

St Peter's German Evangelical Church JFWR-1749

Fire Department Headquarters JFWR-1748



JFWR-3830

Baxter Square JFL-485  
15JF924

JFL-318

Baxter Community Center JFWR-3796

Beecher Terrace JFL-01  
15JF923




JFWR-3831

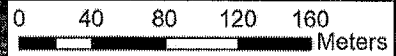
JFWR-3833

JFL-318

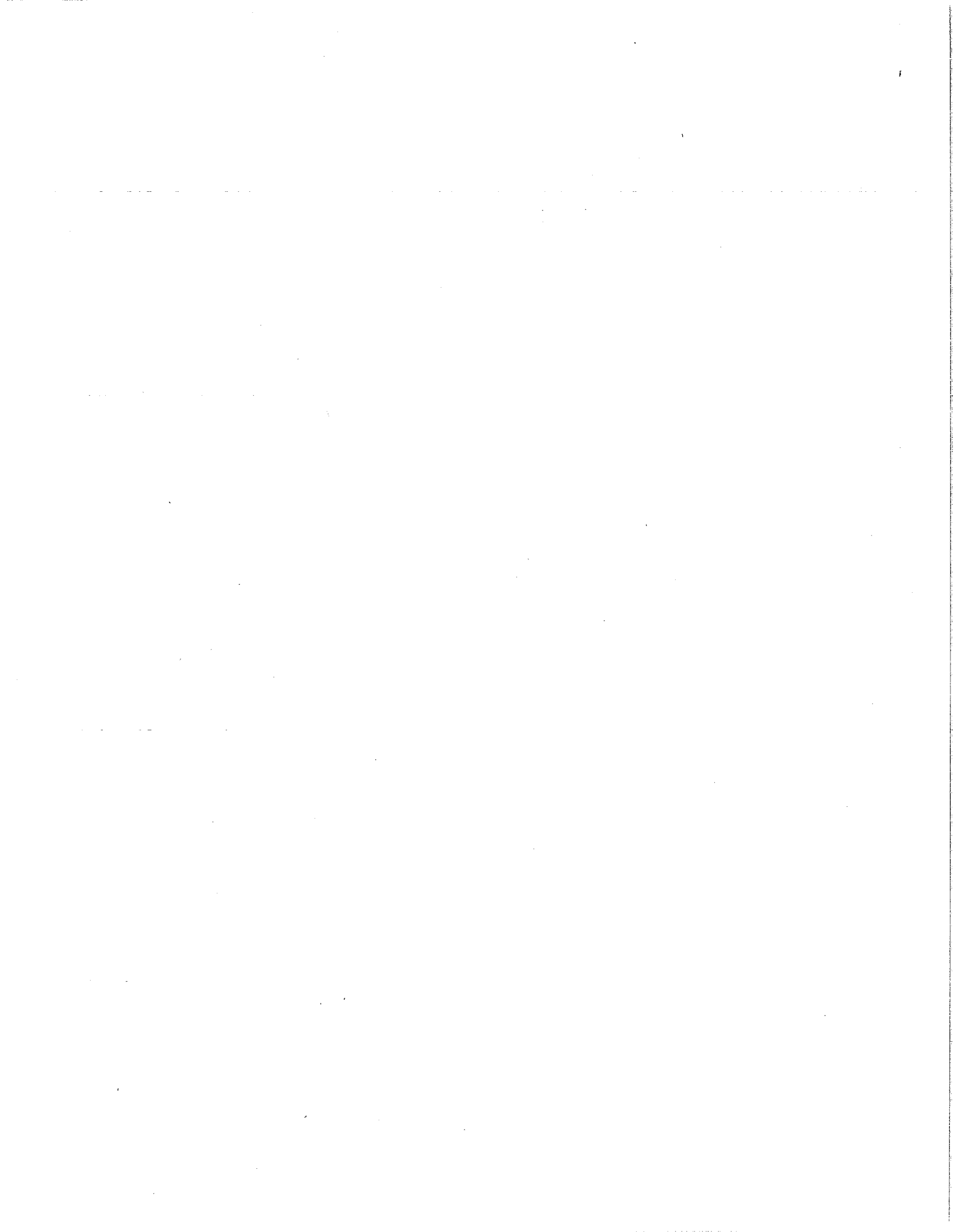
Church of Our Merciful Saviour JFWR-1752

**Explanation**

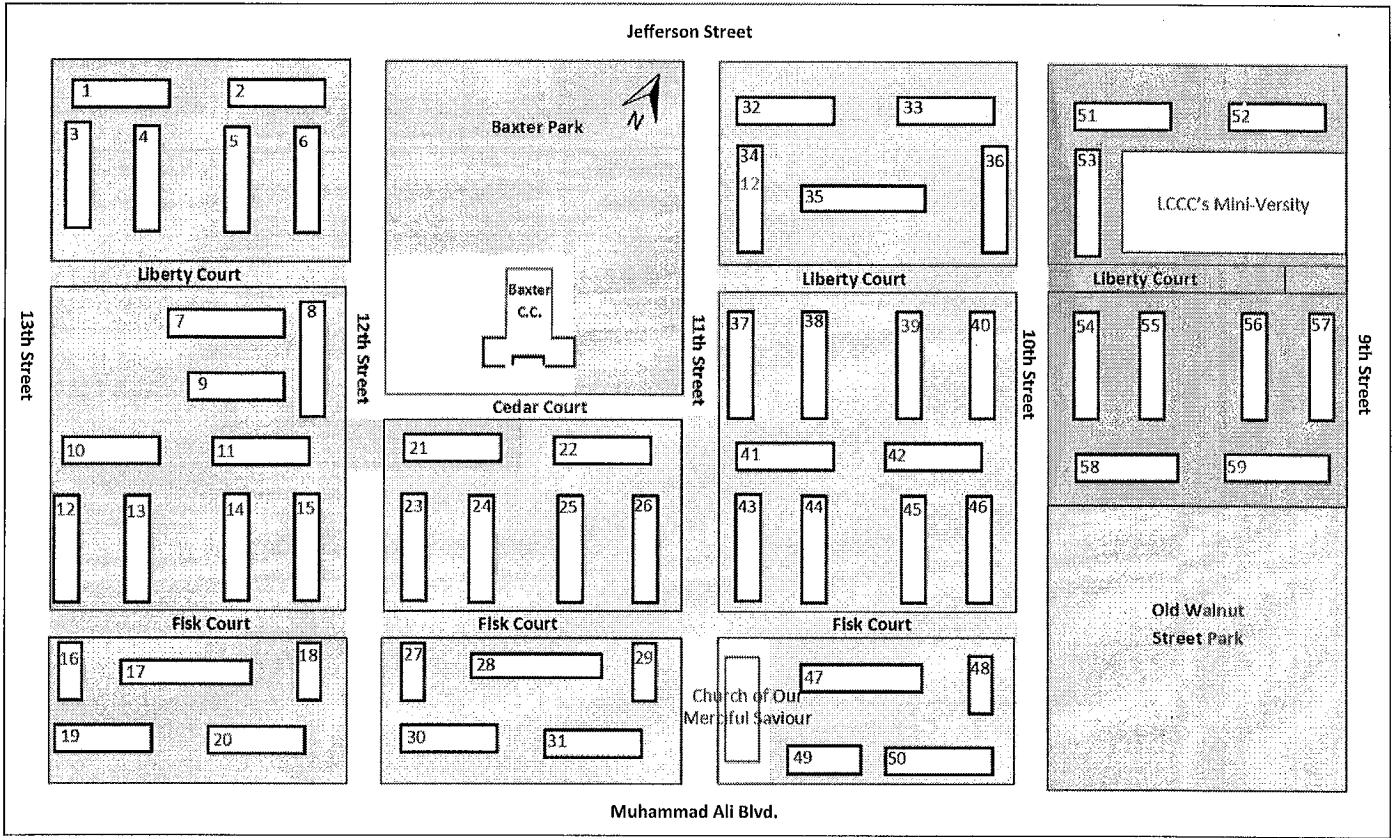
-  APE for Indirect Effect
-  APE for Direct Effect
-  Archaeological Site Boundaries



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# Beecher Terrace Demolition Plan- Revised 4-1-2018

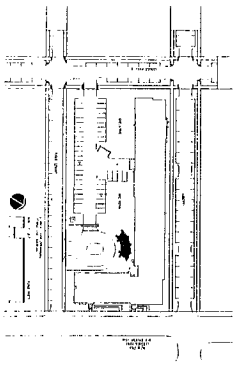


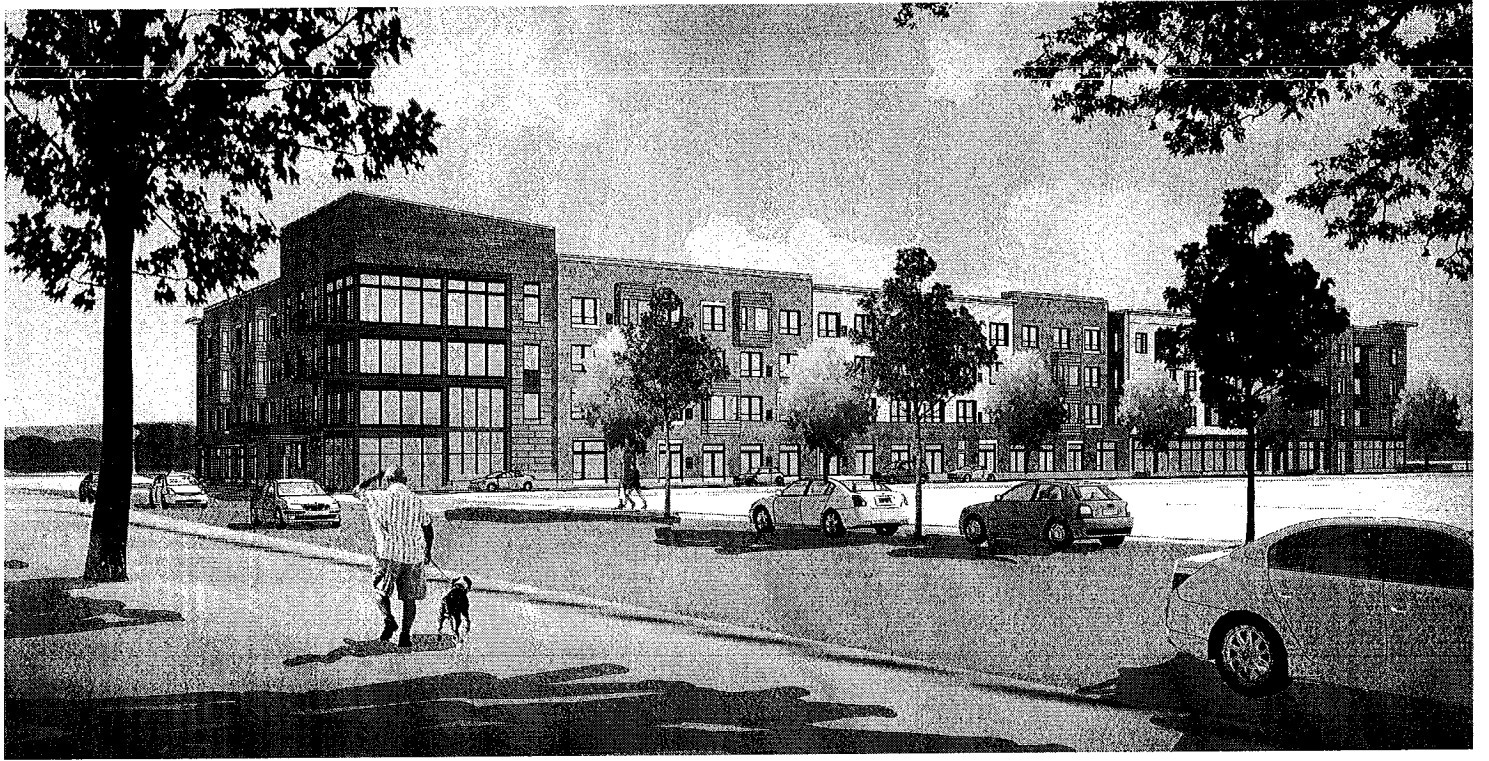
Phase III Demo  
267 Dwelling units  
2 Non-dwelling units

Phase II Demo  
370 Dwelling units  
8 Non-dwelling units

Phase I Demo  
121 Dwelling units

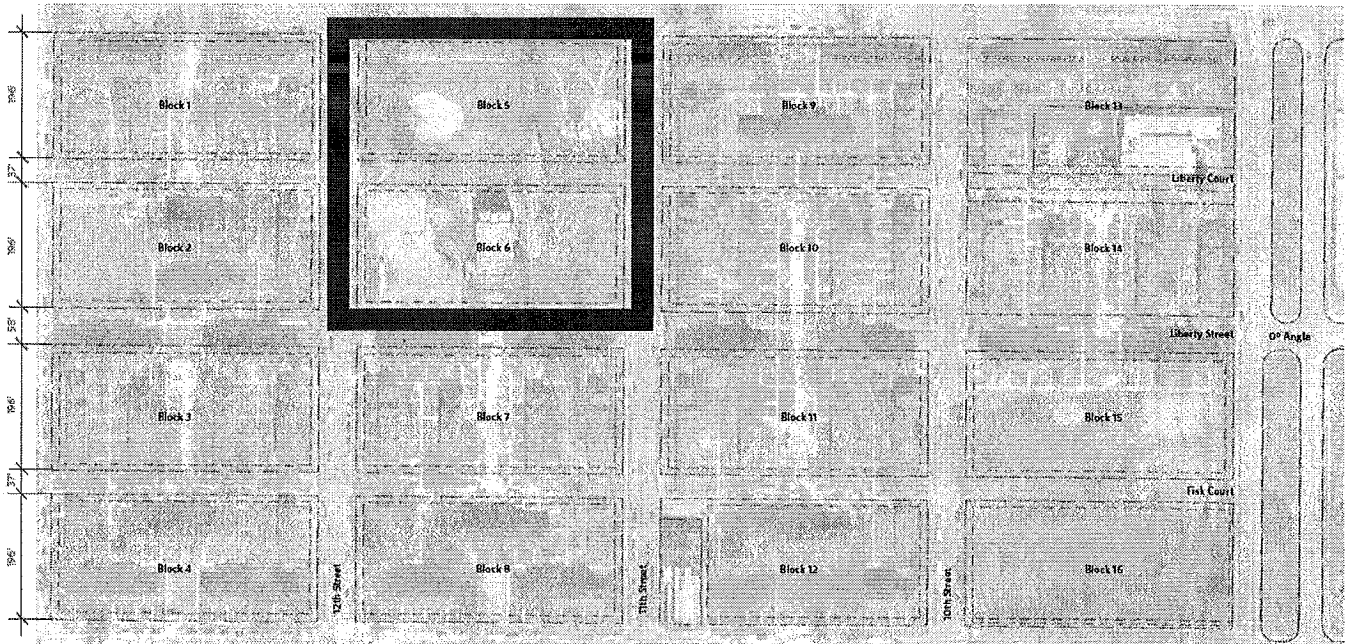


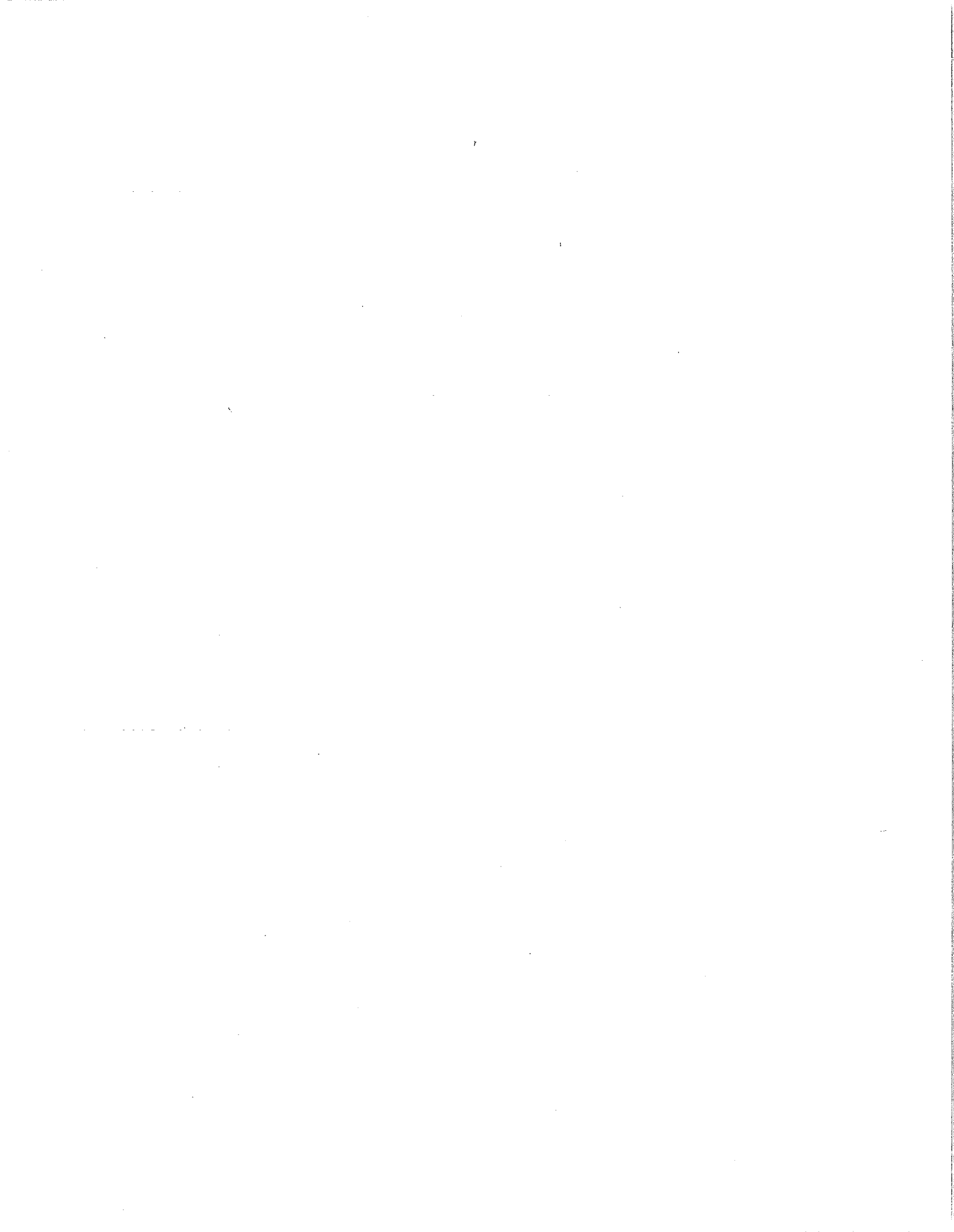




**Plan showing proposed new block grid during Stage I**

Red lines indicate zone that will not be reconfigured as part of Stage I









July 5, 2018

Mr. Craig Potts  
Kentucky Heritage Council  
State Historic Preservation Office  
410 High Street  
The Barstow House  
Frankfort, KY 40601

Subject: Revised: Data Recovery Plan for the Beecher Terrace Site (15JF923), Louisville, Kentucky

Mr. Potts:

In 2017, Corn Island Archaeology LLC completed reporting on Phase I and Phase II archaeological investigations at the Beecher Terrace Housing Complex in downtown Louisville in support of the Louisville Metro Housing Authority. The Beecher Terrace Housing Complex is a 12-block facility that lies on 39 acres between South 9<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Streets and West Jefferson and Muhammad Ali Boulevard in downtown Louisville (Figure 1). These investigations were required prior to the planned demolition of the existing housing complex and construction of new housing. The Louisville-Jefferson County Metro Government (LJCMG) is the Lead Agency/Responsible Entity for the project. The cultural resources services were provided to determine if there are significant archaeological or historic resources within the project area of potentials effects (APE) that could be adversely affected by the proposed undertaking.

As a result of the investigations, two archaeological sites were recorded. Site 15JF924, the Baxter Square Park Site, is a historic cemetery that received burials between 1786 and 1832. It served as Louisville's first public burying grounds and may contain the graves of some of the City's earliest residents. The site was converted to a city park in the 1880s and has remained largely undisturbed since that time. Archaeological investigations have confirmed that there are still intact graves within the park. The site has been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. However, site 15JF924 will not be affected by current plans for the Beecher Terrace project, although plans may call for landscaping and recreational/memorial uses. Regardless, because of the sensitive nature of the human interments, it is advised that work related to the re-establishment of Liberty Court (old Green Street) between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Streets be monitored to ensure that no burials are affected by the project.

Site 15JF923, the Beecher Terrace Site, is a large property that currently consists of 11 contiguous city blocks. The blocks were defined based on the street layout in 1892. All blocks are bounded by streets, with Blocks 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, and 11 being smaller than Blocks 1, 6, 7, and 12. Blocks 1, 6, 7, and 12, while larger, contained narrow alleys that were not present in the smaller blocks.



Figure 1. Map of project area showing 11 researched blocks within site 15JF923.

The property overlies the buried remains of a late nineteenth-early twentieth century residential neighborhood interspersed with commercial properties that reflects one of the earliest westward expansions of the City of Louisville. Archaeological investigations within three of the 11 blocks have uncovered intact features including privy vaults, cisterns, structural foundations, and more. Based on the completed Phase I-II investigations, archival and historic map review, and a review of archaeological investigations conducted nearby in similar situations, it has been determined that the project area contains intact archaeological resources that can be used to enhance an understanding of the growth of Louisville in terms of the development of its nineteenth century residential neighborhoods. The site has been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The entirety of the site will be adversely impacted by the demolition of the current housing and construction of new buildings.

A series of meetings and discussions between Louisville Metro Housing, the LJCMG, Corn Island, the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and other Consulting Parties have since ensued regarding the mitigation of the adverse effects to the site and developing a plan for moving ahead with the archaeological compliance for the project. Based on the high density of features present within the three archaeologically sampled blocks, it is considered almost certain that similar densities of features are present within the remaining eight blocks. Data recovery across the entire site would reflect a huge undertaking. With this in mind, it was requested by SHPO that a

sampling strategy be devised that would reflect a representative data recovery of the varied ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic components of the neighborhood circa 1892. The 1892 Sanborn Fire Insurance map was used as a baseline for the selection as it graphically represents a snapshot of the site area at the approximate midpoint of the historic data gathered to date.

Each of the eleven blocks within the current housing complex were therefore subjected to background research to determine if there were differences in the residential composition within the project area. The entire area of site 15JF923 was subjected to archival research. Where the data was available, differences in historic landuse and/or residential density within the site area was sought and prior ground disturbances (such as construction of basements) was noted which might limit the archaeological potential of the blocks.

Following an April 10, 2018 Consulting Parties (CP) meeting, it was agreed that the data recovery would occur in Blocks 1, 10, and 12 for several reasons. First, these blocks appear to contain recoverable archaeological data associated with the full range of ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic historic residents. In addition, it is known that the neighborhood was developed with the lots to the north along Jefferson Street having been constructed first, and subsequent building continuing to the south at Walnut Street. Furthermore, the neighborhood blocks along Ninth Street (Roy Wilkins Boulevard) lie closest to downtown Louisville and were almost certainly developed prior to the western blocks along Thirteenth Street. The selection of Blocks 1, 10, and 12, therefore provides a sampling of lots ranging from the earliest to latest in the N-S direction of neighborhood growth, and E-W from the area nearest the downtown Louisville core outwards to the west. Block 1, furthermore, was attractive as this block – unlike the others- has not seen development since the early 1940s, and as such, has a greater potential to contain intact archaeological features. Finally, it should be noted that the project schedule would not be impacted by the selection of these blocks.

During consultation, however, it was recommended that an option instead of targeting a representative sampling of the original neighborhood demographic makeup would be to focus on investigating known data gaps inherent in the current understanding of late nineteenth-early twentieth century neighborhoods in Louisville. Even more specifically, it is perhaps appropriate that the mitigation be designed to fill data gaps specifically for the West End of Louisville, as previously conducted archaeological studies have focused on other areas of the City. Many of the previously conducted archaeological studies in urban Louisville have not been driven by specific research goals to address research gaps per se. Rather, they have sought to obtain a “representative sampling” of the population of the subject area. All too often, they have been “rescue” projects, with the goal of capturing whatever information is present at any given location before it was destroyed. While very good information has generally been obtained through these projects, specific pre-determined research objectives to address poorly represented segments of the historic population across the City has not been the norm.

The primary data gaps identified for this mitigation relate to the following three areas, in order of priority beginning with the highest:

1. African American settlement and lifeways, to include both working poor and affluent components of the population
2. Eastern European immigrants
3. Early pioneering settlement of Louisville (ca. 1830-1860).

To ensure a representative neighborhood profile is obtained, the mitigation would secondarily seek to recover information related to a fourth sector, namely Native-born residents of varied socioeconomic class and immigrants other than Eastern European.

These data gaps were derived from a review of previous archaeological studies in Louisville and southern Indiana; a 1995 archaeological study of the Russell neighborhood (Stottman and Watts-Roy 1995), and the *Kentucky State Historic Preservation Comprehensive Plan Report* (State Plan) (Pollack, editor 2008). As the findings of previous archaeological projects in downtown Louisville have shown, many of the sites excavated in the City date to the latter portion of the nineteenth century and relate to middle-class German immigrants, (along with a smaller number of Irish and other ethnicities), who made up a substantial percentage of Louisville's population in the mid-late nineteenth century. In comparison, few African American owned-occupied lots have been studied. Households of Eastern European immigrants (such as Russian Jews known to have lived within the current project APE) are also poorly documented. Likewise, pre-1850 residential archaeological sites are not well studied, and consist mostly of rural plantations beyond the City limits.

To address the data gaps, it was further decided at the CP meeting to focus on the types of archaeological data that would provide the most meaningful information. Therefore, the following concessions were made to achieve this goal:

1. Schools, churches, and other social institutions would not be targeted during the mitigation.
2. Lots specifically identified as commercial enterprises would not necessarily be studied, with the understanding that many of the residences coincide with commercial lots. It was a typical pattern for business owners to live upstairs over their small businesses. Therefore, the materials derived from these lots would likely reflect both commercial and domestic activities.
3. The rear yards of each selected lot would be stripped to identify all privies; all discovered privies on a lot would be excavated.
4. Only privy features would be excavated; cisterns were acknowledged to be typically repositories of artifacts derived from single fill, demolition, or abandonment debris from which little contextual data could be derived. (But see more on this below).
5. For all buried features that are exposed but not excavated, including cisterns, and cellars, documentation of the construction techniques would be done. Attempts to date the feature from associated artifacts would be made where practical.

An overall sample of twenty lots is proposed for the mitigation. This reflects roughly five percent of the approximate 374 total lots within the APE, as of the 1892 mapping. In addition, three lots were excavated and reported during the Phase II evaluation. These lots will be included in the mitigation analysis and reporting, bringing the overall percentage to six percent (**Table 1**). This percentage is actually low because the 374 lots also contain non-residential institutions (churches, schools, medical institutions) and commercial properties which were excluded from the sample. If only residential lots are considered, the percentage proposed to be sampled is closer to 7.4 percent. The distribution suggested in **Table 1** is not fixed but is intended as a guideline to meet research targets. No set number of excavated lots is proposed for each of the three residential blocks.

Table 1. Distribution of Recommended Lots by Ethnicity/Race

Priority	Socioeconomic Class	No. of Lots Phase II	No. of Lots Mitigation	Percentage of Neighborhood/Residences (N=374/317)
African American	Professionals		5	.013/.016
	Working Class	3	5	.021/.025
Eastern European Immigrants (i.e. Russian, Polish Jews)	All socioeconomic classes		6	.016/.019
Native-born and Other Immigrants (i.e. Early pioneers and settlers of Louisville; Western European immigrants and naturalized individuals)	All socioeconomic classes		4	.010/.013
		3	20	.06/.073

In summary, it was decided to incorporate into the DRP the concerns expressed by the Consulting Parties. The remainder of this document focuses on the specifics of the background research of the three blocks identified for mitigation, research questions, and recommendations for the data recovery. The rationale for selecting lots and research methodologies (specifically related to artifact analysis) will also be presented.

### BACKGROUND RESEARCH

For convenience of the reviewers, the following sections have been extracted and updated from the Phase I survey and Phase II evaluation report (Bader et al. 2017). This section reflects the findings of intensive archival research into each of the three blocks (as defined) within the Beecher Terrace complex identified for data recovery. The Phase I/II report provides similar information on the remaining blocks. Background research was obtained from the following sources:

1. City directories from 1884 through 1920
2. Census records from 1870 through 1920, excluding 1890 which was destroyed

3. Sanborn fire Insurance and other mapping
4. Published books and neighborhood accounts

The history of the Beecher Terrace complex was also researched in archived newspaper accounts and historic images on file at the University of Louisville Photo Archives.

#### Block 1-Old Walnut Street Park

Block 1 is bounded by Roy Wilkins (9<sup>th</sup> Street) to the east, Muhammad Ali (Walnut) on the south, 10<sup>th</sup> Street on the west, and the southern end of the northeastern Beecher Terrace block to the north, and encompasses the entirety of the Old Walnut Street Park totaling 3.66 acres. A total of 63 cultural features dating to the historic period have been identified through archaeological excavations to date, eight of which have been subjected to Phase II investigation.

Block 1 has been researched and information gathered on the residents spanning from 1884 to 1920 from the city directories and corresponding information gathered for the censuses spanning the same timeframe (Figure 2). Based on these data, it was determined that the area had 58 households mainly comprised of African-Americans at 68 percent (n=38) followed by 28 percent (n=16) native-born whites in 1884. Immigrant households only comprised 7 percent (n=4). The demographics stayed largely the same in 1890, although the lack of census data at that time makes it impossible to determine the numbers of immigrant households with certainty. Based on the city directory, 75 percent (n=35) of the 47 households are African-American, 23 percent (n=11) are white, and 2 percent (n=1) were known immigrants. The year 1900 brought a substantial increase in the number of households, jumping from 47 to 114 in ten years, showing that the density of the population in the area intensified. African-American households continued to increase; now 86 percent (n=98). Native-born whites dropped to 10 percent (n=11) and immigrants dropped to four percent (n=5). In 1910, the number of households increased again to 137. African-American households comprised 92 percent (n=126) of the population, with immigrants and white households dropping to three percent (n=4) and five percent (n=7) respectively. The 1920 data showed one additional household, while the percentages of African-Americans, immigrants and whites essentially stabilized at 93 percent (n=129), two percent (n=3), and four percent (n=6) respectively.

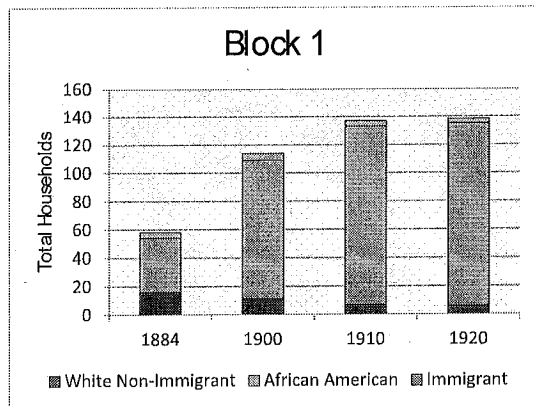


Figure 2. Block 1 Demographics 1884-1920.

Map data from Block 1 showed that in 1884 there were only 32 lots but a total of 58 buildings including 22 brick and 36 frame structures. The demographic data showed that there were 45 households, so the discrepancy likely derives from the possibility that up to 13 of these were used for commercial purposes or other non-habitation uses. The 1892 Sanborn Maps provided much more detail including the uses of various structures within Block 1. There was a total of 47 lots at the time, an increase of 15 from 1884 as lots were increasingly subdivided. A total of 65 buildings were in the area not including the various sheds and outbuildings. Of these, 22 were of brick construction, 41 were frame, and 2 were a combination of both. The demographic data showing 47 households corresponds well with the number of lots, although the 53 dwellings counted indicates that there were up to 6 unoccupied homes at that time. There were 14 businesses within Area 1, 6 of which were stores. There were also 3 barbers, 2 restaurants, a cobbler, a collier, and an undertaker. One church was also located along 9<sup>th</sup> Street. By 1939, the mapping shows that the area was in decline with many lots completely vacant. The number of lots dropped to 40 from 47 in 1892 and the number of buildings dropped from 65 to 38. The overall impression of Block 1 is that it was a predominantly African-American neighborhood with several businesses that served the immediate community. While the percentage of non-immigrant whites was never more than 23 percent, that number decreased dramatically after 1900 indicating an increase in neighborhood segregation into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Table 2. Summary of Block 1: Old Walnut Street Park**

Year/Area	Households	N Af-Am	% Af-Am	N Imm	% Imm	N N-B White	% N-B White
1884 - B1	58	38	66%	4	7%	16	28%
Immigrants	German (2) 40%, Irish (2) 40%, Scots (1) 20% (Irish wife)						
Commercial	7: undertaker (1, B), furniture shop (1, Ger), fruit shop (1, B), barber (1, B), doctor (1), grocer (1, Ger), 1 tobacconist						
Institutions	Asbury Chapel A.M.E. Church						
Comments							
1900 - B1	114	98	86%	5	4%	11	10%
Immigrants	German (1) 20%, Irish (1) 20%, Russian Jewish (1) 20%, Polish-Russian (4) 40%						
Commercial	19: coal suppliers (2, B), grocers (2), printer (1, B), shoemaker (1), barbers (3, B), pro photographer (1, B), express services (2, B), clothing shop (1, R-J Im.), fish shop (1), restaurants (2, B), secondhand store (1, R-J Im.), saloon (1), undertaker (1, B)						
Institutions	Asbury Chapel A.M.E. Church (B)						
Comments	1 white boarder in a black household						
1910 - B1	137	126	92%	4	3%	7	5%
Immigrants	Polish-Russian Jewish (1) 33%, German (1) 33%, Hungarian (1) 33%						
Commercial	18: grocers (6 - 1B, 2 R-J Im.), secondhand stores (2, 1 R-J Im.), fish shop (1), restaurants (2, B), dressmaker (1, B), doctor (1, B), boarding houses (2, B), hairdresser (1, B), saloon (1, Ger), shoemaker (1)						
Institutions	Asbury Chapel A.M.E. Church (B)						
Comments							
1920 - B1	138	129	93%	3	2%	6	4%
Immigrants	German (2) 67%, Polish-Russian Jewish (1) 33%						
Commercial	20: coal supplier (1, B), restaurants (4, B), secondhand stores (2, 1 R-J Im.), fish shop (1), barbers (3, B), grocer (1, R-J Im.), doctors (2, B), soft drink shop (1, Ger), painter (1, B), boarding houses (3, 2 B), undertaker (1, B)						
Institutions	Mount Perian Baptist Church (B), Asbury A.M.E. Chapel						
Comments	* B indicates Black business owner or institution, R-J Im indicates Russian Jewish Immigrant owner, Ger indicates German Immigrant owner, N-B White indicates Native-Born White						

**Lots Selected for Excavation**

Seven lots were selected from Block 1 for excavation, along with one alternate lot. These lots include the following and are depicted in **Figure 3**. Additional information on these lots is presented below.

**African American Professional Households**

929/931 W Walnut St  
634 S 9<sup>th</sup>

**African American Working-Class Households**

626 S 9<sup>th</sup> St  
627 Bowers Alley  
625/627 S 10<sup>th</sup> St

**Eastern European Immigrant Households**

620 S 9<sup>th</sup> St  
644 S 9<sup>th</sup>

**Alternate:** 943-945 W Walnut

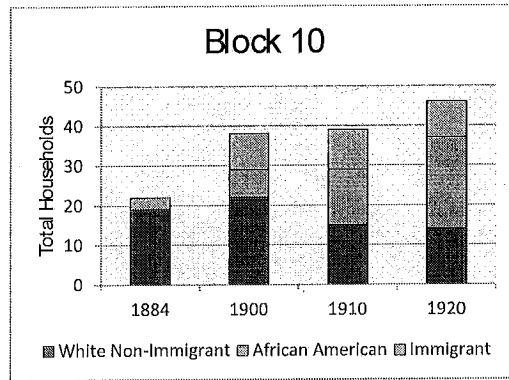




Figure 3. Selected and Alternate Lots in Block 1.

### Block 10

Block 10 is a 2.03-acre block bounded as follows: Jefferson Street to the north, 12<sup>th</sup> Street to the east, Liberty Street to the south, and 13<sup>th</sup> Street to the east. Demographically, Block 10 differs from the others in its relatively lower percentages of African American households throughout the time period from 1884-1920 (Figure 4; Table 3). Whereas Blocks 1, 11, and 12 reached 90-100 percent African American percentages by 1910-1920, Block 10 never saw more than 50 percent African American households. The area also contained a more consistent population of immigrants throughout the time period, and unlike Block 12, the percentages increased, rather than decreased, in the early twentieth century. Another difference between the immigrant populations of Blocks 10 and 12 is that Block 10 contained a wider variety of immigrants, while Block 12 was primarily home to Germans. In 1884, there were 22 households, none of which were African American. Native-born white households accounted for 86 percent (19), the other 13.6 percent (three).



**Figure 4. Block 10 Demographics 1884-1920.**

There were 29 households by 1890, 83 percent (24) of which were non-immigrant whites, ten percent (three) immigrants, and seven percent (two) African Americans. By 1900, the number of households had increased to 38, with a sharp decrease in the percentage of white households from 83 percent in 1890 to 58 percent (22) in 1900. Immigrant households increased to 24 percent (nine) and African Americans to 18 percent (seven). Only one new household had been added by 1910, but again the number of white households decreased, this time by twenty percent, to 38 percent (15). The percentage of immigrant households rose slightly to 26 percent (ten), while the African American households doubled to 36 percent (14). There were 46 households in 1920, with another shift from white to African American households. Native-born white households dropped to 30 percent (14), immigrant households decreased slightly from 26 percent in 1910 to 20 percent (nine) in 1920, while African American households jumped to 50 percent (23). In 1910 and 1920, four Jewish immigrant households coming from Russia and Russian Poland arrived in the area.

The 1880 occupations of residents on Block 10 are similar to those of other blocks in the area: carpenters, policemen, store clerks, tailors and seamstresses, foundry and factory workers were found here as elsewhere. There was also a grocer, an agricultural implement manufacturer, and a tobacco merchant living on the block. One notable difference, however, is the fact that Block 10 wives and daughters were less apt to be listed as working, which may indicate that the heads of household were better off than those of neighboring blocks. The 1900 census lists laundresses, tanners and laborers, and tobacco factory workers, business owners including barbers, grocers, tailors, a blacksmith, a paint wholesaler, and a boarding house keeper, policemen and firemen, a doctor, a bank teller, bookkeepers and stenographers, a stock dealer, a railroad contractor, and a landlord. In 1910, residents worked as porters, bartenders, drivers, janitors, carpenters and paper hangers, boilermakers and foundry laborers, tobacco factory workers, private family nurses, and a post office clerk. Business owners included a restaurant owner and a bowling alley proprietor.

**Table 3. Summary of Block 10: Jefferson to Green, Twelfth-Thirteenth Streets**

Year/Area	Households	N Af-Am	% Af-Am	N Imm	% Imm	N N-B W	% N-B W
1884 - B12	22	0	0%	3	14.00%	19	86%
Immigrants	Irish (2) 67%, English (1) 33%						
Commercial	2: drugstore (1), grocery (1)						
Institutions							
Comments							
1900 - B12	38	7	18%	9	24%	22	58%
Immigrants	Irish (3) 33%, English (2) 22%, Italian (1) 11%, Swiss (1) 11%, German (2) 22%						
Commercial	5: Louisville City Railway Co., doctor (1), carpenter (1), shoemaker (1), grocery (1)						
Institutions							
Comments							
1910 - B12	39	14	36%	10	26%	15	38%
Immigrants	Italian (1) 10%, Irish (2) 20%, English (2) 20%, German (2) 20%, Russian Jewish (3) 30%						
Commercial	7: ice cream shop (1, B), boarding houses (2), cigar manufacturer (1), hair goods shop (1, B), groceries (2, 1 R-J Im.)						
Institutions	Allied Baptist Compound Society						
Comments							
1920 - B12	46	23	50%	9	20%	14	30%
Immigrants	Irish (1) 11%, German (2) 22%, Russian Jewish (4) 44%, French (1) 11%, Polish (1) 11%						
Commercial	4: hairdresser (1, B), grocery (1, R-J Im), doctor (1, Irish), coal supplier (1, B)						
Institutions							
Comments	* B indicates Black business owner or institution, R-J Im Indicates Russian Jewish Immigrant owner, N-B White Indicates Native-Born White						

Starting in 1884, based on the map research, there were 16 lots within the area that contained 22 buildings; 14 brick, seven frame, and one, a combination of both. In 1892, the number of lots remained stable at 16 with only one building (brick) being added. Of the buildings present, 20 were dwellings and five were businesses including four stores and the Louisville City Railway Company offices. There were only two businesses present in 1884: a drugstore and a grocery. By 1890, the offices of the Louisville City Railway Company had been established in the area. The number of businesses remained small, with only a carpenter, a boarding house, and a butcher shop on the block. In 1900, businesses consisted of the Louisville City Railway Company, a doctor, a carpenter, a cobbler, and a grocery. By 1910, a cigar manufacturer had taken the place of the railway company. There were six additional businesses consisting of two groceries (one owned by a Russian Jewish immigrant), two boarding houses, a hair goods shop owned by an African American, and an African American ice cream shop. The Allied Baptist Compound Society had also been established. The number of businesses fell to only four in 1920: an African American coal supplier, an African American hairdresser, the Russian-Jewish grocery, and a first-generation doctor who worked out of his Irish mother's household. By 1938 there were 22 lots and 26 buildings. This block is interesting as it appears that there was a much lower density of development on larger lots. The bulk of the buildings were brick and likely represents an upper middle-class enclave within the overall project area.

### Lots Selected for Excavation

Six lots were selected from Block 10 for excavation, along with one alternate lot. These lots include the following and are depicted in **Figure 5**. Additional information on these lots is presented below.

#### African American Working-Class Households

1221 W Green St

#### Eastern European Immigrant Households

1208 W Jefferson St

1210 W Jefferson St

#### Native Born and other Euro-American Households

1214 W Jefferson St

1202 W Jefferson St

1213/1215 W Green St

Alternate: 1216 W Jefferson St



Figure 5. Selected and Alternate Lots in Block 10.

### Block 12

Block 12 is bounded by Cedar Court on the north, 12<sup>th</sup> Street on the east, Muhammad Ali (Walnut) on the south, and 13<sup>th</sup> St on the west, encompassing 4.31 acres. No archaeology has yet been conducted in Area 12. The research into Block 12 yielded several interesting differences from Block 1, specifically in the density of households and the higher percentages of immigrant families, particularly Germans (Figure 6; Table 4). In 1884, the 94 households facing Muhammed Ali (Walnut) and Thirteenth Street within Block 12 made up of 27 percent (25) African American households, 19 percent (18) non-immigrant whites and 54 percent (51) immigrants, 40 of whom were German. By 1890, the number of households increased to 103, 35 percent (36) of which were African American. The number of non-immigrant whites increased to 46 percent (47) while immigrants dropped to 19 percent (20). This apparent change in the percentages of native-born white and immigrant households may be partially explained by the lack of 1890 census data available to determine the origins of the householders. The number of households increased by only two (from 103 to 105) by 1900, although the number of non-immigrant whites decreased by 20 percent to 26 percent (27) while African Americans jumped to 57 percent (60). Immigrant households comprised 17 percent (18) of the total, still with a German majority (13). The number of households increased slightly in 1910 to 119 although there was a dramatic shift in the demographic within Block 12. The number of non-immigrant whites dropped to seven percent (eight), while the number of African-Americans jumped from 57 percent in 1900 to 90 percent (107) in 1910. Immigrant families only accounted for three percent (four) of the households. The 1920 data shows a dramatic increase in the number of households, from 119 in 1910 to 163 ten years later. The number of immigrant and non-immigrant white households each dropped to only one percent (two each), while African-Americans increased to 98 percent (159). Like Block 1, Block 12 shows an increased density of households between 1884 and 1920, as well as steadily increasing percentages of African American households over the time period.

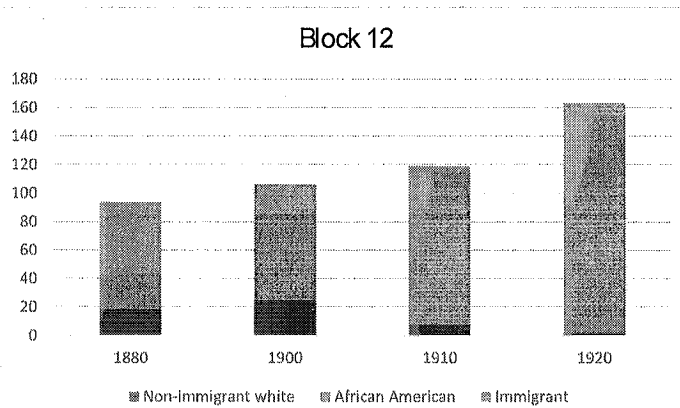


Figure 6. Block 12 Demographics 1884-1920.

Starting in 1884, there are 30 lots within the area with 69 buildings present. Thirty of the buildings were brick while the remainder were frame. By 1892 there were 40 lots and 65 buildings; 31 of brick, 37 frame, and 7 a combination of the two. Of these buildings 66 contained dwellings and 14 businesses. Several businesses and dwellings were present in some buildings accounting for

the discrepancy between the number of buildings and occupants. Of the businesses present seven were stores, and three were cobblers. The remaining businesses were comprised of a saloon, a hardware store, a barber, a plumber, a tailor, and a tin shop. By 1939, the neighborhood had stayed largely the same with 44 lots, a slight increase from 1892, and 62 buildings a slight decrease from 1892.

There were ten businesses in Block 12 in 1884, all owned by either German immigrants or native-born whites. The German-owned businesses included three groceries, a milliner, a stove/tin shop, a dry goods store, and a tailor. Non-immigrant businesses were comprised of a barber, a cobbler, and a doctor. The German groceries, milliner, and dry goods store remained in 1890, with a total of 12 businesses. Non-immigrant owned businesses were two cobblers, a dressmaker, a tailor, a doctor, and two barbers. By 1900, the number and variety of businesses increased dramatically. There were 20 businesses, consisting of a coal supplier, three groceries (two of which were owned by German immigrants), a cobbler, a boarding house, a notary, a plumber, a claim agent, four dressmakers (one of whom was African American), the German-owned dry goods store and tin shop, a German immigrant-owned express service and tailor, and an African American newspaper, *The Kentucky Standard*. The area's 18 businesses in 1910 were two groceries (one German), four African American barbers, two confectioners (one of whom was black), one peddler, an African American boarding house, the German immigrant-owned tin shop, a dressmaker, three African American doctors, two furniture stores (one owned by a Scots immigrant and the other by an African American, and an African American restaurant. The African American First Holiness Church and, from 1912-1913, Knights of Pythias Club were also located in the area. By 1920, the Guiding Star Baptist Church (also African American) had been established, as well. At this time, there were once again 20 businesses in the area, only five of which were not owned by African Americans. These exceptions were a coal supplier, a barber, a laundry, and a grocery, along with a Scots immigrant owned furniture store. The African American businesses were a dressmaker, a junk store, two hairdressers, a barber, a soft drink shop, two express services, two restaurants, a dry goods store, and four boarding houses.

Occupations for residents of Block 12 in 1880 included laborers, janitors, drivers, tobacco factory and paper mill workers, hotel waiters, watchmen, and porters, as well as tailors, cobblers and a shoe wholesaler, barbers, grocers, a baker, butchers, boilermakers and stove molders, a tinsmith, a carriage painter, a cooper, and a bellows maker. There were also cabinetmakers and paper hangers, carpenters, a brick mason, and a piano maker. There was a German optician, a musician, a fresco painter, a weaver, and a patent medicine maker. In 1900, there were proportionally more laborers including foundry and railroad workers, hod carriers, and tobacco factory employees. There were also porters, servants, laundresses and seamstresses, and teamsters. A cooper, a blacksmith, a tinsmith, a boilermaker, and a gas fitter also lived on the block, as well as a machinist and a carpenter. Proprietors included the owners of dry goods stores, groceries, tailor's shops, and a newspaper run by an immigrant born in England to a British father and an Indian mother, who is listed as "Black" in the census. A printer and a schoolteacher (both white non-immigrants) also lived on the block. The 1910 census lists most residents working as clerks, waiters, servants, cooks, laundresses and seamstresses, teamsters, laborers, janitors, porters, tobacco factory workers, and tanners. There were also shop and restaurant owners, barbers, a blacksmith, plasterers and paper hangers, a stove repair shop, two African American firemen, a Black nurse, a government dam tender, boarding house keepers, and a Black caterer. There was also an African American woman minister living on Block 12 at this time.

Table 4. Summary of Block 12: Grayson to Walnut, Twelfth-Thirteenth Streets

Year/Area	Households	N Af-Am	% Af-Am	N-Imm	% Imm	N N-B W	% N-B W
1884 - B10	94	25	27%	51	54%	18	19%
Immigrants	Swiss (1) 2%, Irish (5) 10%, Scots (2) 4%, English (3) 6%, German (40) 78%, Canadian (1) 2%						
Commercial	10: groceries (3, Ger), milliner (1, Ger), stove shop (1, Ger), dry goods store (1, Ger), barber (1), shoemaker (1), doctor (1), tailor (1, Ger)						
Institutions							
Comments							
1900 - B10	105	60	57%	18	17%	27	26%
Immigrants	Irish (1) 6%, Russian (1) 6%, Scots (1) 6%, German (13) 72%, English* (2) 11%						
Commercial	19: coal supplier (1), groceries (3, 2 Ger), shoemaker (1), boarding house (1), notary (1), plumber (1), claim agent (1), dressmakers (4, 1B), dry goods store (1, Ger), dairy (1), stove shop (1, Ger), express service (1, Ger), tailor (1, Ger), newspaper (1, B)						
Institutions							
Comments	*one English immigrant listed as black (mother b. India)						
1910 - B10	119	107	90%	4	3.00%	8	7%
Immigrants	Scots (1) 25%, German (2) 50%, English* (1) 25%						
Commercial	18: groceries (2, 1 Ger), barbers (4, B), confectioners (2, 1B), peddler (1), boarding house (1, B), tinner (1, Ger), dressmaker (1), doctors (3, B), furniture stores (2 - 1B, 1 Scots-Im), restaurant (1, B)						
Institutions	First Holiness Church (B), Knights of Pythias 1912-1913 (B)						
Comments	*listed as black (mother b. India)						
1920 - B10	163	159	98%	2	1%	2	1%
Immigrants	Russian Jewish (1) 50%, English* (1) 50%						
Commercial	20: coal supplier (1), dressmaker (1, B), furniture store (1, Scots-Im), junk store (1, B), hairdressers (2, B), barbers (2, 1B), soft drink shop (1, B), express services (2, B), restaurants (2, B), dry goods store (1, B), laundry (1), boarding houses (4, B), grocery (1, R-J Im)						
Institutions	First Holiness Church (B), Guiding Star Baptist Church (B)						
Comments	*listed as black (mother b. India)  ** B indicates Black business owner or institution, Scots-Im indicates Scottish Immigrant owner, Ger indicates German Immigrant owner, N-B White indicates Native-Born White						

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**Lots Selected for Excavation**

Seven lots were selected from Block 12 for excavation, along with eight alternate lots. These lots include the following and are depicted in **Figure 7**. Additional information on these lots is presented below.

**African American Professionals Households**

708 S 12<sup>th</sup> St  
712 S 12<sup>th</sup> St  
619 S 13<sup>th</sup> St

**African American Working-Class Households**

604 Clean Alley

**Eastern European Immigrant Households**

714/716 S 12<sup>th</sup> St

**Native Born/ and Other Euro-American Households**

1209 W Walnut St  
1225 W Walnut St

**Alternates:** 1215 W Walnut St  
615/617 Clean Alley  
1230 Carpet Alley  
627 S 13<sup>th</sup> St  
706 S. 12<sup>th</sup> Street  
1207 W Walnut St  
1217 W Walnut St  
631 S. 13<sup>th</sup> St



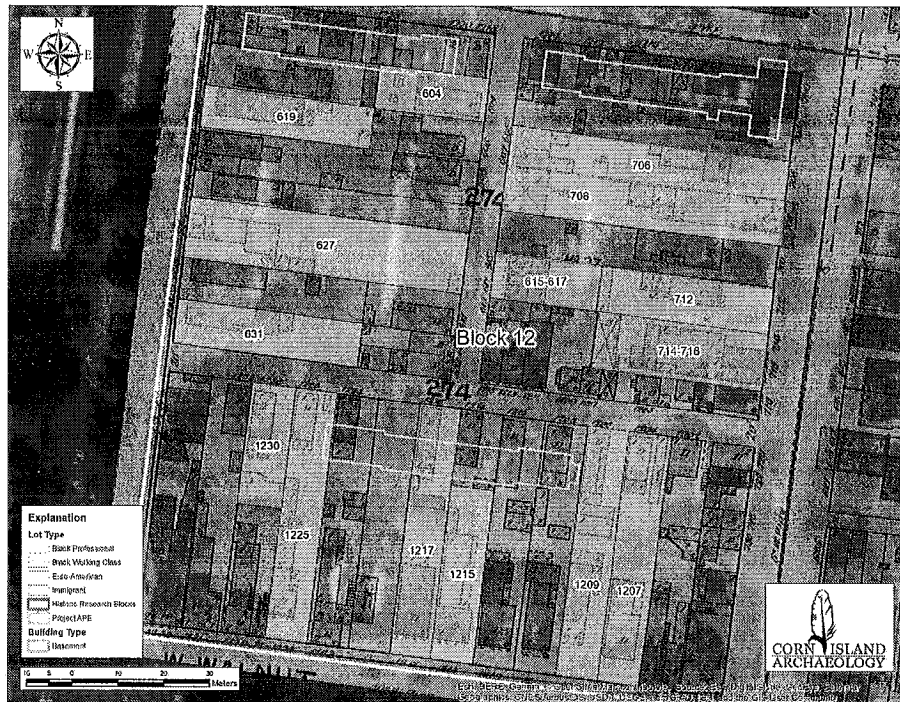


Figure 7. Selected and Alternate Lots in Block 12.

#### Summary Information on the Lots Selected for Excavation

The proposed lot selection for the Phase III mitigation is based on discussions with both the Consulting Parties and the SHPO. As a result, it was determined that 20 lots with intact deposits would be adequate to answer research questions proposed in this DRP. The selections were broken into four broad categories; African American Professionals, African American Working Class, Eastern European Immigrants, and Native-born and other Euro-Americans. Of these, the primary research focus is on the African American segment of the neighborhood population, as these are under-represented in previously conducted archaeological research. The secondary area of focus is the Eastern European Immigrants. To ensure the neighborhood composition is fully represented, the remaining area will sample Euro-Americans including Native Born residents and Western European Immigrants, which have been more commonly studied in previous investigations.

Broadly speaking, African American Professionals included people with higher status or skilled jobs such as doctors, jewelers, publishers, photographers, and local religious leaders. African American Working-Class jobs included barbers, porters, carriage drivers, and other trades. The Eastern European Immigrant populations of primary interest were those under-represented in the archaeological record such as Eastern and Southern Europeans, and Jews of all social classes. Finally, Euro-Americans is a catch-all category that includes Native Born whites, as well as

assimilated Western European immigrants from a mix of social statuses. It is possible that Pioneer period as well as Native American features might be encountered during the mitigation, but these possible components are not specifically targeted by the lot selection process.

It is also worth noting that lot ownership and occupation commonly changed over time. A residence occupied by members of one ethnic or racial group may later be inhabited by another. Therefore, to the extent possible, association with particular privy deposits will need to be correlated by their relative artifact date ranges and city directory data on residents. To minimize this, individual lots were selected based in part based on resident longevity. Lots were also selected based on lot use (primarily residential), and those areas least likely to have sustained disturbances to the deep features (privies). If, during fieldwork it is determined that any of the preferred lots have been too disturbed to allow the recovery of sufficient information, then alternate lots will be sought. **Table 5** presents the selected lots, including a series of possible alternates, by category with the street addresses, long term residents, ethnicity, and careers, where currently known.

Table 5. Distribution and Data Regarding Selected Lots by Resident Population Sector

Selection Category	Block No.	Address	Reside Years	Name	Career/Ethnicity	
African American Professionals	Block 1	926/931 W Walnut St	1893-1898	J M Burley C H Marrs	Jeweler Printer	
			1899-1900	Neighbors Bros	Photographers	
			1901-1902	J H Fitzbultler	Doctor	
			1909-1920	A C McIntyre	Doctor	
			1915-1920	W H Jackson	Doctor	
	Block 12	708 S 12 <sup>th</sup> St	634 S 9 <sup>th</sup> St	1884-1911	Douglas Harris	Reverend
				1884-1894	Lena Weiss	Milliner (German)
			1900-1909	KY Standard	Publisher	
			1908	Etta Green Emily Scott	Doctor Nurse	
			1909-1910	Mary Thomas	Doctor	
			1912-1913	Knights of Pythia	African American Society	
			712 S 12 <sup>th</sup> St	1897-1916	William Johnson	Publisher
			619 S 13 <sup>th</sup> St	1910-1920	Annora Martin	Reverend
	Block 1 Alt	943-945 W Walnut St	1891-1908	George/Hanna Kelly	Baker/Confectioner	
	Block 12 Alt	1215 W Walnut St	1897-1899	J H Fitzbultler	Doctor	
1915-1919			G B Saunders	Doctor		
African American Working Class	Block 1	626 S 9 <sup>th</sup> St	1884-1920	Alex Morris	Barber	
			1884-1894	Wilson Burris	Porter	
		627 Bowsers Alley	1898-1903	Tabitha Burris	Keeping House	
			1884-1892	George May	Carriage Driver	
			1886-1888	J W Bowman	Reverend	
		625-627 S 10 <sup>th</sup> St	1902-1907	Mamie Ellis	Madam	
	1221 W Green St		1895-1900	William Heyser	Laborer	
			1902-1907	Andrew Mitchell	Laborer	
	Block 10	1221 W Green St	1901-1920	William/Nellie Hicks	None Listed	
	Block 12	604 Clean Alley	1896-1912	Charlotte Crowders	None Listed	
			1902-1913	Josephine Mays	Private Laundress	
	Block 12 Alt	1230 Carpet Alley	1884-1891	Rachel Staton	None Listed	
			1904	A.J. Bell	Music Teacher	
		1207 W. Walnut St	1906-1908	Mary Russell	Boarding House	
			1911-1916	Jennie Jones	Boarding House	

Selection Category	Block No.	Address	Reside Years	Name	Career/Ethnicity
		1217 Walnut St	1906-1908 1900-1911 1914-1915	Thomas Bates Samuel McLain Lula Jones	Fireman Porter Boarding House
Eastern European Immigrant	Block 1	620 S 9 <sup>th</sup> St	1900-1920	J Hurwitz	Shop Keeper/ Russian Jew
		644 S 9 <sup>th</sup> St	1893-1902	Mary Saltzman	Polish Jew
	Block 10	1208 W Jefferson St	1900-1912	Michael De Sopo	Fruit Dealer/Italian
		1210 W Jefferson St	1911-1920	Ezidor Grossman	Shop Keeper/ Russian Jew
	Block 10 Alt	1216 W Jefferson St	1888-1920	Joseph Hubbach	Wallpaper Proprietor/ Early German
Block 12 Alt	714-716 S 12 <sup>th</sup> St	1888-1906	Joseph Wesbecker	Tinner/Early German	
Native Born and Other Euro-Americans	Block 10	1214 W Jefferson St	1888-1918	Josephine Wolf	Boarding House
		1202 W Jefferson St	1885-1905	John Mitchell	Boilermaker
		1213-1215 W Green St	1884-1888	Henry Howard	Policeman
			1894-1900	Rosa Burns	None Listed
			1902-1910	Lizzie Mayers	Madam
	Block 12	1209 W Walnut St	1888-1902	Joseph/Therese Ratterman	None Listed
	Block 12	1225 W Walnut St	1885-1900	F H Buschmeyer	Laborer
	Block 12 Alt	627 S 13 <sup>th</sup> St	1884-1908	P J Sperzel	Wood Turner
		706 S. 12 <sup>th</sup> St	1889-1902	Jacob Horn	Express
			1906-1910	Annie Beirkley	Dressmaker
631 S. 13 <sup>th</sup>		1886-1896 1909-1912	Thomas Dugan Louis Lindig	Shoemaker (Irish) Ice Cream Peddler	

## RESEARCH AREAS AND QUESTIONS

The four recommended research areas (neighborhood population groups) of the proposed mitigation are briefly discussed in this section. Also included are examples of personal life stories that could be told through a combination of archival and genealogical data as well as from the material culture captured from their residences and work places. Finally, specific research questions are presented relative to lines of study that can be directed towards each of the population sectors of society. The answers to these questions should provide meaningful cross-cultural comparisons.

### African American Lifeways

The primary focus of the planned mitigation is on African American lifeways in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century within the project area. As noted in Stottman and Watts-Roy's 1995 archaeological study of the Russell neighborhood, African Americans are under-represented in archaeological studies to date. The study of the remains of the African American residents within the project area would serve to enhance a sense of identity and continuity with the past for current residents. Louisville's African American population rose sharply between 1865 and 1930, partly due to racial violence in rural Kentucky. By the end of the nineteenth century, 20 percent of Louisville's population was African American, the seventh highest black population in the United States (Aubespain et al. 2011:77,116). Although most of Louisville's black citizens were confined to personal service occupations (particularly black women, who made up between 48 percent and 57 percent of all domestic servants and 84 percent of all laundresses from 1865-1930), additional opportunities were created in Louisville due to three key factors (Aubespain et al. 2011:75-76, 122). First, Louisville's economy was strong during this time period, providing labor opportunities. Second, segregation laws made it necessary for limited higher education to be available to African Americans, in order to provide black ministers, teachers, and medical personnel to serve their community. Such education could be attained at Louisville's Kentucky Normal and Theological Institute (later known as State University and, subsequently, as Simmons University). Churches, fraternal organizations, and benevolent societies were the organizers of social life and advancement in Louisville's African American community. These organizations (particularly women's organizations such as the Sisters of the Mysterious Ten and the Black Baptist Women's Organization) worked to establish homes for widows, orphans, and the elderly; to found and support primary, trade, and secondary schools; and to help community members purchase property (a higher percentage of Louisville's African Americans were homeowners in 1900 than in any other city in the United States) (Aubespain et al. 2011:94-95, 116, 122). Third, the number of African American Louisvillians provided an economic niche for entrepreneurship within the black community, as well as a certain amount of political and community influence, particularly from 1900-1930. Louisville black-owned businesses serving the African American community included mortuaries, restaurants, saloons, tailor's shops, blacksmith shops, newspapers, groceries, photographers, insurance companies, hotels, banks, real estate firms, movie houses, and at least one architect's firm; from 1900 to 1930 the Pythian Building at 10th and Chestnut was Louisville's center for African American business (Aubespain et al. 2011:76, 89, 116-121). These businesses, of course, were limited by the ability of their African American clientele's ability to pay for goods and services, which, in turn, depended on the availability of work and low wages paid them by Louisville's white community (Aubespain et al. 2011:77,116). Block 1, in particular, offers the opportunity to research Louisville's black professionals in the latter portion of the nineteenth century.

**STORY:** - The Fitzbutlers, an African-American husband-wife team who were both doctors, immigrated to Louisville from Canada. They founded the Louisville National Medical College in 1888. With their offices in Block 1 and, after being widowed, Sarah Fitzbutler moved to Block 4, would seem to provide a particularly compelling story to reveal.

William Johnson was the publisher of the *Standard*, an African-American newspaper. His home and office were both located in Block 12.

### Eastern European Lifeways

A secondary research focus is on immigrants from Eastern Europe. This is considered important because most previous studies have encountered archaeological remains associated largely with western European immigrants, with less emphasis, if any, on those from the eastern portion of the continent. Previous archaeological research has generated evidence of immigrant occupation in Louisville. Much of this has been associated with immigrants of western European derivation. Germans in particular were known to have comprised more than fifty percent of Louisville's population in the mid nineteenth century. Secondarily, evidence of Irish immigrants has been documented in archaeological research to date. Very little emphasis has been placed on immigrants from eastern Europe, however, although the Maple Street HGMP project in the California neighborhood has identified folks of Czech and Russian descent. The Beecher Terrace project appears to offer the opportunity to correct this imbalance. Archival research has indicated that a number of Russian immigrants occupied the current project area, and many of these appear to be Jewish. The recovery of information related to the Eastern European Jewish community will augment data on Louisville's German Jewish population as derived from past archaeological investigations.

Louisville's Jewish population is estimated to have been about 2,500 in 1880. Around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, East European Jews began arriving in large numbers, and a cohesive downtown neighborhood centered on Preston Street began to form. The following is extracted from Schatz (2010):

Louisville's East European Jews tended to cluster in a downtown neighborhood centered on Preston Street which some referred to a *shetel* using the Yiddish term for self-contained Jewish neighborhoods in Eastern European villages (Kleber 1992). Eastern Europeans and Eastern European Jews migrated to Louisville in the nineteenth century. An Israelite Benevolent Society was listed in the 1832 city directory and services established by 1838 when the Adath Israel (congregation of Israel) acquired a charter from the state. During the 1840s and 1850s the Jewish population grew as hundreds of immigrants from the German states of Europe and adjacent areas such as, Alsace or Prussian Poland (Posen), arrived in the city. Another congregation, the Polish House of Israel was established in 1851 and a third congregation, Brith Sholom was organized in 1880. Not only were congregations for worship organized but also schools, welfare and social organizations, and burial societies were established to maintain cultural identity. Despite the similarities between the German Jews and the Eastern European Jews there was always some distance between these groups. While the German Jews were quickly acculturated into American society, Jews from Eastern European countries tended to be more inward-looking and found it difficult to identify with the Americanized Jewish lifestyle. Most German Jewish families achieved at least a middle-class status and many abandoned some of the Jewish practices while the East Europeans arriving in the city tended to be of lower economic class and social status. They tended to remain Orthodox

and retained a strong ethnic and cultural identity tied to their Yiddish vernacular (Kleber 2001). Although the German Jews and East European Jews were different the two groups were not totally separate. An examination of established Jewish organizations through time reveals that the Jewish community tended to cluster around Preston, Green, First and Jefferson Streets from the 1850s through the early nineteenth century. Jewish centers have tended to move south and west since that time.

**STORY:** Julius Herwitz was a Russian Jewish immigrant who was a shop owner. His store offered goods that changed over time, beginning with a second-hand store, to a gentleman's furnishings shop, to clothing.

#### **Native Born and Other Euro-Americans**

As the numbers of settlers increased, the character of the city became gradually segregated both culturally and economically. The influx of European immigrants, primarily Germans and Irish, in the 1830s and 1840s created distinct boundaries that transferred into both daily living and work spaces. The peripheral settlements surrounding Louisville became the home of various immigrant communities, that with time included Kentucky or native-born residents of European descent. As the city boundaries expanded, these immigrant communities were often incorporated as neighborhoods and maintained a distinct cultural flavor for much of the nineteenth century (Andrews and Schatz 2011). German immigrants, as one example, usually immigrated as families rather than as individuals. Unlike many other immigrant groups Germans immigrated for economic reasons, although significant numbers departed as the result of the failed 1848 Revolution in Prussia (Andrews and Schatz 2011:288, Wolf 1999:216). Germans generally wished to reestablish their social and cultural settings in the United States rather than to begin anew like other immigrant groups (Andrews and Schatz 2011:288). The early German immigrants, especially those arriving after the 1848 Revolution, were generally progressive politically.

Archaeological investigations to date have recovered data from households and businesses related to this segment of the population. Some of these projects have been in the downtown Louisville area and some in the Highlands, although a few have been recovered from Louisville's West End. Ongoing work in the California neighborhood, 18<sup>th</sup> Street, Russell neighborhood, and Parkland all offer comparative studies to complement the work to be done in Beecher Terrace.

**STORY:** Among the stories that could be told of non-Eastern European immigrants is that of Michael DeSopo, an Italian fruit dealer, Joseph Hubbuch a German who owned and operated a dry good store in 1900-1920; and Josephine Wolfe, a Kentucky born lady of German descent who kept a boarding house. Her son, a druggist, also lived in her household.

#### **Other Potential Occupations**

There is a low possibility that the remains associated with other occupations may be encountered during the data recovery. Two groups, in particular, should be mentioned. These include the pioneering and early nineteenth century settlement of Louisville, and the prehistoric Native American occupation of the area. These groups are discussed below. Features associated with the pioneering or early nineteenth century occupation could include pit or root cellars associated with cabin; house or cabin footprints/foundations, wells, and possibly privy deposits. Native American features might include sheet middens, fire pits or hearths, storage pits, post molds associated with a structure, human interments, and more.

If any intact archaeological deposits or features related to these two occupations are encountered during fieldwork, they will be protected while consultation is initiated with the SHPO regarding appropriate documentation and excavation. If human remains are encountered, the protocols established in the PA governing the project will be implemented.

### **Pioneer and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Occupation**

The Beecher Terrace APE lies in proximity to the earliest settlement on the south side of the Ohio River at Louisville. George Rogers Clark and 60 civilians arrived at Corn Island (originally named Dunmore's Island) near the Falls of the Ohio in 1778. Clark and the civilians settled on Corn Island, but a lack of ideal conditions resulted in the group moving to the mainland in early 1779. Under Clark's orders, William Lynn constructed a fort at what is now 12<sup>th</sup> and Rowan Streets. The burgeoning farming community relocated to this fort, the second to be constructed at the Falls of the Ohio and the first on the mainland. Fort on Shore was primarily a stockade and fort and would come to represent the first settlement of Louisville. Built of logs, Fort on Shore proved to be insufficient to the needs of the growing community. Attacks by Native American tribes and possible invasions by English troops during the American Revolution resulted in the need for a higher vantage point for the protection of those settled here. In 1781, Richard Chenoweth began constructing Fort Nelson located at the intersection of 7<sup>th</sup> and Main Streets to replace Fort on Shore. By 1832, E. D. Hobbs shows the project area as platted. Four lots were laid out along Jefferson Street, a Common Lot running through the middle, and two large blocks along the south facing Walnut Street (now Muhammad Ali).

The first public cemetery in the city of Louisville was located on Jefferson Street, between Eleventh and Twelfth, and was used as early as 1786 (Kleber 2001). The cemetery has alternatively been called the "Upper Jefferson Street Cemetery", the "Old Twelfth Street Cemetery", and the "Pioneer Cemetery". According to this source, the very earliest settlers of Louisville, who settled on Corn Island then came to the mainland and built Fort-on-Shore, are likely interred there. Fort-on-Shore was erected on the riverbank, at the terminus of Twelfth Street, by the colonists in 1778 (Stoddard 1896).

It is not suggested here that any early residents of Fort on Shore had residences within the neighborhood that developed circa 1860 at what is now the Beecher Terrace Site. It is not impossible, however, that some of these early settlers and their descendants continued to live in the general area of the fort as Louisville grew and prospered. There are few research avenues available to allow one to determine likely locations of the residences of such early settlers. Deed research might reveal this information, but it is impractical to conduct that on each of the lots contained within the subject blocks.

In an attempt to isolate any potential descendant residents and thus perhaps their family homes, the following steps were taken.

1. The 1832 City Directory was checked to locate individuals living in what is now the project area. Furthermore, these names were cross-referenced with early Corn Island settlers and the partial list of those interred in Baxter Square Cemetery.
2. The names from the limited list of those buried in Baxter Square were cross-referenced with the list of known residents of the 1884-1920 neighborhood that preceded Beecher Terrace.
3. The names of the original founding families from Corn Island was also checked against the list of those who once lived within the current project area.



Several surnames matched these lists, including Smith, Applegate, and Stewart. Other names from Corn Island families are Dougherty, Perkins, Toole, Harris, Crittenden, Fleming, and Green. The latter all had residences in the subject area in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, the addresses associated with these individuals will be subjected to deed research using the Grantor-Grantee index and limited genealogical research be conducted on the families.

### **Prehistoric Native American Occupation**

Two artifacts relative to prehistoric early Native American occupation were found during the Phase I-II investigation of the project APE. These included one piece of debitage and one biface. Both were found at site 15JF923, and both were out of context within fill deposits. Because of all the previous disturbances from nearly two centuries of building and rebuilding within the project APE, the potential for encountering intact archaeological deposits associated with the Native American occupation of the area is not high, however, it is not non-existent. The presence of late prehistoric Mississippian and earlier Woodland villages are believed to have existed in this area, in addition to even earlier Archaic camps along the terraces of the Ohio River. These could be buried under historic fill, but it is not likely at this distance from the river that they would lie under silt accumulation from flooding.

### **Research Questions**

Since the 1990s, there has been an increasing focus on Urban Archaeology in the Louisville area, and the past decade in particular has seen a large body of work conducted in the downtown and west end areas of the City. These studies have led to an increasing accumulation of data that allows broader research issues to be addressed. Many of the same research questions can be applied to multiple research projects and individual neighborhoods, several of which are provided below. But it is in the comparison of the findings from these previous archaeological studies that a comprehensive picture of the ethnic composition and social stratification of the downtown core and surrounding residential neighborhoods as they developed over time can be revealed.

### **Effects of National Financial Trends and Political Events on the Neighborhood**

The Panic of 1893, the worst financial crisis in United States history at the time, was the result of a number of economic factors including inflation, heavy farm debts and falling crop prices, 1889-1895 financial depression in Europe, and the resulting decline of the United States Treasury's gold reserves. In addition, the economic boom which preceded the collapse prompted overproduction of goods, overextension of businesses, and as building projects including railroad construction peaked in the late 1880s and early 1890s, economic activity began to slow (Ohio History Central 2017; Richardson and Sablik 2015; Whitten 2001). In the spring of 1893, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and the National Cordage Company, two of America's largest employers, collapsed, setting off the financial panic on the stock market and in banks. Over 400 banks suspended operations as they struggled to meet withdrawal requests, selling assets and calling in loans, which resulted in the bankruptcy of over 15,000 businesses and the near-collapse of the entire U.S. banking system (Ohio History Central 2017; Richardson and Sablik 2015). Unemployment rose to 25 percent, further depressing the economy, and did not fall below 10 percent for the next six years (Richardson and Sablik 2015; Whitten 2001). Not surprisingly, immigration fell from 500,000 average people per year to 270,000 per year between 1894 and 1898. Although the banking panic ended in the fall of 1893, the economy would not recover until 1897, after a number of violent labor strikes and a civic movement toward banking reform and regulation of business on behalf of the public (Whitten 2001).

By the 1890s, due perhaps in part to the tornado as well as to the financial downturn of the late 1880s and 1890s, many of the properties on the east side of the current Beecher Terrace project area had left private ownership and been taken over by banks, trusts, loan companies, and real estate companies. It can be assumed that these then became rental properties, with some transitioning into commercial ventures. Turnover was likely high among these rental properties, and income lower. In general, it appears that ownership of properties in the western portions of the project area were more stable over time with houses remaining owner-occupied for longer periods. Ultimately, however, the surviving structures of the 1890 tornado were also demolished in the 1930s prior to the construction of Beecher Terrace. By this time, the area had become depressed, the houses deteriorated, and the area became known as one of the worst slums in the city. Several questions might be teased out of the archival work in relation to this subject. Are differences in residential turnover between the west and east blocks of the neighborhood related to ethnicity? Acknowledging the fact that many landowners on the east side were African Americans in professional positions, did race play a role in the economic collapse there? Did the proximity of the east side to the downtown core hasten the influx of commercial ventures in that part of the neighborhood?

It is considered appropriate to examine a sample of lots in Block 1 that were repossessed and presumably rented to compare the archaeological materials with those from the more stable lots, such as those found in Block 12 which apparently remained in private ownership for greater periods.

- Can the apparent turnover in private landownership be tied to the national trends of the Economic Panic of 1893 and earlier economic downturns?
- Archival data suggests that the predominantly black community that once lived in the eastern portion of what is now Beecher Terrace may have experienced more economic stresses than the western portion of the neighborhood. Can evidence of economic hardship be observed through time in this area?
- How do assemblages differ between those households that remained in private ownership by families who lived in the area for years and those that occupied lots at which rental turnover was common and residency was transient?

### **Ethnicity and Race**

Behavior is widely believed to have varied considerably between households according to ethnic and socioeconomic class (Mintz and Kellogg 1988). These demographic variables might be expanded to include other variables such as place of birth, sex, household life-cycle, household type, and head of household (LeeDecker 1994), but interpreting these behaviors as reflected within the material culture can be difficult for a number of reasons. These reasons might include the loss of some artifact groups due to poor preservation; effects of intangible influences on the material culture such as taboo, frugality, or superstition (LeeDecker 1994); and the interrelatedness of the variables. Data related to socioeconomic status, for example, may also address issues regarding ethnicity. For instance, Irish immigrants, as the group to arrive more recently than other factions during the nineteenth century such as the German immigrant groups, may have been generally poorer than the better established populations. Augmented households, or those with additional members such as boarders, may also skew the data (LeeDecker 1994). Interpreting the ethnicity of privy contributors without associated archival data may therefore be circumstantial evidence at best, and Brandon (2011:7) cautions against "*concentrating on diagnostic markers [that] objectified race and class*" (p.7). Rather than a "*simplistic understanding*" gathered from these markers or patterns of material culture, the goal of historical analysis aims to reflect the dynamic interactions on scales of the neighborhood and larger scales as well as with

prior and subsequent generations. Multiple lines of evidence using various datasets, including the archival data presented in more detail earlier in this DRP, and faunal material, has been shown to be more effective (Garrow 1987).

Investigations from elsewhere in Louisville (the California neighborhood, for example) have shown that even within one neighborhood, racial segregation occurred. Additional archival research at Beecher Terrace may reveal if neighborhoods or streets were bounded by ethnicity or race, or other factors. Were there any ethnic groups aggregated in discrete enclaves within the project area (Schatz 2010)?

- Can the country of origin of a household be discovered through the archaeological record? Does a German household differ from an Irish household? Does an African American household differ from a German or Irish household (Schatz 2010) ?
- Archival research has provided a good basis for associating ethnic groups with specific lots at a given point in time within the Beecher Terrace project area. Can an examination of the material remains from these lots be used to discern patterns in ethnic lifestyles, such as consumption and health?
- Per the Kentucky State Plan, do certain aspects of material culture change faster than others for different ethnic groups?
- The Beecher Terrace project area was ethnically diverse. It appears that there was some degree of spatial distribution of ethnic groups. Can archaeology provide insights on the degree of success for these groups to maintain their ethnic identity?
- Unlike many of the urban neighborhoods investigated in Louisville, the nineteenth century composition of a portion of the Beecher Terrace project area shows a high density of professional African American residents, including doctors, teachers, an architect, ministers, and a variety of business entrepreneurs. Can the recovered assemblages from these households reveal patterns that differ from those of blue collar, personal service black residents?

### **Economic Scaling**

Socioeconomic analysis of the various sectors of the population can be undertaken by studying both archival data and the recovered artifact assemblages using several economic scaling indices (See more below under Artifact Laboratory Analysis). Caveats, however, are numerous. Ceramic indices, for example, may be a reflection of earlier periods of affluence (Spencer-Wood 1987; Garrow 1987). In addition, a dichotomy between high and low status evidence within a single context can make interpretations problematic. Such assemblages have been documented within privy assemblages recovered from nonresidential settings such as the Cathedral of the Assumption in Louisville (Mansberger 1995).

Other data aside from that derived from artifacts may also provide information on socioeconomic status. These data include structural construction materials and quality of construction, which in this investigation, will be primarily associated solely with the privies. As an example, in one working class Ohio neighborhood, 80 percent of 70 privies excavated were wood-lined, presumably the least expensive of privy lining materials. Fifteen percent of these were limestone, and five percent were brick (Maples 1992:8). In contrast, the Putnam neighborhood near Zanesville, Ohio, was comprised largely of upper class residents. Of the thirty privies excavated there, 90 percent were limestone, 7 percent wood, and 3 percent brick (Genheimer and Cinadr 1983; Maples 1992:8). In part, this may be due to the fact that wealthier individuals have more money and greater access to better building materials and to professional masons (Bryant

1988:75). On the other hand, lower class residents with smaller incomes were more apt to build privies themselves, resulting in constructions that were more roughly made and less regular in shape (Bryant 1988:75). Also, a deeper vault would have been more expensive to construct than a shallow one, which may have been emplaced by the resident himself. Shallow privies would have needed to be cleaned out more often than the deeper ones. While the shallow depths of the privies would have been cheaper initially to construct, they would have required more frequent cleaning, and therefore in the long run would have been expensive to maintain (Stottman 1996:105). There are other practical reasons to consider regarding the depths of privies, however, aside from economic ones. Privies may have been shallow in areas of harder clay soil, or in those with a high-water table.

- Can differences in construction technique over time be discerned in those lots that contain multiple privies?
- Especially at lots with multiple privies, do construction techniques differ between lots that demonstrate longterm sustained occupation by a landowner and those that were rental properties for a long period?

### Health and Medicine

Large numbers of medicine bottles have been found within the artifact collections excavated to date at Beecher Terrace. These include both those medicines produced locally and imported from other cities. As discussed in Bader 2003:108, the years following 1850 saw a tremendous growth and professionalism in the druggist industry. Following the revolutions in Europe of 1848-1849, a great number of Germans immigrated to Louisville. In 1852, Louisville was a population of 51,726 of which 18,000 were Germans (Casseday 1852:247). Many of these were formally educated, professional men in all fields, and notably pharmacy, who came to the Louisville area desiring to open businesses. German pharmacists had undergone systematic apprenticeships, attending and completing university courses in pharmacy, chemistry, botany, and pharmacognosy and allied branches of science. This was opposed to the hands-on, handed-down shop experience of the typical "western" druggist (Diehl 1896:53). With the influx of these men, the expertise of Louisville as a center of medicine and pharmacy grew, and Louisville enjoyed a regional prominence and prosperity. Between 1860 and 1870, Louisville boasted 75 retail drugstores and "quite a number" of wholesale drug houses; by 1896, the number had grown to 150 (Diehl 1896:53-56). A number of drugstores during this time have German names, reflecting the significance of this influence.

There are a number of archaeological studies in the Louisville area that will provide comparable analytical opportunities to study this aspect of the late nineteenth century lifeways. A druggist laboratory was investigated and documented in Bader's (2003) study of the R.A. Robinson Wholesale Druggist operation at what is now the Muhammad Ali Museum and parking garage in downtown Louisville. Stottman and Watts-Roy's (1995a) study of the nearby historically black Russell neighborhood also recovered many medicinal bottles. The Highland Park study near the current airport (Stottman and Granger 1993) also offers data related to the later occupations at Beecher Terrace. Other studies, such as the Scholar House investigations by AMEC (Andrews and Schatz 2011) offer valuable insights especially as they relate to the upper-class German residents of Louisville. The Maple Street HGMP study (currently ongoing by Corn Island) will provide data that will allow comparisons regarding perceptions of health among the various ethnic and socioeconomic classes of the late nineteenth century neighborhood that would later become Beecher Terrace (Schatz and Bader 2015). Additional projects include the Convention Center (Stottman and Watts-Roy 1995b), Haymarket (Stottman 2015) and Omni Hotel investigations

(Stottman 2016) by Jay Stottman of the Kentucky Archeological Survey, as well as the NuLu Hotel (Schatz et al. 2018) and 18<sup>th</sup> Street (Schatz et al. 2016) projects by Corn Island.

- What choices are the households making in their consumption of medicines within each of the lots selected for the data recovery?
- Are there differences based on time period, ethnicity, class, age, or religion?
- Were there differences in medicinal options available among the African American and other racial groups? Were there differences between the working class African Americans and the professional black residents?
- How do these choices compare to data recovered from other sites within the city of Louisville?

### **Food and Beverage Consumption**

Like medicines, numerous artifacts related to the consumption of foods and beverages were recovered at the site. Analysis of these items can reveal types of foods, how they were prepared, and how they were presented. This analysis can be further broken down by household composition including ethnicity, class, age, or religion. Changes over time can also be addressed.

- What kinds of beverages are being consumed from soda water to alcohol?
- What kinds of meat cuts are present and how do these relate to the composition of the household?
- Not only does the type of food consumed over time change, but presentation as well. How does the Victorian Era obsession with proper or segmented dining present within the archeological record at the Beecher Terrace site?
- Did the nature of consumption patterns change over time at the Beecher Terrace Site?
- Can differences in consumption be distinguished for various parts of the neighborhood? Are certain types of artifacts or material goods more informative about race, gender, ethnicity, and/or socioeconomic classes?

### **Construction Techniques**

The project area was platted perhaps by the 1830s, with lots laid out along Jefferson as early as 1832. At this time, the area lay on the western extremity of the city of Louisville (Portland being a city further west downriver). By the mid-century, the area was well developed and occupied. The nature of the neighborhood certainly changed over the nineteenth century. Lot configurations changed, and there were probably multiple periods of construction, demolition, and rebuilding. The tornado of 1890, in particular, showed massive destruction to the neighborhood, and likely a significant round of rebuilding. These rebuilding episodes undoubtedly involved newer and modern construction methods over time that may be related to both more modern techniques and economic realities. The construction of the associated features (privies, cisterns, and more) likely also changed with the rebuilding episodes. The discovery of features such as an intact abandoned alley, as an example, may give an indication of when the area was developed by comparing it to other extant alleys and those that may be unearthed during the Phase III at Beecher Terrace.

Questions related to the types of features can include construction techniques and their changes over time as well as how variations in construction may indicate economic decisions by the developer/owner of a lot. As noted during the Phase I-II excavations, there were several different construction techniques used at Beecher Terrace for privies and cisterns that have not been noted at other urban archaeological project areas in downtown Louisville. Wood-lined, earthen, and

brick-lined privies were encountered and documented, but where they fall in a timeline of the development of the site is still an open question. The examination of artifacts within the excavated privies should resolve this question. Other features, such as cisterns also have some variation, including both brick- and earth-lined structures. Even the caps of these features vary, with some being entirely subsurface while others may have extended above ground. Building construction also has variations with some structures built on piers while others use solid multi-course foundations. Both have their variations that may be temporal and/or representative of economic choices. However, since these will not be excavated during this mitigation, it will not likely be feasible to assign them to a particular time.

- This part of the city was developed from an early time, and experienced periods of rebuilding. Do construction techniques of structural foundations, privies, cisterns, foundations, cellars, etc. vary over time, by economics, or a combination of both?
- How might variations in construction indicate economic decisions by the developer/owner of a lot?
- Can the design/construction of a feature be related to environmental factors (such as soil conditions, tendency to flooding)? Why are some privies/cisterns lined and others are not? At least one cistern at Beecher Terrace appears to be above-ground. What was the purpose/advantage to this?

#### FIELD METHODS

It has been demonstrated through the investigation of other neighborhoods in Louisville and elsewhere regionally that associated yard midden deposits associated with urban residential buildings are not typically archaeologically productive. This can be because of significant near-surface disturbances related to repeated grading and rebuilding, or because repeated occupations, especially in rental properties or those areas with high itinerant populations, results in the accumulation of artifacts that derive from contexts that are difficult to link with any one family or business. Rather, the potential to provide meaningful information regarding the past uses and occupants within urban sites is more commonly found in deeply buried cultural features such as privy vaults. The Phase I-II archaeological investigations have demonstrated that these features are abundant and intact within the Beecher Terrace Site. Although the upper portions of these features are sometimes truncated by disturbances, these features are generally deep, extending to as much as 20-30 feet below the ground. Cisterns are another buried feature that are intact at the site, as are cellars. As stated above, it was decided in the CP meetings that the data recovery would focus on the privy features. It was agreed that cisterns or other historic features would not be excavated during the mitigation. If, however, a feature of another type (such as a cellar) was encountered that appeared from the exposed artifacts to relate to a much earlier occupation (such as the early pioneering occupation), then consultation with the SHPO would occur to decide upon an appropriate procedure for investigating that feature.

To ensure consistency with recently conducted privy excavations in Louisville, the sampling of deposits within each privy vault will occur per a method that has been approved by the SHPO for other Louisville urban projects. This method serves to reduce the number of artifacts collected, which has been noted to include many redundant examples of the same artifact type.

Privy features in this part of the City at this period are expected to be around 20-plus feet (six meters) deep. Field research in the nearby neighborhoods revealed a small number of privies at lesser depths (ca. 10 feet). Due to the probability that the privy features were likely to have been dug into an unstable sandy unconsolidated soil matrix common to the Ohio River floodplain and/or

infill, hand-excavation of the privies will not be attempted. Excavation of the selected privy features will proceed as follows. See **Figure 5** below for clarification.

1. The overburden will be mechanically removed at targeted areas to expose the top of the privy(ies) to document them in planview. Areas/lots to be excavated will be delineated by a combination of georeferenced historic mapping and physical measurements utilizing tapes, GPS, or both, as deemed necessary at the time of fieldwork. The current inside edges of sidewalks in the blocks to be excavated (1, 10, and 12) correspond to the historic property lines as well as those of the current tract boundaries, so measurements taken from the should be accurate within a meter. Backlot areas typically can be divided into two types: alley-facing and those that straddle the 'mid-lot' between street and alley-facing lots. Stripping and feature identification will focus on these areas rather than parts of lots containing the remnant foundations of the dwellings demolished prior to the construction of the Beecher Terrace housing complex. Previous projects at the NuLu hotel site (15JF929) and the 8 sites investigated (15JF873-75 and 15JF877-81) as part of the Maple Street HGMP mitigation provide a solid basis for predicting the likely locations of deep features based on the lot depth and configuration.
2. Once the plan view for each privy is documented, the privy will be mechanically excavated to ultimately provide a profile view. One side of each feature (privy vault) shall be opened with a single bucket-width (one meter or less) of a backhoe equipped with a toothless bucket.
3. The contents of each privy will be then excavated in 50-centimeter (cm) levels stepping back and widening (benching) on all sides as necessary for safety.
4. In accordance with Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) regulations, and because the deep features identified are likely to have been excavated into a sandy unconsolidated soil matrix, no person will be permitted to enter an excavation once the depth exceeds 4 feet (1.2 meters). Extensive benching or stepping back to allow full access to the excavations is not feasible, as it would require a massive excavation (up to 12 meters wide) to satisfy OSHA guideline of a 1:1 width-to-depth-ratio. To ensure safety of personnel, the features will be mechanically excavated in 50-cm (20-inch) increments with a smooth-bladed trackhoe until the bottom is reached. As the entirety of each 50-centimeter level will be removed during excavation, the profile of the privy will not be fully exposed at any point during the process. Notes and photographs will of each 50-centimeter level be taken as excavation proceeds. Once the privy vault excavation has reached a depth of four feet below the exposed surface, then a bench or stepback measuring three-foot-wide and three-foot deep(1-meter-x-1-meter) will be excavated around the privy opening to ensure that the wall immediately surrounding the trench does not collapse during the monitoring of the excavation (See Step 2 of **Figure 5** below).

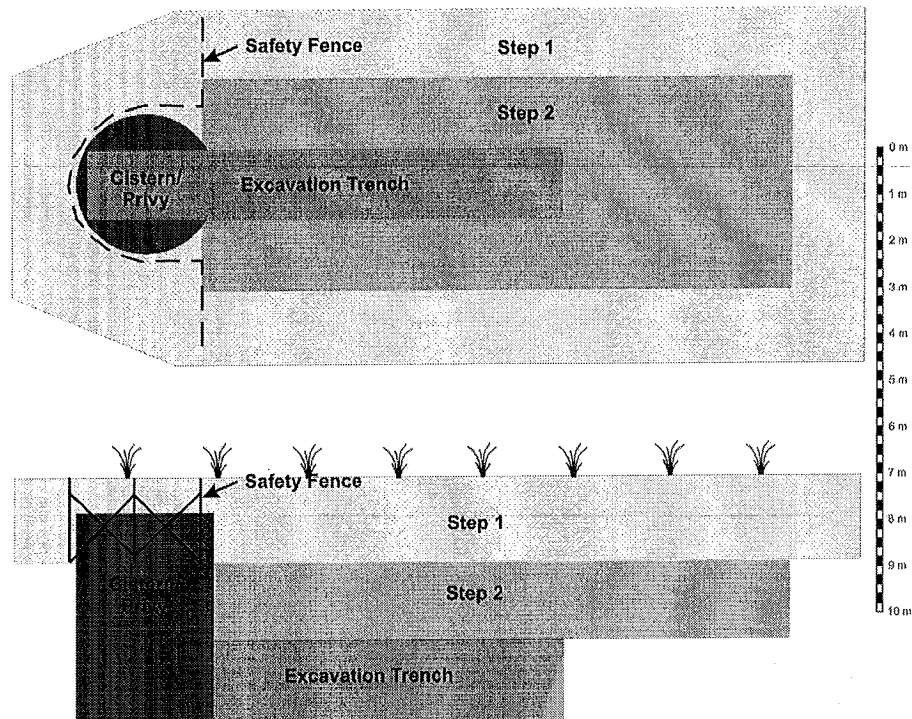


Figure 5. Excavation Methodology.

**Step 1. Removal of pavement and stripping to expose original ground surface and privy planview.**

**Step 2. Benching or step-back to minimize potential collapse.**

**Step 3. Excavation of trench reaches its maximum depth to fully expose the privy wall.**

5. Since the privies are very deep, a sampling strategy of artifact collection will be implemented. For each privy, excavation will occur in 50-centimeter levels and, using  $\frac{1}{4}$ " hardware cloth, screen 5 five-gallon buckets (25 gallons) of fill for each 50-centimeter level, keeping all artifacts for that level for further analysis in the lab. Also, within each level, if additional diagnostic artifacts are observed, these will also be retained for analysis. A soil flotation sample will also be retained from each level to examine the potential for botanical remains or for other analyses.
6. Documentation will be done of each privy's profile and construction methods. A full profile drawing will be made, and photographs taken once the base is reached and the profile of the privy is fully exposed. After the profile is documented, the area will be backfilled. The ending depths of the features will be measured and photos taken, but the depths of the excavation will preclude actual entry by an individual to get detailed drawings. Obvious



differences in matrix color or texture will be recorded as the backhoe drops its load for above-ground inspection, and artifacts collected accordingly.

7. It is possible that additional cultural features may be exposed during the stripping of the rear yards. Building foundations, cisterns, cellars, sidewalks, posts, etc. may be encountered. With the exception noted above regarding potential pioneering or early nineteenth century pit cellars etc., these will not be excavated. Because they will not be excavated, it will not be possible to ascertain a period of use or age of the feature, unless it appears on the Sanborn Insurance mapping. If diagnostic artifacts associated with the features are revealed during the stripping or cleaning of the features, a sample may be taken, or notes recorded in the field, to assign the end date of use. All non-privy features shall be subjected to the following procedures.
  - a. The feature will be roughly cleaned to expose the portion of it contained within the exposed trench or stripped area. If the feature is partially exposed, the stripping will not necessarily be expanded to completely expose it.
  - b. The feature will be minimally investigated.
    1. If it is a building foundation, the area immediately surrounding it will be cleared by trowel to learn if there is a builder's trench.
    2. If it is a cistern, the top of the structure will be exposed to learn anything about its construction. The feature will be probed with an Oakfield core to see if contains a void or if it is filled.
  - c. Each feature will be drawn in planview and photographed.
  - d. Each feature will be mapped by GPS technology to obtain a more complete understanding of the yard organization.

#### **CONSULTATION WITH THE SHPO DURING EXCAVATION**

Because this will be a multi-year project and fieldwork may be periodic and extend out for more than a year, a Programmatic Agreement (PA) was developed to govern consultation between the LJCMG, the KY SHPO, the ACHP, and other CPs. The Principal Investigator for the data recovery will attend the CP Quarterly meetings to provide updates regarding the status of excavation and analysis. KY SHPO will be notified at the onset of excavations at each block, and KY SHPO will be invited to visit the site every week. In addition, because excavation will occur in different phases over several years, as excavations are finished at each block, formal consultation will be completed. As excavations near completion on each block, the LJCMG will inform the KY SHPO and other interested CPs and invite them for a final site visit.

Following the completion of fieldwork, LJCMG will provide the KY SHPO and other CPs a formal summary noting that excavations within a block are complete. The summary will include the number of privies excavated, the locations of the privies, and a short summary of findings. The letter will be no longer than 10 pages. The KY SHPO will have 15 days to review and comment on the summary.

Furthermore, during the fieldwork, there may be occasions for additional consultation with the KY SHPO. If prehistoric remains are encountered *in situ*, or if remains associated with the early pioneering period are discovered, then the following protocol will be followed. Work within the direct area of the new discovery would be temporarily halted, and the remains protected. A sheet of plastic will be extended over the find, and the area surrounded with temporary fencing or caution tape to prevent inadvertent disturbance. The SHPO will be immediately contacted regarding the nature of the discovery, and a site visit planned, if warranted, for in-the-field

consultation. The remains will be excavated in accordance with the decision of the consultation. Excavation will be required for intact features, notably cabin foundations, cellars, wells, privies, and other pit features.

#### ADDITIONAL ARCHIVAL ANALYSIS

A considerable amount of archival research has been undertaken project-wide. From this, more than 2,500 records have been searched from the 1880s through the 1930s. City Directories and census data have comprised most this effort. For the mitigation, additional archival information will focus on the specific lots chosen for excavation and will include deed research to establish a chain of title for each of the selected lots. This will provide supporting documentation of the ownership of the lots through time. Second, the grantor/grantee indices will be examined to establish the earliest owners and uses of the subject property from the beginning of city development leading to the platting of the original lots indicated on the 1830s mapping of the city. Published books and articles will also be reviewed in relation to the specific target population sectors identified as the foci of this study. This research will include the early histories of Louisville (Casseday 1852, Stoddard 1896) which often provide detailed information on the city, its' people, and industries during the latter portion of the 1800s. Finally, the University of Louisville Photographic Archives and the records at the Filson Club will be searched to locate early photographs of the project area. It is known that there are photos of the area dating to the 1890 tornado, for instance.

#### LABORATORY ANALYSIS

The recovered assemblage will be cleaned and packaged in recommended storage materials to aid retrieval and promote long-term preservation of the materials for future research. The artifacts will be transported to the office of Corn Island in Louisville, Kentucky where they will be washed in tap water and air-dried. Corn Island will count, identify, and analyze all cultural materials recovered during the project. Artifacts will be washed, allowed to air-dry, be minimally sorted, then be bagged and boxed. The bags will consist of 2-mil polyethylene bags and be labeled by provenience. Tags with the provenience will be included within each bag. The boxes will consist of those required by the curation facility, which are usually 4-mil corrugated polypropylene Hollinger artifact storage boxes.

The artifacts will then be subjected to multiple additional analyses, as appropriate. Analytical procedures will include the following:

- Each artifact will be sorted by material, artifact class, and functional group. Artifact data will be entered into a computerized database, which will be used to track the collection's processing status, issues identified in preservation condition, and to generate summary data to address appropriate research topics.
- As appropriate, individual artifacts may be subjected to more in-depth research to determine information about function, origin, and period of manufacture. The research might include completion of company profiles for items exhibiting makers' marks.
- Specialized analyses will be conducted as is thought advantageous to the overall understanding of the site history and research objectives listed in Kentucky's State Plan. These analyses may include ceramic economic scaling using the appropriate indices, vessel and sherd analysis, materials identification and sourcing, faunal analysis, and possibly more as the dataset allows.

A previously approved analysis protocol will be used to streamline the analyses of recovered artifacts. Non-diagnostic artifacts will be culled from the assemblages and documented by identification and frequency counts only. A sample of these artifact groups will then be subjected further analysis as follows:

- Nails will be separated by cut, wrought, wire, or unidentified, then further separated into whole or broken. Pennyweight will then be recorded for whole nails while broken nails will be subjected to no further analysis and will be discarded. Unidentified nails will be subjected to no further analysis but will be curated.
- Glass will be separated into the following categories: flat, curved/container, and lamp. Flat glass will be counted, thickness measured, and then discarded. Container glass will be separated by color type, and diagnostic fragments (rims, bases, decoration) will be counted, and diagnostic features will be recorded. Non-diagnostic fragments will receive no further analysis other than count and will be discarded.
- Refined ceramics will be sorted into type (whiteware, pearlware, yellowware, redware, etc.). Body fragments with no diagnostic features will receive no further analysis and will be curated. Diagnostic fragments (fragments that are rims, bases, handles, or have decoration or makers' marks) will receive full documentation.
- Unrefined ceramics will be sorted by slip type and diagnostic fragments (bases, rims, handles, etc.) will receive full documentation.
- Other diagnostic items (shotgun shell casings with makers marks, buttons with defining characteristics, coins, etc.) will receive full documentation.
- Non-diagnostic items (container glass with no identifying markers, coal fragments, plaster, etc.) will be documented by material type and count. A ten percent sample will be curated. The retained sample will include fragments of mortar and plaster that exhibit impressions.
- Metal will be documented according to metal type, functional group, and artifact type. Modifications will also be noted. Unidentifiable metal items may be discarded; however, such decisions will be made on a case-by-case basis. Selected items that are unidentifiable due to severe corrosion may be retained for possible future conservation.

For the archaeological assemblage recovered during the project, the basic goals of the historic artifact analysis are threefold:

1. to identify the function(s) of the site through an examination of the activities that occurred there;
2. to ascertain and/or verify the date(s) of occupation at the site;
3. to recognize and characterize artifact patterning, *of regularity as well as variability, that might be used inductively to generate statements of theory* (Ewen 2003).

The following analyses will be used to seek answers to more specific research questions as described above.

### Functional Analysis

The historic artifacts will be sorted according to their presumed uses based on a classification scheme developed by South (1977). South's intent was to identify activities within a systemic context as reflected by the archaeological record (South 1977:93). For example, an abundance of domestic wares such as stonewares, refined earthenwares, tablewares, curved glass, as well as architectural artifacts such as flat glass and nails, is a good indicator of a domestic residence. Alternatively, a preponderance of artifacts from the Architectural and Activities functional groups--along with a lack of domestic wares--would indicate another function for the site, such as a barn, outbuilding, or industrial site.

Through South's classification system, artifacts were assigned to broad functional categories such as Activities (toys, writing implements, tools), Architecture (bricks, nails, window glass), Arms (weapons and ammunition), Clothing (buttons, shoe parts, garment fragments, clothing fasteners), Furnishings (furniture glass, doorknobs, furniture hardware), Kitchen (container glass, coarse and refined ceramics, faunal remains), Miscellaneous (unidentified plastic or metal), Personal (jewelry, mirrors, combs and brushes), and Tobacco (pipes and snuff boxes). Following this initial sorting, the groups were further divided based on material type.

Although South contended that his classification scheme was useful in characterizing broad cultural patterns, the concept was criticized by some as overly simplistic. In part, this related to the fact that an artifact may be used for multiple purposes or in association with varying activities throughout its use life. The emphasis on function is not without merit, however, and is useful in generally describing the range of activities that occurred at a given location. Furthermore, because South's scheme has been used so widely by archaeologists, it also facilitates inter-site comparison.

### Chronological Analysis

A second important objective of the artifact analysis will focus on determining the date(s) of occupation at each lot. Once assigned to a functional category, each artifact will be examined for temporally diagnostic features. Studies by Noël Hume (1970), South (1977), Miller (Miller 1981; Miller 1980), Majewski and O'Brien (1987), Jones and Sullivan (1985), and others have shown that ceramic and glass artifacts provide the most accurate data regarding temporal information. This is due to the fact that the decorative attributes of historic ceramics changed fairly rapidly over time largely due to changes in public taste. After the nineteenth century, advances in technology in glassmaking occurred rapidly. Because ceramic and glass objects are abundant at historic sites, this allows the analysis of a large assemblage or group of artifacts.

Other items that can provide temporal information include nails, plastics, and some machine parts. However, these items are not considered as useful for indicating a site's age as are ceramics and glass due to their broad range of manufacture dates. The manufacturing date range of an item often exceeds the time period during which it was in popular use. Cut nails, for instance, were in production since the late 1700s, but were not in common use until after 1830 or so. Therefore, the *effective date* for cut nails ranges from 1830 to 1880 (Loveday 1983). Most archaeologists tend to utilize the date when an item was in popular use rather than its production dates.

### **Artifact Patterning**

Artifact patterning recognition studies have been developed to demonstrate the basic nature of a site through examination of the relative frequencies of functional artifact groups (Ball 1984; Martin 1985; South 1978). The analysis of artifacts by function facilitates the recognition of patterns across the site and between sites. Ball (1984) applied South's ideas to regional sites in Kentucky and elsewhere in the Ohio River valley. This process applies more to the recognition and interpretation of the collective assemblage than individual artifacts.

### **Socioeconomic Analysis**

Methods of artifact analysis used to derive a sense of economic status will involve several economic scaling indices, Robinson's Index of Agreement, and sherd analysis as representative of vessel forms. Economic scaling can be achieved using Miller's 1980 and 1991 indices of creamware as well as that of Manson and Snyder (1996) for whiteware. As the temporal period of the privies at Beecher Terrace may potentially span the middle and late nineteenth centuries, both indices may be required. Of the two indices, it is expected that the whiteware index will represent the most intensively occupied temporal period of the project area most accurately. To complete the economic scaling, the minimum number of vessels (MNV) will be assessed based on ware type, form, decoration, size, and direct comparison per Voss and Allen 2012.

#### ***Miller's CC Index***

Prior to the 1960s, the analysis of ceramics from seventeenth and eighteenth-century sites focused on a typology that was ware-based, separating the ceramics into earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain. Later, this was extended to include white-bodied wares, namely pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone. A persistent problem with ware-based categorizations was lack of agreement over the definitions of the wares (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:105).

As an alternative to ware-based classifications, Miller (1980) devised a system for investigating economic and status implications using the relationship between cost and decoration as a key indicator of economic and social status. Miller examined nineteenth century price-fixing lists, account books, bills of lading, and advertisements. He then came up with a four-level scheme to classify the ceramics by consumer cost. In Miller's scheme, undecorated vessels (usually referred to as cream colored (CC), or creamware), in the first half of the nineteenth century, were the least expensive. The other three levels included various decorating methods, including minimally decorated, hand-painted, and transferprinted. The least expensive ceramics were those that did not require much technical expertise to produce (Miller 1980; Majewski and O'Brien 1987:132). Using the prices of these ceramics as a basis, Miller created CC-index values that can be used to calculate the relative costs of decorated ceramics above that of plain cream-colored vessels. Miller's system works well for ceramics produced prior to 1860. Stone china, ironstone, and granite ware were introduced and became popular in the mid-nineteenth century, and ironstone/granite became the preferred wares for the post 1860 period. Since these are undecorated, and therefore less expensive to produce, they would have been placed in Miller's first or lowest category. However, it has been suggested by Majewski and O'Brien (1987:133) that these should actually be placed in a fifth level since they were more costly to produce.

#### ***Manson and Snyder Whiteware Index***

This index for economic scaling uses turn-of-the century whitewares as an alternative to Miller's 1980 CC index (Manson and Snyder 1996). Turn-of-the-century historic archaeological sites are

found ubiquitously across the U.S. and are commonly encountered in archaeological surveys. As noted by Manson and Snyder (1996) and others, analysis of the ceramic dinnerware of a household can be useful in estimating socioeconomic status. Social class was largely based on income during turn-of-the-century U.S., often tied to occupation of the breadwinner (Manson and Snyder 1996:1). Patterns of consumption may also be extracted from comparing the physical ceramic remains from sites of this period, and Manson and Snyder hypothesize that households that shared similar socioeconomic backgrounds also shared consumption patterns in their choices for dinnerware and other items (Manson and Snyder 1996:1).

The whiteware index developed by Manson and Snyder (1996) follows Miller's 1980 and 1991 work based on the relationship of cost and decoration relative to creamware. Miller's index was designed for assemblages that pre-date 1881. An alternative was necessary for sites that post-date that time. Manson and Snyder extracted their data from original editions of the Sears and Roebuck and Montgomery ward catalogs, as well as store advertisements in newspapers. The records between 1890 and 1929 were researched for these data. The sources provided information on ware type, decoration, and price for many popular vessel forms. However, unlike the situation with Miller, Manson and Snyder were unable to obtain prices on individual vessel forms, as most of the dinnerware was sold in sets. Therefore, costs were derived using averages.

As plain whiteware (including semi-porcelain) was the least expensive dinnerware available during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it formed the basis against which the other dinnerwares were compared (Manson and Snyder 1996:4). It was assigned a value of 1.00. The index value for other categories was derived "by dividing the average cost per vessel in each category by the average cost per vessel in the plain whiteware category" by decade (Manson and Snyder 1996:4). Ceramic index values were generated for six categories of ceramics from 1890 to 1899 and five categories from 1900 to 1909. Each successive category reflects a higher degree of skill inherent in its manufacture, better quality of material, and an increase of time required to produce it; therefore, the higher the cost.

#### ***Robinson's Index of Agreement***

Robinson's Index of Agreement generates a value by calculating the sum of the differences between two assemblages' functional groups by proportion and then subtracting 200 from that value. Higher index values signify similar assemblages, which is interpreted to also signify similar socioeconomic categories. Orser (1988) has used this index to derive comparisons between assemblages representative of postbellum socioeconomic classes.

#### ***MNV Analysis***

In addition to using established indices for determining the economic and social status, other types of analysis are sometimes used to provide information on the relative wealth and social position of the people who used them. Regarding ceramics, the minimum number of vessels (MNV) will be tallied using mutually exclusive traits based on ware, vessel type, decoration, and diameter with all bases counted as separate vessels (Voss and Allen 2012). As pointed out by Voss and Allen (2012:1), MNV counts can illustrate how vessels were used before they were broken and entered the archaeological record. This is in contrast to documenting individual sherd counts only. Quantitative MNV assessments utilize counts of rims, bases, and handles, and this method is particularly useful for quantifying mass-produced ceramics whose production is standardized. However, this method can result in a deceptively low proportion of hand-crafted or undecorated vessels. Qualitative MNV counts, on the other hand, is a subjective method that groups like sherds together likely belonged to the same vessel. In this method, multiple attributes

can be considered and not just rims, bases, and handles. MNV analysis is very useful for both intrasite and intersite comparison because it serves as a correction to biases introduced through depositional processes (Voss and Allen 2012:8).

### ***Individual Sherd Analysis***

Individual sherd count and weight can provide general or relative data regarding the distribution of ceramics across a site. In this scheme, individual sherds are identified by vessel form, where possible, and frequencies of vessel type noted. The relative frequencies of service ware (serving pieces), tableware, and teaware are determined. Tableware consists of plates, teaware of cups and saucers. These three are considered to be important in discussing status and class. Some consider that sherd-based analysis, which entails determining the frequency and size of plates, frequency and type of serving pieces, and frequency of teaware, is just as important as the CC index (Susan Andrews, personal communication, October 2012).

### **Faunal Analysis**

Previous studies of privies in Louisville have shown that bone items are common finds. Questions can be formulated that can be useful in interpreting the occupation of a particular residence. To some extent, the study of foodways, especially in faunal remains, has been used to address questions regarding ethnicity, and this may be the best reflection of social diversity in the recovered assemblage. Comparison of the representation of material culture within privies of foreign-born and native-born residents was completed by Wheeler (2000). Wheeler documented a correlation between a greater adherence to city ordinances and nativity status of the residents, which she suggests may be due to literacy rate. This was particularly visible regarding prohibitions on the disposal of food remains within the privies. An absence or low proportion of faunal remains within the privies of native-born residents was documented. Genheimer also documented a correlation in the amount of food refuse being added to privies and demographics. In an effort to form an Ohio Valley Urban Privy pattern, Genheimer studied the proportion of functional groups within 10 privies in the Cincinnati-Covington area. An absence or low proportion of food remains, however, was correlated with higher socioeconomic status (Genheimer 1995). While these are often related constructs, they do not always correspond.

### **Botanic Analysis**

Soil samples will be retained for analysis. Three-liter samples will be recovered from each 50-cm level. These will be subjected to flotation to recover seeds and plant remains. While the study of botanic materials from privies in Louisville has been less consistently performed than faunal analysis, comparison can be made to other privy studies regionally.

## **SYNTHESIS**

The body of archaeological studies involving privy excavation in downtown Louisville has been steadily growing in recent years. Some of these studies had a broader focus on specific neighborhoods, while others have dealt with small tracts within former neighborhoods. It is recommended that the findings of these studies be compiled into a City-wide synthesis of all that has been learned from these projects to date to establish a baseline from which future research questions might be generated. The urban environment or city is a dynamic record of people's actions and interactions upon the landscape, from the past to recent events. This process of exploring cultural impacts on the environment is called landscape archaeology and more recently as "archaeology of the city" where various processes of urbanization and the subsequent lifeways

of its inhabitants are studied archaeologically. Assimilating the archaeological and archival data from the various investigations can point out patterns of development within Louisville. When and where did the various neighborhoods develop and by whom? Artifact analyses from these studies can reveal differences in consumption, socioeconomics, health, etc. in various parts of the city. The synthesis will also point to data gaps in the current understanding of late nineteenth-early twentieth century lifeways in urban Louisville, especially in relation to ethnic and socioeconomic groups that may be under-represented by the accumulated data.

This synthesis will assist in interpreting patterns in the data recovered from the Beecher Terrace Site. In the context of the Beecher Terrace project, it is proposed that the change from a semi-urban periphery to a completely urban setting from approximately 1830 to 1940 be further explored. Within the twelve blocks identified during the Beecher Terrace project there is a distinct progression of land use by German and other immigrants and African Americans, all interacting with local influences to begin the process of urbanization of the area. As later families move into the area either purchasing or renting property, the landscape continued to change and evolve. This culture change is reflected in the landscape that was investigated during this project. How did the Beecher Terrace site develop over time? The earliest mapping available for this area dates to the 1830s but it shows little more than the layout of the lots at the time. However, by the time that the 1884 Hopkins was created, the area was well urbanized with numerous dwellings and businesses present. How did this development proceed? It is hoped that the archaeology, combined with deed research and further research of the city directories might yield data to answer this question.

### SCHEDULE AND TIMELINE

The recommended timeline for completing the various components of the mitigation (fieldwork, analysis, reporting, and educational outreach) is to a degree dependent upon the demolition schedule. While work within Old Walnut Street Park can begin during the summer (2018), the work in Blocks 10 and 12 is the last to be done, with demolition projected for the Fall of 2019. However, to facilitate fieldwork, an effort will be made to conduct fieldwork while the buildings are still standing, but after all residents are moved out and utilities have been turned off. If this is not practical, then fieldwork must be conducted following the demolition of the buildings (See more below). During the period of time between the fieldwork for Block 1 and Blocks 10/12, processing and analysis of Block 1 artifacts can begin. Report preparation can be initiated immediately upon Notice to Proceed regarding the background sections of the document as well as additional archival research. It is projected that a four-year window (summer of 2022) will be required to complete the full technical report.

### CURATION

It is preferable that artifacts be curated within a facility within the state of Kentucky that meets federal and state curation standards. All CPs agree that it is preferable to curate artifacts in Louisville. A curation facility has not yet been identified at this time. A facility agreed to by the SHPO, the ACHP, and the LJCMG will be selected at the completion of fieldwork. Regardless of the facility selected, non-diagnostic artifacts will be disposed of in accordance with SHPO guidelines entitled *Discarding Historic Artifacts: Guidance for Consultants*. After approval of the final technical report, some materials may be made available for long-or short-term loan to local facilities for display, circulating exhibits, or as a teaching collection at the discretion of the LJCMG.



## SUMMARY

This revised DRP is predicated upon the following general guiding principles.

1. Data recovery should focus on intensive research on a fewer number of lots to achieve the most focused and comprehensive data as possible, as opposed to sampling a large number of lots which would by necessity dictate a lesser degree of effort per lot.
2. Lots targeted for investigation will be selected to address data gaps across the City. Every effort will be made to identify lots associated with the identified population sectors discussed above, in order of priority. The lots have been specifically identified based on background research and archival information.
3. To the extent possible, the project will highlight and develop storylines of the lives of some of the former residents of the project area. These storied may be presented as appendices or narratives separate from the technical archaeological report.

Finally, it should be noted that early in the consultation process, discussions focused on sampling the neighborhood in such a way as to maximize the data that could be recovered while maintaining the proposed demolition/construction schedule of the Beecher Terrace undertaking. That is, that archaeological excavation would follow the demolition of the standing structures. Recent demolition of buildings in the California neighborhood in the west end of Louisville between 21<sup>st</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> Streets demonstrated that this could be done with little to minimal damage to buried archaeological deposits. The recent CP meeting, however, revealed a concern on the part of the SHPO in this matter. The SHPO expressed an opinion that it would be preferable for required excavation during data recovery occur *prior* to the demolition of buildings to minimize potential damage to the buried deposits. This option will be further explored as the schedule for demolition is revealed. However, there are no building concerns for the first stage of fieldwork that will take place in the Old Walnut Street Park. Blocks 10 and 12 are in the latter stages of the planned demolition. This allows the opportunity to watch the demolition of the buildings on other parts of the Beecher Terrace Site and to ascertain the extent to which demolition causes significant ground disturbances. There should be ample time to develop a strategy to minimize or avoid the disturbances caused by demolition, if any.

If you have any questions or wish to discuss this DRP in more detail, please feel free to contact me at [abader@ciarch.com](mailto:abader@ciarch.com) or (502) 592-2355.

Sincerely,



Anne T. Bader, MA., RPA

Principal

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