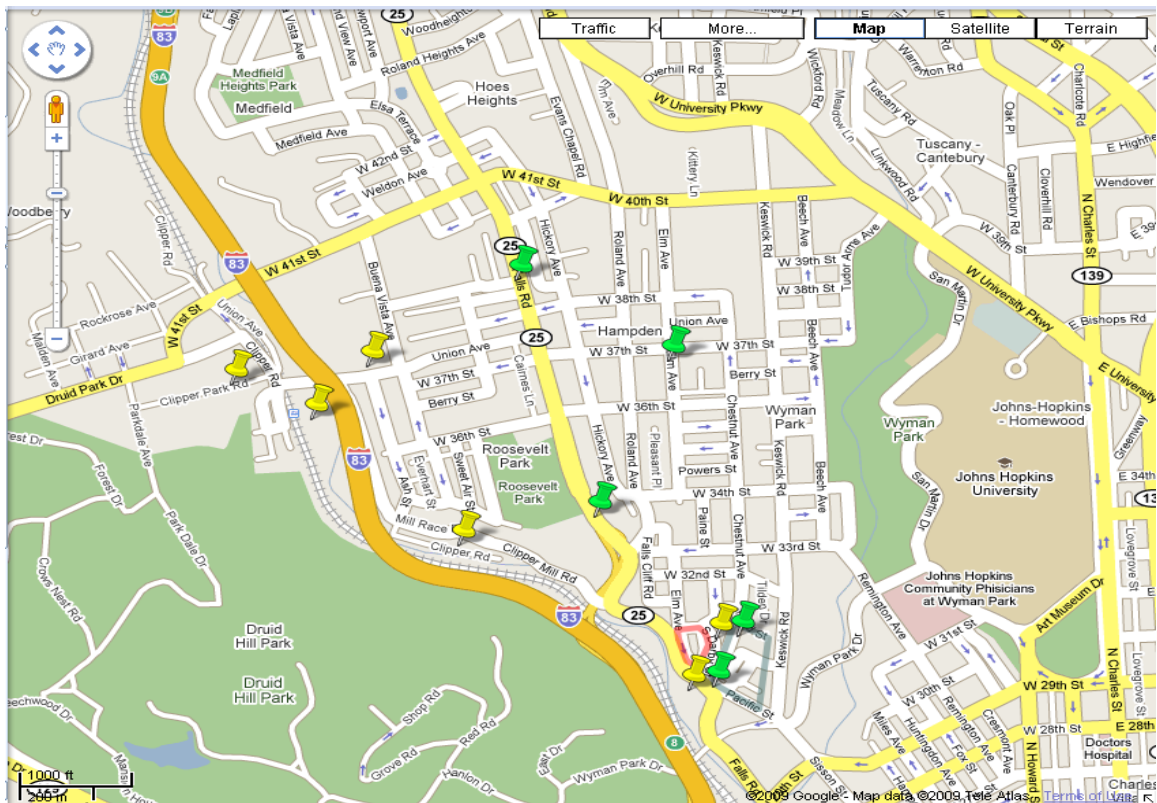
<sup>1</sup> The fifth site, the Millington Site (18BC166), is a single lot associated with one half of a duplex in the 3600 block of Elm Avenue. The duplex appears to have been built no earlier than the mid-1890s, along with much of the rest of this part of Hampden. Since the archaeological deposits from this site date no earlier than early 20th century, it has been excluded from the present analysis.

The site numbers listed here have been officially assigned by the Maryland Historical Trust, the state preservation office, according to a simple trinomial system used in all 50 states: the first part (18) refers to the state of Maryland (which is the 18th state alphabetically); the second part (BC) refers to the county in which the site is located (in this case, Baltimore City); and the third part is the site number itself, representing the fact that these five sites were the 164th through the 168th archaeological sites to be officially registered in Baltimore City.

lower-middle-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry were more similar to those of working-class mill operatives than to those of middle-class mill managers during the wrenching political-economic evolution of capitalism during the second half of the 19th century.

### Archaeologies of Class and Capitalism

Since the late 1980s one of the predominant research themes within the field of historical archaeology has been the rise, spread and evolution of capitalism as a global economic system (for just a sampling see, i.e., Burke 1999; Crowell 1997; Cuddy 2009; Delle 1998; Delle et al. 2000; Gibb 1996; Gordon and Malone 1994; Groover 2003;



**Figure 4.1. Map of Hampden-Woodberry showing the approximate locations of archaeological sites discussed in the text. Green pins represent the sites; yellow pins represent mills. (Courtesy of Google Maps)**

Hardesty 1988; Johnson 1996; Leone 1995, 2005; Leone and Potter 1988, 1999; Levin 1985; Matthews et al. 2002; McGuire and Reckner 2002; Metheny 2007; Mrozowski 1999, 2006; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Orser 1996; Paynter 2000; Shackel 1993, 1996; Zarankin and Senatore 2005). A similarly significant corpus of work has been produced on the subjects of class and labor, both in the United States and around the world (see Chidester 2004a:8-11 and Gadsby and Chidester in press for discussions of this literature). Few of these studies, however, have specifically looked at the ways in which class and capitalism intersect to produce both an ever-evolving political economy and different forms of class consciousness.

Within the literature of historical archaeology three broad (and sometimes overlapping) approaches to class consciousness have developed. The first approach, typified by the work of Mary Beaudry, Stephen Mrozowski and their colleagues on the textile city of Lowell, Massachusetts and Paul Shackel's research on the armory workers of Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, emphasizes workers' agency in choosing when to accommodate and when to resist the changes wrought by industrialization and the advent of managerial capitalism in the 19th century. In a seminal essay published in 1991, Beaudry et al. provided a trenchant critique of the scholarship of the Annapolis school to that point. Led by Mark Leone, members of the Annapolis school employed critical theory to examine the workings of power and ideology in the political economy of merchant capitalism in 18th- and 19th-century Annapolis, Maryland (Leone 1984, 1987, 1988; Leone et al. 1987; Leone and Shackel 1987; Potter 1994; Shackel 1993). Beaudry and her colleagues argued that the Annapolis school privileged ideology and structure at the expense of understanding how people receive and resist dominant ideologies. They

proposed to replace Leone's use of the Althusserian concept of ideology with the Gramscian notion of hegemony. Unlike ideology, which always already shapes consciousness, hegemony is never complete and is always being contested and created anew. Beaudry et al. further argued that careful contextual and symbolic analysis of archaeological assemblages could reveal the ways in which material culture was actively used by people in the past to define social boundaries and to develop individual and social identities. They applied this perspective to materials excavated in Lowell to demonstrate how textile operatives fashioned their own working-class subjectivity in opposition to the dominant capitalist ideology of the mill companies.

Paul Shackel's (1996) monograph on Harpers Ferry provided one of the best book-length applications of this approach to class consciousness. According to Shackel, the history of the federal armory in Harpers Ferry during the 19th century is a history of the evolution from an artisanal system of production to a factory system, with the attendant proletarianization of gunsmiths. But the armory workers did not sit idly by and endure their exploitation. While they never formed a union, they expressed their class consciousness through various practices of everyday life that subverted the agenda of the armory's management. One of the most important of these practices was consumption. The transition to industrial discipline during the second quarter of the 19th century coincided with the rise of mass consumer culture. Products that previously had been produced at home by women were now available for purchase, and the role of women within the bourgeois family shifted from home production to home management, including the inculcation of time discipline in young children. But according to Shackel, not all of the armory employees bought into the Romantic ideal of consumerism. The



possession of ceramic tableware in styles that had been fashionable one or two generations before the context of their actual use suggested a rejection of the ideology of mass production and mass consumption, which workers would have understood was responsible for their deskilling. Similarly, faunal remains indicated that working-class households continued to raise their own livestock for consumption well after the expansion of Harpers Ferry's marketplace to include such products. Shackel concluded that workers' practices of consumption materialized their discontent with the emerging system of factory discipline and mass production and shaped an emerging working-class consciousness (Shackel 1996:132-143).

The second approach to class consciousness practiced by historical archaeologists draws explicitly on Marxist theories of political economy and class struggle. The work of the Ludlow Collective on the Colorado Coalfield War Archaeology Project is the most well-known example of the Marxist approach in historical archaeology (i.e., Duke and Saitta 1998; Ludlow Collective 2001; McGuire and Reckner 2002; Saitta 2007; Wood 2002). Led by Randall McGuire and Dean Saitta, this group of scholars has emphasized the relationality of class structures within the multi-scalar context of local communities and global historical-economic processes. Class is relational in that classes are defined both by their relationship to the means of production as well as to each other in a given political economy. Different class groups necessarily have conflicting interests which are the subject of struggle in a field of unequal power relations. Furthermore, these local class structures and struggles are variable across time and space depending on a given community's place within the larger political economy of capitalism (McGuire and Reckner 2002).

In the case of the Colorado coalfields, the American West was a periphery within the global capitalist system during the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. On the East Coast, which was part of the global economic core, ethnic and cultural divisions were manifested in material differences in people's day-to-day lives that prevented workers from developing a common class consciousness. In the West, on the other hand, ethnic and cultural differences were superseded by similarities in miners' everyday lives and their material circumstances. This enabled miners and their families to develop a common class consciousness in opposition to mine owners (McGuire and Reckner 2002). (For similar approaches to class and political economy in different contexts, see Matthews et al. 2002 and Nassaney and Abel 1993, 2000.)

The third approach to class in historical archaeology does not come from one or two important, long-term projects or schools of thought, but rather has developed recently as a number of scholars have recognized the need for a more nuanced understanding of the archaeological record of the recent past. In a study of skilled trade unionists in early 20th-century Oakland, California, Mark Walker (2008) has proposed that class is not merely the position of individuals and groups within the relations of production, but is also shaped by the experiences and understandings of these relations, as well as the actions taken on the basis of those understandings. Thus, "the way class processes work themselves out in the actual world, through kinship networks, community, ethnicity, race, and gender relations ... is not the result of the accidental intersection of multiple free-floating identities but is an organic relationship" (Walker 2008:117). This perspective allowed Walker to understand the archaeological dimensions of the social division between skilled, white American-born workers and unskilled immigrant laborers in

Oakland without privileging the experience of one group over the other, as could happen with either of the first two approaches to class discussed above.

In his recent comparative study of class and identity in the urban Northeast, Stephen Mrozowski (2006) augmented this understanding of class by stressing the fluidity of class identity and class consciousness. Mrozowski based his approach in part on Sherry Ortner's (1998) insight that class, like race, ethnicity and gender, is not simply an objective social phenomenon but is, rather, culturally constructed through discourse and practice. He went on to present evidence from Newport, Rhode Island and Lowell indicating that the ways in which working-class and lower-middle-class individuals tried to present their class identity publicly in the 18th and 19th centuries was not directly correlated with their objective class position within the relations of production.

These three approaches to class consciousness and identity in historical archaeology are not mutually exclusive, and I incorporate certain aspects of each in the analysis of class consciousness in Hampden-Woodberry presented in this chapter: agency and resistance within the structure of capitalist relations of production; the relationality of class and the intersection between local and global processes; and the complicated and fluid nature of local class structures and class-based identities. The general proposition that I test here is that prior to the 1890s working-class and lower-middle-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry drew on the similar material realities of their everyday lives to construct an inclusive class consciousness despite barriers of class and, sometimes, ethnicity. Beginning as early as the 1880s, however, this alliance began to fray as some lower-middle-class residents abandoned class-based reform efforts in favor of climbing the social ladder.

### The Sites: Historical Background

The Carder Site, located on Field Street in Stone Hill, represents one of the earliest examples of company-built housing for mill workers in Hampden-Woodberry. The nearly 30 stone duplexes in Stone Hill were constructed in the 1840s for employees of the Whitehall Cotton Factory (later the Mt. Vernon Mills). The Carder site consists of one half of a stone duplex along with an adjacent empty lot. Today the empty lot is included with the stone duplex in land transactions. Both lots, like the rest of Stone Hill, were owned by the Mt. Vernon Mills Company (in its various incarnations) from the 1840s until the 1920s (Baltimore City Superior Court [BCSC] 2002). It is unknown whether the two lots were utilized together during the 19th century in the same manner that they are now, but it seems unlikely. More probably, the company kept the empty lot as a buffer between the duplex at the eastern end of Field Street and the Mt. Vernon Mill buildings located just across Chestnut Avenue. Nevertheless, archaeological deposits dating from the 19th century suggest that the residents of the Carder Site, possibly along with other Stone Hill residents, used the lot for trash disposal. Unfortunately, no company records have yet been located that identify the tenants of properties in Stone Hill. Since the company began selling off the Stone Hill duplexes in the 1920s, the property has been inhabited by a series of owners.

The Thistle Site, located on Pacific Street in Stone Hill, is by far the largest house in the development and appears to predate the 1840s stone duplexes that make up the rest of Stone Hill. Beginning in the 1840s and continuing most likely until the 1920s, the site was inhabited by the families of middle-class managers for the Mt. Vernon Mills. Like



**Figure 4.2. The duplex at the Carder Site in Stone Hill, originally built c. 1845. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**



**Figure 4.3. Excavations at the Thistle Site during the spring of 2006. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

the Carder Site, however, no company records have been found that identify the residents by name. In 1927 the company sold this property to Joseph and Anna Baker; in 1943 Anna, by then a widow, sold the property back to the Mt. Vernon Mills. In 1972 the company sold the property for the last time, to Curtis and Mildred Gobbel. In 2005 the estate of Mildred Gobbel sold the property to its current owners (Hampden Community Archaeology Project [HCAP] 2007b). At some point during the 20th century a kitchen was added on to the rear of the house; the current owners have removed the addition and restored the dwelling to an approximation of its 19th-century appearance.

The Wagner Site is currently the southernmost city lot on Falls Road, though in the 19th century there were several improved lots to the south.<sup>2</sup> The site is occupied by a single detached dwelling built during the 1870s when construction in Hampden-Woodberry was booming. The house was originally occupied by construction contractor Isaac Crowther and his sons; after just a few years it passed into the hands of an absentee landlord. The third owner, Nelson Baker, lived in the house during the 1880s; in city directories from that period he is listed as a conductor. (Many employees of the Northern Central Railroad lived in this section of Hampden during the late 19th century.) From 1889 to 1921 the property was owned by families the heads of household of which were listed in city directories as common laborers. During the rest of the 20th century the property passed through the hands of just two more owners (HCAP 2007c). At some point one of these owners added on to the house by constructing a kitchen on the back; presumably at the same time, the steep slope of the back yard was somewhat evened out with several feet of fill.

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<sup>2</sup> The houses on these lots were torn down during the 1960s to make way for the Falls Road entrance ramp onto the Jones Falls Expressway. Portions of these lots remain today but are inaccessible.



**Figure 4.4. The rear yard of the Wagner Site. The kitchen addition is visible to the right; outside the frame to the left is an extant garage. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

The Mackey Site, located five city blocks north of the Wagner Site, was originally part of the 19th-century estate of Martin Kelly. The site consists of four city lots in the 3800 block of Falls Road, right in the heart of 19th-century Kellysville. Two houses were constructed on these lots sometime during the 19th century (one on the northernmost lot fronting Falls Road, the other two lots to the south and set back against an alley), while the other two lots remained nominally empty. Official records indicate that both of the houses were built in 1880; as will be discussed below, however, archaeological evidence indicates that at least one of these houses was built possibly as



**Figure 4.5. Two views of the Mackey Site. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**



early as the 1830s. Furthermore, one of the empty lots appears to have served as the location of either an outbuilding of some sort (likely a root cellar) or a trash dump.

When Martin Kelly died in 1864 he divided his estate, including these four lots, among his sons Edward and Dennis. In 1877 the property was sold to the local anti-labor merchant Albert Eichelberger (see page 103). In 1913 Edward Caufield, a mill foreman, purchased the lots. The Caufield family owned the property until at least the 1930s; during the second half of the 20th century the lots were divided up among a series of different owners. They were consolidated again in 2003 under the ownership of a real estate development company (HCAP 2007a). The house occupying the northernmost lot burned down sometime after 1998,<sup>3</sup> while the other house is still standing and was occupied by renters at the time of excavations in 2006-2007. The southernmost lot of the four is now occupied by a large billboard that was most likely erected in the early 1990s (HCAP 2007a).<sup>4</sup>

### Fieldwork Methods and Analytical Tools

The Hampden Community Archaeology Project excavated a total of five sites in Hampden over three summers from 2005 to 2007, using a crew of local high school students (ranging in number from three to eight), graduate student interns from the University of Maryland, and the occasional neighborhood volunteer. The Carder, Millington, and Wagner sites were excavated in 2005; the Thistle Site, in 2006; and the

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<sup>3</sup> Local informants offered varying accounts of the year in which the structure burned, ranging from 2001 to 2005. The current owner informed us that he had hired a work crew to tear down the remaining superstructure about a year before we began excavations. Fortunately, the foundation was left intact and archaeological deposits within the house's footprint were undisturbed.

<sup>4</sup> The current billboard rests on metal posts. An earlier billboard constructed on wooden posts was detected archaeologically; this earlier billboard was probably erected around 1949-1950, based on property records (HCAP 2007a).

Mackey Site, from 2006-2007. Each site was mapped using a Garmin Digital TotalStation. The primary method of excavation for all sites was the use of one meter square test units, excavated according to natural stratigraphy. In addition, shovel test pits (STPs) were excavated across the entire Mackey Site and a portion of the Thistle Site to identify artifact concentrations. Finally, a trench was excavated along the rear wall of the house at the Thistle Site in an attempt to locate a builder's trench. All excavated soils were screened using 1/4 inch wire mesh. All features were mapped and photographed, as were test unit profiles and floors. Artifacts were cleaned, labeled and identified, and preliminary analyses were conducted by a crew of undergraduate and graduate students at the Center for Heritage Resource Studies in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland-College Park in 2008-2009.<sup>5</sup>

For the present analysis I will use a modified version of the measurement of ceramic assemblage "richness" as demonstrated by Mark Walker (2008), adapting an approach first developed by Leonard and Jones (1989). One common method that archaeologists have used to determine whether 18th- and 19th-century Americans held middle-class values (whether Georgian, Victorian, or explicitly capitalist), regardless of socioeconomic status, has been to look for the presence or absence of matched sets of ceramics (i.e., Deetz 1996:68-88; Fitts 1999; Leone 1999; Rotman and Clay 2008; Shackel 1993; Wall 1994). Walker critiqued this approach for failing to recognize both the virtually unavoidable incorporation of every person into the regime of mass production and mass consumption over the course of the 19th century, as well as the polyvocality of material culture. In other words, the presence of matched tea sets could

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<sup>5</sup> The raw data from the excavations, including artifact catalogs and provenience databases, will be published on the Hampden Community Archaeology Project website (<http://www.heritage.umd.edu/CHRSTWeb/AssociatedProjects/Hampden.htm>) during the summer of 2009.

just as easily represent “proud and defiant statements of equality and the strength of union” as the adoption of middle-class ideals (Walker 2008:116). Instead, Walker proposed that measuring assemblage richness (determined by quantifying the number of different classes of dining vessels contained within an assemblage) is a better means of gauging aspirations to Victorian dining ideals regardless of a household’s ability to purchase actual matched sets while also allowing for the “negotiated aspect” of those same ideals (Walker 2008:124).

As the political economy of capitalism shifted from a mercantile and artisanal basis to an industrial one, local merchants, contractors and other small entrepreneurs were caught in an in-between situation. Their socioeconomic position theoretically would have allowed them to move either up or down the class ladder in American society. The ideology of independence, self-sufficiency and hard work that has permeated middle-class American culture since the founding of the United States would have dictated that these individuals strive to emulate their socioeconomic “betters” in order to secure their place firmly in the middle class. Yet, there exists evidence from Hampden-Woodberry and other communities like it across the nation that instead many of them fought against the social and economic changes wrought by the advent of industrial capitalism. Precisely because of the precariousness of their material situation, these lower-middle-class individuals and families might well have felt that it made more sense to fight for a saner, more orderly and predictable social and economic system than to embrace the uncertainty and volatility that resulted from full-scale, competitive industrial capitalism. By the end of the 19th century, however, local class boundaries appear to have hardened,

with lower-middle-class merchants like Albert Eichelberger adopting distinct identities separate from working-class residents.

The results of the ceramic assemblage richness analysis will be used to test the hypothesis that lower-middle-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry prior to the 1890s aligned themselves politically with working-class interests and against industrial capitalism because the material dimensions of their everyday lives were more similar to working-class residents (both mill operatives and railroad employees) than to middle-class mill managers. We can expect that materials from c. 1840-1880 contexts at the lower-middle-class Mackey Site were similar to those from both the Wagner and Carder. (Unfortunately, no archaeological contexts dating prior to 1880 were identified at the Thistle Site that could be used for comparison.) On the other hand, given that anti-labor merchant Albert Eichelberger occupied the Mackey Site beginning in 1877, we should see that in c. 1880-1930 contexts the material assemblage from the Mackey Site more closely resembled that from the Thistle Site than those from the Wagner and Carder sites.

#### Analysis and Comparison of Assemblages

For the purposes of this analysis one small modification was made to Walker's (2008:123-128) method of measuring assemblage richness. While Walker tallied the number of different vessel forms represented within a given site assemblage regardless of ceramic ware type, the ceramics from the four sites in Hampden were broken down by both categories. Thus, whereas Walker would have counted a whiteware teacup and a porcelain teacup as the same type of vessel, here they counted as separate categories. In order to conduct the analysis of the Hampden assemblages, I first identified all those

contexts from each site that dated prior to 1877 and all those that dated between 1877 and roughly 1930 (see Appendix B). Using the results of a minimum number of vessels (MNV) analysis conducted by Abbie Jackson (see Appendix C), I then identified vessels that would have served a function related to food preparation and dining. Any other vessels such as flower pots were excluded from the analysis. Vessels of an unidentified form were also excluded from the analysis. The results of the assemblage richness analysis are presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

**Table 4.1. Assemblage richness by household, c. 1830-1877 contexts**

<b>Ware Type</b>	<b>Vessel Form</b>	<b>Wagner Site</b>	<b>Carder Site</b>	<b>Mackey Site</b>		
Whiteware						
	Bowl			4		
	Cup		2	5		
	Plate			15		
	Saucer	1	2	4		
	Serving Dish			5		
	Tea Cup			6		
Porcelain						
	Lid			1		
	Tea Cup	1				
Ironstone						
	Cup			1		
	Storage Vessel			1		
Pearlware						
	Serving Dish		1	1		
Creamware						
	Plate			1		
Yellowware						
	Bowl			1		
	Serving Dish			3		
Stoneware						
	Crock			1	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
<b>MNV</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>18.67</b>	<b>22.22</b>
<b>Richness</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6.33</b>	<b>5.11</b>

**Table 4.2. Assemblage richness by household, 1877-c. 1930 contexts.**

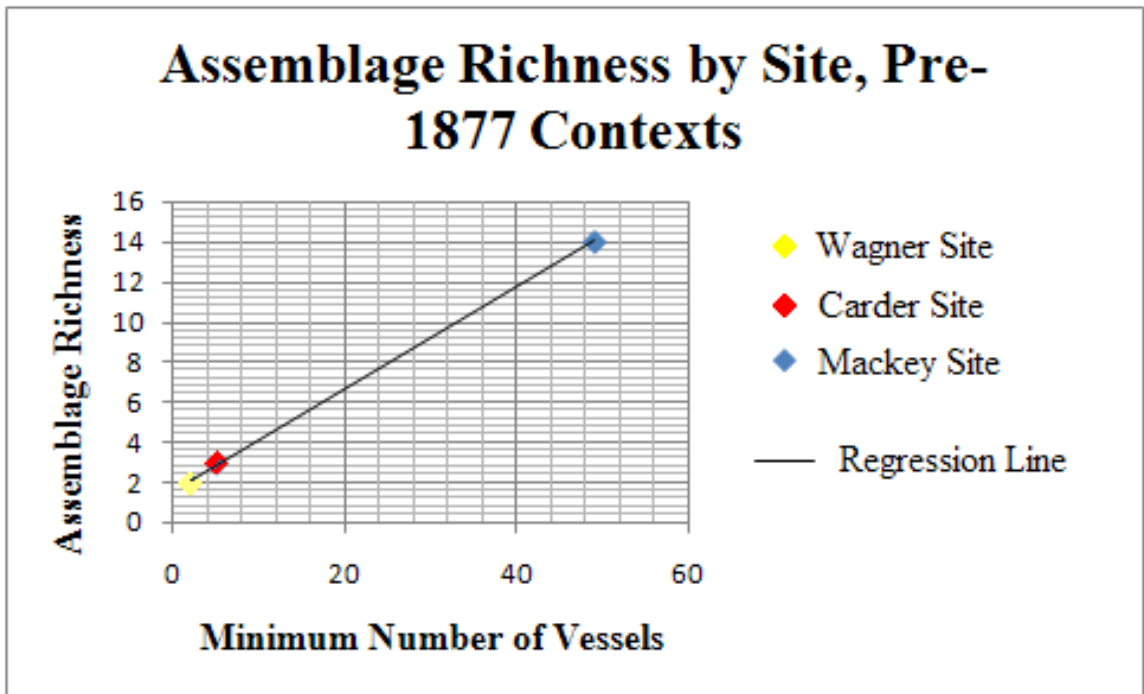
<b>Ware Type</b>	<b>Vessel Form</b>	<b>Wagner Site</b>	<b>Carder Site</b>	<b>Mackey Site</b>	<b>Thistle Site</b>		
Whiteware							
	Bowl		1	2	1		
	Cup	1		2	1		
	Dish			1			
	Plate	2	1	11	4		
	Platter			2			
	Rice Bowl			1			
	Saucer	2		1			
	Serving Dish	2					
	Tea Cup		1	3			
Porcelain							
	Cup	1					
	Decorative Vessel		1				
	Dish			1			
	Plate			2			
	Saucer				1		
	Serving Dish			1			
	Tea Cup	1					
	Tea Pot Strainer			1			
Ironstone							
	Cup	1	1				
	Plate	1			1		
	Serving Dish			1			
	Storage Vessel			1			
Pearlware							
	Lid		1				
	Serving Dish		1				
Creamware							
	Cup		1				
Yellowware							
	Cup			1			
	Serving Dish	1					

**Table 4.2. Assemblage richness by household, 1877-c. 1930 contexts (continued).**

Ware Type	Vessel Form	Wagner Site	Carder Site	Mackey Site	Thistle Site		
Rockingham							
	Decorative Vessel	1					
	Lid			1			
Stoneware							
	Crock	3		5		<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
<b>MNV</b>		<b>16</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17.25</b>	<b>9.88</b>
<b>Richness</b>		<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10.25</b>	<b>3.75</b>

At first glance the results of the analysis for pre-1877 contexts at the Wagner, Carder and Mackey sites seem to indicate that the richness of the ceramic assemblage from the Mackey Site is much lower than that for the other two sites as a percentage of the total MNV. However, it has previously been established that assemblage richness or diversity can be a function of assemblage size (Kintigh 1989 cited in Walker 2008:124). When a regression analysis is performed on the results of the assemblage richness tabulations for pre-1877 contexts, the result is a Pearson correlation coefficient of  $r=1.00$ , meaning that the observed variation can be entirely accounted for by the differences in sample size between the three sites (Figure 4.6). The difference in sample sizes is attributable to more extensive excavations at the Mackey Site; therefore, the similarity in material circumstances between the unskilled mill operatives who lived at the Carder site and the lower-middle-class construction contractors who inhabited the Mackey and Wagner sites is confirmed.

Turning to the assemblage richness analysis of post-1877 archaeological contexts, including the Thistle Site, we find slightly different results. Again the raw numbers are deceiving: the Carder Site stands out as having an assemblage richness as a percentage of



**Figure 4.6. Regression analysis of the ceramic assemblage richness of pre-1877 archaeological contexts. (Graph by the author)**

the total MNV higher than the other three sites. Once again, however, regression analysis reveals a different picture. When the Wagner, Carder and Mackey sites are compared to each other, the correlation coefficient is once again  $r=1$  (Figure 4.7). When the data from the Thistle Site is added to the regression analysis, however, the correlation coefficient falls to  $r=.95$  (Figure 4.8). While the difference between correlation coefficients of 1.00 and .95 is small, it nevertheless indicates in this instance that the working-class and lower-middle-class inhabitants of the Wagner, Carder and Mackey sites continued to live materially similar lives after 1877 whereas the middle-class inhabitants of the Thistle Site stood apart as having a relatively less diverse ceramic assemblage.

In order to better understand patterns of ceramic usage at these four sites, the assemblages were further compared by general vessel function during both the pre-1877



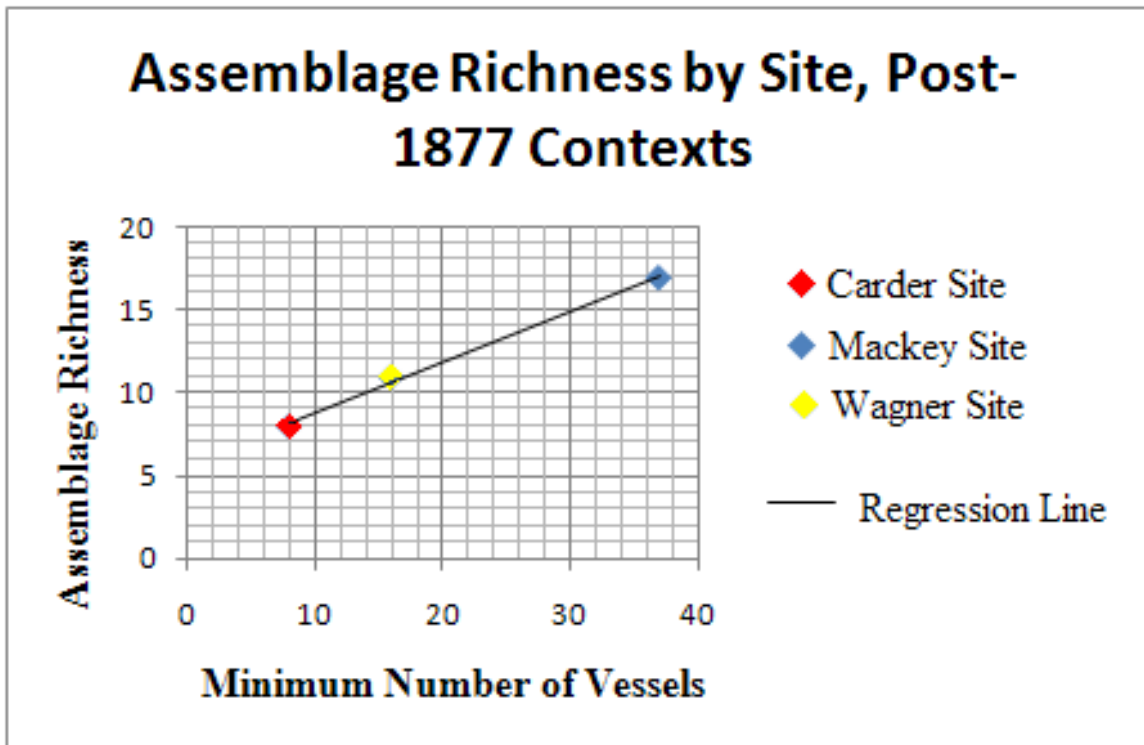


Figure 4.7. Regression analysis of the ceramic assemblage richness of post-1877 archaeological contexts excluding the Thistle Site. (Graph by the author)

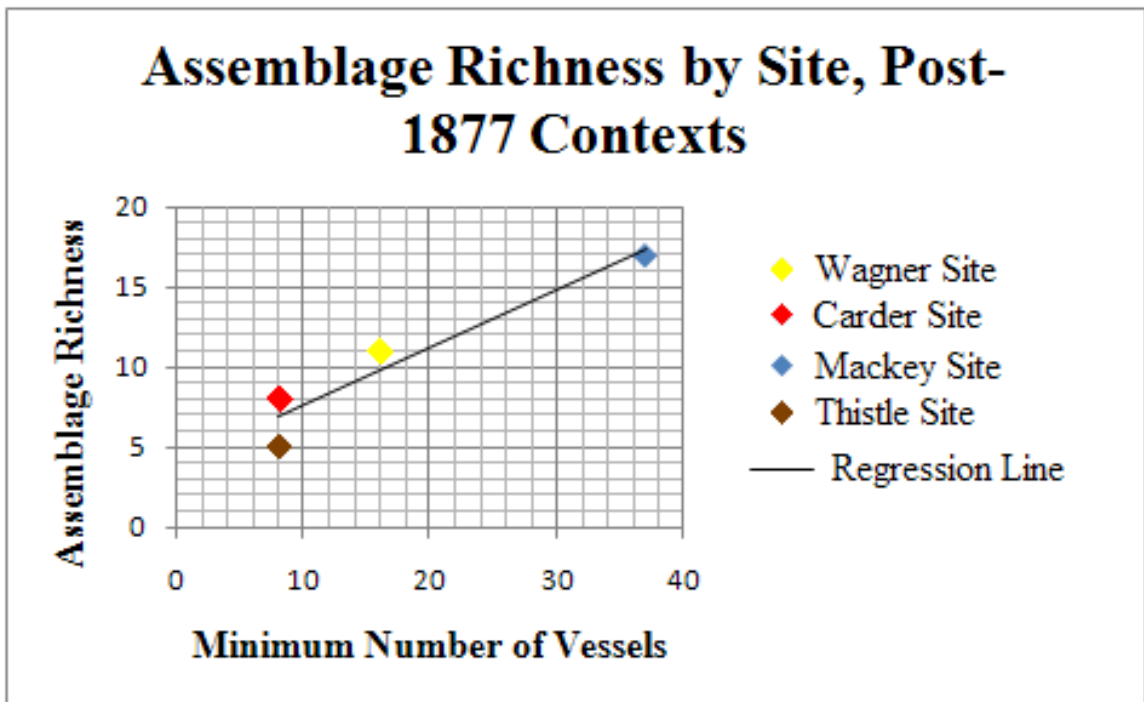


Figure 4.8. Regression analysis of the ceramic assemblage richness of post-1877 archaeological contexts including the Thistle Site. (Graph by the author)

and post-1877 periods. Identified vessel forms were divided into one of four general functional categories: table and serving ware (food service), kitchen ware (food preparation and storage), tea ware, and decorative vessels. The results of this comparison are presented in Tables 4.3 and 4.4.

Some interesting patterns emerge from the comparison of functional groupings within and between sites. In pre-1877 contexts, the Carder and Mackey sites demonstrate similar percentages of vessels for all categories (the Wagner Site sample being too small

Functional Group	Wagner Site		Carder Site		Mackey Site	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Table/Serving ware	0	0	3	60	36	73.5
Kitchen ware	0	0	0	0	3	6
Tea ware	2	100	2	40	10	20.5
Decorative	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	2	100	5	100	49	100

**Table 4.3. Comparison of ceramics by functional grouping, c. 1830-1877 contexts.**

Functional Group	Wagner Site		Carder Site		Mackey Site		Thistle Site	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Table/Serving ware	9	56.25	6	75	26	70.3	7	87.5
Kitchen ware	3	18.75	0	0	6	16.2	0	0
Tea ware	3	18.75	1	12.5	5	13.5	1	12.5
Decorative	1	6.25	1	12.5	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	16	100	8	100	37	100	8	

**Table 4.4. Comparison of ceramics by functional grouping, post-1877 contexts.**

for meaningful comparison). The ceramic vessels from post-1877 contexts, on the other hand, tell a more complex story. All four sites yielded similar percentages of table ware and serving vessels as well as tea wares. For kitchen wares, the Wagner and Mackey sites had nearly identical percentages while neither the Carder Site or the Thistle Site had any. Interestingly, the two working-class sites from this time period, the Wagner and Carder sites, yielded one decorative vessel each whereas the lower-middle-class site (the Mackey Site) and middle-class site (the Thistle Site) had none.

### Discussion

The analyses conducted here on the ceramic assemblages from the Wagner, Carder, Mackey and Thistle sites generally confirm the first part of the hypothesis stated above, that the lower-middle-class inhabitants of the Mackey and Wagner sites lived materially similar lives to the working-class residents of the Carder Site prior to 1877. The residents of each of these three sites purchased similarly diverse ceramic table settings (both for everyday meals and for more formal tea times) and kitchen vessels. The Mackey Site and the Carder Site also yielded similar percentages of vessels in each of four general functional groupings, revealing an emphasis on table and serving wares, smaller percentages of tea wares, and few to no kitchen and decorative wares.

On the other hand, the analysis does not support the second part of the hypothesis, that the lower-middle-class residents of the Mackey Site began purchasing and using ceramics in ways more similar to the middle-class residents of the Thistle Site than to the working-class residents of the Wagner and Carder sites after 1877, when anti-labor merchant Albert Eichelberger bought the property on which the Mackey Site is located.



**a**



**b**

**Figure 4.9. Nineteenth-century ceramics recovered from the Thistle Site. (a) A sherd from an annular whiteware pitcher. (b) A child's transfer-printed ironstone cup. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

Rather, it seems that all four sites had similarly high percentages of table wares and serving vessels along with much lower percentages of tea wares; the Wagner and Mackey sites had similar percentages of kitchen wares; and the Wagner and Carder sites had similar percentages of decorative wares. Furthermore, the Wagner, Carder and Mackey sites all continued to have similarly diverse ceramic assemblages while the Thistle Site stood out for having a less diverse ceramic assemblage. These results indicate that Albert Eichelberger and his family, and later the Caufield family (headed by Edward, a mill foreman), continued to live in materially similar circumstances to the working-class residents of the Wagner and Carder sites between 1877 and the 1930s despite Eichelberger's outspoken opposition to organized labor.

Multiple sets of circumstances are likely responsible for the cross-cutting similarities and differences of the functional groupings within and between site assemblages during the post-1877 period. The lack of kitchen wares at both the Carder and Thistle sites may have to do with the fact that both are located in Stone Hill, which for much of the period was owned by the Mt. Vernon Mills. On the other hand, the presence of decorative vessels at the two post-1877 working-class sites (Wagner and Carder) and the absence of such vessels at either the Mackey or Thistle sites could be an indication that working-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry used such ceramic vessels for strategic purposes, either to emulate upper classes or to make a claim to equality with those classes, while middle-class residents of the neighborhood felt no need to use such objects for status display. Overall, the combination of these two analyses suggests that the inhabitants of the Mackey Site from 1877 to the 1930s were undergoing a transition from a material standard of living similar to their working-class neighbors

toward a standard of living more in line with their middle-class neighbors, but that this transition was uneven and incomplete more than 50 years after Eichelberger purchased the lots that would become the Mackey Site from the Kelly family.

### Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter support the hypothesis that materially similar lives between lower-middle-class and working-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry during the second and third quarters of the 19th century might have been one reason why members of the former group allied with members of the latter during the 1870s and 1880s in protesting the changes and inequities wrought by industrial capitalism. On the other hand, the reasons why lower-middle-class residents like dry goods merchant Albert Eichelberger abandoned this alliance remain more uncertain. The role of materiality in bringing about this change, and specifically that played by changing material standards of living, is ambiguous. Future analyses of this problem should concentrate on two approaches. First, a finer-grained temporal breakdown of the data should be attempted, particularly for the period between 1877 and the 1930s. Second, additional classes of material culture (such as items of personal adornment, glass bottles, and leisure items) should be examined to see if they can provide better insight into the problem than ceramics have.

If the data does in fact indicate that lower-middle-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry underwent a slow and uneven process of class differentiation from working-class residents between 1877 and 1930, by 1938 this process was complete. In that year local merchants and other middle-class residents organized a “Golden Jubilee”

celebration of Hampden-Woodberry's fiftieth "anniversary"—the fiftieth anniversary of the community's annexation by Baltimore City. Perhaps not coincidentally, it was only after annexation in 1889 that the area around 36th Street, or the "Avenue," Hampden's main commercial district, was developed into something approximating its present form. Beginning with the 1938 celebration, middle-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry erased the community's working-class heritage of class struggle with an invented middle-class heritage that emphasized nostalgia for the "good old days," leisure, consumption and community harmony. This revolution in local historical memory is the subject of chapter 5.

## Chapter 5

### Middle-Class Consciousness: Ideology and Representations of Local Heritage, 1921-1994

1938

*Millie strolled along the Avenue with her friends, thinking about the parade they had just watched and the historical exhibit she had visited earlier in the day. This jubilee celebration, as the organizers were calling it, seemed to be a wonderful way to buck up the community as the Depression dragged on. Hampden-Woodberry did indeed have much to be proud of. Although, she couldn't help but wonder why the mills were being virtually ignored. Despite the hard times, many local women still worked in one or another of the mills, including several of Millie's aunts and cousins. Millie herself had been lucky enough to get a job as a cashier in Mr. Heil's grocery store. Perhaps because she had one foot in two different worlds, she was more sensitive to the fact that the community she and her parents and grandparents had all grown up in was beginning to change drastically. It seemed as if a cultural chasm was opening up between those whose livelihoods depended on manual labor and everyone else.*

*Doc Cavacos, the unofficial "mayor" of Hampden, had been the driving force behind this jubilee. Millie thought it was telling that he had chosen 1938 as the 50th anniversary of Hampden-Woodberry. Everyone knew that the community had existed far longer than that, but 1888 was the year that voters had approved the annexation of the*



*area of Baltimore County that included Hampden-Woodberry. It was also just a few years before Cavacos's father had moved to the neighborhood and opened up the first drugstore on the Avenue.*

*Suddenly Millie was shaken out of her solitary thoughts as her friends beckoned her into the new jewelry store that had just opened. Of course, they wouldn't be able to afford anything in there—not on their wages, not during the Depression. But, after all, what was the harm in dreaming?*

1988

*Jodi walked along the Avenue with her friends. She had just moved into this quirky neighborhood named Hampden. She had grown up in the suburbs, always understanding that the city was a dangerous place filled with people unlike her friends and family. It was safe enough to work downtown, but you'd have to be crazy to live there. Now that she was in her late twenties and established in a successful career, however, she wanted the convenience of living close to where she worked while also living in a safe, friendly community. She had been amazed when she discovered Hampden—a small town in the midst of the big city.*

*Most of the locals were still old-timers who had worked in the mills, but there were plenty of middle-class people too. The sense of civic pride was certainly something to behold. She had enjoyed Hampden's 100th anniversary celebration, despite the usual stifling humidity of the Baltimore summer. She felt she had learned a lot about local history in just a few days. The knowledge that some of the local businesses like the New System Bakery and Howard Heiss Jewelers had been in the neighborhood for generations just made her love Hampden even more. Still, she found it interesting that the large mills*

*that still dominated the local landscape received only cursory attention. Oh well, she thought. At least they're being renovated for useful purposes now; if they remained eyesores any longer, the value of her newly-purchased historic stone house might go down.*

### Introduction: From Working-Class to Middle-Class Consciousness

Why did the spirit of activism that had flourished first in the 1870s and 1880s and then from 1915 to 1923 fail to take root in Hampden-Woodberry after 1923, even though industrial employment continued to dominate the local economy until the early 1970s? One could cite a myriad of conventional explanations for the failure of militant class consciousness to remain in the community after 1923. For instance, the Red Scare and anti-immigrant atmosphere of the 1920s might have convinced Hampden's working-class WASPs that unionism was a malicious outside influence; or the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Company's willingness and ability to leave the neighborhood might have cowed workers into silence or resignation. But what of the 1930s, when the New Deal (and particularly the Wagner Act) encouraged workers to unionize in large numbers and events such as the Flint sit-down strike of 1936 reverberated nationally?

Indeed, labor activism did not disappear from Hampden-Woodberry altogether. According to local historian Bill Harvey, Hampden workers at the Empire Woodworking company went on strike in 1937, as did Monumental Printing Company employees in 1937 and 1940. The drive to organize city bus drivers during this period was also led by men from Hampden. When local mill workers Jack Dunnigan and Matthew Donaldson were fired by the Mt. Vernon company in 1937 for doing organizing work for the CIO's

Textile Workers Organizing Committee (TWOC), the National Labor Relations Board ordered their reinstatement. The TWOC quickly opened an office on Union Avenue in Hampden, and by August 1939 the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA, the successor to TWOC) had a contract with the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills (Harvey 1988:41-42).

One hundred and thirty workers at the Mt. Vernon Mills struck in January 1940 when management ordered a speed-up. Whereas previously workers in the spinning room at the mill had handled six or seven "sides" at any one time, the mill managers now wanted them to handle eight sides. Their justification was that workers at Southern mills handled eight sides at once; the Hampden workers retorted that the cotton used in those mills was not as coarse as the cotton used in Baltimore, making it physically easier to handle more sides at once (*Baltimore News-Post* 1940). The local papers did not report on the conclusion of this strike. During World War II the TWUA maintained a wartime no-strike pledge, and the local remained active until it was broken by the post-war slump in industrial activity (Harvey 1988:42). At the Hooper Company mills, the Parkdale Employés Association, an independent union, represented workers during World War II (*Baltimore Evening Sun* 1945). After the war, the CIO-affiliated Textile Workers of America lost a National Labor Relations Board certification election to the Parkdale union by a vote of 250 to 165 [*Baltimore Sun* 1946]. At least two other unions persisted in Hampden-Woodberry, as well: according to Joe Maguire, a machinist who worked for the Balmar Corporation (successors to Poole and Hunt) for several decades during the mid-20th century, the plant was unionized during his entire tenure there (Maguire, pers.

comm. 2007).<sup>1</sup> And when the Mt. Vernon Mills finally closed its doors in Hampden for the last time in 1972, the company had to negotiate details of the treatment of laid-off employees with the Textile Workers Union of America (*Baltimore Sun* 1972e).

Nevertheless, organized labor activism would never again be as important to community life in Hampden-Woodberry as it had been prior to 1923. In fact, a variety of primary source materials depicting the ways in which local residents viewed neighborhood history from the late 1930s to the early 1990s (including newspaper articles, community histories written by local authors, church histories, and program booklets from "jubilee" celebrations) paint a picture of a community that had not only lost touch with its working-class heritage, but was in many ways actively trying to distance itself from this legacy. To what can this dramatic change be attributed? I argue that after the mills began shifting operations to the South after the 1923 strike, a local power vacuum was created. Mill ownership was now almost entirely in the hands of outsiders—a large corporation with thousands of stockholders in the case of the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills, and a family firm operated from Philadelphia, in the case of the Hooper Mills. When welfare capitalism had failed to successfully extend the mill owners' control over the community during the early 1920s, the era of paternalism was over; without a steady supply of jobs for existing workers (much less future generations), organized labor simply could not maintain a lasting presence in the community or have the same kind of impact that the Knights of Labor or the UTWA had achieved. Into this vacuum rushed a newly consolidated and empowered middle class.

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<sup>1</sup> I conducted an ethnographic interview with Mr. Maguire for the Hampden Community Archaeology Project during the summer of 2007. Joe Maguire is a pseudonym.

Michael Heffren (1982) has described how in times of economic crisis the bourgeois, or capitalist, class may undertake what he termed “hegemonic projects”—the replacement of one dominant ideology with another. Hegemonic projects are necessarily fraught with danger: occurring as they do during times of crisis, they leave open the possibility of revolutionary action against the existing order rather than its mere modification. Nevertheless, between 1880 and 1920 monopoly capitalists were able to co-opt the emerging middle class—the stratum of society that includes doctors, educators, lawyers, merchants and other professionals—and through them to spread the new ideology of corporate liberalism (the idea that the system of competitive capitalism is unstable and harms society, and therefore the state must be responsible for both regulating capitalism and providing social services). Members of the new middle class during this period utilized ideological apparatuses (defined as the means by which ideology is materialized in everyday life) such as schools, churches, the military, political parties, and even trade unions to replace the old ideology of industrial capitalism with the new ideology of monopoly capitalism. Both the capitalist class and the new middle class benefitted enormously from this alliance (Heffren 1982:164-174).<sup>2</sup>

The process that Heffren described took place broadly on a national scale in the United States during the first two decades of the 20th century. In Hampden-Woodberry, however, the local manifestations of this hegemonic project did not begin to appear until the 1920s, just as the mills began the process of shifting their operations elsewhere. In the immediate absence of the mills, the men and women of Hampden-Woodberry’s new middle class attempted to cement their newfound influence through the strategic use of

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<sup>2</sup> The degree to which we can ascribe intentionality (in terms of their role in the alliance) to members of the new middle class who undertook these actions would seem to be an open question. Heffren certainly indicates that members of the capitalist class actively fostered the alliance.

material culture and public performance to remake the community in their own image. Specifically through the media of texts and "jubilee" celebrations, middle-class residents created a local heritage in which stores, businesses and merchants played a primary role; nostalgia for carefree youth and a bygone era were omnipresent; and workers, when not entirely absent, were proud of their manual skills and their jobs in the mills. In other words (to paraphrase E.P. Thompson), Hampden-Woodberry's middle class was present at its own creation. A few prominent individuals aggressively pushed a version of local heritage that broke decisively with the past while posturing its members as the heroes and central characters of that very past. With few exceptions, this middle-class consciousness dominated public discourse about local heritage (as well as economic revitalization efforts) until the early 1990s, when community outsiders (upper-middle-class gentrifiers) began moving into the neighborhood and fashioning their own version of local heritage to serve a different purpose.

### The Materiality of Texts

Before proceeding to the main argument of this chapter, it is necessary to take some space to expand the theoretical argument from Chapter 2 in specific relation to texts. Archaeologists and historians have long treated written documents and artifacts as separate classes of evidence about the past. Historians in particular frequently assume that texts provide a less ambiguous window into history, and that material culture can do little but supplement the information available in archives (Moreland 2001:9-32); thus, from the 1930s to the 1960s historical archaeology was considered by some of its most important practitioners (many of whom were originally trained in history or related

disciplines) to be merely a "handmaiden" to the profession of history (i.e., Noel Hume 1964). A few historians have foregrounded the analysis of material culture in their work (see, i.e., Hoskins 1998; Kingery 1996; Lubar and Kingery 1993; Schlereth 1982), but for the most part this approach has failed to enter the mainstream of historical research.

In archaeology, on the other hand, there is now a long tradition of debate over the relative importance of documents and artifacts and the methods appropriate to their interpretation. In 1976 Joyce McKay argued that archaeology and history were much more alike than the contemporary fad for "scientific" archaeology allowed. Noting that history is "more than just the collection and varification [sic] of stray facts" (1976:93), McKay laid out an argument that both archaeologists and historians deal with vague and indirect evidence of the real object of our research—the mind. The primary difference between the two disciplines, according to McKay (citing Lévi-Strauss), is that historians explore the conscious expression of the mind (as recorded in written documents) whereas anthropologists study its deep structures (as evidenced by material culture and social practice) (1976:94). She concluded that the deductive nomological approach advocated by Binford is not the same as scientific testing, and is in fact what historians do as well; because archaeologists and historians must of necessity test their ideas through the process of *retrodition* rather than *prediction*, archaeologists cannot properly be called scientists (McKay 1976:97).

A decade later Ian Hodder (1991) relied heavily on the work of historian R.G. Collingwood to argue for a radical reconceptualization of archaeology. Hodder promoted the use of hermeneutics, or the science of interpretation. According to Hodder, archaeologists should tack back and forth between theory and data, dialectically building

an interpretation that linked the "hermeneutic circles" of past and present (Hodder 1991:149-152). In essence, Hodder was proposing that archaeologists interpret their material data in the same way that historians interpret theirs, and thus he constructed an equivalency between the two sources of information. (See Moore 1986 and, especially, Tilley 1990 for examples of this kind of analysis of material culture.) At about the same time, however, Mark Leone and Constance Crosby (1987) made the opposite argument—that material culture and written texts were fundamentally different kinds of evidence that should receive separate epistemological treatment. Borrowing from Binford's development of middle-range theory in ethnoarchaeology, Leone and Crosby proposed that archaeologists should develop an "organizational framework" within which to compare data; develop a set of expectations for the archaeological record based on the archival record; and then focus their analyses on the "ambiguities" created by any discrepancies between the documentary and archaeological records.

By the turn of the century Hodder came to explicitly classify texts as kinds of artifacts:

Texts can be understood only as what they are—a form of artifact produced under certain material conditions . . . embedded within social and ideological systems. . . . The word, concretized or "made flesh" in the artifact, can transcend context and gather through time extended symbolic connotations. The word made enduring in artifacts has an important role to play in both secular and religious processes of the legitimation of power. [Hodder 2000:704]

He still argued for the interpretation of artifacts, even textual ones, through the hermeneutic method, however. But Hodder's embrace of the materiality of textual artifacts was not new; as David Ayers has noted, the field of book history has long placed implicit (and occasionally explicit) emphasis on "the idea of the book as a material object," and particularly the concept of print cultures and "the material relations of



production of texts" (Ayers 2003:762; see, i.e., Chartier 1987, 1989, 1994; Darnton 1990; Eisenstein 1983; Escarpit 1965; Febvre and Martin 1976; Finkelstein and McCleery 2002; McKenzie 1984).

Medieval archaeologist John Moreland (2001) has made a similar argument concerning artifacts and texts as technologies of power and resistance in the cultures and communities in which they were created. According to Moreland, as material objects texts are "*active*, or activated, in social practice, in the construction of identity, in the production and transformation of social relations, and in the exercise of (and resistance to) power" (Moreland 2001:96; emphasis in original). Historians and archaeologists who only examine the content of texts, rather than their object biographies (cf. Kopytoff 1986), produce an impoverished representation of the past. This materialist approach to texts was made famous by Benedict Anderson in his now canonical volume *Imagined Communities* (1983). Anderson argued that capitalist print culture (primarily in the form of newspapers) was a crucial tool used by newly-formed nation-states from the 18th through the 20th centuries to foster a feeling of community and national identity among heterogenous populations and individuals, many of whom would never personally interact with the vast majority of their fellow citizens.

What I am interested in in this chapter is the ability of textual artifacts to create, distribute and maintain memory among the members of particular groups. Psychologist Alan Radley has defined the act of remembering as "a form of constructive activity, emphasizing that memory is not the retrieval of stored information, but the putting together of a claim about past states of affairs by means of a framework of shared cultural understanding" (1990:46). All memory is, in a sense, collective in that it is socially

constructed. Some objects are intentionally fabricated to help people remember (for instance, the cheap trinkets sold to tourists in "gift shops"), while others (such as the built environment or family heirlooms) only later come to be invested with particular memorial associations. Regardless of the process by which objects become manifestations of and triggers for remembering, however, the act of remembering itself creates "biographical identities" for groups and individuals (Radley 1990:48-50).

At the same time, as Paul Connerton (2006) recently reminded us, we cannot consider the social phenomenon of remembering without also examining its opposite, forgetting. He identified five primary types of forgetting: structural amnesia (conditioned by the social context of what is considered to be important and what is not, particularly by people who have access to certain technologies that allow them to control the social discourse of memory); forgetting as a constitutive element of identity formation (as when remembering certain details about one's personal history might cause more harm than good); forgetting as repressive erasure (carried out most often by totalitarian regimes); politically expedient forgetting (for instance, processes of reconciliation after periods of national trauma); and humiliated silence (a covert form of forgetting that spreads throughout civil society) (Connerton 2006:319-322).

Textual artifacts, as material objects, can either be created as physical markers of memory (i.e., books and pamphlets on church or community history) or can come to serve this function long after their creation (i.e., individual books that are passed down as family heirlooms). They can also be instrumental in processes of forgetting, whether intentional or not. Particularly, texts can be used as tools of repressive erasure and politically expedient forgetting, for instance by totalitarian regimes that explicitly rewrite

history textbooks to serve the governing ideology or by individuals and organizations advocating social reconciliation after periods of civil war or other trauma. Texts can also function as elements of identity formation through forgetting. In a recent reevaluation of the anthropological approach to revitalization movements, Matthew Liebmann (2008) noted that one salient feature of such movements is their use of materiality (in the form of objects as well as the built landscape). While cultural revival movements utilize material culture to construct identities that are based on perceptions of the past, often these new identities are not in fact actual replications of the past but include "novel innovations" that amount to a creation of tradition (Liebmann 2008:363-366). In literate societies, texts of various kinds are perhaps one of the best classes of material culture with which to produce and disseminate these created traditions.

The texts that I examine in this chapter (local history books, commemorative jubilee celebration programs, and newspaper feature articles) have operated in some ways as both constitutive elements of new identity and as tools of repressive erasure in Hampden-Woodberry. They are representations of local heritage and identity that are based on particular middle-class ideals of community. Produced and disseminated during a period (the 1930s through the 1980s) when Hampden-Woodberry experienced wrenching economic and social changes, they functioned to create and entrench a community identity based on values of consumption and leisure rather than production, labor and cooperation. This new enunciation of local heritage was built on novel innovations, notions about Hampden-Woodberry's past that were either distortions of the existing evidence or outright fabrications. Thus, at the same time that certain individuals were creating a new middle-class identity for the neighborhood they were also erasing the

central labor-capital tensions and working-class traditions of cooperation and mass action that had defined the community from the 1870s to the early 1920s. The role that Hampden-Woodberry's working-class community had played in the neighborhood's development was systematically forgotten, in essence written out of local memory.

#### The Formation of the Local Middle Class, 1840s-1920s

In chapter 4 I briefly summarized the development of a lower middle class in Hampden-Woodberry during the third quarter of the 19th century. By the 1890s a new middle class had begun to develop as well, one which included some former members of the lower middle class but also many more individuals with ties to the local capitalist class. The new middle class almost immediately undertook the kinds of civic actions and progressive reform efforts typical of ideological apparatuses (Heffren 1982:168-170). The Woodberry and Hampden Improvement Association (whose members included Albert Eichelberger, Alcaeus Hooper, Justice Henry Daly, and the priests of St. Thomas Aquinas Church) was formed in 1891 to promote "the extension, grading and paving of streets, the establishment of more fire-alarm boxes in the neighborhood, the building and repairing of bridges, abatement of nuisances, and sufficient legislation for the welfare of the community," as well as better mass transportation to and from downtown Baltimore (*Baltimore American* 1891). After forming a new Hampden-Woodberry Neighborhood Association in 1907, some of these same reformers and businessmen funded the construction of the West Park Recreation Center (later renamed the Roosevelt Recreation Center) in 1911, a free facility for the use of local residents (Hayward 2004:7:16).

During the late 19th century prominent middle-class residents frequently came from or had ties to the mill owners and their families. George G. Hooper became an important developer in the 1880s and was also the attorney for the Temple Building and Loan Association. This company was responsible for building Hampden Hall, one of the first public buildings in the community, in the 1880s (Hayward 2004:7:21, 7:45-7:46). David Carroll's son David H. Carroll was for some time the superintendent of the Sunday School for the Mt. Vernon Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been built by the Carrolls specifically for the use of their employees at the Mt. Vernon Mills (Hayward 2004:7:51). In 1867 John Knight led an exodus of members from the Mt. Vernon M.E. Church and founded the Hamden Methodist Protestant Church (Stone 1917); Knight, who later became a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was the son of millwright Horace Knight and Catherine Gambrell (Shaunese and Ammons 1988).

By the 1920s the growing middle class in Hampden began settling in larger numbers in the Wyman Park area, occupying red-brick Daylight rowhouses that were then becoming increasingly popular throughout Baltimore (Hayward 2004:7:17). This small neighborhood was located immediately to the south of upper-class Roland Park and faced bucolic Wyman Park to the east, past which was Johns Hopkins University. By this time 36th Street, known locally as the "Avenue," had become a thriving commercial center. Because Hampden and Woodberry were geographically isolated from the rest of the city, most residents relied on local merchants for their everyday needs. It was in this context that a few prominent individuals began in the 1930s to promote a version of Hampden-Woodberry's history that would have seemed barely recognizable to the mill workers of the late 19th century or even the 1910s.

### 1938: An Outpouring of Nostalgia

Nineteen-hundred and thirty-eight was an important year in Hampden: It was the 50th anniversary of the neighborhood's incorporation into Baltimore City. Accordingly, a great "jubilee celebration" was held from June 11 to June 14 of that year, and a souvenir book containing "historical data" and a program of events was published (The Hampden-Woodberry Community Association [HWCA] 1938). According to the compilers of the historical data, it was collected hurriedly over four weeks, "obtained by interviews with old citizens, and from books and newspapers."<sup>3</sup> An essay titled, "A Brief History of Hampden-Woodberry" began with a recounting of how Hampden got its name,<sup>4</sup> followed by a description of the Hampden Association (which was responsible for purchasing the land for Hampden and subdividing it into individual lots), leisure activities (including movies and baseball), the story of Hampden's annexation to the city and the civic involvement of its citizens, banks, the Boy Scouts, a second early building association, camp meetings, and churches. The mills and the Poole and Hunt Foundry were nowhere to be found. Names of people, however, abounded: partial rosters of four baseball teams, members of the newly organized North Baltimore Hunting and Fishing Association, councilmen, mayors, legislators, magistrates and other public servants, bank directors and business owners, and Boy Scout troop masters were all listed by name.

Accompanying the jubilee celebration was a historical exhibition titled, "Hampden of Yesterday and Today: Its People and Institutions," curated by local

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<sup>3</sup> The compilers were Robert Hayes and Andrew Cavacos. Hayes was a local publisher who would subsequently produce the periodical *Notes On History* (primarily about Hampden, but including information on other parts of Baltimore; see below); Cavacos was a pharmacist whose family would be important citizens in Hampden for decades to follow. Joining Hayes and Cavacos on the history committee were two men named William O. Tydings and Charles Moore (HWCA 1938:4).

<sup>4</sup> Supposedly from the Englishman John Hampden, who opposed the levying of taxes by Charles I; according to local legend this name was bestowed upon the community by Henry Mankin, who during the mid-19th century owned much of the land that eventually became Hampden (HWCA 1938:10).

publisher Robert Hayes. The exhibit consisted primarily of old photographs, but also included books, pamphlets, letters and other manuscripts, and artifacts relating to local history. Over 200 items were put on display (Hayes 1938). The most popular subjects represented were ideological apparatuses of various kinds, including churches and religion (40 items); schools and teachers (11 items); fraternal organizations, sports teams, and other clubs (21 items); musical groups (18 items); and photographs of the Avenue and other local businesses (24 items). Photographs or objects depicting or relating to the mills or other local industries numbered 17; of these, just 3 concerned non-managerial workers.

The 50th anniversary of Hampden-Woodberry's incorporation into the city also happened to be the year in which Hayes began publishing the periodical *Notes on History: Hampden-Woodberry and Other Parts of Baltimore*.<sup>5</sup> This publication consisted of various reminiscences of Hampden-Woodberry "old-timers," brief histories of local churches, old newspaper items about businesses and people in Hampden, and portions of the membership roll of Dennison Post No. 8 of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR—an organization in which many Hampdenites and Woodberrians took great pride during the late 19th century), among other assorted items. Hampden-Woodberry's industries were rarely mentioned; two exceptions were the reprinting of obituaries for Robert Poole (in issue number two) and James E. Hooper (in issue number three). As in the jubilee souvenir book, names were prominent throughout *Notes on History*—the complete membership roll of the GAR is only one example. Others include lists of pastors and lay officials at various churches; members of social and religious organizations active in

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<sup>5</sup> Hayes apparently intended to publish this periodical from his home four times a year. The first issue was most likely published during the summer of 1938; at least four issues were published through May 1939. After this date, the fate of the periodical is unknown.

Hampden; the muster roll of the First Mechanical Volunteer Company from Baltimore (during the Civil War); business owners listed in an 1878 business directory of Hampden-Woodberry; a selection of names and epigrams from the autograph book of one Mollie DePasquale; and a list of the "Nativity of Some Hampden-Woodberry Families."

Perhaps the most interesting item published in *Notes on History* was a poem (or song) written for the Hampden-Woodberry Golden Jubilee Celebration in 1938 by Rosa M. Lohr. Titled, "About Hampden" (Lohr 1938), this verse reveals several things at once about the way in which Hampden-Woodberry was conceived by its leading middle-class citizens (and the way in which they wished others to conceive it) in the late 1930s. First, personal relationships were very important, as revealed by the use, yet again, of personal names. Mr. Heil, a grocer, and Mr. Grim, owner of a lunch room, were singled out for mention. Second, consumption was an important social activity: six of the poem's nine stanzas are about local businesses such as grocery stores, bakeries, candy shops, furniture places, hat cleaners, tailors, and so on. Third, industry played only a minor role in Hampden-Woodberry; the textile mills merited only a single mention, buried in a list of other businesses in Hampden-Woodberry in the penultimate stanza. Finally (and perhaps a bit paradoxically for a community that was spending so much energy remembering and memorializing the past), Hampden-Woodberry was conceptualized as a thoroughly modern and even progressive community: the author ended the poem by congratulating Hampden as "a town in Baltimore/With its achievements, and improvements in store/.../[where] The past is gone, and you are more up to date."

Taken together, the Golden Jubilee souvenir booklet and historical exhibit, *Notes on History*, and "About Hampden" reveal the essential characteristics of the new kind of



community that Hampden-Woodberry's middle class was creating in the 1930s. The role of industry in the neighborhood's past was virtually erased from memory, except insofar as the mill and factory owners were still considered to be kindly paternal benefactors and almost solely responsible for Hampden-Woodberry's development. Workers were completely absent, despite the fact that many local women still worked in the remaining textile mills. Furthermore, the choice of 1888 as the year of Hampden-Woodberry's founding was a strategic one. It is likely that every resident of the neighborhood in 1938 was still well aware that the mills and their associated villages had existed long before then. Annexation to Baltimore had been approved in 1888, however, after a long and acrimonious local debate. The mill owners had been instrumental in pushing for annexation, largely because it would allow them to offload responsibility for local infrastructure improvements onto the city. Local workers, on the other hand, realized that they would be the ones who would actually pay for these improvements, through increased taxes (see page 110).

More importantly, annexation of Hampden-Woodberry by the city coincided with the development of the Avenue as the commercial center of the greater Hampden-Woodberry area. It was during the early 1890s that most of the buildings on this street were constructed (Hayward 2004) and the merchant class in Hampden-Woodberry coalesced around the area. Thus, by setting the anniversary of the neighborhood in 1888, Cavacos, Hayes and their fellow middle-class residents marked the creation of *their* community as the creation of the community as a whole; everything that had come before was but prelude.

The second important characteristic of the new kind of community being promoted by the middle class was an emphasis on consumption and leisure. Local businesses such as bakeries, groceries, and candy stores figure prominently (alongside churches) as the major institutions of the community, rather than the mills. Essentially, these publications were replacing production and an ethic of hard work with consumerism and an ethic of leisure. Working in tandem with the emphasis on consumption and leisure, as well, was the focus on individuals. Even when organizations such as the Boy Scouts and the GAR were highlighted, brief descriptions were almost always followed by lengthy lists of members. This focus on individuals was in diametrical opposition to the tradition of collective action that had characterized the working-class community in Hampden-Woodberry since the 1870s. Thus, the working class was subtly erased from the narrative of local history.

As artifacts, the booklet, exhibit, and periodical functioned as material markers of memory. Touring the exhibit or perusing the souvenir booklet and *Notes on History*, residents were encouraged to recall certain aspects of local history while others were ignored or downplayed. In this way, a process of forgetting was begun that would continue for several decades. In future years, any residents relying on these documents for an understanding of local history would have little idea about the history of the largest portion of the local population; an archive was created that silenced local working-class voices (see Trouillot 1995). Perhaps the best illustration of the effectiveness of this new archive was an article published in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* early in 1978 about Greek cooking lessons being offered by a Cavacos descendant. The article relayed the woman's claim that Theodore Cavacos, the father of the man who was largely responsible for the

1938 jubilee, had actually founded Hampden and built the "town hall" (Bautz 1978). This article prompted a letter to the editor from a life-long resident of Hampden (born in 1897) who pointed out that the community had been founded in the early to mid-19th century, long before Theodore Cavacos established the family pharmacy in the early 1900s. The correspondent also noted that Hampden Hall was only one of several "town halls" in the area and pre-dated his memory. Interestingly, however, he did confirm the importance of the Cavacos clan to 20th-century Hampden-Woodberry and did not mention the mills at all (Dell 1978). In representation, if not in fact, Hampden-Woodberry had become a middle-class community.

#### Idyllic Renderings of Local History: Newspaper Features, 1921-1977

Along with the local production of history that began in 1938, the new image of Hampden-Woodberry as a solidly middle-class, devoutly religious, and conflict-free community was reinforced by periodic feature articles in various city-wide newspapers. These feature articles often portrayed Hampden-Woodberry as a rural suburban area (even though it was near the geographical center of the expanded city) and as a place where time stood still, or at least moved more slowly than elsewhere. In the repetition of this nostalgia for the "good old days" of the 19th century, the local media both elided the harsh realities of working-class existence in Hampden-Woodberry and consigned the neighborhood to a timeless past.

Media interest in describing Hampden-Woodberry as a kind of rural idyll began as early as 1921, when the *Baltimore American* published "Hampden: Home of Goodwill and Thrifty Progress." The anonymous author of this article did not ignore the local

industries or workers; rather, he or she portrayed the operatives as hard-working, sober, pious, and thrifty. The article began:

If you have heard of a city of 30,000 people in which 95 percent of the householders were owners of their homes you would be disposed to travel almost any distance to see it and to find out the conditions that made such general well-being possible.

Your interest would be increased if this exceptional city was the product of no industrial dream or plan or the adventitious aids of modern altruism but was the result of the regular process of steady work and good citizenship.

And the finest thing about it would be that its growth was attributed not to the enterprise and liberality of a few captains of industry, but to the general worthiness (sic) of its whole population. [*Baltimore American* 1921]

The author went on to describe the success of the Bank of Hampden (due, apparently, to the large number of workers who had savings accounts) before moving on to reminiscences about the old days combined with musings on the present and future of Hampden as told by Albert H. Carroll and Dr. George Cairnes. Carroll emphasized that the population of Hampden was "wholly native born of old American stock. We have no race problems." (Apparently, he was unaware of the large Irish immigrant population in early Hampden, or the racial violence against Chinese immigrants and African-Americans that took place in Hampden in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; see pages 221-222.) Cairnes acknowledged that in the 19th century Hampden had not been the healthiest of places to live due to poor infrastructure and water supply sanitation, but he stressed the trustworthiness and thrifty habits of the population. The article ended with a lengthy description of several important local churches and a brief exchange with a mounted policeman who noted that Hampden had supposedly been dry for over 50 years, limiting the impact of Prohibition on the community (*Baltimore American* 1921).

By 1940 the new representation of Hampden-Woodberry appeared fully formed in a feature in the *Baltimore Evening Sun* (McCardell 1940). With a sub-headline declaring

that Woodberry "Clings To All Traditions Despite The Expansion Forced By Modern Development," the author described the neighborhood as, "Originally a mill village settled by native American stock, sober, pious and industrious. Woodberry is one of the more firmly rooted areas of North Baltimore." He went on to claim,

The last century in its sweep across Baltimore appears to have missed this deep, narrow, winding stream valley. . . . Most of the pretty old brick and stone houses belong to the country, not the city. . . . Certain houses on the heights above the lower Clipper road, facing the wooded slope of Druid Hill Park across the valley, might be perched in a Western Maryland mountain glen.

The rest of the article described the rise of industry in the valley and the beneficence of the mill owners.

McCardell's piece was followed in 1951 by another feature in the *Evening Sun* titled, "Old Mill Area In Green Valley Retains Its Fond Traditions" (Porter 1951). This article by Frank Porter contained an interesting combination of traits from the earlier *Baltimore American* and McCardell features. Porter began by stressing Hampden-Woodberry's isolation ("Hampden-Woodberry . . . goes on living as if it had never been annexed by the alien city of Baltimore.") He interviewed 84-year-old resident Laura Depfer, who began working at Meadow Mill at the age of 13. Mrs. Depfer related that she and other teenage operatives "didn't mind" being tired at the end of their ten-hour daily shifts. Porter then abandoned the subject of the mills and mill workers for the rest of the article, covering instead such topics as the Chenoweth Funeral Home, local baseball players, unofficial "mayor" Andrew "Doc" Cavacos, military heroes, the local prohibition on liquor, and the origins of the name "Hampden."

In the 1970s, with Hampden-Woodberry in economic decline, the local media rediscovered the neighborhood. Feature articles regularly appeared with titles such as,

"A Living Work of Art" (Dorsey 1971), "New England Town Disguised As Baltimore Neighborhood" (Kelly 1976), and "Suburbia in City: Brick Hill Residents Love It" (*Baltimore Messenger* 1977). These articles all acknowledged the changes that had come to Hampden-Woodberry over the course of the century, but retained an insistence on describing the community as apart from Baltimore and still essentially rooted in its 19th-century rural traditions. Several residents of Brick Hill in particular were quoted as follows: "Living here is like living in the country;" "We came up here and it was so different, so unique . . . it was like a little piece of country in the city;" and, "It's so beautiful here. . . We're so close to everything, yet so isolated. We can leave our car unlocked. It's a whole new world" (*Baltimore Messenger* 1977).

#### Local Historiography, 1971-1994

In 1972 the Mt. Vernon Mills Company shuttered its last operating mill in Hampden-Woodberry. While the neighborhood had been experiencing industrial decline since the 1920s, this event was something of a watershed—the nail in the coffin of the local textile industry, so to speak. It is not surprising, then, that at about this time local residents rediscovered a vigorous interest in their community's history. By this time, however, the twin narratives in which Hampden-Woodberry was a middle-class community and a rural oasis that just happened to be located in the midst of a big city had become ingrained in local memory. In the historiography of Hampden produced in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, issues of class conflict are largely absent from the work of local historians (with the notable exception of Bill Harvey, whose work will be discussed below). And while oral history interviews revealed a preoccupation with work and

“learning a trade,” issues of class-consciousness and conflict were glossed over. Rather, the publications and oral histories from this period consolidated the rural and middle-class representations of the neighborhood into one seamless historical narrative.

Prominent Hampden resident Jean Hare compiled a booklet on Hampden-Woodberry history for the nation's bicentennial that borrowed largely from early-20th-century sources such as *The Mt. Vernon-Woodberry News*, a company newsletter that naturally emphasized social harmony and leisure activities that promoted the "proper" social virtues. Hare paid considerable attention to the mills themselves, but while her booklet does represent a kind of history of everyday life in Hampden-Woodberry as a mill village, the portrait is one free of class-consciousness or struggle. When she did highlight workers, she portrayed them as contented with their jobs. For instance, in describing the Hooper Mills boarding house for young female workers recently arrived from the countryside Hare wrote, "Boarding house life was pleasant, by the standards of the day. Letters written home spoke of friendships and courting, and the bright airiness of the mills" (Hare 1976:8). No mention was made of the walkout initiated by a small group of boardinghouse residents in 1906 for higher wages, which the operatives won. Hare also reprinted articles from the company newspaper about retirees Miss Amanda Durham (who "seemed to find a tonic in work") and Miss Sallie Sheblein (about whom was written, "If the girls in our mills today can look forward to as beautiful a setting of their life's sun, happy are they indeed") (Hare 1976:10-11). Beyond these brief mentions of mill employees, Hare emphasized the products of the mills (cotton duck and industrial machinery); community institutions and leisure activities such as baseball, gatherings at ice cream parlors and drug stores, bands, churches and fraternal organizations; and

prominent local individuals, including 19th-century professional baseball pitcher Frank Foreman, Navy boxing legend Spike Webb, and Baltimore mayors Alcaeus Hooper and E. Clay Timanus (both from prominent mill-owning families).

James Bullock, a former mill employee, had taken a similar pro-management approach in his 1971 pamphlet on the industrial history of the Jones Falls Valley.<sup>6</sup> Bullock covered in detail the various confusing relationships between different mill companies (including mergers, buy-outs, collusions, and other transactions), their holdings, the men who owned and operated (and profited off of) them, and even occasionally their productive capacity. He even noted that the mill owners "were very civic minded and contributed greatly to the development of the area, both financially and culturally," and proceeded to list some of their "cultural contributions" to Hampden, such as Hampden Hall (a community center), the local branch of the city library, the local public elementary and junior high schools, and the Mt. Vernon Methodist Episcopal Church (Bullock 1971:14). Strikingly, Bullock did not mention the workers in the mills even once.

In 1979 and 1980 the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP) conducted hundreds of oral history interviews in selected communities across Baltimore, including Hampden-Woodberry.<sup>7</sup> One interview that was recorded as part of the BNHP, that of Myrtle Talbott (Hawes 1979b), was particularly characteristic of the way in which the middle-class narrative of local history had permeated residents' memories. Talbott's interview revealed an interesting mixture of a preoccupation with work and a lack of

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<sup>6</sup> According to A.I. Beard, a resident of Hampden beginning in 1953 and a "boss" in one of the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry mills, Bullock was head of quality control for the company and was the only employee the company took along with it when it moved its headquarters to South Carolina in 1971 (Hollyday 1994:64).

<sup>7</sup> For a critical discussion of the BNHP, see Shopes 1986.



concern with working-class issues and organized activity. Talbott's grandparents came to Hampden sometime during the 1890s or 1900s. Her mother worked in a textile mill as a young woman, while her father was an iron molder at the Poole and Hunt foundry. Myrtle herself was born in 1908 and worked for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad from 1948 until 1965, when it merged with the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad; she retired in 1973. The interview covered various topics, including work, social life, childhood, church life and family.

When discussing work, Myrtle's answers to the interviewer's questions often focused on the definition of work as a trade, something in which one has to be skilled. She recalled that her father would make bells at the foundry, and that "[h]e was very happy with his work" and quite proud of it. She also mentioned one young man her family knew who had been killed in an accident with the machinery at one of the textile mills on just "[h]is first day after he had learned his trade." And when asked what advice she would give younger people of the time (the late 1970s), she returned to the idea of trades once again:

Only I'd like to see people learn more trade. I think that's good. We stopped in the store on the avenue today to get liver, they have delicious liver at the store, and I said to this fella, you learned to be a meat cutter? He said "yes, I've been here about [unclear]" I said I think its wonderful. And I like to see things like that. I think things like that are important. More so then all those graduates at Johns Hopkins. [laughs] I like people to learn trade because I think they're very important. [Hawes 1979b:21]

The interviewers' queries about unskilled workers, worker organization, and class relations, on the other hand, generally met with ambivalent responses. Despite the fact that one of her father's bosses "used to push dear old dad around," he was quite fond of his superiors. When it came to skilled versus unskilled workers, Myrtle admitted that her

family didn't spend much time around people who worked at the mills or on the Pennsylvania Railroad spur that went through Hampden. A number of her family's neighbors worked at Poole and Hunt along with her father. She did, however, know that there were quite a few railroad workers, since they would congregate at the "Red Man's hall" on the Avenue.<sup>8</sup> When first asked if she remembered seeing people coming out of the mills at the end of the day, Myrtle reminisced about one old African-American woman who would hum as she walked, which attracted the neighborhood children. When asked again if she had ever heard the adults around her talking about the mills, she responded simply, "Not that I remember too much." Similarly, when asked if any of the adults who attended her family's church worked at the mills, she answered by not answering, mentioning instead a letter she had just received from an acquaintance who had moved to Pennsylvania expressing her regret at not being able to attend a recent meeting at a local church about the mills (since the letter writer's father had worked in one of them).

Myrtle's attitude toward unions was generally positive, but by no means enthusiastic. When asked specifically if she remembered strikes by the railroad workers, Myrtle could not recall any. She did, however, mention that she had been on strike for one day herself: "It wasn't a big time thing. It was a picnic. Just one day in all the years that I worked there. I was off one day." Later in the interview Myrtle was asked what her opinion of unions was. She felt that unions were beneficial in that they did look after workers when they needed it, but that they weren't necessarily conducive to worker autonomy and a comfortable working environment. When she worked for the B&O

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<sup>8</sup> "Red Man's hall" refers to the lodge of the International Order of Red Men, a fraternal organization similar to the Odd Fellows or Kiwanis.

Railroad, her particular office was not unionized; when the company merged with the C&O Railroad, membership in the union was mandatory. The result was a loss of the “home atmosphere” of the old office—“The old B&O was like a family.” Furthermore, she didn’t “think anybody whose (sic) interested in their work has to be told to work or what not to do . . . Well I don’t think you can have much initiative. You have to [stick to] the rule, according to them and I don’t think you can use your own head at all.” Nevertheless, unions were not particularly bad in her view: “But I have no complaints myself, the union was alright with me but then again I didn’t need the help of the unions. I did my work. Paid my dues, was only off one day so I mean I don’t have [qualms] about the unions at all” (Hawes 1979b:17).

One of the themes that surfaced frequently in Myrtle's responses was self-sufficiency. She simultaneously lamented the loss of this virtue while also reminiscing about the good old days in which family members and neighbors would help each other out in whatever way necessary, as a matter of course. She described an old friend of her mother's who took in boarders and worked at a bank after her husband's death. Myrtle contrasted this woman's independent nature with the lack of independence that she apparently felt was endemic in the late 20th century: "Back then people didn't get any help, they helped themselves, unlike now." This comment was most likely a reaction to conservative characterizations of the dependency brought about by "big government," as not all forms of assistance were scorned by Myrtle. Indeed, she spoke nostalgically about the willingness of friends and family to extend a helping hand, as when fellow church members would work together "like a family" and the church community would collect food to distribute to the homeless and hungry. She even went so far as to admit that

work-related injury compensation, something that did not exist during her childhood, "is a big help."

Along with this fondness for self-sufficiency combined with the willingness to take help offered by others, Myrtle was apparently a believer in social leveling. Her favorite teacher was one Mrs. Alice, whom she remembered teaching respect for people of various backgrounds—in this case, some Chinese children whose family owned a laundry on the Avenue. When asked about social differences within the church community, Myrtle similarly stated that, despite socio-economic differences, she had learned that "nobody is any better than you are, they might be as good but they are not better." People who had a snobbish attitude were called Bontons.

Finally, frugality was an important theme in Myrtle's reminiscences of childhood. As a young girl Myrtle would run errands for neighbors and perform other odd jobs for a little spending money, which she contrasted unfavorably with the behavior of modern youth: "Of course we didn't have much money then. When I hear of children now getting five or ten dollars spending money, it's amazing to me. I don't think it's good; children expect too much of life." Her childhood Christmases were "very meager . . . We didn't get lots of toys[. W]e couldn't afford them. . ." And of course, the Great Depression was a very difficult time for Myrtle's family. Nevertheless, she was able to find a job that paid her \$15 a week, and her "mother knew how to do, to economize; my mother knew how to save."

An ambivalence toward issues of class conflict and consciousness, similar to Myrtle Talbott's, was apparent in the souvenir booklet published for Hampden-Woodberry's centennial celebration in 1988 (Hampden Centennial Committee [HCC]

1988). The opening commentary stated that Hampden-Woodberry was “a strong, working-class, residential community [in which] many of the attitudes that existed in the early mill community persist today including a strong sense of community and family” (page 3). However, most of the rest of the booklet that was not taken up with advertisements was devoted not to the mills or any other industry, but rather to brief histories of community institutions (ideological apparatuses) such as schools, libraries, churches, the Roosevelt Recreation Center, and the fire house and police station, as well as public spaces like movie theaters and the Avenue.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, on a list of “One Hundred Nice Things About Hampden,” the first three items listed were friends, family and home. Not until item number 75 was anything related to Hampden-Woodberry’s industrial past mentioned, the item being “stone houses.” Craftspeople were item number 86, right before “mill factory memories” at number 87.

The only other acknowledgment of working-class or industrial heritage in the entire booklet was one page titled “The Craftsman” (page 8—in the “Our History” section) and devoted to Mill Centre, a former textile mill that had been recently renovated for commercial use by “artists, craftsmen and small businesses.”<sup>10</sup> In addition to describing the industrial history of Hampden-Woodberry’s mills, this short piece emphasized the importance of family. Beginning with a colorful description of the community during its early years, the author described how the neighborhood “echoed from the sounds of clanging lunch pails and the voices of small children carrying the noon meal to their families in the mills.” Families, being preferred by the mill owners as

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<sup>9</sup> Advertisements and congratulatory messages (from individuals, community organizations, politicians and businesses) accounted for 84 of the booklet’s 109 pages.

<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, this vignette, written by historical geographer D. Randall Beirne (a professor at the University of Baltimore), wove back and forth between being an advertisement for the new Mill Centre and a description of Hampden-Woodberry’s industrial past.

a stable source of labor, worked together in the mills; those young children that the author described would most likely have been employed in the mills themselves. Furthermore, the author again minimized the difference between skilled and unskilled labor. While he mentioned that machines once did the work of weaving and spinning in the mills while in 1988 the work in Mill Centre was performed by “skilled artisans,” he nevertheless drew a parallel between work then and work now: “Today the sounds of cheerful voices and humming machines in the new Mill Centre are reminiscent of the Hampden of a hundred years ago that claimed to be the fastest growing community in Maryland.” In painting this optimistic portrait of a community at the center of the whirlwind of industrialization, the author left the reader with the sense that all of the workers in the mills were skilled and enjoyed their jobs.

Rather than focusing on those aspects of the community related to the cotton mills, the centennial booklet emphasized other aspects of Hampden-Woodberry, specifically institutions, a general nostalgia for “the good old days,” the importance of family, and consumption. Brief articles printed under the heading “Our History . . .” were on the topics of the Roosevelt Park Recreation Center (page 9), Hampden Elementary School #55 (pages 10-11), Robert Poole Middle School and St. Thomas Aquinas School (both page 12), the Avenue and the Hampden branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library (both page 13), the Hampden Fire House (page 14), the Northern District Police Station (page 15), and the various churches of Hampden, Woodberry, and neighboring Remington (pages 16-17). While each of these pieces outlined their subjects’ histories, there was often no mention of how they fit into a larger historical narrative about Hampden-Woodberry. The description of Robert Poole Middle School

came the closest, expounding on the Irish immigrant for whom the school was named and his mechanical ability, which allowed him to found the Poole and Hunt Foundry in the mid-19th century and eventually become one of Hampden-Woodberry's most successful businessmen. One striking characteristic of these short pieces, however, was their emphasis on Hampden-Woodberry's place within greater Baltimore: The Roosevelt Rec Center was "the first such facility in Baltimore and the forerunner to all subsequent community-recreation facilities;" Hampden was the first area in Baltimore "to receive commercial redevelopment funds" from the city government, for the revitalization of the Avenue; and the police station was "the oldest of the city's nine stationhouses still in use."

While the list of "One Hundred Nice Things about Hampden" contained a notable lack of items related to the area's industrial past, nostalgia was laced throughout in such items as "roots," "old-fashion" barbers and doctors, "corner grocery stores that deliver to your door," "tree-lined streets," "war monuments" and "murals dedicated to heroes," "memories of the dairy," and "streetcars and trolleys." Important aspects of a sense of community, including family, religion, and security, were also prominent on the list: "feeling safe," "caring people," "churches for everyone," schools "where teachers are nice and helpful," patriotism, "good foot-patrol policeman," "a friendly firehouse," "an Anti-Drug Program," "church suppers," and "American flags," among other items.

The smorgasbord of advertisements and congratulations also displayed a definite concern with issues of stability and family. Many items mentioned how long a business or organization had been located in Hampden-Woodberry, including Howard C. Heiss, Jeweler (52 years); C.D. Denison Orthopaedic Appliance Corporation (43 years); the

Burgee-Henss Funeral Home (five generations); Gilden's Food market (58 years); the Sheridan-Hood Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 365 (43 years); Machinery & Equipment Sales, Inc. ("A Hampden Firm Since 1962"); and the New System Bakery ("Hampden's Bakery for 65 Years"). Despite the emphasis on heritage, however, very few of these businesses and organizations dated from before the 1920s, and indeed most of them were little older than 40 or 50 years in 1988. (Notable exceptions include the Burgee-Henss Funeral Home and the Tecumseh Tribe, No. 108 of the Improved Order of the Red Men, active in Hampden since the early 1890s.) In other words, many of them had not been around prior to the 1938 jubilee celebration that rewrote local history.

Furthermore, the non-business congratulatory ads also emphasized family and longevity. One full-page ad proclaimed, "Good Luck and Best Wishes from Six Generations of Hampdenites" (with pictures of one person for each generation) (page 23), while another sixth-generation Hampden family, the Arnolds, was content just to list names (page 99). Genealogies running three or four generations were also printed, as for the Hankin and the Jeunette families (pages 26-27). The Cavacos family, long prominent in Hampden, bought a full page ad (page 67) in which they noted the many ways that they had served the community ("Confectioners, Pharmacists, Business People, Real Estate Developers, Political Activists, Magistrate, Attorney") and their devotion to the area ("5 Generations . . . Since the turn of the century continually committed to HAMPDEN and environs"). Senator Paul Sarbanes included a photo of his family in his congratulatory ad (page 81). Even some businesses felt the need to emphasize their family orientation (or at least a willingness to participate in the rhetoric of familial relations): Top of the Tower Restaurant, owned by the Goodman family (page 97);



Hansen's, run by Butch, Patty, Melissa and Little Butch (page 85); J&B Wine and Liquor Mart, belonging to John, Brenda, Jack, Grace and Bernie (no last names needed) (page 64); the E-Zee Market Family (page 60); TV station WJZ13, which "[was] proud to be a part of the Hampden family" (page 49); the Drs. Wallenstein and the Drs. Hoffman & Associates (page 47); the Chestnut Pharmacy, Inc., "[n]ow in the 2nd generation of caring pharmacists . . . very proud to be the only family of Registered Pharmacists in Maryland who are all serving the same community" (page 43); and, again, the Burgee-Henss Funeral Home, established by Horace Burgee in 1899 and passing through the hands of his son to his grandson, joined in 1982 by the third Burgee's daughter and son-in-law (page 24).

In the middle of all of the advertisements was a small section under the heading "Do You Remember . . ." The first two and the fourth pages (pages 72-73 and 75) consisted of random trips down memory lane for older Hampden-Woodberry residents, including old businesses, movie theaters, Christmas, and community activities such as the local baseball club. Consumption was a big theme, represented not only by the simple enumeration of businesses but also by the fond memories of shopping for Christmas (one woman remembered her usual Christmas list, including the stores she went to and the prices she paid); of going to the movies every week; and of shopping at the various stores along the Avenue. There were only two mentions of the mills or anything associated with them. One was the recollection by one man of "the boarding house at the corner of Ash Street and Clipper Mill Road" (page 72). The second was a memory of "the street car on Union Avenue that would deliver people that worked at the mills" (page 75). Also

seemingly out of place in this primarily Anglo-Saxon community was the recollection of “the great smell of the Chinese Laundry on 36th Street” (page 75).

The mid-1980s, and 1988 in particular, were years of serious social upheaval in Hampden-Woodberry, particularly centering on issues of race and racism (see chapter 6). It is no coincidence, then, that the 1988 booklet emphasized the opposite and looked primarily to a particular version of the past rather than the future. The organizers of the centennial celebration, like the organizers of the 1938 jubilee, chose to emphasize stability and middle-class ideals rather than to acknowledge social tension and the working-class contribution to Hampden-Woodberry. While there was more attention given overall to the mills and millwork, this aspect of local history still took a clear back seat to shopping and other leisure activities. Social and economic stability were highlighted throughout, and especially in the numerous ads for local businesses.

Six years later photographer Guy Hollyday (1994) published a study of Stone Hill, a neighborhood he had moved into in the 1980s (he was not originally from the Hampden area). Hollyday did acknowledge Stone Hill's domination by the mill companies in his compendium of photographic and oral historical evidence, but focused for the most part on family and community life. A section entitled "The Mill: A Potpourri of Voices" (Hollyday 1994:43-64) covered such topics as work processes, the health and physical hazards of working in the mills, and job security (or the lack thereof). One strike was mentioned (by a woman whose father crossed the picket lines), and another interviewee puzzled over the fact that women who had started working in the mills at the age of eight and then were forced to retire at 62 with no pensions actually remembered the mills with fondness. In another topical chapter titled, "The World of

Work" (Hollyday 1994:101-113), however, only three of the brief reminiscences included in the chapter had anything to do with the mills. The other topical chapters covered themes such as family life, community life, leisure time, and religion. Throughout these chapters the mills were rarely mentioned.

### Refusing to Forget

Between 1971 and 1994, then, a series of texts was produced that materialized middle-class ideology, that reiterated and reinforced a particular middle-class understanding of local history. As in 1938, the major characteristics of this narrative were nostalgia for youth, an emphasis on individuals and non-mill-related community organizations, consumption and leisure, and Hampden-Woodberry's "otherness" in relation to big-city Baltimore. By 1988 the mills had resumed their place of importance in the 19th-century genesis of the community—perhaps because, unlike 1938, the textile industry was now gone and could safely be remembered without reminding people of the substantial working-class population that remained behind. The role of workers and their organizations in building the community was lost. One local historian, however, refused to forget the working-class heritage of Hampden-Woodberry.

Bill Harvey's "*The People is Grass*": *A History of Hampden-Woodberry, 1802-1945* (1988) was written to coincide with the community's 100th anniversary of annexation by Baltimore City. While only 60 pages long, this booklet was the most thorough history of Hampden-Woodberry yet written. Harvey, a descendant of mill workers, covered the area's history from the first gristmills in 1802 right up to the date of publication. A narrative social history aimed at Hampden-Woodberry residents and local

history enthusiasts, Harvey parted from other local historians in his desire to emphasize the importance of class in the neighborhood's history. He also hoped that his booklet could help Hampdenites and Woodberrians to deal with the changes beginning to affect the community, such as the racial and ethnic diversity that has always characterized Baltimore but that was just beginning to encroach upon them in the late 1980s:

Our sense of future possibilities is limited partly by our fear of change. To remember the future in a new way that builds on Hampden-Woodberry's strong community identity is the task before us. To move toward democratic change that will mean equality and economic justice for all is the only way out of our current fear of the unknown. Let's hope Hampden will turn its strength of community to this good and constructive purpose. [Harvey 1988:54]

Unlike other local historians, Harvey dealt extensively (indeed, almost exclusively) with labor history in Hampden, with an especial focus on the 1923 strike at the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills (see chapter 3). He originally became familiar with the story of the strike while doing research for the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project (BNHP) in 1979 and 1980. However, while conducting oral interviews of elderly Hampden-Woodberry residents for the project, he discovered that virtually no one would talk about the strike. Despite his efforts to jog their memories (which included reading accounts of the strike from the *Baltimore Sun*), he still could not obtain any more information. According to Harvey, "Some people remember bits and pieces; some others are unwilling to talk about it." Considering the objection that after fifty years many residents of Hampden-Woodberry in 1923 would have either died or moved away, Harvey countered that most of the people interviewed were in fact living in Hampden-Woodberry in 1923, and that a good number were even working in the mills (Harvey 1988:56).

Admitting that this phenomenon of mass forgetfulness puzzled him, Harvey settled upon two possible explanations. First, while unions have played an important role in Hampden-Woodberry's history, no single union had lasted long enough "to establish an institutional structure that could 'naturally' carry along the memory of past struggles." Ultimately, however, Harvey chose a simple answer to the question of why the strike was such a painful memory in Hampden-Woodberry: the workers lost. While the earlier strikes in 1917 and 1918 had been successful, in 1923 the strike was an absolute and utter failure. According to Harvey, "Who needs to be reminded of a loss? . . . Memory of it only serves to remind us of . . . the basic inequity of capitalism and the pride we must sacrifice just to scratch by in the workaday world" (Harvey 1988:57-58).

While Harvey's explanation for why Hampden residents would forget or suppress memories of one of the most important events in the community's history makes a certain amount of sense, it remains unsatisfactory in that it is incomplete—it homogenizes the community members' reactions to the strike. And while the lack of institutionalized labor organizations may also have played a role in this particular case, the failure of so many people in such an apparently history-conscious community to remember this event seems to require a more nuanced explanation. Oral historian Michael Hoberman (2001) has coined the term "nostalgic utopianism" to denote the tendency that people have, when recalling the past, to pine for better times while also expressing a sense of relief at having escaped those very times. In other words, "What made the good old days good was the fact that they challenged us, and we outlasted them." When combined with the modern practice of separating the present from the past, creating the past as "a bounded and self-contained realm," nostalgic utopianism serves to "offer security in troubled and

unpredictable times,” to “[construct] a beautiful but fraught past out of . . . skeletal landscapes and . . . memories of an earlier, more prosperous time” (Hoberman 2001:17-19).

The local historiography of Hampden-Woodberry is rife with nostalgia for the good old days, including the challenges overcome way back when: Myrtle Talbot’s artisans who took pride in their trades despite difficulty with bosses or dangerous working conditions; the rags-to-riches story of Robert Poole; the pride that businesses took in advertising their longevity in Hampden through the lean years of the 1930s to the 1980s; and even Bill Harvey’s triumphant workers who were able to use the power of collective action to earn better lives and working conditions. And it easy enough to see that the two major periods of the creation of historical memory, the 1930s-1940s and the 1970s-1980s, were periods of major uncertainty in Hampden. The 1930s, of course, brought the Great Depression to Hampden-Woodberry, and the 1940s witnessed the boom of World War II and the bust of peacetime; in the 1970s Hampden’s deindustrialization became more or less complete, followed by two decades of economic decline and social disruption.

The fact that Hampden-Woodberry's workers were not able to overcome the devastating consequences of losing the 1923 strike, however, does not fit into a framework of nostalgic utopianism. Aided in their forgetting by the accumulated archive of local history written from a middle-class perspective, the long-time residents that Bill Harvey and his co-workers interviewed in 1979 and 1980 didn't remember the 1923 strike because it simply had no place in the accepted narrative of Hampden-Woodberry's past.

While the local histories written between 1938 and 1994 aided local residents in forgetting painful aspects of the past, however, they did not help the community to avoid the problems of the present. Local middle-class activists and city officials tried various schemes to "revitalize" Hampden-Woodberry from the 1960s to the 1980s, none of which were very successful. The result was that by the mid-1980s Hampden-Woodberry was a community facing serious social problems, including skyrocketing school dropout rates and increasing drug use and unemployment. The turn to nostalgic utopianism was only one of the reactions to these developments. The social and economic pressures that buffeted the community also resulted in an outburst of racial violence between 1985 and 1988. This episode is the subject of the next chapter.

## Chapter 6

### Deindustrialization, Community, and Identity in Hampden-Woodberry, 1970s-1980s

1988

*Ervin sat on his porch looking down the block at the rowhouses that lined 37th Street. For as long as he could remember, his family had lived in Hampden—mostly on this very block. Growing up as a kid in the 1910s, all of their neighbors had been just like the Simpsons: white, Christian (mostly Protestant), hard-working, decent families. A handful of Jewish families, all business people, had moved into and out of the neighborhood over the years, and only occasionally would Ervin see a person of color in Hampden—usually strictly on business. Ervin had long known about the presence of the KKK in Hampden. He remembered several occasions during his childhood when the Klan had burned huge crosses in the fields that had once dotted the landscape. Although he had never personally joined, he had quite a few friends who were members. A number of them had joined during the 1960s, when many white neighborhoods around Baltimore were being block-busted.*

*Ervin didn't necessarily want to live on the same block as black families, but at the same time he was distressed by recent events. Hampden was not a violent neighborhood, and the hoodlums who had driven that black family out of their home on Keswick Avenue were giving the neighborhood a bad reputation. Ervin had always been a big Hampden booster, and it pained him to read articles in the Sun with headlines like*



*"Hampden's Shame" and "Love Thy Neighbor, Only if He's White?" He had been considering attending a meeting of the new group that had been formed to fight racial violence in the neighborhood, but he wasn't sure it would do any good. After all, what did it matter what kind of people lived here if no one had any jobs anymore anyway?*

In May 1988 Eric Boyce-Bey, his wife and three young children, a family of African ancestry who described themselves as Moorish-Americans, rented a rowhouse on Keswick Avenue in Hampden. One day after dropping off a few of their belongings and returning to their previous residence for the night, the Boyce-Beys returned to the rowhouse to find that the windows had been broken out. After they had fully moved in, rocks and bricks were thrown into the house on several occasions before the Baltimore police began 24-hour surveillance of the home. The case even briefly attracted the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which subpoenaed several residents who lived close to the Boyce-Beys to testify before a federal grand jury on racism in Hampden. The Boyce-Bey family quickly decided to move out of Hampden as soon as they could find another place to live. They left the neighborhood in late August and two white, life-long residents of Hampden (one age 27 and the other age 21) were indicted for the crimes in the fall. They plead guilty in November, admitting that they had wanted to keep black people out of Hampden, and were jailed in March 1989 (Smith 1988; Smith and Evans 1988; Warmkessel 1988a, 1988b, 1989).

Historians and the public generally associate incidents such as this one with the Civil Rights and “white flight” era of the 1960s and 1970s, rather than the present or even

the recent past. The Boyce-Bey incident and several others during the 1980s, however, demonstrated that in Hampden-Woodberry and other former industrial communities like it, race remained an important factor in struggles over the parameters of local citizenship. Hampden-Woodberry is unique in Baltimore in that throughout the sweep of its history it has somehow managed to resist the major developments that introduced racial and ethnic heterogeneity into working-class communities all over the United States—the waves of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe from the 1880s to the 1920s and from Latin America and Asia during the 1960s and 1970s, and the end of legal segregation from the 1950s to the 1970s. Only the recent gentrification (see chapter 7) has been able to introduce some demographic variety to Hampden-Woodberry, although in the 2000 census the neighborhood was still described as being over 90 percent racially “white” (Gadsby and Chidester 2005:6). In this chapter, I examine the period of the most rapid economic decline in Hampden-Woodberry—the 1970s and 1980s. After placing the neighborhood in the context of Baltimore and the nation at large during these decades, I examine the two primary responses of Hampden-Woodberry residents to deindustrialization: local efforts to confront the loss of industrial jobs and the attendant economic and cultural crisis through commercial “revitalization” and community organizing efforts (led primarily by the middle class), and the maintenance of a strictly racialized community identity through the use of physical force.

#### Creating an Industrial Wasteland: Deindustrialization in Local and National Context

During the economic recessions of the 1970s and early 1980s, the United States experienced heavy job losses in the industrial sector of the economy. Between 1969 and

1976, 22.3 million industrial jobs disappeared from the U.S. economy as steel mills, auto manufacturing plants and rubber factories shut down. The organized labor movement was decimated accordingly. The United Steelworkers, for instance, lost 105,000 members and disbanded 1,097 union locals between 1979 and 1983 alone (High and Lewis 2007:3-4). The region stretching from Buffalo in the east to Milwaukee in the west, where the wave of factory closings hit hardest, came to be known as the Rust Belt.

The collapse of industrial production in the United States was due to a variety of causes, and was hardly limited to the Rust Belt. In the steel industry, corporate CEOs for companies like Bethlehem Steel and U.S. Steel were unwilling or unable to adapt to the changing realities of technological progress and global competition (Reutter 2004:378-410). In the textile industry, most of the major companies had fled from New England and the Middle Atlantic states to the South in search of cheaper non-unionized labor from the late 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. By the 1980s and 1990s, many of these companies, encouraged by liberalized trade policy, decided to pack up once again and move their operations overseas. Southern textile communities like Kannapolis, North Carolina were just as economically and socially devastated as their northern steel, automobile, and rubber counterparts (Minchin 2005: chapter 5).

The local forms that deindustrialization took were just as varied. While the popular understanding of this process centers on the so-called "runaway plant," in their landmark study of deindustrialization Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison (1982) noted that the relocation of productive facilities, either within the country or overseas, accounted for just a small part of the problem. Defining deindustrialization as "a widespread, systematic disinvestment in the nation's basic productive capacity"

(Bluestone and Harrison 1982:6), they included both outright plant shutdowns and the scaling back of productive capacity, even when plants were not shuttered, as part of the process of disinvestment. While they estimated that between 450,000 and 650,000 jobs were wiped out in the United States during the 1970s as a result of capital flight, when they included shutdowns and productive retrenchment the number of jobs lost soared to a staggering 32 to 38 million (Bluestone and Harrison 1982:25-27).

Coming after the prolonged period of prosperity and economic expansion following World War II, in which many blue-collar industrial workers attained a more or less middle-class standard of living (or at least, felt that they had) and organized labor became a major player in the national economy, the crisis was as devastating culturally and psychologically as it was economically. In her ethnography *The End of the Line: Lost Jobs, New Lives in Postindustrial America*, Kathryn Marie Dudley described laid-off autoworkers in Kenosha, Wisconsin who had planned out their lives on the promise of good pensions when they reached retirement age; for such workers, who often had no more than a high school diploma, simply moving into high-tech jobs in the new economy was never an option. Instead, they could look forward to low-paying service sector jobs that often lacked any benefits—if they were lucky enough to find jobs at all (Dudley 1994:30-47). Dudley described the changes attendant upon deindustrialization as a "dramatic conversation" between those whose livelihoods are stripped away from them and those who actually stand to benefit from the move towards a service economy. For middle-class residents of Kenosha who had long resented the power and influence wielded in local politics by less-educated blue-collar workers, deindustrialization was not

entirely an unwelcome development even as those workers struggled with cultural and emotional barriers to non-industrial employment (Dudley 1994:xxiv, 154-171).

Similarly, two years after Firestone closed its Seiberling plant in Barberton, Ohio in 1980, 40 percent of the former rubber workers had found jobs (often minimum-wage) but were no longer working in industry and a further 40 percent were unemployed or only intermittently employed. Even among the 20 percent who had obtained "comparable" jobs, some were making up to \$10,000 less per year than they had earned at the Seiberling factory. In addition to the obvious economic calamity of having one's wages cut in half (or more), many Barberton residents struggled to keep up with medical bills once they lost their company-provided health insurance. Even those lucky enough to have found jobs with some amount of health insurance were frequently unable to obtain coverage for their dependents (Pappas 1989:15-16, 23-29).

The psychological toll of deindustrialization on working communities was all the heavier because of the obvious fact that corporate CEOs were not sharing in the sacrifices. Bill Moyers (2004) recently pointed out that the upper class in the United States openly declared class war in the early 1970s. The editors of *Business Week* wrote in the October 12, 1974 issue, "Some people will obviously have to do with less . . . . It will be a bitter pill for many Americans to swallow the idea of doing with less so that big business can have more" (quoted in Moyers 2004). From 1970 until the present, wealth inequality in the United States has grown at staggering rates: during the 1950s and 1960s, the top 0.01 percent of income earners made \$162 for every dollar made by the bottom 90 percent; from 1990 to 2002 (the golden era of globalization, when a rising tide supposedly lifted all boats) the top 0.01 percent of earners made \$18,000 for every dollar

earned by the bottom 90 percent. By 2001, the wealthiest one percent of the population held one-third of all net worth in the United States, twice as much as the bottom 80 percent (Foster 2007:16-17).

Steven High has noted that the dominant trope of deindustrialization in the popular imagination (and, all too often, in the scholarly literature as well) has been one of victimization—individual workers, families, and entire communities victimized by greedy and/or incompetent corporate management. High recently argued (and a growing number of ethnographic accounts confirm), however, that most workers and industrial communities do not simply sit idly by and lament their loss. They actively contest both the process and the meanings of deindustrialization (High and Lewis 2007: chapter 3). They engage in Dudley's "dramatic conversations" about the causes and consequences of capital disinvestment. Steelworkers and their community allies in Youngstown, Ohio, for instance, made a major effort to keep the Campbell Works in operation as a community-owned enterprise after the Lykes Corporation closed it down in 1977 (High and Lewis 2007:65-67). In Kenosha in 1988, Local 72 of the United Autoworkers sued Chrysler to keep their plant open and encouraged the city and state governments to pursue legal action as well (they didn't) (Dudley 1994:23-26).<sup>1</sup> Even absent such active campaigns to prevent the loss of jobs, workers in many communities have made efforts to control the memory of plant closures and job loss through the discourse of oral history (see, i.e., Hart and K'Meyer 2003; High and Lewis 2007: chapter 4; May and Morrison 2003).

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<sup>1</sup> As this chapter was being written in late 2008, laid-off employees of Republic Windows and Doors in Chicago (lead by the United Electrical Workers union) occupied the factory in an effort to force the company to distribute severance and vacation pay owed to the workers (see Associated Press 2008; Tarm 2008). Thirty years after the first major wave of deindustrialization in the United States, capital disinvestment and its consequences remains a highly contentious issue.

While Baltimore is not typically considered to be a part of the Rust Belt, it more closely resembles Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo than it does the booming cities of the new New South such as Atlanta, Houston and Phoenix. By the 1970s many of Baltimore's most important industrial plants were owned by national or transnational corporations and capital disinvestment was well underway. Perhaps the best illustration of the dire situation in which Baltimore's industries found themselves was the mighty Bethlehem Steel Corporation, whose Sparrows Point plant just outside the city boundaries on the southeast side had driven the metropolitan economy for almost a century. In 1957 Bethlehem Steel was the ninth-largest industrial corporation in the *Fortune 500* and employed 164,000 workers nationwide while racking up the highest output and earnings records of any steel company in history. Just 25 years later during the recession of 1982, the corporation posted nearly \$1.5 billion in losses; its Sparrows Point plant, the largest steel mill on the globe, produced only half of its 1957 output; the Sparrows Point pipe, wire, and nail mills had been closed; and its daily employment rolls shrank to under ten thousand, just a third of what they had once been (Reutter 2004:413).

After limping along for another two decades Bethlehem Steel declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy in late 2001, which allowed it to dump its pension obligations on the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation (PBGC), a federal agency that provides only a percentage of retired workers' expected pensions. Over the next several years the steel works changed hands several times, most recently being purchased by the Russian company SeverstalNA in 2008. The result of the turbulence in ownership has been more dangerous working conditions and longer shifts (Sparrows Point Steelworkers 2006-2008). In 2005 another one of Baltimore's last remaining major industrial employers, the

Broening Highway General Motors plant (which produced Chevrolet Astro vans and GMC Safari minivans), closed down (Brumfield 2005).

Canning was another major industry in Baltimore that disintegrated during the second half of the 20th century. Canning and can manufacturing had been a vital part of the Maryland economy, and particularly the Baltimore economy, since the mid-19th century (Chidester 2004a: 74-75, 81; see also Hawkins 1995). Concentrated in the southeast Baltimore neighborhood of Canton, the various competing small manufacturers were consolidated into the American Can Company in 1901. By the end of World War II, American Can had become the largest can manufacturer in the world. As early as 1956, however, the company began extending itself into other areas, acquiring a stable of businesses that had nothing to do with can manufacturing. From the 1960s to the early 1980s American Can gradually shifted its production operations overseas while simultaneously placing greater emphasis on entering the financial services sector, where profit margins were much higher than in the production sector. By 1985 financial services accounted for over half of American Can's operating profits (Merrifield 1993:107).

During this period American Can's increasing emphasis on overseas production and increasing financial investments wreaked havoc on the Canton workforce. During its productive peak in the late 1950s the company employed about two thousand workers in Baltimore; by 1979 that number had shrunk to four hundred. Following a dizzying series of corporate mergers and speculative investments during the mid-1980s, the American Can plant in Canton was finally shuttered in May 1988 (Merrifield 1993:108-110).



While capital disinvestment began in Hampden-Woodberry somewhat earlier than the rest of Baltimore, it has resulted in many of the same consequences. The Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills had begun shifting its focus to its southern mills as early as 1925, and the Hooper mills struggled to find a new niche during the 1930s and 1940s as cotton duck was superseded by synthetic textiles. Poole and Hunt was purchased by the Balmar Corporation in mid-century as well. While the mills faltered, however, light industry put down some roots in the area. The Noxzema Chemical Company was the most notable, but other new industries included a silver plant, a tire factory, an ice cream cone manufacturer, a brush company, an envelope factory, a Pepsi bottling and distribution plant, and a model train parts and Styrofoam cooler manufacturer (see pages 24-25). When Mt. Vernon Mills moved its corporate headquarters to Greenville, South Carolina in 1971 and then shuttered its mills in Hampden for good in 1972, however, the end of an era had indisputably arrived. Over 350 jobs were eliminated from Hampden-Woodberry's economy by these developments (*Baltimore Sun* 1972e). The smaller industries could not provide nearly the level of employment that the textile mills had, and many local residents had to move into service industry jobs or find industrial work elsewhere in the city. In the absence of secure futures as industrial wage earners, large numbers of local youths either enlisted in the military or went into the police force and fire department (Edsall 1970).

Cowie and Heathcott have recently noted that while deindustrialization does indeed represent a critical transformation of the American economy, it is a transformation that should not have been entirely unexpected:

The rowhouse, tavern, union hall, civic club, softball field, church, and synagogue are all artifacts of a material culture made possible by the location of particular

incarnations of capital in space and time. . . . But the solidity of factories and tenements and steeples masked a fundamental impermanence; it obscured the forces that both created this world through investment and broke it apart by withdrawing investment. Working people saw in the decline of this industrial order the dissolution of their society, culture, and way of life . . . [but] we must jettison the assumption that fixed capital investment in resource extraction, heavy manufacturing, and value-added production defines the stable standard against which all subsequent changes are to be judged. Rather, we should see this political-economic order and the culture it engendered as temporary and impermanent developments in space and time. [Cowie and Heathcott 2003:4-5]

The material reality of life in Hampden-Woodberry, as in other industrial communities across the nation, was changing irrevocably. During the 1970s and 1980s local residents responded in two ways, one based on the new middle-class ideology that had been first developed in the 1930s and the second stemming from a desire to minimize the social and economic damages of deindustrialization by maintaining Hampden-Woodberry's long-held identity as a "white" neighborhood. Neither worked.

### Losing Steam: Deindustrialization and Decline in Hampden-Woodberry in the 1950s and 1960s

Unlike other industrial areas of Baltimore, the 1950s were not a particularly optimistic time in Hampden-Woodberry. After a brief revitalization during World War II and the Korean War, the local textile industry began to wither away. As early as 1963 the Baltimore Urban Renewal and Housing Agency (BURHA) conducted a study to determine feasible actions by the city in response to the growing risk of blight in Hampden-Woodberry (see page 27). The renewal actions proposed at this time were never undertaken, however, and just three years later the Chamber of Commerce predicted a relatively rosy future for the area (Business Research Department [BRD] 1966). Its report split Woodberry and Hampden into two separate "market segments."

Hampden was lumped in with Homewood (the location of Johns Hopkins University, adjacent to the east), the North Charles Street neighborhood (east of Johns Hopkins) and Remington (adjacent to Hampden on the south).

Utilizing this somewhat incongruous grouping of neighborhoods, the Chamber of Commerce report extrapolated the economic trends of the early 1960s through 1975. The report predicted that although overall population would decline by nearly four percent and home ownership by nine percent, nearly every other indicator of economic health in this area would increase. Household buying income and retail sales would each increase by 28 percent; both overall and manufacturing employment would rise by eight percent; employment would remain stable and offices and service establishments would multiply exponentially. The report also predicted that the median household income would increase from \$5,300 in 1960 to \$7,500 in 1975, and that the percentage of households with incomes of over \$10,000 would spike from 8.7 percent to 20 percent during the same time (BRD 1966:1-4).

When the report was written in 1966, 65 percent of manufacturing employment in the Hampden-Homewood-25th Street market segment was concentrated in four companies: the Mt. Vernon Mills, the Noxell Corporation (makers of Noxzema), Highs of Baltimore, and the Greenspring Dairy. The report characterized the industrial situation of Hampden in the mid-1960s as "vulnerable" due to the "cyclical nature" of the textile industry and the fact that Noxell was in the process of removing its manufacturing facilities to suburban Baltimore County. Nevertheless, it also confidently predicted that future industrial development would stabilize the situation. Mt. Vernon Mills and High's had recently expanded their facilities, and Pepsi-Cola already had announced its plans to

build a new plant in Hampden in 1967. Additionally, between 25 and 40 acres was available for development along the Jones Falls north of 33rd Street; the report recommended that this area be used primarily for research and development purposes. Overall, the Chamber of Commerce predicted that Hampden-Homewood-25th Street would still have 2,600 manufacturing jobs in 1975, concentrated in the food processing, textiles and apparel, and fabricated metals and machinery industries (BRD 1966:6-7, 9-10).

It apparently did not occur to the report's authors that capital flight from Hampden (as well as Woodberry) would not stop with Noxell. Mt. Vernon Mills was gone by 1972 (*Baltimore Sun* 1972b, 1972d, 1972e; Ward 1972), and floods that summer caused damage to several of the mills along the river (*Baltimore Sun* 1972c; Gipe 1973). The Schenuit company (tire manufacturers) closed down as a result of the floods, and the following spring the Commercial Envelope Corporation moved its operations from the old Park Mill in Woodberry to new facilities in the southwestern part of the city (*Baltimore Sun* 1973; Glasgow 1972; Knudson 1972). The former Poole and Hunt Foundry was occupied by Bilt-In Kitchens, a kitchen cabinet assembly company, for most of the 1970s, but this operation employed only 300 workers, far less than the facilities could handle (*Baltimore News American* 1979). In addition, even the existing and new industries in Hampden began to employ fewer local residents. In 1970 about 80 percent of the workforce at the Londontown plant (formerly the Meadow Mill) was African-American; nearly a quarter of the employees of the Mt. Vernon Mills in Hampden were black; most of the employees of the Pepsi plant were transplanted from its former site on Key Highway in South Baltimore; and the Schenuit tire plant had a

workforce split between older Hampden employees and younger workers drawn from around the city (Edsall 1970). One of the few bright spots in the local industrial economy was the Stieff Silver factory, which had been located on the southern edge of Hampden near Stone Hill since the 1920s. The Stieff company acquired several of its competitors in the 1960s and 1970s, leading to an expansion of the factory in 1971. This plant eventually closed as well, but not until 1999 (Meacham 1999:8:6-8:7).

Furthermore, despite the report's optimistic predictions of steady growth in retail, service, and professional and technical jobs in the area (BRD 1966:7-8), most working-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry were ill-prepared to make such radical occupational changes. The reason, quite simply, lay in the inequality of educational opportunities between working-class neighborhoods, on the one hand, and middle- and upper-class neighborhoods on the other. Anthropologist Angela Jancius (2007) (who grew up in a working-class household in Hampden in the 1970s and 1980s) vividly remembers the palpable tension that existed between Hampden teenagers, about three-quarters of whom never finished high school, and the affluent students at Johns Hopkins University just across Wyman Park who could take their educations for granted.

#### Coping: Efforts at Economic and Community Revitalization in Hampden-Woodberry during the 1970s and 1980s

By 1970 Hampden-Woodberry was a shadow of its former self, suffering from a variety of social ills often associated with moribund local economies—faltering local businesses, a lack of jobs, high rates of substance abuse, and low rates of high school graduation. Over the ensuing decade both local residents and the city made efforts to

revive Hampden-Woodberry's slumping economy and to prevent or alleviate the social problems that went along with capital disinvestment. These efforts took two primary forms: community organization and business revitalization. In both cases, community residents once again utilized material strategies (both physical and economic) to reshape the community, to define what was important and valuable, and to contest the parameters of local citizenship.

In 1971 Hampden-Woodberry residents held a series of meetings to discuss pressing issues, including the poor physical condition of the local schools, the renewal of business on the Avenue, the lack of recreational facilities, and increasing poverty. Whereas in the past Hampden-Woodberry residents could count on representation in the city government, grassroots community action had become necessary when local Democratic boss Jack Pollack's organization had given way and Hampden alone had been divided into three different councilmanic districts. These meetings soon led to the creation of the Hampden-Woodberry Community Council (HWCC), an organization devoted to economic revitalization and raising the quality of life for local residents (Pietila 1971). Backed by the Greater Homewood Community Corporation (GHCC), a professional community organizing outfit, the HWCC was dominated by local merchants, the Hampden Businessmen's Association, and the remaining local industries. Not surprisingly, it soon chose the revitalization of the Avenue as its top priority (Hampden-Woodberry Community Council 1971).

Despite the HWCC's auspicious beginnings, the actual tasks of community organization and revitalization eventually fell to other groups. In 1978 Hampden resident Jim Campbell was elected to the Maryland House of Delegates and formed the Jones

Falls Valley Revitalization Committee (JFVRC). Unlike the HWCC, the JFVRC focused its energies on bringing industrial jobs back to Hampden-Woodberry. City government had conducted several planning studies of the area, including the 1963 BURHA report, but nothing had ever come of the recommendations. Campbell, along with local entrepreneurs like Robert Poloway (owner of Bilt-In Kitchens), believed that local action was necessary if jobs were to come back to the area. In order to promote this approach, the Committee held events such as "Life in a Nineteenth Century Mill Village," a walking tour of the area's industrial history combined with historical discussions with former mill workers (*Baltimore News American* 1979; Bennett 1979). Unfortunately, the efforts of the JFVRC were about as successful as the government planning studies.

The lack of jobs in the area highlighted another pressing problem, namely, the lack of activities for area youths. With an extremely low high school graduation rate and no ready supply of industrial jobs, many local teenagers in the 1970s had nothing better to do than to hang out on the streets. Several attempts were made to address this situation, but none had any lasting impacts. In 1973 John Blankenship, a service manager for Noxell, founded the Hampden Stars, a drum-and-bugle corps that boasted 110 members (both boys and girls) by 1975. Blankenship ran the Stars in military fashion, explaining to a reporter in 1975, "If you can get a kid interested in something like this . . . maybe you can keep him away from this wild life, this dope. We try to give the kids discipline. A lot of them don't get it in their homes" (Schulian 1975).

In the mid-1970s architecture student Paul Gilbert undertook a survey to determine the desire for a neighborhood center in northwest Hampden. The survey results reinforced his argument that the lack of appropriate activities for teenagers (who

apparently spent much of their time in soda shops and on street corners) and the low mobility and social isolation of elderly residents were indicative of the need for such a facility (Gilbert 1975:5-21). His ambitious plan, however, was never implemented. Other neighborhood activists seized on the lack of local duckpin facilities,<sup>2</sup> and in 1978 formed a committee to investigate the feasibility of luring a bowling alley operator to Hampden-Woodberry. The leader of the movement, Helen Reynolds, argued, "Bowling is the kind of thing that keeps families together. Kids go bowling with parents. It's the things you do together that make you stay together" (*Baltimore News American* 1978).

In the late 1970s the Greater Hampden Task Force on Youth was organized to "provide practical solutions to the problem of young people having little to do except become involved in confrontations with police and neighborhood residents and merchants, as well as more serious problems, such as drugs and juvenile crime." The Task Force held annual Youth Congresses to get local youth involved in designing the solutions to these problems themselves. Some of the projects undertaken by the Task Force were a teen center and a youth business project aimed at teaching commercial skills to teenagers. The efforts of the Task Force were frustrated, however, by the different opinions about the roots of the problem held by adults on the one hand and teenagers on the other. Whereas adults tended to blame drugs, alcohol and a lack of jobs for the teenagers' problems, the teens themselves saw adults as their biggest problem. One attendee at the 1978 Youth Congress complained, "[Adults] expect you to do too much. They don't let you make your own decisions. I don't like them telling me what to do." Another teenager explained that drug use was not considered to be a huge problem that

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<sup>2</sup> Duckpin bowling is a variation on the more popular ten-pin bowling that most Americans are familiar with. Duckpin bowling was originally invented in Baltimore and remains extremely popular there.



should be addressed, saying of addicts, "Let them kill themselves." Another problem highlighted by the teenagers was the lack of control and discipline at school, where busing was causing racial tensions and truancy was endemic (Olmstead 1978).

Public health was also a problem in Hampden-Woodberry in the 1970s. With the decline in the number of secure industrial jobs, local working families often lacked access to medical care. In 1978 the neighborhood was designated as a "critical medical manpower shortage area" by the city. Many residents made enough that they didn't qualify for public assistance, but not enough that they could afford to go to the doctor. In response, the North Central Baltimore Health Corporation opened the Hampden-Woodberry-Remington Health Center in the local U.S. Public Health Service Hospital in July, and by October was working to set up a Child Abuse Center there as well (*Baltimore Evening Sun* 1978).

By the spring of 1979, however, not much had changed in Hampden-Woodberry. The GHCC released yet another report in March recommending that efforts continue to be focused on revitalizing the Avenue, providing jobs and recreational activities for local youth, restoring the vacant mill structures for commercial or residential use, and rehabilitating the aging housing stock of primarily single-family rowhousing (*Baltimore Sun* 1979). While community organizing efforts had largely stalled, however, local merchants had not yet given up on revitalizing the Avenue, primarily by giving it a major makeover.

As already noted, as early as 1971 the HWCC had given the revitalization of the Avenue top priority among local issues. It was not until 1976, however, that any significant movement on this issue occurred. By this time the situation on the Avenue

had deteriorated even further, with local merchants complaining that many long-time patrons had died or moved away and that succeeding generations simply did not shop locally. According to marketing studies conducted by the city that year, 60 percent of the Avenue's business still came from neighborhood walk-in customers despite the fact that the older population was being replaced by newer, poorer migrants from Appalachia. Many older merchants had also retired or passed away and their storefronts were now occupied by absentee owners. In addition, the problems with drugs and crime had led to a situation where, in the words of one café owner, "My night business 20 years ago was terrific. We used to close at midnight and I used to have to force them out of here. Now on a Friday it's jammed at four or five o'clock and by eight it's dead." Based on the marketing studies, the city agreed to provide commercial redevelopment money to the community. The City Council passed Bill No. 546, an ordinance designating the Hampden Business Area as a renewal area and giving the city extensive control over redevelopment (both physical and aesthetic) along the Avenue (*Baltimore Evening Sun* 1976; City Council of Baltimore 1976).<sup>3</sup>

By February 1977 revitalization efforts were well underway. Over the next four years the city committed a half million dollars to the project through the Commercial Revitalization Program of the Department of Housing and Community Development. While the drawn-out construction process hurt some local businesses, it was successful in drawing needed new businesses such as a shoe store and a department store. As dictated

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<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that the merchant community in Hampden was not in perfect accord on revitalization. The goals of the "facelift" efforts were to turn the "blocks of aging storefronts and ugly jumble of projecting signs" into "a neat village of federal period shops with cobblestone sidewalks, shade trees and gathering places." Some older merchants complained that they did not want to be forced into taking long-term loans to improve the physical appearance of their stores when they would be retiring in five or six years and would be unable to sell their stores. As one merchant put it, "No one's gonna buy a small business anymore" (*Baltimore Evening Sun* 1976).

by the city legislation governing the process, storefront maintenance standards were developed and enforced, particularly the size and location of signs. Landlords were no longer allowed to board up windows. By late 1979 many local merchants were optimistic about Hampden-Woodberry's future (*Baltimore Chronicle* 1979).

One of the most important improvements to the Avenue was spearheaded by Bernie Breighner, the new owner of the long-time Hampden institution the New System Bakery. The Hampden Theater, originally built in 1911, had been closed in 1974. A 1976 attempt to re-open the theater was short-lived. By 1980 it was clear that the redesign of the physical appearance of the Avenue was not enough to restore its former prominence as a neighborhood shopping center. So Breighner teamed up with two other local merchants to buy the theater and turn it into a ten-store shopping mall. The project was considered such a success when it opened in the fall of 1981 that city councilwoman Jeanne Hancock of Lincoln Park, Michigan (a native of Hampden) was assigned by Lincoln Park officials in January 1982 to study the mall as a model for her own town's economic revitalization project. Nevertheless, by the time of Hancock's visit, business at the mall was just enough to keep the stores open, far underperforming expectations (*Baltimore News American* 1980; Giuliano 1982).

Throughout the 1970s local residents, merchants and city government had used both economic strategies (the JFVRC efforts to bring factory jobs back to the community, the provision of expensive health-care services at low cost, city investment in the revitalization of the Avenue, and local merchants' efforts to bring new businesses in) and material strategies (the construction of new recreation facilities and the beautification of the Avenue) to combat economic decline and social dislocation. In the process, they had

once again engaged in a local debate over the definition of value and the boundaries of membership in the community. Some reformers (such as those involved with the JFVRC) stressed the need for high-paying, secure industrial (production) jobs, while others (the Hampden Businessmen's Association, city officials) believed that a thriving commercial economy would be a more effective solution to the problems of unemployment, poverty and drug abuse. Some groups and individuals (Hampden Stars organizer John Blankenship, for instance) believed that it was local adults' responsibility to keep the youth in line. Others (the proponents of the Avenue's revitalization) paid little or no attention to youth issues, and when they did, they believed that the most effective solution was to simply crack down on drug abuse and delinquency. Still others (the Greater Hampden Task Force on Youth) believed that teenagers deserved to have their voices heard as part of the process. As Youth Congress organizer Gene Ruckle put it, the job of the Task Force was "to show the community that most of the teen-agers, though they might get rowdy sometimes, are as much a citizen as anyone else" (Olmstead 1978).

Despite all of these efforts, however, the economic situation continued to decline in Hampden-Woodberry into the 1980s. The commercial revitalization approach advocated by local merchants had gained more traction than had the industrial revitalization attempts of the JFVRC, but in the end it was not enough to solve either Hampden-Woodberry's economic or social problems. Simply put, the political economy of American capitalism (indeed, of global capitalism more generally) had changed irrevocably. For Hampden-Woodberry and many communities like it across the country, the loss of high-paying, secure industrial jobs that offered good benefits and required

little education could not be offset by a commercial economy that provided fewer jobs offering less pay and benefits and requiring higher levels of education and training than blue-collar workers had ever had access to.

The inability of largely middle-class community activists to solve the neighborhood's problems in the 1970s only further frustrated the future dreams and ambitions of Hampden-Woodberry's working-class residents. Exacerbating the situation, economic decline and social stagnation became merged in some residents' minds with a long-simmering antipathy toward "outsiders," particularly African-Americans. This explosive mix finally boiled over in the mid-1980s.

#### Prologue: Race and Racism in Hampden from the 1870s to the 1970s

In order to understand the events of the 1980s in Hampden-Woodberry, it is necessary to understand the historical context of race relations in this predominantly white Anglo-Saxon working-class community. There is not much concrete evidence concerning race relations in Hampden-Woodberry prior to the 1970s. Nevertheless, a few sources indicate that race and racism have always been volatile issues in the neighborhood. The employees of the mills in the mid-19th century were primarily native-born "whites"—people of English or German heritage—and the Hampden-Woodberry community has largely stayed that way ever since. Local historian Bill Harvey once reported an unwritten deal between the mill owners and operatives during the late 19th century: the workers would "behave" (work hard on the job, refrain from joining unions or going on strike) if the mill owners would agree not to hire any "outsiders" (African Americans, Jews, or Southern and Eastern European immigrants)

(Harvey 1988:22-25). This unsourced claim seems rather unlikely given the record of organized labor activism in Hampden-Woodberry during this period (see chapter 3), but the mill owners certainly did not hire "outsiders"—by the 1920s the workforce was still almost entirely white. A few women from the nearby African-American neighborhoods of Hoe's Heights and Cross Keys, employed as janitors, were the only people of color who worked in the mills (Hawes 1979b:9-10).

Outside the mills Hampden-Woodberry was an even less hospitable place for racial outsiders. Martin Kelly, an Irish immigrant, became a very successful construction contractor for the local mill companies and was a pillar of the community (see chapter 4). He was so popular among the Irish Catholic workers (who helped to build the local housing stock under his direction, and many of whom also worked for the railroads) that for a time in the 1850s the northern portion of the area that later became Hampden was called Kellyville (*Baltimore News-Post* 1935). This Irish Catholic population was not particularly popular with the majority Anglo-Saxon Protestant millworkers, however, and local oral histories indicate that Know-Nothingism flourished in Hampden-Woodberry (Hollyday 1994:231).

Other groups were not welcome in Hampden-Woodberry either. A local newspaper reported an incident in the spring of 1883 in which a mob of several hundred young men and boys from Hampden used stones and clubs to forcefully evict a small group of itinerant "Turks" from their temporary encampment in the woods north of Woodberry; the skirmish occurred after it had been reported that one of the Turk children had died and been fed to the group's trained bears (*Baltimore Sun* 1883b). When a Chinese family arrived in Woodberry to operate a laundry business in late 1884, some

local youths took what they believed to be an opportunity to make a little money by "supplying the heathen with their said to be favorite dish, the wary rodent." The kids were "disconsolate" when the launderers refused the offer (*Maryland Journal* 1884a).

Federal census data from the early 20th century provides a revealing portrait of the stable and highly homogenous demographic profile of Hampden-Woodberry even while the rest of urban America was experiencing a heavy wave of immigration from southern and eastern Europe. In 1900 the census recorded approximately 150 families living in Woodberry. Of these, only six of the male family heads were born outside of the United States.; those six had immigrated from Germany, England, Denmark and Scotland. Beyond these six, a mere 16 additional family heads had even been born outside of Maryland (Goold et al. 2003:8:11). By 1920 this demographic profile had not changed much. In a random sample of 500 individuals living in Hampden that year, 491 (98.2 percent) had been born in the United States. Four hundred and sixty-four (92.8 percent) had fathers also born in the United States and 469 (93.8 percent) had mothers also born in the United States; of these "native" Hampden residents and their parents, the most common states of origin were Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, with a few immigrants from places such as Georgia, Tennessee, West Virginia, New York, Kansas, Vermont and Washington, D.C. For those who were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants, the most common countries of origin were Germany, England and Ireland, with others having Norwegian, Swedish and French heritage. Only a single household contained people born outside of the U.S. or Northwest Europe: the Padona family, which consisted of a father, Anthony; a mother, Amelia; three daughters and three sons ranging in age from just under two to 17 years; and a cousin, Anthony, age 20. Both

father and cousin Anthony were born in Italy, but Amelia was born in Pennsylvania of Pennsylvanian parents and all of the children were born in Maryland. The elder Anthony had immigrated to the United States in 1883 and been naturalized in 1904, while the younger Anthony had joined his cousin in 1902 and become naturalized in 1912. Neither of the two worked in the mills; the father was a conductor for the Pennsylvania Railroad and the cousin was a taxi driver. However, Anthony and Amelia's two eldest daughters, aged 17 and 15, were employed in the mills (Census Bureau 1920:1-10).<sup>4</sup>

This lack of diversity in Hampden-Woodberry was striking at a time of massive internal migration and immigration, particularly to Baltimore. The city had long had a large African-American population, and this increased with the Great Migration that began just prior to U.S. entry into World War I. Between 1910 and 1920 the percentage increase in African-American population was larger than the percentage increase in white population in many northern cities, including Chicago, Indianapolis, Minneapolis, Albany, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Youngstown and Detroit. While the percentage increase in white population in Baltimore during this period was larger than that for African-Americans, Baltimore remained near the top of the list nationally in absolute African-American population numbers. In 1920 the census recorded 108,390 African-Americans living in the city, a 27.9 percent increase from the 84,749 black residents in 1910. This increase, furthermore, was more than triple the 6.9 percent increase in African-American population in Baltimore between 1900 and 1910 (Maryland State Board of Labor and Statistics 1921:287-289; see also Sun Bureau 1923).

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<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, Thomas Guglielmo (2003:21-23) has argued that northern Italians (which both father Anthony and cousin Anthony most likely were, given their early dates of immigration) were often considered to be more racially "white" than southern Italians, thus making the Padonas seem less out of place in Hampden.



Hampden-Woodberry, however, remained strictly a “sundown” community. In a newspaper feature on racism in Hampden published in 1987, an elderly African-American gentleman recalled his childhood experiences when he and his friends would bike from downtown Baltimore to the edge of Hampden but no further (Smith 1987). More dramatically, in an interview in the early 1990s one long-time Hampden resident remembered an incident in the early 20th century when a house in Stone Hill was set on fire by an arsonist simply because the white family that lived there employed a live-in black female servant (Hollyday 1994:234-235).

Quite at odds with these stories, on the other hand, are a few fleeting instances of racial harmony in Hampden-Woodberry. Most of this evidence is merely circumstantial, however. For instance, the national leadership of the Knights of Labor was infamous during its time for its radical stance on racial equality. In some instances the position of the national organization was manifested on the local level, as for instance during the 1885-1886 strikes on the Gould railroad systems in the southwest (Case 2007). At the same time, however, many modern historians have noted that the Knights' national leadership was all too willing to allow segregated locals when it seemed that that was the only way to organize in a particular locality (Gerteis 2007; McLaurin 1978: chapter 7).

The late 19th-century labor movement in general struggled with the issue of racial equality. Partly the problem was political. Whereas many African-Americans realized that the achievement of basic civil rights depended on adherence to the Republican Party, white workers were often loyal to the Democrats, who had established electoral dominance in immigrant-rich cities and the South. National labor leaders like William Sylvis, president of the National Labor Union during the 1860s, discovered just how

intractable this problem was when white workers failed to support the idea of a national labor party in part because of the possibility of racial integration (if not equality) in such a party (Montgomery 1987:22-24).

In Hampden, this ambivalence toward issues of race in the late 19th century was apparent. For instance, despite the supposed agreement between workers and mill owners to keep "outsiders" away, the Workingmen's Party of Baltimore County adopted the following resolution at one of its meetings in Woodberry in late 1877:

We are opposed to all sectarian appropriations, subsidies, exemption from taxation by legislation in favor of any class, party or parties, believing that just laws in the interest of the rich and poor, white and black, protecting each and all alike is the surest way of bettering our condition. [*Baltimore Sun* 1877f]

In addition, local church congregations took an active interest in saving the souls of the few Chinese and Japanese immigrants living in Hampden and incorporating them into the community. Both the Hampden Baptist Church and the Hampden Methodist Protestant Church, for instance, trained Chinese members as missionaries. One of them, Chu Foy of the Baptist Church, was given a celebratory send-off when he returned to China in 1900 to proselytize his fellow countrymen (*Washington Evening Times* 1900; see also Stone 1917).

Race remained a touchy subject in Hampden-Woodberry throughout the 20th century. It was not until World War II that manpower shortages, exacerbated in the textile industry by the higher wages paid in shipbuilding and other vital wartime industries, caused the neighborhood mills to begin employing African-Americans in production jobs (Beirne 1982:22-23).

By the early 1970s, with the successes of the Civil Rights movement and the beginnings of integration, race relations in the community were as tense as ever. African-

Americans had begun to move into areas along the edges of Wyman Park and Druid Hill Park surrounding Hampden-Woodberry, but not into the neighborhood itself. One local merchant told a reporter from the *Baltimore Sun*, "In the old days, . . . a colored man always took off his hat and shoes when he walked through Hampden . . . this was showing respect." When the Greater Baltimore Committee proposed to build a federal low-income housing development in Hampden in 1969, local residents rebelled on the grounds that such a project would result in the integration of the community (Edsall 1970).

Hampden-Woodberry's reputation as a racist community was well known around the city. Ironically, due to districting changes in the mid-20th century the community's political representation was almost entirely African-American, including all-black delegations to the City Council and State Senate and a nearly all-black delegation to the state House of Delegates. One of these African-American politicians anonymously told a reporter that he had campaigned in person in Hampden, but that it had probably cost him votes. He characterized Hampden-Woodberry residents as "conservative[,] and when I say conservative I mean they don't like Negroes, Jews, Catholics, the federal government or the 20th Century" (Edsall 1970). Combined with the increasing racial diversity of the local industrial workforce noted earlier, as well as the integration of Public School 56 (the Robert Poole school), many working-class residents began to feel that their community was under siege. As another newspaper feature reporter wrote in the same year, "It [Hampden] remains an enclave, largely, a white island in a stormy sea, its beaches eroded, its rocky center crumbling, slowly, slowly, almost imperceptibly, but as inevitably as the retreat of an Arctic Glacier" (Theroux 1970).

Many middle-class Hampden-Woodberry residents attempted to play down the problem of racial strife in their community. In response to a rather unflattering newspaper feature on Hampden published in May 1970, one long-time resident wrote a defiant letter to the editor. The resident flatly asserted, "The statement about not liking certain ethnic groups was untrue. Hampden is composed of various national and religious backgrounds but all work together for the good of the community and each other" (Peregoy 1970). (She then cited 13 facts about Hampden that appear to have come straight out of the 1938 golden anniversary jubilee booklet [see chapter 5], emphasizing religion, famous personages, and the reputed fame of the mills' products.) In oral history interviews conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s, long-time residents strove to present a picture of a harmonious community as well. One elderly woman, when asked if she ever watched people coming out of the mills at the end of the day, recalled an old African-American woman who would hum as she walked. This woman was apparently quite popular with the neighborhood children (Hawes 1979b:9; see p. 221 above). Another resident insisted that the local Klu Klux Klan functioned primarily as a social club and only targeted rapists, child molesters and wife abusers (Hawes 1979a:25-28).

Yet at the same time as these interviews were being conducted, Hampden-Woodberry remained an all-white enclave in a city with a (by then) majority African-American population. As was the case in many other U.S. cities during the 1950s and 1960s, Baltimore's white working-class neighborhoods, places like the canning district of Canton, the railroad neighborhood of Hollins Market, and the butchering community in Highlandtown, reacted to the Civil Rights Movement and desegregation first with massive resistance and then with flight to the suburban fringes. In many of these cases,

the switch in tactics came as a result of blockbusting, a money-making scheme in which realtors would find one person in a white neighborhood willing to sell to an African-American family, complete the transaction, and then gain the business of many other white neighborhood residents as they scrambled to sell their homes at whatever price they could get before the “influx” of black residents could drive their property values through the floor. The realtors, of course, bought the houses cheaply from white residents only to turn around and sell them at inflated prices to African-American homebuyers, making a tidy profit (see Durr 2003 and Orser 1994 for treatments of this subject in Baltimore).

For reasons that have yet to be fully explored, Hampden-Woodberry was able to resist blockbusting in the 1960s and 1970s, when it was most prominent. An interesting parallel can be found in Cleveland’s Little Italy neighborhood, where racial violence in the 1960s highlighted the community’s resistance to integration. Historian Todd Michney has argued that it is unlikely that racial violence alone could have prevented racial transition in Little Italy given the overwhelming power of the structural context of post-World War II urban America. Rather, Michney suggested that Little Italy was able to remain an all-white neighborhood because by 1970, when integration could have begun in earnest, the critical housing shortage that had characterized African-American urban life for most of the 20th century had finally eased up as other neighborhoods succumbed to blockbusting first (Michney 2006:423). Whether or not similar dynamics were at work in Hampden-Woodberry, change finally began catching up with the community in the mid-1980s.

"You bring in one black family and you spoil the whole pot of soup . . .": Malaise and Racism in Hampden-Woodberry during the 1980s

The decade of the 1980s was difficult for Hampden-Woodberry as economic stagnation, drug and alcohol abuse, and high rates of high school absenteeism continued to plague the community. Hampden in particular garnered citywide attention for a number of incidents in the late 1980s in which race relations played a central role. In 1986 an Episcopal organization decided to place an Ethiopian family in a house in Hampden; teenagers stoned the house and within a week the family was moved out of the neighborhood. In May 1987 a fight between a black student and a 19-year-old white Hampden resident broke out at Robert Poole Middle School and quickly escalated into a much larger fight that broke down along racial lines. (Black students were bussed in to the school from other neighborhoods.)<sup>5</sup>

School officials tried to portray the event as an isolated incident that was instigated by a small group of high-school dropouts and claimed that it was not representative of Hampden-Woodberry. Other people were not so sure. In a feature article in the *Baltimore Sun*, 78-year-old James Gunther, an African-American resident of Hoe's Heights, recounted his life-long experiences with racism in the neighborhood, including the time in 1982 when he was invited by a white friend to a Hampden Democratic Club meeting but was "quickly uninvited by other whites." Even some residents of Hampden-Woodberry openly admitted to the neighborhood's racist character. One 35-year-old mother of two was asked by the *Sun* reporter if she would feel unsafe if

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<sup>5</sup> The school had been integrated by 1970. At the 1978 Youth Congress in Hampden-Woodberry, one student had stated his belief that the racial tension at the school was largely the result of students having nothing better to do with their time (Olmstead 1978; Theroux 1970).

black people moved into her neighborhood. Her response was, "I would have to say yes. I wouldn't feel as safe. I hate to make a statement like that."

The Boyce-Bey event the next year ignited a firestorm of media attention on Hampden specifically, with attacks on and defenses of the community flying back and forth in the *Baltimore Sun*. Others simply recognized the complexity of race relations in Hampden, as for instance the African-American *Sun* reporter who found "both smiles and hostility" in his visit to the neighborhood (Martin C. Evans 1988; see also *Baltimore Evening Sun* 1988a, 1988b; Banks 1988; Beirne 1988; Familton et al. 1988; Kane 1988; Olesker 1988; Rodricks 1988; and Wood 1988). Less than a month after the Boyce-Bey home was vandalized, Hampden-Woodberry held its week-long centennial celebration. When the African-American mayor of Baltimore, Kurt Schmoke, rode through Hampden in the parade, at least one group of young men directed catcalls at him. While the mayor later refused to ascribe racist intentions to the catcalls, one of the men involved flatly told a reporter from the *Sun* that, yes, the catcalls had been directed at the mayor because of his race (LoLordo 1988).

A number of residents of Hampden-Woodberry aggressively fought back against the image of a "redneck backwater" that was quickly being created. Community leaders formed the Greater Hampden Community Task Force Against Racial Violence, which actively worked for several years to document incidents of racial violence and harassment and to "heighten awareness about the effects of racism" (Evans 1990). However, all of the media coverage apparently caught the attention of metropolitan Baltimore's white supremacy groups as well, who spent the next few years trying to use Hampden as a site

for marches (Ercolano 1990a, 1990b; News Services and Staff Reports 1990; Ollove 1990).

These events reflect a specific interpretation of Hampden-Woodberry's heritage, namely, its "white" racial character. Those involved in the terrorizing of the Boyce-Beys, certainly, perceived Hampden-Woodberry to have always been a homogenous white enclave in a city full of menacing blacks. Witness the local resident who told an African-American reporter from the *Sun* that, while he had "nothing against black people," he nevertheless believed, "You bring in one black family and you spoil the whole pot of soup . . . You'll have cocaine and heroin and everything" (Martin C. Evans 1988).

#### Conclusion: Racism and the Political Economy of Late Capitalism in Hampden-Woodberry

In the fall of 2004 the Hampden Community Archaeology Project conducted a series of public history workshops in Hampden-Woodberry. An analysis of these workshops revealed a strong thread of "insiders versus outsiders" running through local residents' thoughts and feelings about the community, both past and present (Gadsby and Chidester 2007). In many instances, "outsiders" have been materialized as racial others. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the exclusion of these "others" helped to foster a sense of economic security as jobs were reserved for white Hampdenites and Woodberrians. During the late 20th century the neighborhood's whiteness served as a sort of psychological security barrier against the ravages of deindustrialization—the jobs were gone, but the community was still intact.



In both cases whiteness was a stand-in for class in Hampden-Woodberry, as it was in many other urban working-class communities during the second half of the 20th century. Historian Kenneth Durr (2003) has recently argued that we should therefore interpret working-class white racism in post-World War II America as merely a convenient rhetoric to express much deeper class-based grievances. This racism was not really racism at all, Durr's argument goes, but rather the manifestation of workers' desire to maintain control over their lives and communities as against federal intervention. Durr was reacting to the work of other labor historians such as David Roediger and Herbert Hill, who he accused of "blaming" white workers for their own economic victimization. However, his apologia fails to adequately acknowledge the very real effects of white racism.

On the other hand, anthropologist and Hampden native Angela Jancius has observed that residents of Hampden-Woodberry are not necessarily any more racist than the residents of the upper-class (and equally white) neighborhood of Roland Park immediately to the north of Hampden. The difference between the two neighborhoods is that in Hampden-Woodberry violence was the only option open to local people who wanted to prevent integration, believing that racial equality and deindustrialization were related phenomena (Jancius, pers. comm., 2007).<sup>6</sup> In Roland Park, on the other hand, not only were most residents not affected by deindustrialization but the community also had more (non-violent) means at its disposal to prevent integration.

In Hampden-Woodberry, the economic-material reality of capital disinvestment combined with a longstanding cultural antipathy to "outsiders" (and especially racial

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<sup>6</sup> Jancius also noted that violence in Hampden-Woodberry during the 1970s and 1980s was not just directed at racial outsiders; it was, in fact, a pervasive "experience and expression of [Hampden-Woodberry residents'] daily lives" (pers. comm., 2009).

"others") to produce a particular local manifestation of the emerging political economy of neoliberal global capitalism. We cannot ascribe racism in Hampden-Woodberry only to economic pressure, nor only to cultural backwardness. That some residents turned to violence in reaction to even minimal integration, however, was the result of the combination of traditional racial attitudes, dashed hopes and dreams, limited opportunities for the future, and the failure of a commercial economy to replace a production economy in satisfying individual and community needs. As the mirage of solidity and permanence created by industrial capitalism vanished, residents of Hampden-Woodberry clung to whatever sense of security they could retain. As one lifelong Hampden resident noted at the time, "People are scared because they are afraid of losing something they think they have" (Smith 1987:F6).

## Chapter 7

“Welcome to Bawlmer, Hon!” Capitalism, Community and Gentrification, 1990-2009  
2005

*Lorne strolled casually down the street with his friends. He had just moved into a rented rowhouse in this quirky Baltimore neighborhood in the spring, largely because he had a number of friends who already lived here. This, however, was his first opportunity to experience the vaunted HonFest, the most popular street festival in Baltimore. His friends complained that even just a couple of years ago it had not been nearly so crowded—by Lorne's estimation, at least several thousand people crowded the Avenue on this steamy June day.*

*All around him, middle-aged and older women were dressed in the typical "Hon" outfit—beehive hairdos, horn-rimmed glasses, leopard-print spandex pants, and bright pink kerchiefs. Some younger people had opted to go the cheap route, wearing yellow foam hairdos instead of wigs. Pink flamingos were everywhere too. Some of the Hons had incorporated them into their outfits, but mostly they appeared as all manner of cheap kitschy items being sold or given away by local businesses. Lorne and his friends had reached the central stage, the "Hon Diner," where the Best Honette contest was taking place. Lorne could understand the grown women dressing as Hons as a way to honor their female relatives of earlier generations, but the vaguely sexualized performances of the three-to-five-year-old Honettes were disconcerting. He and his friends quickly moved on.*

*As they walked, Lorne couldn't help but notice the stark contrast between the overt commercialization of HonFest (sponsored by Royal Farms, Mix 106 and Anderson Auto!, the program shouted to visitors) and the distinctly independent flavor of the restaurants and shops that lined the Avenue, places like The Golden West, Mud and Metal, Oh! Said Rose, and everyone's favorite bookstore, Atomic Books. (Lorne also couldn't help but notice a few establishments that seemed out of place in this hip 21st-century neighborhood, places like Mike's Diner that, he heard, were holdouts from the old days when the neighborhood was populated by factory workers.) While his friends had insisted on bringing Lorne to HonFest, being as it was the most famous thing about Hampden these days, they weren't too thrilled about being there themselves. None of them had ever articulated any concrete dislike of HonFest, but it was clear that on this one day a year Hampden morphed into something altogether different from its usual self.<sup>1</sup>*

### Gentrification, the New Urbanism, and Postindustrial Fantasies

Beginning in the late 1980s, gentrification took hold in Hampden-Woodberry. Almost inexplicably, an influx of upper-middle-class young professionals followed shortly on the heels of the explosion of racial tensions in Hampden. Along with this influx has come some measure of economic revitalization, but also rising property values and taxes. The result has been that more and more local working-class residents, some of whose families have lived in the community for several generations, can no longer afford to continue living in Hampden-Woodberry (Gadsby and Chidester 2005:7). Long-

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<sup>1</sup> This scene is based on the author's personal experiences at HonFest between 2005 and 2007, as well as interviews with local residents conducted during the summer of 2007.

standing social networks are being dissolved, and the working-class residents who remain have largely withdrawn from public sphere activities.

In an ironic twist, some of the new entrepreneurs and outside developers have seized upon the neighborhood's past as a white working-class enclave to create a postindustrial fantasy heritage based upon an embellished stereotype of Baltimorean working-class femininity. Enacted on a grand and very public scale each year during the HonFest street festival (and on a daily basis year-round in the Café Hon), proponents of this fantasy heritage insist that they are honoring Baltimore's working-class heritage and particularly the women who were wives, mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and neighbors during the supposed golden era of the 1950s and 1960s. However, many long-time working-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry feel personally and collectively insulted by HonFest and are angered at the way in which public resources are commandeered each year for the financial benefit of Café Hon owner and HonFest organizer Denise Whiting. Furthermore, a significant subset of the new middle-class population is ambivalent about HonFest. On the one hand, they like the fact that the neighborhood is getting some positive recognition, and they appreciate the economic benefits of the now enormously popular festival. On the other hand, they are concerned that the festival has become *too* popular. They fear that HonFest's success is drawing attention from developers who will destroy the community that they have created by replacing the quirky, kitschy hipster shops that have come to dominate the Avenue over the past 20 years with upscale chain stores.

Hampden-Woodberry is just one of many urban communities in the United States, Canada and Europe that has had to grapple with the problems and prospects presented by

gentrification. Indeed, Baltimore was one of the earliest cities to embrace an official policy of gentrification as a solution to the crisis of deindustrialization in the 1960s and 1970s. A number of scholars in recent decades have explored the dynamics of gentrification, with some disagreement as to the relative importance of its economic and cultural aspects (Smith 1996:40-44). In Hampden-Woodberry we can see both at work in a kind of symbiotic relationship, supplementing and reinforcing one another. The processes of gentrification in Hampden-Woodberry, including the seemingly divergent strains of gentrification embraced by pro-development and anti-development newcomers, are fundamentally material processes emanating from the global social and economic restructuring of late capitalism. In the present chapter I examine the material workings and the divergent social meanings of gentrification in Hampden-Woodberry, placing these developments within the larger context of late capitalism. From this framework I explore the implications of the parallel restructuring of local social-material-economic relations and the global capitalist political economy for the present and future of Hampden-Woodberry.

#### Gentrification and the New Urbanism in Local, National and Global Context

In a 1991 essay on the economic and social landscape of late capitalism in Baltimore, David Harvey described the beginnings of gentrification in the city two decades earlier. Baltimore, like other Rust Belt cities, was wracked by the processes of deindustrialization and globalization in the 1960s and 1970s. Fearing the ghettoization of the downtown area, local business elites joined hands with the city government to embark upon a project of recreating the city. This alliance viewed tourism as the best solution to

economic problems, and the Baltimore City Fair was inaugurated in 1970. Before long, the waterfront along the Inner Harbor (creatively rechristened Harborplace) became what Harvey described as "a permanent commercial circus" complete with "innumerable hotels, shopping malls, and pleasure citadels of all kinds" (Harvey 1991:236-237). Far from solving the city's problems of economic decline, poverty and the lack of an adequate service infrastructure for disadvantaged communities, however, this move was nothing more than the "rediscover[y of] the ancient Roman formula of bread and circuses as a means of masking social problems and controlling discontent" (Harvey 1991:236-237).

Harborplace remains the crown jewel of the Inner Harbor area today, but gentrification in Baltimore has spread beyond its original confines. Just a few blocks away to the west stand the new Oriole Park at Camden Yards and M&T Bank Stadium, home of professional baseball's Baltimore Orioles and the National Football League's Baltimore Ravens, respectively. In order to make way for these new stadiums, the light industrial, working-class neighborhood of Camden Yards was demolished in the early 1990s (Donovan 2001; see also Goodwin et al. 1992). To the east and the south, the Fells Point and Federal Hill neighborhoods (both also formerly working-class enclaves) have undergone intense residential gentrification since the 1970s. When there was no more room for development in Fells Point, developers and city planners discovered the "Gold Coast" of Canton, once the center of the canning industry in Maryland and previously thought to be too run-down and too far away from the Inner Harbor to be effectively redeveloped (Merrifield 1993:105). Community opposition to plans to demolish the iconic American Can Company building to make way for high-rise condominiums and upscale shops in the late 1980s and early 1990s did force mega-developer Michael

Swerdlow to cancel the project (Merrifield 1993:110-117), but nevertheless residential gentrification has transformed the neighborhood over the past 15 years.

Baltimore residents' experiences of gentrification are not unique. Following World War II, many cities in Western countries embarked upon massive central city rebuilding and redevelopment efforts. By the 1960s and 1970s these very cities were in the throes of massive economic restructuring as manufacturing jobs disappeared and were replaced by jobs in the service and financial sectors. This economic restructuring was accompanied by geographical restructuring as well, as luxury living spaces and upscale retail districts exploded in newly renovated city centers. According to geographer Neil Smith, gentrification has been "systematically integrated into wider urban and global processes" that have reshaped capitalism over the past half century (Smith 1996:38).

Geographer Andrew Merrifield has pointed to the importance of the dialectical relationship between space and place for understanding gentrification as an economic process central to the ongoing evolution of advanced capitalist cities. According to Merrifield, "Space is commanded and appropriated by capital . . . a rootless, fluid reality consisting of flows of capital, commodities, money, and information that may take on a global dimension." In effect, space is produced and appropriated as an exchange value in the global capitalist economy. At some point, however, capital must become grounded in a physical place so that it can "fulfil [sic] exigencies of production, realization and distribution of surplus value" (Merrifield 1993:103). This poses a dilemma for capital, in that place-bound groups can use this physical grounding as an opening to launch a struggle against the determining force of capitalism. Capital maintains the upper edge due to its ability to pick up and move through space when territorially defined



communities obviously cannot. The increasing ability of capital to do so (seemingly effortlessly) as it becomes more and more concentrated in the financial, rather than production, sector of the economy, is in part a response to the very possibility of struggle between localized, place-based communities and (temporarily) grounded capital (Merrifield 1993:103).

Gentrification is not a monolithic, homogenous process, however. Different cities, and even different communities within cities, have experienced gentrification in widely varying ways. Indeed, scholars studying gentrification have debated at some length the relative primacy of culture and economics in the process of gentrification. It is clear, however, that both play a significant role (Smith 1996:40-44), and the balance between the two varies from one case to the next. In 1970s San Francisco, for instance, gentrification was driven primarily by corporate interests with assistance from municipal government (Hartman 1984). In one Washington, D.C. neighborhood, however, gentrification in the 1970s and 1980s was much less monolithic and became more entangled in local cultural issues, leading to an impasse in which newer, often white middle-class residents and older, working-class African-American residents (as well as newer immigrants from Asia) coexisted uneasily for some years (Williams 1988).

As I demonstrate in this chapter, processes of gentrification in Hampden-Woodberry are not homogenous. There are three competing processes of gentrification occurring: one directed by real estate developers for financial gain, the second a branding of neighborhood identity through performance and consumption (again for financial gain), and the third occurring more organically as middle-class residents, many of them independent merchants and professionals, create a new community in the midst of an

already-existing neighborhood. Many of the changes that gentrification has brought to this neighborhood over the past 20 years have certainly been in line with larger processes of global capitalism and economic restructuring; at the same time, the specific material manifestations of these changes, as well as reactions to them, have been shaped in important ways by the dynamics of local culture.

#### Signs of Change: Adaptive Re-use and Cultural Gentrification, c. 1985-2000

Despite the intensive (but largely unsuccessful) efforts of local merchants to revitalize the Avenue during the 1970s and 1980s, the racial incidents of the mid- to late 1980s had renewed and reinforced Hampden's reputation as a white working-class backwater that was about a century out of place in late 20th-century Baltimore (see chapter 6). And yet by the time a food critic for the *Baltimore Sun* wrote about working-class Hampden's distinctive blue-collar cuisine in early 1987 (Whitehead 1987), both Hampden and Woodberry were experiencing the first effects of gentrification.

When Rockland Industries moved out of the former Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills complex at the southern edge of Hampden in the late 1970s, the nearly 125-year-old industrial facility (including the five-story main building and several outbuildings, totaling almost 100,000 square feet of space) stood empty, a stark reminder of capital disinvestment in the region. A few years later, however, the development company Struever Brothers, Eccles and Rouse purchased an option on the property. In short order Struever Brothers entered into business with the Rosen Agency (a company that represents craftspeople and artists) and R.S. Properties to renovate the complex into Mill Centre. Aided by nearly \$2.3 million from an Industrial Revenue Bond and an Urban

Development Action Grant from the city, the developers planned Mill Centre as a combination of artists' studios and galleries, showrooms, and commercial office space. By the mid-1980s Mill Centre boasted nearly 40 tenants who occupied about 75 percent of the available space. Tenants included painters, a sculptor, potters, photographers, a framing studio, a bonsai artist, a craft sweater maker, a landscape architect, a stringed instrument builder, rugcrafters, a papermaker, a furniture manufacturer, a computer consultant and even a non-profit advocacy agency for disabled persons (Morris 1986).

Other such adaptive re-use projects soon developed in the region, including those that transformed the Mt. Washington Mill (the oldest cotton mill in the state, located just north of Hampden-Woodberry), the Rockland Grist Mill in nearby Brooklandville (Gunts 1990), and later both the Meadow Mill and the Poole and Hunt Foundry in Woodberry (Gunts 1997; Kelly 1999; see also Dorsey 1998; Selby 1997). By the mid-1990s columnists and feature reporters for local papers were publishing frequent reports on the increasingly rapid changes transforming the neighborhood, and particularly Hampden (i.e., Anft 1998; Belfoure 1999a, 1999b; Corbett 1997; Editorial Page Staff 1997; Jacobson 1996a, 1996b; Kelly 1997; Large 1997; McNew 1997; Shapiro 1995). In one 18-month stretch from 1994 to 1995, 17 new businesses opened on the Avenue (Shapiro 1995:2D). One of these reporters described Hampden's metamorphosis thusly:

While no one was watching, this isolated, working-class Baltimore community of some 6,780 homes, long reviled as an enclave of white intolerance, has become a cheap, convenient and safe destination for gays, artists, new merchants, young families, among them even a few African-Americans. [Shapiro 1995:1D]

At the time it seemed as if radical change was occurring at breakneck speed in Hampden. Yet that change had still not placed Hampden on par in people's minds with other neighborhoods in Baltimore that had previously undergone gentrification, such as

Federal Hill (Shapiro 1995:1D). It would soon become clear, however, that the cultural gentrification of Hampden-Woodberry in the 1990s was but a prelude to much greater changes that would arrive in the following decade.

### Economic Gentrification: Outside Developers, Luxury Condominiums and Formula Retail

Sharon Zukin has argued that culture is an essential ingredient in gentrification, in effect justifying the economic violence it commits against poor and working-class urban residents (Zukin 1995). In the case of Hampden-Woodberry we can see that the earlier arrival of cultural gentrification paved the way for economic gentrification in the 21st century. As the neighborhood garnered increasing attention for the changes underway in the late 1990s, it became a more attractive locale for investment by commercial developers who saw the potential for massive profits generated by luxury condominiums and high-end retail shopping. This potential was only reinforced by public-private "revitalization" efforts such as the Jones Falls Master Plan, an effort in 2000 to provide a blueprint for 40 years or more of economic development and environmental restoration in the Jones Falls Valley. Among the participants in this project were the Baltimore Development Corporation, the Baltimore Mass Transit Administration, and Struever Brothers, Eccles and Rouse (Gunts 2000). In 2003 the Hampden Merchants' Association provided much of the support necessary to have the neighborhood listed as a national historic district on the National Register of Historic Places, a designation that frequently leads to higher property values (see *Baltimore Sun* 2003). By the summer of 2004 a popular local newspaper columnist expressed genuine bewilderment at the idea that

Hampden had become "too pricey" for many people looking to purchase a home in the city (Olesker 2004).

Over the past ten years outside developers have planned several projects for new domestic and retail space that many residents, even newer middle-class ones, fear will irrevocably change the character of the neighborhood. Frequently the planned domestic spaces play explicitly on the neighborhood's industrial and working-class heritage (Gadsby and Chidester 2007, 2008, n.d.). The recently opened Clipper Mill complex provides the best example of this cultural appropriation. Located on the site of the Poole and Hunt Foundry (which was destroyed by fire in 1995 [Haddad and Kelly 1995]) and incorporating some of the original architectural fabric, Clipper Mill consists of six primary buildings and 18 single-family and duplex houses ("contemporary park homes" collectively called "Overlook Clipper Mill"). In addition to Overlook Clipper Mill, the Millrace Condos, and the Assembly Apartments at Clipper Mill, the complex also includes office and retail space, artists' studios, Artifact Coffee, and Woodberry Kitchen, an upscale restaurant that emphasizes locally grown organic foods. Some of the corporate tenants include Biohabitats (ecological restoration), 4Thought, Inc. (design and marketing), Williams Jackson Ewing (retail development and leasing), Gabrielli Design Studio (ecologically sustainable design), Benchmark Asset Managers (investment advisors), and G1440 (e-business solutions) (Struever Brothers, Eccles and Rouse n.d.).

The following text from an advertising brochure, produced before the complex was opened, illustrates the way in which Hampden-Woodberry's industrial heritage has been resurrected for marketing purposes by the developers:

In 1853, a modest machine plant was born on Woodberry Road, just north of a nameless branch of the Jones Falls at the foot of Tempest Hill. The new plant,

coined Union Machine Shops, housed Poole & Hunt's general offices, an iron foundry, erecting and pattern shops, a melting house and stables. Instantly it became the backbone of the Woodberry/Hampden community, employing thousands of men as it grew to become the country's largest machine manufacturing plant.

Today, Struever Bros. Eccles & Rouse, Inc. is redeveloping Clipper Mill, creating a new urban corporate campus and upscale residential community. [Struever Brothers, Eccles and Rouse 2005]

David Gadsby has argued that such appropriation of industrial heritage and its transformation into marketing discourse privileges place over people in the neighborhood's history by eliding the role that workers played in its creation, thus allowing developers and planners to ignore their descendants who still live in the area during the planning process (Gadsby and Chidester 2007). The fact that local working-class residents could never hope to be able to afford the homes or apartments at Clipper Mill only exacerbates the problem, since the project is designed explicitly to bring new, high-income residents to the neighborhood: as of May 2007, the condos, duplexes and townhomes at Clipper Mill were being advertised at prices ranging from the mid-\$200,000s to the mid-\$400,000s (Live Baltimore Home Center 2007).

Another development project that has caused much debate and consternation in the community is the Rotunda Project on the northern edge of Hampden. Developers Hekemian and Company purchased the Rotunda property, formerly the Maryland Casualty Insurance building, and began planning a new luxury living/commercial campus in 2005. Prior to its redevelopment (which is currently scheduled to begin during the spring or summer of 2009 and to be completed no earlier than the fall of 2011 [Perl 2008]), the Rotunda was a sparsely inhabited combination of office space, indoor mall, and Giant grocery store. When the project is finally completed, Hekemian and Co. estimates that the new Rotunda will encompass a total of 929,000 square feet: 239,000

square feet of retail space, 140,800 square feet of office space, a luxury hotel, 302 apartments, 44 condominiums, and 12 townhouses (Hekemian and Co., Inc. 2007).

While some local residents have been excited about Clipper Mill, the Rotunda, and other expensive new developments in and around Hampden-Woodberry, others have watched with more than a little unease as these projects go forward. As early as 2004 residents of Woodberry were openly divided about the costs and benefits of the Clipper Mill Project. Kenneth Mumaw, owner of the former Hooper Mill complex and the largest landowner in Woodberry, publicly accused Struever Brothers of trying to run him out of business. Other residents liked the fact that the ruins of the Poole complex would be reused but were worried about some aspects of the project, such as increased traffic on Woodberry's narrow streets. Still others worried about the general pace of development, and particularly Struever Brothers' role in it. (Having previously redeveloped the Mt. Vernon-Woodberry Mills into Mill Centre, as well as the Stieff Silver building, Struever Brothers had by this time come to be viewed by many residents as a primary agent of gentrification in the area.) A coalition of neighborhood community councils formed the Mill Valley Community Council in order to push back against the rapid pace of development. Hampden Community Council president Allen Hicks stated, "We support development; development is good. But we don't want Hampden to turn into another Canton" (Pietila 2004).

From the beginning the Rotunda project encountered similar resistance from Hampden residents. Located on West 40th Street, the Rotunda sits at the intersection of several different neighborhoods: Hampden, Hoe's Heights, Medfield, Roland Park and Wyman Park. Hekemian and Co. organized public meetings in several of the other



**Figure 7.1. The Rotunda in May 2009, prior to the beginning of new construction. (Photo by David Gadsby, courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

project's potential negative impact on the retail district centered on the Avenue as well as traffic congestion (Dudley 2005). When further details about the project were made public in early 2006, many Hampden residents were unhappy to learn that Hekemian and Co. wanted to construct two separate high-rise buildings on the premises, one to be 17 stories tall and the other to be 10 stories (Dill 2006; Peters 2006). (Shortly thereafter the plans were changed to make the taller tower 22 stories [Perl 2006]).

In interviews conducted during the summer of 2007, local residents expressed dichotomous opinions concerning these two particular development projects. Whereas most of those interviewed either applauded the Clipper Mill development or had no particular opinions about it, the Rotunda development project was universally unpopular and other developments were seen as problematic at best. The interviewees who





**Figure 7.2.** Artistic renderings of how the Rotunda will look after new development is complete. (Reproduced by permission of Hekemian and Co., Inc.)

explicitly addressed Clipper Mill all noted that it was built on the ruins of the Poole and Hunt Foundry; they deemed it acceptable because, as eight-year Hampden resident Lynda Lambert noted, it had saved a historic property from some other (presumably worse) fate.<sup>2</sup> Sally Brown, a long-time resident of Brick Hill in Woodberry, was particularly happy to see Struever Brothers invest in the site. After the original building complex burned down, she related, the site became popular with drug dealers. Capital investment by a major developer, however, brought the benefit of increased police patrolling of the area.

While the Rotunda project also involves new building on an old site, interviewees' reactions to it were markedly negative. The general consensus was that the project was simply not compatible with the neighborhood for a variety of reasons. Lynda Lambert noted that a high-rise apartment building would lead to overcrowding in an already residentially dense neighborhood, not to mention that the final product would bear no resemblance to the historic property for which it is named. Jane Tyler, a writer who has been a renter in both Hampden and Woodberry for about six years, believed that the Rotunda project is simply an effort by outside developers to profit off of the efforts of already-established merchants who created a community around the Avenue. Using the example of a proposed Outback Steakhouse on the new Rotunda campus, she wondered what clientele that establishment would serve when the Avenue is already home to the Golden West Café (a restaurant specializing in New Mexican cuisine). While she liked the idea of mixed-use space (i.e., integrated domestic, retail and work space), she felt that the Rotunda project in particular was extremely contrived. She offered the following

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<sup>2</sup> With the exception of Ms. Lambert, who requested that her real name be used, all of the interviewees have been assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

description of the Hekemian and Co. presentation at a Hampden Community Council meeting she had attended:

"So, we want to have a mall where we put an Ann Taylor, because Ann Taylor will pay us a lot of rent for space in a mall, but we need to have people who would shop at an Ann Taylor so let's build a high-rise condo and sell them at very high prices so that it would be the kind of people who would shop at an Ann Taylor."

Felipe Aronson, a merchant on the Avenue who has lived in the neighborhood for almost a decade, expressed concern about the Rotunda project on two related points: first, that Hekemian and Co. representatives had stated in interviews that they want to create a new downtown for Hampden, when Aronson and others have already worked hard to create one that is doing just fine economically; and second, that this new downtown, if successful, will be located on private property, allowing the owners to control not only the exercise of free expression but also who is even allowed on the premises.

Two lifelong Hampden residents, retired secretary Jane Holloway and tool and die maker Joe Maguire, both expressed the belief that the new developments are simply not for "Hampden people" (by which they apparently meant working-class residents with deep family roots in the neighborhood), primarily because they are too expensive. Maguire noted in particular that such developments were contributing to skyrocketing housing and real estate values in the area as well as increased density: "They goddamn asked for [a] 22-story building, a 17-story—these kind of neighborhoods don't need them kind of buildings. These damn apartments, three and four floors, are—[they're] building too many of them! Every time you turn around somebody sells a damn house they're putting apartments on it." Holloway expressed similar sentiments, and also noted the

hypocrisy of planners and developers who talk about the need for green space at the same time that they fill in every available inch of empty land with new buildings.

While the differing attitudes toward Clipper Mill and the Rotunda project show that local residents are willing to evaluate individual development projects on a case-by-case basis, interviewees of all backgrounds and socioeconomic standing nevertheless expressed a general distrust of developers and a fear of what might happen to the neighborhood that they all love if development is allowed to proceed unchecked.

Speaking of her own neighborhood within a neighborhood, Woodberry's Brick Hill, Sally Brown noted that one landowner there owns eleven properties, roughly half of the hill.

That fact concerns her and some of her neighbors who have spent years of their lives and a good deal of money renovating their homes; they are well aware that this particular

landowner can sell his properties together for a lot more money than he could sell them individually, and that if he chooses to do so, an outside developer could come in and

"make a mess" of Brick Hill. Lynda Lambert left nearby Charles Village, where she had lived for almost two decades, when a similar process of neighborhood revitalization led

to economic gentrification by outside developers in the 1980s; she now fears that the same might happen to Hampden. She was highly critical of city politicians and

municipal planners who facilitate rampant development:

My feeling is they [politicians and planners] need to get with it and understand who's really of value here. And it's not developers. Developers—the only reason they're here is because they make money when they develop things. And they don't give a *shit* what they develop, just as long as they develop something. And, until the city understands that, we're in trouble.

Perhaps the most succinct statement of local feeling toward the development that is currently engulfing Hampden-Woodberry was made by an anonymous neighborhood

activist during the summer of 2005. As ground was being torn up in preparation for the construction of an expensive townhome development named Stone Hill Walk (located adjacent to Stone Hill and designed to look similar to the original 1840s stone duplexes that once housed mill workers), someone placed a handwritten cardboard sign mounted on a wooden stake in one of the mounds of upturned dirt. The sign read in part, "This treeless wasteland brought to you by greedy developers who don't have to live here."<sup>3</sup>



**Figure 7.3. Protest sign placed on the site of the Stone Hill Walk development. (Photo by David A. Gadsby, courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<sup>3</sup> Scribbled on the sign (apparently by a second person) following the words, "...brought to you by," was the additional comment, "everyones disregard for the environment [sic] + lack of action."

### Cultural Gentrification: HonFest and Neighborhood Branding

Despite the intrusion of outside developers over the past ten to fifteen years, Hampden in particular has been beset by internal gentrification as well. HonFest, an annual street festival organized by Denise Whiting (the owner of the Café Hon on the Avenue), has become the de facto official portrayal of Hampden identity over the last decade. Whiting first held HonFest in 1994. It remained a relatively small, local affair at first, but began to explode in popularity around the turn of the decade; in 2004 an estimated 20,000 people attended HonFest (Rizzo 2008a:265-266). HonFest purports to be a celebration of Hampden's working-class identity and heritage. Even a cursory glance at the representation of working-class life offered at HonFest, however, is enough for one to realize that it is not *Hampden's* working-class heritage that is being celebrated; it is a consumption-driven stereotype of working-class identity, and specifically working-class female identity, that is being offered up.

The term "Hon" has two primary meanings. First, it is a term of endearment often (supposedly) used by working-class women in Baltimore to refer to just about anyone. Second, it is the appellation given to these women themselves. But to be a Hon, one must do more than be a working-class woman. Indeed, the physical characteristics and attitude of a Hon are far more important than her socio-economic situation. To be a true Hon, one must dress properly: spandex (preferably leopard-print), horn-rimmed glasses, and bee-hive hairdos, occasionally supplemented by feather boas and martini glasses. Once the dress is correct, the attitude must also be perfected. Hons are loud, brash and unabashedly flashy. They *must* have a thick, working-class Baltimore accent, most readily apparent in the pronunciation of Baltimore as "Bawlmer." Perhaps most

importantly, Hons are working-class women, but not necessarily women who work. They certainly do not perform manual labor; if they work at all, it is in the service sector, preferably as diner waitresses. Finally, an unstated qualification for being a Hon (but perhaps not the least important) is that one must be white.<sup>4</sup>

HonFest is one of the most popular street festivals in Baltimore and regularly receives favorable coverage in the local media—the title of the *Baltimore Sun's* 2005 article on the festival was, "Hampden celebration brings out the inner Hon in almost everyone; Contestants and the curious alike come to the Avenue in Hampden for HonFest—the annual fun-filled homage [to] Bawlmer flair and really big hair" (Butler 2005). Indeed, people from all over the metropolitan Baltimore region, and sometimes even farther afield, come to HonFest. Traffic is routed away from the Avenue and its entire length from Falls Road to Chestnut Avenue is given over to the festivities. A main stage is set up roughly in the middle, on which the contests for "Best Hon," "Best Honette," and "Best Lil' Hon" are performed (see below). The rest of the length of the Avenue is taken up by stands operated by businesses (not necessarily Hampden-based) for the purpose of selling trinkets, t-shirts and the like; stands for local organizations, such as the Hampden Community Council; and food stands. Indeed, even the permanent businesses on the strip get into the act: the Valerie Gallery hair salon has for several years organized a "Hair Museum" to display examples of the bee-hive and other popular hairstyles from the 1950s and 1960s.

Consumption is the main activity in which visitors participate during HonFest. In addition to all of the various merchant stands, festival goers can purchase a bee-hive

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<sup>4</sup> This description of Hons, and the description of HonFest that follows, come from the author's observations of HonFest each June from 2005 to 2007.



**Figure 7.4.** A Chesapeake Bay crab shell decorated to look like a Hon and sold at HonFest in 2007. (Photograph by the author)



**Figure 7.5.** A scene from the Best Hon competition, June 2005. (Photograph by the author)



hairdo for just five dollars. If visitors aren't interested in getting a real beehive atop their heads, they can always spend less for a foam version. Pink flamingos are also an important aspect of HonFest. While there is a two-story pink-flamingo permanently glued to the facade of the Café Hon, they are out in force during HonFest—as lawn ornaments, as blow-up animals, and adorning cups, eyeglasses, and other items, all of which visitors can buy, of course.

Alongside the orgy of consumption, the other main attractions of HonFest are the contests for "Best Hon," "Best Honette," and "Best Lil' Hon." The first is for adult women; the second, for teenagers (mostly pre-teens); and the third for young girls between the ages of 3 and approximately 7. In each case, the contestants, who are dressed to the hilt as Hons, are asked to parade across the stage (exuding the appropriate attitude) and demonstrate their best *Bawlmer* accents. (The stage is designed to look like a diner, and is even labeled as the Hon Diner. While the adults are asked to repeat various local sayings, the younger girls are asked only to say "Welcome to Bawlmer, Hon!" or "Hi, Hon!") The contest for "Best Lil' Hon" is especially unnerving for some visitors, as the participants display what must be taken as indications of working-class female sexuality—they strut on stage, wearing skin-tight clothing and posing in ways that suggest a certain "looseness."

David Gadsby has compared these contests to the vaudeville blackface performances of the 19th century (Gadsby 2006b). Indeed, the women who participate in HonFest and the visitors to it know that they are going over the top. The winner of the 2005 "Best Hon" title claimed that it was her "dramatic" acting that got her the crown (Butler 2005), and visitors could pose for pictures wearing beehive wigs and feather boas

holding a sign that read, "Hamming it up with Pennysaver at HonFest 2005." And it would be impossible to escape the irony that Denise Whiting, the founder and organizer of HonFest, is herself anything but working-class—she is a successful businesswoman.

According to Whiting, HonFest is about celebrating a "fun and easygoing lifestyle." "Hon is a feeling that you have in your heart . . . There's something about putting on a feather boa, and cat's eye glasses, or Elvis sunglasses, that gives people permission to have fun" (Butler 2005). Indeed, public historian Mary Rizzo, who has interviewed many contestants in the Best Hon competition over the past half decade, has found that most of these women participate out of a sense that they are honoring some particular older female relative who was important in their lives (Rizzo 2008b). But the caricature of working-class femininity that is enacted every year during HonFest is about more than just having fun. Rather, it works to accomplish a sleight of hand, at once "celebrating" a supposed working-class form of culture while at the same time eliding the economic and social realities of working-class existence. As Rizzo has argued, HonFest is a form of what Renato Rosaldo termed "imperialist nostalgia": the primarily upper-middle-class participants in the Best Hon competition, most of whom live either in the suburbs or neighboring upscale Roland Park, are playing out a "nostalgic fantasy" based on "a romanticized past where community rested on a bedrock of racial and class homogeneity" (Rizzo 2008a:267). Through their bodily performance of the Hon, complete with all the material accoutrements of tacky, tasteless "working-class" culture, these women participate in the erasure of real working-class women (and men) who still inhabit Hampden-Woodberry (as well as other parts of the city) and the economic and social problems that they face on a daily basis.

Since HonFest has expanded to become a major regional tourist attraction over the past decade, local residents have developed mixed attitudes about the festival. Many long-time working-class residents are offended by the portrayal of working-class women and feel that they are being exploited and made fun of by Whiting. At a Hampden Community Council meeting during the spring of 2007, Whiting announced that she would be expanding HonFest from one day to two that June. Upon hearing this, one gentleman in attendance stood up and gave an angry response in which he noted that Whiting was using public resources for personal gain. He pointed out that by continuing HonFest into Sunday, Whiting would be interfering with many local residents' ability to attend, and enjoy, church services (David Gadsby, pers. comm., 2007). Indeed, later that summer Jane Holloway noted that while the festival organizers had agreed not to begin playing music over the loudspeakers at the corner of Chestnut Avenue and 36th Street (right in front of a local church) until after the church services were over, the music was already blaring when parishioners arrived in the morning.

With few exceptions, interviewees agreed that working-class residents were right to feel that they were being made fun of. Holloway, who was born into a working-class Hampden family herself but enjoys attending HonFest, noted that in 2007 she saw very few people from Hampden that she knew at the festival despite the fact that she was on the Avenue for most of the day on Saturday. Sally Brown commented that working-class residents don't have to go to HonFest and that they are not really welcome there anyway, but that she wouldn't go either if she was in their shoes. Marian Carsen, who moved to Baltimore from a Southern state eight years ago and has lived in Hampden with her husband for seven years, expressed a combination of understanding and surprise:

understanding that working-class residents are being made fun of during the festival, but surprise that they understand that they are the butt of the joke. She noted that when relatives and friends in other states ask her what Hampden is like, one of the first things she often mentions is the quirky locals:

You know, these crazy people who dress so funny, and talk so funny, and have these strange, quaint, backwards ideas... I guess I haven't spent a lot of time thinking about what they think about it [HonFest]. 'Cause I think it's assumed that they, they're just livin' it, and could care less. They think it's great.

Lynda Lambert held a different, more positive opinion of HonFest than other interviewees. The long-time residents she knows in the neighborhood think Honfest is "a hoot." She also took a more city-wide approach to the festival than other interviewees: "I think the Hon celebrates the Baltimorese in us, and the more people that recognize that that's who we are, and that's who we would like to stay, [the better]." During the interview she recalled an incident during the 1990s when someone altered the "Welcome to Baltimore" sign on Interstate 295 (which enters the city from the south) to read, "Welcome to Baltimore, Hon." An uproar ensued, with some city residents wanting to create a permanent sign with the new wording while others insisted that it was racist and degrading. Lambert was firmly on the side of those wanting to create a new permanent sign: "I would say those people [who opposed the sign] are overly sensitive. If you can't laugh at yourself, who can you laugh at? ... I think it celebrates who we were ... the '50s and the '60s and where we came from. So, that can't be a bad thing."

Other interviewees had more ambiguous feelings about HonFest. Jane Tyler enjoyed the fact that HonFest brings people into the neighborhood and shines a positive spotlight on Hampden, and she also understood the attraction—in the past she has volunteered as a "docent" for the Hair Museum, and she enjoyed talking to visitors about

the pictures of her own mother and grandmother showcasing multiple hairstyles from the 1960s. As a merchant, Felipe Aronson enjoyed the money that the festival brings into the neighborhood. And while he found the "minstrel show" aspect of HonFest distasteful, he also found it "hard to sympathize with those complaints, because if it were, for example, somebody making fun of black people, the sort of people that are complaining about HonFest would say, 'Get a fucking sense of humor and get over it. You're a cry baby.'"

At the same time, both Tyler and Aronson thought that HonFest was already becoming increasingly detached from everyday Hampden. Tyler felt that the character of the Hon had become a caricature that is unconnected to the day-to-day reality of the neighborhood. She recognized the element of class mockery, as well as the fact that most working-class people are not going to be able to enjoy a street festival they can't afford—"You know, they're not gonna pay eight dollars for a pit beef sandwich, which is outrageous." In broader terms, she felt that the festival no longer effectively celebrates Hampden since it doesn't account for the needs of local residents: "It's a real working neighborhood, and people live there and have to do stuff and get around ... It's nice to have money coming into the neighborhood and that's great and people want that but there needs to be that balance and respect for people who live there."

Aronson recognized that there are "different Hampdens for different people":

People that go to Mike's Place [a diner on the Avenue that is popular with working-class residents] live in one Hampden. People that come to my businesses and go to the Holy Frijoles! or Golden West Café live in a different Hampden. The people that go to Café Hon, they see a very different Hampden. So, there are different Hampdens for all these different people.

As an active member of the Hampden Merchants' Association, then, he was troubled by the increasing ubiquity of the Hon. He felt that HonFest makes the whole neighborhood

"an extension of two businesses" (the Café Hon and the Hon Bar, also owned by Denise Whiting) and that the caricature of Hampden (and Baltimore more generally) that is promulgated nationally by HonFest ignores and does not serve the large majority of the people who actually live and work in the neighborhood.

### Cultural Gentrification: The Merchant Class and the Creation of Community

Around the same time that Denise Whiting was beginning to brand Hampden as a mid-20th century nostalgic utopia in the late 1990s and early 2000s, another dramatic (but far less flamboyant) change was happening in Hampden. The long-moribund Avenue, which had resisted several attempts at revitalization in the 1970s and 1980s, sprang to life again as a new class of merchants moved in to the neighborhood. These entrepreneurs began to open a variety of kitschy boutiques and restaurants aimed specifically at a hip, young, middle-class clientele as these people moved in to the neighborhood in increasing numbers. Stores such as Fat Elvis, Oh! Said Rose, Atomic Books, Hometown Girl and Mud and Metal joined restaurants like the Café Hon, the Golden West Café, Susie's Soba, Holy Frijoles! and Grill Art, proving once again that the Avenue could be a viable retail district. At the same time, however, working-class residents felt increasingly marginalized within their own neighborhood. Many of the businesses that they had long known and loved, businesses such as Cavacos's Drug Store and Heiss Jewelers, had closed years previously as their owners retired or died; the new businesses were seen as too upscale, too strange, or both.

Interviews conducted with local residents during the summer of 2007 revealed a subtle but important difference in the way that long-time residents and younger

newcomers to Hampden-Woodberry view the revitalization of the Avenue. Both groups agree that community is important, and that businesses should serve the needs of the community rather than an outside clientele. The difference in opinions lies in what they perceive to be the needs of the community. Many of the newer residents expressed a desire not to displace the older population, and even to include it in the current economic rejuvenation of the neighborhood. At the same time, however, older residents spoke of the demise of the community they once knew and loved while newer residents described the creation of a new community where there had been none before.

Older residents consistently contrasted the present-day Avenue with the Avenue they once knew prior to deindustrialization in the neighborhood. Retired long-time Hampden merchant Fred Meyer wistfully recalled Saturday nights on the Avenue, which were a "beehive of activity." Sally Brown, who grew up in the nearby upper-class enclaves of Roland Park and Homeland, described the mid-20th-century Avenue as "like the boardwalk in Ocean City [Maryland]." Jane Holloway, who no longer shops on the Avenue, recalled a time in the 1950s and early 1960s when, "You could buy just about anything you wanted—clothing, shoes—anything. Furniture. And you didn't have to go out of the neighborhood." Joe Maguire, who was 83 years old at the time of his interview and has lived in Hampden all his life, provided a remarkably similar description of the Avenue prior to World War II.

While contemporary merchants such as Felipe Aronson believe that long-time working-class residents of Hampden-Woodberry blame the current stores on the Avenue for chasing away older stores that served a working-class clientele, none of the long-time residents interviewed in 2007 expressed this belief. Maguire stated that the biggest

changes to the Avenue occurred just after World War II and again during the early 1960s. Both Holloway and Meyer pinpointed the rise of suburban malls in the 1970s and 1980s as the cause of the Avenue's decline.

The trio of Maguire, Holloway and Meyer also voiced very similar assessments of the state of the Avenue today. Meyer opined that the best thing about the Avenue in the old days was that it served the community; the stores there today, he said, "don't mean anything to the people of Hampden." Holloway admitted that the new stores on the Avenue are a marked improvement over the vacant, boarded-up storefronts of the 1980s, but still believed that, "They're not for the people of Hampden for the most part." When asked what she wanted Hampden to be like in ten years, she replied,

The only thing is, is maybe shops in Hampden that Hampden people can shop in without going out [of the neighborhood], ones like we used to have. ... [I]t's hard to find your individual shops ... at a reasonable price, for the Hampden people. All your individual stores you go to, their prices, you can't afford 'em.

Maguire was the most vociferous in his disapproval of the Avenue today, citing both a lack of diversity in types of establishments and cost:

As far as I'm concerned, nothing's down there but junk. I mean, I never seen a place where every house served you a cup of coffee and a sandwich. I've never seen so many restaurants in my damn life....

I'd just like to see the neighborhood get growin' again like it always used to be. But, uh ... I'd say it needs *different* shops. You can't just have lunchrooms—these people can't afford so-called antiques. Who in the hell is gonna buy a antique that they can't afford the damn—can't afford to put food on the table, how in the hell they gonna buy an antique? Which *ain't* an antique to begin with.

In contrast, many newer residents felt that the sense of community that drew them to Hampden-Woodberry in the first place, and that is now rapidly disappearing for long-time residents, is precisely a product of the revitalization of the Avenue and its character as an independent retail district. Jane Tyler decided to move to Hampden after finishing



a graduate degree when she realized that she was spending more time visiting friends who already lived in Hampden than her family, who live in a different state. She was particularly attracted by the sense of community she felt and the proximity of neighborhood resources. She related two anecdotes that illustrate her perspective. The first was when she gave a neighborhood tour to a friend who was visiting from out of town. As they walked down the Avenue, Jane was able to say hello to many of the merchants they saw since she knew them personally, many as friends.

In the second anecdote, she recalled her experience of the 2000 presidential election when she and a friend had the idea of getting a group together at a local watering hole to watch the coverage. When their initial choice didn't pan out, another friend, a prominent merchant on the Avenue, went around to various businesses. The result was that election day turned into an "event" on the Avenue, with restaurants opening early, staying open late, and offering specials for people wearing "I Voted" stickers. Contrasting this incident with the kind of "neighborhood" created by developments like the Rotunda project, Tyler explained,

I just don't see something like that happening on a street that's populated by businesses that are owned by corporations twenty states away. You know, that kind of, like, magical civic action happens in a neighborhood, in a community where everybody knows each other and where businesses are independent enough that they can make their own decisions.

Newer residents, and especially merchants, are concerned about the impact that commercial developers will have on the community that they have created. In response a number of businesses and individual citizens have banded together to form the Independent Hampden coalition, an organization dedicated to preserving the Avenue as an independent business district free of formula retail stores and restaurants. Felipe

Aronson, who was also drawn to Hampden by the strong sense of community identity he felt there, has been active in the Independent Hampden efforts. He explained,

We don't want that same-ification, sort of, mall-looking storefront where everybody looks the same. ... [T]here's at least four to six places where you can get to-go coffee, or you can sit and have a cup of coffee, and read a paper, or whatever. ... We don't need a Starbucks here, at least within that district. Because, it just—it doesn't do anything for the neighborhood. We already have those needs being served.<sup>5</sup>

What Is Gentrification? Competing Discourses of Gentrification, Class and Community in Hampden-Woodberry

What is interesting about the contrasting attitudes of long-time and newer residents concerning the Avenue is the similar language they use to describe their ideal community. Most residents want to live in a neighborhood where the businesses serve the needs of the local community, rather than the bottom line of an absentee corporation; where face-to-face interaction and personal relationships are the basis for planning and decision-making; and where different groups within the neighborhood treat each other with respect and are all satisfied with the goods and services available to them. The tension between the two groups, however, is unmistakable. Despite similar ideals concerning community, long-time residents and newcomers are essentially talking past one another and failing to understand the other's position. While both groups demonstrate remarkable insight into the local situation, neither fully comprehends how the local situation is being shaped by larger forces of capitalist political economy in the

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<sup>5</sup> Despite overwhelming local support, Independent Hampden had been unable to convince the city Planning Commission to approve its zoning proposals as of the summer of 2007. Aronson noted that the effort, despite being lead by merchants who are, by definition, capitalists, has been called anti-capitalist, anti-American, socialist, Marxist, and elitist by its business opponents and members of the Planning Commission alike.

21st century. Long-time residents thus feel that the current merchants on the Avenue do not care about their needs, while merchants and other new residents do not fully understand what it is that long-time residents want. The result is a situation that anthropologist Brett Williams, in discussing gentrification in Washington, D.C., has described as "the strange segregation of integrated living" (Williams 1988:129).

Some new residents struggle to understand what it is that older residents feel is missing. Marian Carsen, who had a part-time job at one of the stores on the Avenue, related the following story:

This past weekend, I was working at the boutique and was out on the porch, and next door lives an old Hampden family, the guy is always out on the front porch ... So, another couple came up, they just kind of had that old Hampden look, they stopped and talked to him and they said, 'Hampden ain't nothin' like it used to be. There ain't nothin' here anymore.' And, I thought, you know, that's really interesting they would say that. 'Cause I wonder what they thought was here that's missing. 'Cause to me, there's like new stuff here.

At the same time, she expressed a desire to see some of the remaining stores on the Avenue that attract an undesirable element ("old drunk guys walking around yelling at people, and teenage mothers yelling at their kids") leave the neighborhood—including a mattress store.

Felipe Aronson understood that working-class residents want a place to buy cheap necessities, but he believed that this is an unrealistic expectation: "The only place you're gonna find cheap socks and underwear now is at a Wal-Mart or a Target ... they're not gonna fit into any retail space that's left on the Avenue." He also felt that the merchants currently on the Avenue are unfairly blamed for driving away the kinds of businesses that working-class residents want to see. As discussed above, however, most long-time residents are well aware that the Avenue had been in a state of decline for some time



**Figure 7.6. "The strange segregation of integrated living": Mike's Place (a greasy-spoon diner that is popular among long-time residents) and Squidfire (a hipster t-shirt shop that is typical of the kinds of businesses that cater to newer residents and tourists) sit side-by-side on the Avenue. (Photo by David Gadsby, courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

before merchants and entrepreneurs like Denise Whiting and Aronson arrived. They do not want to see big box stores like Wal-Mart on the Avenue, and in fact support the idea of locally-owned businesses; they just want some of those businesses to be more affordable for low-income families. For instance, when asked about Independent Hampden Jane Holloway responded,

It's a good idea to a point. ... [T]o a degree some chains might be okay, but independent—that's what they had to start with, and that's what the malls took away, so if we can get independent back again—but—the independent stores that are there now, like I said, most of them aren't for the Hampden community.

While newcomers to the neighborhood generally agree that gentrification would have a negative impact on Hampden-Woodberry, they disagree that gentrification is necessarily an accurate description of what is happening to the neighborhood. Lynda Lambert, who has only lived in Hampden for about eight years but has lived within five miles of Hampden for most of her life and has patronized stores there for three decades, vehemently disputed any description of economic change in Hampden-Woodberry as gentrification. She was not bothered by the stores on the Avenue that cater to tourists who can afford to spend two hundred dollars on a pair of shoes. What she did find troubling are the developments that increase residential and commercial density in the area. Having lived through the transformation of nearby Charles Village in the 1980s (and having left her home there because of it), Lambert was insistent that homeowners like herself who renovate and maintain their properties are the real victims of gentrification:

Gentrification is what destroys neighborhoods. You know, it's not—people like me who are renovators, we come in and fix and save, and help [the] neighborhood, and stay. You know, so the idea—gentrification is what happens after the renovators are basically forced out by rising property [values], which is what's happening right now.

Newer residents do have some understanding of the situation that long-time working-class residents feel they are in, but disagree over whether they (the newer residents) are at fault for displacing older residents. Marian Carsen, for instance, recognized that, "some of the things that we think are funny, or amusing, or charming are being wiped out ... by us." Jane Tyler was bothered by the fact that half of the population of Hampden-Woodberry is not served well by the stores on the Avenue. She identified newer residents as the ones who are intolerant of the working-class population,

rather than vice-versa. She described the relationship between the two as being like "cats and dogs. They tolerate each other; they don't really interact." At the same time, she felt that newer residents have a lot to learn from lifelong residents:

I think [the lack of interaction is] to the detriment of people who are newer to the community, because I think they have something to learn about—what it is to be invested in your community ... I think it would help them understand more about how growth should happen. You [know], if this was a community that was entirely dependent on the mills, then what does it mean to build a community that's entirely dependent on the success of retail on the Avenue?

Felipe Aronson also emphasized that neither he nor anyone he knew had ever intended to displace anyone (except possibly junkies and drug dealers), especially since the area's "blue-collar aesthetic" drew them to the neighborhood in the first place. He further noted that even more recent newcomers can feel threatened by the increasing pace of change in the neighborhood:

It got bad, when it got to the point where it's like, every other person I was running into at a pub, "Oh yeah, I just moved here from D.C. ..." When this starts to go on, no matter who you are, no matter if you moved here in 2000, which I did, or you've lived here your entire life, you're bound to feel threatened.

At the same time, Tyler evinced an understanding of the revitalization of the Avenue that did not account for the prior existence of the working-class community. She used the example of Oh! Said Rose, one of the earliest upscale boutiques to open on the Avenue:

Like Susannah, who had Oh! Said Rose for ten years, and before she moved into Oh! Said Rose, before she opened it that building was a crack house. But she saw potential in the neighborhood, and she saw an idea for her store, and she took a risk, and it paid off, and the neighborhood eventually grew into something really beautiful.

Contrary to her earlier statement that new residents should learn what it means to be invested in a community from long-time residents, in this account merchants on the Avenue created community where there was none before. Noting pictures of the Avenue

from the 1930s, Aronson argued that gentrification means different things to different people and that the current revitalization of the Avenue can be seen as simply the latest in a series of economic cycles that bring prosperity to neighborhoods like Hampden-Woodberry.

Furthermore, both Aronson and Tyler expressed the belief that working-class residents share some of the blame if the neighborhood does not match their ideal of community. Aronson observed,

There's still a lot of community members here that are always gonna be here. But, there's some people that cashed out. And, whose fault is that? Why were they so eager to leave the community? If Hampden was such a great place, why were they so eager to sell their house and get the fuck out of it?

When asked to identify the most important social issue currently facing Hampden-Woodberry, Jane Tyler pointed to a lack of community involvement in planning and development, particularly on the part of working-class residents: "[T]hose lower income long-time residents, all they really have are their voices, to sort of face off against newcomers with money. So I think lack of—*that* population not taking advantage of its resources I guess would be, could be seen as a social problem."

What these perspectives miss, however, are the economic pressures that force people out of the neighborhood (i.e., higher property values equal higher property taxes, which lead people to "cash out" because they can no longer afford to stay in their homes even if they want to) as well as the various social and economic mechanisms that effectively silence working-class voices in public discourse. Long-time and working-class residents like Jane Holloway and the gentleman who angrily responded to Denise Whiting's announcement of the extension of HonFest at a community council meeting are used to being ignored. As Holloway noted concerning the Rotunda development, "[T]he

Hampden Community Council agreed ... to a certain height. ... They went and changed the height, making it higher anyway, and it was approved, not by us, but by the city, so why do they ask the people of the community? They ask you, then they do what they want to do anyway." Furthermore, long-time residents like Holloway who participate in civic organizations like the Hampden Community Council are the exception, rather than the rule. For instance, when asked whether he ever attended community council meetings Joe Maguire responded that he had always been too busy working to get involved.

#### Conclusion: Capitalism and Community in 21st-Century Hampden-Woodberry

In an elegant deconstruction of the discourse of community, Miranda Joseph (2002) recently argued that capitalism and community have become inextricably intertwined during the 20th and 21st centuries. According to Joseph, community and capitalism are usually positioned (both by scholars and in the public imagination) as binary opposites in a temporal sequence. Community, defined by face-to-face interaction, equality, and individuality, was a utopian social form that characterized pre-industrial, agrarian societies and was destroyed by industrial and monopoly capitalism. Using Derrida's notion of *supplementarity*, however, Joseph proposed that community and capitalism only appear independent from each other in discourse; in reality, they are internally incoherent and externally connected, dependent on each other for their very existence (Joseph 2002:1-2). She further noted that the discourse of community, which is often very critical of capitalism, focuses its critique specifically on monopoly, or bureaucratic, capitalism. In other words, proponents of community advance an argument



not against capitalism per se, but against bureaucracy, whether corporate, state, or otherwise. Entrepreneurial capitalism, which is associated with freedom and individuality, is celebrated by proponents of community (Joseph 2002:8).

Joseph pointed out, however, that capitalism, even entrepreneurial capitalism, does not entail freedom and the equivalence of individuals, but their opposites—conformity and social hierarchy. Community, moreover, specifically functions to generate and legitimate social hierarchy and to ensure obedience to its strictures. In this way, community supplements (enables) capitalism. The pernicious effect of the romantic discourse of community is that in detaching the concept of community from its historical and cultural context and placing it instead in an idealized past, the discourse "elides the material processes that have transformed social relations" over the course of the past two centuries (Joseph 2002:9). Community is articulated as "values," as opposed to the articulation of capitalism as the creation of (monetary) value. By creating this independence of community on the one hand from material (economic and political) conditions on the other, capitalism is absolved of any responsibility for poverty, social dislocation, and other social-economic issues, which are considered to be the domain of community institutions and individuals (Joseph 2002:10-11).

In 21st-century Hampden-Woodberry we can see the romantic discourse of community operating much as Joseph describes. Most residents, both long-time working-class locals and newer arrivals, yearn for an idealized community in which face-to-face interaction promotes freedom, individuality and equality. Furthermore, they direct their ire at corporate capitalism in the form of outside commercial developers, who are perceived to threaten the respective communities that these two groups have built. In

the process, however, long-time working-class residents and newer middle-class residents end up taking aim at each other when it would appear that if they worked together, they could more effectively advocate for the neighborhood. The question, then, is why this alliance has not materialized. There are two answers, one cultural and one political-economic, both supplementary to each other.

The first answer lies in Hampden-Woodberry's long history of isolation from the city and inward-looking tendencies. Fred Meyer commented that he was amazed at all the good press Hampden has been getting during the last few years; for most of the 20th century it was a closed community and outsiders simply didn't think about it much. Neighborhood boosters have long liked to describe Hampden-Woodberry as a small town in the middle of a big city—a particularly potent image given the associations of racial, religious and moral homogeneity that small-town America conjures up as opposed to the more threatening associations between large urban centers, social anarchy, racial violence, and poverty. In such a community it is not surprising that lifelong residents often paint all newcomers with the same brush, whether this is justified or not. As Felipe Aronson admitted, it is easy to feel threatened by change even when others feel threatened by the change that you represent to them.

The political-economic answer to the question of why long-time residents and newcomers often catch each other in the crosshairs when they are both aiming at outside developers lies in the role of gentrification as an element of late capitalism. The development of upscale, mixed-use residential/retail campuses, the branding of the neighborhood for the profit of one entrepreneur, and the creation of community around an independent, edgy, hip retail district are all different manifestations of the heterogenous

processes that are often labeled as gentrification. They are all, in different ways, the material grounding of capital in a particular place that is necessary in order for it to produce and appropriate space as an exchange value, which is then realized and distributed (unevenly) as surplus value (see page 239). In the particular instance of Hampden-Woodberry we can see that there is not just one way for capital to achieve this end; rather, several strategies are competing for dominance.

What does this mean for the future of Hampden-Woodberry? Perhaps one of the three modes of gentrification currently underway will win out over the others. More likely, the most successful elements of all three will eventually combine to transform the neighborhood yet again. Either way, local culture and global capital will continue to interact, producing more surplus value and new constellations of space, place and community. What this will mean for those people who have lived in Hampden-Woodberry all their lives, as well as those who have been more recently drawn to the neighborhood, is yet to be discovered.

2012

*Aaron and Michelle wandered to the middle of the plaza and found an empty bench. Michelle gazed around in a strange combination of detached bemusement and wistful nostalgia. She and her husband had not come here to the new Rotunda to shop; they remained loyal to the independent merchants on the Avenue a few blocks away, many of whom they considered friends. No, Aaron and Michelle had ventured to Hampden's newest upscale retail and residential development out of curiosity more than anything else. A decade ago they had bought a rowhouse in Hampden for \$50,000; two*

*months ago they were offered \$250,000 for it, even though it wasn't on the market. They had refused the offer, but it had only served to make them more aware of all the changes that had happened in Hampden since they first moved in. Michelle found herself staring at the people sitting outside Starbucks and the customers exiting Ann Taylor. She didn't recognize any of them—they were all either tourists, upper-class residents of Roland Park, or new residents of the luxury apartments and condos at the Rotunda. She shifted her focus to the 22-story behemoth that Hampden residents had done so much to try to prevent, and she felt an involuntary shudder.*

*After a few minutes the couple got up. As they walked toward 40th Street to leave, Michelle wondered aloud what impact the Rotunda would have on the Avenue and on real estate in the neighborhood. Both Michelle and Aaron knew that they would have to do some serious thinking over the next couple of years, deciding whether they could afford to stay in Hampden as their property taxes went up. Regarding the Avenue, Aaron answered that he had heard recently that several of the merchants were having a hard time staying afloat already.*

*Going in the other direction as they passed, Meredith, who had just signed a lease for an apartment at the Rotunda, overheard part of their conversation. "How interesting," she thought to herself. "Why would they care about those run-down old businesses on 36th Street when they have all these new stores right here?"*

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion: "So friendly even the junkies call you Hon": Capitalism, Class and Community in Hampden-Woodberry, Past, Present and Future

At the end of her interview during the summer of 2007, when asked if she would like to add anything else that had not been addressed by the interviewer's questions, Jane Tyler responded, "Before I moved here the way Hampden was described to me was, 'It's so friendly, even the junkies call you Hon!' And I just think there's a lot in that statement. And it's true. I have found it to be true." Indeed, there is much truth to be found in that characterization of Hampden-Woodberry. Throughout the interviews conducted in 2007 informants repeatedly expressed a mixture of contempt, pity, fear, and empathy toward the usually homeless drug addicts who are so prominent a part of everyday life in Hampden-Woodberry despite its economic and social renewal over the past two decades.

There could be many reasons for the mixture of these feelings in people's minds: contempt, because junkies are considered to be society's failures, those who cannot live and succeed by the same rules as the rest of us; pity, because in spite of our contempt we can still manage to glimpse their basic humanity in little interactions like being called Hon; and fear or empathy, because it is all too easy to imagine ourselves or someone we care about falling victim to the same injustices of a culture that promotes overindulgence and addiction and a political economy that produces clear winners (the wealthy), clear losers (junkies and others who live in chronic poverty) and a great mass of people who

could join either category but are far more likely to fall down the socioeconomic ladder than to climb up it.

What is more interesting, however, is what Tyler's anecdote tells us about the nature of community in Hampden-Woodberry under late capitalism. Despite people's feelings of contempt for the junkies who inhabit the local streets, they are understood to be as much a part of the community at this particular historical juncture as both long-time residents and middle-class newcomers. This understanding is clear in the many efforts that the Hampden Community Council has made in recent years to support local charter education efforts in place of a city school system that has largely failed the youth of Hampden-Woodberry. Everyone is in the community together, and its problems can only be overcome if everyone works together to solve them. Despite this feeling on the part of many local residents, various factors have prevented long-time working-class residents and recent middle-class newcomers from working together to solve the neighborhood's problems, even those on which the two groups can agree.

In this dissertation I have argued that materiality is the link between local culture and larger processes of global capitalism, essentially providing both the means by which and the medium in which the dialectical relationship between these two scales of social experience plays out. From the establishment of the first small mill villages along the banks of the Jones Falls in the 1840s through the end of Hampden-Woodberry's industrial heyday in the mid-1920s, the local capitalist and working classes engaged in an ongoing struggle over labor, local citizenship and the values of community; this struggle was largely waged on the terrain (both literal and figurative) of industrial spatiality constructed by the mill owners and appropriated by mill operatives, and it evolved in

tandem with the political economic shift from industrial to monopoly capitalism. Until approximately 1890, a small stratum of lower-middle-class independent artisans and entrepreneurs identified with and participated in working-class efforts to reform the system of industrial capitalism that simultaneously provided them with a stable living and prevented their upward mobility, consigning them to a material standard of living similar to that of mill operatives. After Hampden-Woodberry was annexed by the city in 1889 and as the mill corporations increasingly abandoned their stake in the social fabric of the community, however, these same lower-middle-class citizens developed their own class consciousness that differentiated them from working-class residents.

By 1938 the local middle class was strong enough to effect a revolution in local historical memory, one that erased a heritage of class struggle and replaced it with a middle-class heritage that emphasized the values of nostalgia for the "good old days," community cohesion and harmony, consumption and leisure. This revolution was accomplished through the use of public performances ("jubilee" celebrations) and local history publications. This new heritage continues to shape local understandings of neighborhood history to this day. The effects of deindustrialization on Hampden-Woodberry during the 1970s and 1980s enabled the further consolidation of the power of this understanding of local heritage, as middle-class business owners and other reformers attempted (unsuccessfully) to revitalize the local economy through the rehabilitation of the Avenue, the community's central shopping district. At the same time, however, some local working-class residents attempted to take back their neighborhood's identity. The substitution of race for class and the maintenance of residential racial exclusivity through violence were, in effect, attempts to protect the community against the changes wrought

by both the shift from industrial monopoly capitalism to global free-trade capitalism and local middle-class revitalization efforts.

Finally, although the two neighborhoods are no longer considered to be one cohesive community, they both face similar problems today under the political economy of late capitalism just as they have since the 1840s. Over the course of the past 25 years Hampden-Woodberry has been transformed yet again as three types of gentrification (upscale real estate development, neighborhood branding and commercialization, and successful revitalization efforts by local merchants) have taken hold. These changes are but a part of the restructuring of the global capitalist political economy, a restructuring that leaves out many of the working-class residents who remain in Hampden-Woodberry.

At the end of chapter 7 I used Miranda Joseph's (2002) theory of the supplementarity of community and capitalism to explain the ellisions that are enabling late capitalism to transform the neighborhood through multiple forms of gentrification. While community-as-ideology has been supplementary to capitalism in many ways in American culture over the past two centuries, community-as-cultural construction has interacted with capitalist political economy in a more dialectical fashion. Industrial capitalists in 19th-century Hampden-Woodberry did indeed attempt to impose an ideology of industrial community upon their employees, but this ideology was incomplete; it was this incompleteness that allowed both lower-middle-class entrepreneurs and mill operatives to contest the hegemony of the mill owners. Similarly, deindustrialization and the middle-class construction of a new kind of community from the 1930s to the 1980s allowed local merchants to replace industrial ideology with their own individualistic, entrepreneurial ideology. In turn, this ideology is now in the process



of being replaced by the neoliberal ideology of free-market capitalism through the mechanisms of demographic change and gentrification.

This research is a product of my involvement with the Hampden Community Archaeology Project (HCAP), a community-based, collaborative heritage research project that has been ongoing since the fall of 2004. HCAP is itself a material practice, one that produces new kinds of materiality including archaeological sites, features and artifacts, public performances, and texts such as this one. By exploring the particular ways in which materiality has served as the link between local cultural processes and global capitalism in Hampden-Woodberry since the 1840s, it is my hope that this dissertation will help local residents to reimagine the possibilities of community for the 21st century.

In 2009, a moment of crisis in the global capitalist economy, it is impossible to tell what the future of Hampden-Woodberry holds. It seems likely, however, that as long as capitalism remains the dominant political economic system in the world, the dialectical relationship between capitalism and community will continue to play itself out in diverse material forms in local communities all across the globe. The challenge for the future is to discover how a critical understanding of these processes can help neighborhoods to build a more democratic community, one in which all residents have an equal voice in the public sphere and equal access to the benefits of local citizenship.

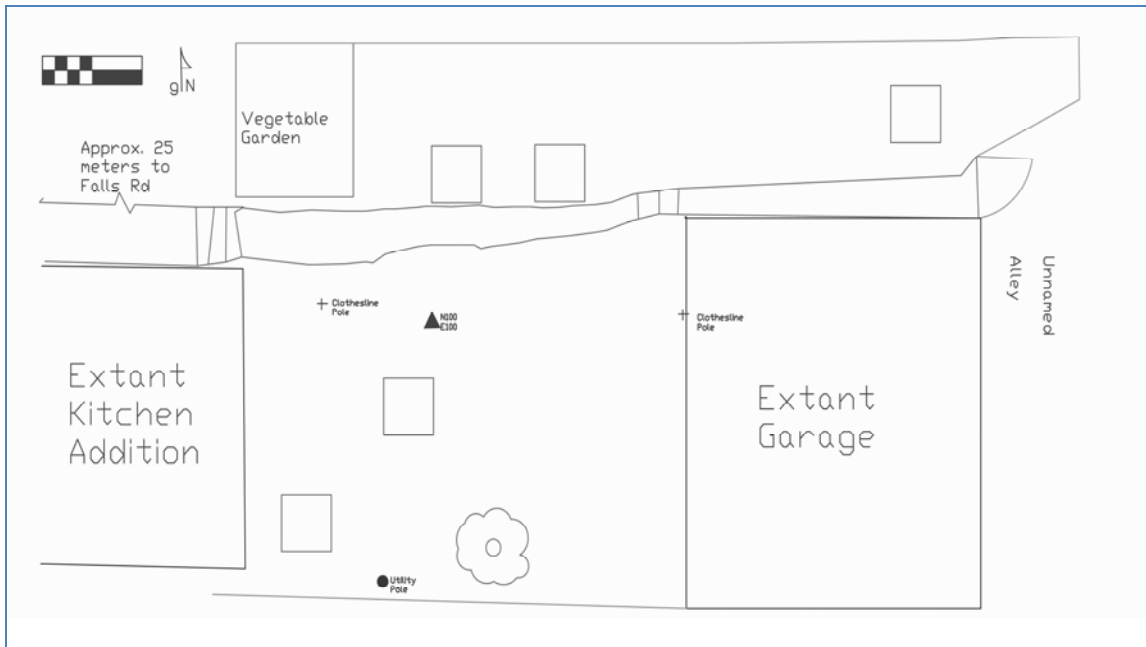
## Appendices

Appendix A

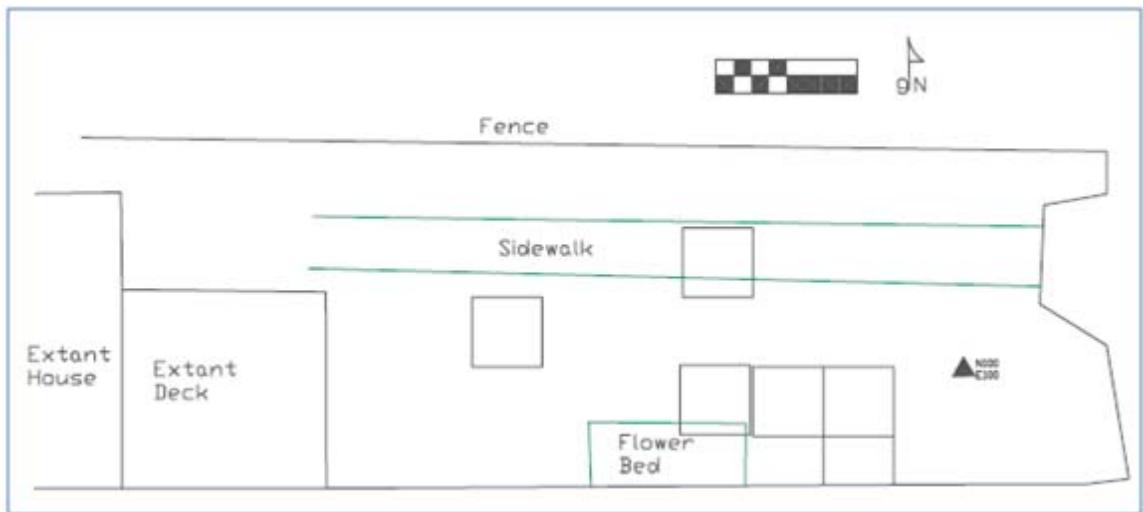
Hampden Community Archaeology Project Site Maps



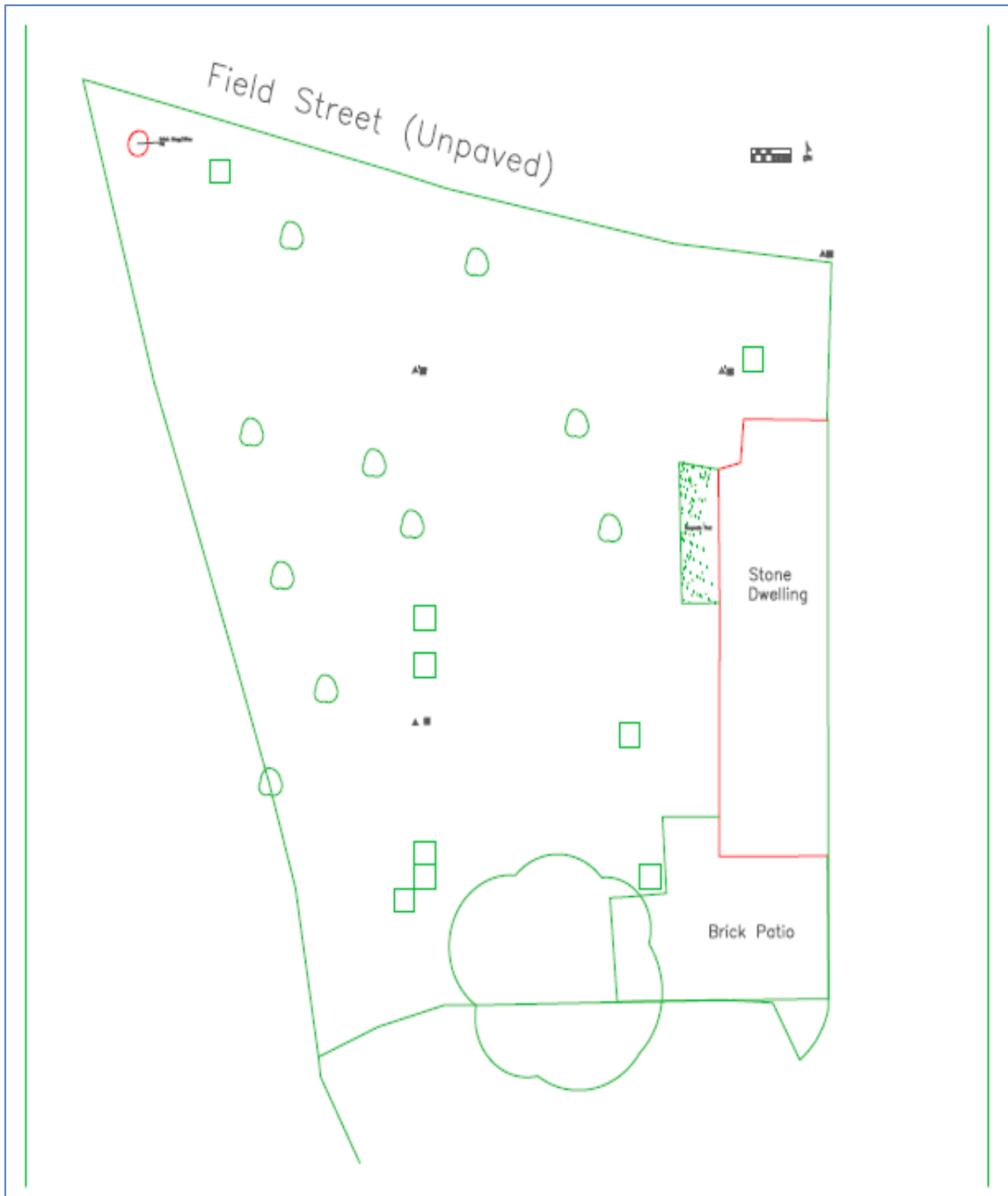
**Figure A.1. 18BC164 Site Map—Mackey Site. The numbered squares represent 1m<sup>2</sup> test units; the numbered circles represent shovel test pits (STPs). (Digitized map created by David Gadsby. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**



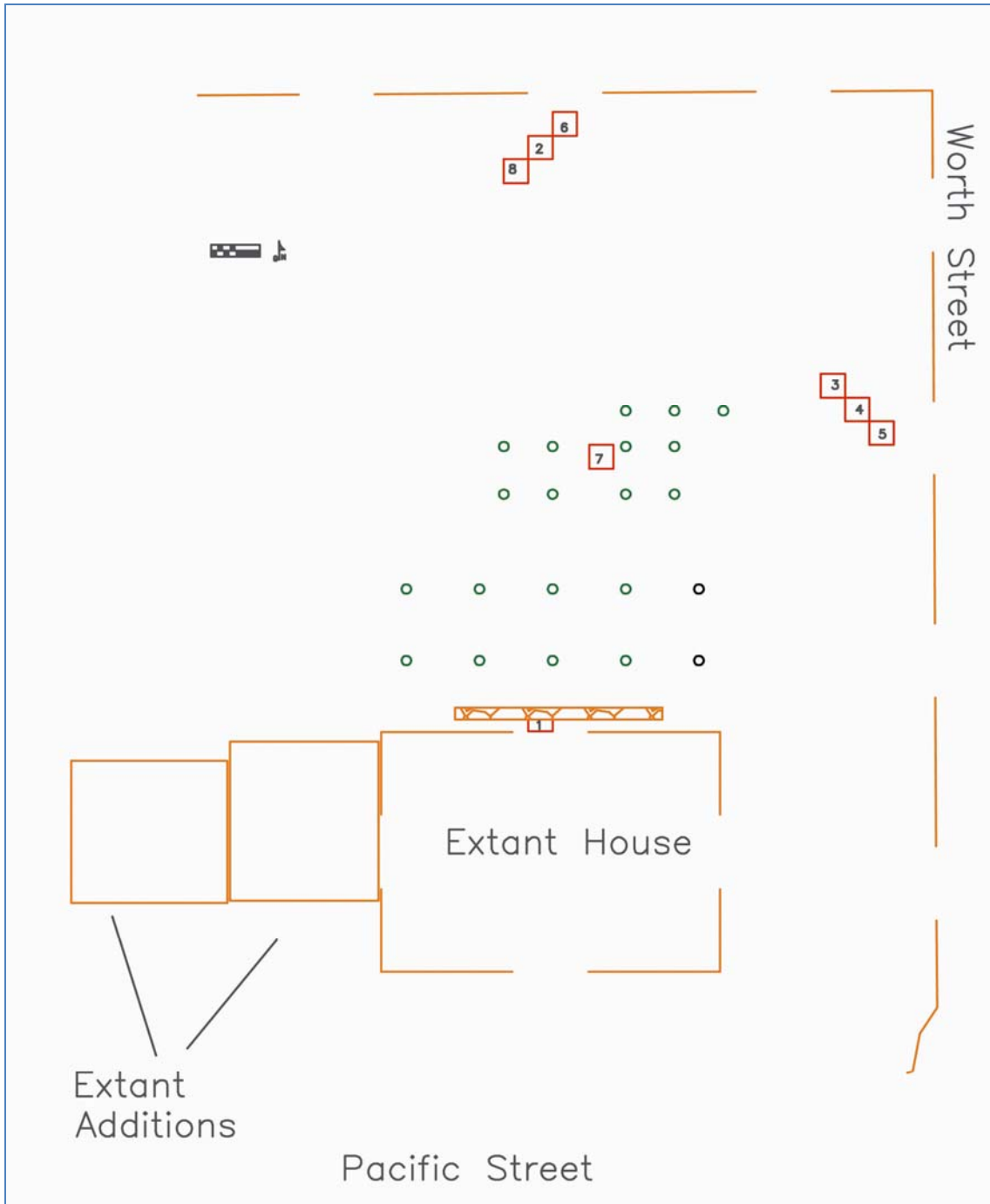
**Figure A.2. 18BC165 Site Map—Wagner Site. The squares represent 1m<sup>2</sup> test units. (Digitized map created by David Gadsby. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**



**Figure A.3. 18BC166 Site Map—Millington Site. The squares represent 1m<sup>2</sup> test units. (Digitized map created by David Gadsby. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**



**Figure A.4. 18BC167 Site Map—Carder Site. The squares represent 1m<sup>2</sup> test units. (Digitized map created by David Gadsby. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**



**Figure A.5. 18BC168 Site Map—Thistle Site. The numbered squares represent 1m<sup>2</sup> test units. (Digitized map created by David Gadsby. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

Appendix B

Hampden Community Archaeology Project *Terminus post quem* Lists by Site

**Table B.1. 18BC164 *Terminus post quem* List—Mackey Site. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

Lot <sup>1</sup>	TPQ	Open	Close	Median	Comments
31	1938	1890	1938	1914	
32	1885	1885	1900	1892.5	
33	2006				contemporary trash
34		1859	1885	1872	no diagnostic artifacts
35	1833	1833	1849	1841	
36	1901	1901	1920	1910.5	
37	1927	1927	2006	1966.5	
38	1837	1837	2006	1921.5	
39	1845	1845	1860	1852.5	
40	1849	1849	2006	1927.5	
41	1833	1833	1850	1841.5	
42	1819	1819	1840	1829.5	
43	1825	1825	1840	1832.5	
44					no artifacts
45					no artifacts
46	1842	1842	1930	1886	
47	1842	1842	1927	1884.5	
48	c. 1885	1885	2000	1942.5	
49					no diagnostic artifacts
50	1825	1825	1951	1888	
51	1820	1820	1940	1880	
52	1779	1779	1830	1804.5	
53					no artifacts

<sup>1</sup> Lots 1 through 30 correspond to shovel test pits. These proveniences were not assigned TPQ dates.

**Table B.1 (continued). 18BC164 *Terminus post quem* List—Mackey Site.**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
54	c. 1830	1830	1860	1845	
55	1820	1820	1930	1875	
56					no diagnostic artifacts
57	late 1950s	1955	1960	1957.5	
58	1924	1924	1930	1927	
59	1842	1842	1940	1891	
60	c. 1830	1830	1840	1835	
61	1892	1892	1900	1896	
62	1842	1842	1860	1851	
63	1842	1842	1930	1886	
64	1805	1805	1890	1847.5	
65	1830	1830	1850	1840	
66					no artifacts
67	1830	1830	1890	1860	
68	1830	1830	1890	1860	
69	1879	1879	1900	1889.5	
70	1845	1845	1860	1852.5	
71					no artifacts
72	late 1950s	1955	2000	1977.5	
73	1906	1906	2000	1953	
74	late 1950s	1955	2000	1977.5	
75	c. 1830	1830	1850	1840	
76	1842	1842	1933	1887.5	
77	1885	1885	1890	1887.5	
78	1820	1820	1830	1825	
79	1845	1845	1850	1847.5	
80	1982	1982	2000	1991	
81	1967	1967	2000	1983.5	
82	1962	1962	2000	1981	
83	1879	1879	1910	1894.5	
84	1933	1933	2000	1966.5	
85	1830	1830	1930	1880	
86	1901	1901	2000	1950.5	
87	1842	1842	1930	1886	



**Table B.1 (continued). 18BC164 *Terminus post quem* List—Mackey Site.**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
88	1933	1933	1947	1940	
89	1885	1885	1900	1892.5	
90	1820	1820	1885	1852.5	
91	1820	1820	1885	1852.5	
92	1907	1907	1950	1928.5	
93	1902	1902	1910	1906	
94	1830	1830	1900	1865	
95	1988	1988	2000	1994	
96	1905	1905	1930	1917.5	
97	1830	1830	1890	1860	
98	1906	1906	1930	1918	
99	1899	1899	1930	1914.5	
100	1879	1879	1906	1892.5	
101	1842	1842	1930	1886	
102					no artifacts
103	1820	1820	1910	1865	
104	2006				contemporary trash
105	1869	1869	1890	1879.5	
106	1921	1921	1940	1930.5	
107	c. 1919	1919	1939	1929	
108	1820	1820	1910	1865	
109	1843	1843	1870	1856.5	
110	1899	1899	1915	1907	
111	1820	1820	1840	1830	
112	1892	1892	1910	1901	
113	1901	1901	2000	1950.5	
114			1865		<i>terminus ante quem</i> 1865
115	1805	1805	1890	1847.5	
116	1885	1885	1890	1887.5	
117	1820	1820	1890	1855	
118	1830	1830	1890	1860	
119	1905	1905	2000	1952.5	
120	1892	1892	1930	1911	
121	1830	1830	1910	1870	
122	1820	1820	2000	1910	

**Table B.1 (continued). 18BC164 *Terminus post quem* List—Mackey Site.**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
123	1830	1830	1890	1860	
124	c. 1890	1890	1910	1900	
125	1830	1830	1910	1870	
126	1892	1892	1910	1901	
127	1820	1820	1890	1855	
128					no artifacts
129	1869	1869	1890	1879.5	
130	1839	1839	1850	1844.5	
131	1933	1933	2000	1966.5	
132	1869	1869	1900	1884.5	
133	1901	1901	1910	1905.5	
134	1885	1885	2000	1942.5	
135	1895	1895	1910	1902.5	
136	1892	1892	1910	1901	
137	1820	1820	1860	1840	
138	1805	1805	1890	1847.5	
139	1885	1885	1890	1887.5	
140	1899	1899	1912	1905.5	
141	1805	1805	1890	1847.5	
142	1830	1830	1850	1840	
143	1830	1830	1890	1860	
144	1805	1805	1830	1817.5	
145	1820	1820	1840	1830	
146	1830	1830	1900	1865	
147	1842	1842	1890	1866	
148	1820	1820	1830	1825	
149	1961	1961	2000	1980.5	
150	1849	1849	1890	1869.5	
151	1830	1830	1890	1860	
152	1828	1828	1890	1859	
153	1820	1820	1830	1825	
154	1906	1906	2000	1953	
155	1842	1842	1890	1866	
156	1830	1830	1890	1860	
157	1849	1849	1890	1869.5	
158	1849	1849	1900	1874.5	

**Table B.1 (continued). 18BC164 *Terminus post quem* List—Mackey Site.**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
159	1849	1849	1900	1874.5	
160	1820	1820	1890	1855	
161	1845	1845	1845	1845	
162	1849	1849	1890	1869.5	
163	1885	1885	1890	1887.5	
164	1820	1820	1890	1855	
165	1830	1830	1840	1835	
166					no diagnostic artifacts
167	1866	1866	2000	1933	
168	1842	1842	1890	1866	
169	1885	1885	1890	1887.5	
170	1845	1845	1890	1867.5	
171	1845	1845	1860	1852.5	
999					unprovenienced artifacts

**Table B.2. 18BC165 *Terminus post quem* List—Wagner Site. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1	1901	1901	1930	1915.5	
2	1925	1925	1950	1937.5	
3	1925	1925	1950	1937.5	
4	1899	1899	1930	1914.5	
5	1940	1940	2000	1970	
6					no artifacts
7	1906	1906	1940	1923	
8	1885	1885	1900	1892.5	
9	1885	1885	1910	1897.5	
10	1885	1885	1900	1892.5	
11	1923	1923	1940	1931.5	
12	1901	1901	1930	1915.5	
13	1842	1842	1890	1866	
14	1885	1885	1900	1892.5	
15	1869	1869	1930	1899.5	
16	1885	1885	1900	1892.5	
17					no artifacts
18	1830	1830	1890	1860	
19	1849	1849	1930	1889.5	
20	1885	1885	1950	1917.5	
21	1885	1885	2000	1942.5	
22	1870	1870	1890	1880	
23	1820	1820	1835	1827.5	
24					no diagnostic artifacts

**Table B.3. 18BC166 *Terminus post quem* List—Millington Site. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1	1927	1927	1940	1933.5	
2	1938	1938	2004	1971	
3	1939	1939	1950	1944.5	
4	1915	1915	2004	1959.5	
5	c. 1925	1925	1940	1932.5	
6	1903	1903	1930	1916.5	
7	1903	1903	1940	1921.5	
8	1903	1903	c. 1930	1916.5	
9	1915	1915	2004	1959.5	
10	1899	1899	2004	1951.5	
11	c. 1915	c. 1915	1930	1922.5	
12					no diagnostic artifacts
13	1947	1947	2004	1975.5	
14	1958	1958	2004	1981	
15	1934	1934	2004	1969	
16	1885	1885	2004	1944.5	
17	c. 1910	c. 1910	c. 1940	1925	
18	1947	1947	2004	1975.5	
19	1939	1939	c. 1950	1944.5	
999	1830	1830	1930	1880	

**Table B.4. 18BC167 *Terminus post quem* List—Carder Site. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1	1968	1968	2005	1986.5	
2	1965	1965	2005	1985	
3	1900	1900	2005	1952.5	
4	1900	1900	2005	1952.5	
5	1860	1860	2005	1932.5	
6	1948	1948	2005	1976.5	
7	1909	1909	1920	1914.5	
8					no artifacts
9	1820	1820	1900	1860	
10	1940	1940	2005	1972.5	
11	1825	1825	1920	1872.5	
12	1950	1950	2005	1977.5	
13	1907	1907	2005	1956	
14	1962	1962	2005	1983.5	
15	1820	1820	2000	1910	
16	1940	1940	2005	1972.5	
17					no artifacts
18	1860	1860	1920	1890	
19	1910	1910	2005	1957.5	
20	1890	1890	2005	1947.5	
21					no artifacts
22	1920	1920	2005	1962.5	
23	1920	1920	2005	1962.5	
24					no artifacts
25	1860	1860	1900	1880	
26	1985	1985	2005	1995	
27	1818	1818	2007	1912.5	
28	1963	1963	2005	1984	
29	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
30					no artifacts
31					no artifacts
32	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
33	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
34	1905	1905	2007	1956	
35	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
36	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	

**Table B.5. 18BC168 *Terminus post quem* List—Thistle Site. (Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1					no diagnostic artifacts
2	1845	1845	1930	1887.5	
3					no artifacts
4	1820	1820	2005	1912.5	
5					no artifacts
6	1830	1830	1930	1880	
7					no artifacts
8	1820	1820	2005	1912.5	
9					no artifacts
10	1828	1828	2005	1916.5	
11	1938	1938	2007	1972.5	
12	1905	1908	2007	1957.5	
13	1828	1828	2005	1916.5	
14	1905	1905	1904	1904.5	
15	1818	1829	1940	1884.5	
16					no artifacts
17	1960	1960	2007	1983.5	
18	1999	1999	2007	2003	
19	1908	1908	1940	1924	
20	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
21	1890	1890	2007	1948.5	
22	1905	1905	2007	1956	
23	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
24	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
25	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
26	1890	1890	1940	1915	
27	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
28	1937	1938	2007	1972.5	
29	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
30	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
31	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
32	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
33	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
34	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	

**Table B.5 (continued). 18BC168 *Terminus post quem* List—Thistle Site.**

<b>Lot</b>	<b>TPQ</b>	<b>Open</b>	<b>Close</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Comments</b>
35	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
36	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
37	1908	1908	1940	1924	
38	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
39	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
40	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
41	1908	1908	1940	1924	
42	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
43	1940	1940	2007	1973.5	
44	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
45	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
46	1905	1905	1940	1922.5	
47					no artifacts
48					no artifacts
49	1820	1820	1830	1825	
50	1909	1909	2007	1958	
997					unprovenienced artifacts
998					unprovenienced artifacts



Appendix C

Hampden Community Archaeology Project Minimum Vessel Counts by Site

**Table C.1. 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site. (Adapted from data compiled by Abbie Jackson. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

Artifact #	Unit	Strat	Material	Pot Form	Mends	Crossmends	Date
31.100	1	1	whiteware	plate		83.185	1820-present
31.101	1	1	whiteware	plate/saucer?			1820-present
31.102	1	1	whiteware	plate			1820-present
32.13	1	2	stoneware	planter?			
33.70	2	1	whiteware	serving dish			1820-present
33.71	2	1	whiteware	saucer			1820-present
33.74	2	1	whiteware	inkwell? pharmaceutical jar?			1820-present
41.14	2	5	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820-present
41.14	2	5	whiteware	unid		69.22	1820-present
42.16	2	6	whiteware	unid			1820-present
46.18	2	7	porcelain	tea pot strainer			
47.85	3	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
47.86	3	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
47.91	3	1	yellowware	cup?			1830-1940
47.92	3	1	yellowware	unid			1830-1940
47.94	3	1	porcelain	unid			
47.95	3	1	porcelain	unid			
51.61	4	1	whiteware	rice bowl?			1820-present

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
51.64	4	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
51.65	4	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
54.57	5	1	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
54.60	5	1	whiteware	cup			1820-present
55.61	6	1	whiteware	bowl?			1820-present
55.63	6	1	whiteware	tea cup	yes		1820-present
55.66	6	1	yellowware	serving dish? food storage?			1830-1940
57.59	5	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
57.80	5	3	whiteware	lid? serving dish?			1820-present
57.82	5	3	whiteware	bowl? cup?			1820-present
58.17	5	2	whiteware	cup	yes		1820-present
58.19	5	2	whiteware	cup?			1820-present
60.1	6	2	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
60.9	6	2	whiteware	plate		73.39 and some of 55.46-47	1820-present
62.14	5	5	whiteware	cup			1820-present
63.18	5	6	whiteware	unid			1820-present
63.19	5	6	pearlware	unid			1775-1830
65.27	5	f 8 st1	terra cotta	flower pot			
65.43	5	f 8 st1	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
65.64	5	f 8 st1	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
67.12	6	f 9	whiteware	plate/platter			1820-present

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
67.16	6	f 9	whiteware	unid			1820-present
67.17	6	f 9	whiteware	unid			1820-present
68.10	6	3	whiteware	unid	yes	no	1820-present
68.12	6	3	whiteware	cup?			1820-present
68.15	6	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
69.19	2	Ä	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820-present
70.15	5	2	whiteware	plate	yes		1820-present
70.25	5	2	whiteware	serving bowl?			1820-present
70.8	5	2	creamware	plate?	yes		1762-1820
72.52	8	1	porcelain	lid			
72.52	8	1	porcelain	plate?			
72.61	8	1	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820-present
72.62	8	1	whiteware	dec. piece			1820-present
72.62	8	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
72.64	8	1	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
72.65	8	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
73.38	7	1	porcelain	toy saucer			
73.42	7	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
73.44	7	1	whiteware	cup?			1820-present
73.45	7	1	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
75.26	7	2	whiteware	unid			1820-present
76.75	9	2	whiteware	unid	yes		1820-present
76.86	9	2	whiteware	unid			1820-present
77.13	7	f 10	whiteware	platter			1820-present
79.11	7	3	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
79.16	7	3	whiteware	plate			1820-present
79.7	7	3	whiteware	plate	yes and w/ 79.8		1820-present
82.179	10	2	porcelain	tea cup			
83.112	12	1	Rockingham	conductor			1830-1900
83.168	12	1	whiteware	unid	at least three		1820-present
83.180	12	1	whiteware	dish			1820-present
83.188	12	1	porcelain	vase? serving bowl?			
83.189	12	1	porcelain	plate			
85.7	8	2	stoneware	crock			
83.168	12	1	whiteware	unid	at least three		1820-present
83.180	12	1	whiteware	dish			1820-present
83.188	12	1	porcelain	vase? serving bowl?			
83.189	12	1	porcelain	plate			
85.7	8	2	stoneware	crock			
87.19	11	2	whiteware	bowl	yes		1820-present
87.23	11	2	ironstone	unid			1840-present
88.10	14	1	whiteware	serving bowl?			1820-present
88.9	14	1	whiteware	plate	two of the four		1820-present
92.23	15	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
92.26	15	1	terra cotta	unid	mult. pieces		
92.28	15	1	Jackfield	unid			1740-1790
92.46	15	1	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
93.45	13	2	Rockingham	lid			1830-1900

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
93.47	13	2	stoneware	crock			
93.49	13	2	porcelain	unid			
93.55	13	2	whiteware	plate			1820-present
93.56	13	2	whiteware	unid			1820-present
96.73	17	1	porcelain	plate			
96.76	17	1	porcelain	dish			
97.8	11	4	whiteware	unid			1820-present
98.11	13	3	yellowware	unid			1830-1940
98.22	13	3	whiteware	unid	w/ 98.21		1820-present
98.24	13	3	stoneware	crock			
99.4	13	f 14	terra cotta	unid			
99.86	13	f 14	Rockingham	unid			1830-1900
99.88	13	f 14	whiteware	plate			1820-present
99.90	13	f 14	whiteware	unid			1820-present
99.91	13	f 14	whiteware	unid			1820-present
99.92	13	f 14	whiteware	saucer?			1820-present
106.20	17	f 21	porcelain	unid			
106.21	17	f 21	ironstone	unid			1840-present
107.16	17	f 22	whiteware	plate			1820-present
109.27	13	4	Rockingham	unid			1830-1900
109.31	13	4	ironstone	cup	yes and w/ 109.30		1840-present
109.32	13	4	whiteware	plate/platter			1820-present
109.38	13	4	whiteware	plate			1820-present
109.45	13	4	whiteware	cup?			1820-present
112.56	8	2	whiteware	lid			1820-present

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
112.58	8	2	ironstone	food storage			1840-present
120.79	10	3	whiteware	plate			1820-present
121.17	15	f 23A	yellowware	bowl?			1830-1940
121.20	15	f 23A	whiteware	plate			1820-present
121.22	15	f 23A	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
121.26	15	f 23A	whiteware	serving dish?			1820-present
123.5	18	4	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
123.7	18	4	whiteware	plate			1820-present
124.49	14	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
124.50	14	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
124.55	14	3	ironstone	serving dish	w/ 124.56		1840-present
124.63	14	3	stoneware	crock			
126.20	13/8	f 24B	redware	food storage			
129.26	15	3	whiteware	plate/platter	mult. pieces		1820-present
129.28	15	3	whiteware	plate			1820-present
129.29	15	3	whiteware	teacup?			1820-present
112.56	8	2	whiteware	lid			1820-present
112.58	8	2	ironstone	food storage			1840-present
120.79	10	3	whiteware	plate			1820-present
121.17	15	f 23A	yellowware	bowl?			1830-1940
121.20	15	f 23A	whiteware	plate			1820-present
121.22	15	f 23A	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
121.26	15	f 23A	whiteware	serving dish?			1820-present

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
123.5	18	4	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
123.7	18	4	whiteware	plate			1820-present
124.49	14	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
124.50	14	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
124.55	14	3	ironstone	serving dish	w/ 124.56		1840-present
124.63	14	3	stoneware	crock			
126.20	13/8	f 24B	redware	food storage			
129.26	15	3	whiteware	plate/platter	mult. pieces		1820-present
129.28	15	3	whiteware	plate			1820-present
129.29	15	3	whiteware	teacup?			1820-present
129.30	15	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
129.31	15	3	whiteware	teacup			1820-present
129.39	15	3	stoneware	crock			
130.14	12	2	whiteware	serving bowl			1820-present
132.41	17	3	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
133.35	17	f 23B	terra cotta	planter			
135.23	20	1	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
136.20	9	2	whiteware	plate	no		1820-present
124.55	14	3	ironstone	serving dish	w/ 124.56		1840-present
137.11	8	3	stoneware	face- toy? figurine?			
137.19	8	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
137.23	8	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
139.28	16	f 29	porcelain	unid			
145.39	8	f 32 st A	redware	food storage	yes		
145.45	8	f 32 st A	whiteware	saucer			1820-present

**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
146.9	8	f 33 st A	porcelain	lid			
147.16	8	4	porcelain	unid			
151.25	14	f 27B	porcelain	unid			
152.15	8	mult.	whiteware	plate			1820- present
153.15	20	3	refined- red paste	unid			
153.17	20	3	whiteware	unid			1820- present
154.10	20	f23C st B	whiteware	bowl?			1820- present
155.15	8	5	whiteware	bowl			1820- present
155.16	8	5	yellowware	serving bowl?			1830- 1940
155.18	8	5	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820- present
155.18	8	5	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820- present
157.21	9	3	whiteware	saucer?			1820- present
158.21	8	6	whiteware	plate			1820- present
158.22	8	6	whiteware	unid			1820- present
158.23	8	6	whiteware	unid			1820- present
158.26	8	6	redware	food storage			
159.17	13	5	terra cotta	unid			
159.20	13	5	yellowware	serving dish			1830- 1940
161.13	8	8	whiteware	serving dish			1820- present
161.16	8	8	pearlware	serving dish			1775- 1830
168.19	16	f 38	whiteware	chamber pot?			1820- present
168.21	16	f 38	ironstone	storage? platter?			1840- present
170.11	13	6	stoneware	crook			
171.30	13	7	redware	storage dish			



**Table C.1 (continued). 18BC164 Minimum Vessel Counts—Mackey Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
171.33	13	7	whiteware	tea cup	yes and w/ 171.32		1820-present
171.34	13	7	whiteware	plate			1820-present
171.40	13	7	whiteware	cup	yes		1820-present
171.40	13	7	whiteware	unid			1820-present
171.46	13	7	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820-present
171.57	13	7	whiteware	serving dish			1820-present
999.52			ironstone	plate			1840-present

**Table C.2. 18BC165 Minimum Vessel Counts—Wagner Site. (Adapted from data compiled by Abbie Jackson. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
1.11	whiteware	plate/platter			1820-present
1.18	redware	storage	2 of 3		
1.24	whiteware	unid			1820-present
1.27	porcelain	unid			
3.11	yellowware	lg vessel/food storage			1830-1940
4.10	porcelain	unid			
4.6	whiteware	serving bowl			1820-present
7.60	coarse	unid	3 pieces		
7.65	Ironstone	cup?			1840-present
7.68	whiteware	plate			1820-present
7.74	whiteware	unid			1820-present
8.3	Ironstone	plate			1840-present
8.4	terra cotta	flower pot			
9.22	whiteware	large dish?			1820-present
9.24	Rockingham	decorative dish?			1830-1900
11.22	coarse	flower pot			
11.28	whiteware	unid			1820-present
11.28	whiteware	unid			1820-present
12.37	pearlware	unid			1775-1830
13.17	whiteware	unid			1820-present
14.11	stoneware	crock?			
15.26	whiteware	cup?			1820-present
16.22	coarse	large bowl/flower pot			
16.26	stoneware	crock			
16.29	Rockingham	unid			1830-1900
16.31	whiteware	saucer?			1820-present
18.14	porcelain	toy?			
19.9	terra cotta	flower pot			
22.19	stoneware	crock			
22.24	yellowware	serving dish			1830-1940
22.31	porcelain	cup? bowl?			
23.7	whiteware	saucer			1820-present
23.8	porcelain	tea cup?			

**Table C.3. 18BC166 Minimum Vessel Counts—Millington Site. (Adapted from data compiled by Abbie Jackson. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
1.30	coarse	flower pot			
1.31	porcelain	unid			
2.17	coarse	flower pot			
2.19	whiteware	unid			1820-present
2.20	Rockingham	unid			1830-1900
3.11	coarse	prep?			
3.8	stoneware	storage/prep			
4.12	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
4.12	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
4.15	whiteware	unid			1820-present
4.16	whiteware	unid			1820-present
6.24	porcelain	tea set			
6.27	coarse	storage/prep?			
6.27	coarse	storage/prep?			
7.35	stoneware	crook			
8.6	whiteware	unid			1820-present
17.18	Jackfield	prep/serving bowl?			1740-1790
17.20	creamware	saucer			1762-1820
17.22	whiteware	tea cup			1820-present
18.9	whiteware	cup? bowl?			1820-present
19.22	stoneware	crook			
19.25	whiteware-Fiesta	decorative?			1820-present
19.26	whiteware	serving bowl			1820-present

**Table C.4. 18BC167 Minimum Vessel Counts—Carder Site. (Adapted from data compiled by Abbie Jackson. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
1.12	whiteware	unid			1820-present
1.17	coarse	flower pot?			
1.18	coarse	lg. bowl			
2.22	porcelain	tea cup?			
2.26	whiteware	serving bowl			1820-present
3.7	terra cotta	flower pot			
6.24	stoneware	unid			
6.32	whiteware	cup? bowl?			1820-present
6.38	Ironstone	plate/platter?			1840-present
9.13	pearlware	serving bowl?			1775-1830
9.16	whiteware	cup			1820-present
9.16	whiteware	plate/saucer			1820-present
9.16	whiteware	saucer			1820-present
11.17	whiteware	bowl/cup?			1820-present
13.13	whiteware	bowl/dish? tea set?			1820-present
13.16	Ironstone	unid			1840-present
14.33	Jackfield	unid			1740-1790
14.35	yellowware	unid			1830-1940
14.44	coarse	unid, planter?			
14.45	coarse	crock?			
14.48	whiteware	decorative?			1820-present
14.50	whiteware	tea cup?			1820-present
14.51	whiteware	plate/platter			1820-present
14.53	whiteware	bowl?			1820-present
18.14	porcelain	decorative, bowl?			
18.19	whiteware	bowl?			1820-present
18.20	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
25.11	whiteware	unid			1820-present
25.13	creamware	cup			1762-1820
25.14	pearlware	serving bowl?			1775-1830
25.16	Ironstone	cup?			1840-present
25.6	pearlware	lid			1775-1830
28.25	whiteware	unid			1820-present

**Table C.4 (continued). 18BC167 Minimum Vessel Counts—Carder Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
28.26	whiteware	unid			1820-present
28.27	whiteware	unid			1820-present
28.31	pearlware	unid			1775-1830
28.33	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
28.33	whiteware	serving bowl			1820-present
28.37	whiteware	platter?	yes & w/ 28.38		1820-present
29.70	porcelain	unid			
29.71	porcelain	unid			
29.77	whiteware	lid			1820-present
31.15	Rockingham	serving bowl?			1830-1900
33.9	whiteware	bowl?			1820-present
35.6	whiteware	tea cup	yes & w/ 35.7		1820-present
36.33		porcelain	tea set?		
36.34		porcelain	tea set?		

**Table C.5. 18BC168 Minimum Vessel Counts—Thistle Site. (Adapted from data compiled by Abbie Jackson. Courtesy of the Hampden Community Archaeology Project)**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
11.25	1	1	porcelain	toy saucer			
11.26	1	1	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
13.16	1	3	whiteware	unid			1820-present
14.8	1	4	whiteware	cup?			1820-present
15.8	1	5	porcelain	saucer			
20.19	3	2	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
22.12	3	3	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
23.16	2	4	coarse	prep/storage?			
24.27	4	1	whiteware	plate?			1820-present
24.29	4	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
26.20	5	1	coarse	flower pot			
39.31	7	1	stoneware	crock?			
39.38	7	1	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
39.39	7	1	whiteware	bowl			1820-present
39.40	7	1	whiteware	plate	w/ 39.41		1820-present
39.46	7	1	whiteware	unid			1820-present
39.48	7	1	whiteware	lid to larger vessel			1820-present
40.20	6	1	Ironstone	plate			1840-present
43.4	6	3	porcelain	plate?			
44.4	8	?	coarse	prep/bowl?			
45.12	2	6	coarse	unid			
45.15	2	6	whiteware	unid	w/ 45.16		1820-present
45.19	2	6	whiteware	bowl?	yes		1820-present
45.23	2	6	whiteware	unid			1820-present
45.6	2	6	yellowware	unid	all		1830-1940

**Table C.5 (continued). 18BC168 Minimum Vessel Counts—Thistle Site.**

<b>Artifact #</b>	<b>Unit</b>	<b>Strat</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Pot Form</b>	<b>Mends</b>	<b>Crossmends</b>	<b>Date</b>
46.11	7	2	whiteware	plate			1820-present
46.12	7	2	whiteware	unid			1820-present
46.14	7	2	stoneware	unid			
46.15	7	2	refined	unid			
46.20	7	2	whiteware	plate			1820-present
49.2	7	3	creamware	bowl?			1762-1820
49.3	7	3	pearlware	plate?			1775-1830
997.6			whiteware	plate/platter			1820-present
997.7			whiteware	plate			1820-present
997.8			whiteware	bowl			1820-present
998.12			Ironstone	bowl			1840-present
998.14			whiteware	plate			1820-present
998.15			whiteware	cup?			1820-present
998.16			pearlware	lg. bowl/chamber pot			1775-1830

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