

**Phase I, II and III Investigations of Wye Hall (18QU977),  
Queen Anne's County, Maryland, for the Maryland  
Department of Natural Resources.**

By

**Jennifer J. Babiarz,  
Amelia Chisholm,  
and Mark P. Leone**

*Department of Anthropology  
University of Maryland  
College Park, Maryland 20742*

**Principal Investigators**

Mark P. Leone and Jennifer J. Babiarz

*Department of Anthropology  
University of Maryland  
College Park, Maryland 20742*

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*580 Taylor Avenue  
Tawes State Office Building  
Annapolis, MD 21401*

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# Abstract

This report describes a three years of investigations to further define the archaeological resources of the privately owned Wye Hall plantation (18QU977), late 18<sup>th</sup> century home of William Paca, Maryland governor and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Wye Hall is located on Wye Island on the Eastern Shore of Maryland in Queen Anne's County. Past archaeological work at Wye Hall, from 2000 through 2002, revealed extensive information about the design and usage of the original mansion and gardens from William Paca's time. The fieldwork documented in this report was centered on investigation of the area to the east of the main mansion, which is believed to be an area of enslaved habitation during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This represents the first recognized Phase III investigation of a slave quarter in Queen Anne's County. Therefore, the results are very important for augmenting Maryland's Eastern Shore narratives of the past, particularly in relation to the voice and space given to African and African American histories.

# Acknowledgements

We owe our deepest gratitude to Diane and Leland Brendsel, who had the foresight to understand the importance of Wye Hall to Maryland's history, and to seek out ways to preserve the landscape, environment, and hidden stories of the generations of individuals (both enslaved and free) who worked and lived on the plantation. They have generously supported our field and lab work financially and intellectually, as well as the training and teaching of many undergraduates. Many former undergraduates, now professional archaeologists, owe their professional training and interest in archaeology to the Wye Hall project. Jay Graham and Kevin Campion of Graham Landscape Architecture were also instrumental in our work at Wye Hall. Their holistic vision of Wye Hall as a landscape representing the past and the future was reflected in their plans to preserve and share the rich historical narratives of those who lived on the island, as well as protect the physical environment of the island itself. Archaeology in Annapolis (AiA) was invited to Wye Hall because of their deep commitment to the value of Wye Hall's resources. We are also very thankful to Andy Coombs and Terry at Wye Hall Farm, who were invaluable in helping our summer field work to run smoothly, and incredibly gracious while doing so.

Many thanks to Ranger Dave Davis, the Wye Island Natural Resource Management Area Manager for the Maryland Department of Natural Resources for his patient introduction to the environment of Wye Island. He took a lot of time out of a very busy schedule to answer questions and offer the wealth of information that he has gathered about the island. Our understanding of the archaeology of Wye Island would not have come together without the knowledge that he shared.

This work was greatly supported by many at the Maryland Historic Trust, including Maureen Kavanagh, Julie King, and Elizabeth Cole, and especially Charlie Hall and Mary Louise de Sarran.

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# Table of Contents

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	i
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	ii
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	iv
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	viii
<b>CHAPTER 1-Introduction</b> .....	1-1
<b>CHAPTER 2-Project Location and Description/Cultural Context</b> .....	2-1
2.1. Environmental Setting.....	2-1
2.1.A. Physiography and Topography.....	2-1
2.1.B. Geology and Soils.....	2-4
2.1.C. Vegetation and Fauna.....	2-4
2.1.D. Climate.....	2-5
<b>CHAPTER 3-Research Design and Methodology</b> .....	3-1
3.1. Research Design.....	3-1
3.2. Methodology.....	3-3
3.2.A. Archival and Background Research Procedures.....	3-3
3.2.B. Field Procedures.....	3-4
Phase I.....	3-4
Phase II.....	3-7
Phase III.....	3-8
3.2.C. Laboratory Procedures.....	3-11
3.2.D. Historic Artifact Analysis.....	3-12
<b>CHAPTER 4-Cultural Context and Previous Investigations</b> .....	4-1
4.1. Cultural Context.....	4-1
4.1.A. Prehistoric Background.....	4-1
Paleoindian Period ca. 11,000 - 7,500 BCE.....	4-1
Archaic Period 7,500 - 1,000 BCE.....	4-2
Woodland Period 1,000 BCE – 1,600 CE.....	4-5
Contact Period 16 <sup>th</sup> and 17 <sup>th</sup> Centuries CE.....	4-7
4.1.B. Historic Background.....	4-8

4.1.C. Wye Hall Site History.....	4-13
Early History: 1695-1770.....	4-13
William Paca/Revolutionary Era: 1770-1799.....	4-14
John P. Paca Era: 1799-1840.....	4-17
William B. Paca Era 1840-1870.....	4-23
Tenant Farm Era: 1870-Present.....	4-30
4.2. Previous Investigations.....	4-32
4.2.A. Archaeological Investigations at Wye Hall.....	4-32
4.2.B. Pertinent Archaeological Investigations within Two Miles of Wye Hall (18QU977).....	4-34
<b>CHAPTER 5-Results of Archaeology.....</b>	<b>5-1</b>
5.1. Archaeological Testing: Phase I Survey.....	5-1
5.1.A. Pedestrian Survey and Judgmental Shovel Test Pits.....	5-1
5.1.B. Cellar Hole Shovel Test Pit Survey.....	5-2
5.1.C. Tenant Farm Shovel Test Pit Survey.....	5-5
5.2. Archaeological Testing: Phase II Road and Avenue Testing.....	5-7
5.2.A. Road Trenching.....	5-7
5.2.B. Shovel Test Pit Survey of the ‘Avenue’.....	5-11
5.3. Archaeological Testing: Phase III Excavation.....	5-12
5.3.A. Introduction.....	5-12
5.3.B. Occupation Phase I: 1770s to 1865 (Tenant Farm Area).....	5-13
Earthen Cellar.....	5-13
Post Molds, Middens, and Yards.....	5-16
Post Molds and Midden: Features 8, 26 and 28.....	5-18
Post Molds and Midden: Features 10, 12, 19, 20, and 21.....	5-19
Living Quarters for Enslaved Wye Hall Residents.....	5-23
Enslaved Household Artifacts from the Interior of the Quarter.....	5-36
5.3.C. Occupation Phase II: 1865-1930 (Garage and Tenant Farm).....	5-37
Garage Area.....	5-37
Cinderblock Farm Outbuilding.....	5-39
Postholes East of Modern Garage.....	5-42

Structure Associated with Main House Construction.....	5-42
Refuse Pile from Main House Fire.....	5-43
Tenant Farm Area.....	5-43
Above-Ground Brick Foundation for Farm Outbuilding.....	5-44
Brick Pier and Brick Floor for Farm Outbuilding.....	5-46
Brick Pier for Farm Outbuilding.....	5-47
Chimney Portion.....	5-49
Brick Floor.....	5-51
Deep Cellar and Brick Foundation.....	5-54
Unidentified Building Foundation.....	5-58
Yard or Garden Fences.....	5-59
5.3.D. Occupation Phase III: Mid-20 <sup>th</sup> Century Garage and Tenant Farm.....	5-61
Modern Garage Construction.....	5-61
Lean-to for Garage.....	5-61
Extant Farm Structures.....	5-62
Tenant Farm Area.....	5-62
Modern Water Pipe.....	5-62
Livestock Fence.....	5-63
Post Hole.....	5-64
5.3.E. Ambiguous Dates and Natural Features.....	5-66
Farm Equipment Refuse Pile.....	5-66
Post Hole.....	5-66
Rock Pile.....	5-66
Possible Postholes.....	5-66
Root Holes and Rodent Burrows Excavated in 2002.....	5-67
Root Holes and Rodent Burrows Excavated in 2004/2005.....	5-67
<b>CHAPTER 6-Interpretations and Conclusions.....</b>	<b>6-1</b>
6.1. Interpretations.....	6-1
6.2. Conclusions.....	6-5
Avenues for Future Research.....	6-6

**CHAPTER 7-REFERENCES CITED.....7-1**

**APPENDIX A: Feature Lists 2002, 2004, and 2005**

**APPENDIX B: Faunal Analysis 2005**

**APPENDIX C: Unit Summaries 2002, 2004, and 2005**

**APPENDIX D: Artifact Catalogues 2002, 2004, and 2005**

**APPENDIX E: 1850 Federal Slave Census**

**APPENDIX F: 1860 Federal Slave Census**

**APPENDIX G: Civil War Remuneration Records**

**APPENDIX H: Oral History Interviews**

**APPENDIX I: MdDNR Memoranda of Agreements**

**APPENDIX J: Qualifications of Investigators**



# List of Figures

Figure 2-1	1989 USUGS 7.5' Quadrangle Map, Wye Mills and Queenstown with Project Area Marked.....	2-2
Figure 2-2	Project Location on Maryland Archaeological Research Unit Map, Council for Maryland Archaeology.....	2-3
Figure 3-1	Wye Hall Tenant Farm Early Excavation Showing Extant Farm Structures, Facing Site South.....	3-5
Figure 3-2	Wye Island 2004/2005 Field School Excavation Map and Extant Tenant Farm Structures.....	3-6
Figure 3-3	Wye Island 2004 Field School Shovel Test Pit Excavation Map of Possible Cellar Hole Area.....	3-9
Figure 3-4	Wye Island 2002 Field School Excavation Map of the Garage Area.....	3-10
Figure 3-5	Wye Island Field School 2005 Phase III Excavations, Supervisor Matthew Palus and Student Thomas Fitzwater Pictured.....	3-11
Figure 5-1	Wye Island 2004 Field School Project Locations on the 1989 Wye Mills 7.5' USGS Quadrangle.....	5-3
Figure 5-2	Wye Island 2004 Field School Excavation Map of Possible Cellar Hole Area.....	5-4
Figure 5-3	Wye Island 2004 Field School Excavation Map of the Tenant Farm Area.....	5-6
Figure 5-4	Wye Island 2004 Field School Historic Road Overlay on 1989 7.5' Wye Mills Quadrangle.....	5-8
Figure 5-5	Wye Island 2004 and 2005 Field School Excavation Map and Extant Tenant Farm Buildings.....	5-9
Figure 5-6	Wye Island 2004 Field School Trench 2 Profile Map.....	5-10
Figure 5-7	Wye Island 2004 Field School Unit 6 West Wall Profile Map.....	5-15
Figure 5-8	Wye Island 2004 Field School Unit 9 South Wall Profile Map.....	5-17
Figure 5-9	Pipe Bowl with Tobacco Leaf Molding, Unit 13 Level B.....	5-18
Figure 5-10	Wye Island 2004/2005 Field School Occupation Phase I Plan Map of Features 8, 10, 12, 19, 20, and 21 (Fence Lines and Middens).....	5-20
Figure 5-11	Artifacts from Yard Scatter in Unit 13, Level B.....	5-21
Figure 5-12	Artifacts from Yard Scatter in Unit 11, Level B.....	5-22
Figure 5-13	Artifacts from Yard Scatter in Unit 3, Level B.....	5-23
Figure 5-14	Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map of Unit 21, Feature 41 (Hearth).....	5-24
Figure 5-15	Wye Island 2005 Field School Detail of Plan Map for Unit 21, Feature 41 (Hearth).....	5-25
Figure 5-16	Photograph Unit 21, Feature 41 (Hearth) Prior to Removal.....	5-26
Figure 5-17	Photograph Unit 21 Mid-Excavation, Levels L, M, and O.....	5-27
Figure 5-18	Wye Island 2005 Field School August 17, 2005 Excavation Map of Unit 21, After Removing Feature 41 and Including Levels I, K, L, M, O and Features 38 and 43 (Dwelling floor/Levels L and K, Under Hearth/ Levels M and O).....	5-28

Figure 5-19	Wye Island 2005 Field School August 15, 2005 Excavation Map of Unit 21 Including Levels I, K, L, and M, and Features 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, and 47 (Dwelling Floor and Debris from Hearth).....	5-29
Figure 5-20	Unit 21, Feature 38 (Possible Subfloor Pit) Finished Excavation.....	5-32
Figure 5-21	Wye Island 2005 Field School Unit 21 Including Features 49, 50, 51, 52, and 53 (Architectural Features of the Slave Quarter).....	5-33
Figure 5-22	Wye Island 2005 Field Season Unit 21 Occupation Phase I Features Map.....	5-35
Figure 5-23	Domestic Artifacts from Unit 21 Levels K, O, and L (Slave Quarter Floor).....	5-36
Figure 5-24	Wye Island 2002 Field School Excavation Map Garage Area.....	5-38
Figure 5-25	Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 15, Features 6 and 7....	5-40
Figure 5-26	Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 15, All Features.....	5-40
Figure 5-27	Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 19, All Features.....	5-41
Figure 5-28	Wye Island 2002 Field School Profile Map of Unit 26, Representative of Units 21-30.....	5-42
Figure 5-29	Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map of Unit 4, Features 3 and 14....	5-45
Figure 5-30	Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map Unit 7, Feature 17.....	5-46
Figure 5-31	Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map Unit 16, All Features.....	5-48
Figure 5-32	Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map Unit 21, Feature 37 (Chimney).....	5-50
Figure 5-33	Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map of Unit 21 Feature 36, (20 <sup>th</sup> Century Brick Floor).....	5-51
Figure 5-34	Wye Island 2005 Field School East and South Walls Profile Map of Unit 21.....	5-52
Figure 5-35	Wye Island 2005 Field School West and North Walls Profile Map of Unit 21.....	5-53
Figure 5-36	Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map of Unit 8, Feature 24 (Foundation of Building Destroyed in the Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century).....	5-55
Figure 5-37	Wye Island 2005 Field School East Wall Profile Map of Unit 12/19 (Late 19 <sup>th</sup> or Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Building Cellar with Cement Floor).....	5-57
Figure 5-38	Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map of Unit 1, Feature 9.....	5-59
Figure 5-39	Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map of Unit 13, Feature 27.....	5-60
Figure 5-40	Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 17, All Features.....	5-61
Figure 5-41	Wye Island 2005 Field School South and West Walls Profile Map of Unit 13.....	5-65

# Chapter 1: Introduction

Archaeological investigations for the Wye Hall project were undertaken at the behest of the homeowners of Wye Hall Farm, the late 18<sup>th</sup> century home of William Paca, Maryland governor and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Wye Hall is located on Wye Island, in Queen Anne's County, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The two primary research interests were the historic landscape organization and its change through time (particularly the formal gardens) and antebellum enslaved life on the plantation.

Beginning in 2000, two years of fieldwork took place on the privately owned Wye Hall Farm, which was given the site designation 18QU977. This focused on the design of the main house and its surrounding gardens, as well as the landscape within the view shed of the main house. The work that took place between 2000 and 2002 is described in the report "Archaeological Investigations at Wye Hall Plantation Wye Island, Queen Anne's County, Maryland" by James Harmon, Anna Hill, Kristopher Beadenkopf, Jessica Neuwirth, Mark P. Leone, and Jean Russo; this report is on file at the Maryland Historic Trust Library.

As a result of plans by the homeowners of Wye Hall to destroy and rebuild a 20<sup>th</sup> century garage on their property, mitigation of the area surrounding the garage took place in the summer of 2002. There were no significant archaeological remains found and it was concluded that the proposed plans would have no adverse effects on archaeological resources; the findings can be found in this report.

In the spring of 2002, the possible location of an enslaved living area was identified on land owned by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources and lying adjacent to Wye Hall Farm. After a Memorandum of Agreement was signed in the spring of 2004 (see Appendix J,) work began in the summer of 2004 to investigate the location. After two seasons (the summers of 2004 and 2005) of field work, the area was identified as having been the home of many generations of households on Wye Island, beginning with enslaved households in the late-18<sup>th</sup> century and continuing through to tenant farming households in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The following report documents this work, specifically contextualizing the life of enslaved Africans and African Americans at Wye Hall plantation in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

This report contains the results from fieldwork done between the summer of 2002 and the fall of 2005, and lab work that continued through 2007. All of the field and lab work during this time was carried out by Archaeology in Annapolis through an agreement with the University of Maryland, College Park and the Maryland Department of Natural Resources. Dr. Mark P. Leone and Jennifer Babiarz are Co-Principal Investigators with Jennifer Babiarz acting as Project Manager, Lisa Kraus and Matthew Palus as Field Supervisors, and Amelia Chisholm as Laboratory Supervisor.

The University of Maryland's Archaeological Field School conducted the fieldwork during the summers of 2002, 2004, and 2005. In addition, Archaeology in Annapolis

hired a staff of undergraduate students to continue fieldwork in July and August of 2004 and 2005. During the school years of 2004/2005 and 2005/2006, Archaeology in Annapolis also hired undergraduate students for laboratory work supervised by Amelia Chisholm and Jennifer Babiartz; they were aided by Independent Study students and College Park Scholars. The following is a list of employee by year and task:

Fieldwork-Summer 2004: Michelle Klinefelter, Margaret Randall, Peter Matranga, Stephen Merkel, Kristin Deily, Jessie Grow, Kelsey Creech

Fieldwork-Summer 2005: Thomas Fitzwater, Michael Gubisch, Erin McCord, Andrew Myers, Amelia Viars

Labwork-Fall 2004 and Spring 2005: Karen Reichardt, Peter Matanga, Kristen Deily, Kelsey Creech, Jan Brodeur

Labwork-Fall 2005 and Spring 2006: Kristen Deily, Erin McCord, Kelsey Creech, Michael Gubisch, Thomas Fitzwater, Ryan O'Connor

In the summer of 2004, Robert Chidester was a great help in getting us started at the tenant farm area with beginning our Phase I excavations, and in teaching and supervising students. Timothy Goddard was hired the same summer to help us with mapping at the site.

This report contains the results of Phase I through III work at Wye Hall (18QU977) and is divided into the following sections:

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Project Location and Description
- 3) Research Design and Methodology
- 4) Cultural Context and Previous Investigations
- 5) Results of Archaeology
- 6) Interpretations and Conclusions

Appendices:

- A. Feature Lists 2002, 2004, and 2005
- B. Faunal Analysis 2005
- C. Unit Summaries 2002, 2004, and 2005
- D. Artifact Catalogs 2002, 2004, and 2005
- E. 1850 Federal Slave Census
- F. 1860 Federal Slave Census
- G. Civil War Remuneration Records
- H. Oral History Interviews
- I. MdDNR Memoranda of Agreements
- J. Qualifications of Investigators

# Chapter 2: Project Location and Description

## 2.1. Environmental Setting

### 2.1.A. Physiography and Topography

Wye Hall (18QU977) is a several acre property located on the southeastern portion of Wye Island, a small landmass that lies between the Wye River and the Wye East River (Figure 2-1). Much of the eastern half of the island is owned by the State of Maryland's Department of Natural Resources, excepting the area directly around Wye Hall's main house and garden.

The area of excavation includes land on two properties, the privately owned Wye Hall and Maryland Department of Natural Resources-owned agricultural fields and areas belonging to the Wye Island Natural Resource Management Area (N.R.M.A.). Historically, Wye Hall plantation encompassed all of this land, almost half of Wye Island, about 1400 acres.

Wye Island, also historically known as Lloyd's Insula, Lloyd's Island, Chew's Island, Bordley's Island, and Paca's Island, is situated about halfway up the eastern side of the Chesapeake Bay in Queen Anne's County, and directly across the Bay from the state capitol of Annapolis. It lies directly between two important colonial cities, about 10 miles north of Easton, and 10 miles south of Queenstown. Queenstown sits on the Wye River and is also easily accessible by water from Wye Island.

Wye Island and the Wye River are located in the Atlantic Coastal Plain Province, within the Chester River-Eastern Bay Drainage, also named Maryland Research Unit 5 (Figure 2-2). The Chester River drainage system lies to the east of the Chesapeake Bay, on the northwestern part of the Delmarva Peninsula, known as Maryland's Eastern Shore (Netstate.com 2001). The peninsula is 115 miles in length, north to south, encompassing the whole state of Delaware and portions of Virginia and Maryland. It's maximum width in Virginia is only about 14.5 miles, while in the Maryland-Delaware portion it is, at maximum, 45 miles wide (Rountree and Davidson 1997:3).

The Chesapeake Bay watershed is the largest estuary system in the United States (Maryland Department of Natural Resources 2007a). The Bay lies on the coastal plains of the Atlantic Ocean, and was formed by the ancestral Susquehanna River, which was drowned by sea level rises over several millennia. 50 major tributaries contribute to the Bay; 90 percent of the freshwater in the system come from tributaries to the north and west of the Bay, while 10 percent of the fresh water comes from tributaries on the Eastern Shore like the Chester River. Nearly an equal part saltwater enters the Bay from the Atlantic Ocean; therefore all the waterways of the Chesapeake Bay are comprised of a combination of fresh, salt, and brackish water (Chesapeake Bay Foundation 2007).

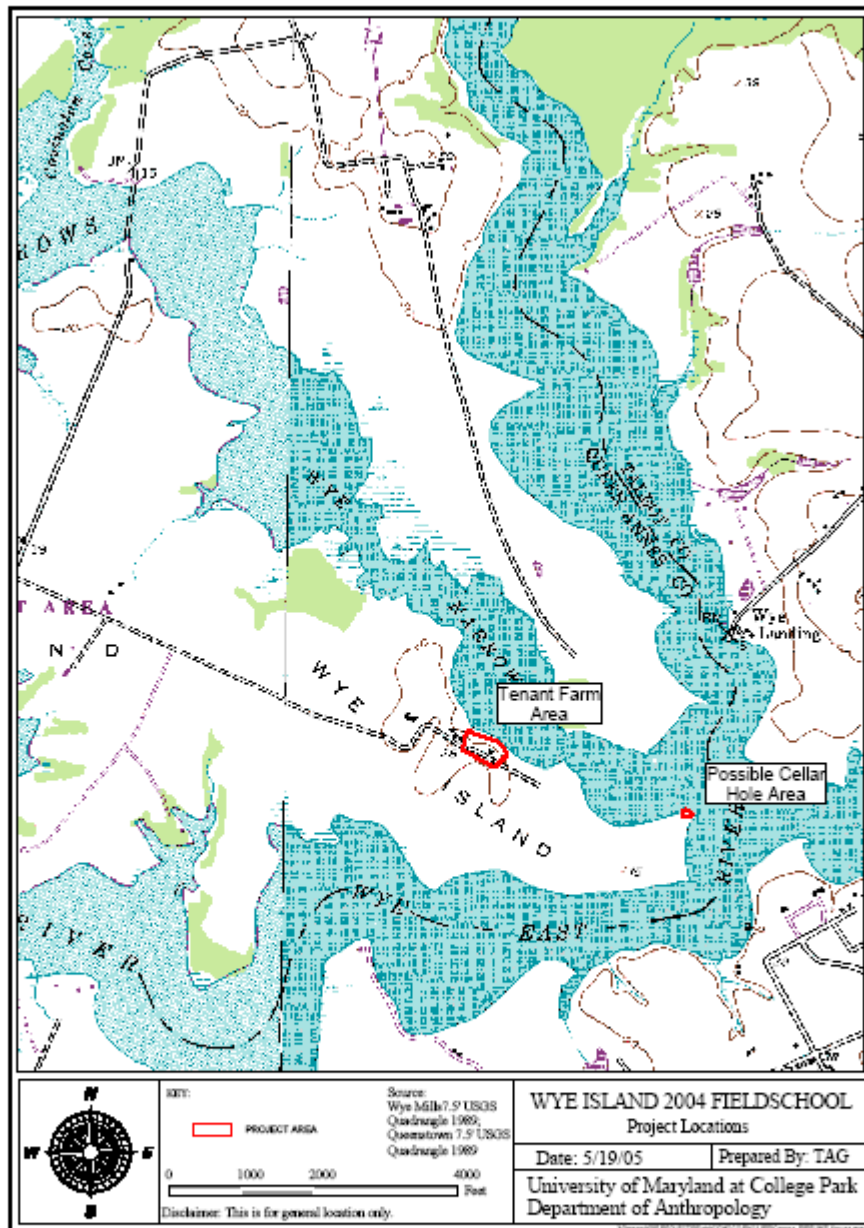
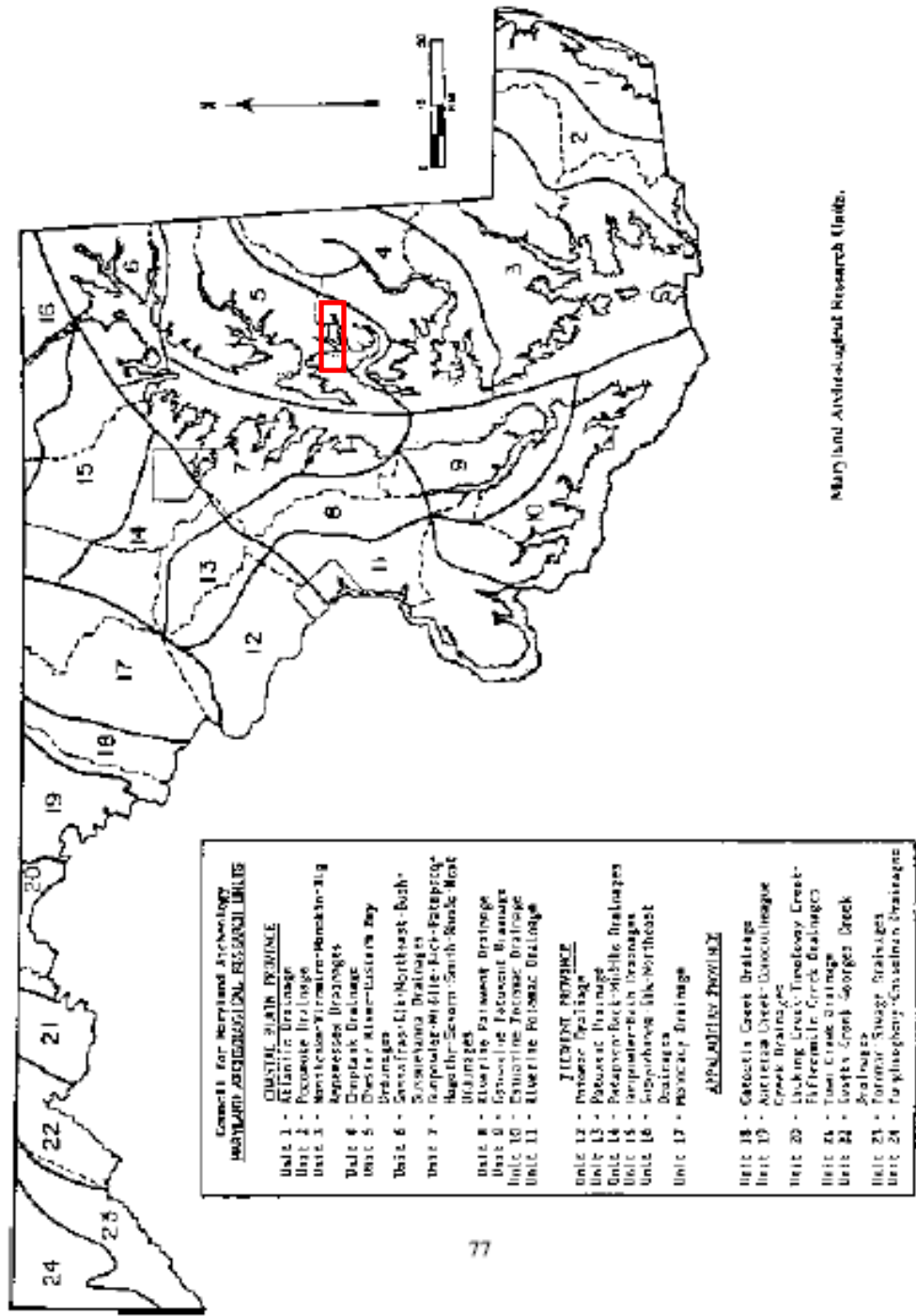


Figure 2-1: 1989 USGS 7.5' Quadrangle Map, Wye Mills and Queenstown with Project Area Marked



Maryland Archaeological Research Units.

Figure 2-2: Project Location on Maryland Archaeological Research Units Map, Council for Maryland Archaeology – Project Area Outlined

The topography of this region, within the eastern shore subdivision of the coastal plain physiographic province consists of a flat to gently rolling landscape that is sandy, at an elevation of 15-20 feet above sea level (USDA Natural Resource Conservation Service 2007). There is a low spine running north to south along the entire length of the peninsula; the eastern shore also tilts gently to the east and to the south. The topography is therefore higher in the north, where the landmass is much wider, and the entire eastern edge is low and lined with barrier islands (Rountree and Davidson 1997:5.) The coastal plain of the Chesapeake is broken up by numerous waterways, creating a landscape constantly changed by wind and water erosion. This erosion makes the topography of the Eastern Shore slightly changed from that of the Western Shore, which is marked by less erosion and slightly higher hills (USDA Natural Resource Conservation Service 2007.)

### **2.1.B. Geology and Soils**

The substrata soils in the Chesapeake region are formed from unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of sand, silt, clay, and gravels, which overlie crystalline bedrock. Although the topographic relief in the area is not diverse, the sediment deposits vary greatly in depth, texture and degree of permeability (Brush 1986: 7). Much of the soil on the Eastern Shore is not naturally fertile, however the loamy soils that are available in some places are the best soil in Maryland for cultivation and farming (Rountree and Davidson 1997:8-9). The soil of Wye Island is classified as part of the Mattapex-Keyport association, a series of moderately well drained soils that are comprised of silt and silty sands. The actual soil type found within the study area is a minority type, comprising only 18,000 acres out of the entire 510 square miles of Queen Anne's County. Designated Unicorn-Sassafras loam, this soil is a deep, well-drained loam that forms on uplands from sand, silt, and clay sediments (USDA Natural Resource Conservation Service 2007). It is one of the most agriculturally important soils in Queen Anne's County, and the area around Wye Hall plantation was probably initially selected as a settlement site due to relatively high fertility.

### **2.1.C. Vegetation and Fauna**

Between 25,000 BCE and 15,000 BCE the forests of the Chesapeake region included spruce, pine, varieties of fir, and birch trees. By 10,000 BCE the forests became a mixture of hardwood and pinewood, having become dominated by oak and hickory, representing a more varied and exploitable environment for human groups (Haynes 2002:43). Floral species that are common to the Atlantic coastal plain of Maryland, which includes the Eastern Shore, are Virginia creeper, chokeberry, elderberry, oaks, hickories, maples, willows, and gum trees (US Fish and Wildlife Service BayScapes Conservation Landscaping Program 2007). Wye Island contains mature hardwood forests, including Osage orange trees and holly; one holly tree is over 275 years old (Maryland Department of Natural Resources 2007b).

Faunal species dominant in the coastal plain include deer, small mammals, such as rabbit, squirrel, and fox, and birds such as turkey and waterfowl (Shelford 1963). Aquatic



species found in the Chesapeake Bay near the study area include soft shell clams and oysters (Rountree and Davidson 1997:13). Species found on Wye Island specifically, include a variety of birds such as ducks, geese, wading fowl, and Bald Eagles, as well as deer, fox, and the endangered Delmarva Fox Squirrel, which is protected in the Wye Island N.R.M.A. on the eastern end of the island (Maryland Department of Natural Resources 2007b).

#### **2.1.D. Climate**

Queen Anne's County presently has a temperate mid-continental climate. This type of climate is marked by well-defined seasons. The average temperature range in July is between 66.3 and 87.5 degrees Fahrenheit; the average temperature range in January is between 26.9 and 44.0 degrees Fahrenheit. These averages are slightly higher than the statewide average temperature: Easton's July average is 76.9 degrees Fahrenheit as compared to a statewide average of 75.02 degrees, and the January average in Easton is 35.45 degrees Fahrenheit, compared to a statewide average of 32.55 degrees (National Climatic Data Center 2007). There is an average of 190 frost-free days a year (Rountree and Davidson 1997:3.) Rainfall, as recorded in Easton, MD, is moderate; an average of 44 inches per year since 1971; and snowfall accumulates on average of 12 inches per year, recorded since 1947 (Southeast Regional Climate Center 2007.)

# Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

## 3.1. Research Design

This report describes investigations done between the summers of 2003 and 2005 to further define the archaeological resources of the Wye Hall plantation (18QU977), late 18<sup>th</sup> century home of William Paca, Maryland governor and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Past work at Wye Hall has revealed extensive information about the design and usage of the original mansion and gardens from William Paca's time. Survey work around the grounds has also revealed interesting suggestions of other processes of plantation operation, as well as changes in the landscape over time. This project was centered around greater investigation of the area to the east of the main mansion, which is referred to as the "tenant farm" area, a road and landing area leading from the south shore of the island to the Carriage House, and the location of other work and living areas along the north, east and south shores of the east half of Wye Island. We hoped that these locations were linked to occupation and work sites of African American populations enslaved by generations of the Paca family. Investigation of the property included an intensive survey of unexamined grounds, and other archaeological deposits previously located on the greater Wye property.

The three primary points of interest of our research at Wye Hall were the pre-Paca occupation, African American occupation on the site, and post-bellum settlement. Wye is known to have been Paca property for many years before Paca actually settled there, and the Wye Hall plantation was operated by his descendents after his death. Evidence has been found of pre-Paca occupation of the site, but further information was hoped for. Secondly, it is known that Paca and his descendents enslaved a large number of African and African Americans; they were, in fact, the largest slave owners in Queen Anne's County. Finally, this population of African Americans continued to occupy the site after William Paca's death, and played a significant role in maintaining the plantation in working order in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The remains of the original Slave Quarters were found on Maryland Department of Natural Resources land east of the main house. Few slave quarters have been discovered on the Eastern Shore, and almost none have been professionally excavated. Previous investigations of Wye Hall suggested that these research issues could be adequately addressed, providing a more holistic perspective on the Wye plantation and its history.

The Federal Tax Assessment of 1798 indicates that there were 100 enslaved persons on the Wye Hall plantation property at that date. Federal Census records indicate that the population of slaves on the plantation eventually reached a peak of 182 in 1820. Although that population declined to 137 persons prior to Emancipation, there was a substantial community of enslaved persons on the plantation throughout the antebellum period. The archaeological investigation completed in 2005 represents a unique opportunity to understand the characteristics of this community that have been only vaguely represented in the historical records. Rarely represented in historical documents, enslaved African and African American populations conducted the majority of the day to day work of agrarian life in Maryland.

For five years, starting in 2000, archaeologists associated with the Archaeology in Annapolis program performed several phases of testing and excavation at the Wye Hall site in order to identify and examine features and artifact deposits associated with the historic plantation, located on Wye Island in Queen Anne's County, Maryland. A portion of the site is situated on privately-owned property, and part is on state-owned land administered by the Department of Natural Resources (MdDNR). The emphasis of the first half of this work was on exploration of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century terraces around the reconstructed Main House (Harmon, Hill, Beadenkopf, Neuwirth, Leone, and Russo 2003). These efforts led to the discovery of a stratified formal garden situated on one of the terraces to the northeast of the house. Archaeological features associated with the garden date to between circa 1797 and the later years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and were apparently abandoned shortly after the original house was destroyed in 1879.

A second major element of this early investigation led by James Harmon and Jessica Neuwirth was a systematic shovel test pit program performed over the majority of the privately owned portion of the original plantation. One result of this testing was the discovery of very high density of artifact deposits in the area of a modern garage at the northeastern border of the private property. Artifacts recovered included faunal remains, numerous ceramic and glass fragments, and a very high density of various building materials. Temporal diagnostics within the assemblage indicated a late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century origin for the deposit, with the bulk of materials recovered dating prior to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. After further investigation in 2004 and 2005, this area was determined to have been the location for at least one living quarter for enslaved families.

This quarter is located at the southeastern edge of the privately owned parcel, several hundred yards distant from the site of the Main House. A late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century raised roadway connects the area of the artifact deposit with the site of several outbuildings identified archaeologically in the immediate area of the Main House. This combination of controlled access and distance from the Main House, plus co-location with later structures associated with tenant use of the property, and the density, nature, and temporal span of the artifacts supports that this was the site for at least one of the slave quarters for the Wye Hall plantation.

In the summer of 2004 over 150 STPs and nine units (5' by 5' squares) were excavated in the area, in 2005 another 13 units were complete. Over the course of the excavation it became obvious that the area was intact archaeologically, and had been the site of household living since at least the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and almost surely as early as the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. This temporal characteristic provides further evidence supporting the hypothesis that this area is the site of the slave quarter for Wye Hall.

Systematic pedestrian surveys were also done along the north shore, from the tenant farm area to the tip of the island. This led to the discovery of the ferry landing (also the later location of the first Paca bridge), as well as associated bridge abutments and a raised road. Pedestrian surveys in the soybean fields produced colonial era artifacts, although

they were in a disturbed context because of plowing. This evidence represents solid evidence of very early colonial occupation of the island.

The archaeological resources and historical documents that have been the primary focus of the project are significant, but not solely due to their association with William Paca. Throughout all phases of this investigation, it has been the intent of the Principal Investigators to collect and synthesize archaeological and historical data that will enable an understanding of all aspects of life at historic Wye Hall. The development of a greater understanding of the daily life of the large community of enslaved African-Americans whose labor was used in the creation and day-to-day operations of the plantation is the underlying goal of the 2004 and 2005 portion of the investigation, and it is in the development and dissemination of this information that much of the significance of Wye Hall's history lies.

## **3.2. Methodology**

### **3.2.A. Archival and Background Research Procedures**

Since 2002, our research into the lives of those who had been enslaved at Wye Hall led us through archaeological and documentary findings that enriched our understanding of the entire plantation landscape, as well as the complexities of life for all those living on the Island between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although Wye Island was isolated by virtue of its topography, its landscape and inhabitants played a rich and important role in Eastern Shore and national historical narratives. The primary documentary research focused on state and federal records that could present a general picture of the plantation's changes through time: the federal census, tax records, and deeds of sale and manumission. As the Paca family records had been destroyed by fire, these public records were indispensable for helping us begin to piece together how the plantation might have been organized and how daily agricultural and other household activities might have impacted the lives of enslaved individuals and their families. The analysis worked by combining this rather unfocused and general information with the many secondary historical works that have been written on the subject of slavery in the New World. This is how we approached our archaeological work: we knew how plantation landscapes were often organized, and we knew something about the size and scope of this particular plantation, so we were able to use techniques like shovel testing to narrow down the possible location of an enslaved living area. After the Phase I survey located the area of the island with the greatest potential for a substantial stratified site for slave quarters, the work of our Phase II and III helped locate a large extant quarter and excavate it thoroughly. The lack of primary documentation left us with some ambiguities in the analysis of specific life histories, but the archaeology gave us the opportunity to touch on a more general understanding of how the lives of enslaved African Americans were shaped by the histories and landscape of Wye Island.

### 3.2.B. Field Procedures

The following set of field methodologies was used widely throughout three seasons of excavation on Wye Island. Archaeological field methods were conducted in accordance with the *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in Maryland* (Shafer and Cole 1994).

A grid system was used to designate and locate shovel test pits (STPs) and units throughout the site and to provide the horizontal provenience of artifacts and levels contained within. These grids are common to many surveying and engineering projects, and use Cartesian coordinates and a false origin to allow for the use of positive numbered pairs for designating locations within the project area. Dr. James Harmon established the grid system used for this project during his 2000 field excavations (Harmon et. al. 2003).

The main reference point for this grid is an arbitrary datum, or horizontal point, set at N7250 E8600 during the 2002 field season and at N7000 E8000 during the 2004 and 2005 field seasons. Units were identified with a set of whole number coordinates. “All Northings increase from south to north with proximity to the house, and all Eastings increase from west to east with proximity to the river” (Harmon et. al. 2003.) During the course of the fieldwork a working datum was established for each unit which was used to obtain vertical measurements of levels and features. Unless otherwise noted, they were situated in the northeast corner of the unit at the present pre-excavation ground surface. These points were also tied into the site datum and standing structures on the property and a baseline established during the course of the fieldwork, which should allow their locations to be easily recovered, if necessary, in the future.

In typical archaeological investigations, there are three levels of work, or phases that the project goes through. A project can be all three phases or any combination of them. According to the *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in Maryland* (Shafer and Cole 1994,) Phase I is for identification of the site, including the creation of a research design, archival research, and limited archaeological testing. This limited archaeological testing includes a sampling strategy of some form, usually the excavation of shovel test pits or pedestrian survey along systematically arranged transects. Strategic testing of the site in this manner “permits economical investigation of land with high assurance that significant archaeological resources have not been overlooked” (Shafer and Cole 1994:7.) Phase II is evaluation of the site’s significance by opening an adequate area of the site to support the research design. Usually this means closely spaced shovel test pits or a few test units (Shafer and Cole 1994:17.) Phase III is mitigation of the site. This can often mean avoidance or preservation in place, however, as in this case, a significant scholarly research design is being used, and this final phase is to recover the most valuable archaeological data (Shafer and Cole 1994:26-27.)

#### Phase I

A number of survey techniques were used during all three seasons of research at the Wye Hall site. These included a pedestrian walkover survey, survey and mapping of

aboveground features, metal detector survey, a shovel test pit (STP) survey, and judgmental STP placements. In 2004 a systematic pedestrian survey was completed on the fields on the eastern end of Wye Island while the crops were in transition. Another pedestrian survey was completed in the southeastern portion of the fields. Pedestrian survey involves spacing workers at 15' intervals along the edge of a newly plowed field. The workers then walk in a straight line the length of the field, with the goal of finding any artifacts that may have been brought to the ground surface through plowing activity. Areas of high artifact density discovered through this survey technique are good candidates for further archaeological work, either STPs or test units.

Mapping of aboveground features was carried out during the 2004 field season. In the Tenant Farm area a number of buildings were still standing in various states of ruin, as well as a number of exposed foundations. Archaeologists Bob Chidester, Jessie Grow, and Lisa Kraus created hand drawn maps of all of the standing structures in the Tenant Farm as well as any significant scatters of bricks and exposed foundations (Figure 3-1). All foundations were mapped using pin flags to mark their corners and 4 engineering scale tapes were laid out to take measurements. These buildings were all then shot in, using a laser transit, to the existing grid system. For larger buildings, all walls were measured and the corners were shot in to the grid system with a laser transit.



**Figure 3-1: Wye Hall Tenant Farm Early Excavation Showing Extant Farm Structures, Facing Site South**

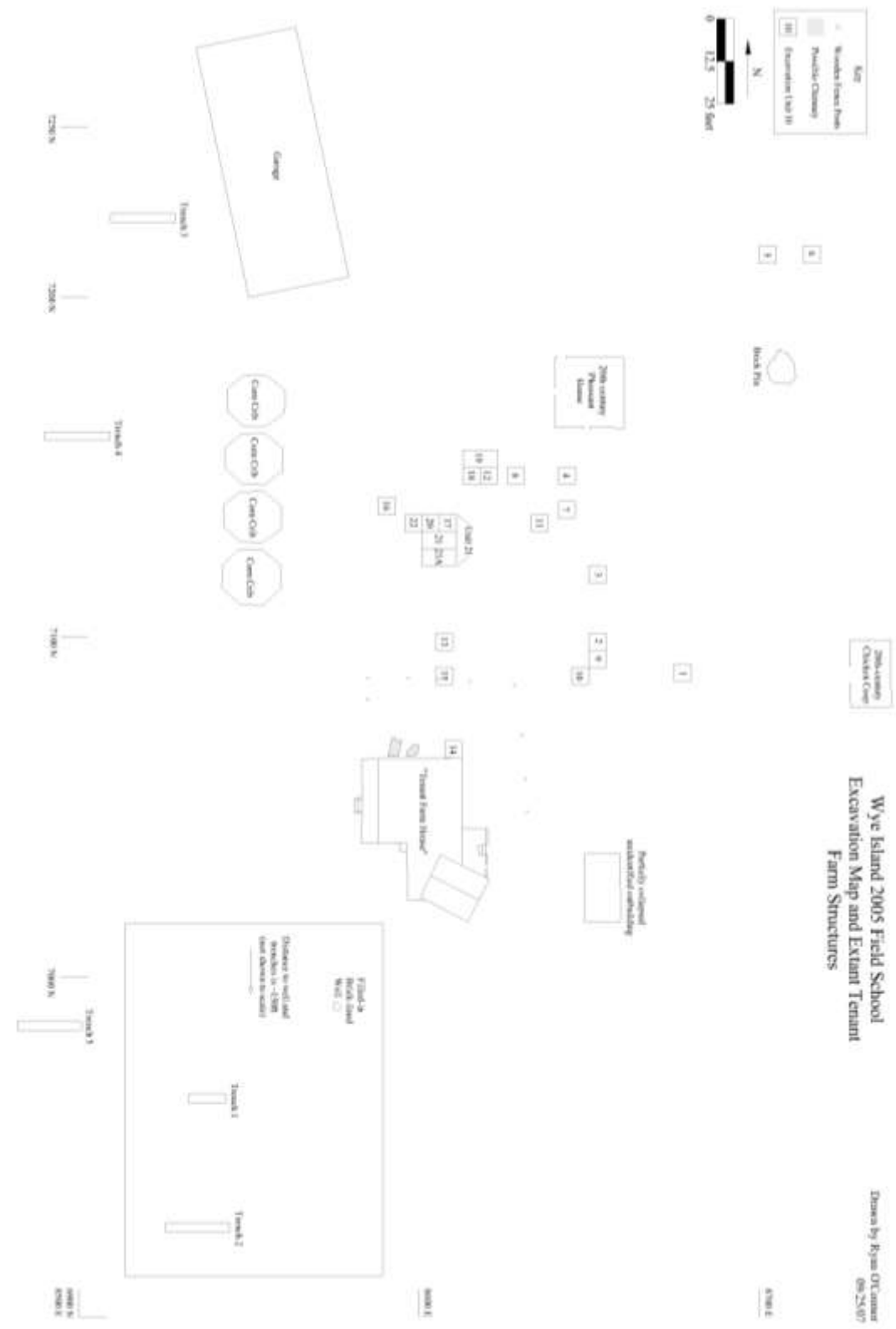


Figure 3-2: Wye Island 2004/2005 Field School Excavation Map and Extant Tenant Farm Structures

Another useful method was metal detector survey. During the 2005 field season, permission was received from the Wye Island Natural Resources Management Area (N.R.M.A.) to do a metal detector survey in N.R.M.A. land directly south of the carriage house, running to the Wye Narrows, on the southwestern portion of the island. It was agreed that no more than 150 metal detector hits would be flagged, recorded, and removed. Archaeologist Peter Matranga started the survey, but due to high concentrations of chicken wire and barbed wire from a pre-existing fence-line, specific hits were almost impossible to determine, and the survey had to be ended.

An important method of recovery during these excavations was the use of shovel test pits. STPs are round holes approximately 14-18 inches in diameter, or just wider than a shovel blade, which are dug in one level until the excavator reaches culturally sterile subsoil. Dr. James Harmon had dug 61 STPs on a grid in approximately 25-foot intervals in the area of the Tenant Farm, on state property, during the 2002 field season. All of the soil recovered from these shovel test pits was passed through a ¼" mesh hardware cloth screen to systematically collect any artifact material that they could contain.

During the 2004 field season, Bob Chidester and other Archaeology in Annapolis crew excavated another 154 STPs on a 300' by 180' grid in the Tenant Farm area and continuing east towards the end of the island, through the Wye Island N.M.R.A. land (Figure 3-2). STPs were placed at 20' intervals, and were excavated up to 20' from the shoreline. Another 30 STPs were placed in a 100' by 110' area of the site called the Chew Hole or the Cellar Hole. This area is a depression on the northeast end of Wye Island, as was identified as promising by the archaeologists James Harmon, Jessica Neuwirth, and Thomas Cuddy (Figure 3-3). During December 2005 another 82 STPs were excavated directly south of the carriage house going down to the water, in a corridor of 230' by 40'. All of these STPs were also dug in one level to culturally sterile subsoil and screened through ¼" mesh hardware cloth to recover any artifacts.

A number of judgmental shovel test pits were also placed during the 2004 field season. The same methodology is used while digging judgmental STPs; however, instead of digging them at a designated distance apart from one another on a superimposed grid system, judgmental STPs are placed at locations where it is deemed from above ground testing that there may be high densities of artifacts or features. In this case, judgmental STPs were used following the pedestrian survey where high-density artifact scatters were located.

## Phase II

More involved and larger scale testing was carried out during the 2002 and 2004 field seasons. This included digging a number of test excavation units and a series of trenches. Test excavation units were placed in areas of the site that seemed to have promising archaeological features, either from the location of above ground features, or the results of the pedestrian survey or STP survey. These units were not used to uncover completely any archaeological remains; rather, their purpose was to expose a wide amount of the site in the hopes to find areas where intensive excavations could take place.



Seventeen test units were excavated during the 2002 field season around the modern garage (Figure 3-4), and nine test units were excavated during the 2004 field season in the Tenant Farm area (Figure 3-2). These units were excavated in 5' by 5' squares using shovels, masonry trowels, and other hand tools. All units were excavated by the naturally occurring or cultural stratigraphy. All soil was passed through ¼" mesh hardware cloth screen. During 2004, every fourth bucket of soil from each unit was passed through 1/16" mesh screens, to collect any potential small finds.

During the 2004 field season, at the opening of each level and feature within a unit a soil sample for pollen analysis was taken, excavated with a trowel sterilized in distilled water and not used for any other work on the site, and stored in a one-gallon plastic bag. A sample of soil was taken from each level and feature upon opening for flotation, also stored in one-gallon plastic bags. None of these soil and float samples has been analyzed.

In one instance, during the 2004 excavations, larger areas of ground needed to be opened then could be easily dealt with by hand excavation. A bobcat backhoe was used to excavated five trenches between the garage and the south edge of the Tenant Farm area (Figure 3-2). These trenches were used to test for a potential roadbed running east from the main house outbuildings, which was seen during an airborne LiDAR survey used to make topographic maps of the Wye Hall property (Harmon, Leone, Prince, and Snyder 2006.)

### Phase III

Larger excavation units were excavated during the course of this project. These were excavated in 5' by 5' squares or in some interval of 5' by 5'. Wide scale placement of units is the last step in the archaeological process, when testing has been completed and there are areas of the site that would benefit from a larger scale exposure of the archaeological material. All of the phase I and phase II testing is used to determine where best to place these units. A total of 13 units were excavated during the 2005 field season in the Tenant Farm area (Figure 3-2).

Like the 2002 and 2004 test units, all excavation units were dug using shovels, masonry trowels and other hand tools by their naturally occurring or cultural stratigraphy (Figure 3-5). All soil was screened through ¼" mesh hardware cloth screens and any feature soil was screened through 1/16" mesh screens to recover any small finds, such as straight pins, fish scales and fish bones. Recorded data for each excavated level and feature included photographs, both plan view and profile maps, soil descriptions, and elevations taken with a line level from a unit datum with a known elevation. All elevations could then be tied into the site datum. Artifacts recovered were transferred from the unit of excavation into a bag labeled with its provenience that included the site name and number, the unit, level, name of excavator, and dates of excavation.

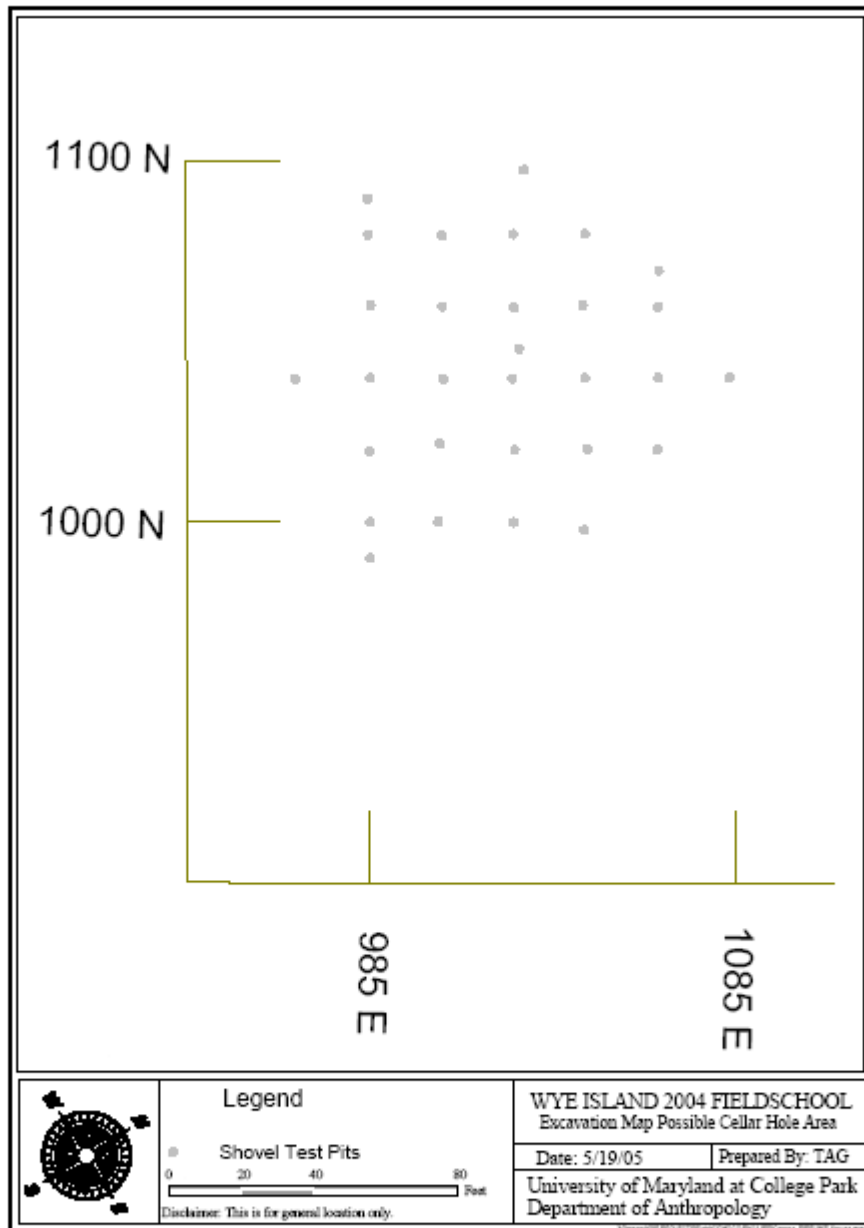
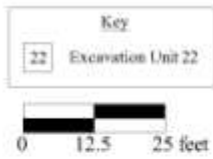


Figure 3-3: Wye Island 2004 Field School Shovel Test Pit Excavation Map of Possible Cellar Hole Area



### Wye Island 2002 Field School Excavation Map

Drawn by Ryan O'Connor  
09/25/07

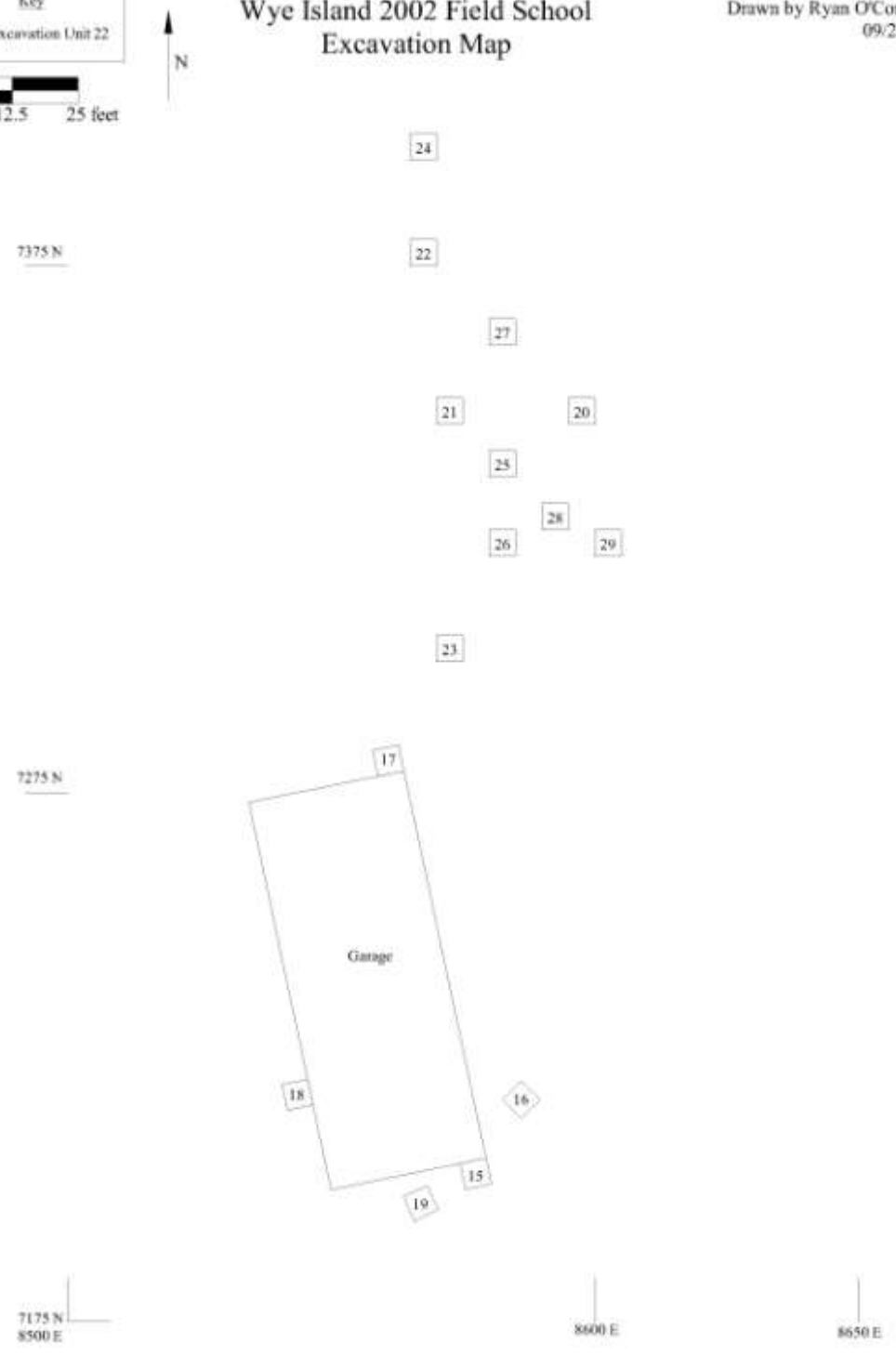


Figure 3-4: Wye Island 2002 Field School Excavation Map of the Garage Area

In most cases units were excavated to sterile subsoil. In other cases, some units were not excavated to subsoil due to time constraints or because the depth of the units required shoring due to OSHA constraints (U.S. Department of Labor Occupational Safety & Health Administration 2007.) Each level and feature had pollen and flotation samples taken, as it occurred during the 2004 field season, and these samples have not been analyzed.



**Figure 3-5: Wye Island Field School 2005 Phase III Excavations, Supervisor Matthew Palus and Student Thomas Fitzwater Pictured**

### **3.2.C. Laboratory Procedures**

Artifacts recovered from the excavations at the Wye Hall site were transferred daily to the Historic Annapolis Foundation/Archaeology in Annapolis archaeology laboratory in Annapolis, Maryland. During the 2004 and 2005 field season, all artifacts were taken to the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland, College Park. All artifacts are currently curated and stored at the University of Maryland, College Park. All processing of artifacts was conducted in accordance with the Maryland Historical Trust's *Technical Update No. 1 of the Standards and Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations in Maryland Collections and Conservation Standards* (Maryland Historical Trust 2005).

Ceramic, glass, and other stable artifacts were washed with water, while fragile materials that easily decomposed like metal and bone were dry-brushed. Once cleaned, artifacts were placed on mesh racks to air dry. After cleaning and drying, the artifacts were sorted

according to material type, and placed in re-sealable, acid free Mylar bags. Each bag was labeled with the provenience information and bag number. This information included the site number (18QU977), site name, unit designation, and level. If the contents of the bag were recovered from a feature within a unit, that information was also printed clearly on the bag.

Student and volunteer technicians printed this provenience information on every diagnostic artifact by applying a layer of clear sealant to the piece upon which the information was written in indelible ink, and then sealed with another layer of clear sealant. To those diagnostic artifacts that could not be labeled, laboratory staff attached an acid free tag with the same provenience information as those that were directly labeled. Artifacts that were not diagnostic were disposed of according to State of Maryland collections standards; this included the artifact types: brick, mortar, coal, slag, clinker, and oyster shell (Maryland Historical Trust 2005).

Following the processing and curation of the artifacts, all artifacts were described and these descriptions were recorded into an artifact catalog using a standardized format (Appendix D). Artifacts were identified according to type, decorative attributes, and manufacturing technique, which are in turn translated into a six-digit coding system developed by Archaeology in Annapolis. This coding system ensures that the same terminology was and will be used throughout to identify an artifact. Other attributes such as form, quantity, and color were also recorded in the catalog. Data was entered into an Excel spreadsheet, which then translated these codes into a written description. This digital copy was proofed against the original, handwritten, catalog. This process ensured the integrity of the data. This format was designed to maximize the quality of the artifact descriptions.

Following the processing and analyses, all artifacts were stored in acid free document boxes, with appropriate labeling for easy retrieval of individual bags and specimens. All artifacts, records, and reports were placed in storage at the Archaeology in Annapolis laboratory in Woods Hall of the University of Maryland at College Park. All records, reports and artifacts can be made accessible for further studies. All artifacts remain the either the property of Mr. and Mrs. Leland Brendsel or the State of Maryland (the area of work done on the Department of Natural Resources land on the eastern end of Wye Island) and are currently in the care of the University of Maryland Anthropology Department/Archaeology in Annapolis Project. All curation efforts were conducted in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's *Archaeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines* (US Department of the Interior, National Park Service 2007).

### **3.2.D. Historic Artifact Analysis**

Once the data had been processed, cataloged, and entered into the database, a master printout was produced to assist in the determination of the *Terminus Post Quem* (TPQ) for each deposit and to assess their archaeological integrity. Those deposits with archaeological integrity were chosen for cross mending, minimum number counts, and

other such analyses, which were then used, along with the stratigraphic analysis, to construct the land use and depositional history of the site.

Some of the most common types of historic sites in the Mid Atlantic are plantations and farmsteads, industrial sites, fortifications, canals, and places of worship (Noel Hume 1975). The diverse assortments of artifacts that have been recovered from historical archaeological sites reflect the various activities that were carried out by people in North America during the last five hundred years. Historical archaeology has been used to investigate the exploration, conquest, and settlement of the New World, the history and impact of slavery and a slave-based labor system, the growth of urbanization, and the origins of industrialization. As a result, the study of seemingly mundane remains of the recent past by archaeologists can gather important information on topics relating to our predecessors' daily life, the development of a class society, and changing patterns of ethnic interaction and economic exchange (Paynter 1988; McGuire 1982; Riordan and Adams 1985). This information can help us better understand the development of our own society (see Potter 1994). Some of the specific issues that may be addressed at an archaeological site are questions of site function, the time and duration of its occupation, and the socio-economic status of its occupants. Dietary habits, ethnicity, gender, the availability of imported versus locally produced goods and refuse/discard patterns, and the degree to which households participated within or resisted against a capitalist economy are also important issues that can be addressed through analyses of archaeologically recovered material (see Leone 1999).

In order to expedite the analysis, the artifacts are divided into five groups: ceramics, glass, architectural, a miscellaneous category designated small finds, and floral/faunal. The ceramics category contains over one hundred types of historic ceramics. It does not include ceramic sewer pipes, tiles, or brick, which are assigned to the architectural/small finds category. The second category, glass, consists of glass bottles, and kitchen glass; artifacts such as window glass and glass doorknobs are placed in the architectural category. This category includes all architectural materials, including brick, mortar, and stone, nails, and window glass. The small finds category contains objects such as toys, munitions, equipment, and personal items. The fifth and final category identifies floral/faunal material and consists of any plant or animal remains recovered. When possible, the age and function of the artifacts was determined. Dates are based upon *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (Noel Hume 2001,) the James Madison University ceramic identification guidelines (Mullins 1988,) the DAACS (2006) Mean-Ceramic-Date file, and the BLM/SHA Historic Glass and Bottle Identification Website (Bureau of Land Management 2007.)

# Chapter 4: Cultural Context and Previous Investigations

## 4.1. Cultural Context

### 4.1.A. Prehistoric Background

Archaeologists generally divide North America prehistory into three periods: the Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland Periods. These periods cover the time from the earliest human occupants of this region up until the time of contact between native populations and people from Europe and Africa in the middle of the sixteenth century.

There is some evidence of the human occupation before 11,000-12,000 BCE, but there is no conclusive evidence in the Middle Atlantic of humans before the Paleoindian period. There is a great deal of debate over the issue of early settlement in the Americas, although Tom Dillehay's (2000) work at Monte Verde in Chile seems to demonstrate that the Americas were peopled before Clovis times. On the basis of a summary of dates from stratified sites in South America, it is suggested that by Clovis times, or 11,000 BCE, in North America all of the major environmental zones were occupied (Lepper and Bonnicksen 2004:2) Sites like Meadowcroft Rockshelter in southwestern Pennsylvania (e.g., Adovosio et al. 1978; Adovosio and Page 2002), Cactus Hill in Virginia (e.g., McAvoy and McAvoy 1997), and a recent, potentially early, site along the Potomac in Allegany County Maryland (Associated Press 2004), may all have occupations that predate the Paleoindian period.

#### Paleoindian Period ca. 11,000 - 7,500 BCE

The first human activity became visible on what became the east coast of the United States during the Late Pleistocene period (or, the end of the last Ice Age). The climate was colder and moister than it is today (Brush 1986). While the dates of the Paleoindian period are often contested (see above), it is generally accepted that there were human populations living in discreet groups around North America by 11,000 BCE (Steponitis 1986).

The most recognizable early Paleoindian artifact, the Clovis point, has been found throughout North America as far north as Nova Scotia, and to both the east and west coasts. Within the southeast region of the United States only about 5,500 fluted points have been found, mostly from Alabama, Virginia, Tennessee, and Florida. Of these points, over half of them come from the late Clovis period or later in the Paleoindian (Haynes 2002:43). Paleoindian sites in the southeast were typified by the presence of large, fluted, lancolate-shaped projectile points like the Dalton/Hardaway points (Anderson and Sassaman 1996). Preferred materials for these projectile points were high-quality cryptocrystalline stones such as jasper and chert. Besides projectile points, the tool kit was adapted primarily to a hunting economy and included scrapers, graters,

bruins, denticulates, hammerstones, utilized flakes, and knives, as well as the fluted points (Kinsey 1972:327-330, Funk 1978:17-21, Gardner 1974:5, Custer 1984).

Traditionally Paleoindian subsistence was believed to have depended primarily on the hunting of large game (Willey 1966, Griffin 1977). In the western United States the Clovis complex, typified by fluted points, scrapers, and blades, is widespread. These artifacts are often in association with now extinct Pleistocene megafauna, supporting the idea that the way of life centered on big game hunting (Humphrey and Chambers 1977:7-9). In the East, however, evidence of Paleoindian populations is usually contained in finds of isolated fluted points (Steponaitis 1980:63). More recent evidence suggests that Paleoindian populations of the East Coast of the United States probably focused on hunting white tailed deer (Gardner 1980:19-20; Haynes 2002:39). Subsistence strategies possibly included foraging for plants, fishing, and hunting for small mammals (Dent 1995; McNett 1985).

Paleoindian populations were mobile, changing location throughout the year in order to utilize available resources. Based on work at the Flint Run Complex in Virginia (Gardner 1974:19-23, 42-44, 1977, 1979) several types of Paleoindian sites have been identified. The largest of these sites are base camps, the main locus of habitation, which are identified by the variety of artifacts present at the site, non-random lithic distribution indicating discrete activity areas, and occasional pits and post molds. Base camps may have been occupied seasonally by aggregate bands, and are often found in riverine environments (Steponaitis 1980). Examples of base camps include the Thunderbird site in the Flint Run Complex, Virginia and the Shoop site in Pennsylvania (Gardner 1974, Witthoft 1952).

Smaller Paleoindian sites may represent special purpose sites occupied by smaller groups for shorter periods of time. These sites include quarry sites, quarry reduction stations, base camp maintenance stations, and outlying hunting sites. Further, quarry sites were identified by a lack of tools, the presence of large amounts of debitage, and a cryptocrystalline rock source (Steponaitis 1980:66). Custer, Cavallo, and Stewart (referenced in Haynes 2002) created a model of early Paleoindian settlement patterns that corresponded to the distribution of lithic resources. Groups restricted their movements to an area with a radius of up to 200 km around a cryptocrystalline rock source (Haynes 2002:45). This indicates that eastern Paleoindians were not following migrating animals but were staying near the source of their tool production, and occupying sites on a seasonal basis.

#### Archaic Period 7,500 - 1,000 BCE

The Early Archaic Period is seen as culturally continuous with the Paleoindian Period. Later Archaic lifeways are seen as divergent from Paleoindian ones because of adaptations to changes in climate in the emergence of post-Pleistocene environments (Custer 1990:3). These environmental changes included the inundation of some riverine environments, a change from mixed coniferous forests to northern hardwoods, and a more temperate climate (Whitehead 1972:308-310; Carbone 1976:121). Gradual changes in the flora and fauna, begun during the Paleoindian Period, were continued through the



Early Archaic Period resulting in modern temperate flora and fauna populations through most of the Middle Atlantic region (Guilday 1967:232).

As the climate changed, larger fauna went extinct and subsistence strategies had to alter as well. With the change in speciation, more specialized hunting techniques became prominent, including a shift from fluted projectile points to side-notched and stemmed points, and the introduction of spear throwers, or atlatls, which added weight and distance to a thrown spear (Egloff and McAvoy 1990:64-65). The appearance of mortar and pestles and ground stone tools such as adzes, celts, and grinding stones, suggest that plant foods became more important during the Archaic (Custer 1990:40). These changes have been interpreted as a shift towards broad-spectrum foraging that included the generalized exploitation of many available species of animals and plants as food sources (Dent 1995:165).

Archaic sites are more numerous, larger, and richer in artifacts than the earlier Paleoindian sites. They also represent increasingly sedentary populations focused on large rivers or major tributaries. Smaller sites were often located away from these main water sources, and probably indicate seasonal or specialized activities (Dent 1995:164-165). This use of rivers as the location of more permanent camps followed a trend of broadening the range of environments in which people lived, as well as populations becoming somewhat spatially restricted in their environment; which caused people to develop technologies and lifeways that maximized on local resources. As Archaic people became more sedentary, they began to use the lower quality local quartz and quartzite, as opposed to the early Archaic Period, when jasper and chert were still imported (Geier 1990:85-86). The Archaic Stage is one of cultural adaptation to these environmental changes; it is further divided into the Early, Middle and Late Archaic Periods.

The Early Archaic Period (7500 – 6000 BCE) is usually seen as an extension of the preceding Paleoindian Period (Steponaitis 1986). Emphasis is still on the use of imported cryptocrystalline materials to make tools, although this period is characterized by the appearance of two new artifact traditions, the Corner and Side Notched tradition (7500 - 6800 BCE) and the Bifurcate tradition (6800 - 6000 BCE) (Dent 1995:156-157). Although the tool kit in this period is substantially different, in general, the settlement pattern for this period is similar to that of the Paleoindian Stage (Gardner 1974, 1977, and 1979).

The Middle Archaic Period (6000-4000 BCE) was marked by environmental changes; the replacement of northern boreal forests by oak-hickory forests (Whitehead 1972:308-310). The climate gradually became warmer with increased precipitation between the Early Archaic to Middle Archaic Period. Some researchers have postulated an abandonment of coastal areas in favor of the Piedmont during the Middle Archaic (Kavanagh 1982:50). However, the continued rise of sea level during this period has probably submerged coastal sites associated with the Middle Archaic Period (Steponaitis 1986:177). Subsistence strategies of the Middle Archaic were similar to Paleoindian and Early Archaic Period patterns. Mobile bands utilized seasonally available plants and animals. The tool kits used during the Middle Archaic Period were similar to Early Archaic tool

kits, including both stemmed and side-notched points (Dent 1995:174). New additions to the tool kit included stone mortars and polished stone atlatl weights, used to balance spear throwers, or atlatls, such as those recovered at the Hardaway and Doerschuk sites in North Carolina (Coe 1964:51-55, 80-81).

Gardner (1979) and Custer (1984) have identified three types of sites that reflect the social organization of the Middle Archaic Period. The macroband base camp (Custer 1984:67) was occupied by numerous family units. Artifact assemblages recovered indicate fairly long term occupation with a wide variety of activities at these locations. Smaller populations, probably individual family groups, occupied Microband base camps. These camps tended to be located in environmental settings that could not support the larger populations associated with macroband base camps. Both the macroband and microband base camps were associated with the third site-type, procurement locales. Fewer tool types are associated with these sites and they tend to be related to a limited number of activities. Site location was dependent on the type of resource being utilized (i.e. quarry sites, interior hunting sites, etc) (Custer 1990:20-34). It is hypothesized that during the Early and Middle Archaic Periods, people banded together in the macro-base camps during the spring and summer, and broke into micro-base camps during the fall and winter months.

The Late Archaic Period (4000-1000 BCE) was marked by a warm and dry climate and dominant oak-hickory forests. Four traditions flourished during the Late Archaic Period. The Piedmont tradition (4000-2000 BCE) was an *in situ* development in the Middle Atlantic Region (Kinsey 1972:337, McNett and Gardner 1975). Contemporaneous and co-existing with the Piedmont tradition was the Laurentian tradition (4000-2000 BCE) which was centered in the St. Lawrence River drainage of Ontario, New England, and New York (Ritchie 1969:29) but also extended south into Maryland. Custer (1984) suggests that the third tradition, the Broadspear Tradition (2000-1500 BCE), developed out of the Piedmont tradition as an adaptive response to changing environmental conditions. The final tradition, the Fishtail Tradition (1500-750 BCE), developed during the terminal Late Archaic Period and extended into the Early Woodland Period (Steponaitis 1980:28).

Subsistence and settlement patterns throughout the Piedmont and Laurentian traditions remained similar to the patterns of the Middle Archaic, suggesting a social and political organization similar to the Paleoindian and Early and Middle Archaic populations. Bands were probably egalitarian in nature. A seasonal fusion/fission organization is postulated for population movement in which individual families spent a part of the year at microband base camps following seasonally available resources. During another part of the year several bands fused together at macroband base camps (Custer 1984:67-68). After 3000 BCE major environmental changes occurred in the coastal plain province which changed the subsistence and settlement patterns of the local population. The Broadspear tradition developed between 2000 and 1900 BCE. Several researchers have suggested that it developed out of the local Piedmont Tradition, but with a primary focus on riverine environments (Kinsey 1972:347; Turner 1978:69; Mouer, Ryder, and Johnson 1980:5, and Steponaitis 1980:26). However, Turnbaugh (1975:54, 56) believes that this

tradition represents more intensive exploitation of shellfish and estuarine resources in the south, while riverine resources were exploited in the north.

Gardner (1982:60) suggests that Late Archaic coastal plain sites utilized estuarine resources and that these sites may have supported semi-sedentary populations. Broadspear knives and woodworking tools recovered from Late Archaic Coastal Plain sites could indicate that specialized tools such as fish traps, nets, and canoes, were being manufactured (Custer 1984:97). Containers made out of steatite, or soapstone, used for cooking and storage, as well as storage pits appear during this period. The ability to store food resources at the macro and microband base camps allowed groups to remain sedentary for longer periods of time and to support higher population densities. Turner (1978) notes a marked population growth in the Virginia Coastal Plain during the terminal Archaic and Early Woodland Periods.

#### Woodland Period 1,000 BCE – 1,600 CE

The transition from Archaic to Woodland is marked by the appearance of woodworking tools, such as axes and celts, and cordage-impressed ceramics. Both types of artifacts reflect a more sedentary lifeway. This developmental stage is divided into three periods: Early, Middle, and Late Woodland. In the Middle Atlantic region, settlement and subsistence patterns established during the Archaic Period continued until European contact. Custer (1984:96) and Wright (1973:20) both postulate a settlement pattern which includes large macroband base camps whose populations periodically fissioned and moved to smaller microband base camps, much like the Late Archaic settlement patterns. Gardner (1982:66) suggests that the macroband base camps were occupied as semi-sedentary sites.

The earliest ceramic vessels and an ever-increased sedentism mark the beginning of the Early Woodland period. These ceramic vessels are the immediate successors of the ground and carved steatite vessels used during the end of the Archaic Period. Ceramic types made during the Early Woodlands included Marcey Creek and Selden Island that were both tempered with ground steatite (Stewart 1982). These ceramics were replaced by sand or crushed-quartz tempered Accokeek wares, which were associated with fishtail-like and stemmed points, most especially the Calvert and Rossville types (Wesler et al. 1981:183). Pope's Creek ware is also an Early Woodlands ceramic tradition found on the Western Shore Coastal Plain of Maryland, although it is carried on through the Middle Woodlands.

Settlements during the Early Woodlands were still riverine based, like the later Archaic periods, but the camps are often found at the junction of freshwater and brackish streams. Gardner (1982:60) suggests that the settlement-subsistence pattern of the Early Woodlands is a series of base-camps with smaller groups sent off to exploit seasonal resources. At the base-camps anadromous fish were harvested during the spring and summer, while estuarine resources were harvested in the fall and winter. One possible reason for the increased sedentism during the Early Woodlands Period may have to do

with the stabilization of the sea level, creating stable, exploitable sea resources (Barber 1991).

During the Middle Woodlands base-camp settlement was still the dominant practice, although the freshwater/brackish water locations were abandoned. Large semi-permanent macroband base camps were located along estuarine or riverine zones of river drainages, and were surrounded by extraction or procurement camps, in order to capitalize on the maximum exploitation of both non-tidal and tidal aquatic resources (Davis et al. 1997). Settlement patterns indicate that a variety of environmental zones were being utilized (Steponaitis 1980, Handsman and McNett 1974, Wright 1973). Other evidence of increasing sedentism during this time is the development of shell middens and storage pit features.

Diversification of ceramic vessels, their forms, decorations, and sizes, is another characteristic of the Middle Woodlands Period. The major ceramics of this time include the shell-tempered Mockley ware that evolved from Popes Creek (Barse 1994:14). Other ceramics of this period include Chesterfield, Four Mile Creek, Popes Creek, Varina Net-Marked, Bailey's Creek, and City Point (Rinehart and McClane 1998:12). Projectile points associated with the Mockley wares are Fox Creek, Selby Bay, and Jack's Reef.

On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the Late Woodland was exemplified by chiefdoms, the rise of maize agriculture, and the beginning of a complicated set of negotiated interactions with European settlers. Native peoples would have exploited the Wye River area for fishing, farming, hunting and gathering. The river was teeming with crabs, fish, oysters, and edible marsh plants. The hardwood forests were rich with nuts, wild edible roots and berries, as well as wild game such as turkey and deer. The oaks and pine could also be used for building material and fuel. The land was farmed using a crop rotation method, and many kinds of crops were grown including maize, little barley, beans and squash (Rountree and Davidson 1997). The best soil for raising crops, sassafras loam, is found on Wye Island, so there is no doubt that there was native settlement, as this type of soil is rare along the Chesapeake coast.

Eastern Shore Native American cultures were similar to those found on the Western Shore of Maryland, at least in material culture. Unfortunately, at least on the Chesapeake side of Maryland's Eastern Shore, there has been little in the way of archaeological survey. Most of our knowledge comes from a handful of sites (such as the Chichone site along the Nanticoke River), as well as historical records of the travels of John Smith throughout the area (Rountree and Davidson 1997). The material culture that defines the late Woodland is a ceramic called Townsend ware that shows across the Eastern Shore, as well as throughout the Western Shore. Townsend ware was shell tempered with corded decoration. With the rise of maize agriculture, communities spent more time settled in seasonal camps that lay both along rivers and close to fields. However farming did not become the main form of subsistence for native peoples, and their varied diet continued to rely primarily on hunting and foraging (Rountree and Davidson 1997).

### Contact Period 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries CE:

There was very little contact by Europeans with native populations in the Chesapeake before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first Europeans who saw the Chesapeake Bay were either French or Spanish. In 1527 and 1529 the Chesapeake was marked on the official Spanish *Padrón General* maps as the Bahía de Santa María (Potter 1993:161.) A number of ships of French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian origin sailed the lower Chesapeake, not usually coming as far north as Maryland, throughout the rest of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Their purposes were usually slave hunting, missionary trips, or mapping expeditions (Potter 1993:162.) Spain's interests in North America were centered in the southeast, in *La Florida*, which was a string of successful mission settlements. The northernmost frontier of Spain's effort was a short-lived Jesuit mission within the Chesapeake region in 1570, most likely on the James or York rivers in Virginia (Dent 1995:223, 260.)

The first English exploration of the Chesapeake Bay most likely occurred towards the end of 1585. The governor of the first Roanoke colony in North Carolina sent an expedition of men to explore the area north of the Carolina Sound. After this first Roanoke colony failed, an attempt was made to start a new settlement in the Chesapeake during 1587. This group of settlers were inadvertently set down at the location of the previous Roanoke colony, and eventually disappeared with no trace (Potter 1993:162-163.) Between 1588 and 1603 at the earliest, there were no known Europeans in the Chesapeake. Not until John Smith's arrival in 1607 was there any, new, documented contact in the region (Potter 1993:164, 179.)

John Smith's 1608 exploration of the Eastern Shore provides us with a great deal of information about the lives of Native Americans during the contact period. However, native populations on the Eastern Shore have less textual references made by European explorers and settlers, due to the significant delay in settlement by Europeans in the area. In 1631, William Claiborne started a trading settlement on Kent Island, off the west coast of what is now Maryland's Eastern Shore (Dent 1995:261.) The Wicomiss (whom Smith called the Ozinies) were the peoples encountered closest to Wye Island, near the Chester River. Houses were loaf-shaped post-in-ground structures made of local materials and shared by six to twenty people (Rountree and Davidson 1997). Eastern Shore societies were based on kinship, and chiefdoms were matrilineal (Rountree and Davidson 1997). Luxury goods were traded between Eastern Shore groups and with peoples on the Western Shore, for example the Accomaks/Occohannocks on the southernmost tip of the Eastern Shore produced highly sought after shell beads called peak/wampumpeak. Trade was also carried out with the Nanticoke and Choptank tribes in the middle portion of the Eastern Shore. These were all quite small tribes; with the largest being the Nanticoke with a population concentration of around 665 people (Dent 1995:264.) Peoples along the Eastern Shore spoke many dialects of Algonquian that were different enough that Smith could not understand the dialects spoken north of the Sassafras River (Rountree and Davidson 1997). It is also recorded that the Ozinies were at war with the Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannocks, who were continually attempting to spread their territory northward (Rountree and Davidson 1997).

The colony of Maryland was officially settled in 1634 at St. Mary's City, which eventually became the capital, when Leonard Calvert successfully negotiated an accord with the Piscataway Indians (Stevens 1937). Relationships between the Native Americans and the Europeans were, at times peaceful and at others, marked by tension and hostility. By the 1650s, Europeans were becoming aggressors, and forcibly driving out the native groups. Maryland's government attempted to maintain better relationships with the native populations than the Virginia colonists were having with Powhatan. Unfortunately, trade and a chronic need for land for tobacco production caused the Europeans to forcibly attempt to remove the local chiefdoms, on both the Eastern and Western Shores (Dent 1995:272.) Though disease and warfare destroyed most of the chiefdoms of tidewater Virginia, groups that did survive, like the Piscataway, were either forced out of their homelands or had to learn to live under European rule.

#### **4.1.B. Historic Background**

The first permanent English colony was established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607; European exploration of the Chesapeake Bay area continued from that point onward. In 1632, King Charles granted the colony of Maryland through charter to Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. A group of about 140, mostly Catholic, settlers arrived at St. Mary's on the Western Shore of southern Maryland in 1634. At this time, William Claiborne had already established a settlement on the Eastern Shore on Kent Island, a few miles north of Wye Island. Maryland was established as a place for free religious practice, at least for Christians, from the beginning of English settlement, although this was sorely tested through constant social and political infighting between Catholics and Protestants. As the Lord Proprietor of Maryland, Calvert had complete hold of the colony as a fiefdom, but political control of Maryland was fought over until the late 1680s when it became a royal subject of the Crown.

By this time, the Eastern Shore was thoroughly settled, including the creation of the town of Cambridge, and was extensively farmed for crops of tobacco and grains. In 1694 Annapolis took the place of St. Mary's City as capitol of Maryland, and with that change came the greater plantation development of the area of the Eastern Shore directly across from the city (Talbot County) by powerful landowners and political figures. In 1706, Queen Anne's County was formed from a section of Talbot County, and the nearby county seat of Easton was established by 1710 (Brugger 1988).

From the beginning of European settlement through the twentieth century, agriculture was the industry of Queen Anne's County, as well as the entirety of the Eastern Shore. Before the Civil War, this industry was based on the labor of enslaved Africans and African Americans, with the largest slaveholders in the state living in Queen Anne's and Talbot counties.

There were African settlers in the Chesapeake as early as 1619, nearly from the beginning of colonial settlement (Berlin 1998). Berlin refers to blacks, both enslaved and free, who came to the Chesapeake in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as "Atlantic creoles." Atlantic creoles came to the Chesapeake from all over the Atlantic rim, and had a great deal more

experience with linguistic and cultural diversity than later generations of enslaved Africans (Berlin 1998). As in other colonies, blacks and whites intermarried with American Indians in the region. Africans and African Americans worked as indentured servants or free workers in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, and both enslaved and free blacks intermarried with European indentured servants that they worked with (Marks 1999; Berlin 1998). Those enslaved enjoyed many of the same legal protections as white servants, although neither fared particularly well. Throughout the Chesapeake, enslaved people were allowed a certain amount of economic independence, partially because it took some of the pressure off of their owners for providing food and clothing. The independence came in the form of a widespread network of exchange across the space of plantations and towns, with other slaves, free blacks, and whites of all classes. This slave economy went hand-in-hand with a certain freedom of movement, which many planters feared because of its connotations of equality (Berlin 1998). “The fluidity of colonial society, the ill-defined meaning of slavery, and the ambiguous notions of race allowed Atlantic creoles to carve a place for themselves in the Chesapeake...(Berlin 1998, 41.)”

The growth of the plantation as a social space occurred in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, beginning in the Old World, traveling to South American and the Caribbean, before ending up on the mainland of North America, and specifically the tobacco lands of the Chesapeake. This social revolution led to an intense increase in the need for slaves, which, in turn, transformed the slave trade (Berlin 1998). In 1664, the Maryland Assembly passed legislation making slavery legal in Maryland. This created lifetime, heritable slavery, and discontinued most indentured servitude. The Eastern Shore would never be the same (Breen and Innes 1980; Marks 1999). Most enslaved people brought into the Chesapeake now were not Atlantic creoles, but Africans from multiple nations and language groups, with little previous experience with cultures outside of their own (Berlin 1998). Despite this legalized enslavement, the interface of freedom and enslavement was challenged and crossed through numerous social processes.

The population of free blacks grew slowly over time, through buy-out and marriage. Some men and women paid owners in order to free themselves or others from slavery, often a spouse or children, and the children of free mothers became free themselves. Most of these men and women lived and worked alongside enslaved African and African Americans, typically as hired workers on plantations (Morgan 1998; Fields 1985). The major population explosion of free blacks occurred after the American Revolution. This was especially emphasized in the Chesapeake because of the anti-slavery religious convictions of many Quakers and Methodists, whose ranks swelled innumerable during the evangelical awakenings of the late-18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although the Revolution did not dispel slavery, which in fact flourished in the coming decades, it did begin to associate the meaning of freedom with slavery, as well as strengthen the inconsistencies seen by Americans as Black people supposedly incapable of being free lived alongside of those who were (Foner 1998). This was especially true in Maryland, a state that bordered the Northern part of the country where slavery was abandoned after the Revolutionary War. Black soldiers on both sides of the war were often freed, but even more often the war offered the cover to become fugitive (Berlin 1998).

By 1790 Maryland had the second highest population of free blacks in the country, behind Virginia, and by 1810 it had the highest (Berlin 1998; Fields 1985). The large free African American population is best explained by the change in agriculture that occurred in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Tobacco had been the major crop grown in Maryland until the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, when overseas demand, soil depletion, and crop inferiority combined to move the Eastern Shore toward cereal agriculture (Berlin 1998; Fields 1985). Tobacco is a crop that requires year round labor for its cultivation, but cereal is seasonal in its labor needs. It was more economically viable to hire someone through wage labor than to buy an individual that one would have to take care of year round, even when there was no work. This need for labor coincided with the post-Revolution manumissions, and Eastern Shore landowners quickly became reliant on a wage labor force. Also, the blockades of goods from Europe during the war made it necessary to create a mixed economy, with a focus on mixed agriculture and the manufacture of everyday necessities (i.e. metal work, ship equipment, flour, clothing etc.) in growing urban centers (Berlin 1998).

The Eastern Shore was so isolated from the rest of the state, and had such a low population, that freed blacks usually stayed in the same area after manumission (Morgan 1998). Even more important were the family, friend, and community ties that the men and women may not have wanted to leave behind (Berlin 1998; Fields 1985). This was probably also due to the fact that family members may still have been enslaved, or their manumission delayed until their most useful work years were over. Some both free and enslaved, moved to Baltimore, a city whose economy was never based on slavery.

By the early-to-mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Maryland was a divided state. The northern counties had a booming population and an economy based on wage labor. The southern counties and the Eastern Shore had a declining population whose weakening economy was based on slave labor (Fields 1985). On the Eastern Shore, the enslaved population kept fairly steady, although becoming increasingly centered on the largest plantations, while the free black population increased rapidly (Berlin 1998). Politically, however, the Eastern Shore and Southern Maryland held the power in the General Assembly, because they held the most land, and land rather than movable property still held the most power (Fields 1985).

This changing demography and economy led to extremely complex social situations for African Americans on the Eastern Shore. Although slavery itself did not differ much from state to state, Maryland had some unique characteristics going against its seemingly gentler middle ground status. With the slowly weakening slave economy, and strengthening wage labor one, there was a large amount of slave trading, most of it intrastate, especially in the early 1800s (Fields 1985). This was obviously extremely destructive to family and friendship networks. Also destructive to these networks was the fact that typical slaveholdings were too small to include spouses or children. "The most common slaveholding in Maryland by 1860 was one slave; half the slaveholders owned fewer than three slaves, three-fourths fewer than eight, and 90 percent fewer than fifteen slaves (Fields 1985: 24)." These small slaveholdings caused immeasurable suffering through forced long-term isolation from loved ones, as one would only be able to visit a family member with special permission from the master. The size of holdings as well as agricultural needs led many slaveholders to hire out their slaves to those who had need of



the labor, although those who were enslaved did not collect the pay (Fields 1985). This put enslaved blacks in close contact with free African Americans, and marriage between the two groups was “a phenomenon common enough to be unremarkable (Fields 1985: 28).” This was an extremely unstable relationship, as the enslaved spouse could be hired out, sold, or moved with owners at any time with no protections. The growing urban centers were the destination for many of those hired out. Life in these cities gave enslaved people opportunities to learn a specialized profession, and to earn money outside of the purview of their owners (by collecting pay for extra work that they did not tell their owners about), and this new freedom of movement was taken advantage of (Berlin 1998). Free and enslaved blacks committed crimes together, and ran away together. Free black households were also stops for runaway slaves (Berlin 1998; Morgan 1998). There was, as mentioned previously, a tendency for delayed manumission in Maryland, which would often lead to families having free members, members who were enslaved for life, and members who were enslaved for a set amount of years (Fields 1985). Many personal relationships may have, in fact, started before an individual was manumitted.

To slaveholders, the most frightening situation that the existence of a large free black population wrought was their working right alongside enslaved individuals. There was too much of a chance for a revolt of individuals against their enslavement, spurred on by interaction with successful, free individuals. “To the new forms of subordination that equated free blacks with slaves, lawmakers added the new proscriptions that distinguished free blacks from white people (Berlin 1998, 285).” Free African Americans found themselves in a curious position legally, as frightened white landowners attempted to control them as much as possible without actual enslavement. Those free blacks who refused to hire themselves out to white employers could be bound or sold for annual renewable terms, and their children could be bound as apprentices, in which case they became personal property (Fields 1985). Free blacks could not own firearms or dogs, nor could liquor or ammunition be purchased without a “special license” (Fields 1985). Most Southern states required free blacks to carry some form of pass to prove their freedom; Maryland instituted such a law in 1806. The certificates of freedom held information pertaining to physical characteristics, circumstance of freedom, and were required to be certification by a “responsible” white person (Marks 1999). The Maryland legal system kept free blacks in a position that was disturbingly similar to slavery; the only real protection that any free African American could have was the “patronage of a white citizen of substance (Fields 1985: 36).” While this did offer some protection, it also served to enforce social servility to whites. There was constant fear of becoming enslaved, through force or law. Free African Americans had to live in a constant state of wariness and fear, struggling between forces of both market and slave economies (Fuke 1999; Field 1985; Morgan 1998). The slow dissolution of slavery, and the panicky control of the landowners, continued until the Civil War.

After the Civil War, the economy of the Eastern Shore continued to be primarily based on agriculture, but it was greatly strengthened the mid 1870s when railroad lines had connected to all of the major Eastern Shore cities to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York (Brugger 1988). In combination with the steamboat traffic between Shore cities and

Baltimore, the ability to move people and products across the Bay and throughout the mid-Atlantic led to an economic revitalization of the Eastern Shore. It also led to a rediscovery of the Eastern Shore in terms of tourism, with national magazines doing stories about the region focusing on its physical beauty and its old-fashioned and quiet peoples (Brugger 1988). Produce farming of foods such as peaches, blackberries, sweet potatoes, strawberries, and corn thrived with the growth of the railroad. Commercial fishing and oystering also rose sharply after the Civil War, but it was mostly the increasing popularity of oysters in the 1860s that led to a boom in oyster dredging. In 1865 a law was passed by the Maryland Assembly that only allowed natives in sailing craft to oyster in state waters (Brugger 1988). The Army Corps of Engineers, who deepened and widened rivers and harbors along the Shore to allow for greater shipping and steamboat travel, supported this legislation. This was the beginning of the infamous violence, bribery, piracy and impressments surrounding the multi-million dollar oyster dredging industry that became known as the “Oyster Wars”, and continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Oyster packing plants brought a great many jobs to the Eastern Shore, but watermen were considered a rough, lawless bunch that brought unruly, drunken crowds into Eastern Shore cities along with prosperity (Brugger 1988).

By the time of the Great Depression, there was a great deal of tension between newly arrived gentlemen farmers and professional farmers that had lived in Kent, Queen Anne’s and Talbot counties for their whole lives. Wealthy Northerners hoping to become part of the genteel, relaxed culture that had been so well advertised in national media bought many of the large estates, such as Wye Hall. Most working farmers became tenants of these large landowners, but finding it difficult to compete with the rare breeds of cattle, and expensive machinery that the rich men dallying in agriculture played with on their personal property. What had previously been communal hunting and fishing areas became fenced off for the private use of these large landowners, and the families were not involved with local schools, churches, or farm organizations (Brugger 1988).

During this time, many African Americans turned to the water for jobs, but there was also a great exodus from the Eastern Shore to cities such as Baltimore. Industrial centers like Baltimore held the possibility for regular factory work, as well as a way out of the violence and racial terror that the rural Eastern Shore held. Lynchings occurred throughout the depression in Salisbury and across the Eastern Shore, and the poverty, lack of equal education and access to jobs, and continuous violence against Blacks erupted into riots and protests throughout the 1960s in the city of Cambridge. The most famous of these protests was the one in July of 1967 led by H. Rap Brown and Gloria Richardson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Brugger 1988). By the early 1970s, a combination of local activism and state-sponsored development led to the creation of industrial jobs through the growth of factory business, and the dredging and widening of the harbor in Cambridge, as well as in other Eastern Shore cities (Brugger 1988). Changes have occurred slowly; however, as Eugene Meyer, a *Washington Post* reporter, wrote in 2000, “In all my travels across the country, I saw no place as completely and self-consciously segregated as Cambridge, on Maryland’s Eastern Shore (Meyer 2000: 10)”.

In July of 1952 the Chesapeake Bay Bridge was finished, and so the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland were connected for easy travel between the state capitol of Annapolis and Kent Island. This was met with a great deal of trepidation on the part of many on the Eastern Shore, who feared the outside influences of the larger urban populations of Washington D.C. and Baltimore, specifically Black populations, on their way of life (Brugger 1988; Gibbons 1987). The Bay Bridge opened up an entirely new economy focused on tourism that exploited the intense traffic of people heading to the Atlantic Shore during the summer (Meyer 2000). The increased mobility to the Baltimore-Washington D.C. region also led to the growth of truck farming for produce as well as poultry farming. Roadside produce stands, hotels, restaurants and outlet malls have taken advantage of traffic flowing to and from the beach towns and transformed the economy of the Eastern Shore into the present.

#### **4.1.C. Wye Hall Site History**

##### Early History: 1695-1770

Before William Paca built the classically inspired mansion and attached terraced gardens known as Wye Hall, ancestors of his wife's family had been living on the eastern end of the island for nearly one hundred years. None of these households had the size or organization of the later Paca plantation; they were, instead, small farmsteads. In 1695 there is a deed recording the sale, for £70, by Charles Hemsley to Henrietta Maria Lloyd (an ancestor of William Paca's first wife Ann Chew) of "...lands and plantations on which the said Charles Hemsley doth now live upon or in the possession of; taken up by Thomas Carey of London, merchant, easternmost end of island (known as Island Point) and improvements... (Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland [MSA], Talbot County Land Records, 7/127, MSA, 1/42/1/-)." Although the land on Wye Island is mentioned through wills and deeds between family members, no mention of how the property is being used is mentioned again until the will of Daniel Dulany the Elder written on February 26, 1752. In it he "bequeaths unto my said wife all the Negroes & stock of every kind which shall be on the Island in Wye", making it clear that enslaved African Americans live and work there (MSA, Prerogative Court Wills, 29/31). His wife Henrietta Maria Lloyd Chew Dulany in turn left the entirety of the island to her son Philemon Lloyd Chew including "crops of corn, grain, pulse tobacco, hemp, and flax to continue to be cultivated and harvested by Negroes on the Island (MSA, Prerogative Court Wills, 34/8)."

It was Philemon Chew, dying less than five years after his mother, who left Wye Island to his sisters Margaret Bordley and Mary Paca in 1770. The island was divided down the middle along Dividing Creek, with Margaret, married to John Beale Bordley, receiving the western half, and Mary, married to William Paca, receiving the eastern half. The property for each equaled approximately 1403.5 acres. Although tobacco was the main crop of Wye Island during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the majority of crops were wheat, maize and hemp (Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976).

## William Paca/Revolutionary Era: 1770-1799

William Paca was born into a landed but socially humble family in Baltimore County and eventually rose to prominence as a wealthy, powerful, and well-known figure in state and national politics. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia and trained in law at the Inns of Court in London, and in 1761 was admitted as an attorney into the courts in Annapolis, along with John Brice and Samuel Chase. In 1763 he married the aforementioned Mary Chew, who hailed from a powerful and wealthy colonial family. William and Mary had built a five-part Georgian mansion and terraced garden in the heart of downtown Annapolis that was finished about 1765, and which can still be seen today on Prince George Street in the historic district.

By the mid 1770s, Paca had become a warden and vestrymen of St. Anne's Church, the Episcopal Church that sits on Church Circle in Annapolis, as well as becoming an elected delegate from Annapolis to the Lower House of the General Assembly of Maryland. These positions led to his involvement in a series of written debates protesting colonial taxation using legal precedent and philosophical entreaty to argue for colonists' independence from English oppression. Paca was chosen as one of the delegates to represent Maryland at the First Continental Congress, as well as at all successive ones until he helped to construct and then sign the Declaration of Independence. He was an early supporter of independence from the British Crown, and supported the fledgling government through the Revolutionary War by continuing to serve in the Continental Congress as well as in the State Senate. Paca was also appointed as a judge on the General Court of Maryland, as well as being appointed as a judge on the Court of Appeals for admiralty and prize cases by Congress.

William Paca was very involved with the organization of the military, as well as its provisioning, during the Revolutionary War. In a letter he sent to Governor Johnson on September 6, 1777 Paca informs the Governor that Queen Anne's County is "raising a company of Light Horse", and thanks him for the supplies and tents that were sent. He also asks for commissions and intelligence from Washington's army (Schoch 1975). His work with provisioning both the State and Continental armies was particularly impressive.

The Eastern Shore bore the brunt of provisioning for Maryland, and it seems that Paca gave thousands of pounds of cattle and grain from Wye Island, as well as used the Island as a depot for the Army's provisioning. Probably because the Wye River is easily accessible from the Chesapeake Bay, but protected by Bennett Point and Shaw Bay, this was a good place for area farmers and plantation owners to send provisions for the Army to pick up. In December 1780, William Paca sold 3000 lbs. of beef to the army (Schoch 1975), and a letter from exactly a year later describes beef being salted on Wye Island, and then waiting to be picked up. "The beef remains in bulk at Mr. Paca's, 15,543 lbs...Please (as promised in our last) to order a vessel to Wye for the beef which is ready and very good... (Schoch 1975: 89)." By a week later, the State Council has asked John Bullen Esq. to impress vessels to send to Wye Hall to pick up the 20,000 lbs of beef and flour in order to get them as quickly as possible to the Army.

It is clear from a 1779 letter that Paca had been spending a great deal of time with his family in Philadelphia, as the State Council had to give him permission to draw food supplies from Wye Hall to support their residence in Philadelphia. Many wealthy Maryland planters sent their families to Philadelphia during the War, as the Eastern Shore was subject to looting and attack by the British and Philadelphia was one of the most powerful and well protected cities on the east coast at the time (Schoch 1975: 62). In fact, it appears that in August of 1777 he and his family were kept for a time from reaching Philadelphia, as British were reported to be in Cecil County. In a long letter to Governor Johnson he reports, "Apprehending that I cannot with safety venture to Phila. I am determined to remain in this Quarter and share the Fate of my Country (Schoch 1975: 101)." Paca then helps in the organization of county leaders across the Eastern Shore, suggests a place on the Sassafras River to set up a headquarters and says with great drama, "My Plan is to be a respectable Body of Militia arm'd and assembled immediately and I hope no scoundrel of Tory or Traitor will be able to shew his Head or give any Discouragement to our Exertions (Schoch 1975: 102)." In the next week he writes again to the Governor: to comment on needed supplies, including tent material and lead, to report that the British are taking slaves from properties on the Eastern Shore and refusing to return them, as well as commenting on a recently read letter from General Washington. He closes by telling the Governor that he will send money that Congress sent to Paca at his request (Schoch 1975 102-103)." From these letters it is clear that he took his duties in the support of revolution seriously, but also that his opinions were both sought out and well respected by powerful political players of the time. It is no wonder that he became Governor of the State only a few years later. This political power was tempered by a complex personal life that he did not always feel the compunction to keep private.

Between the death of Mary in 1774 and his marriage to Ann Harrison in 1777, William Paca fathered two illegitimate children. The first was a daughter, Hester, born in Philadelphia on August 4 1775 and baptized in September of the same year. The Anglican Church with which the baptism was recorded in Philadelphia names the mother as Levina (Paca 1993; Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976). Levina and William were not married, and probably carried on an affair while Paca was in Philadelphia for the Continental Congress. It is clear from letters that Hester was an illegitimate child, but Paca cared for her financially, and even paid for her schooling in Philadelphia. The most interesting possibility is found in a letter from John Beale Bordley's second wife Sarah, writing in 1784 from Wye Island to her sister in Philadelphia. In it she is gossiping about a marriage prospect of Paca's (or "the Chief") calling off his courtship after hearing about his illegitimate child.

"It seems P:O: was on the point of being married to the Chief but by the good management of C. with the *Tale of a Tale* about a Negro Woman and *several Children* it is entirely broke off. Mrs. P. who is much displeas'd with C. says she is not a black woman but a mustee and is a very pretty Woman with only *one* Child (Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976: 67; Paca 1993: 42)".

There is never any other mention of the mother, but Sarah Bordley was friendly with William Paca, and very likely had reliable knowledge of Hester, since he did not take great pains to hide her.

It is unclear whether Levina was a slave, or a free black or mixed race woman, but she was not white, and was at the very least a servant. It was not unusual for white men to conduct sexual affairs with enslaved women or servants, as the very large mixed race population attests to (Morgan 1998). The child of an enslaved woman would have also been enslaved by law, and since there is no record of a manumission for Hester, it seems likely that her mother was free. Indeed, if Hester was not free, she would not have been at boarding school. In a 1781 letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, a friend and fellow signer of the Declaration of Independence, Paca asks him to:

“...request your attention to a young Lady, that I have placed at a Bo[ar]ding School with Mrs. Brodeaux...she is a natural Daughter of mine. I have desired Mrs. Brodeaux to apply for your assistance when my Daughter shall stand in need of it and to consider you as the Physician (Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976: 68)”.

William Paca not only paid to send his daughter to boarding school, but also called in a favor from a personal friend to care for her when he was worried for her health. The last mention of Hester is in a 1793 letter from William Paca to a friend in Philadelphia:

“Dear Sir: I beg you to inform me by the first Post to Baltimore Town where I am where my Daughter is – whether she has removed from Town and to what part of the Country. The last Time I heard of her was the 3<sup>rd</sup> September she was at Mr. Harrisons Plantation (Paca 1993: 42)”.

As an 18 year old, she had reached the age of adulthood, but it was unclear whether she survived to have a family of her own, or died as a young adult. Hester was not given any land, or further acknowledgment by William Paca, or obviously allowed to live any closer to him than Philadelphia. All of these facts support the idea that she was not white, especially when compared to Paca’s behavior towards his other illegitimate child Henrietta Maria (MSA, William Paca Research Collection, SC 4490, 00/09/03/38)).

Henrietta Maria was born in 1776, about a year after Hester, of Sarah Joyce of Annapolis. It is conjectured that she may have been a governess for the Pacas, and possibly nursed Paca’s first wife, Mary, through her final illness (Paca 1993). Although he financially supported the working class Sarah through her pregnancy, he did not marry her, or openly acknowledge her or Henrietta Maria until the end of his life. In Sarah Joyce’s 1799 will written by William Paca (also the year of William Paca’s death), part of her daughter’s inheritance was property in Annapolis that had previously belonged to Paca (Paca 1993). Paca provided Henrietta Maria with further land after her marriage to Thomas Addison, and her half brother John Philemon Paca was an executor of Thomas’s will (Paca 1993). Although Paca provided for both of his children during their childhood, he provided for the future of his white child, and her descendents. Also, the Paca family only publicly acknowledged the white child, and continued to share a familial relationship with Henrietta Maria after William’s death.

Paca was considered to be a very charming man who had no problem finding female company, or with finding suitable marriage partners (Paca 1993; Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976; Russo 2000). We can only conjecture how this attitude affected his relationship with enslaved women on the Wye Hall plantation, but it seems that he did not feel any shame or reticence in carrying on sexual liaisons with women under his power. Both Levina and Sarah Joyce were servants, and Sarah was under his direct employ, so it is

doubtful that he held back when interested in enslaved women who lived in his household. How may have this affected his son's, John Philemon Paca, attitude toward sexual relationships with servants or slaves, and the children that could have resulted?

Paca spent the majority of his time in Philadelphia and Annapolis until the early 1780s, when, after the death of his second wife Ann Harrison he sold his house in Annapolis and sent his children to live at Wye Hall. In 1782, he began the first of three one-year terms as governor of Maryland and struggled to reestablish the economy the state, which was greatly strained after the Revolutionary War. Paca was invited to join the Constitutional Convention as a delegate, but declined the offer and even tried to block the Constitution's ratification as a leader of Maryland's Anti-Federalists. He eventually agreed to support ratification with the promise that his concerns would be heard and weighed carefully as amendments introduced to committee; many of his ideas would later find their way into the Bill of Rights (Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976). President George Washington appointed him to his last public office, as judge of the Federal District Court of Maryland, in 1789.

William Paca built the plantation landscape of Wye Hall, including the gardens and main house, in the early 1790s, but only survived to enjoy the finished estate for a short time. In the 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, he is listed as having one dwelling house and two out houses on two acres that are subject to taxation, for a total value of \$3000 (MSA 1798: Federal Direct Tax, Microfilm M-3474). That dwelling house is recorded to be 1414 acres on Wye Island in Worrell Hundred; this acreage was worth \$11,105, which made Paca one of the wealthiest men in the county. The dwelling house and its two outbuildings subject to taxation were worth \$3000, twice as much as the Bordley's dwelling house and seven outbuildings on the other half of Wye Island. Paca's wealth included the 100 individuals that he enslaved; only 40 of them were between the ages of 12 and 50 and thus subject to taxation. There were only four heads of household, other than William Paca, enumerated in the 1790 Queen Anne's County census that enslaved more than 75 people: Richard Tilghman, John Beale Bordley, Conrad Wederstrandt, and Elizabeth Chew (likely a relative of his wife; Chews were living on the island before Paca built his estate there) [MSA 1790: United States Census [U.S.C.], Microfilm M2053-1.] This many enslaved individuals would have required specific housing, as they would not have all been living in the main house or out buildings. Many of those enslaved would have been field hands, and in the Chesapeake that meant living in quarters closer to the fields and with at least one supervisor housed in the group as well. In the tax assessment, Paca is also noted as owning 21 dwelling houses not exceeding \$100 in value each; this does not include his personal home. These 21 dwellings, totaling \$500 in value, would have housed all of those who worked on Wye Hall, both enslaved African and African Americans and free white overseers. After William Paca's death in 1799, the property passed to his son John Philemon Paca.

#### John P. Paca Era: 1799-1840

John P. Paca was born in 1771 as the third child of William and Mary, and after the death of his mother when he was three, spent most of his childhood years at boarding schools.

He was thought of, according to the Paca family biography as “handsome, vain, undisciplined, impetuous, tempestuous, and parsimonious (Paca 1993: 75).” Family folklore also says that his father built Wye Hall in order to keep him in Maryland, as he wanted to move to England, or go to sea, but this is an unsubstantiated story. A letter in 1790 from William to his brother-in-law George Harrison describes a duel that his son John fought with Samuel Ringold in which John prevailed after being fired upon. Although William was “...greatly pleased with his conduct”, he called the reasoning for the duel “...too tedious to relate: in general John’s charge against him was an injurious misrepresentation of his conduct on a certain conversation (Paca 1993: 76).” Unfortunately, John never knew his father well and even felt the need in 1827 to ask his father’s friends and colleagues to write to him of his father’s character and interests, presumably in an attempt to understand him better (Stiverson and Jacobsen 1976).

In 1800, a year after his father’s death, John married Juliana Carroll Tilghman. Together they had four children, three sons and one daughter. John and Juliana were notorious for their sumptuous parties, including their eldest son William Bennett Paca’s 21<sup>st</sup> birthday party which was attended by the social elites of the Eastern Shore, Washington, and Baltimore. A local “society” woman, Miss Sallie Harris, wrote a long poem to celebrate the birthday ball and said of the occasion: “Wend you to the Hall tonight,/To see the heir of Wye;/He’ll guide you through the May dance,/He’ll tell you how his horses prance,/And win the heart at a single glance;/I think he’s six feet high./(Wm. B. Paca, a great lover of fine horse)/Wend you to the Hall tonight,/All the country round are going;/Who would miss the festive scene? (Rhodes 1985: 402).” What little is known of John P. Paca paints a rather ambiguous portrait of his personality. Although he and his wife were thought of as fun-loving partiers and rather frivolous, he was also elected four times as a vestryman to St. Paul’s Parish between 1807 and 1815, and during that time was twice a lay delegate for the parish to the State Convention (Emory 1950).

One Eastern Shore history describes John as “...a selfish, purse-proud, arrogant young man...(Footner 1944: 300)” whom William spoiled, but we know that John wanted to know his father better and under his ownership Wye Hall plantation prospered. The large size of the free white household in this and future years was due to the fact that his unmarried sisters and brothers likely lived at Wye Hall; this was a kin group rather than a nuclear family. The 1800 federal census lists John Philemon Paca’s family as enslaving 118 persons, an increase of 43 people from 1790 (MSA 1800: U.S.C., Microfilm M2056-5, p. 251). It seems that John was financially stable and supportive of his extended family, although he is painted as a partying black sheep by later family and local histories. It is hard to explain these contradictions, except when contemplating a record that shows how he may have been struggling with his role in the enslavement of African Americans. This struggle could have been a trial to his family, and served to ostracize him within Eastern Shore society.

There are a few Queen Anne’s County Land Record documents relating to John that are quite interesting and may provide us with some hints about his attitude toward slavery. On April 19, 1803 John Philemon Paca set free “negro Kitty the Daughter of my Servant negro Polly by her husband negro Hamlet in consequence of the faithful services of her



mother the said negro Polly (MSA 1803: Queen Anne's County Land Records [QACLR], Liber STW #6, p.337)". Three years later on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1806, he manumitted "Negro Rachell about seven years of age the daughter of my Negro woman Polly (MSA 1806: QACLR, Liber STW #8, p. 221)". No other records for manumissions by John P. Paca are on record until 1818, and then not again until 1825. Paca's manumissions in 1818 and 1825 were unusual, as they are the only two records of his freeing adult males in the prime of their work lives, when they would have been among the most valuable of those whom he enslaved at Wye Hall. On November 20, 1818, he "liberated and set free my servant Samuel Williams a mulatto about thirty seven years of age and about five feet eight or nine inches high (MSA 1818: QACLR, Liber TM #2, p. 21)". This notation of Samuel Williams skin color is the first of many, and distinctions are made in the records between light (or bright), mulatto and black. The presence of a number of mulatto children and adults is evidence of the sexual relations/exploitations of enslaved women by white plantation owners, their relatives, and their supervisors. The age range is also evidence that this had been going on for multiple generations. Given the history of William Paca's open acknowledgement of his biracial daughter Hester, this is not a surprise. The 1825 manumission of 17-year-old Jacob Bolmy, "the son of my servant woman" (illegible first name) "Bolmy and that I am induced to do so from a wish to acknowledge and reward the faithful service of her mother..(MSA 1825: QACLR, Liber TM #3, p. 577)."

This is not to say that John Paca was working hard to make sure that families at Wye Hall were not split up. Although he may have manumitted a handful of people, mostly children, while he owned Wye Hall plantation, he kept hundreds more enslaved during his tenure. Five months after the first of John's recorded manumissions (Kitty, the daughter of his slaves Hamlet and Polly), he sold Nancy, the three-year-old daughter of Jenny. Why are some daughters saved and others sold? On May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1818, John P. Paca sold four individuals under the age of 20 as slaves for life to an agent for David Anderson of Louisiana. The deed does not mention how much he was paid for "Nanny a dark mulatto about nineteen years of age, Harry about fifteen or sixteen years of age, William a black about eleven years of age, Fanny a dark mulatto about nine years of age", just that he received "the full amount of the purchase agreed on for the said slaves (MSA 1818: QACLR, Liber TM #2, p. 344)". He would not have sold individuals who were at peak working age (although Nanny was close to it) and it made sense in a very troubling way to make money by selling property that one did not have to buy. As children were born naturally on the plantation, Paca's capital grew. At this time in the Chesapeake, being sold to the Deep South was a terrifying proposition for many reasons. First of all, there was an understandable fear and dread of being separated from loved ones. Secondly, plantations in the Deep South, generally producing rice and sugar, were notoriously dangerous and harsh places where many enslaved people died from overwork and disease. Being "sold South" became a harsh threat to discourage enslaved people from making trouble for white landowners and supervisors.

Although harsh treatment, control, and coercion (physical and mental) occurred on every plantation, white landowners did not speak of it socially. To do so was to mark whoever was spoken against as disfavored, especially when the accuser was more politically

powerful. It was a powerful form of control and punishment in the white community. While researching the Lloyd plantation, Wye House, where excavations have been ongoing by Archaeology in Annapolis since 2005, my colleague Lisa Kraus found an intriguing letter in the family papers. In 1800, John Paca wrote a letter to Edward Lloyd V after hearing that Lloyd had been speaking ill of his treatment of slaves:

"Wye Hall Dec. 23rd 1800

Dr. Sir:

I embrace the opportunity of your return to Wye of writing to you upon a subject which has given me much concern.

I was informed when at Baltimore by a person from Annapolis that you should say that you had bought of me two Negro women in consequence of my intentions of separating them from their husbands and that you had been led to this purchase from motives of mere humanity- their crys and distress alone inducing you to purchase them.

Believe me when I assure I am well convinced this information is not true: I have too high an opinion of your veracity and too much respect for our friendship for it even to gain credence with me.

I sincerely wish you could have made the purchase of the Negroes I sold to Swan – he treated me extremely ill, violated his written contract, broke his word of honor and in every respect behaved like a rascal. I have been told I have been blamed for trusting so great a scoundrel, how was I to know such was his character when he was noticed and patronized by men of the first respectability?

I doubt not but you have acted a friendly part in vindicating my character from any unjust accusations this transaction may have given birth to -I have done so by you, by always repelling unwarranted censure. Let me hear from you upon this subject, for I am not a little uneasy respecting it.

-Matt delivered me your message I shall at all times be happy to see you-

Your Affectionate Humble Servant John P. Paca”

The Lloyds were the wealthiest family in Maryland, and lived right across the river from Wye Hall. The Pacas and Lloyds saw each other socially and were financially connected. Paca, however, was less powerful than Lloyd, and was dependent socially (and therefore economically) on good standing with Edward Lloyd V. There is a clearly obsequious tone to the letter; John Paca does not dare to outright accuse Lloyd, he merely makes it clear that he has heard the gossip. Why was Lloyd spreading rumors about John Paca’s behavior (if he was)? The letter was written before John Paca began his long history of manumissions, and although there is evidence in 1829 of his selling children down to Louisiana, I found no deeds as evidence of his selling grown women as slaves. It is clear from the letter that he is doing so, and dealing with a slave trader rather than local

citizens. It is likely that he is selling in a different county, so that the records are not in the Queen Anne's County deed file. This letter was written in the year after his father's death when a lot of changes were happening in John's life. Could something life altering have occurred that affected the way he thought about or treated those who he enslaved?

John P. Paca and his wife Juliana had four children by 1815: William Bennett was born in 1801, John Philemon was born in 1808, Edward Tilghman in 1812, and Anna Maria was born around 1814. By 1820, his household had swelled to twelve people, and he was enslaving 182 people in total (MSA 1820: U.S.C., Microfilm M-2067-1, p.52). Of these 182 individuals, slightly over half were male (96) and 43 of the males were under the age of 14. Only 25 men were over the age of 26. Of the females that John P. Paca enslaved (86 total) 27 were under the age of 14, and another 27 were between the ages of 14 and 26. Only 32 of the 86 were over the age of 26. These numbers tell us that Paca's enslaved population was probably growing through natural increase, meaning that rather than purchasing new slaves, enslaved women on the plantation were having children, and more than likely there were also established enslaved families and households. Some women may have had abroad marriages with men from other plantations, as Joseph Sutton describes of his great-grandmother Hester Deshields and her husband John Moody, who was owned by Colonel Lloyd of Wye House:

“They lived in Queen Annes on Wye Island. Some called it Peekers, later days they called it Packers Island. They lived there for years. He belonged to whomsoever owned the Island and he come over to this side and courted my great-grandmother. He courted her and married her and then it was up to Colonel Lloyd to let her go over there to live... They lived on this point on Wye Island right across from Bruff's Island...(Krech 1981: 2-3)”

Abroad marriages were extremely common throughout the South and undoubtedly individuals enslaved by the Paca family would have had relatives at plantations throughout Queen Annes and Talbot counties (Genovese 1976; Morgan 1998).

Even more interestingly, there are no free black women living on the property but there are 17 free black men, 15 of whom are under the age of 14. These boys have to be the children of free women in order to be free themselves, so it is possible that they were brought to the island as hired agricultural workers to help with grain cultivation. This was a pattern established across the Eastern Shore with the rise of grain agriculture and the diminishment of tobacco cultivation.

Following his pattern of manumitting children, particularly girls, of women on his plantation, John P. Paca freed two girls on July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1829. One was “negro Emeline about five years old the daughter of my servant woman Sucky Williams (MSA 1818: QACLR, Liber TM #5, p. 242).” The other girl was “negro Debby about twelve years old the daughter of my negro woman Sarah Griffin (MSA 1818: QACLR, Liber TM #5, p. 242).” Only the mothers of these children are mentioned in these manumissions, although this could mean many things. Perhaps the women were not in an established relationship, or would not reveal who the father of their child was. It is also possible that John P. Paca was the father of the children. It is not as though he frees the children of any parent who asks, as evidenced by a deed a year later between he and a free Black man

named Jonas Paul. This deed is a bill of sale stating that John P. Paca “in consideration of the sum of two hundred dollars in hand paid by Jonas Paul...do grant bargain and sell unto the said Jonas Paul...his daughter Margaret about twenty five years of age (MSA 1818: QACLR, Liber JT #2, p. 112).” Paca required that Paul pay a full price for Margaret; he did allow her freedom to be bought, but he certainly did not make it easy. Why does he manumit some children, most likely at the behest of their mothers, and require others to pay for their freedom? This is a terrible contradiction that was echoed in the behavior of other wealthy 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century plantation owners, including Thomas Jefferson.

By the year of his death in 1840, John P. Paca’s household has reduced to five people and a total of 153 people were enslaved on the property (MSA 1840: U.S.C., Microfilm M4723-2, p.124). In the 20 years since the last census of the property, the ratio of male to female slaves widened, so the former 96 males to 86 females became 85 males to 61 females. The age range of men had become somewhat more even, with 28 males under the age of ten, but 39 men being between the ages of ten and 36. For the enslaved females the pattern is similar, with 24 females under the age of ten living on the plantation, but 27 women between the ages of ten and 36. This means that although there were both fewer slaves in general and fewer enslaved children whose labor could be taken advantage of for a lifetime, there were a higher percentage of men and women able, since they were physically at peak ages, to do the greatest amount of labor. What is interesting is that there are four free Black individuals of divergent ages: a man and a woman each over 100 years old, and a girl and a boy each under the age of ten. It isn’t clear from any records who the two elderly free black individuals were, but we do know some information about the free children.

About two months before his death, on April 25, 1840, John P. Paca manumitted two children, a boy and girl, each with separate deed documentation. Amazingly, even specific family information is included in both cases. Paca “released from slavery manumitted and set free... my negro girl Charlotte being about the age of twelve years the child of Mott and Betsey his wife my slaves now living on Wye Island... (MSA 1840: QACLR, Liber JT #3, p. 70)”. That same day, Paca “released from slavery liberated manumitted and set free... my negro boy named Alexander being about the age of six years to be free when he attains the age of twelve years the child of William Henry Tasco a free colored man of Havre de Grace in Harford County and state aforesaid and Betsey his wife which said Betsey is now in the possession and service of my son William B. Paca of Harford County...(MSA 1840: QACLR, Liber JT #3, p. 70)”.

These manumission documents pose as many questions as they answer. It is clear that there are established marriages and family relationships between those enslaved on Wye Island: Mott and Betsey are married with a daughter named Charlotte and living there. Charlotte likely remained on the plantation after her manumission because her parents remained there: she may have even continued working on the plantation without pay. The difference would have been that she could not have been sold away from her family after the death of John P. Paca. It was common for families to be split up through sale or

inheritance after the death of a plantation owner; this may have been insurance against that.

The manumission of Alexander, however, remains slightly more puzzling. If his parents are in Harford County, why is he on Wye Island? It was not unusual to move children from one plantation to another, but if Alexander's father was free, why does he remain on Wye Island after John P. Paca's death and not move to Harford County to live with him? Since these manumissions occurred only a few months before John's death, it is possible that he was fulfilling promises made to either of the children's parents or rewarding favored slaves for their service. In fact, his manumissions of Kitty in 1803 and Jacob Bolmy in 1825 were both done to reward the "faithful service" of their mothers. These questions remain through later actions of William B. Paca, who became the proprietor of Wye Hall plantation. John P. Paca's 1837 will left all of his property to his wife Juliana, with no specific property mentioned, insinuating that all slaves living on Wye Hall were also deeded to her.

#### William B. Paca Era: 1840-1870

John's wife Julianna Tilghman Paca was transferred the property after his death in 1840, and Juliana permanently titled their firstborn son William Bennett Paca was permanently titled the land by Juliana in 1858. William B. married Jane Martha Phillips in 1829 when she was 15, and had ten children, eight of whom lived to adulthood. Many local histories, as well as the Paca family history, insinuate that William B. was an arrogant and not well-liked man, although they give no specifics as to his general personality. It is possible that this opinion was formed because of tensions that arose between Paca family members and within the county during and after the Civil War.

The 1850 federal census with its attendant agricultural census provides a great deal of information about Wye Hall (MSA 1850: U.S.C., Microfilm M1500, M5164-2 [agriculture], and M1506-1 [slaves]). In this year William is listed as 48 years old, and his wife Jane Martha was 35, and their children were between the ages of 16 and 1 years age. Their household also included a 19 year old white girl named Sarah Draper, who may have been a ladies maid or just a visiting friend of the family, as well as John C. McKinney, the 38 year old male teacher for the children. In a never fully explained, but very interesting, glimpse, a free black man is listed as a member of the household: the 95-year-old Jonas Paul. Could this be the same Jonas Paul that William's father John P. Paca sold his 25-year-old daughter to in 1818? If so, why is he now living with the Paca family, and where is his daughter? This census also lists William as enslaving 116 people, down from his father's count of 153 in 1840. Of these 116 people, 39 were males aged 12 or over, 23 were males under the age of 12, 27 were females 12 years of age or younger, and 27 were females under the age of 12. The ratio of ages has remained about the same, although the female enslaved population is younger than the male. Also included in this census is a valuation of agricultural lands and products for taxation purposes.

This valuation states that William B. Paca owned 1500 acres valued at \$45,000 in 1850, two thirds of it improved. This value included \$800 worth of farming implements and machinery. Paca owned a mix of animals on the Island: 24 horses, 19 milch (milk) cows, 25 working oxen, 45 other cattle, 103 sheep and 27 swine which were in total valued at \$2990. He may have been growing items for his own personal use as well as sale, as he is listed as owning 3500 bushels of wheat, 11,675 bushels of Indian corn, 70 bushels of oats, 600 pounds of wool, 20 bushels of Irish potatoes, 1000 pounds of butter, 20 tons of hay, and 10 pounds of beeswax. He also had \$300 worth of slaughtered animals. With this amount of agricultural production on site, Wye Hall could have remained fairly self sufficient in terms of its basic needs. For comparison, in 1850 William H.D.E Wright owned a farm of similar value, also in the 5<sup>th</sup> District of Queen Anne's County, worth \$50,000 (MSA 1850: U.S.C., Microfilm M-1506, p.87). He only owned 300 acres of improved land (520 acres of land total), but was farming with \$1200 worth of implements. Although Paca owned three times as much improved land, Wright was using more expensive farming tools to work his land. All the rest of his farming appears to be smaller scale than Paca's; he owns \$1440 worth of livestock and produced 1700 bushels of wheat, 1500 bushels of Indian corn, 100 pounds of wool, 200 pounds of Irish potatoes, \$50 worth of orchard products, 250 pounds of butter, 6 tons of hay, and \$200 worth of slaughtered animals. The much greater amounts of Indian corn and butter (which would have been used as daily foodstuffs) are easily explained by the much larger enslaved population at Wye Hall, which numbered 116 people as opposed to Wrights enslavement of 13 individuals.

By 1860, Sarah Draper, John McKinney, and Jonas Paul are no longer listed as part of William B. Paca's household in the federal census (MSA 1860: U.S.C., Microfilms M7224-1, M5167-1 [agriculture], M7230-4 [slaves]). William B's wife, nicknamed Patsey, and his son John and wife Ella share the household with the rest of William B.'s surviving children: James (22), Tilghman (21), Anna (19), William (17), Sarah (15), Martha (14), and Richard (11). The enslaved population at Wye Hall is slightly higher than a decade before, at 138 individuals; this may have been due to naturally fluctuating birthrates. For the first time, a distinctive delineation between shades of skin tone, specifically black or mulatto, was used as an important fact about individuals along with their sex and age; there are no names of enslaved individuals listed on the census. It is unlikely that these were self-determined identifications, but rather racializations decided on by a Paca, one of the Paca overseers, or the census taker himself. Of the 138 enslaved individuals listed in the 1860 census of Wye Hall, 89 people were listed as "black" and 49 people were listed as "mulatto". That is 36% of the enslaved population that is openly acknowledged as being biracial. Of the 137 people whose age is known, 40% are 12 years old or younger; this is a fairly common ratio for a large, successful plantation that is likely relying on natural increase for the growth of its enslaved population. (Morgan 1998) Another 40% of the population was of prime working age, between the ages of 12 and 40, and only 20% were between the ages of 40 and 73 in 1860. Of this eldest population, over half were in their 40s. This snapshot of the enslaved population directly before the Civil War shows a young group that was likely to be made up of many family and extended family households. These families may even be reflected in the census itself, as families appear to be grouped together (see Appendix F). For example, the first

individual listed on the 1860 slave census is a 48 year old mulatto male, and directly after is listed a 45 year old black female. Next in the list are six children between the ages of 4 and 14. It is likely that this is one of the many families that are listed on the census. It may have been an overseer that listed the age, sex and color of all those enslaved at Wye Hall for the census taker, and a likely way that he would have organized a list was by listing people with their extended families. There appears to be 19 households represented in the census, all but six of them are female headed. Many of the manumissions done by the Paca family were of children, and the children were generally identified by their mothers, and rarely by both of their parents. It therefore seems likely that female-headed households were common. Unfortunately, the 1850 slave census is not organized in the same manner; it is divided by sex, and people are listed by age in descending order (see Appendix E).

Juliana Paca is not recorded on the 1850 census, although she is counted in the 1860 census, along with her land, agricultural holdings, and slaves. In 1858 she had formally registered the deed that gave William all of the Wye Island holdings upon her death (MSA 1858: QACLR, Liber JT #3, p.452). The 1860 Slave Census lists Juliana's slaves directly before William's; it is likely that all those whom she enslaves that live at Wye Hall are on this list (MSA 1860: U.S.C., Microfilm M7230-4). There are 34 individuals; half are male and half are female and only three are listed as Mulatto. It is not clear how the individuals are grouped together, but there are not any obvious family groups. If these enslaved men, women and children were also living on Wye Island, they were likely related or married to some of those enslaved by William Paca. It also means that there were at least 171 people being enslaved on Wye Island in 1860.

Another important notation, found in both Juliana's and William's Slave Census records, is that for Number of Slave Houses, numbering three and five respectively. That means that there are at least eight quarters on Wye Island in 1860; unfortunately, the 1850 census does not record Slave Houses. Eight quarters are not many dwellings for 171 people; some of them were likely living in the Main House or in out buildings where they may have worked. Also, more portable field side dwellings may not have been counted. It is likely from the small number that these were large buildings that housed multiple households.

By 1860, the Federal census for Queen Anne's County shows Paca's real estate as valued at \$133,140 and his personal estate at \$10,000 on a total number of 2043 acres. This probably included everything he owned across Maryland and beyond, but it still shows a significant increase from the decade before. Juliana Paca (Williams's mother) is shown as owning 1300 acres of land, presumably Wye Hall, given by John Paca's 1837 Last Will and Testament to his wife Juliana. In the previously mentioned 1858 deed, Juliana Paca gave William the land that is promised to him, the Wye Hall estate totaling 1228 acres, in exchange for \$700 yearly until her death. William is mentioned as currently living on the property, and the deed also gives him all of her personal property, including slaves. Although this land was deeded to William, the 1860 census lists Juliana as the owner; some of the other parcels that William is listed as owning are undoubtedly plots that he bought in the early 1850s on the west side of the island from Bordley family descendents.

If we include Juliana's land with William's other land, as he was undoubtedly living on and running the farm, then the value of all of the Paca land on Wye Island was \$183,140 and included 2700 improved acres. William ran the farms with \$3900 worth of machinery and owned a variety of livestock, including 46 horses, 29 asses and mules, 55 milch cows, 62 working oxen, 79 other cattle, and 174 swine altogether worth a total \$13,500. The farms also produced a great deal of Indian corn, 21,700 bushels, and wheat, 8900 bushels, 900 bushels of oats, and 1700 pounds of butter, all of which would probably have been primarily for personal use, including for plantations that Paca owned in other parts of Maryland (William Paca previously resided in Harford County). Interestingly, he no longer raised sheep and therefore no longer produced wool, which would have had to be bought for use in the making of cloths, blankets, etc.

By 1860, William B. Paca had consolidated and incredibly grown his wealth. Through buying the inherited property of Bordley descendents, he came into ownership of the majority of Wye Island, and he continued to build his farming operations to huge effect. William was by far the richest landowner in Queen Anne's County, with the next richest man listed in the 1860 Agricultural Census, James T. Earle, owning a farm worth \$40,000 (MSA 1860: U.S.C., Microfilm M51667-1). Earle owned 760 acres of improved land, \$800 worth of farm implements, \$8000 worth of livestock, 3800 bushels of wheat, 5000 bushels of Indian corn, 250 pounds of wool, 200 bushels of sweet potatoes, \$20 worth of orchard products, 600 pounds of butter, 180 tons of hay and \$420 worth of slaughtered animals. In 1850, Earle's farm was only worth \$1400 and comprised only 450 acres, while he enslaved 26 people. By 1860, he had manumitted 6 people and enslaved 31 individuals; as many of these individuals are of age to have children, and eight of those enslaved are children under the age of 11 the population the population should have increased by more than 5 over the previous 10 years (at least four of the manumissions were of adult men). William B. Paca's enslaved population also increased a bit between 1850 and 1860 from 116 people to 137 people (including Juliana Paca's 34 slaves who would have resided at Wye Hall), and no manumissions or bills of sale were recorded for this time. Possibly he is moving some individuals between other properties in Maryland. The bottom line is that William Paca was by far the wealthiest landowner in Queen Anne's County by the time of the Civil War, and much of this wealth was in human flesh.

After the death of his father, but before he was permanently deeded Wye Hall by his mother, William B. Paca's only manumission is recorded on November 20, 1845. In it, he frees three generations: "my negro woman Priscilla McQuay and Betsey Taskey her daughter, and said Betsey Taskeys two children". He also declares them to be "able to work and gain a sufficient livelihood and maintenance"; perhaps he is voicing his desires that they be allowed to be hired on for wages locally. It seems likely that this is the same Betsey Taskey that John P. Paca named in his April 25, 1840 manumission of Alexander (MSA 1840: QACLR, Liber JT #3, p.70)). In that manumission, Alexander is named as the six-year-old son of a free black man named William Henry Tasco (living in Havre Dr Grace, Harford County) and a woman named Betsey, who was enslaved by William B. Paca in Harford County. Alexander was to be freed when he reached the age of 12. William's manumission of Betsey Taskey (possibly a miss-spelling of Tasco or vice



versa) and her family would have been at about the time that Alexander turned 12 (a little over five and a half years had passed). These are the only voluntary manumissions by William Paca on record. William later manumitted some enslaved men who wished to join the Union Army, although it could be argued that he was both doing what he thought of as his duty as a loyal supporter of the Union, and he had little control over the enlistment of those men, choosing to get what Federal compensation that he could. What was it about this family that spoke strongly enough to William that he was willing to forego a very large present and future investment to free multiple generations? Was it that Betsey's husband was free? Perhaps this was one case in which the irrationality of the moral deceptions necessary for the perpetuation of slavery was too much to ignore.

In 1861, residents of Queen Anne's County reacted to the political rumblings on the eve of the Civil War and formed volunteer militia companies, of which William B. was the commander of the Artillery (Emory 1950). The official Paca family history and a 1940s Eastern Shore history (Footner 1944) report that Paca founded this company only because he was enraged at being passed over for a leadership position for a Confederate company. There are no records that support the possibility that William B. was a Southern sympathizer and, in fact, many of his later actions seem to indicate that he was firmly supportive of the Union. One of these was the fact that he freed 36 of his male slaves so that they may join the Union Army, and then he was one of the few plantation owners in the county to ask the Federal government for the remuneration that was offered in exchange for such actions. In April 1864 Paca manumitted the following men. Included with their names are their regiment and company, if it is known (MSA 1864: QACLRL, Liber SED #1, pp. 137-170):

John Anderson

Nicholas Stewart

John Clayton

Jacob Stewart

Aaron Cooper – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

Lewis McQuay – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company B

Frederick Williams – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops

James Harris – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company G

Charles Glasgow – 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

William Kent – 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

Henry Anderson – 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

Edward Johnson

Benjamin Clayton

Henry Steward – 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

Benjamin Anderson – 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

Barney Griffin

Elijah Dorham – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A

Samuel Johnson – 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company D

Richard Bowzer – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company B

Richard Griffin – 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company C

Wm. Henry Stewart

John H. Stewart - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company A  
Frank Stewart - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company J  
Emory Stewart - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company J  
William Stewart - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company H  
Isaac Stewart - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company G  
Thomas Jones - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company K  
Simon Joram (also spelled "Dorram") - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company K  
Noah Richardson - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company H  
Thomas Anderson - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company J  
William Bowzer - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company K  
Matthew Clayton - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company G  
John McQuay - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company K  
Matthew Griffin - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company J  
Samuel Glasgow  
Zachariah Glasgow - 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Colored Troops, Company H

Even more specific information was found in some Federal records. The Maryland Slave Claims Commission's Records of Claimants for Remuneration gives information on when, where, and to what regiment and company the freed slaves enlisted, whether they, in fact, enlisted at all, and the consequent remunerative action (MSA: Maryland Claims Commission, Microfilm M-5775; also see Appendix G) . All 36 of the above freed men are in this document as well as a 37th man named Daniel Robertson. In the claims, William Paca is listed as a loyalist, and he received \$300 for each enslaved man registered in the Union Army. William B. Paca was remunerated for all off those men listed with a regiment and company above. He did not receive payment for Samuel Glasgow, as Colonel Paca reported him deceased on November 22<sup>nd</sup> 1864. None of the other men are recorded as being in the service, although Paca reports that Nicholas Stewart was following the Army rather than enlisted in it. Nicholas Stewart would likely have made a good living following the Army for work; it is interesting that Paca did not insist on his return. Since Stewart did not join the armed services, Paca could have labeled him as a runaway: it is indeed interesting that he choose not to.

These manumissions, however, do partially explain the general feeling of ill will that seems to have been engendered by William B. into the twentieth century. Perhaps his support of the Union in an openly Confederate area hurt his reputation, especially in conjunction with the attitude of his father (John Paca) toward slavery. The Eastern Shore was a Confederate space, and powerful white planters (William B. Paca's peers) looked with suspicion on anyone who did not fully support the ideals of slavery. Suspicion of the Paca family around this time was compounded by the fear and disgust caused by knowledge of the madness of so many of the children. William B.'s oldest surviving son John Philemon had moved north to attend college and settle with his family, but in 1858 returned to Wye Island to help run the plantation at his father's request for help. Four of William B. and Patty's children were mentally ill: James, Tilghman, William Wilmer and Martha. James and Tilghman in particular were notoriously stupid, violent, and completely out of control (Emory 1950; Footner 1944; Paca 1993).

William B. had already lost his younger brother John Philemon Paca II, who had lived on the island with him and shared some of the duties of plantation work, in 1835 when his ship sank off of nearby Poplar Point. His youngest brother Edward Tilghman lived with his wife Mariana across the river at Wye Plantation, and although the two brothers seemed to get along, family lore has it that Edward was “self-indulgent, with a fondness for cards, alcohol, and slow horses...by the time he died at age forty he had mortgaged his plantation to cover his debts and appointed Bill to administer his estate (Paca 1993: 80)”. The widow Mariana’s eldest son Edward Tilghman Jr. joined the Confederate army, and returned after the war to live with his mother, barely keeping up the declining farm at Wye Plantation. In 1865, the United States Marshalls confiscated the land of Edward on the grounds of treason. William B did not get along with either the widow or her son; a February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1865 deed shows that William B. Paca paid Washington Bonifant, a United States Marshall for Maryland \$1100 at auction for the confiscated lands of Edward Tilghman Paca (MSA 1865: QUCLR, Liber SED #1, p. 446)”.

Although he owned the land, William B. allowed his sister-in-law and nephew to remain on the property, but the animosity engendered by his actions remained. This animosity, in part, led to a famous March 1865 violent fight on Wye Island between seven male members of the Paca family, in which two were shot to death (Footner 1944; Paca 1993). The argument apparently started one afternoon when William B. found his nephew Edward, Edward’s uncle Alfred and Edward’s two younger brothers repairing a fence on land that had belonged to Edward. William B. insisted that they stop work, as their family no longer owned the property. The next day, however, William and his sons John, James and Tilghman drove the carriage past the fence only to find them still at work on the fence; James and Tilghman, his two eldest, unstable sons were armed. Having seen the carriage approaching, Edward had already sent his younger brother Henry to get a gun from the house, but before he could return, shots had already been fired by at least one of Williams’ sons. Edward and his uncle Alfred were killed, and although evidence pointed toward James as the shooter, both he and his brother Tilghman were declared incompetent to stand trial. No-one knows exactly what might have occurred that caused James to fire on his relatives, but the incident was not quickly forgotten in Queen Anne’s County (Paca 1993; Emory 1950; Footner 1944). As recently as 1984, the incident was written about in The Baltimore Sun in an article entitled “Shootout at Wye Hall Corral”, and also mentioned is a local legend that the Paca family was cursed by the event (The Baltimore Sun Magazine, 23 September 1984).

It is true that life-long Queen Anne’s County residents, whom I spoke to informally, remembered the Paca family for the insanity and violence more than for William Paca’s work on behalf of the fledgling nation. The Philadelphia Times published an entire piece on the shooting in 1878, and quotes an unnamed prominent gentleman as saying that, “With very few exceptions...the world turned its back upon him [Mr. Paca]’ (The Philadelphia Times, 27 April 1878).” Not that they were particularly welcoming themselves; Edgar Bryan, whose family had owned and lived on the western end of the island during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, recalls his father having to row across the river, as the Pacas had a bridge that they wouldn’t let anyone else use (Gibbons 1987: 81). After the death of two of his daughters in 1869 and 1870, William died in 1870 at the age of 69,

and his son and executor John committed suicide a year later. On the Eastern Shore at least, the Pacas are remembered for the later declining years of their family, for the madness and murder. William B.'s wife, Martha, and three of his children lived out the remainder of their lives in mental institutions, while James died in the Wye River trying to drown a dog. In 1870, there are no white Pacas listed in Queen Anne's County, although there are a handful of Black Paca's listed.

#### Tenant Farm Era: 1870-Present

After a devastating fire in 1879 that resulted in the loss of all of the family papers, the Pacas rebuilt their home. Perhaps the home was rebuilt with the thought of sale in mind. Oral histories from former tenants of Wye Island, as well as their descendents, tell us that during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, primarily by farmers and groundskeepers inhabited the main house at Wye Hall. Wye Hall passed out of the family in 1921 and was sold to John Kinnamon, who continued to manage the property from afar by means of tenants (MSA 1921: QACLR, CR2290, pp. 309-311). The house was again razed and rebuilt by the new owner Wellesley H. Stillwell in the late 1930s and was rumored to have been prepared for residence of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor (Russo personal correspondence 2004; Gibbons 1987).

Boyd Gibbons book about Wye Island (called *Wye Island*) is mainly about the Rouse Companies attempt to subdivide the island in the 1970s, but it includes stories from former farm tenants about what life was like on Wye in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the eccentric Stewart family bought much of the property on Wye Island in the mid-1930s and slowly evicted all of the tenant farmers. Sam Whitby's memories seem to exemplify life in this time; his descriptions match closely the other memories touched on in the Gibbon's book, as well as the conversations that I had with former tenants and their descendents.

Sam Whitby's father moved his family to the west end of the island (owned by the Bryan family) in 1907 in order to manage the property for the Bryans, who had moved elsewhere on the Eastern Shore. Sam himself lived on Wye Island off and on and until 1936, at multiple locations. What seemed to have impacted Sam Whitby the most in his memories of Wye Island was the extreme isolation of living there. They made due on the Island for long periods without leaving to visit town; often months would go by, especially in the winter. In the early 1900s, it took a half-day in a wagon to get to Centreville, and Sam Whitby only got off the Island about twice a year. In the spring, the mud from the rains would get so deep that tenants on Wye would use cast off bricks from colonial dwellings to throw in the ruts so the wagons wouldn't sink. Near Dividing Creek was a small schoolhouse that would educate the few children and young adults who lived on Wye Island; the teacher would stay at a local farm, as the island was too remote for daily travel. The families on Wye were close by necessity: "The isolation of Wye Island drew the farm families together to cut wood, slaughter, and put up the corn and wheat (Gibbons 1987:61)." Wheat harvesting and threshing occurred in the summer, with the use of horse-drawn binders, wagons, and a steam powered thresher. The grain was taken by raft to schooners anchored in deeper water and taken to be sold. Wye Island soil was

so fertile that the farmers would produce at least 50% more harvest than anywhere else on the Eastern Shore. Money was also made in selling the excess butter that each family made.

When Sam was a child visiting friends elsewhere on the Island, he would not bother to walk over land to their farms; he would swim across the coves and creeks. In the fall and winter, he would go duck hunting with his father. By himself, he would fish and gather oysters from the shallows. The families traded local waterman food (butter, potatoes, meat, eggs, etc) for fish, and Sam himself later became an oysterman. In the 1970s, Sam was still hand tonging for oysters in a log canoe, the traditional craft for oystering in the Chesapeake. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, log canoes were commonly used for travel, and fishing, including by enslaved individuals who could make their own, and hide them along the shore for personal nighttime use. When Whitby was a young adult and newly married, he and his wife rented a farm near the bridge called Mansfield Place, and part of the western edge Wye Hall Farm. By the 1970s, Sam and Lillian had moved to Wye Mills, and much of their home was pieced together from scavenged parts of Mansfield Place. When Stilwell bought the Paca Estate at Wye Hall farm in the late 1930s, he offered the house to Sam before demolishing all the old tenant buildings on the Wye Hall property. Most of the families that lived on Wye in the early part of the century still live within a seven-mile radius of the bridge today (Gibbons 1987: 71). Unfortunately, the majority of the farmhouses belonging to these families were bulldozed, consumed by the forest, or burned down to save taxes (Gibbons 1987: 76).

Oral histories collected by an Archaeology in Annapolis employee in 2001 from Elmer Whitby and Albert Greaves adds some interesting dimensions to our understanding of life on Wye Island in the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Elmer remembered Wye Hall as having been owned by the Raisons of Baltimore and tenanted by multiple families: the Kettlemans, the Listers, and the Potters. The farmers owned everything except for the land and buildings, and split the income from crops with the landowners 50/50 (much of this crop management can be read throughout the deed and chattel mortgages for Wye Island in the state records). The common winter crop was wheat and the common summer crops were soybeans and corn; butter and milk was also sold locally. Food was supplemented by hunting (including squirrel) and fishing. Threshing was done as a communal effort; while women cooked meals, the men traveled from farm to farm doing the threshing. Albert reminisced about the food that was produced, including tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes, canned peaches and sausage. He also recalls eating meals in the basement of Wye Hall when the Listers rented the land and lived there, and remembers the house as being in rough shape. Greaves also thought that the house might be haunted, as he had experienced a few strange occurrences there, including coming home to lights blazing throughout the house and hearing the sounds of voices arguing. Neither Albert nor his wife could recall any Black people living on the island during the Depression era; Bryan descendents corroborate this. When much of the eastern end of Wye Island was owned by the Hardys (they acquired Wye Hall Farm in the late 1960s), the Greaves were their land managers and the Wye Hall house sitter. Although Albert and a group of hired laborers continued to farm the land, there were no longer any livestock raised. Albert said that the Hardys decided to burn down all of the empty farm buildings so that they

wouldn't have to pay taxes on them, except for the building referred to as the Duck House, which still stands today as part of DNR property. (Please see Appendix H for oral history interviews.)

Something that all of these interviews mention is the curious reign of the Stewart's, who began buying up property on Wye Island in the 1920s, and by the mid 1930s had evicted all of the tenant farmers on the island. Jacqueline and Glenn Stewart was a very wealthy and very eccentric couple. Glenn was a former member of the United States diplomatic corps (although eventually fired because of his ineptitude) who had especial delusions of grandeur and paranoid fantasies about his being a target for assassination from his work in Guatemala. The Stewarts bought a peninsula across from St. Michaels that they renamed Cape Centaur, and then built a fortress that they named Centaur Castle. Their fear embodies itself in the construction of the castle: steel shutters, air raid siren, doors made of solid oak and steel plates, portcullis, armed and gated entrance combined with a three story tower that was their sleeping quarters. Not to mention the armed Austrian bodyguard, and Jacqueline's pack of Irish wolfhounds (Gibbons 1987).

Wye Island was used by the Stewarts as an agricultural experimentation area, first for Percheron horses, then sheep and finally, with some success, Hereford cattle. Jacqueline hired western cowboys to live on Wye and run the herd; as properties on Wye Island were bought, hedgerows would be stripped and fences put up for the cattle. Remnants of these fences, cattle gates and water troughs can be seen in the present across the Wye Hall landscape. The Stewarts never acquired Wye Hall itself; Stillwell sold Wye Hall to the Dorlans in 1944, and subsequently to the Hardys in 1966 (Gibbons 1987). The land to the east, west and south of Wye Hall, including the state land where field work took place in 2004 and 2005, was likely owned by the Stewarts, as there are distinct boundaries made by fences and woods in these areas. By the late 1930s, Jacqueline Stewart had evicted all of the farms tenants from the two thirds of Wye Island that she owned. Also by this time, Glenn had fled to the Bahamas in his yacht, never to be heard from again, giving Jacqueline full ownership of their lands. From the late '30's to 1964, when Jacqueline Stewart died, few populated Wye Hall; the tenant farmers left on the Bryan land and Wye Hall Farm (Perry Blades managed the land for the Dorlans and the Hardys), and the cowboys and pack of wolfhounds that guarded the Stewart land. In 1965, the Hardys bought all of the Stewart land at auction (Gibbons 1987). By the end of the 1930s, tenant farming had nearly ended, and presently much of the land on Wye Island is protected by the Maryland's Department of Natural Resources.

## **2. Previous Investigations**

### **4.2.A. Archaeological Investigations at Wye Hall**

Historic Annapolis Foundation, led by Anne Yentsch, did four days of testing at Wye Hall in April of 1989. The testing was done in order to ascertain the integrity of archaeological remains around the main house and its terraced gardens. A total of 12 test units were dug; there was also some soil coring within the garden to test for the existence

of early garden features. One unit was excavated to the south of the main house near the road, where the remains of a gate post were found. The rest of the units were dug on the east side of the main house. Some of the features found were post holes, a wall associated with the garden, and a small midden. The midden contained late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century materials including food remains and household trash. Historic Annapolis Foundation recommended further investigation, as findings suggested high potential for a great deal of intact cultural remains, including extant stratigraphy in the garden (Bescherer and Yentsch 1989).

In the fall of 2000, GeoModel, Inc. conducted Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and Electromagnetic (EM) surveys at Wye Hall in five areas. Three of the areas were investigated in order to ascertain the original location of the front road to Wye Hall, south of the main house. The majority of the original 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century road was determined to be in the same place as the modern road, in many cases directly on top of it. The fourth and fifth sites were, respectively, the bowling green and a possible former garden area directly north of the main house. Both of these areas were determined to have buried metal, possibly pipes, and therefore contain features of archaeological interest (GeoModel, Inc. 2000).

During fieldwork conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis (AiA) between 2000 and 2002, which is summarized below, a LiDAR survey was conducted of the eastern half of Wye Island. LiDAR (Light Detection And Ranging) is a form of topographic mapping done by equipment in aircraft that shoot infrared pulse lasers at the ground. The reflection of the lasers is measured and turned into distance data, which is then used to create a topographic map. Topographic changes in the landscape that are invisible to the naked eye can be discovered using this technology. LiDAR of the eastern half of the island produced evidence of a north-south and east-west road axis, meeting east of the main house. The east-west axis road begins east of the outbuildings of the mansion house, and includes the raised roadbed that continues to the Carriage House. The LiDAR indicates this road may continue to the eastern tip of the island, where the Dulany and Paca farm may have stood before the Wye Hall mansion was built (Harmon, Leone, Price and Snyder 2006).

Between the summer of 2000 and the spring of 2002, archaeological investigations were conducted on the property at the behest of the owners, in advance of planned construction and landscape modification. This work was supplemented by some basic archival research. All of the work was conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis (AiA), including University of Maryland summer field school in historical archaeology. AiA worked with the landowners and the landscape architects to develop research questions and testing priorities for the project, and the work was directed by Drs. Mark Leone, Jessica Neuwirth and James Harmon. The landowners plan to protect as much of the archaeological and natural resources as possible on Wye Island. This archaeology was intended to explore the 18<sup>th</sup> century layout of the terraced garden lying immediately north of the main house, as well as the immediate landscape surrounding the house. The gardens were found to be largely undisturbed, and were protected as much as possible during the reconstruction of the main house. Ruins from the previous home fires were

discovered at the site, and the house was recently reconstructed on the original footprint. A significant archaeological deposit relating to landscape organization was also discovered in the form of a road between the main house and the carriage house. This road was determined to have been extant from the late 18th century, although it originally included a fence parallel to the road bed. Evidence was also found for work areas along the road bed that helped to mark an important landscape feature of the plantation: the east-west and north-south axis that likely divided many of the work buildings and enslaved housing from the daily living areas for the Paca family. Also, an area for further potential work was identified along the eastern edge of the property along Maryland Department of Natural Resources property (MdDNR). The late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century artifacts found during a shovel test survey led the archaeologists to believe that this area (located among the remains of a tenant farmhouse and its out buildings) was a possible location for slave quarters. This was referred to as the tenant farm area (named after the only visible buildings) and after gaining permission from the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, was the focus of 2004 and 2005 fieldwork (Harmon, Hill, Beadenkopf, Neuwirth, Leone and Russo 2003).

**4.2.B. Pertinent Archaeological Investigations within Two Miles of Wye Hall (18QU977)**

There have been very few historic sites identified within a two mile radius of Wye Hall and registered with the state; many of these are underwater and are of indeterminate age. Four of these sites are highlighted in the table below; these are the only clearly pre-20<sup>th</sup> century historic sites within the radius. All of the sites were discovered during Phase I walkover surveys of plowed fields and no further investigations took place.

<p>18QU213 Wye Hall Bridge</p>	<p>In preparation of the replacement of the existing bridge between Wye Island and the mainland, a Phase I walkover survey of plowed fields within the Area of Potential Effects (APE) was completed. Archaeologists also troweled the eroding river banks for archeological remains. Along the north bank of the Wye Narrows (on the main land) and 15 meters east of right-of-way, a potentially significant historical archaeology component was discovered in the plow zone. It comprised a large scatter of bricks and some 17<sup>th</sup> century ceramics and glass. Further information located in file report #201 “Archeological Reconnaissance of the Maryland Route 838 Bridge Replacement over Wye Narrows, Queen Anne’s County, Maryland.” By Hettie L. Boyce, 1986.</p>
<p>18QU106 Field #31, Site 3</p>	<p>This was a walkover survey of all cultivated fields owned by the state on Wye Island. A brick scatter 50’ by 50’ was located in the easternmost field on Wye Island. Site was located on the slight rise in the field about 200-250’ from the Wye East River. Further information located in file report #130 “The Archaeological Resources of Wye Island Natural Resources Management Area, Queen Anne’s County, Maryland.” By Joseph M. McNamara, 1978.</p>



<p>18QU122</p> <p>Field #31, Site 2</p>	<p>Another site found during the above mentioned (18QU106) walkover survey of cultivated fields. It was also made up of a large concentration of brick rubble 50' by 50', located west of site 18QU106, on a relatively level surface in a cultivated field approximately 250' from Wye East River. Further information located in field report #130 "The Archaeological Resources of Wye Island Natural Resources Management Area, Queen Anne's County, Maryland." By Joseph M. McNamara, 1978.</p>
<p>18QU598</p> <p>Granary Creek #3</p>	<p>This was a possible wind mill site, found during a walkover survey near Granary Creek. The site was distinguished by two large grinding stones: one remained in situ and one was removed Other artifacts included architectural remains and creamware and pearlware fragments. Further information available in file report "1992 M Map Survey of Wye River System." By Bruce F. Thompson, 1993.</p>

# Chapter 5: Results of Archaeology

## 5.1. Archaeological Testing: Phase I Survey

### 5.1.A. Pedestrian Survey and Judgmental Shovel Test Pits

During the 2004 season, while the fields east of the Tenant Farm site were in transition between winter wheat and soybeans, Archaeology in Annapolis conducted a pedestrian survey over most of the eastern end of Wye Island. The purpose of the walkover survey was to locate and define boundaries several large brick scatters, which had been described by then Curator of Archaeology for Archaeology in Annapolis, Thomas Cuddy, as well as other archaeologists who visited Wye Island. As mentioned in the methodology section of this report (see Chapter 4), workers walked along transects 15 feet apart from one another along the length of the field to find artifacts that were brought to the surface through plow activity. Although artifacts were found during this process, they remained *in situ* and the areas were marked for later shovel testing.

During this survey, a small number of above ground features were revealed: the remnants of the bridge/ferry landing to the island as well as the brick abutments and roadbed leading to the ferry were recorded. In the fields, a few larger areas of brick scatter were discovered during the walkover, and a total of four judgmental shovel tests were excavated in the areas where the highest counts of brick fragments were identified. Very few artifacts were discovered from the shovel tests. Two pieces of worked stone, one, a piece of prehistoric debitage, and the other a possible gun flint were the only artifacts recovered that were not bricks. Seventeen brick fragments were uncovered from the four judgmental shovel tests, some of which were burned and misshapen. With the lack of other artifacts, especially with the lack of any mortar, it is possible that this area was being used to dump wasters, bricks flawed during the manufacturing process. No documentation was found about this area and no further work was completed here during either the 2004 or 2005 field seasons.

A pedestrian survey was also carried out in the southeastern portion of the fields. The survey identified two fragments of pottery and a fragment of glass approximately 215 feet south of the student parking area and future barn site. No artifacts were kept from the pedestrian survey; however, four judgmental shovel tests were excavated in this area to determine if these artifacts indicated the location of a larger assemblage or feature. These STPs resulted in the collection of several colonial period artifacts including a portion of a pipe stem and a fragment of dip-molded glass, which dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, generally after the 1730s until the early portion of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:24.) A number of fragments of ceramics were also found in these shovel tests including coarse redware and hard paste English porcelain. Other colonial artifacts were noted in the dirt pile created by the clearing of this area for the new barn construction. A 1753 probate inventory of Daniel Dulany mentioned that there were seven settlements of enslaved peoples on seven farms on the eastern end of Wye Island, and these artifacts could indicated one of them was in the area of the new barn construction (Jean Russo

personal communication.) No further work was completed in this area of the property during the 2004 or 2005 field seasons.

### **5.1.B. Cellar Hole Shovel Test Pit Survey**

Archaeologists Jim Harmon, Jessica Neuwirth, and Thomas Cuddy identified a promising area of study on the northeastern tip of Wye Island before excavation started during the 2004 field season (Figure 5-1). This area was a depression approximately 100 feet east-to-west and 110 feet north-to-south in dimensions. It appears to lie along the hypothetical continuation of the north-south road axis that can be seen on the LiDAR map as extending past the Main House and Carriage House (Harmon et al 2005). This area of Wye Island has been suggested to contain sites relating to the earlier Lloyd and Chew habitations of the island (James Harmon and Jessica Neuwirth, personal communication 2002). It was, therefore, possible to determine, from the physical evidence of the depression and knowledge of earlier occupations on Wye Island, that this area could have been an 18<sup>th</sup> century cellar hole.

Thirty shovel tests were placed around and directly within the area of the depression (Figure 5-2). These shovel test pits were nearly devoid of cultural material. Five of the STPs had historic artifacts and three contained prehistoric artifacts. A few pieces of prehistoric stone debitage, two pieces of unidentifiable iron fragments, two small brick fragments, and a number of tiny mortar fragments were the only cultural material recovered from thirty shovel tests. The STPs consisted of about half a foot of 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown or 10YR 2/2 dark brown sandy loam over a 10YR 5/6 dark yellowish brown sandy clay subsoil.

The only reasonable explanation for the complete lack of cultural items would be lack of inhabitation on this portion of the island. Ranger Dave Davis of the Wye Island N.R.M.A. provided photographs from early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that showed plowed farm fields extremely close to the shoreline on this part of the island, but plowing would not denude the land of cultural material if it existed, just move it slightly. In analysis, this area of the island does not appear to have been inhabited historically, as it does not contain a significant amount of historic cultural remains. Therefore this depression was not part of a dwelling, or, most likely, not part of any structure.

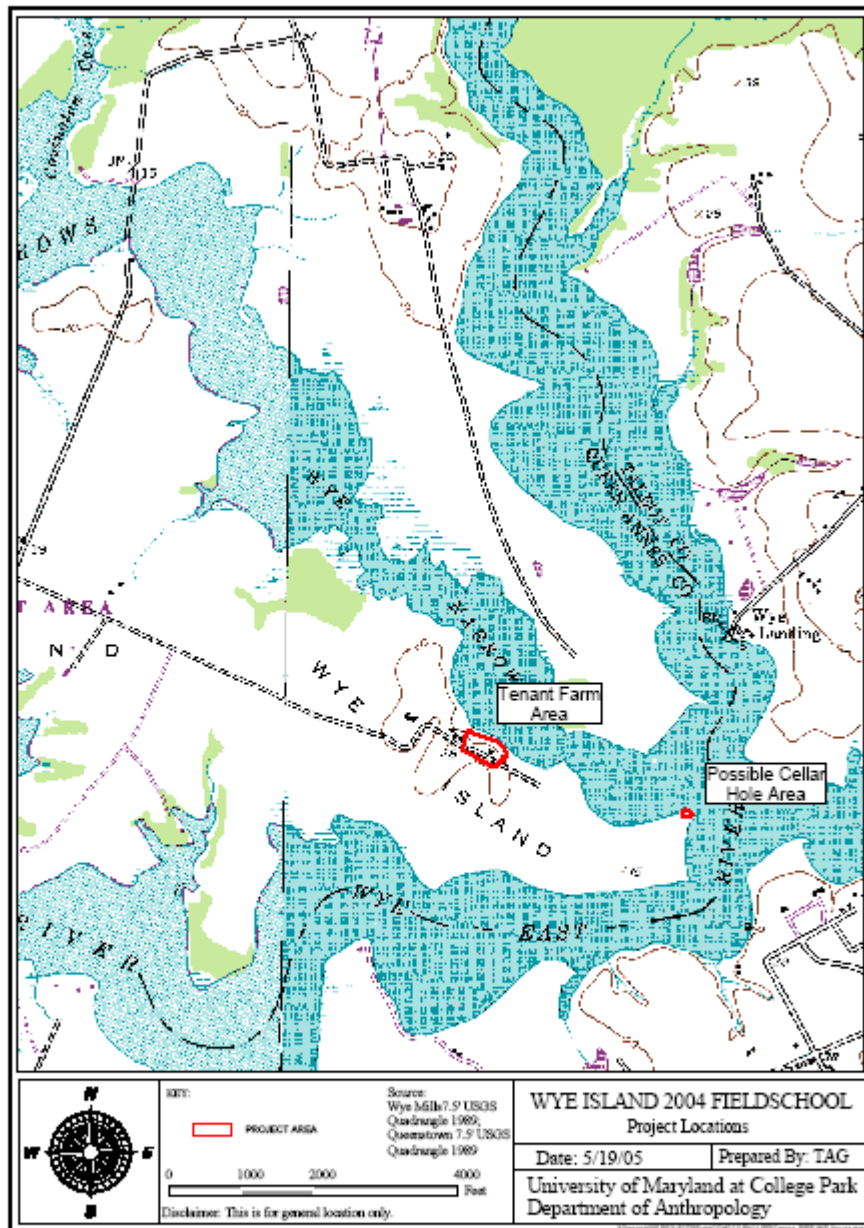


Figure 5-1: Wye Island 2004 Field School Project Locations on the 1989 Wye Mills 7.5' USGS Quadrangle

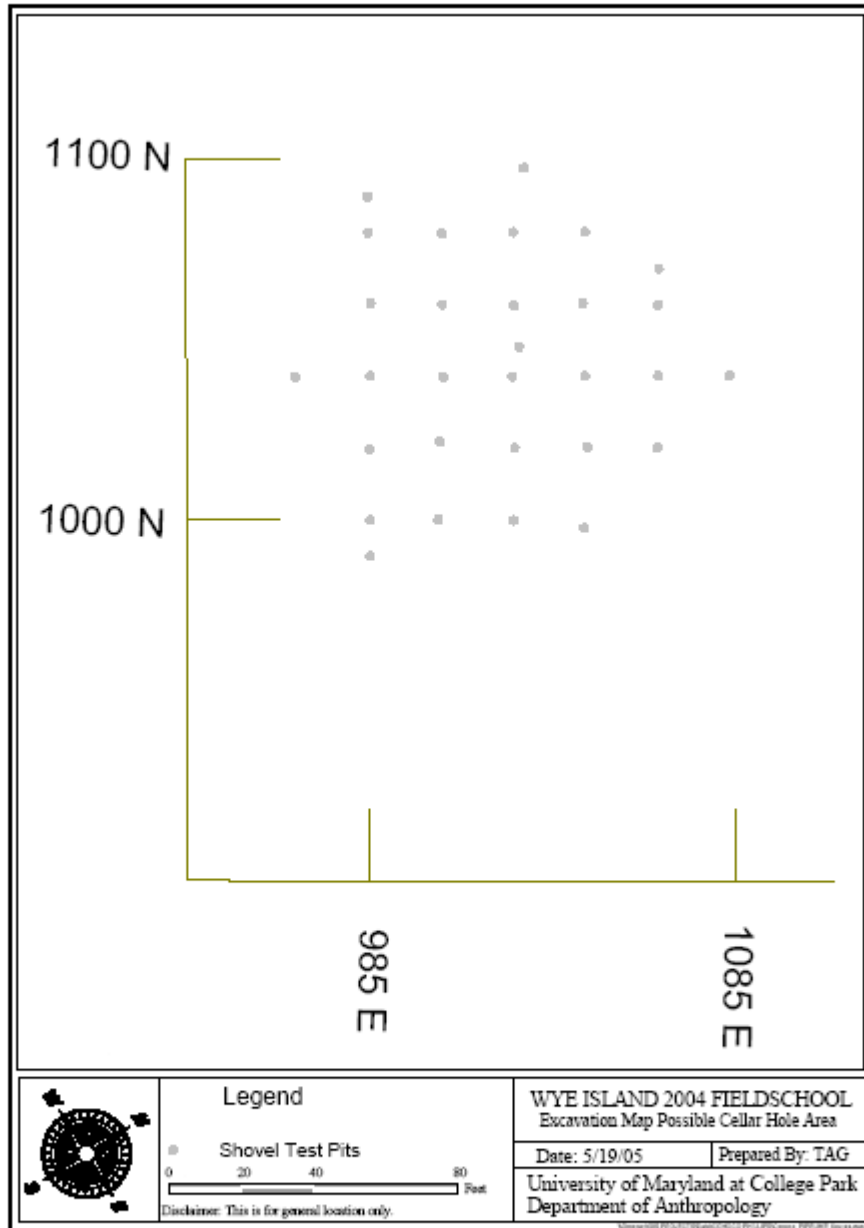


Figure 5-2: Wye Island 2004 Field School Excavation Map of Possible Cellar Hole Area

### 5.1.C. Tenant Farm Shovel Test Pit Survey

Research done by historian Jean Russo points to evidence that seven separate slave quarters and work buildings existed on Wye Island in 1753 under the ownership of Daniel Dulany. Inventories of Dulany's property show that his slaves performed tasks such as coopering, carpentering, and smithing (Jean Russo personal communication.) The 1860 federal census lists Juliana and William Paca as owning eight total slave quarters on the island (MSA 1858: QACLR, Liber JT #3). These facts would suggest that any archaeological testing in the tenant farm area would uncover domestic structures, evidence of agricultural work, and other forms of labor from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the spring of 2002 Jim Harmon (Harmon et al 2003) did a shovel test survey of the tenant farm area, which yielded data consistent with the presence of 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century cultural remains. Work during the summer 2004 and 2005 field seasons was done to continue this research, and attempted to find further 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century deposits.

Excavations began in the summer of 2004 with the digging of 156 shovel test pits, starting from the area where Jim Harmon had ceased excavating STPs in the spring of 2002 and covering the rest of the wooded ground with the exception of the shoreline, as according to Archaeology in Annapolis' agreement with the Maryland Department of Natural Resources and the Wye Island N.R.M.A. Shovel test pits were placed on a 300' by 180' grid, with 20' between each test pit (Figure 5-3). Four of the 160 originally planned shovel test pits had to be abandoned because there was a tree or a building in the way.

The top levels of most of the STPs consisted of a 10YR 3/4 or 10YR 3/3 dark yellowish brown sandy loam. These levels were very organic, with a great deal of root and rodent disturbance. At a depth of about 1.7' to 1.8' below ground surface the STPs ended in sterile subsoil that consisted of a 10YR 5/6 or 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown sandy clay. Shovel tests to the south of the standing tenant farmhouse contained very few artifacts dating from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and had much more shallow stratigraphy than those site-north of the farmhouse. This shallowness possibly resulted from this area of the site being stripped by earlier 20<sup>th</sup> century farming and cattle ranching, and is therefore highly disturbed.

The highest concentration of artifacts came from shovel tests north of the extant tenant farmhouse. These STPs yielded 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> century artifacts, including a wide variety of ceramics like creamware, pearlware, ironstone, and salt-glazed stoneware, as well as butchered animal bone, cut and wire nails, and a variety of burnt materials such as charcoal and melted glass. STP N7096 E8680 contained some prehistoric materials including stone debitage and worked oyster shell. Also within this STP was part of a foundation, which was labeled feature 1, and is discussed in the Phase 2 Garage and Tenant Farm Features portion of this chapter.

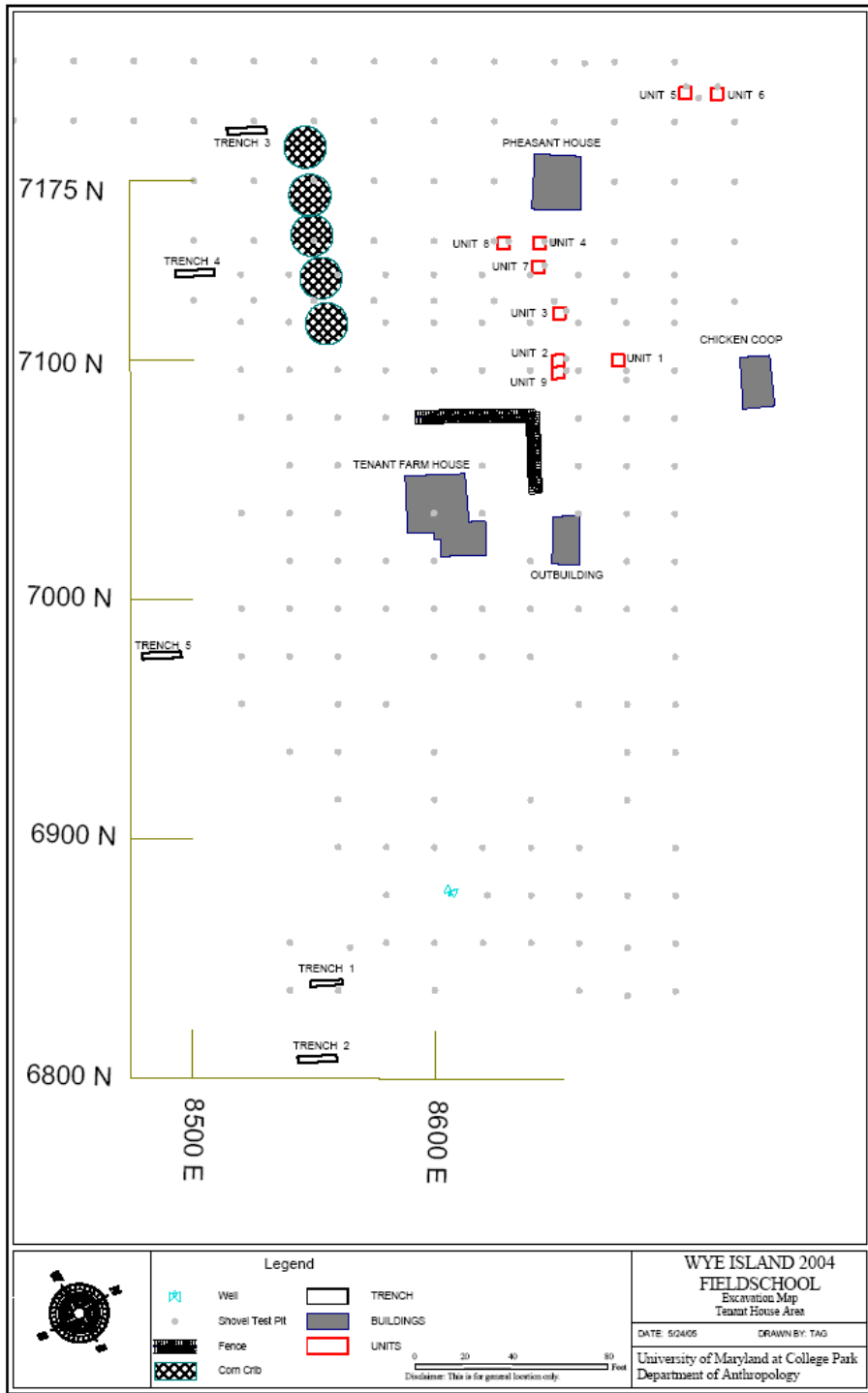


Figure 5-3: Wye Island 2004 Field School Excavation Map of the Tenant Farm Area

## 5.2. Archaeological Testing: Phase II Road and Avenue Testing

### 5.2.A. Road Trenching

During the 2001 analysis of an airborne LiDAR survey, used to make topographic maps of the Wye Hall property, a potential roadbed running east from the outbuildings of the main house was discovered (Harmon, Leone, Prince, and Snyder 2006.) A number of historic roads were also uncovered during the archival research for this site (Figure 5-4). It was hoped that excavation would produce evidence for the placement of the historic road that may have run in front of the modern garage and along the western side of the tenant farm area. There is currently a more modern farming road, used for access to the agricultural fields on the eastern half of the island, and a 20<sup>th</sup> century cattle grate that can be seen about 10' further east in the woods near the southern border of the tenant farm area. By finding the historic road systems on the island, we can better understand how William Paca, and subsequent owners, envisioned the use and organization of Wye Hall.

In order to identify possible stratigraphically deep road beds, mechanical excavation was used. With a Bobcat® compact excavator, a total of five trenches were dug, each to a depth of approximately 3', between the garage and the southern edge of the tenant farm area (Figure 5-5). Trench 3 was placed the furthest north, directly over the modern farm access road, and what was projected to be the historical road's trajectory. Trenches 4 and 5 were placed 60' and 220' respectively further south, and 10' west of trench 3.

Trenches 1 and 2 were dug about 10' east of Trench 3, and 360' and 390' respectively south of trench 3. The trenches ranged in size from trench 1 at 11' long to trenches 2 through 5 at 19' long.

The stratigraphy of all five trenches consisted of a 10YR 4/3 brown sandy loam over a 2.5Y 5/3 light olive brown compact sand or a 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam, which in turn lay over the 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown sandy clay loam subsoil (Figure 5-6). The trenches showed no discrete evidence of previous roadbeds, and no visible artifact assemblages.

This lack of evidence supporting previous roadbeds is not completely unexpected. The landscape surrounding the tenant farm was not graded or modified the way that the land around the mansion has been and would therefore not have the more easily visible landscape features that the garden contained (see Harmon et al 2003). Roads in the farm area most likely existed as long as they were useful and may have been ephemeral, shifting as the demand for them shifted.

Although the trenching did not uncover any portions of an historic road, some sections of road were identified during the 2004 field season. During the pedestrian survey, as mentioned in the above Phase I Survey section of the report, there was the conclusive discovery of the ferry landing to the island, later a bridge landing, as well as the brick abutments and roadbed leading up from the shore to the landing (the ferry landing is located where Figure 5-4 map marks the eastern end of the 1904 road).



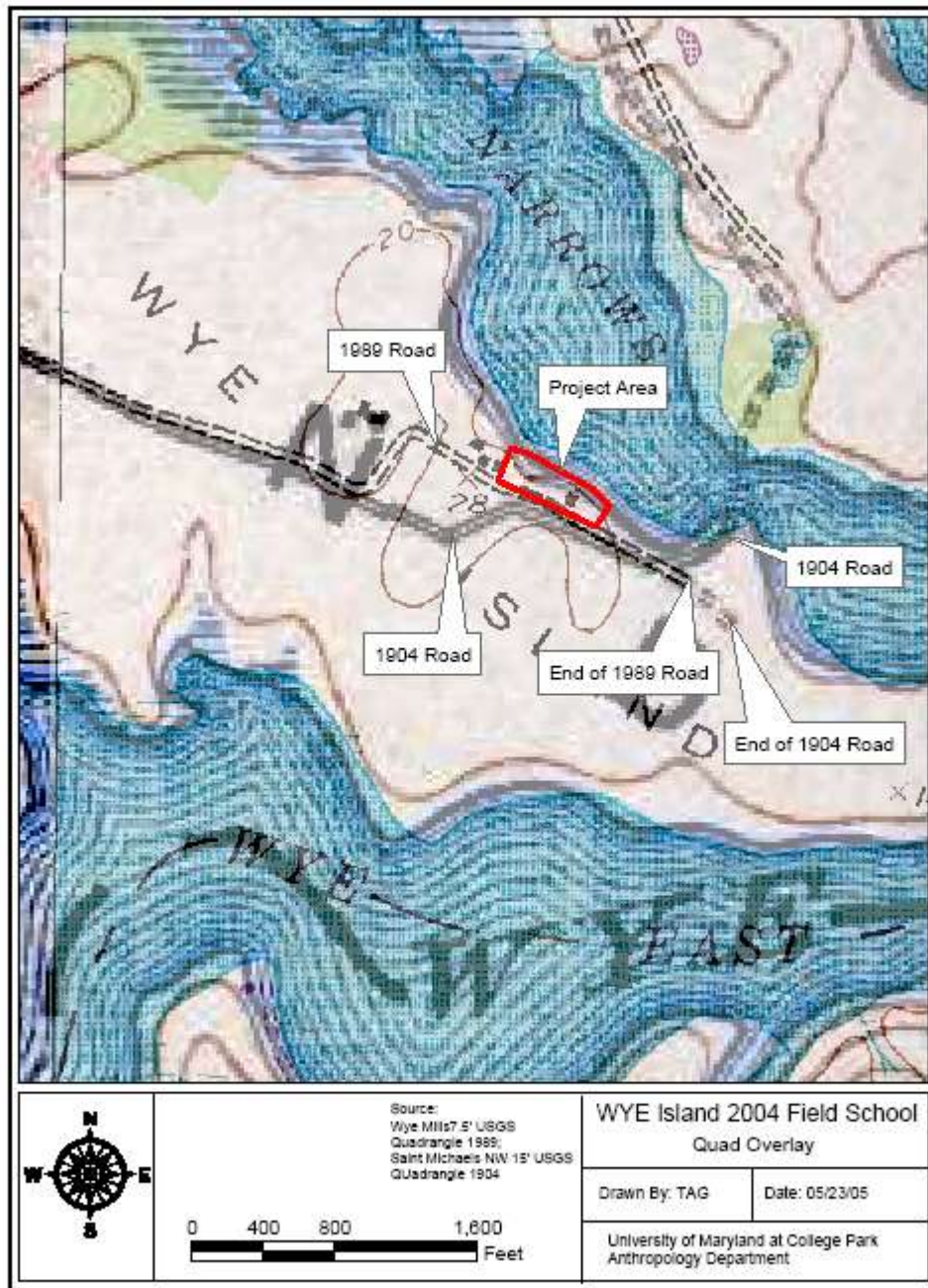


Figure 5-4: Wye Island 2004 Field School Historic Roads Overlay on 1989 7.5' Wye Mills Quadrangle Map

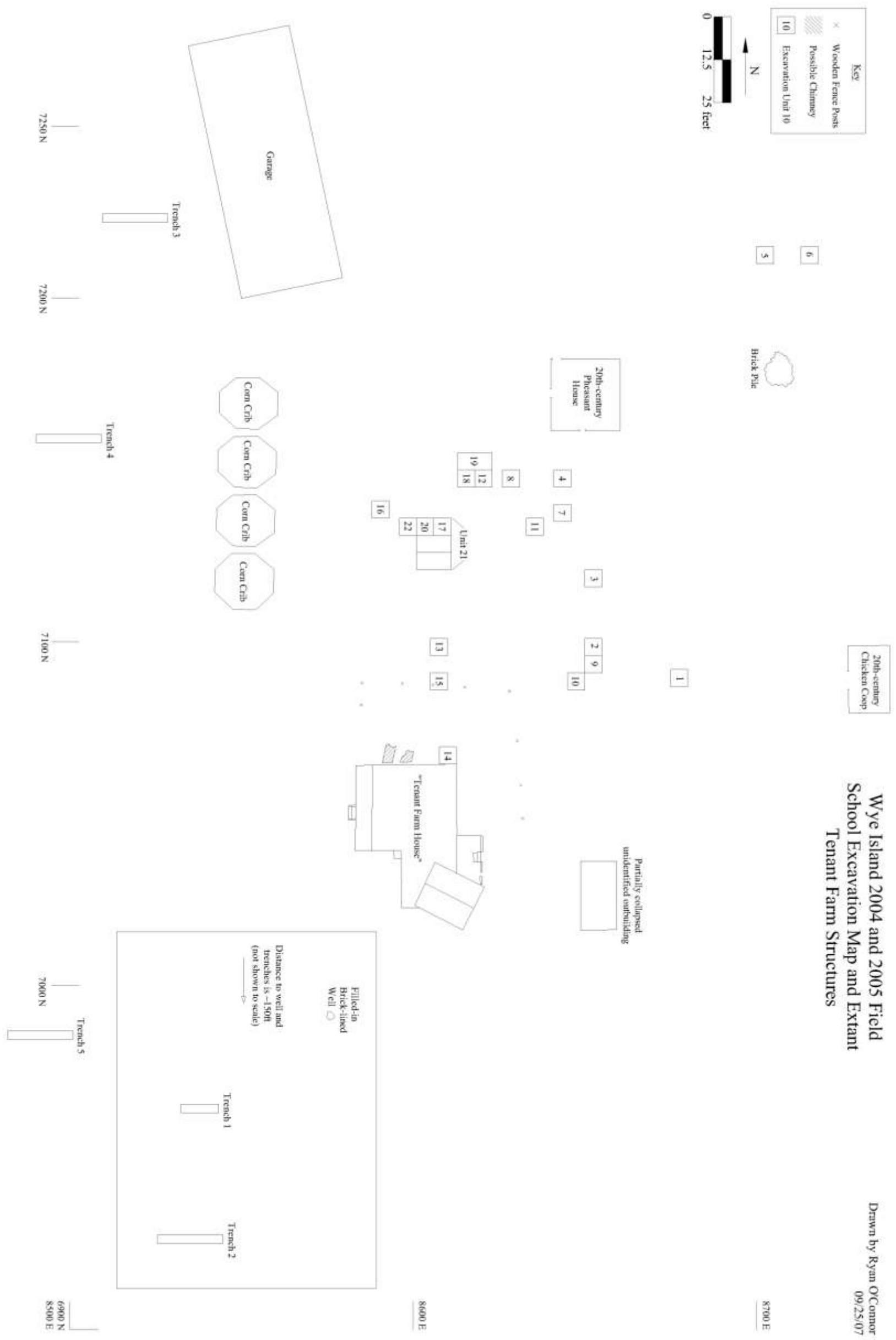


Figure 5-5: Wye Island 2004 and 2005 Field School Excavation Map and Extant Tenant Farm Buildings

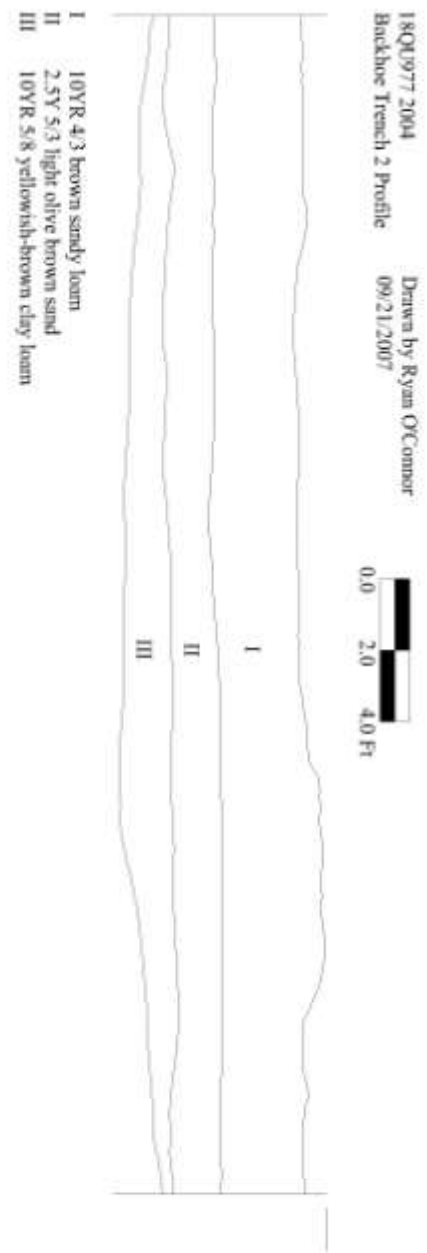


Figure 5-6: Wye Island 2004 Field School Trench 2 Profile Map

The topographical remains of a road leading from this ferry and bridge landing towards the eastern tip of the island were also found during the 2004 pedestrian survey. Subsequent research in the Maryland Room of the Easton Public Library resulted in finding an historic map with this bridge location marked.

### **5.2.B. Shovel Test Pit Survey of the ‘Avenue’**

In the previously mentioned LiDAR mapping study done between the 2000 and 2002 seasons, the results suggested the possibility of a roadbed beginning slightly south of the Carriage House, and running south to the water. This possible road bed is a few hundred feet in length and about 30’ to 50’ in width; it is heavily wooded. Topographically, the wooded area has a slight crown in the middle with slightly lower ditches alongside. The shape and depth of these ditches did not seem consistent enough for a road; the trees and barbed wire running along the crown makes it likely that this was some sort of fence row.

After speaking with the property owner’s Land Manager, we hypothesized that this wooded area was a hedge row for cattle. In the 1920’s and 30’s, the Stewarts bought up nearly the entire island for cattle farming, including the land on which this possible road sits. That would also partially explain the trenches, as cattle like to congregate next to fences, and the crown, where some remnants of barbed wire can be seen. Also, along the north side of the wooded area sits a fence post with a hinge (perhaps for a gate) still attached, and close-by is a cement watering trough. We checked over the property owner’s collection of historic maps from as early as 1858, and found no sign of a road at the proposed site.

Even though it seemed likely that this was a cattle fence, we procured a permit from the DNR in order to do a limited amount of shovel testing in the fall of 2005. There were three transects of shovel tests with 26 STPs in the first transect, 27 STPs in the second transect, and 29 STPs in the third transect; they were laid 15’ apart. The STPs were consistently three stratigraphic levels of sandy loam textured soil. The top 0.1’ was a 10YR3/3 dark brown humic level, followed by a 10YR3/4 or 4/4 dark yellowish brown. This second level had varying depths (from 0.6’ to 1.0’), and is likely to be a plow zone. The subsoil was a 10YR5/6 or 5/8 yellowish brown, also consistent with the testing done on other parts of the island. Out of these 82 STPs, only 40 had any artifacts; the majority of these were oyster shell and coal and there were only 127 artifacts in total. There were also a few brick fragments, a few cut (and one handwrought) nails, a handful of whiteware and pearlware ceramic fragments, as well as some plastic, Styrofoam and aluminum foil. These artifacts were mostly found in the second stratigraphic level.

It was concluded that this was not the site of a former road leading from the Carriage House to a pier, but a barrier created between fields during Wye Island’s period as a cattle farm. This was corroborated by the disturbed stratigraphy, and the lack of artifacts. No further investigation is suggested.

## **5.3. Archaeological Testing: Phase III Excavation**

### **5.3.A. Introduction**

From the beginning of our work on the project in 2000, Archaeology in Annapolis has been interested in the lives of all of those who had lived at Wye Hall historically over the last 350 years. The Chew's and Paca's lived on and farmed Wye Island for a 150 year period, from the 1770s until the 1920s. The fortunes of the Paca family waned quickly after the Civil War, however, as the majority of the family remaining in Maryland in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were legally insane, and reliant on the rents of tenant farmers to provide their basic food and shelter needs. The most successful time for the Wye Hall plantation was the years between the main house's construction in the early 1790s and the Civil War, and that success was dependent on a huge amount of labor, in this case, labor of people enslaved by the Pacas. The labor of the families enslaved at Wye Hall would have been exploited heavily in order to accomplish the huge amount of farming that was necessary to support the people living on Wye (both enslaved and free), as well as to help raise the finances necessary to support Paca family household's throughout Maryland and Philadelphia. Between the years of 1798 and 1860, the enslaved population on the Paca half of Wye Island alone fluctuated between 100 and 182 individuals. The majority of people who have lived on the island were enslaved, so to tell the story of daily life on Wye Island is to tell the stories of the dozens of men, women and children who lived at Wye Hall plantation and whose descendents still live in the surrounding towns and counties.

In order to understand the lives of those who were enslaved on Wye Hall plantation, we knew that we would have to find where families lived their day-to-day lives, and that meant finding the housing or "Quarters" where people slept, cooked, did chores for their own and the Paca family, and where they may have had private gardens. From 2000 to 2002, Phase I testing was done over all parts of the island that the current homeowners of Wye had rights to, and which were undisturbed by crops; this work is describes in the Harmon et al report of 2003. The shovel test survey that extended to the easternmost end of the homeowners property, by the garage and to the wooded edge of the tenant farm area, had the only clear stratigraphic evidence of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century settlement besides the main house. Continuation of work in the tenant farm area required an agreement with the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, as the woods along the north east shore of Wye Island are under their protection. Our 2004 and 2005 fieldwork in the tenant farm area was focused on finding evidence of the households of enslaved peoples and families. Since the 1860 Slave Schedule of the Federal Census reports the number of William B. Paca's slave houses on Wye Island as five and Juliana Paca's slave houses as three, we had reason to believe that we would find the remains of at least one dwelling used in the previously mentioned 150 year period.

There were other reasons to believe that we may find the remains of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century life in this small area. First of all, aerial photos from the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century show this as one of the few continuously wooded, and not cultivated, areas on the eastern half of the island. This makes sense, as the USDA soil survey shows that this part of the

island has the least fertile soil (USDA Natural Resource Conservation Service 2007). Secondly, there are extant tenant farm buildings standing on the site, and it seemed likely that the farmers would have used an area to build their houses that had already been set aside as a household, rather than growing, area. Third, shovel tests along the edge of the woods in the 2002 season had no plow zone in the stratigraphy, so it would seem that this area had always been set aside from farming, and thus was likely to have been used for other purposes. In fact, during the 1930s, the majority of the eastern half of the island had been plowed for agriculture right up to the shoreline (personal communication from Park Ranger Dave Davis), except for the southern shore of Wye Island, which is extremely wet and swampy, again suggesting that this area was used for housing and not agricultural purposes.

Therefore, the tenant farm area was our best hope for stratigraphically intact remains of enslaved households, and we focused two seasons of efforts there. By the end of our second season in 2005, our work had paid off with the discovery of a dwelling, fence line, and two small trash pits, all from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The continuous use of the area for household and farm life and work meant that there was some stratigraphic disturbance of this earliest settlement, as building materials and spaces were reused continuously through the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was a rich, thriving site that supported many generations of people laboring on the farmlands of Wye Island. The following pages discuss the archaeological data found in the tenant farm area. This data is divided into three occupational phases: Occupational Phase I 1770-1865, Occupational Phase II 1865-1930, and Occupational Phase III 1930-1965.

### **5. 3.B. Occupation Phase I: 1770s to 1865 (Tenant Farm Area)**

#### Earthen Cellar:

During the 2004 excavations, two units, numbers 5 and 6, were opened in a depression near the shoreline in the northern part of the tenant farm area (Figure 5-5). These units were initially opened because of the large depression and an STP, excavated earlier in the year that yielded a number of 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts. A clay-filled, man-made depression, identified as a cellar hole, was found in units 5, labeled feature 15, and within unit 6, labeled feature 16.

Feature 15 was uncovered in the southeast corner of unit 5 at a depth of 2.57' below the ground surface. It consisted of a hard-packed clay soil that was found to a depth of between 3.92' and 4.03' below the ground surface. Very little of this cellar was found within unit 5, the north-south dimension of feature 15 was 1.7', while the east-west dimension was 1.0'. Very few artifacts were recovered from the fill; the only dateable material was a sherd of yellowware. There was a possibly intact dirt floor underneath the clay fill in feature 15, however the portion of the cellar within unit 5 was so small, it was impossible to dig any deeper to determine what it was.

The soil surrounding the feature 15-cellar hole included a number of layers of redeposited subsoil overlying a previous ground surface. Levels C and D, both redeposited subsoil

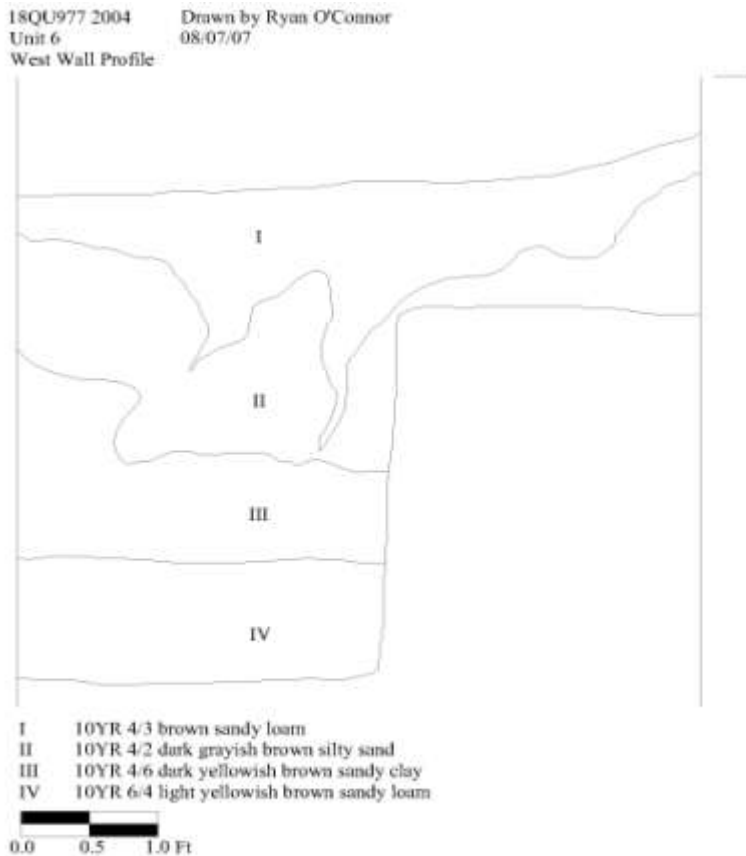
covered Level E, a sandy loam ground surface. Level C consisted of a hard-packed 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay, which was found directly surrounding feature 15 in the southeastern corner of the unit.

Level D was a loosely packed 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay that was found throughout the unit, underneath levels B and C. Level D covered level E, a 10YR 7/3 pale brown sandy loam mottled with a 10YR 5/3 brown sandy loam that throughout most of unit 5, although the soil in Level E surrounding feature 15, the cellar, was also mottled with a 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown clay loam and a 10YR 7/8 yellow clay loam. Level E seems to have been a previous ground surface, although there is no evidence of yard scatter. In fact, there were no datable artifacts recovered from the level. Levels C and D were, as mentioned previously, redeposited subsoil from the excavation of the original cellar. The dirt in level C was later used to shore up the foundation of the building of which this cellar was a part, and large fragments of brick were found beneath level C, at the top of level D, supporting this idea.

Feature 16 was a continuation of this cellar, found 13 feet east of feature 15, within the southwest corner of unit 6 (Figure 5-7). This feature was uncovered at a depth of between 3.30' and 3.47' below the ground surface and continued to an unknown depth beyond the completion of the excavation of unit 6 at 4.75' below the ground surface. More of the cellar was uncovered within unit 6 than within unit 5. The north-south dimension was 2.7' while the east-west dimension was 2.15'. Feature 16 was composed of a 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown sandy clay fill. On top of this was hard-packed 10YR 4/6 dark yellowish brown sandy clay, labeled level C. Unlike within unit 5, it seems that the soil in level C was fill from the destruction of the feature and not redeposited subsoil. The surrounding soil, level D, was a 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown sandy loam, and seems to have been an earlier ground surface. No datable artifacts were recovered from level D. Both level C and the soil within feature 16 was fill. The artifact content from feature 16 included modern nails, a number of pieces of whiteware, and a sherd of American blue and gray stoneware. The artifacts found within level C reflected its nature as fill. There were a large number of household items that came from a number of different time periods including handmade, cut, and wire nails, green wine bottle glass, mold-blown glass, and machine made glass, as well as a wide variety of ceramics from both the early and later parts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Taken together, features 15 and 16 were part of the same earthen walled cellar that was between 15' and 16' in width. Feature 15 starts at a more shallow depth than feature 16, due to the fact that the ground slopes within the depression towards the east. This accounts for the over half a foot differences in the starting depth for the cellar. The cellar itself is 1.4' deep both within unit 5 and unit 6. The building to which it was a part has, at this time, an unknown function. It is of the same width as many of the other standing and destroyed buildings that served as farm outbuildings in the tenant farm area, but none of these have cellars. No yard scatter was found surrounding the features, and very few domestic artifacts were recovered, with the exception of the fill in level C of unit 6. It is quite possible that this cellar was for an icehouse or functioned as a root cellar. Some fairly large brick fragments were uncovered between levels C and D in unit 5, suggesting

that this building may have had a brick foundation at one point in its use-history. Because of conditions on Wye Island, it is quite possible that when the building was destroyed, the bricks were reused in other building projects.



**Figure 5-7: Wye Island 2004 Field School Unit 6 West Wall Profile Map**

The date of this structure is somewhat ambiguous. The fill in both features 15 and 16 suggest a demolition date during phase 2, most likely the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to the recovery of pieces of machine-made glass. Judging from the soil surrounding the cellar, it looks like when the cellar was initially dug the fill was removed and placed next to the structure. When the building was later demolished, fill from elsewhere on the site was then used to backfill the cellar. This would suggest that the deepest layer of soil surrounding the structure was the first removed, and soil in the highest layers around the cellar were the last soil removed during excavation of the cellar. By looking at the artifact contents from the levels surrounding the cellar, most particularly levels D and E in both units 5 and 6, it is suggested that there is a phase 1, or mid-19<sup>th</sup> century construction date for this feature. A number of pieces of ironstone, which became popular in the 1840s, were found in level D in unit 5, as well as predominantly cut nails, suggesting together a mid-19<sup>th</sup> century date for the initial excavation of this cellar feature.



### Post Molds, Middens, and Yards:

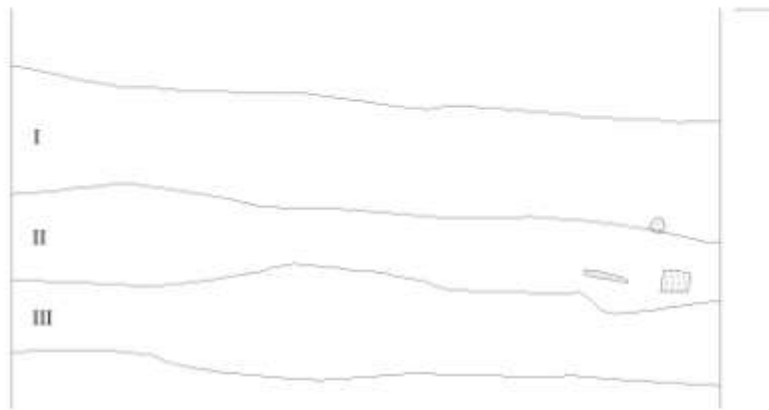
During the 2004 and 2005 seasons, a series of post molds and small midden features were found in the center of the tenant farm area, in units 1, 2, 9 and 10. These posts were all small in diameter, about 0.15' to 0.2', and lay in curved lines with small trash piles next to and between them. The middens contained household trash including a great deal of bone and oyster shell, a fragment of a knife blade, ceramic (including slipped redware, mocha ware and pearlware), glass, and charcoal. These posts were most likely part of a fence line around a yard, garden or animal pen adjacent to or surrounding the quarter(s), which would have been swept clean daily. Previous archaeological investigation of slave quarters have shown similar evidence of daily household waste building up around fence posts along yards because of this sweeping (Walsh 1997: 181; Wilkie 2000: 98, 208-209).

These fences would have been made of tree branches or saplings, and therefore would have been replaced as they broke or rotted in place. Also, as households changed through time, yard and work areas would have also changed according to the needs of the enslaved peoples who lived there. That means that the multiple sets of post molds that we found on site represent a series of fences that were modified continuously throughout the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

It is impossible to tell what order these changes were made in, as the artifacts associated with the sweepings and the yard surfaces are too general to give us specific representative decades, and the post holes have only two datable artifacts associated with them, two cut nail fragments and a very small fragment of whiteware. The post molds in units 2, 9 and 10 had no post holes associated with them, meaning that no holes were dug to place the posts in; they were likely pushed or hammered directly into the ground. The fragment of whiteware would only have gotten into the hole that held a post after that post had been pulled out and the hole filled with loose, nearby soil, which dates at least one post's destruction to after 1820. The best information that we have about these fences, and the household areas they lay within them, comes from the trash that we found in the yard sweepings, as well as what little trash scatter remained in the yard areas themselves.

The stratigraphy in units across the site that did not have structural features (EUs 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13) within them was fairly consistent (Figure 5-8). The first level was a dark brown to grayish brown sandy loam with a variety of Munsell readings. I believe that this was because the topsoil was greatly disturbed by the heavy machinery used to defoliate the site prior to our excavations, as well as the fact that about half of the tenant farm area got a great deal of sunlight, which dried out the soil and made it appear gray in the light. The first stratum produced clear twentieth century artifacts across the site, including bottle glass, plastic, toys (for example, a cap gun), tin can parts, and wire nails. In units 2 and 9, the second stratum had TPQ dates that fell directly in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century range. The second stratum had a much wider range TPQ that included this antebellum time frame in units 3, 11, and 13. This strata was obviously a well used yard surface for the 150 years that dwellings were occupied in the area, from the 1790s to the 1950s.

18QU977 2004  
 Unit 9  
 South Profile



- I 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam
- II 10YR 5/3 brown sandy loam
- III 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay loam

Key

-  Brick
-  Shell

Drawn by Mike Gubisch  
 10/2006



Edited by Ryan O'Connor  
 05/2007

**Figure 5-8: Wye Island 2004 Field School Unit 9 South Wall Profile Map**

This is borne out by the richness and diversity of artifacts, including buttons, a beautifully molded pipe bowl (Figure 5-9), hand wrought hardware, and many kinds of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics: mulberry and black transfer printed whitewares, pearlware (including some handpainted), yellowware, shell edged whiteware, and sliptrailed earthenwares. As the area was abandoned, trees spread and grew in the clearings and the underbrush became thick. This accounts for the very organic, shallow top stratum in these units, covering the older living surfaces. The soil in this stratum was brown or dark brown (10YR 4/3 or 5/3) sandy loam, with gradual transition to the stratum below, which consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6 or 6/6) sandy loam. The transitional area between the B and C strata was where all of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century features in units 2, 9 and 10 were found. By 0.5' into the third (C) stratum, the level was sterile.



**Figure 5-9: Pipe Bowl with Tobacco Leaf Molding, Unit 13 Level B**

#### Post Molds and Midden: Features 8, 26 and 28

Some of these features across units 2, 9 and 10 appear from their depth and alignment to have been associated with each other, although all the features within these units together represent multiple fence building sequences. The four post molds of feature 8 were between 0.15' and 0.2' in diameter and consisted of a 10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown sandy loam. Three of these post molds are in a line running diagonally from the southwest corner of the unit up towards the northeast corner of the unit, with the fourth standing 0.2' to the southeast. This fourth post hole may have held a support used as part of the fencing system. These posts are at a very similar depth and are in direct line with the post molds of feature 26 in unit 10, as well as the feature 28 yard midden within unit 10. The posts begin at between 0.4' and 0.8' below ground surface, and continue to 1.0' to 1.3' below ground surface. There were no artifacts associated with feature 8. Feature 26 is a line of three post molds that were 0.15' to 0.2' in diameter; this feature also contains three other circular soil stains that were decided to be rodent runs or root holes. The feature 26 post molds are line with the post molds of feature 8 and accordingly run from the southwest to the northeast. The post molds began at 0.5' to 0.7' below ground surface and continued to 0.8' to 1.0' below ground surface. Feature 26 also contains a fourth post mold that lies 0.3' southeast of one of the aligned posts. As these posts are rather narrow, this fence construction may have required additional supports at regular intervals. A very small fragment of whiteware was found in one of the post molds, which gives this fence the very general date of post-1820.

The midden found in unit 10 (feature 28) was found at about the same depth and in line with the post molds of features 8 and 26. The feature was found between 0.75' and 0.92' below ground surface, and continued until 1.3' to 1.7' below ground surface. The soil within feature 28 was a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) silty loam and it contained a layer of brick fragments on its surface. The majority of artifacts were oyster shell and

animal bone, with a few fragments of glass and ceramic, including mochaware and slip-glazed earthenware. There were both avian and mammal bones found within feature 28. Two of the bones, one avian and one mammal, exhibited signs of butchering. These are all artifacts associated with daily household life, and specifically meal preparation by those families and individuals enslaved by the Paca family in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This trash pit was found in the same transitional area between the B and C strata that exhibited late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century living surfaces across the site.

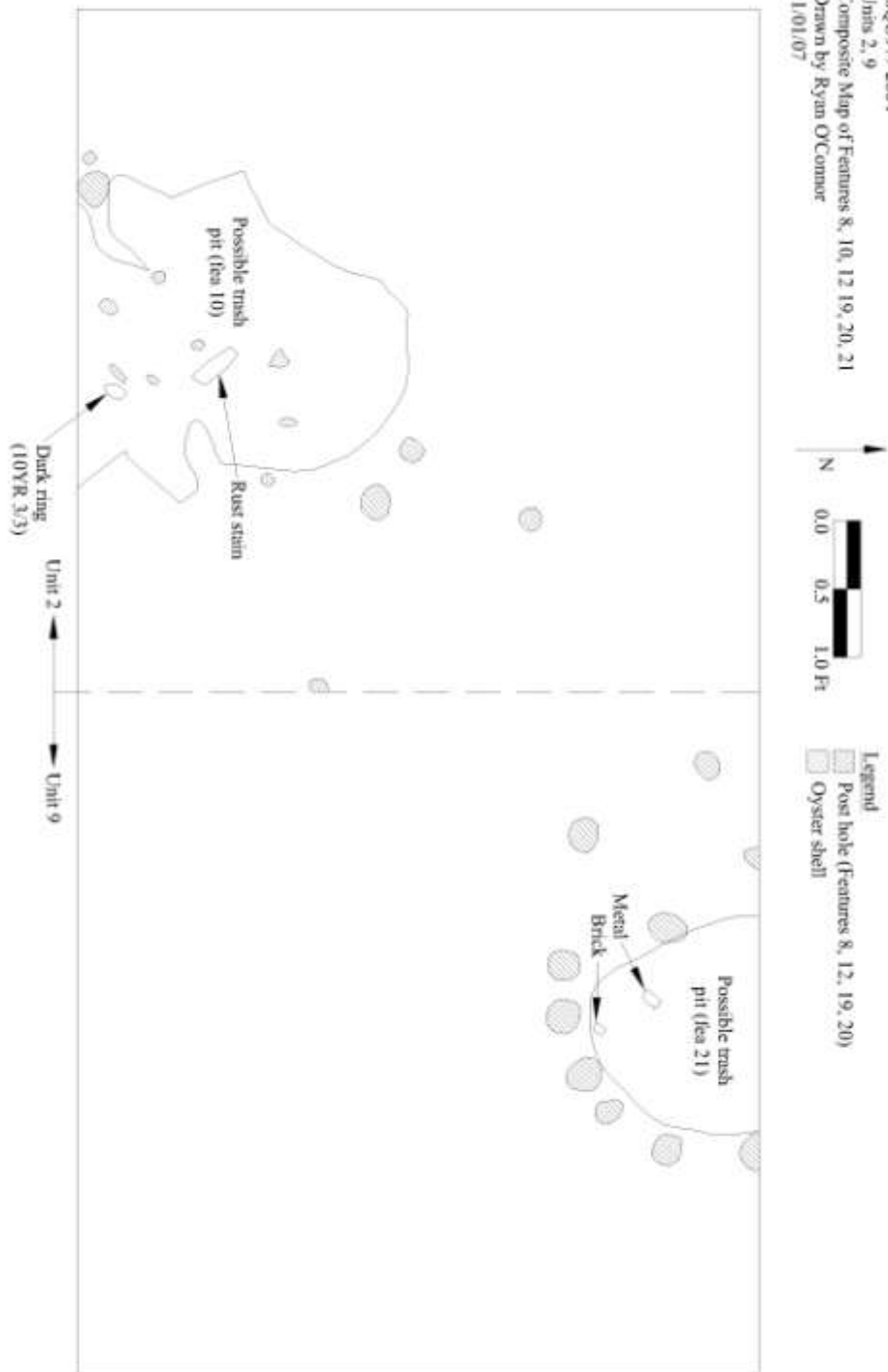
As I mentioned before, these small posts likely made for an ephemeral fence that would have required regular upkeep and rebuilding. As the fenced yard area changed shape and size, and as the area became households to new or changed families through time, the yard would have been used and maintained differently. This is very clear when looking at the intersecting, multi-depth and diameter posts of units 2 and 9 (features 12, 19 and 20), as well as the additional midden found half in unit 2 (feature 10) and half in unit 9 (features 21).

#### Post Molds and Midden: Features 10, 12, 19, 20, and 21

The post molds of features 19 and 20 in unit 9 were all 0.2' to 0.25' in diameter. The two posts of feature 19 are both in an exact line with the two most westerly postholes of feature 20, and are each sitting about 0.5' to 0.6' from each other. The other six post molds in feature 20 form a semi-circle against these four most westerly posts, and are very close together (Figure 5-10). Feature 19 began 1.1' to 1.35' below the ground surface, and ended at 1.55' to 1.65' below the ground surface. Feature 20 began 1.3' to 1.45' below the ground surface and continued to 1.6' to 1.9' below the ground surface. These very similar depths, sizes, and grouping make it very likely that these posts were set at the same time. The only datable artifact from either feature was a cut nail from feature 20, which gives us the rather open ended date of post 1790. This semi-circle of posts that was part of feature 20 directly hugs the edge of the midden (feature 21).

This midden's north half lies in unit 2 as feature 10 and its south half lies in unit 9 as feature 21. It was distinguished by a mix of soils: the majority of the soil was brown (10YR 5/3), but also contained yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) soil and dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) inclusions. The semicircular enclosure of posts (feature 20) was only found around feature 21, or the south half of the full feature. The north half of the midden (feature 10) began at 1.45' to 1.55' below the ground surface and continued to about 1.6' below the ground surface, except in its southeast corner, where it continued to 1.9'. This was echoed in the south half of the feature, where the opening depths were 1.25' to 1.35' below ground surface and continued to about 1.6' below ground surface. Where feature 21 intersected with the deepest part of feature 10 depths were again similar, at 1.95' to 2.0'. The deepest part of the midden was where the semicircle of posts was found.

18QJL977 2004  
 Units 2, 9  
 Composite Map of Features 8, 10, 12, 19, 20, 21  
 Drawn by Ryan O'Connor  
 11/01/07



**Figure 5-10: Wye Island 2004/2005 Field School Occupation Phase I Plan Map of Features 8, 10, 12, 19, 20, and 21 (Fence Lines and Middens)**

These posts could have been marking a trash area, or this confluence of multiple fence lines of different shapes and sizes could mark a gate or pathway between different yard or work areas. These yard sweepings created a very shallow midden, especially in the north

half (feature 10), at only 0.3' thick. The majority of artifacts recovered from feature 10 were food related: bone, oyster shell, and broken pieces of a table knife blade. Although the south half of the midden (feature 21) was considerably deeper, the center was about 0.8' deep, it contained similar artifacts but there was three times as much bone, and there was also a great deal of charcoal, as well as piece of. There were also a few small fragments of ceramic in both halves of the midden.

Feature 12 is a linear set of five very small (about 0.07' to 0.1' in diameter) posts. The northern most two of were found at the same depth as the feature 10 midden and were slightly more shallow than the other three, at a starting depth of 1.4' and continuing to 1.6' below the ground surface. The other three posts were discovered during the excavation of the feature 10 midden and began between 1.55' to 1.7' and continued to between 1.7' and 1.9' below ground surface. All of the sandy loam soil that filled these posts molds was brown (10YR 4/3), and very close in color to the midden soil. These posts were probably put in before any of the trash that makes up the midden was swept here, and when the fence was taken down soil from the midden fell into the open holes that the displaced posts left. There were no datable artifacts found within the post holes; only a few small pieces of oyster shells were found in one post mold.

These posts and middens represent the use of yard areas for domestic needs, as well as the existence of nearby dwellings (Figure 5-10). Trash from the dirt floors of the inside of the quarters would have been swept out into the yard, and eventually to the fence line. While sweeping across this distance, trash would have invariably been missed, or would have been pressed into the dirt and left in the floor of the household or yard. This would have been the small trash, such as bits of broken glass or ceramic, buttons, coal, oyster shell, fish scales, and bones. The yard surfaces represented in units 3 (Level B), 11 (Level B) and 13 (Level B) contained many good examples of this kind of yard trash scatter (Figures 5-11, 5-12, and 5-13).



**Figure 5-11: Artifacts from Yard Scatter in Unit 13, Level B**





**Figure 5-13: Artifacts from Yard Scatter in Unit 3, Level B**

Personal choice and variation is apparent in a handful of other artifacts uncovered in the yard: brass, copper and shell buttons and copper rivets from clothing, a copper buckle, a brass thimble, a copper tack (perhaps from furniture) and pipe bowls. One of the pipe bowls was molded with a tobacco leaf design. These artifacts are glimpses into the everyday lives of those enslaved on the Paca plantation, the clothes they wore, the food they ate, and even some ideas on what they found beautiful. The discovery and excavation of the quarter found at the end of the 2005 field season gave much greater depth to our understanding of the complicated and rich everyday lives of the families who lived on Wye Island.

#### Living Quarters for Enslaved Wye Hall Residents

In the last few weeks of field work in the 2005 season, we made a surprising discovery under the remains of the floor of an early 20<sup>th</sup> century brick work building (Feature 36). We had opened up a 10' by 15' area in order to uncover as much of the work building as possible, and under the floor was about 0.5' of sandy loam, sand and clay that had been laid down in late 1800s or early 1900s in preparation for the 20<sup>th</sup> century building. It lay across nearly the entire 10' by 15' space, even where there was no bricks above, leading us to believe that the Feature 36 20<sup>th</sup> century brick floor had been robbed out for construction elsewhere on the island. The only area that this fill wasn't found was the northernmost foot and a half of the unit, which had been disturbed by the construction of the building lying about 5 feet north with a deep, cement floored cellar. As we dug through this fill (levels H and J within unit 21), we found another, older brick surface



laying in the northern half of the unit, and what appeared to be one or two small, sub-floor pits. This brick (Feature 41) was obviously leftover or reused from elsewhere; the brick was of different colors, and was laid in broken pieces, mixed with a few stones. (Figures 5-14 and 5-15).

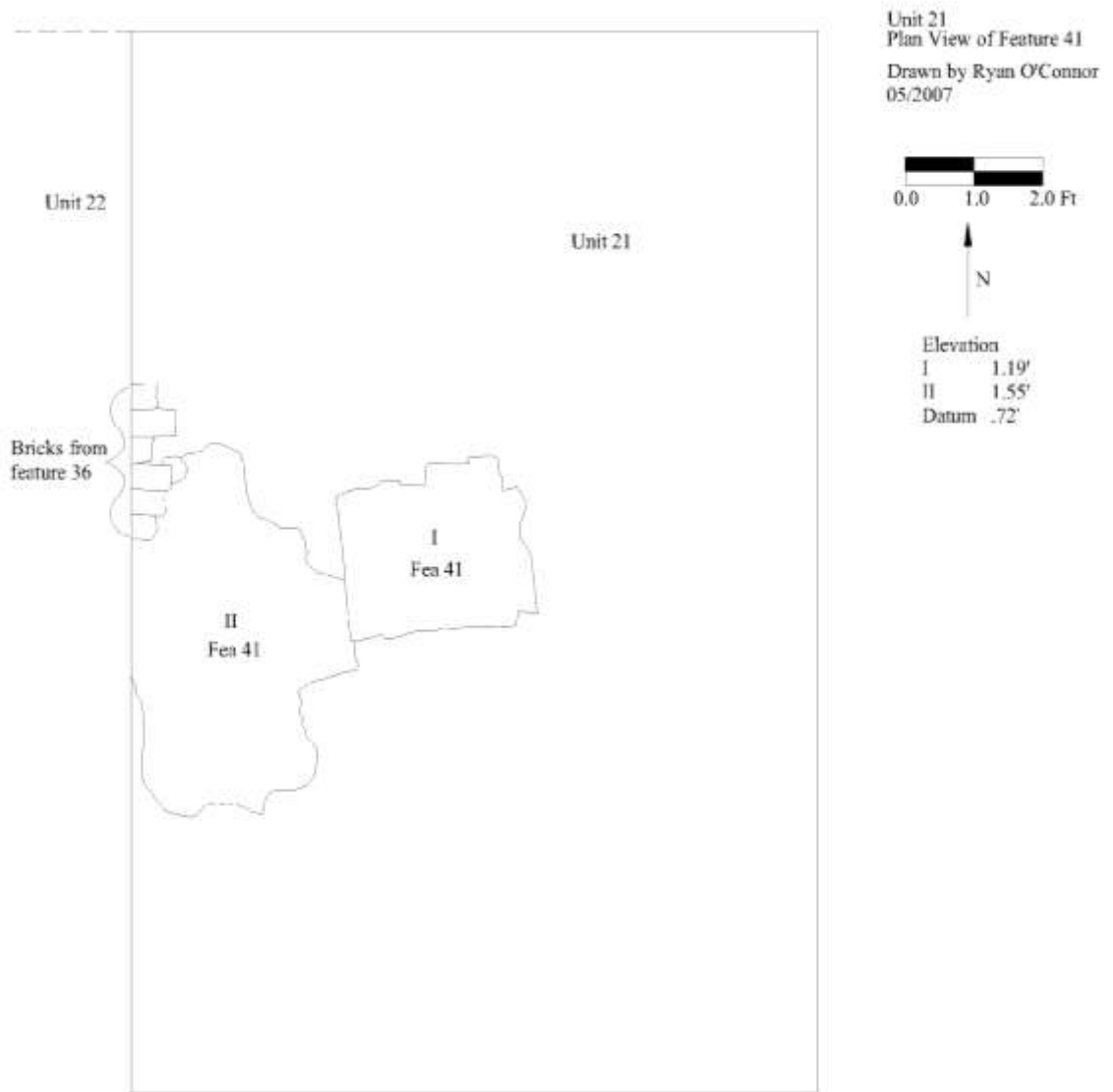


Figure 5-14: Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map of Unit 21, Feature 41 (Hearth)

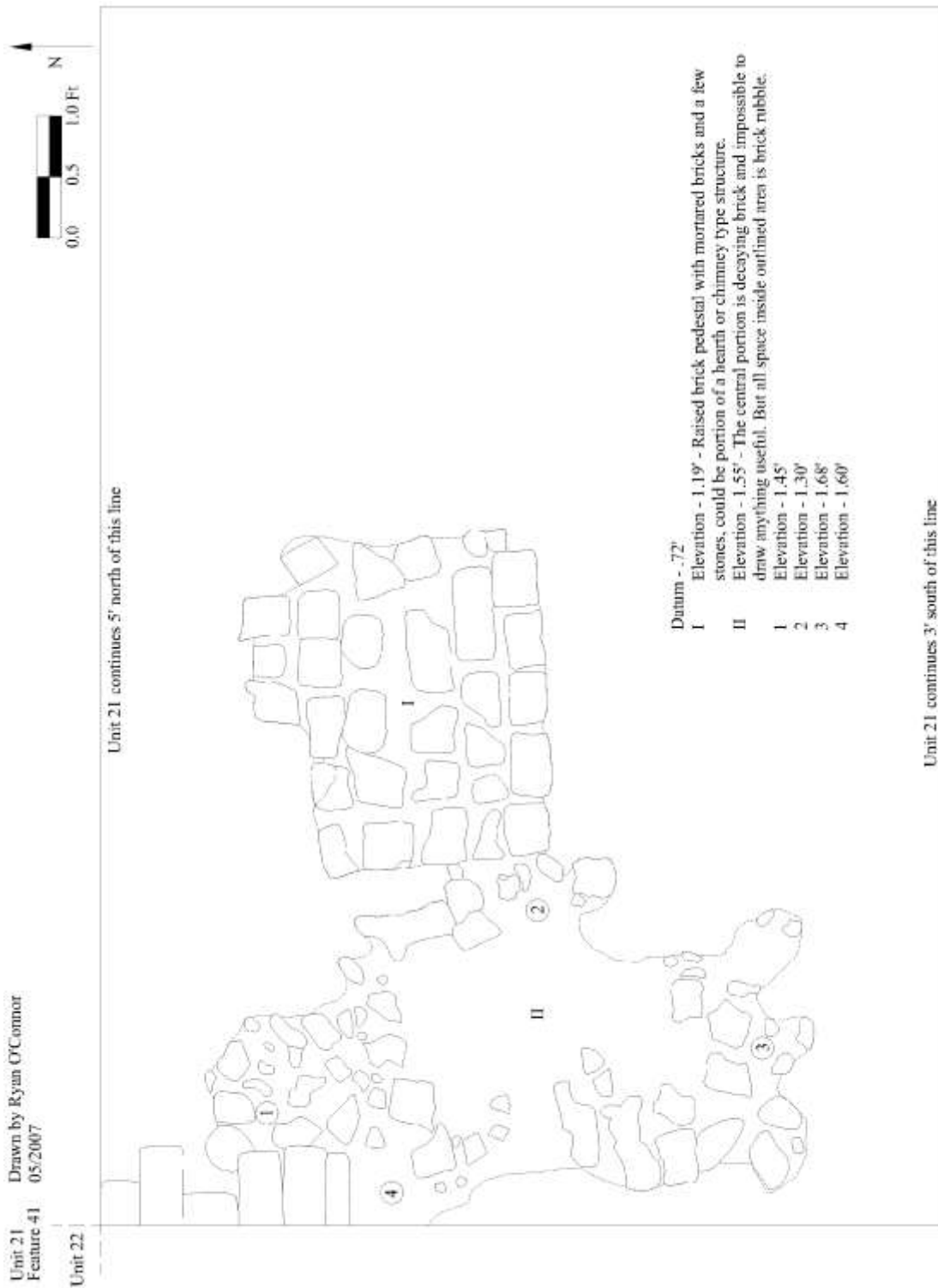


Figure 5-15: Wye Island 2005 Field School Detail of Plan Map for Unit 21, Feature 41 (Hearth)

The brick lay in two distinct levels; the portion running into the western wall of the unit was 0.35' lower in elevation than the square section of the brick surface lying in the center of the unit. Much of the brick in the lower elevation was disintegrating and in fact looked like rubble, while the brick in the higher elevation was in clear lines with some mortar. The lower elevation of brick was of random size and pattern and included some stone, while the higher elevation of brick was in distinct lines and had no stone. These differences make it a possibility that the lower portion of brick and stone in Feature 41 was, in fact, scatter from the destruction of a hearth. The higher portion of Feature 41 would have been part of the hearth originally, before destruction of the building and the laying of fill for later construction on the same area. The brick scatter found at a lower elevation (about 0.8' below ground surface) was very shallow in depth, from less than a tenth of an inch deep to about 0.15' deep; much of the feature was very small pieces of brick that disintegrated upon being touched.



**Figure 5-16: Photograph Unit 21, Feature 41 (Hearth) Prior to Removal**

This was not true of the higher elevation of brick, which contained larger brick pieces with some mortar remains in between. Although this brick was bigger, mortared, and in a distinct pattern, it was clearly reused brick. A few of the pieces were whole, and some were broken (Figures 5-15 and 5-16). This part of feature 41 was about 0.5' below ground surface and was approximately 0.1' deep, or the height of a brick. The higher elevation of bricks had an irregular, rectangular shape that was clearly only a portion of what was originally a much bigger brick feature. Subsequent findings in levels directly to the north corroborated this.

It was this brick feature that led us to understanding that we had found a pre-20<sup>th</sup> century building, and the levels that we found under the clay and sand fill associated with feature 41 were very telling (Figures 5-17 and 5-18).



**Figure 5-17: Photograph Unit 21 Mid-Excavation, Levels L, M, and O**

The northernmost three feet of the unit that was not disturbed cellar fill was already down to a culturally undisturbed yellowish brown sandy loam subsoil, which we called Level I. Between the subsoil and feature 41 was dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam (Level M) that was lower in elevation than the highest part of the feature, between 0.4' and 0.6' below ground surface, but higher in elevation than the soils found on the south side of the hearth (Levels K and L). Level M was about 0.2' deep, closing depths were between 0.6' and 0.8' below ground surface, and contained the features that showed evidence of original architecture: three post holes associated with thin, shallow lines of plaster, or mortar. There will be a further analysis of these features later in the chapter.

When the ruins of the hearth that made up feature 41 were excavated and level M began to be excavated, three features were defined: features 44, 46 and 47 (Figure 5-27). All of these features were associated with the hearth. Feature 46 was a very sandy loam that was defined by the very pale brown (10YR 7/4) mix of mortar and sand found within it. The feature began between 0.3' and 0.6' below ground surface and was a few tenths deep, ending at 0.5' to 0.75' below ground surface. The artifacts from this feature mainly consisted of coal, fragments of mortar and brick, and corroded nail fragments. There were also a few small pieces of ceramic and glass, but the vast majority of artifacts were architectural, or hearth related. Also interesting was the shape of the feature; it began directly under the higher elevated portion of feature 41, and had the same width from north to south. However, it continued east another 3.5' nearly to the edge of the unit, and roughly keeping a rectangular shape. As it is common to place sand beneath brick before laying it, this sandy patch indicates that the hearth was at least 7' from east to west.

Unit 21  
 Drawing of Levels I,K,L,M,O and Features  
 38 and 43  
 Drawn by Ryan O'Connor  
 05/2007

Elevations			
1	1.42'	5	1.61'
2	1.41'	6	1.64'
3	1.54'	Datum	-0.72'
4	1.73'		

Key  
 □ Brick

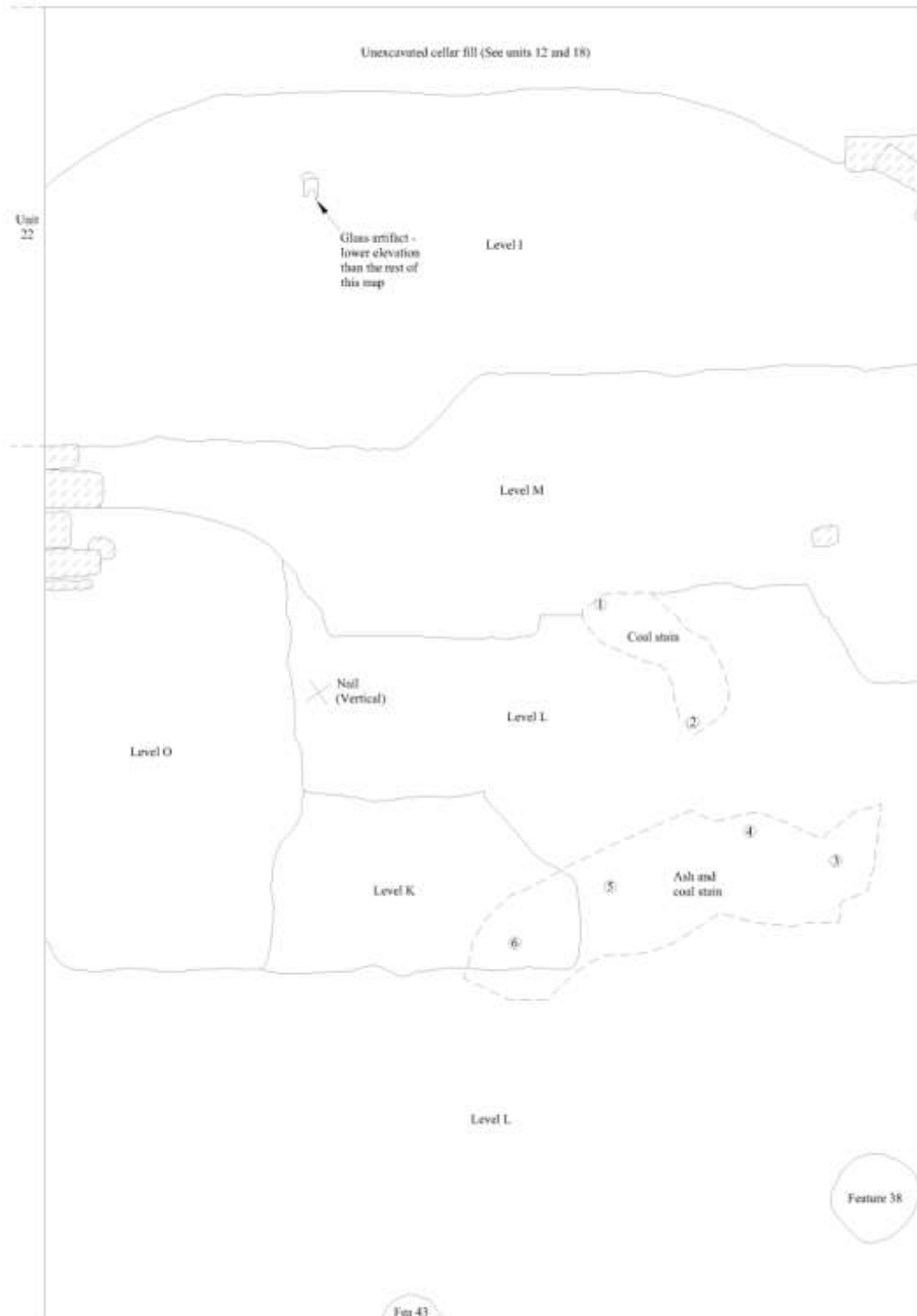


Figure 5-18: Wye Island 2005 Field School August 17, 2005 Excavation Map of Unit 21, After Removing Feature 41 and Including Levels I, K, L, M, O and Features 38 and 43 (Dwelling floor/Levels L and K, Under Hearth/ Levels M and O)

Unit 21  
 Drawing of Levels I, K, L, M and  
 Features 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47  
 Drawn by Ryan O'Connor  
 05/2007

Key  
 Brick  
 Mortar  
 Feature 44 - Coal and mortar deposit  
 Feature 46 - Light sandy soil found  
 under portion of feature 41

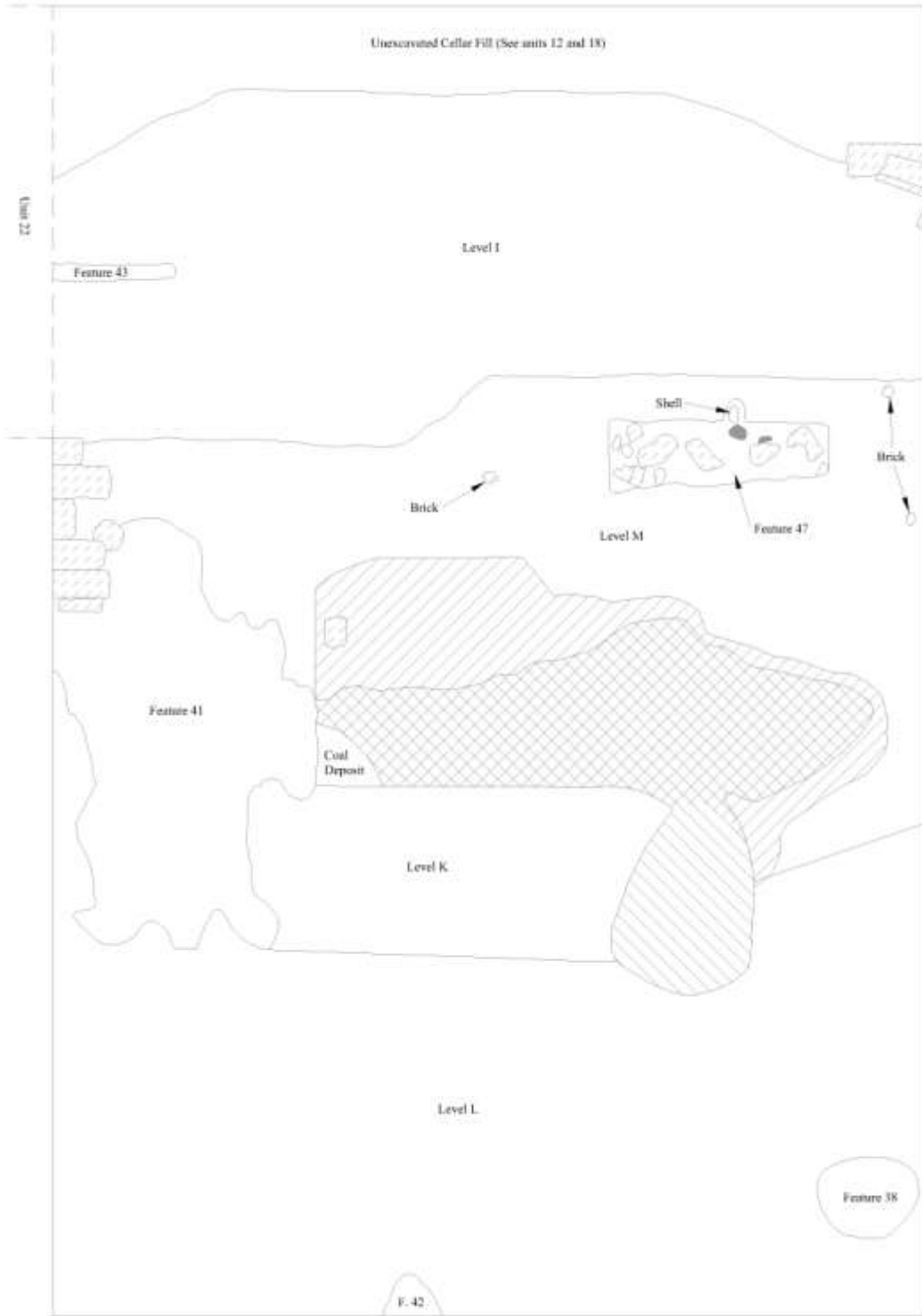


Figure 5-19: Wye Island 2005 Field School August 15, 2005 Excavation Map of Unit 21 Including Levels I, K, L, and M, and Features 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, and 47 (Dwelling Floor and Debris from Hearth)

Feature 44 was a coal, coal ash and mortar deposit that was first found adjacent to the eastern half of feature 46 in a 2' by 2' oval patch. After the excavation of the sandy feature 46, the coal deposit was found to run underneath the southern half of the feature. This indicates that the interior of the building, where the fire would have burned and coal ash would have fallen between bricks and in front of the hearth, would have been on the southern side of features 41 and 46. The part of feature 44 adjacent to features 41 and 46 was very shallow at only 0.1' deep, opening at 0.7' below ground surface and closing at 0.8' below ground surface. The section that lay beneath the sand of feature 46 was slightly deeper, ranging from 0.5' to 0.75' below ground surface when it was first seen, and continuing to a depth of 0.7' to 0.8' below ground surface. Feature 44 was extremely artifact rich, although there was a great deal of coal found, there was also a variety of household trash mixed with it, some of it burned. There was burned brick, burned and melted glass, as well as slag found in this scatter of hearth ash. Some of the interesting household artifacts were pipe stems, English soft paste porcelain, hand painted and transfer printed whitewares, the broken fragment of the head of a small, white, porcelain doll, and bone. The bone included small avian bones and mammal bones; one each of the mammal bones was identified as being from the rib and scapula of a medium sized mammal. All of these features associated with the hearth (41, 44, and 46) date solidly within the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Feature 47 was small area of unorganized brick rubble and mortar about a 1.0' north of features 41 and 46 and about 2.0' from east to west and 1.0' from north to south. This feature was also found after digging about 0.5' into Level M; it was about 0.15' deep, or about the depth of a brick. There were no datable artifacts in feature 47, only some chunks of mortar and brick. This is probably more rubble connected with the deconstruction of the hearth for this dwelling.

In the two feet directly in front (to the south) of the hearth and its associated features was a hard packed clay loam surface (level K) that was dense with coal inclusions. Level K ran east to west about 4.5' along the edge of the hearth features, and intersected with the southern-most oval portion of feature 44 (Figure 5-19). This hard packed soil was only a few tenths thick, beginning at 0.6' to 0.75' below ground surface and continuing between 0.8' and 0.85' below ground surface. The hard-packed, clay-like texture of the soil was indicative of nearby fire, which tends to harden and discolor any soil near to its heat. The heat from the hearth had given the dirt floor in front of it a yellowish tinge (mostly 10YR 3/6 dark yellowish brown with some 10YR 7/8 yellowish inclusions). Under the hard packed soil was about a tenth of the brown soil (10YR 4/3) that we identified as a living surface within the slave quarter (level L). Level K was originally part of the floor of the quarter that partially changed texture and color due to its proximity to the fire. The artifacts in level K were domestic artifacts dating to the same time (early 19<sup>th</sup> century) as the hearth and floor artifacts assemblages. There was a large amount of coal within level K and feature 44, over a pound, which is to be expected so close to a hearth where coal would have been used for cooking and heating. Other artifacts found include food remains (fish scales, bone, and oyster shell), ceramics (whiteware and porcelain), glass (bottle and flat), and unidentified metal. One piece of the bone and one piece of the glass were clearly burned.

The floor surface of this enslaved household was uncovered across the southernmost 8.0' of unit 21 making it an 8' by 10' area. Although this would not have been the entire original floor, it was a substantial portion, and gave us an excellent artifact assemblage that we are confident reflects the daily lives of those who would have lived in this dwelling. Some of this floor surface was dug up with the debris of the lower portion of feature 41 (the hearth bricks) and the thin transition to subsoil underneath it that we called level O, although this could have been dug as part of the floor with level L. Also part of the floor was the previously mentioned level K. The floor was a packed brown (10YR 4/3) sandy loam surface with charcoal and ash inclusions, and a great deal of household trash, sitting directly on the yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) subsoil. It began about 0.65' to 0.85' below the ground surface, and continued about half a foot to 1.0' to 1.35' below ground surface. The artifacts found in the floor contexts will be discussed below.

Also part of this interior living surface are two possible subfloor pits. Feature 38 was found in the southeast corner of unit 21, and contained two levels (Figure 5-20). The first level was only 0.5' below ground surface, within a 20<sup>th</sup> century level; the second level began about 1.2' below ground surface and continued for 0.6' placing it securely within a late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century context. This second level was a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) sandy loam mottled with a very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) sandy loam and flecks of brick, charcoal and mortar. The sponge painted pearlware and cut nails date this level within the feature to 1830; there were very few other artifacts. The depth and multiple levels in this feature could indicate a number of things. This could have originally been a subfloor pit used for storage, which would explain the lack of artifacts. After being filled in with soil after the destruction of the building, the resulting slumping (due to settling soil) may have marked this in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a good place to check for bricks to rob. This therefore could be a combination of subfloor pit and later brick robbing pit. This could also be the site of a 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century post that was not removed until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, leaving the resulting empty hole to be filled in with multiple centuries of trash. Whichever of these two scenarios is correct, we can know for sure that this hole was not an accident; people don't dig perfect circles in the interior floors of buildings for no reason.

The second subfloor pit within the building is feature 42. This subfloor pit began at the top of the interior floor (level L) at between 0.5' and 0.6' below the ground surface and continued about 0.75' to 1.2' to 1.4' below ground surface. The pit contained a mixture of light gray (10YR 7/1) and dark brown (10YR 3/3) clay loam. Feature 42 was bisected by the south wall of the unit, but it was about 1' wide at its widest point from east to west.



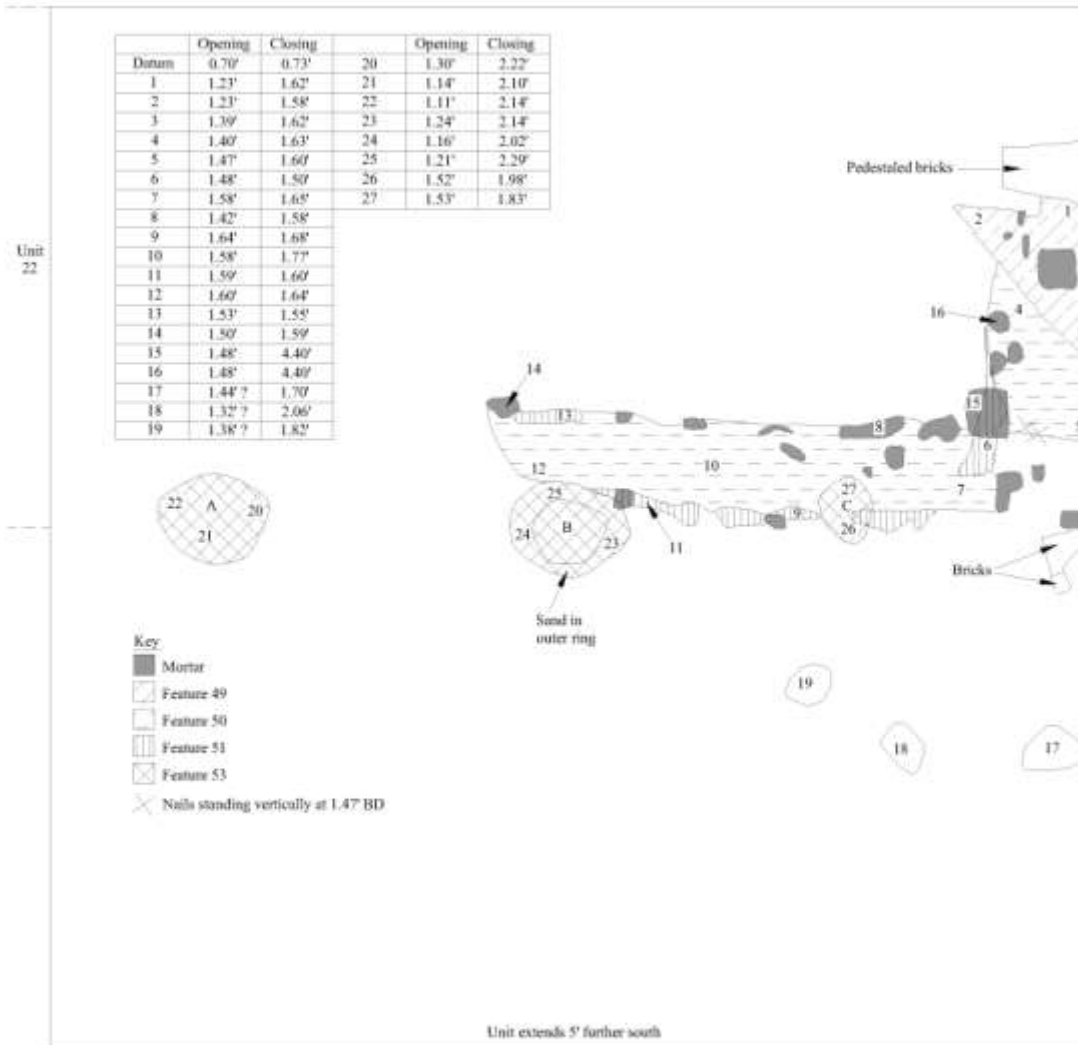


**Figure 5-20: Unit 21, Feature 38 (Possible Subfloor Pit) Finished Excavation**

Only 0.5' of the subfloor pit from north to south lay within the unit. The soil within the feature was stained with coal ash, and the majority of artifacts found with it were coal and oyster shell. The cut nail and sherd of blue transfer print willow decorated whiteware dates this feature to post 1820. Both of these subfloor pits held very few artifacts, but as subfloor pits were mostly used for storage, it is not unusual for them to have few artifacts.

#### Construction and Architectural Features within the Slave Quarter

The 1.5' to 2.0' area to the north of the hearth was filled with construction and architectural features relating to the quarter, and lying within level M (Figures 5-21 and 5-22). Level M began at the same level as the interior floor to the south of the hearth and was about 0.4' to 0.5' deep, containing within it six architectural features, some of which had multiple components. The majority of the 962 artifacts were architectural, consisting of 693 pieces of brick, mortar, nails (the majority of which were handwrought), plaster, flat glass, and miscellaneous metal fragments (including a hook and a large staple). The features, combined, contained another 325 pieces of mortar or plaster and 62 brick fragments. Feature 53 was a series of 3 post holes in unit 21 and an additional post hole found within unit 22 (Figure 5-29). Together, these finds tell us that the quarter was a post-in-ground structure with a brick hearth inside. The posts that would have been the major structural supports for the building would have had boards nailed across them to make up the walls and mortar or plaster chinking between the boards to block the interior of the building from wind and rain. We discovered at least 15' of one wall of the building along the north side of the hearth, and the building continued south more than 10' although we do not know the exact dimension, as we never discovered a southern wall.



**Figure 5-21: Wye Island 2005 Field School Unit 21 Including Features 49, 50, 51, 52, and 53 (Architectural Features of the Slave Quarter)**

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Chesapeake, a 15' by 20' quarter would not have been unusual, nor would post-in-ground or earthen floor architecture (Morgan 1998: 110-112; Walsh 1997: 19-20; Genovese 1976: 524-535).

There were two features found that were entirely made up of some sort of mortar or plaster mixture that contained ground up shell: features 43 and 52. All of the mortar was found in the same east-west line (Figure 5-21), and all was lying directly north of the post holes. The mortar/plaster was found at a depth of 0.5' to 0.8' below the ground surface and only went 0.1' or so deep. It lay in puddles only a couple of inches wide, looking a great deal like it had slipped down while being wiped between laths or boards.

Also lying at the same depth as the plaster were patches of sand: features 49 and 51. Feature 51 lay right up against the north side of the post holes, and was made up of narrow (about 0.2' to 0.4' in width) strips of brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) sand. This sand was very thin, less than 0.05' in depth, and had a little bit of the mortar/plaster mixed in. The light olive brown (2.5Y 5/4) silty sand of feature 49 was both in a bigger patch and lay deeper, about 0.35' to 0.4' deep (Figure 5-21). It lay in a one foot square area in the north east corner of the unit, again along with mortar and other building debris (brick fragments and nails etc.). Most of the artifacts found within this area were architectural: brick, mortar/plaster, and nails.

All of the above features, except one foot-long strip of mortar from feature 43 found in the north west corner of the unit, was concentrated in the north east corner of the unit on top of and within feature 50. Feature 50 was made up of a dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) sandy loam running along the north side of the feature 53 post holes for 5' north to south and 1' east to west before taking a 90° turn to the north and running another 2.5' until interrupted by the cellar hole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century building to the north. Again, the artifacts were mostly architectural: brick, mortar/plaster, and cut nails. This, along with the handful of very small fragments of late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century artifacts date this building to a clear antebellum era.

We found four post holes within units 21 and 22 that formed a direct line with each other, all began a foot below the ground surface and all were about the same size (Figure 5-21). All of the post holes contained a dark yellowish brown (10YR 3/4 or 4/4) silty sand. Within unit 22, the post hole was called level F, as it was the first one that we found, and it was not clearly a posthole until halfway through excavation. Within the backfilled post hole was found handwrought iron that looked like shutter hardware. Windows closed by shutters were extremely common on quarters across the Chesapeake (Morgan 1998; Genovese 1976). This post hole in the southwest corner of the unit contained no post mold; the post had been pulled out and the hole filled with pieces of brick. The same was true of feature 53a, the post hole about 5.0' to the east of the first post hole. Its post had obviously been removed, and the hole filled with two whole bricks. The post hole was about 1.0' in diameter, and about 1.0' deep. The next post hole, 53b, lay 3.0' to the east of 53a with nearly identical dimensions. One important difference was a ring of sand along the interior 0.2' of the posthole, which may have marked the line between post hole and post mold (Figure 5-21). Feature 53c, the post 3.0' to the east of 53b, looked as though all that remained was the stain of the original post, and not the hole that had been dug for it. Its diameter, about two-thirds the size of the other post holes, was about the same as the interior portion of 53b (Figure 5-21). The post hole could have been obscured during the destruction of the building and the hearth, or this could have been a much smaller in diameter post than the others originally (to see all of the features discussed above, see Figure 5-22).

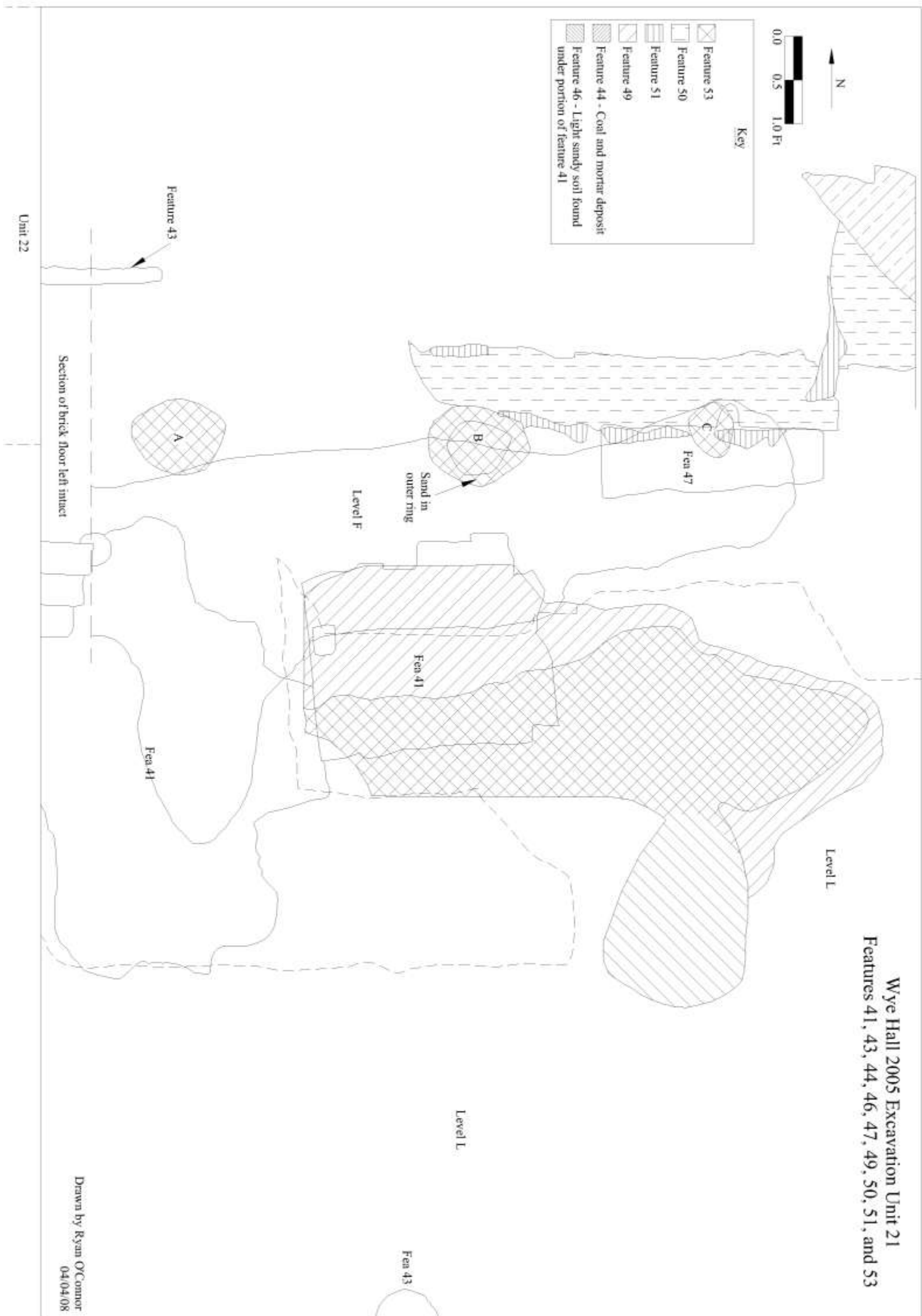


Figure 5-22: Wye Island 2005 Field Season Unit 21 Occupation Phase I Features Map

This 6.0' area in the southeast corner of feature 21 is full of building debris, particularly brick and mortar. This combined with the right angle of these features points to this area being where the chimney for the hearth may have sat. Without plantation records, or more walls to this building having been found, it is difficult to conjecture the exact size of the quarter originally, except to say that it would have been large and that it would have housed many people. A 15' by 20' dwelling could have housed 10 to 15 people, probably many of them related. With the amount of building that went on in the tenant farm area through the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is astonishing that we found this much of a quarter intact at all.

### Enslaved Household Artifacts from the Interior of the Quarter

The handful of personal artifacts found are especially poignant reminders of how people survived through establishing strong family and individual identities from day to day (Figure 5-23). Parts were found from a very small porcelain doll, pieces of a comb, glass and bone buttons, a pin and hook from clothing, pipe fragments, and worked stone tools. Whether these stone flakes and cutting tools were made by those enslaved for personal use or were originally Native American artifacts collected from fields and woods as personal keepsakes is unknown. All of these items, however, elucidate choices in everyday life that reflected personal identity, group identity, and survival. There was blue, green and clear bottle glass found, some of which certainly held medicines, as well as a few pieces of what was a drinking glass.



**Figure 5-23: Domestic Artifacts from Unit 21 Levels K, O, and L (Slave Quarter Floor)**

Ceramics were mismatched; some of this was likely due to being given specifically chosen ceramics from the main house, but enslaved peoples had the power to choose which ceramics they would keep, and which they would trade or give to others. One of the more interesting pieces is a small fragment of Jackfield, a matte black, expensive and delicate refined earthenware that was generally associated with tea sets. Much of the ceramic found was decorated with bright colors, such as handpainted green and red flowers and lines, blue sponge designs, flow blue, shell edging, and multi colored transfer prints. There was also a piece of ceramic molded with the design of a three leafed clover. The porcelain found was mostly the less refined English soft paste, but there were a few Asian import porcelains, including Chinese blue on white and an Imari over glaze.

Some of the food remains found were fish scales, fish bones and mammal and avian bones. Although the only identifiable mammal was a pig, a faunal analyst was able to identify some bone types, such as pieces of rib, long bone, scapula, vertebrae, jaw, teeth and skull; some of these bones even had butchering marks. The amount of fish scale and bones are evidence of the cleaning of fish freshly caught from the Wye River. The mammal and avian bones are from tougher cuts of meat; Maria Franklin's work (2004) at Rich Neck plantation in Virginia shows similar patterns. She hypothesized from studies of ethnographic and historical evidence that this occurred for many reasons; long term cooking would have tenderized tough cuts of meat, slow cooking would have worked well around work schedules, and enslaved peoples may also have been reproducing traditional West African modes of cooking.

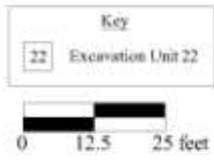
In this building people cooked meals, ate, slept, dressed and fixed their hair. Here enslaved people lived rich lives with their families and loved ones, raising their children and nursing their sick in a tightly bonded community.

### **5.3.C. Occupation Phase II: 1865-1930 (Garage and Tenant Farm)**

Archaeological features constructed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the Civil War and the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were located at Wye Hall during the 2002 field season around the modern garage, and on Wye Island Natural Resources Management Area land during the 2004 and 2005 excavations in the tenant farm area of the site (Figure 5-5). Most of these features are associated with the tenant farming of Paca property after the Civil War, up until new ownership of the former plantation lands in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Garage Area

Seven definitive early 20<sup>th</sup> century features were discovered within 16 units excavated around the extant 20<sup>th</sup> century garage during the 2002 field season (Figure 5-24). Another four potential 20<sup>th</sup> century features were uncovered within these units as well. Units 15 through 20 were excavated around the foundation of the modern garage, to prepare for subsequent demolition and a new building project by the current homeowners.



### Wye Island 2002 Field School Excavation Map

Drawn by Ryan O'Connor  
09/25/07

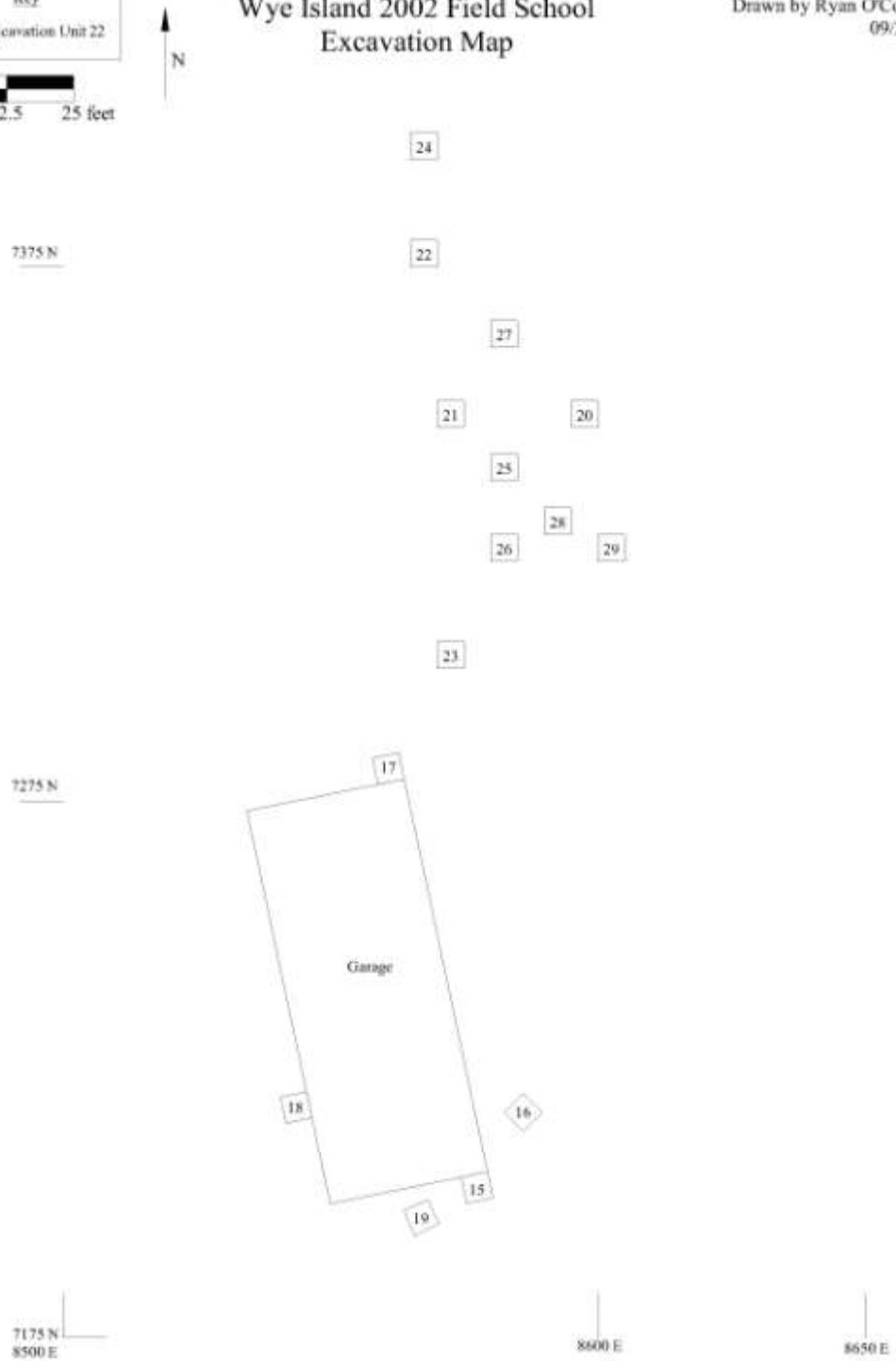


Figure 5-24: Wye Island 2002 Field School Excavation Map Garage Area

The majority of these units were nearly sterile of cultural remains; any datable artifacts recovered had manufacture dates ranging from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to the present (see Appendix C for unit summaries.) The features found in these units are associated with 20<sup>th</sup> century work buildings, either existing just prior to or alongside the modern garage. For a summary of the 2002 features, please see Appendix A.

### Cinderblock Farm Outbuilding

This structure is composed of features 6, 7, 8, and 16 in unit 15 and features 7, 8, and 17 in unit 19. Unit 15 was placed at the southeast corner of the modern garage to see if there was any evidence of previous structures located in that area. Feature 6 is a cinderblock wall, approximately 0.3' or one cinderblock wide, evidently part of an older foundation. This feature runs from the northwest corner of Unit 15, 3.5' east along the wall of the extant garage (Figure 5-25). This wall was discovered at a location of 2.03' below the ground surface in the northwest corner of the unit, and at 2.48' below the surface in its easternmost portion. The brick sheathing that exists on the northern wall of the modern garage is clearly trimmed and fit around the cinderblocks, indicating that they were in this position before the garage was built, arguing for this foundation as a part of a pre-existing building and not an extension of the garage.

Feature 7, a cinderblock wall 0.5' wide, was located on an upslope along the extent of the eastern wall of unit 15 at a depth of between 1.86' and 2.08' below the surface. In the northeastern corner of unit 15, features 6 and 7 do not intersect until a depth of about 3.0' below ground surface. This approximate 0.5' difference in the walls height, for an area along the north wall of 1.0' could be a potential doorway (Figure 5-25). Unit 19 was opened 10' to the south of unit 15, at a 45 degree angle to the grid, to try to pick up more of the feature 7 wall, and perhaps a corner of the building. Feature 7 was found within unit 19 at the bottom of level A, about 1.5' below the ground surface, running diagonally across the unit from the northeast to the southwest. It was, again, comprised of cinderblock, and was 0.75' wide. Three judgmental STPs were laid in south of the feature 7 wall in unit 19 at regular intervals to determine how much farther the foundation continued. The second STP (STP B) looked promising and unit 20 was laid in. No continuation of feature 7 was found in the unit.

Feature 8 was discovered on the interior of the cinderblock wall in both units 15 and 19, west of feature 7 and south of feature 6. This feature is the builder's trench associated with the foundation. It is comprised of a 10YR 5/6 and 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow sandy loam and a large amount of building rubble in the area south of feature 6 (Figure 5-26). It was discovered at a depth of between 2.46' and 3.04' below the ground surface in unit 15, and at a depth of between 1.08' and 1.85' below the surface in unit 19. The builder's trench was between 1.5' and 2.5' feet deep in these two units, and between 1.5'-2.0' wide.



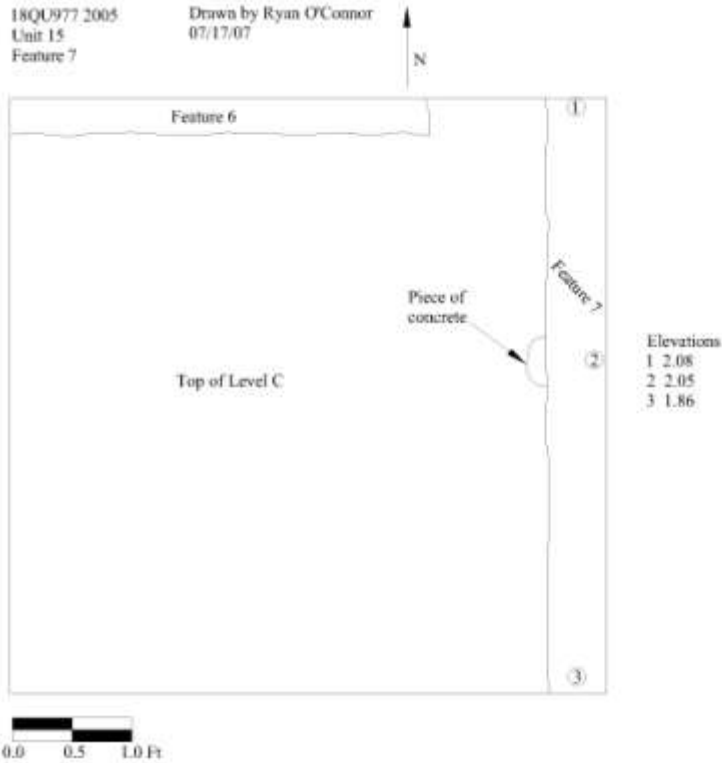


Figure 5-25: Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 15, Features 6 and 7

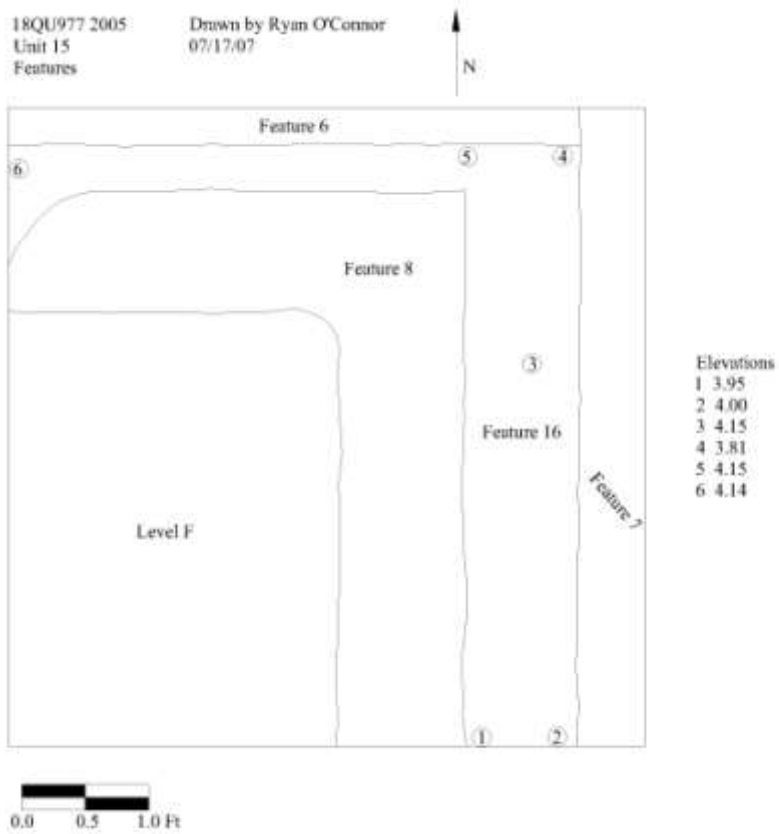


Figure 5-26: Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 15, All Features

Located at the bottom of the builder's trench in unit 15, at a depth between 3.95' and 4.15' below the ground surface was an approximately 1.0' wide concrete pad that is part of the foundation.

A second builder's trench was located within unit 19 on the outside of the feature 7 wall at a depth of 2.5' below the ground surface (Figure 5-27). This was marked by a graded soil, sand in the southwest corner to a darker soil in the northeast that lay along the outside of feature 7. Included in the trench were large pieces of brick, mortar, and a cinderblock. This trench ended, like the feature 8 trench in unit 15, in a concrete pad 3.5' below ground surface, which is part of the foundation of this building.

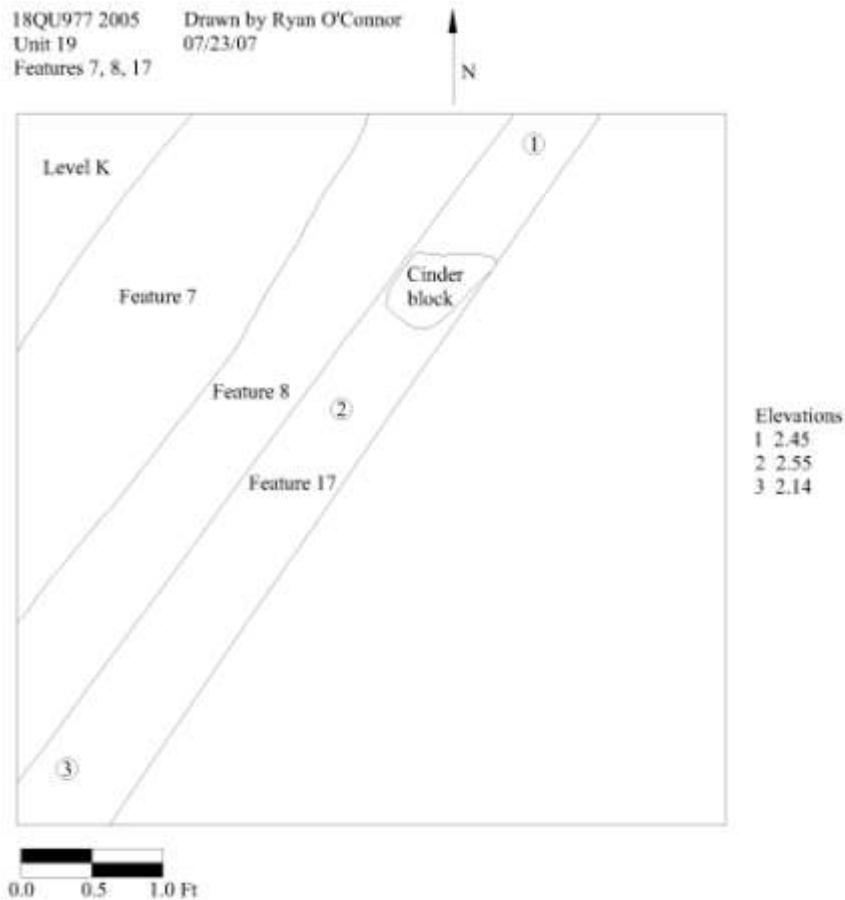


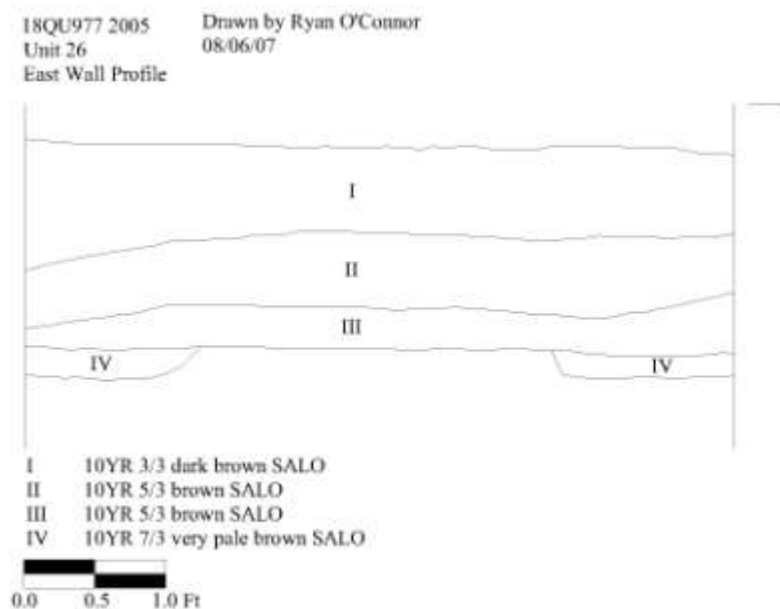
Figure 5-27: Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 19, All Features

These five discrete features make up what is clearly the foundation of a 20<sup>th</sup> century building, most likely used in conjunction with the agricultural work that took place on the island. Very few artifacts were associated with this building; mostly the artifacts were architectural debris: brick, mortar, and nails. The few ceramics recovered were classified as whiteware, which cannot be used to date this building with any specificity. The construction materials of the building, concrete and cinderblock, set it in a 20<sup>th</sup> century date range, but beyond that, a more specific date cannot be determined. Its function is as an agricultural outbuilding, determined from oral histories of the island, which stated that

farm buildings were located in this area throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Gibbons 1987,) although a more specific function cannot be understood with the limited artifact assemblage recovered.

### Postholes East of Modern Garage

Units 21 through 30 were excavated in the area between the east side of the modern garage and the river (Figure 5-24). These nine units contained no living surfaces and very few artifacts. The artifacts found were low-density scatters of mid-19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> century material. The stratigraphy of these units was consistent across the area; each unit contained two cultural levels and subsoil. The first level was a very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) or dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) sandy loam. The second level across these 10 units was a brown (10YR 4/3), dark brown (10YR 3/3), or dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) sandy loam, which transitioned to subsoil. The subsoil was a light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4) or yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) sand or sandy loam (Figure 5-28).



**Figure 5-28: Wye Island 2002 Field School Profile Map of Unit 26, Representative of Units 21-30**

A number of soil stain features were discovered, two of which, feature 19 in unit 24 and feature 20 in unit 25 are described as possible postholes. Features 24 and 25 within unit 27 are definitely defined as a posthole and post mold. None of these features, however, can be concretely assigned a date or a function; although it is most likely that they are associated with a 20<sup>th</sup> century construction episode, judging from the few datable artifacts found within the units as a whole.

### Structure Associated with Main House Construction

A final unit was opened during the 2002 field season in the “south field,” or the “front field” south of the road and the terrace in front of the main house (Figure 5-24). A buried

foundation about 50' south of the road was pointed out by a workman on the site, when it was exposed by a summer drought, which killed the grass directly above it. An STP was dug in the northwest corner of the exposed foundation, and a concrete wall was found 1.25' below the ground surface. Unit 31 was placed judgmentally over the eastern wall of the structure. The foundation, labeled feature 27, was found 1.20' below the ground surface running north to south the length of the unit, and about 1.0' in width. Made of concrete, probably by pouring it into a trench dug into the subsoil, the foundation had a raised lip, 0.2' in height over the main part of the wall on both its east and west edges. Associated with this foundation wall was a cross-trench, 2.0' wide, running perpendicular to feature 27 in the northern half of the unit. The trench was composed of a 2.5YR 6/4 white yellowish brown silty loam that was found just slightly deeper than the wall, at 1.36', and was about 0.7' deep.

Few dateable artifacts were recovered from within unit 31, including some small pieces of whiteware and ironstone, and none from either feature. Most artifacts were either building material or metal pieces, suggesting a work-building function for this structure; however an exact function of the building is unknown. One of the workmen at Wye Hall suggested the likely possibility that this was an ephemeral structure relating to the reconstruction of the Main House in the 1930s.

#### Refuse Pile from Main House Fire

A large dark soil stain, labeled feature 18, filled with construction debris, much of it burned, was uncovered within level B of unit 23. The stain was found in the northeastern quadrant of unit 23 about 0.9' below the ground surface, at the bottom of level B. The stain was 2.5' in width east-to-west, and 1.5' in the north-to-south dimension. The stain itself was only 0.1' deep; however it made up a part of a larger level that was all construction fill and debris. It is most likely the case, due to its shallow depth and the large number of pieces of fire-cracked and burnt brick and stone that the material in this feature is refuse from the destruction by fire of the main house in 1875.

#### Tenant Farm Area

We have used the term "tenant farm" to designate the wooded property along the north shore of the island, along the Wye Narrows, starting south of the garage. This area is approximately 400' north to south and 200' east to west (Figure 5-5). The designation of this area, up until 2002, was "slave quarter," which was changed upon beginning excavation in 2004 due to the above ground tenant farm remains being the most visible element on the landscape.

Nine units were excavated in the tenant farm area of the Wye Hall site during the 2004 field season, and 13 units were excavated in this area during 2005. Twenty-one late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century features were uncovered during the two years of excavation, as well as two potential early 20<sup>th</sup> century features. The excavation of these 22 units in the tenant farm exposed a series of features and foundations, which represent multiple, overlapping occupations as well as the constant moving of the living and work areas from

the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the 1930s, when substantial occupation of the tenant farm area ceased.

Most of the features represent late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> century construction episodes associated with the tenant farm, and a first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century destruction and fill phase for these same structures (for a summary of the features from 2004 and 2005, see Appendix A.) Many of these demolished buildings, mostly those excavated during the 2004 field season, are characterized by large quantities of burned materials including both burnt household goods and construction materials. This period of demolition corresponds to the ownership of about two-thirds of Wye Island by Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Stewart who, between moving to the Eastern Shore in 1922 and the mid-1930s, had evicted most of the tenant farmers on Wye Island (Gibbons 1987:93-98.) The destruction of these buildings by the Stewarts is further supported by oral histories, which say that by 1937 the Stewarts had purchased almost all of the land in the tenant farm, subsequently burning down some of the farmhouses and outbuildings to instead use the land for cattle ranching and to save on taxes (Gibbons 1987:76, 99-100.)

A distinct sequence of events is difficult to create for the 20<sup>th</sup> century occupation of the Wye Hall tenant farm area. This area was an active, working farm throughout this entire period of occupation and buildings were constructed as needed for storage of corn, wheat, and chickens. The men and women who farmed Wye Island were also extremely poor, and could little afford to waste building materials, and so when one building was starting to become unusable, as much of the material as possible was salvaged and reused in new constructions (Gibbons 1987) What this means practically, when we look at the ground, is that there is a constant overlap of buildings and what will look like a large number of structures with very similar stratigraphic placements and artifact assemblages. These structures can be assigned to a general period with the other 20<sup>th</sup> century buildings on the site, but most likely cannot be more specifically ordered chronologically.

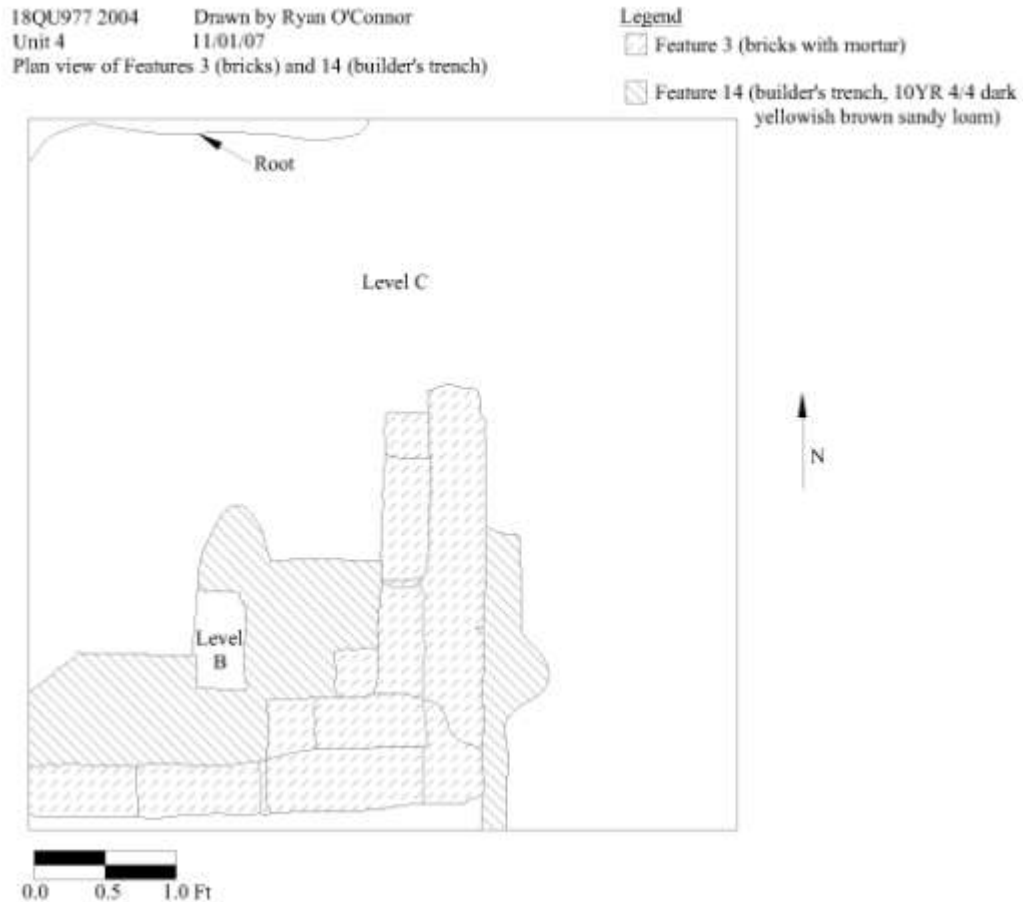
#### Above-Ground Brick Foundation for Farm Outbuilding

Unit 4 was placed over a visible, above-ground, 3-course brick foundation corner, about 12' south of the extant 20<sup>th</sup> century pheasant house, subsequently labeled feature 3 (Figure 5-5). A number of artifacts were surrounding the foundation on the ground surface including: nails, mortar, loose brick, glass, ceramic, a rusted padlock, and a clay marble. The foundation starts 2.0' south of the northern wall and 1.5' west of the eastern wall, running south 3.9' to a corner and then continuing 3.2' to the west, where the brick wall runs into the west wall of the unit (Figure 5-29). The foundation extends three brick courses above the ground surface, 0.88'-1.05' above ground, and three brick courses below the ground surface along the east-west running wall, or 0.70' below ground. The foundation diminishes along the north-south running wall, becoming only one brick course below ground in the northernmost section.

A builder's trench, feature 14, was found in association with the brick foundation, feature 3. The trench is within level C, around the corner of the foundation in the southern portion of unit 4. It is a 10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown sandy loam that was found

between 1.45' and 1.57' below the datum, and was between 0.15'-0.35' deep. The artifact content was primarily not datable building materials like brick and mortar, however a few nails, all wire, were found. With no other, earlier artifacts recovered, the builder's trench seems to support a 20<sup>th</sup> century construction of this building.

There are no artifacts directly associated with feature 3. The brick wall divides the unit into two different soils, level A on the eastern side of the unit, outside the brick wall, and level B on the western half, inside the brick foundation.



**Figure 5-29: Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map of Unit 4, Features 3 and 14**

The artifact materials coming out of level A, outside of the foundation, are solidly 20<sup>th</sup> century, including wire nails and a number of pieces of plastic. The composition of level A also includes a large amount of mortar, most likely from the destruction of the brick foundation. Within the brick foundation, in level B, there were a number of wire nails and pieces of machine-made glass that give the level a 20<sup>th</sup> century date, or perhaps one as early as the 1890s. However, there were a number of much older ceramics and glass, including creamware, 19<sup>th</sup> century Chinese import porcelain, and hand-blown green wine bottle glass. This material is most likely introduced from other areas of the site due to large amounts of root disturbance from the tree that was once standing outside the northwest corner of the unit, and of which a stump remains. The foundation sits on level

C, which the builder's trench cuts into; the artifact content of this level has more ceramics than the other levels, including a number of second-half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century types like yellowware and ironstone. Otherwise, a large portion of the artifacts were building materials such as brick, flat glass, and mortar as well as a number of wire nails.

Features 3 and 14 within unit 4, a brick foundation and associated builder's trench seem to have been of 20<sup>th</sup> century construction, although very few datable materials came out of the unit. The function of the building is unknown; unit 8 was opened 15' to the west of unit 4, to try to catch the southwest corner of the building, and hopefully illuminate the function. Although a foundation was discovered in unit 8, it does not connect with the feature 3 foundation, and therefore sheds no light on feature 3's function. The potential size of the structure cannot be more than 15' along the east-west wall, and has an above ground foundation can be seen continuing about 15' north into the modern pheasant barn. Comparing these dimensions to the size of the few standing tenant farm structures, feature 3 is most likely a farm outbuilding or barn, of the size of the standing chicken coop or the standing "unidentified farm outbuilding," and not a farmhouse, which has dimensions of 30' by 40' (Figure 5-5).

#### Brick Pier and Brick Floor for Farm Outbuilding

Unit 7 was opened 5' to the south of unit 4 overtop of a barely visible brick corner, which was named feature 17 (Figure 5-30).

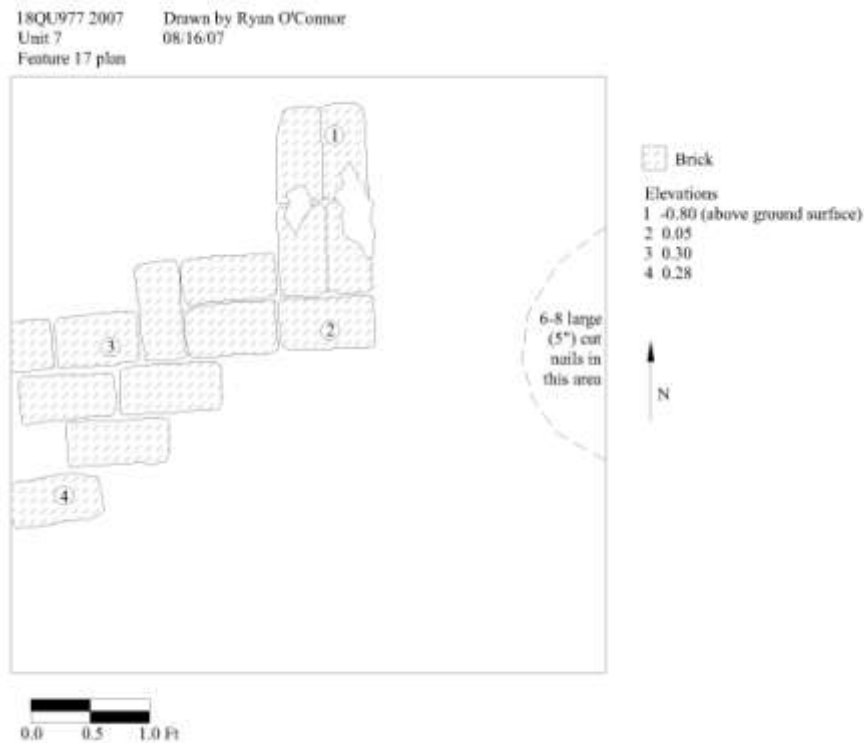


Figure 5-30: Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map Unit 7, Feature 17

The foundation, about 0.80' wide, was found 0.25' south of the north wall, 2.0' west of the east wall, and runs 2.0' north to south and almost 2.0' east to west. The foundation was visible on the ground surface, with a depth of 0.0'-0.05' below the surface. Feature 17 was 4 courses of brick in height, or about 0.80' deep and found within all three levels of the unit. All three levels of unit 7 contained a wide range of artifacts, and levels B and C were a mixture of early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century ceramics and glass and early 20<sup>th</sup> century materials, suggesting that they are both fill. Within level B a Tangee Rouge container dating from the 1930s (Tangee 2002) and a machine-made bottle with an Owen's Bottle Company mark, placing it in a date range of 1911-1929 were recovered (Lockhart 2004:2.) Level C contained a Peter's Cartridge Company .22 caliber bullet casing, dating between 1887 and 1934 (Standler, 2006).

Adjacent to the western edge of the foundation 0.30' below the ground surface was a half dozen bricks laid in a pattern running east to west, which is interpreted to be a floor. This extends from the foundation into the western wall of unit 7 (Figure 5-30). There were a few other bricks throughout the unit that were at the same depth as the floor, 0.34' below ground surface, that are presumed to be disturbed portions of the floor. The artifacts that were found in the surrounding Level A are from the very late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, this date comes from the presence of bottle glass with the mark of the Maryland Brewery Company, which only manufactured between 1899 and 1901 (Tavern Trove 2007,) as well as light bulb glass, wire nails, and aluminum.

The brick foundation and floor in unit 7 appears to have been demolished during the 1930s destruction phase during the Stewarts' tenure on Wye Island. The soil surrounding feature 17 is fill, with a mixture of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century materials. Although we can only get a good handle on the destruction of this building, it is most likely a late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century construction for the tenant farm. Since the foundation is a brick pier, the building functioned as some sort of outbuilding for the farm, something like a corncrib or chicken coop, in which the buildings needed to be off the ground to either let air flow through to dry the corn or to keep feed or animals away from rodents and predators.

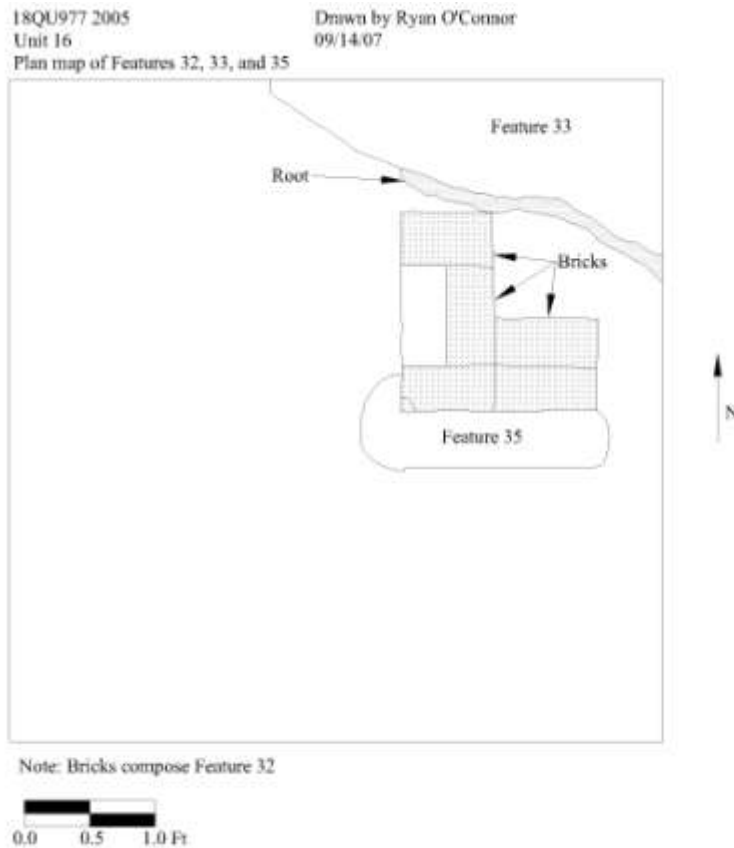
#### Brick Pier for Farm Outbuilding

Unit 16 was opened during the 2005 field season to the west of units 8 and 12 to attempt to find more of the deep foundation that was uncovered within those units. This foundation was not recovered. However a brick pier, dubbed feature 32, was found 0.3' below the ground surface in the northeastern section of the unit (Figure 5-31). The pier consists of six bricks laid in a corner, four courses deep that extended through levels A, B, and into level C where it came to an end. There were no artifacts associated with this feature.

Feature 35 was a builder's trench associated with the brick pier. It was a 10YR 3/3 dark brown sandy loam soil found along the southern portion of the brick pier at a depth of 1.12' below the ground surface and ending at a depth of 1.32' below the surface. The artifacts recovered from the builder's trench were mostly non-diagnostic building material such as brick, window glass, and mortar, as well as coal and oyster shell. One piece of machine-made glass was recovered as well as a wire nail suggests a 20<sup>th</sup> century



date. No artifacts were found in the surrounding level B, and the artifacts found within level C were extremely disturbed due to bioturbation, but includes machine-made glass and wire nails.



**Figure 5-31: Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map Unit 16, All Features**

Feature 33 was found in the northeast corner of unit 16 at a depth of between 0.62' and 0.67' below the ground surface and was 0.47' in depth at its deepest point. It was a 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown very sand loam with large mortar inclusions (Figure 5-31). The artifacts found within feature 33 include a number of wire nails and pieces of machine-made glass as well as a wide variety of ceramics such as Rhenish blue and grey stoneware, brown stenciled whiteware, and overglaze transferprint whiteware. Quite a bit of building material was recovered from within feature 33 including mortar, plaster, brick fragments, flat glass, and wire mesh. Taken together with the location, soil texture and artifact content, feature 33 is most likely a builder's trench, probably for the building that the feature 32 brick pier belongs to.

Altogether, features 32, 33, and 35 suggest that there was some type of farm outbuilding situated in this location. Its date range in comparison to the deep cellar feature found within nearby units 18, 19, 12, 12A, 21, and 22 is not known, as the cellar was dug deep into the ground through earlier late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century features within unit 21. Feature 32's function is also not specifically known, it is most likely a chicken coop or

corn crib, or any type of farm structure that requires the building to be up off the ground, to keep the material enclosed away from rodents and predators, or, in the case of the corn crib, to dry the produce.

### Chimney Portion

Uncovered within unit 21A, before it became integrated with the units that eventually became the 10' by 15' unit 21 was a small portion of a chimney. Named feature 37, it was uncovered directly below level A, at the top of level B, just below the ground surface. In the middle of the northern section of unit 21A, 3.0' north of the southern wall of the unit was a large amount of mortar and brick rubble, along with four bricks mortared together in a semi-circle (Figure 5-32). The interior of the mortared bricks was covered in soot and ash, and a number of pieces of burned plaster and brick were recovered from the surrounding debris, as well as a substantial amount of coal. All total, 6 lbs of plaster and mortar were uncovered from within feature 37. The soil comprising feature 37 was a 10YR 3/3 dark brown sandy loam, as compared to the surrounding level B soil, which was a 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam.

It is most likely that this portion of chimney was transported here as fill when the 20<sup>th</sup> century building within unit 21 was destroyed. It is possible that this chimney may have been a part of that building (see next section entitled "Brick Floor" for more discussion,) however because it is redeposited, a date is unknown. The artifact content of feature 37 is primarily composed of building material, one partial shell button, and one piece of Chinese porcelain, these were the only domestic artifacts recovered.

The soil surrounding feature 37, level B, of unit 21A suggests a phase 3-destruction date for the building the chimney was attached to, sometime after the mid-portion of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Artifacts in Level B included a glass marble, a plastic toy pig, a portion of a pocketknife, a copper shell casing for a Union Metallic Cartridge Company cartridge dating from 1867 to 1911 (Steinhauer 2007) and pieces of machine-made glass. A large amount of building debris was also uncovered in level B including mortar and plaster, brick, wire nails, and a substantial number of pieces of window glass. These artifacts suggest that the building that the feature 36 floor (see below,) and perhaps the feature 37 chimney belonged to, was destroyed *in situ* and the construction materials were used as fill.

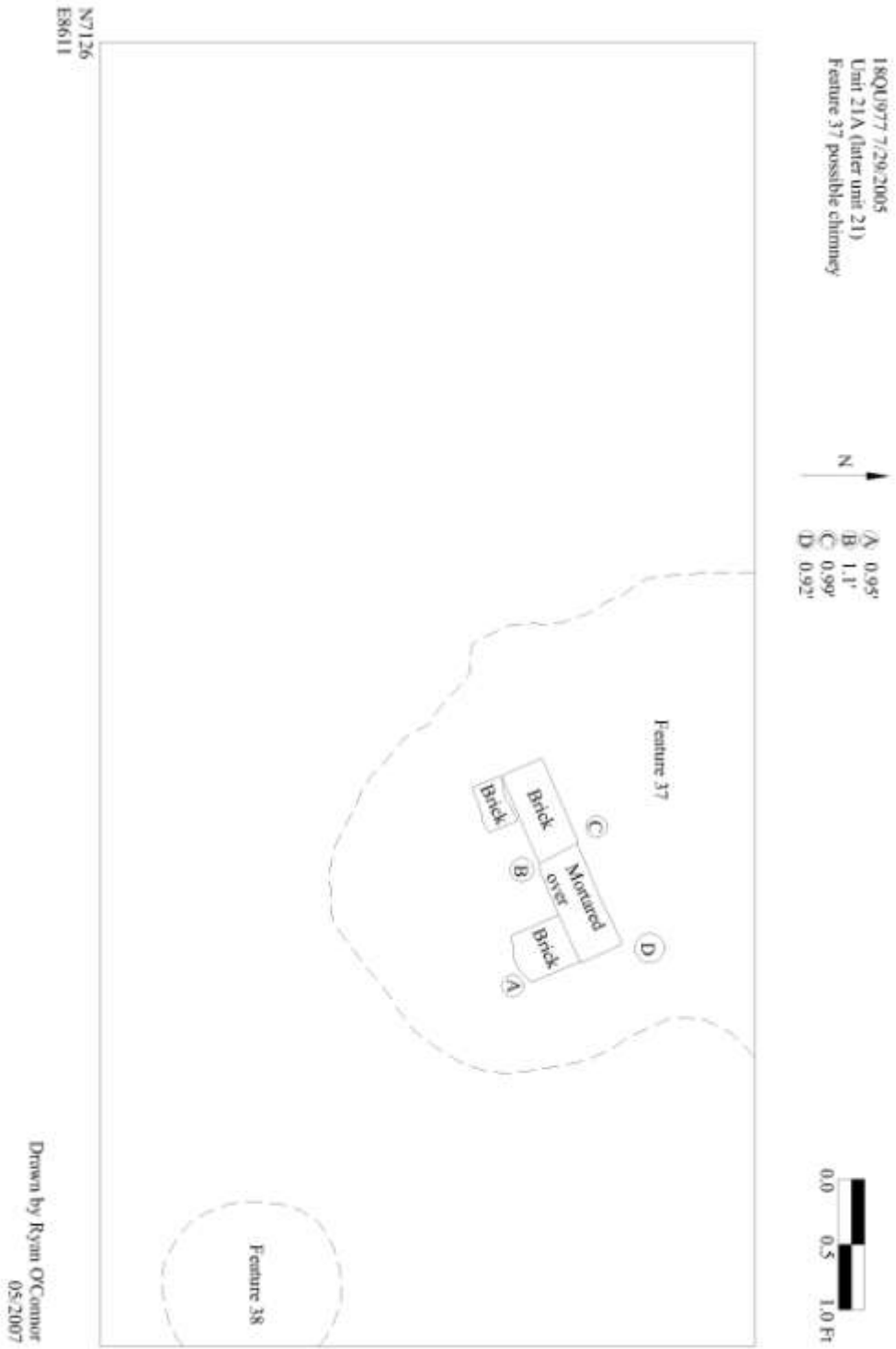


Figure 5-32: Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map Unit 21, Feature 37 (Chimney)

## Brick Floor

Feature 36, uncovered within units 17, 20, and 21, (later to be merged together and be renamed unit 21,) and within unit 22, was a brick floor. No other architectural features from this building were uncovered. Feature 36 was uncovered at a depth of between 0.5' and 1.15' below the ground surface. The floor was located directly below level B in all four units. The floor consisted of between 150 and 175 bricks that were laid east-to-west, placed end-to-end with no mortar between them (Figure 5-33). The dimensions of the remaining portion of the floor were approximately 5' north-to-south and 7' east-to-west. The most northern section of feature 36 runs for one row of bricks almost the entire width of units 17 and 20, 10 feet, into the eastern wall of unit 20 (Figure 5-34). Feature 36 also goes for an unidentified distance further into the western wall of unit 17 (Figure 5-35).

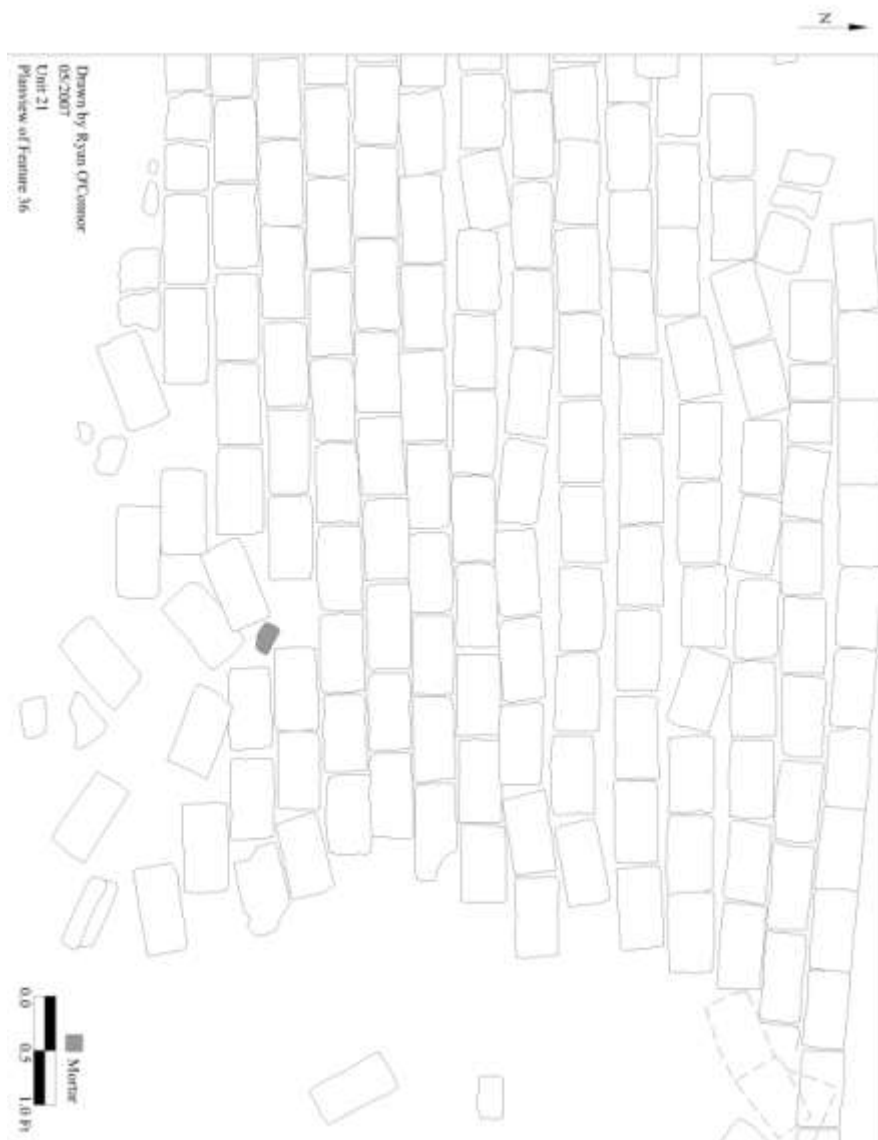


Figure 5-33: Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map of Unit 21 Feature 36, (20<sup>th</sup> Century Brick Floor)



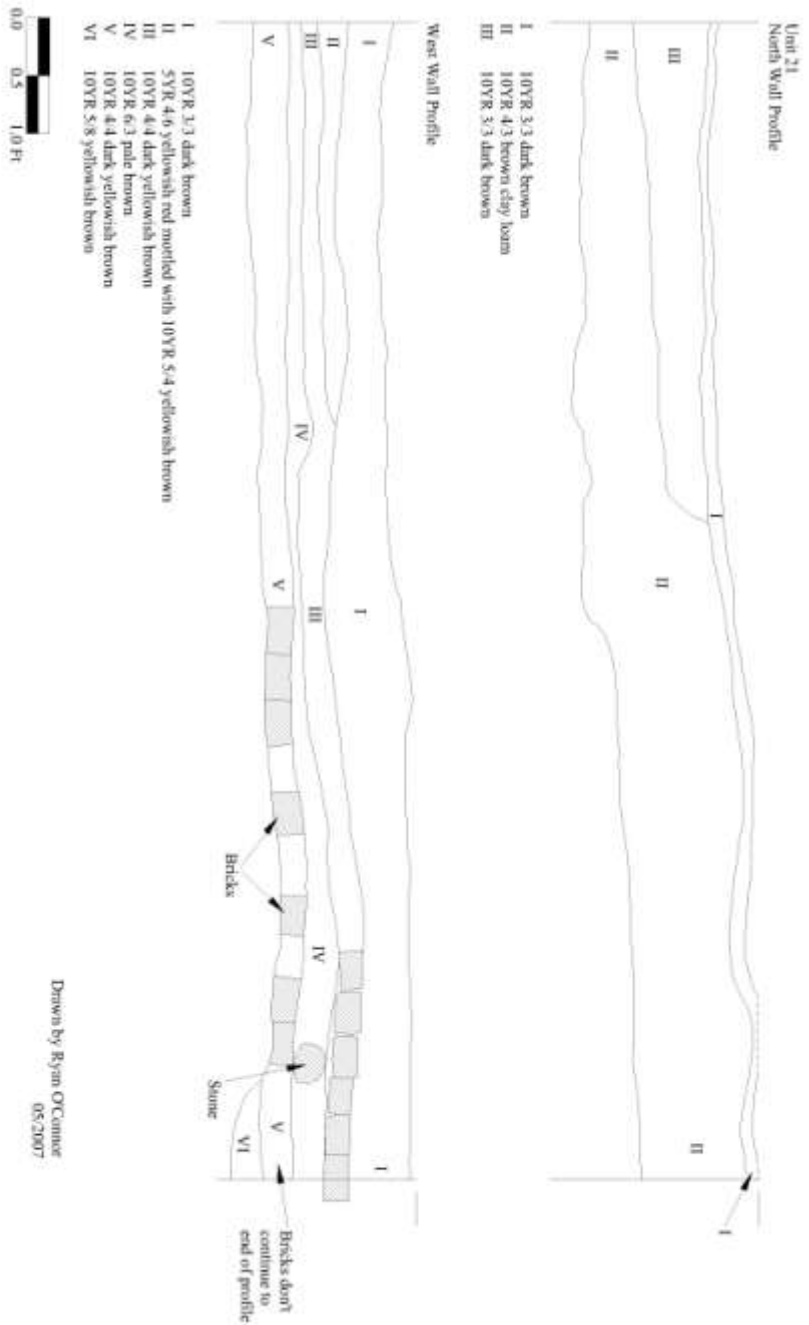


Figure 5-35: Wye Island 2005 Field School West and North Walls Profile Map of Unit 21

The southern portion of the floor seems to have been robbed out for other building construction in the tenant farm. The northern portion of the floor slopes down into the clay-filled depression that is a continuation of the cellar, feature 39, located in units 8, 12, 18, and 19.

Located directly below feature 36 is level D, which overlies level F. Level D was a 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown sand mottled with a 10YR 4/4 yellowish brown sand that was approximately 0.1' thick. Level F was a 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown extremely sandy layer that was less than 0.1' thick. Levels D and F are defined as sand used during construction of the floor to level the ground surface before the bricks were laid. There was a large artifact content, mostly domestic material, within these two layers, and a piece of ironstone ceramic with a maker's mark for the British ceramic company W & E Corn places the construction of the floor after 1900. The specific maker's mark was only produced between the years 1900 and 1904 (Birks 2003.) Other artifacts found within levels D and F in unit 21 (formerly units 17 and 20) include lamp chimney glass, portions of a Ricketts mold bottle (Jones and Sullivan 1989:29,) decaled whiteware, ironstone with a portion of a maker's mark that reads "Stone China," a bone button, a portion of a decaled bone china saucer, worked bone, portions of a bottle with a patent finish (Bureau of Land Management 2007,) pencil lead, and a large number of other sherds of ceramic.

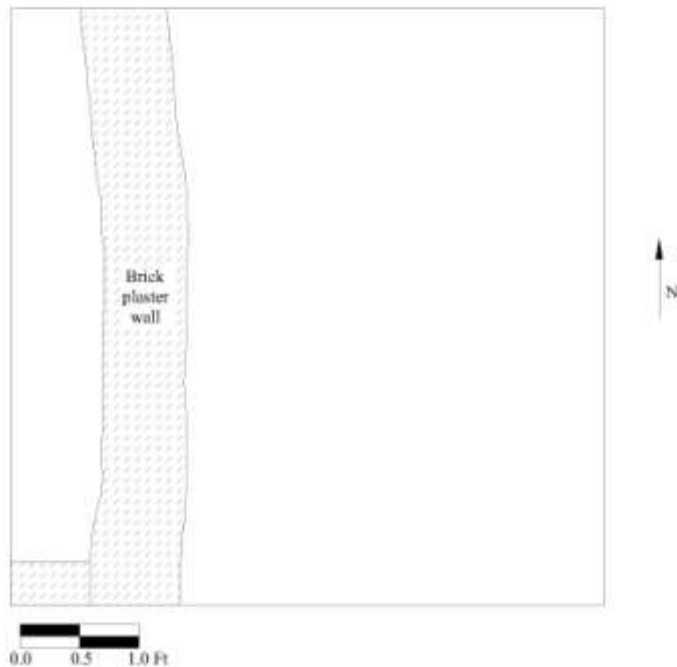
There is very little of this structure remaining other than the floor; no other features were uncovered. It was solidly dated to phase 2, late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, by the W & E Corn ironstone maker's mark discussed in the previous paragraph. Most likely the building was demolished slightly before or around the time that the structure in unit 12 was built, which has a phase 2 date as well. Level B was found directly above feature 36 in all portions of the unit. Artifacts from level B had a slightly more recent date, suggesting that this portion of the floor was not covered with fill until after the building of which feature 39 is a portion was demolished and filled in sometime later in the century. These artifacts included part of a glass Pepsi bottle, a bottle with a Maryland Glass Company maker's mark, which was produced between 1930 and 1961 (Toulouse 1971), orange hard plastic, a polystyrene plastic bottle neck and finish dating from the late 1930s onward (Bellis 2005,) and aluminum foil dating from after 1940 (Miller 2002). The function of this building is unknown at this time. Because of the high concentration of domestic debris found in the sand directly below the floor, it is possible that this floor was part of a farmhouse. The dimensions of this floor are unknown, and could be quite large. It is possible that feature 36 was part of a building that was similar in dimensions to the extant farmhouse, on the order of 25' by 40'.

### Deep Cellar and Brick Foundation

Unit 8 was opened 15' to the west of unit 4, in an attempt to find the southwest corner of the building foundation, feature 3, seen on the surface of unit 4, or at least more of its southern wall. No remnants of feature 3 were uncovered within unit 8, however another building was uncovered that we called feature 24. The foundation was uncovered between 3.2' and 3.62' below the ground surface in the western portion of unit 8 (Figure 5-36). The foundation wall runs from the southwest corner of unit 8, along the south wall, for 1.4' and then runs north for the entire length of the unit, 5.0', continuing into the north wall of the unit, for an unknown distance. The foundation was 0.7' wide, made of brick and covered in significant amounts of plaster, including a large amount of plaster in the surrounding soil.

18QU977 2004  
Unit 8  
Plan View of Feature 24

Drawn by Ryan O'Connor  
08/27/07



**Figure 5-36: Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map of Unit 8, Feature 24 (Foundation of Building Destroyed in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century)**

The entire wall was plastered; therefore the number of courses of brick that it contained is unknown. This foundation goes to a depth of at least 5.0', however, exactly how deep is unknown; excavation had to be closed before the bottom of the foundation was uncovered.

A builder's trench, feature 23, ran 0.15' east of the foundation along the entire eastern side of the north-south running portion of the wall. The trench consisted of a 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow sand and was found at about the same depth as the wall, between 3.18' and 3.26' below the ground surface. The only artifacts within the trench were building materials, brick and plaster. The builder's trench was not completely excavated as it sat too close to feature 22, a modern pipe, which could not be disturbed.

The interior of the foundation, north and west of the wall, was not completely excavated, again due to time constraints. Level F was the first level completely within the foundation, starting at a depth between 3.25' and 3.63' below the ground surface. This soil was a 10YR 4/3 brown clay mottled with sand and large amounts of building debris including brick fragments, mortar, plaster, and rust stains, as well as a large concentration of burned material. The artifacts in this fill level were predominantly 20<sup>th</sup> century, machine-made bottle glass, wire nails, large parts of a sanitary style tin can, which was produced after 1894 (University of Utah 1992,) a license plate, and a glass Pepsi bottle of a style manufactured between 1920 and 1926. The concentration of early 20<sup>th</sup> century artifacts and burned material suggests that the destruction and fill of this structure took place some time during the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most likely coinciding with



the burning of most of the tenant farm buildings by the Stewarts in the 1930s (Gibbons 1987).

During the 2005 field season, unit 12 was opened 3 feet to the west of unit 8, to see if more of this foundation could be uncovered. The north walls of both unit 8 and unit 12 were along the same transect, north 7150. Eventually this unit became a 10' by 10' unit. Then excavation unit 18 was opened next to unit 12 on the west and the two were merged into unit 12A, and a 5' by 10' unit, 19, was opened directly north of 12A (Figure 5-5).

Running east-to-west through the middle of the units was a mortared brick wall. It ran the entire width of the units, 10', and was at its highest point 7 brick courses tall, at its lowest, only 4. The wall was found at a depth of between 3.0' and 3.74' below the ground surface, within levels F and G in unit 12A and levels C and D in unit 19. On the north side of this wall feature 40 was uncovered, which was the builder's trench for the wall. The builder's trench was filled with a 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown sand and it was found at a depth of between 3.0' and 3.62' below the ground surface (Figure 5-37). The trench ran to an unknown depth. The unit was closed after level I was discovered; level I was a concrete floor found south of the wall, over the entire unit 12A. The floor was discovered at a depth of 4.5' below the ground surface.

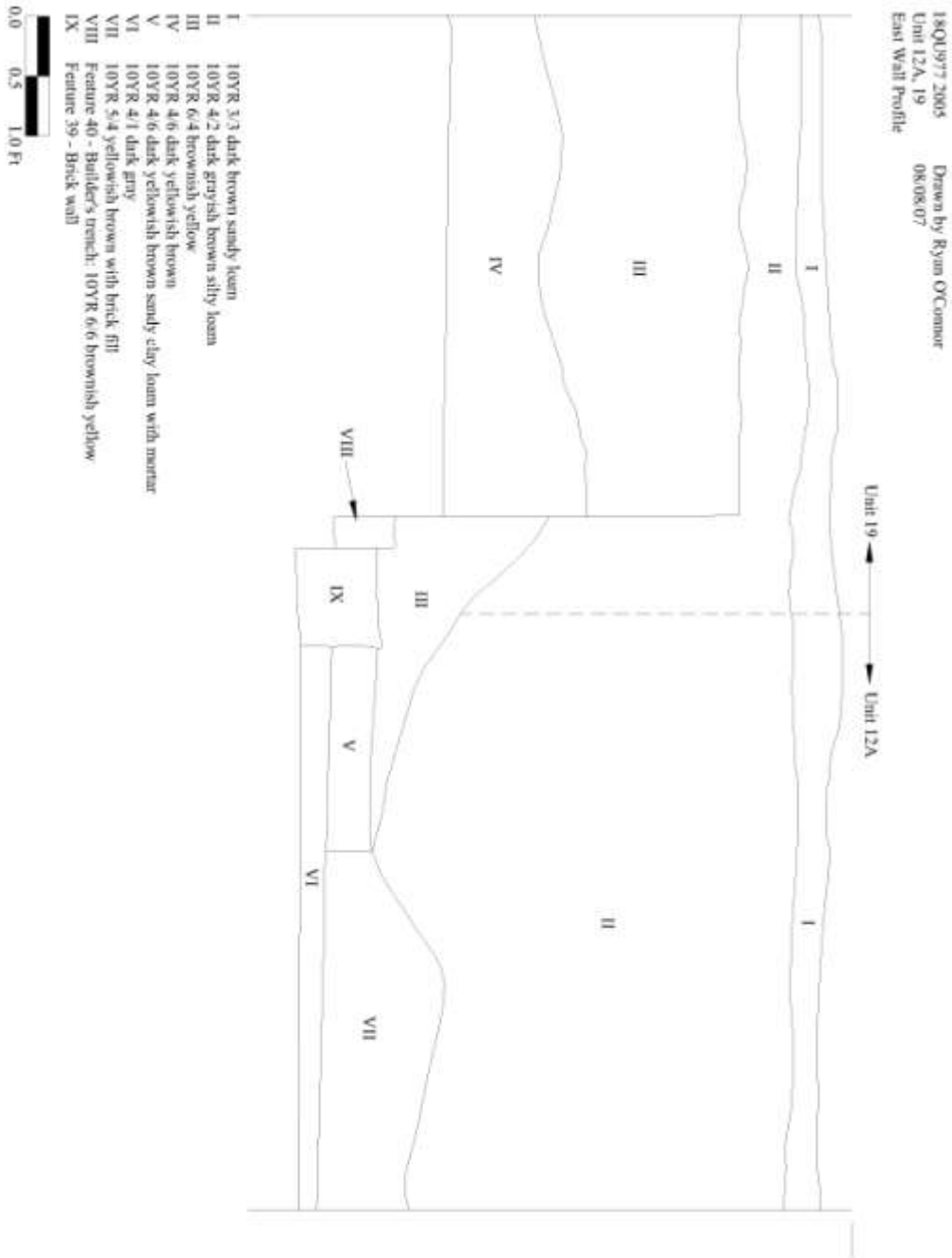
Levels B through G of unit 12A, and levels B and C in unit 19 all appeared to be fill. Starting in unit 12A at a depth below the ground surface of between 0.08' and 0.33' an extensive fill layer of construction debris and household materials ran to a depth of almost 6.0' below the ground surface. Levels C, D, and E within unit 12A were a 10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown and 10YR 3/4 dark yellowish brown clay loam, starting at a depth below the ground surface of between 0.25' and 0.5' and extending to depths between 3.65' and 3.81' below the ground surface. This soil contained large quantities of ash. Within this fill, in all of the units, was an extensive amount of brick rubble. Some of this rubble, within unit 12, was in a discrete pile, and labeled feature 31.

Starting within level C, at a depth of between 1.6' and 2.9' below the ground surface was a large pile of brick and mortar debris. The feature was divided into two levels, 31a and 31b, for ease of excavation. Feature 31a contained 158 whole bricks weighing 821 lbs and feature 31b contained 144 whole bricks weighing 389.5 lbs. Other artifacts included mostly construction debris, mortar, window glass and nails, but some small pieces of ceramic and bottle glass were recovered.

Level B ended at only 0.64' below the ground surface in the northern part of the unit. Artifacts included a large amount of construction debris as well as domestic material such as hand-blown bottle sherds, metal can pieces, and some ceramics.

Levels F, G, and H in unit 12A were mostly mortar fill, starting at a depth below ground surface of about 4.0'. Level F was a 7.5YR 5/8 strong brown sand fill that contained only 29 lbs of brick, large amounts of mortar, some wooden planking, and a piece of sheet metal that was found in the southwest corner of the unit and was approximately 2.0' by 2.5' in size. Levels G and H were more clay-like and contained large amounts of mortar. Level G contained 1332 pieces of mortar weighing 64.5 lbs, while level H contained

mostly mortar so ground up with the soil that it could not be discretely counted and weighed. These three levels were the fill directly within the cellar feature.



**Figure 5-37: Wye Island 2005 Field School East Wall Profile Map of Unit 12/19 (Late 19<sup>th</sup> or Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Building Cellar with Cement Floor)**

A date for this structure is more difficult. There were no datable artifacts found within the builder's trench, feature 40, only construction debris. All of the soil surrounding the wall and within the cellar itself were fill, and therefore cannot shed any light on a date of construction. The date of destruction is evident from a number of sources. Oral history

says that the Stewart's purchased this land and by the late 1930s had burned down and leveled most of the buildings in the tenant farm area (Gibbons 1987.) The ash found in the fill and in all of the levels within the structure confirms this as being the method of destruction of this building, and gives us a date of destruction. A few diagnostic artifacts found in the lowest levels of fill, G and H also support this 1930s demolition date. Within level G there was a metal box that was part of an electrical socket, which was first produced in 1928 (US Patent Office 2007.) Also found within level G was a small piece of a plastic bag. Plastic bags are made from low density polyethylene (American Chemistry Council 2005.) Although polyethylene was first invented in 1933, it was not put into major production for consumer goods until 1942 (Bellis 2005.) Found within level H was part of a machine-made glass bottle with a portion of the text, "Federal law prohibits sale or reuse of this bottle," blown into the bottle. This text was used on glass bottles between 1933 and 1964 (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 1983.) Therefore, the building's destruction is placed in the early part of phase 3. This cellar fill was not excavated due to time constraints. Construction of this building cuts through the brick floor in units 21 and 22, which dated to after 1900. Together, this data suggests that this building was constructed sometime in the later part of phase 2 and destroyed in the early part of phase 3.

The function of this building is posited to be a tenant farm house. Both its size and deep cellar suggest that it was living space and not a barn or other farm outbuilding, structures in the Wye Hall tenant farm area which seem to be more uniformly 10' by 15' or 10' by 20' in size. This structure was uncovered in units 8, 12A, 19, and cellar fill was uncovered in the northern portions of both units 21 and 22. The cellar fill ran for about 12' east-to-west in these units, and was about 2.5' north-to-south. With cellar and wall features from this structure in five units, it is possible to say that the building was at least 30' in the east-to-west dimension, and 15' north-to-south. It is impossible to say what the exact footprint of the building looked like, however it was not just a large rectangle, as seen by the wall configuration in unit 8.

#### Unidentified Building Foundation

During the 2004 shovel test pit survey of the tenant farm area, an STP designated N7096E8680, which was excavated about 70' southwest of the extant chicken coop, revealed a portion of a brick and mortar foundation. Just below the ground surface in the northwest portion of the STP a stone-tempered mortar foundation was uncovered, designated figure 1. It ran into the wall of the STP, and it had visible dimensions of 0.1' by 0.55'. The foundation ran into the subsoil, and beyond the scope of the STP's excavation. The artifacts from the STP, and figure 1's depth of just below the surface, suggest that this feature is of 20<sup>th</sup> century construction. Artifacts included chicken wire, wire nails and some small pieces of glass and ceramic. Although the mortar does not appear to be modern, older building methods were used into the 20<sup>th</sup> century on Wye Island due to scarcity of materials and the impoverished nature of many who lived and farmed the area (Gibbons 1987.) Unit 1 was opened diagonally adjacent to STP N7096E8680, and its southeast corner is touching the northwest portion of the STP, but no more of this foundation was uncovered.

## Yard or Garden Fences

Although Unit 1 was opened to look for the continuation of feature 1 from STP N7096E8680, which was not uncovered, a number of other features were found within the unit. Within level C of unit 1 a large number of soil stains was uncovered, labeled together as feature 9. In total, 17 soil stains were uncovered at a depth between 1.0' and 1.35' below the ground surface, directly below the beginning of level C. Of these 17 soil stains, three were determined to be postholes, while the other 14 were root holes from the large amount of tree root activity that had been seen throughout the entire unit. Level C was comprised of a 10YR 5/3 brown sandy loam, while the root holes were mostly a 10YR 4/3 dark brown silty sand and the post holes were comprised of a 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow silty sand. None of the holes had any artifact content. The three postholes were in the southern portion of the unit, two about 1.0' north of the southern wall in a line with each other, 2.3' apart. The third was 0.8' north of the more westerly posthole (Figure 5-38). All three postholes were approximately 0.2' deep. These postholes are most likely part of a yard fence or a garden fence for any one of the numbers of farm outbuildings that existed in this portion of the site. Very few artifacts were found with level C in unit 1, and no yard scatter was found, so it is suggested that this is a livestock fence, much like the later, phase 3 fences lines that will be discussed later in the report.

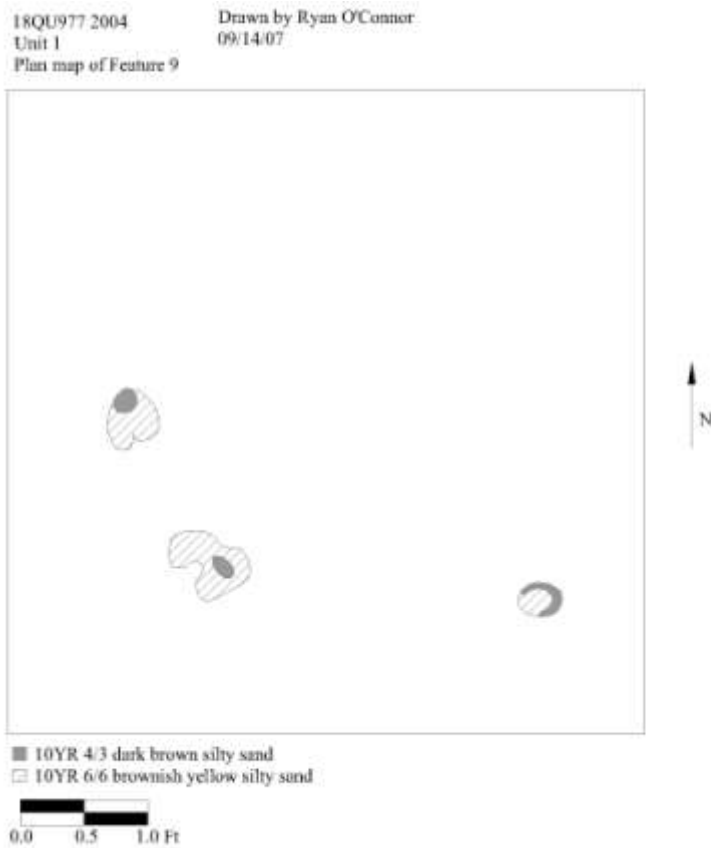


Figure 5-38: Wye Island 2004 Field School Plan Map of Unit 1, Feature 9

A row of six postholes was discovered within unit 13, at the top of level C, between 1.08' and 1.19' below the ground surface. These postholes were labeled feature 27. Another 8 root holes were uncovered within level C of unit 13. The postholes were a 10YR 3/3 dark brown sandy soil, easily distinguished from the surrounding 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown silt that comprised level C. The postholes formed a vertical row, running from the north wall to the south wall of the unit, about 1.7' east of the west wall (Figure 5-39). All of the postholes were between 0.21' and 0.45' deep, and were about 0.3' in diameter. These postholes do not line up with any others that were uncovered during excavations.

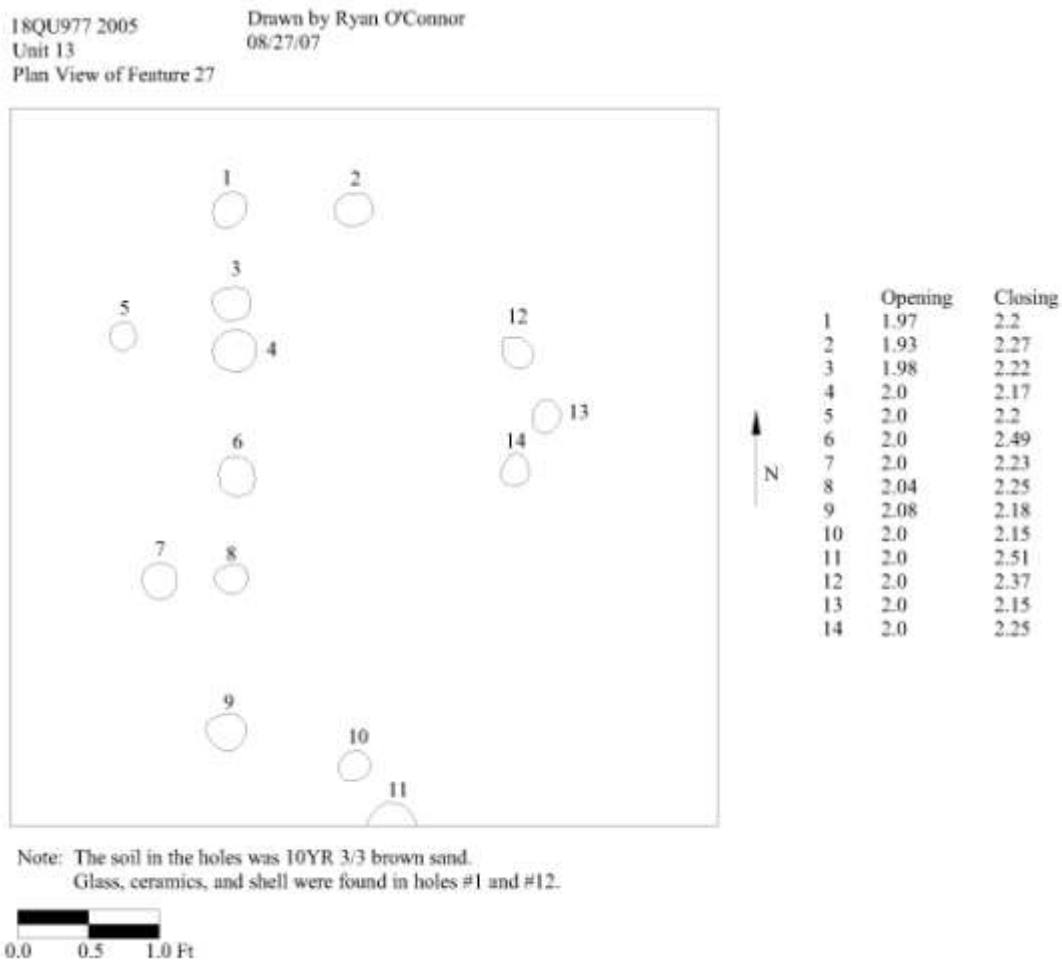


Figure 5-39: Wye Island 2005 Field School Plan Map of Unit 13, Feature 27

Because of their depth and small size, it is most probable that these postholes were part of a yard or garden fence. Very few artifacts were uncovered. One piece of decal decorated English hard-paste porcelain suggests the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as the earliest date for this fence line (Mullins 1988.) The depth of these postholes, especially in relation to other fence lines, suggests a phase 2 date for this feature, and not phase 3.

### 5.3.D. Occupation Phase III: Mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century Garage and Tenant Farm

#### Modern Garage Construction

Unit 17 was placed along the northeast corner of the extant garage, again to determine if any previous building episodes could be found in that location. Along the south wall of the unit, abutting the north wall of the garage a builder's trench was uncovered between 1.05'-1.33' below the ground surface, which was called feature 4. This trench was about 1.0' wide, and consisted of a 10YR 3/6 dark yellowish brown sandy loam with deposits of mortar that seemed to have been spilled there during construction. The trench was filled with architectural debris such as brick and nails, but very few datable artifacts.

#### Lean-to for Modern Garage

Within unit 17, running south to north from the north wall of the garage, about 1.0' from the west wall of the unit, are a line of five postholes, features 9 through 13. These post holes start at a depth between 2.25'-2.65' below the ground surface and are between 0.3' deep (feature 13) and 0.9' deep (feature 9) (Figure 5-40). These post holes are all a 10YR 3/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam with very few artifacts, some brick and mortar fragments, found within. In the southwest corner of unit 17 there was a 1.0' diameter hole, labeled feature 5, filled with a 10YR 2/1 black inorganic material that is most likely an oil dump (Figure 5-40). Feature 5 was found at similar depth as the five postholes, 2.65' below the surface; it ended at a depth of 3.99' below the surface. Taking all of these features together, it seems that the postholes are the remnant of a lean-to next to the garage, possibly to shelter equipment, which would account for the placement of the oil dump.

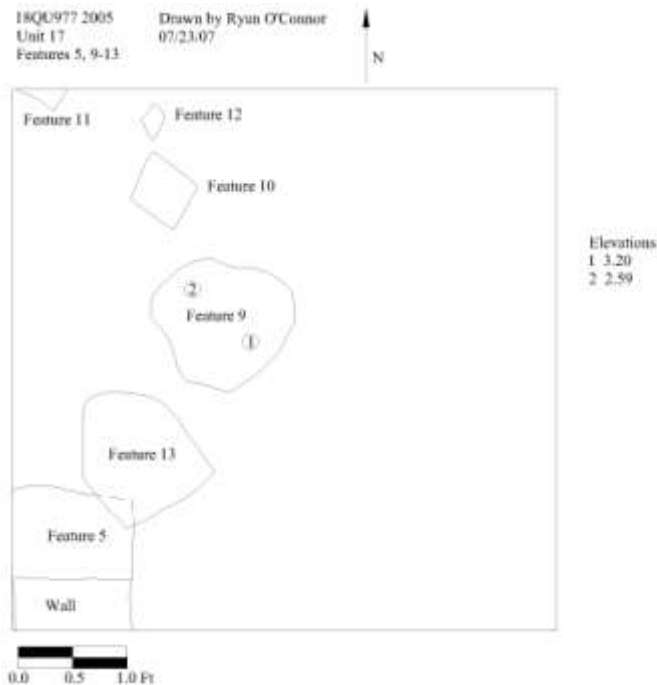


Figure 5-40: Wye Island 2002 Field School Plan Map of Unit 17, All Features

## Extant Farm Structures

During the 1930s most of the structures in the tenant farm area were destroyed on the direction of Jacqueline Stewart, who at this point owned two-thirds of Wye Island (Gibbons 1987:99.) The Stewarts knew very little about farming, and after a number of failed attempts with horses and sheep, Jacqueline bought a herd of Hereford cattle, and had her cowboys strip out hedgerows, fences, and buildings to make room for them (Gibbons 1987:97.) By the time Jacqueline Stewart died in 1964 only one family of tenant farmers was living on the property along with Mrs. Stewart's cowboys (Gibbons 1987:100.) There are the standing remains of a few farm buildings in the tenant farm area that existed from this time, as well as a few small archaeological features uncovered from the later 20<sup>th</sup> century, most notably fence postholes.

The largest of these is a farmhouse built on a foundation of cinderblocks, with a standing brick chimney. Most of the building materials from the house have been removed from the site, likely to be used as construction materials on other homes. Children of former tenant farmers on Wye Island recalled this as an area where bricks were robbed in order to be reused elsewhere for building (Personal Communication to Jennifer Babiarz). Less than thirty feet to the rear of the farmhouse is a structure with a wooden floor, approximately 10' by 20'. The purpose of this building is unclear, but its location suggests that it was probably a storage shed for the farmhouse. Also lying to the north of the farmhouse, on the verge of the bluff where the shoreline runs, is another small wooden building, this one on a concrete slab, which appears to have been a chicken coop. There is chicken wire set in the ground around this building. About 150' to the east of the farmhouse, there is a filled in brick-lined well which is very likely related to the Tenant Farm occupation of the site. Near the well, there is a cattle guard with a concrete foundation.

To the west of the farmhouse stands a large structure which was most likely a pheasant house. During his visit to the site, David Bryan (who previously lived at Wye Hall) offered this explanation, and the nature of the building. The pheasant house stands on a cinderblock foundation, has a dirt floor, and is enclosed by a small yard defined with chicken wire; its dimensions are around 20' by 20'. Between the farmhouse and the pheasant house, sitting directly next to the farm road, are two standing corn cribs within a line of five corn cribs. Each has an octagonal poured concrete base which measures seven feet on a side, and two have a tall metal frame (which would have held the stores of dried corn) still standing; for three of the corn cribs, the base is all that remains.

## Tenant Farm Area

### Modern Water Pipe:

Within unit 8, running north south through the entire unit 1.5' west of the east wall was a trench for a modern pipe. The pipe continues, unexcavated, north of unit 8 to an above ground spigot, 20' to the north, adjacent to the doorway of the extant pheasant house. A trench starting between 1.11' and 1.49' below the ground surface was uncovered, 1.2'

wide, composed of 10YR 4/6 dark yellowish brown sandy loam mottled with a 10YR 3/3 dark yellowish brown sandy clay, visibly different from the surround level C soil, which was a 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow sandy loam. The trench was between 0.35' and 0.64' deep. At the base of the trench was a narrow, 0.1' wide metal pipe. The pipe was pedestaled and then excavation was discontinued within feature 22.

The artifact content of feature 22 was a number of types of building material, bricks, mortar, cut and wire nails, as well as some glass and ceramics, such as whiteware, European soft paste porcelain, and mold-blown glass that have been in continual use since the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, give no solid date for this feature. The trench was found cut completely into level C, which seems to have a late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century date due to the presence of only wire nails, machine-made glass, and light bulb glass, making it clear that the pipe post-dates this level, and is of 20<sup>th</sup> century manufacture.

#### Livestock Fence:

Three cement post supports with the remnants of wooden posts still partially in them were uncovered during the 2004 and 2005 field seasons. These postholes were discovered in units 1, 12, and 15. A fourth large posthole and post mold was discovered within unit 13. The posthole in unit 15 is part of the fence line for the standing 1950s farm house, and the posthole within unit 1 seems to line up with this fence line, and could be part of a now gone fence that was associated with the standing farm house (Figure 5-5). The posthole in the upper levels of unit 12 is probably associated with the extant pheasant barn.

All four of these postholes were most likely part of 20<sup>th</sup> century livestock fences. Chicken and pheasants were kept during the mid and later part of the century in the tenant farm area. Herds of cattle also grazed in the fields on the property up until the early 1960s (Gibbons 1987:97.)

Feature 7 was uncovered in unit 1 during the 2004 field season. It was found within the southeast portion of level B, along the southern wall, 0.49'-0.58' below the ground surface. The posthole is 1.7' wide with cement footer around an interior of soil, for which there is no longer a post. The interior soil is a 10YR 4/3 brown sandy loam, quite similar to the surrounding soil in level B. The STP was not completely excavated, although it continued through to the bottom of the excavations, which was about 2.0' below the ground surface. The artifact content was very limited, and non-diagnostic, consisting of only of coal, oyster shell, and modern wire nails.

Feature 34 was found in unit 15 during the 2005 field season and is in-line with extant postholes around the standing tenant farm house. This feature consists of a shorn off wooden post and posthole. The posthole was found within the east central portion of level B, starting 0.84' below the ground surface. The posthole portion of feature 34 was about 1.0' across at its widest point, and the post itself was 0.3' in diameter. The post was coming out of the posthole a ways, and was found at a starting elevation of 0.3' below the ground surface. The posthole consists of a 10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown sandy silt



loam with some oyster shell inclusions. It continued to a depth of between 0.1.60'-1.84' below the ground surface. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered, only brick and oyster shell. This posthole is adjudged to be from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century due to its depth in the level and its proximity to the 1950s tenant farm house, as well as its being in-line with similar posts still standing from the later half of the century.

Feature 25 was found within unit 12, and is most likely of the same time period as the postholes, features 7 and 34. This feature consists of a cement footer for a post, and the shorn off remains of a wooden post in pieces within it. Feature 25 was found in the northwestern section of unit 12 within level B, at a depth of between 0.24'-0.33' below the ground surface. The posthole is about 0.8' in diameter, a semi-circle of cement around the remains of the wooden post. The cement footer has a closing elevation of between 1.76'-1.8' below the ground surface. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered from the posthole. This feature is most likely associated with the extant pheasant barn, as part of a livestock fence.

Within unit 13 a posthole and a post mold with pieces of wood from the post still remaining were uncovered and named features 29 and 30. The posthole and post mold were found in the southeast corner of the unit, in the wall, starting at a depth of 0.70' below the ground surface and ending at a depth of 2.9' below the ground surface (Figure 5-41). The posthole was a 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown silt and the surrounding post mold was a 7.5YR 3/2 dark brown silt within level B of unit 13, a mixed 10YR 4/3 brown and 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown sandy loam. No artifacts were recovered from the posthole or post mold, however the surrounding soil has a late 19<sup>th</sup> century date due to the presence of a zinc mason jar lid with the text "Genuine Boyd Cap for Mason Jars" on it, dating the artifact to after 1869 (Bureau of Land Management 2007.) This posthole was found at a similar depth to the ones in unit 1 and seem to be in-line with them. It is suggested, then, that this posthole and post mold are part of the fence line that were found in unit 1.

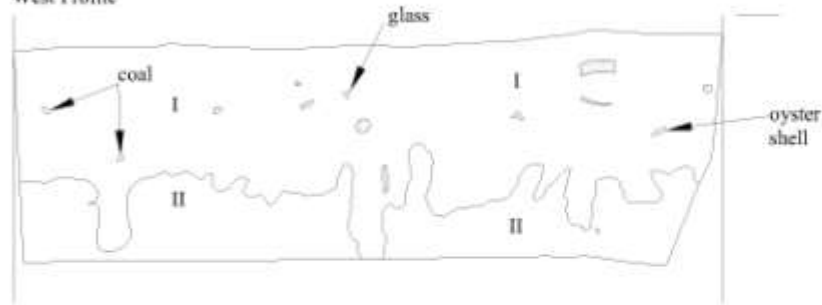
#### Post Hole:

Within level A of unit 5, a posthole and post mold, labeled feature 5, was discovered along the western wall, 2.1' south of the north wall of the unit. The uncovered portion of the posthole, not within the wall was 0.4' in diameter and found 0.105' below the ground surface, running to a depth of 0.65' below the ground surface. The posthole was a 10YR 3/4 dark yellowish brown sandy loam and the post mold was a darker 10YR 4/1 dark gray silty loam. No artifacts were uncovered within feature 5. The use for this post hole is unknown.

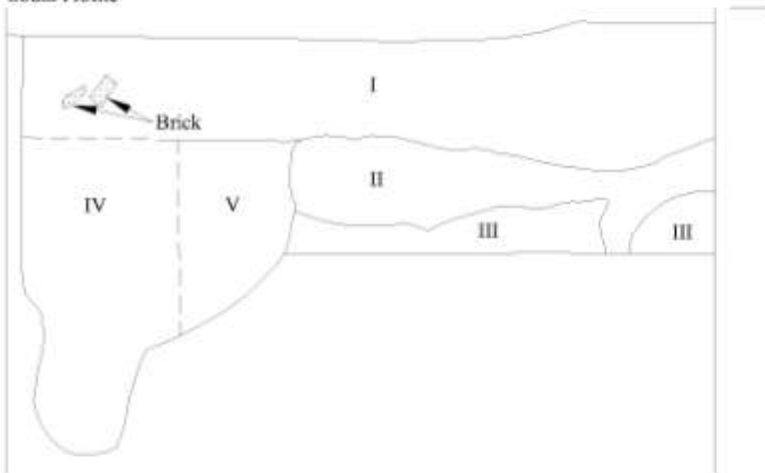
18QU977 2005  
Unit 13  
West and South Profiles

Drawn by Mike Gubisch  
10/2006  
Edited by Ryan O'Connor  
05/2007

West Profile



South Profile



- I 10YR 3/3 dark brown sandy loam
- II 10YR 3/4 brown sandy loam 50% mottled with 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown sandy loam 50%
- III 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown sandy silty loam
- IV Feature 29 10YR 3/2 dark brown silty loam
- V Feature 30 10YR 5/8 yellowish brown silty loam



Figure 5-41: Wye Island 2005 Field School South and West Walls Profile Map of Unit 13

### **5.3.E. Ambiguous Dates and Natural Features:**

We were unable to assign a limited number of features to a specific phase in the chronology created for the Wye Hall site. Mostly the features that are unassigned are postholes with little or no artifact content, and a stratigraphic placement that has them straddling the phase 2/phase 3 boundary.

A large number of features were excavated throughout the three years of this project that represent natural alterations to the landscape. These include root holes and rodent burrows. All of these features will be identified briefly at the end of this section, in the efforts of completeness.

#### Farm Equipment Refuse Pile

During 2004, STP N6096E8640 was excavated 20' south of an extant outbuilding and about 40' southeast of the standing tenant farmhouse. Very close to the surface of the test pit, a large piece of metal machinery was uncovered, and since it could not be removed from the STP due to its size, was labeled feature 2. The exact type of equipment is unknown. A number of other metal objects came out of the STP as well as a number of pieces of mortar. This is most likely a refuse pile for broken machinery. Nothing in the STP could provide a specific date, but the equipment is clearly 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Post Hole

A posthole was found in 2004 within unit 5 that has been identified as 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, to which phase it belongs exactly is unknown. Along the southern wall of unit 5, 0.54' below the ground surface, a small portion of a posthole was identified and labeled as feature 13. The posthole was a 10YR 4/4 dark brown silt that was easily recognizable amongst the level D of the unit, a loosely packed 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown sandy clay. Feature 13 terminated at a depth of 1.01' below the ground surface. It had a maximum diameter of a little over 0.1', and was 1.5' east from the western wall of the unit. No artifacts were uncovered within the feature 13 posthole, and the artifact content of the surrounding level D was an ambiguous mix of late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century artifacts.

#### Rock Pile

During the 2002 excavations, in the northeast corner of unit 15, placed near the extant garage, a 1' by 1' rock pile was found on the ground surface. It contained no artifacts.

#### Possible Postholes

During the 2002 field season, two possible postholes were uncovered within unit 16, near the modern garage. There were substantial numbers of root holes and rodent burrows found within the unit as well, so it is unclear if these two features, numbers 2 and 3, are actually postholes or natural holes. The features were found in a line in the southern

portion of unit 16, about 2 feet east of the western wall of the unit. Feature 2 is approximately 0.7' north of the southern wall, and 1.1' in diameter at its widest place. Feature 3 is about 1.0' north of feature 2 and is 0.7' wide in diameter. Both postholes were found at the bottom of level C, 1.2' below the ground surface. Feature 2 was 0.2' deep, while feature 3 was 0.69' deep. If these features were postholes they were for an insubstantial fence, such as for a yard or garden. No diagnostic artifacts were recovered from either feature, nor were diagnostic artifacts found in either levels C or D. It is most likely that they date from the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Root Holes and Rodent Burrows Excavated in 2002

Many features were excavated during the 2002 field season that were naturally occurring root disturbances or rodent burrows. In the northwest portion of unit 20, at the bottom of level C was a large rodent burrow, at a depth of 1.2' below the ground surface. A number of root casts were found within level C in unit 21. These were identified as streaks of 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown silty loam within the 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown sand of the level. In the southwest corner of the unit, and the end of a root cast was a small square soil discoloration, identified as a root hole.

Two root holes were discovered and marked as features within unit 26, labeled features 21 and 23. Feature 21 was a large 10YR 4/3 brown sand in the northeast corner of level D. It was almost 2.0' wide at its maximum diameter and contained only a few artifacts moved through bioturbation into the root hole, and a number of pieces of wood. Feature 23 was found in the southeast corner of level D, and contained few artifacts and a large number of pieces of wood. At its maximum diameter feature 23 was 2.3' wide.

A root hole was uncovered and labeled feature 26 in unit 28, level D. The root disturbance was quite small, at maximum 0.7' in diameter and 0.2' deep. There were no diagnostic artifacts; the loamy texture of the soil and the wood remains identified it as a root path.

#### Root Holes and Rodent Burrows Excavated in 2004/2005

A number of features that were excavated during the 2004 and 2005 field seasons were naturally occurring, including a number of root holes and potential rodent burrows. Fourteen of the seventeen holes that were found within unit 1 were identified as root holes and are described briefly, along with the three postholes discovered, above in the Phase 2 Tenant Farm section. Feature 4, uncovered at a depth of 0.12' below the ground surface within unit 4 was identified as a root hole. It was in the northwest portion of the unit, going to a depth of between 0.28' and 0.48' below the ground surface. The root hole was about a foot in diameter and was filled with a 10YR 3/1 very dark gray sandy loam and a large number of pieces of wood.

Within layer B of unit 6 was a large, 10YR 4/3 brown sandy loam feature within a uniformly 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown silty sand level. This soil was located within the southwest corner of unit 6 between 1.1' and 1.49' below the ground surface. This was

called feature 6, and was 1.4' in diameter at its widest point. Some pieces of wood were uncovered within feature 6, and very few artifacts were found, all moved due to bioturbation.

Three potential postholes, later determined to be root holes, were uncovered within unit 9. All three were in the northeast corner of the unit at a depth of approximately 0.8' below the ground surface. All three consisted of a 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown sandy loam with 2.5YR 5/6 red very-sandy trailers radiating away from them, the places where the roots sat upon level A and rotted in place, or were removed.

Within unit 3, level A were a number of root disturbances, identified by their different color and soil texture, 10YR 4/3 brown silty loam within a level that was a 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown silty soil. None of these root disturbances was marked or excavated separately. Two rodent burrows, labeled feature 11, were excavated from with level B of unit 3, at a depth of approximately 1.30' below the ground surface. These burrows were a mix of the surrounding level B soil, a 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam and a 10Yr 5/6 yellowish brown sandy loam, a 10YR 4/1 dark gray sandy loam, and a 10YR 6/2 light brownish gray sandy loam. The burrows were between 0.35' and 0.75' deep and twisted and curved for their entire length.

# Chapter 6: Interpretations and Conclusions

## 6.2. Interpretations

Since 2002, our research into the lives of those who had been enslaved at Wye Hall led us through archaeological and documentary findings that have enriched our understanding of the entire plantation landscape, as well as the complexities of life for all those living on the Island between the 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although Wye Island was isolated by virtue of its topography, its landscape and inhabitants played a rich and important role in Eastern Shore and national historical narratives. The primary documentary research focused on state and federal records that could present a general picture of the plantation's changes through time: the federal census, tax records, and deeds of sale and manumission. As the Paca family records had been destroyed by fire, these public records were indispensable for helping us begin to piece together how the plantation might have been organized and how daily agricultural and other household activities might have impacted the lives of enslaved individuals and their families. The analysis worked by combining this rather unfocused and general information with the many secondary historical works that have been written on the subject of slavery in the New World. This is also how we approached our archaeological work: we knew how plantation landscapes were often organized, and we knew something about the size and scope of this particular plantation, so we were able to use techniques like shovel testing to narrow down the possible location of an enslaved living area. After the Phase I survey located the area of the island with the greatest potential for a substantial stratified site for slave quarters, the work of our Phase II and III helped locate a large extant quarter and excavate it thoroughly. The lack of primary documentation left us with some ambiguities in the analysis of specific life histories, but the archaeology gave us the opportunity to touch on a more general understanding of how the lives of enslaved African Americans were shaped by the histories and landscape of Wye Island.

The results of the archaeology performed from 2002 through 2005 reflected the intense agricultural use of the island over the last 250 years. Wye Island has some of the most fertile soil in the state and was able to produce a great deal of livestock and produce; the largest of these harvests was wheat. This large scale of production required huge amounts of labor in the form of enslaved individuals and families before the Civil War and tenant farmers after the Civil War. This is a pattern that was common across the agricultural South. When William Paca, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, member of the Continental Congress, and politician built Wye Hall, he was doing so in a time of cultural upheaval in the New World. What it meant to be American, and how that was reflected in one's lifestyle, were both questions that were continuing to be discussed across the new nation after the Revolutionary War. The rhetoric used during the war against Britain was particularly important as it revolved around the dual concepts of "slavery" and "freedom". American philosophers and writers used the metaphor of their slavery to England to gain and bolster support for the revolution before and during the war. However, in reflecting on the meaning and consequences of slavery, many white Americans began to question holding other humans in bondage when they fought to release themselves from a similarly perceived state. This burgeoning self-awareness was

strengthened by the occurrence of the Second Great Awakening during the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the Second Great Awakening, grass roots evangelical movements grew up in New England and the South, and solidified the Temperance, female Suffrage, and Abolitionist movements. The social activism of the Second Great Awakening also gave rise to evangelism among enslaved populations in the South. Revolutionary philosophies and religious revivalism combined to create a rise in manumissions and free Black populations. This especially occurred in the Chesapeake, where local Quaker and Methodist populations helped the growth and protection of free Black communities. The tension between the necessities for free labor to support the economy of the South, and the philosophical and moral arguments for abolitionism amassed until the explosion of the Civil War.

William Paca built the Wye Hall landscape that we see today (including the garden, based on plans by Joseph Clark and Luke O'Dio) in the 1790s. Before then, the Pacas and Chews kept a modest home and farm on the island. The Wye Hall grounds that were built in the 1790s were akin to many of the homes of other wealthy planters of the era, such as George Washington's Mount Vernon, the Lloyds' Wye House, and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. Their neoclassical large-scale architecture, vast European style formal gardens, and expansive farming organized on the basis of the scientific Enlightenment philosophies of the era defined these estates. On these plantations, outbuildings close enough to the main house to be seen by visitors were built and organized to blend into the landscape unobtrusively; outbuildings (either for the work or living quarters for free and enslaved laborers on the property) would have been whitewashed brick or whitewashed clapboard on brick piers. This was significantly different than the housing for enslaved workers on outlying farm fields, which were temporary shelters made to be easily moved according to crop rotation and planting and harvest schedules. These would have been foundationless huts or lean-tos that can be extremely ephemeral archaeologically. The quarters that we discovered close to an extant barn and within view of the main house would have been shelter for enslaved families working in and around the main house, such as coopers, kitchen workers, blacksmiths, carpenters, children and their guardians, as well those who would have done daily work in the barns.

We found one of these work buildings near the shore of the Wye Narrows behind the garage (features 15 and 16 in units 5 and 6). This deep cellar would have been used as a root cellar or icehouse, and analysis suggests that it was created in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Work areas would have been constantly changing shape, size and location throughout the ante-bellum era as the population of the island grew and agricultural plans for the farm altered in response to commerce, weather, and cultural change. This cellar would have been dug out and used daily by enslaved individuals living in the nearby quarter. Juliana Paca and William B. Paca's slave censuses of 1860 list a total number of eight slave quarters as existing on the Paca land on Wye Island, some of which would have been field quarters. The extant quarter was found in an area that continued to be used by tenant farmers as a living area until the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. This site sits on a hill within viewing distance of the main house, a perfect location to keep an eye on laborers, as well as being the least fertile land on the island; it's no wonder that the small site was used as a living area for farm workers for almost 200 years.

The remnant of the quarter (as part of the building remains were destroyed due to later construction) would likely have been part of a community area with a few quarters and fenced in gardens and work/communal areas. The archaeological remains of the shared work and gathering areas that would have existed between and around the slave quarters were groups of postholes that would have made up fencing, and yard sweeping middens from alongside the fences. Previous archaeological investigation of slave quarters have shown similar evidence of daily household waste building up around fence posts along yards because of sweeping (Walsh 1997: 181; Wilkie 2000: 98, 208-209). These fences would have been made of tree branches or saplings, and therefore would have been replaced as they broke or rotted in place. As mentioned above, as the landscape of the plantation changed, as well as the needs of enslaved households, yard and work areas would have also changed. The multiple sets of post molds that we found on this site represent a series of fences that were modified continuously throughout the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

These fences would have partially surrounding living quarters like the one that we found in the 2005 field season; the architectural remains (including the holes that large posts would have sat in and plaster from the exterior walls) made it clear that the quarter was a post-in-ground structure with a brick hearth inside. The posts that would have been the major structural supports for the building would have had boards nailed across them to make up the walls and mortar or plaster chinking between the boards to block the interior of the building from wind and rain. We discovered at least 15' of one wall of the building along the north side of the hearth, and the building continued south more than 10'; we never discovered a southern wall. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Chesapeake, a 15' by 20' quarter would have been typical, as would post-in-ground or earthen floor architecture. In the Chesapeake, this would have likely been divided into partitions so that multiple families could share the building. The windows would have been closed with wooden shutters rather than glass panes; shutter hardware was found next to a posthole along the outside wall of the quarter at Wye Hall. Inside the cabin, furniture would have been minimal. Subfloor pits were used for storage of personal goods and food; we found what seemed to have been a circular subfloor pit at the quarter. There would have likely been more than one, but others could have been destroyed during subsequent late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century construction. Although some cabins had built in beds, most cabins had no beds at all; slaves would have slept on a pile of hay or rags with the covering being the one blanket a year that was the normal ration. Personal possessions would have mostly been associated with food preparation and serving: and iron pot and pan, maybe a kettle, and ceramic bowls. Glassware and fine ceramics (like porcelain) were more common on larger, wealthier estates such as Mount Vernon, where archaeologists found both fine quality ceramics and unusual forms (such as chamber pots and plates). (For more information, please see: Morgan 1998; Walsh 1997; Genovese 1976)

At the Wye Hall quarter, there were many different types of ceramic found, including porcelain, brightly colored transfer printed whiteware, pearlware, and even a piece of Jackfield (an expensive, matte black, delicate ceramic commonly used for tea sets). These ceramics represented hollowware (bowls and possibly even teacups) and flatware (plates



of varying diameters). The variety and quality of ceramics that were used by enslaved African Americans at Wye Hall plantation were a reflection of many factors, only one of which was the Paca's wealth. The Paca's were wealthy enough to provide their slaves with fine hand-me-down ceramics from the main house as they upgraded their own, but they also could buy finer wares in general for those that they enslaved. And slaves had some personal choice in the matter; they could use what patterns and styles that served them best, and trade away the rest. Enslaved peoples likely had trade network across Wye Hall plantation, between other nearby plantations, and with free and enslaved Africans and African Americans in Easton and Queenstown. The biography of Joseph Sutton, a descendent of individuals enslaved on Wye Island and the mainland who grew up in a local free Black town, tells the oral history of slaves' trade networks in Queen Anne and Talbot counties. According to family history, his great-grandfather John Moody was enslaved by a member of the Paca family on Wye Island and courted Hester Deshields (Moody's great grandmother) who was enslaved by Colonel Lloyd of Wye House. After their marriage, Lloyd gave his permission for Hester to move to Wye Island with her husband. Before and after their marriage, Moody used his dugout canoe to trade and distribute food around Wye Island and the mainland, including grain that was stolen by slaves from many area plantations in the dead of night from Colonel Lloyd's ships while they were harbored before their trip to Baltimore. The grain was sold to a local ship captain for cash and it was often spent at a store at Todd's Corner (Krech 1981: 1-9). There is clear community memory of trade networks across plantations and with local stores; this could help to explain the great variation of ceramic types that we found at the quarter. People used canoes to travel the area waterways, which all major towns and plantations would have been a part of.

The canoes were also used for fishing and hunting to supplement the meager provisions that we given to slaves (Krech 1981). Some of the food remains found were fish scales, fish bones, mammal and avian bones, and oyster shells. The fish and oyster were caught in the Wye or its tributaries, which still teem with marine life, including yellow perch, toadfish and crabs. Although the only identifiable mammal was a pig, a faunal analyst was able to identify some bone types, such as pieces of rib, long bone, scapula, vertebrae, jaw, teeth and skull; some of these bones even had butchering marks. These are from tougher cuts of meat; Maria Franklin's work (Franklin 2001) at Rich Neck plantation in Virginia shows similar patterns. She concluded from studies of ethnographic and historical evidence that this occurred because long term cooking would have tenderized tough cuts of meat, slow cooking would have worked well around work schedules, and enslaved peoples may also have been reproducing traditional West African modes of cooking.

Personal choice and variation is apparent in a handful of other artifacts uncovered in the yard: brass, copper and shell buttons and copper rivets from clothing, a copper buckle, a brass thimble, a copper tack (perhaps from furniture) and pipe bowls. One of the pipe bowls was molded with a tobacco leaf design. These artifacts are glimpses into the everyday lives of those enslaved on the Paca plantation, the clothes they wore, the food they ate, and even some ideas on what they found beautiful.

This area continued to be used for housing well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century for tenant farmers living on Wye Island; extant buildings include the foundations and chimney of a farm house, a few standing corn cribs, a pheasant barn, a chicken coop and an uncapped well. The house (from oral interview and archaeological data) was abandoned in the mid-twentieth century when the Stewarts bought most of Wye Island for their cattle farming. The construction of these extant buildings, as well as the other early 20<sup>th</sup> buildings whose archaeological remains were found, did cause some destruction of the antebellum stratigraphy.

Although the analysis proposed here makes the reading of the Wye Hall plantation landscape seem unproblematic, everyday life for those generations enslaved there would have seen constant personal and community negotiation of self in many ways, including through gender, race, sexuality and class. As Wye Hall was both a home and a site of subjugation, it must have caused intensely contradictory feelings in those who were enslaved on the island. Robin Kelley's use of James Scott's term "hidden transcript" seems a useful way of thinking of these negotiations, as "a dissident political culture that manifests itself in daily conversations, folklore, jokes, songs and other cultural practices (Kelley 1994, 8)." Wye Hall, Wye Island, and the extended communities within traveling distance were the sites of enacting these hidden transcripts, as well as some of the attempts to control it; these struggles have been written into the landscape itself. Henrietta Moore says that "To leave certain spaces and pass into others is to know in your body what the differences of race involve; it is to know oppression and discrimination intimately in a way which does not allow for the separation of the physical from the mental" (Moore 1994, 81)." Plantation owners tried to create the differences Moore references through their everyday organization of the material world, and enslaved people fought for control in the defining of difference through their shifting of meanings "through day-to-day activities that take place within symbolically structured space (Moore 1994, 83)." By putting something where it doesn't belong, or by using a space in a different way than originally intended, or by trespassing on a space not meant for you, a person can subvert the order of the material world that defines difference. This is a powerful reminder of how self awareness, and performance of ones identity through clothes, language, sexual relationships, etc, indeed the stuff of everyday life, could itself be a powerful act of resistance for those struggling under imposed domination.

## **6.2. Conclusions**

The archaeological investigations at 18QU977 were done at the behest of the landowners of Wye Hall; this land includes the mansion house and formal gardens. The site (18QU977) encompasses all of the fieldwork done on the eastern half of the island including the Phase III investigations of the main house, the gardens behind the main house, and the slave quarter. The area where the slave quarter fieldwork occurred sits on land adjacent to the privately owned Wye Hall and is owned by the State of Maryland's Department of Natural Resources (MdDNR), although it is leased by the aforementioned landowners of Wye Hall.

The area of the site where the slave quarter was located is along the north shore of Wye Island along the Wye Narrows, and is protected from development by the Department of Natural Resources. There are no known plans to remove the remains of the extant tenant farm buildings on the site, although there are ongoing plans by the homeowners of Wye Hall to help the MdDNR with erosion control measures along the shoreline. Such measures would have minimal impact on historic remains associated with the slave quarter.

#### Avenues for Future Research

The remainder of the island east of the Wye Hall mansion house is owned and protected by the MdDNR. The fields are leased to local farmers and/or to the homeowners of the Wye Hall mansion house, and there is a wooded buffer around the shore of the island that is protected from agriculture, sale, or construction by the MdDNR. Therefore, there is no need for further mitigation in these areas, except for purely academically research oriented interests.

There are likely to be other slave quarters and work buildings archaeologically intact along the north shore of the island, including near the known remains of the original Paca bridge along the north east shore. Identification and investigation of these remains would add a great deal to knowledge of plantation life on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, as very little archaeology has been done on such sites in the middle or upper Delmarva Peninsula.

Further work could also focus on identifying descendants of enslaved populations that lived at Wye Hall, and collect oral histories as well as conduct public outreach. The greater inclusion of these voices can only enrich the text and dialogue about Maryland's history; the archaeology can only tell part of the story.

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