

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: 'FRIED CHICKEN BELONGS TO ALL OF US': THE ZOOARCHAEOLOGY OF ENSLAVED FOODWAYS ON THE LONG GREEN, WYE HOUSE (18TA314), TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND

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This project analyzes the zooarchaeological remains excavated from three slave quarters, located on the Long Green of the Wye House Plantation (18TA314). The zooarchaeological data used dates from about 1650 until 1865. The dissertation focuses on how the late 18th century – archaeologically c. 1770 – was a period of immense change at Wye House and this caused coinciding changes in food consumption. Faunal data is combined with historical and archaeological information to assess the validity of utilizing African-American food patterns. The dissertation interrogates the role of archaeologists in reifying racism and in the reproduction of inferior histories for African-Americans based on dominant narratives. The research incorporates the consideration of other social, political, historical, and economic variables to assess the development of local and regional cuisines. This dissertation evaluates why designations of Soul Food and African-American foodways emerged, how this cuisine compares to Southern Cooking, and the ideologies behind keeping the two cuisines separate.

‘FRIED CHICKEN BELONGS TO ALL OF US’: THE ZOOARCHAEOLOGY OF
ENSLAVED FOODWAYS ON THE LONG GREEN, WYE HOUSE (18TA314),
TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND

By

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Dedication

I would have never had the chance to achieve so much without my parents, Ken and Lynn Tang. I dedicate this dissertation to them, my biggest fans.

Acknowledgements

There were so many people who have guided me and given me support on the long road of completing this degree. First and foremost, I have to thank Mark Leone. Mark believed in me and had the confidence in my potential that I did not initially have. Over the years, he has given me more opportunities than I could have ever imagined possible and he taught me how to be a professional scholar.

If Mark was the father-like figure in Archaeology in Annapolis, my friends and lab mates were my siblings. They have had the greatest impact on my intellectual musings and personal sanity. Jocelyn Knauf, my work-wife, has been with me from the beginning since that first day of orientation when I asked if the seat next to her was free. Matthew Cochran, Matthew Palus, John Blair (more on him later!), and Stephanie Duensing were there to teach me the ropes of AiA when I first joined. Coming to our project later, I owe many great times to my friends Kate Deeley, Ben Skolnik, Beth Pruitt, Stefan Woehlke, and Tracy Jenkins. And though not part of our project, I owe many conversations about theory and all sorts of silly things to Mike Roller.

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I have to thank my undergraduate advisor Barrett Brenton. It was because of him that I joined the archaeology program at the University of York to study abroad. Barry encouraged me to attend graduate school and that studying historical archaeology with Mark Leone was the right path for me. He was so right.

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Finally, I thank my soon-to-be husband John Blair. You see credits sprinkled throughout as he created most of the images in this dissertation. He is also cited regularly as he composed many of the early AiA site reports used. Besides for teaching me everything I needed to know about AiA in the beginning, John has always been my greatest ally in the project. His early friendship, advice, and jovial demeanor made AiA something I wanted to be a part of. Later, his love and optimism made the completion of this dissertation possible. He has helped me through the unrelenting number of obstacles and has gently urged me to keep on trucking when I wanted to give up. From day to day, and from start to finish, I owe this dissertation to my partner and love, John.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation project is a zooarchaeological analysis of remains excavated from three slave quarters on the Long Green at Wye House (18TA314), located in Talbot County, Maryland. Archaeological excavations of the Tulip Poplar Building, the Middle Building, and the North Building were conducted by the Archaeology in Annapolis project from 2006-2010. The research objective is the investigation of whether enslaved African-Americans ate differently before and after the turn of the 19th century, with a focus on how local cuisines developed. Therefore the research questions applied to the dissertation were as follows: Was an African-American pattern of food (mostly pork, some low-value beef, no mutton, trappable small vermin-type mammals, prepared as stews) valid? Could an African-American pattern be identified at Wye House in any of the context periods? Could African origins be identified at Wye House? If we remove ethnic identification as a variable from foodways, what variables influenced foodway changes? And, can foodways be linked temporally to racism and the resultant changes from the institutionalization of the American system of African enslavement? This dissertation evaluates why designations of Soul Food and African-American foodways emerged, how this cuisine compares to Southern cooking, and the ideologies behind keeping the two cuisines separate.

The journalist Jennifer Lee (2008) documents the history of Chinese food in the United States by beginning with a look at the fortune cookie. As part of her

exploration, she videotapes interviewees in China where she introduces the cookies to some very puzzled residents who have never seen such a dessert. Through her research, Lee discovers that Japanese immigrants originally brought the cookies to the U.S., but with their internment during World War II, the Chinese took over cookie production and inserted the now familiar paper slip of “Chinese wisdom.” While Americans commonly consider this to be the iconic end of any Chinese meal, Lee reproaches the ease with which we frequently overlook complex political, social, cultural, and economic histories. This dissertation aims to expose these histories at Wye House by interrogating how archaeologists have reproduced ideas about a national African-American diet.

Expanding upon this, American Studies scholar Psyche Williams-Forsen (2013) asserts that we need to understand food as the “dynamic, tangible result of moments and movements of people throughout history that are and have been filled with tensions and contradictions.” Referring to current perceptions of African-American Soul Food, Williams-Forsen explains that the concept has been extensively watered-down, thereby muting linkages to African enslavement and its later implementation as a sociopolitical phrase. When we simplify complex and multiple histories, we are not only being willfully ignorant, but we are also erasing the pasts of other people (Williams-Forsen 2013). Returning to journalist Jennifer Lee, I likewise advocate for the reevaluation of our discussions of food sustainability. Currently, sustainability measures focus on profit, social responsibility, and the environment. By only examining these three factors, scholars and consumers are missing the goal of

the modern food movement since “knowing where your food comes from involves the past as well as the present” (Williams-Forsen 2013). Tracing where food comes from goes far beyond knowing where the plant was grown, or where the animal was raised; it must also involve understanding why we eat particular foods. Borrowing from anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, we must understand that food items act as symbols not simply because they are “good to eat,” but that they are “good to think” (Lévi-Strauss 1963: 89).

In the same vein, this dissertation seeks to comprehend the complexities, inconsistencies, and non-linear evolution of foodways in the Chesapeake region. A total system of subsistence or food-related activities such as procurement, preparation, consumption, reuse, and disposal is frequently referred to as *foodways* (McKee 1987: 32). Therefore this dissertation is a study of foodways. Similar to Psyche Williams-Forsen (2006), this project is situated in an avoidance of the definition of ‘Soul Food’ as singular and all-encompassing over time and space. The same applies to our conception of southern cuisine, as well as our predispositions for what we consider white and black foodways. This dissertation aims to show that these factors were connected, defined, and changed because of their relation to one another. It demonstrates that the foodways we recognize today do not exist simply to serve as nostalgic evocations or as personal memories developed during the course of one lifetime. Instead, the foodways of the Chesapeake, and of Maryland, emerged from the particularities of historical circumstances. Specifically, local foodways emerged

from social and economic relations linked to racial ideologies used to reinforce the system of African-American enslavement in America.

The context for studying foodways and race for this dissertation project comes from zooarchaeological data recovered at the Wye House Plantation, an assemblage of approximately 17,000 faunal specimens. The plantation has been owned by the Edward Lloyd family since the 1650s. Now known as the Tilghmans, the Lloyd descendants invited Archaeology in Annapolis, directed by Dr. Mark Leone, to excavate on their property in 2005. The racial backdrop to our work is illustrated in the writings of Frederick Douglass (1855), who was enslaved at Wye House as a young boy. Douglass was owned by one of the Lloyd overseers, Aaron Anthony. In his autobiographies, he writes in detail about his experiences as a slave, and of others, living at Wye House (Douglass 1845, 1892). As Archaeology in Annapolis has discovered, while Douglass encapsulates the abolitionist rhetoric for a period of severe racial oppression in the Chesapeake, the history of enslavement at Wye House begins far before his arrival and continues long after his escape.

In 1790, the first U.S. census recorded that the Edward Lloyd family owned thirty enslaved persons. By 1830, the numbers increased to its height of 555 enslaved persons. Five years before the U.S. abolished slavery, the Lloyd slaveholdings were enumerated at 402 individuals. The goal of Archaeology in Annapolis at Wye House, by request of the Lloyd descendants, has been to uncover the histories of these enslaved people which remain unwritten and unaccounted for on this plantation.

Through oral history and first-person accounts, we are able to understand some of the violence and atrocities faced by enslaved African-Americans in the U.S., Caribbean, and elsewhere (e.g., Equiano 1789; Henson 1849; Northup 1853; Douglass 1855; Jacobs 1861; Washington 1901; Slave Narratives 1936-1938). We are given insight into the dehumanizing actions, starvation, pain, and terror experienced by the enslaved as well as recently escaped or freed people. We also understand the wide range of slaveowners and overseers that existed, the interpersonal relations and families that developed, and many of the people who aided or prevented the escape of enslaved persons. In addition, scholars have worked for decades to recover the scant information about their voyages across the Atlantic, their daily lives, and about the culture that developed within enslavement (for some of the earlier work, see Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Morgan 1975; Otto 1984; Epperson 1990; Ferguson 1992; Gilroy 1993; Kolchin 1993; Berlin 1998; Thornton 1998; Heath 1999).

At Wye House, the home plantation of the Edward Lloyd family, Archaeology in Annapolis has contributed to this rich history through archaeological research for over ten field seasons. Our research integrates multiple perspectives and questions regarding the plantation and its inhabitants, from buildings to landscape, animals to plant life. The focus of this dissertation project will be on one of the most basic, daily activities of people on this plantation: eating. Studying food is evocative because food is more than just calories (Holt 1996: 105), and the type of food cooked and eaten is deeply meaningful. This dissertation research uses the archaeological work that has been previously conducted on plantations as a foil to the study of enslaved life and to

the foods they ate. The information collected specifically for comparison in this dissertation comes from excavations that have been completed at Fairfield plantation (e.g., Brown 2006), Utopia plantation (e.g., Fesler 2005), the Rich Neck slave quarter (e.g., Agbe-Davies 2003), Monticello (e.g., Neiman 2010), and Poplar Forest (e.g., Heath 2004)¹. The plantations compared well to Wye House in regards to a similar ecological and environmental context, scale of plantation operations and number of slaves owned, and/or location in the Chesapeake region. Also used throughout the dissertation are the ideas and zooarchaeological data derived from: Diane Crader's (1984) examination of the storehouse at Monticello, Jim Deetz's (1993) presentation of materials from the Wilcox slave cabin at Flowerdew Hundred², and Mark Warner's (1998) dissertation analysis from the Maynard-Burgess House in Annapolis.

Although they derive from markedly different contexts, their work is important for the research in this dissertation because each of these researchers separately come to the conclusion that their data reflects the presence of African-American ethnicity, and argues for the distinctiveness of this pattern as compared to white assemblages in comparable contexts. There were few studies found that asserted this point so explicitly and the works of Crader and Warner are two of the most frequently cited examples when archaeologists refer to the presence of an African-American foodway pattern based on zooarchaeological materials. In opposition to much of this previous work, the dissertation instead proposes that foodways at Wye House developed out of

¹ More information about the specific plantations and the zooarchaeological work that has been done is presented in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

² I attribute this study to Deetz since he interpreted the zooarchaeology and published the results. The original faunal analysis was conducted by Larry McKee (1988) as part of his doctoral dissertation.

contextual factors, especially those related to racist ideologies, rather than just cultural ethnic retention and self-identification.

Much of the archaeology that has been conducted on plantations has linked foodway development and maintenance to ethnicity or retention of African traits and memories (Howson 1990: 79-80; Epperson 2004: 101; Ferguson 1992). While these scholars were working in reaction to previous work that presented humans as devoid of agency and thought (e.g., Otto 1980, 1984; Orser 1988; Adams and Boling 1989), there are three problems that arise with the ethnic retention or self-identification explanations which still feature in current plantation archaeology. The first issue is that self-identification arguments tend towards ex post facto reasoning. Frequently, scholars begin with the recognition of what they consider elements of black Soul Food or white Southern Cooking, as is identified with modern, living groups. Not only does this type of scholarship ignore the personal or political ways that expressions of identity are performed to those outside of the group (Dent 2009: 192; Lemon 2000; Taylor 2003), it also simplifies the foodway in question as only having one, cohesive permutation. The second issue is that by starting here, and then inductively applying the material culture, archaeologists make the mistake of providing tangible materials with historical relevance. This gives archaeological and artifactual proof to an absence or presence in the past. So when certain food remains appear frequently in enslaved contexts, the interpretations of the remains evolve from having emerged from the particularities of an associated context, to simply being an indication of the presence of the people and their established identities (i.e.,

archaeologists create ethnic markers). Doing this effectively de-politicizes the conflicts, contentions, and negotiations which were necessary to arrive at the foodways recognized today.

This by extension, incorrectly intimates that the unequal racial relations that exist today were natural and pre-defined in the past, since the foodways of a certain group today bear some similarity to the food remains found archaeologically. And lastly, it deemphasizes the role that external factors above self-selection play in limiting or influencing identity formation. The transitive leap from artifact to identity becomes all too easy to assume, and interpretations begin morphing into the simplified linkage between a type of cuisine and its corresponding racial or ethnic identity. Thus, the food that people eat appears not to be influenced by contextual aspects, such as ideologies, social order, economics, other people, regionalism, or any additional aspects that frequently affect a person's daily decision-making. In addition to this, cuisine ceases to be linked to one of the most fundamental factors of consumption: resource availability.

Separate from that line of argument, this dissertation instead offers an alternative hypothesis to the type of foodways evidenced at Wye House and the emergence of southern cuisine. I argue that instead of studying food as just a reflection of identity, food should be seen as bearing evidence of the emergence and effort to sustain ideologies of racism, the historical institutionalization of which scholars have argued begins in the Chesapeake region (e.g., Terrence Epperson,

Edmund Morgan). Additionally, observing that modern foodways of black and white southerners differ very little (Opie 2008: 130), I use archaeological and historical data to propose that the foodways of enslaved African-Americans and European-American plantation owners may not have always been completely separate, by demonstrating that enslaved people did not eat a uniform diet through time.

I use two methods to interpret how this came about. The first is situated in the present while looking to the past. In this interpretation, differences in foodways are minor, with the emphasis on observable similarities even though ingredients or techniques are objectively different. Thus, Southern Cooking and Soul Food are more or less a single manner of treating food items, but publicly presented as representing two distinct cuisines and groups of people. Nonetheless, the perceivable result today is by and large a unified process featuring black and white people, highlighting the struggles to assert and maintain identities through artifacts and texts. Though the ingredients are similar, the process of writing or collecting recipes and cookbooks is a way to claim the past through food. Southern Cooking is ultimately based more on an ideal than a reality that can be feasibly practiced during every single meal.

Conversely, the other method of interpretation starts in the past and looks through time. Using archaeological remains, it indicates the instances where the artifacts tell a story different from the dominant narrative, and how the practicalities of everyday living were heavily influenced by social factors. It points out how the public representation of black and white cuisines was first rooted in the need to define two different races: the enslaved and the enslavers. The struggle to establish separate

identities on one patch of shared land using similar resources requires the use of these two interpretations simultaneously because these were the daily decisions and representations that were possible depending on each situation.

Many scholars, like anthropologist Terrence Epperson (1990: 35-36), have seen these as two incongruent interpretations which can only be used in an either/or fashion. Instead, I see these instead as two complementary perspectives that encompass the complexities of human action and the contradictory tendencies which have developed as a result of African-American enslavement (Orser 1999). What people eat is at once their personal history and self-identification as much as it is the result of local and global processes. It is contextual, yet also individual.

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai has argued that food can “serve two diametrically opposed semiotic functions. It can serve to indicate and construct social relations characterized by equality, intimacy, or solidarity; or, it can serve to sustain relations characterized by rank, distance, and segmentation” (1981: 496). In studying the enslaved foodways at Wye House, it means that food can, and should, be seen as the material manifestations of discursive practices.

In order to trace how foodways have transformed, and explain how multiple explanations of foodways could have emerged today, I use the archaeology from three Wye House slave quarters to exemplify my point. This dissertation will concentrate on the archaeological faunal remains recovered from contexts associated with the 18th century until the end of slavery in Maryland. Therefore, at Wye House, I

suggest that an enslaved African-American cuisine became more recognizable and distinct as time went on because of a growing need to express group cohesion. Due to the early tobacco-based economy in Maryland, scholars have argued that enslaved people, indentured servants, and elites interacted frequently and the material consumption of their daily lives did not differ much, although of course their status and degree of freedom always did (Breen and Innes 1980; Epperson 2001). In regards to food, it has been shown that people generally ate similar fare, consisting of mostly wild animals. This type of diet most closely resembles what scholars have recognized as typical of a frontier situation or of impoverished groups (Orser 1988; Carson et al. 2008). Previously, this is where many scholars received criticism for euphemizing social relations and confounding race because their arguments came dangerously close to describing a world of material equality, with enslavement being simply a secondary factor (Potter 1991). I suggest that at this time, the cuisine that emerged was indeed less ethnically-based, and more geographically- and economically-based. Thus, the faunal remains of the enslaved at Wye House may likely reflect a relatively small population and food items predominated by resources provided by the Chesapeake Bay, the Atlantic Ocean, and the many waterways that crisscross the Eastern Shore.

This geographically- and economically-based cuisine probably begins to change and transform into more recognizable foodway distinctions at the beginning of the 19th century, as the plantation and the social world undergoes many changes. Contextually, the economic base at Wye House diversified from harvesting mainly

tobacco for export, to cultivating many different plants and animals for domestic distribution (Russo 1992). As the Lloyds increased their wealth and landholdings, more labor was also necessary. After a Revolution revolving around a rhetoric of freedom, the Lloyds and other elites found it urgent to redefine and justify their role in the enslavement of an entire group of people based purely on race (Smedley 1993 ; Leone and Hurry 1998). Through different avenues, it is also easy to assume that the Lloyds would have been apprised of the growing number of slave rebellions and uprisings that were occurring in other states, the Caribbean, and in South America (Thornton 1998; Matory 1999). For example, the *Maryland Gazette* and the *Easton Gazette* were widely read in the area and regularly published on these occurrences. Therefore, at Wye House and elsewhere, elites needed to build an ideology of racism in order to justify their continued enslavement of African-Americans to support a rapidly changing economic base (Berlin and Morgan 1993). This manifested in the form of Slave Codes, legislation dictating black/white social interactions, more stringent forms of plantation management, and the ownership of food identities through cookbook compilations. These things effectively codified the differences between being black and being white, which led to the solidification of social groups based purely on race and enslavement (Baker 1998: 13; Haney López 1996; Jordan 1968: 277-279).

Thus, even if the enslaved hailed from disparate regions of Africa and shared few cultural similarities, an ideology of racism inadvertently contributed to the formation of an African America that may not have existed before the 19th century

(Sweet 2003; Heywood and Thornton 2007). Much research about 19th century enslavement is able to characterize daily social practices as generally African in nature at this juncture as those of multiple African origins begin to creolize into a group that has already been demarcated by whites (Singleton 1995). In regards to food, this can be seen best with the regimentation of rationing, as well as rules pertaining to hunting, gathering, and/or gardening. On the other hand, we can also observe the creation of a cuisine and dishes which are influenced less by environmental availability and contain more recognizably pan-African elements. As to the faunal remains, the prediction is that these changes can be observed by different forms of meat consumption and cooking methods when comparing the early period of occupation at Wye House to the occupation after about 1770.

Looking at the faunal remains and historical archaeological data from Wye House in this way, I suggest that we will be able to observe the formation of ethnic identity and the results of asserting racial identifications. This exemplifies how, just like identity, foodways evolve through time and fluctuate in relation to many factors not limited only to self-identification. I propose that foodways at Wye House were influenced by race, demography, geography, ethnicity, and economics. As race becomes necessary to define in the region, the need to express African-American group cohesion will increase, and this will be evident archaeologically through the changing use of food and fauna.

In Chapter 2, the history of the Archaeology in Annapolis project on the Eastern Shore will be introduced. I describe how our archaeology project based primarily in the City of Annapolis came to have a presence on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and how the invitation to excavate at Wye House came about. The project's tradition of using critical archaeology as a theoretical base beginning with excavations in Annapolis in the 1980s is discussed. This is followed by a presentation of the body of theory from African-American archaeological work that will be employed throughout this dissertation.

Chapter 3 then turns to Wye House and the historical context of the site and that area of the Eastern Shore. The historical sources and documentation consulted in the dissertation will be presented. This will provide background information for a more complete picture of not only the site, but of the Eastern Shore, and of life in Maryland and the Chesapeake during the 18th and 19th centuries. Many fugitive slaves escaped through the Eastern Shore to the North and their descriptions of the region in published slave narratives will be used for a more vivid historical picture of the setting and what life was like as an enslaved person. The famous recollections of Frederick Douglass will be presented in detail since he describes Wye House specifically in his writings. In addition to accounts of escaped individuals, a brief history of the Lloyds will be presented. The Lloyds possessed multiple land holdings in Maryland and Delaware and their genealogy has been well-documented, especially since many held public office and were prominent community members.

Generations of Lloyds have lived at Wye House continuously since the 17th century, and as described in this dissertation, the archaeology of the inhabitants on this plantation remains intact. Chapter 4 presents the beginnings of our project's presence at Wye House. It introduces the relationships with our living constituents who are the descendents of the Lloyds as well as the descendents of those previously enslaved on the plantation. The chapter then turns to a look at some of the previous archaeological testing conducted approximately twenty years earlier by the Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County. The scope of excavations carried out by Archaeology in Annapolis will be provided, in addition to the development of our methodologies and excavation strategies on this property. Also discussed will be the variety of invasive and non-invasive testing which took place and were necessary to locate areas of interest. The excavations of the Tulip Poplar Building, the North Building, and the Middle Building on the Long Green are presented in detail as the faunal materials recovered comprise the targeted body of data for this dissertation.

Chapter 5 will present the different strains of the theoretical framework employed in this project. These theories guided the excavation and recovery of data, as well as its analysis and subsequent interpretations. It begins with critical archaeology, which is the most foundational and its tenets are woven through this dissertation. The Archaeology in Annapolis project itself is focused on practicing critical archaeology, thus, all aspects of excavations at Wye House from beginning to end are permeated with this body of theory. More directly employed for this dissertation and body of faunal data, the chapter continues by discussing the theories

associated with food and identity which frame the work. Although drawing from a variety of disciplines and scholars, especially from the field of Food and Nutrition Studies, most of the theories of food and identity build upon anthropological principles. Finally, in order to explicate eating habits and enslavement on the plantation, I also draw on theories that derived from archaeologies of race and racism.

Next, Chapter 6 is devoted to the presentation and examination of zooarchaeological remains and findings, based on excavations from the Tulip Poplar Building, Middle Building, and North Building slave quarters. It includes several substantial subsections. The first describes the background theory of the various techniques selected to analyze the fauna, taken from the larger body of zooarchaeological thought founded mostly on prehistoric work. It develops a body of useful theoretical approaches employed specifically at a historic site. The next section presents the methodologies of the faunal analysis. This includes discussion of the excavation techniques targeting faunal deposits, sampling strategies, the employment of the Microsoft Access database, explanation of the type of detailed measures and indicators which were identified on the bones, and clarification regarding the recording techniques employed. This is followed by a presentation of the zooarchaeological data collected, as well as a general summation of the findings. The chapter concludes by comparing the data collected from Wye House to selection of critical examples of plantation archaeology exploring foodways in a similar manner. The goal is to assess how closely the food remains at Wye House mirror comparable interpretations, or how far they potentially deviate.

The final two chapters take this zooarchaeological data and combine it with other artifactual and historical data for concluding discussions. Chapter 7 will be devoted to explaining how exploring the archaeology of foodways is preferential to an archaeology of caloric intake or nutrition. Using the differences, or lack thereof, between modern Soul Food and Southern Cooking, I explain how these recent terms are more a reflection of race, identity, and politics, than they are an indication of the type of food which was eaten in the past by plantation inhabitants. It will show how concepts of taste and cuisine need to be redefined and used more appropriately by archaeologists. Moreover, I explain how the cuisine experienced at Wye House was linked to the development of racism which was more illustrative of the sociopolitics of the time than to self-identification. Using historical texts and especially historic cookbooks written by the Lloyd family, I show the power inherent in codifying words, and that the danger of reading these uncritically leads to romanticizing past social relations, while naturalizing claims of ownership in the past through archaeological artifacts. This leads to the last and final chapter of the dissertation which discusses the scholarly contribution of this research on the Long Green to the anthropological study of foodways as well as the archaeological study of plantations.

Before embarking on this analysis of cuisine, it is perhaps useful to establish what is currently considered southern food. Food writer Deb Barshafsky (2012) states that the complex culinary construct of Southern food is impossible to define. Easier to define are the micro-regions that make up this broad cuisine, and Barshafsky indicates that Southern food spans the Appalachian to Ozark mountain regions, and from the

Virginia Tidewater to the Mississippi Delta and to the Carolina Lowcountry. Today, urban food hubs of the South range from Atlanta, to Richmond, to Charlotte, to Nashville, and to New Orleans. More specific though no simpler to define, quoting culinary historian Bob Jeffries, food writer Andrea Lynn states that Soul Food is an example of how African-American cooks made meals from what they had available. It is often described as using cheaper ingredients, as well as more spice or heat and use of salt (Lynn 2014). Progressing to the regional foods of Chesapeake Cuisine then, the authors of a cookbook collection for historic Maryland recipes describe the foods as encompassing dishes created on the Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, Annapolis, Baltimore, and the Western Counties (Andrews and Kelly 1963: xi). This Chesapeake and Maryland style of eating includes:

The soups, the hot breads, the unsurpassed fish, crabs, oysters and clams from the Chesapeake Bay, the famed diamond back terrapin, the barn-yard fowl, the game with which the region abounds; the country cured hams and farm grown meats; a great variety of vegetables, some known to the Indians before the first settlers came, others developed from seeds the colonists brought with them; the pickles, preserves and catsups, so needed when winter wrapped the scattered houses in lonely isolation; puddings, pies and sweets in profusion, and of course, the Festive Bowl” (Andrews and Kelly 1963: xii).

It is clear that these cuisines are ill-defined because they traverse regions, identities, and time. Southern Cooking is complex and full of overlapping histories. I include a list below of one hundred so-called southern classics to illustrate our ideas of the concept of Southern Food as evident in food items. These dishes evoke a sense of nostalgia but it should also be obvious how undefined Southern Cooking is. This list is adapted from *Southern Living* (2014) and *Food & Wine* (2013) magazines and

the website Food.com (2014), and is by no means comprehensive. This is comfort food, this is down-home cooking, and this is soul food. One hundred southern classics:

- Chicken pot pie
- Beef chili
- Chicken and dumplings
- Fried green tomatoes
- Pecan pie
- Shrimp and grits
- Brunswick stew
- Pecan-peach cobbler
- Chicken-fried steak
- Cinnamon rolls
- Chicken tetrazzini
- Bakes potato soup
- Chicken and andouille gumbo
- Strawberry shortcake
- Buttermilk biscuits
- Meatloaf
- Fried chicken
- Pot roast
- Skillet cornbread
- Pork chops, cabbage, and apples
- Roast beef
- Caramel cake
- Lasagna
- Collard greens
- Carrot cake
- Fried pork chops and gravy
- Mashed potatoes
- Fried catfish
- Pound cake
- Cheese grits casserole
- Praline-pecan French toast
- Red wine beef stew
- Fried shrimp
- Ranch chicken
- Banana-nut bread
- Crab soup
- Summer squash casserole
- Chess pie

- Chicken and brisket stew
- Chocolate chip cookies
- Chicken gumbo
- Waffles benedict
- Green bean casserole
- Tomato soup
- Pancakes with honey syrup
- Creole jambalaya
- Butterbeans
- Sausage and hash brown casserole
- Corn cakes
- Shrimp chowder
- Ranch chicken casserole
- Peach ice cream
- Blueberry muffins
- Green peas with bacon
- Hamburger steak with mushroom gravy
- Beef with red wine sauce
- Coffee crumble cake
- Chicken and vegetable stew
- Fried okra
- Corn pudding
- Stuffed tomatoes
- Okra and corn Maque Choux
- Shrimp casserole
- Chicken and wild rice casserole
- Spaghetti casserole
- Red velvet cake
- Macaroni and cheese
- Beef brisket
- Ham hash brown casserole
- Chocolate peanut butter mousse cake
- Mississippi mud brownies
- Barbeque beef sandwiches
- Peppered beef soup
- Turkey chili
- Red beans and rice
- Pineapple upside down carrot cake
- Honey barbeque chicken
- Pork chops with pepper jelly sauce
- Kentucky hot browns
- Banana pudding
- Black bean chili
- Bread pudding with bourbon sauce

- Fried salmon patties
- Hush puppies
- Sweet potato casserole
- Crab jambalaya
- Barbequed pulled pork
- Banana cream pie
- Catfish po'boys
- Chicken and biscuits in a pot
- Beef short ribs
- Deviled eggs
- Georgia peach pie
- Chicken and mushroom fricassee
- Shrimp Étouffée
- Chocolate pie
- Barbeque ribs
- Grape salad
- Potato salad

Chapter 2: Archaeology in Annapolis on the Eastern Shore

In order to understand how an Annapolis-based, urban, archaeological project came to excavate on a plantation in Talbot County, it is important to first recollect the founding of Archaeology in Annapolis itself, the presence that it came to have in the state of Maryland and in North American historical archaeology, and the objectives and theoretical basis for its researchers. It is within this backdrop that it becomes evident why Wye House was a logical extension of over twenty years of research in Annapolis. This chapter will detail Annapolis's role as Maryland's capital and the project's role in rediscovering its history. It also presents the critical archaeological stance used by Archaeology in Annapolis and some of the significant research that the project's archaeologists have undertaken. The chapter will continue by detailing how Archaeology in Annapolis bridged critical theory and the study of African Americans, first in the city, and then expanding with work outside of Annapolis, namely on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The beginnings of our project at Wye House will be presented in addition to the research design which was developed.

Project Background and Development

Annapolis has a rich and complex history though there were no major efforts to collect such information before the 1950s. Walking through the city today, the quaint streets do not boast of being the center of a revolution, a bustling commercial

port, or a place where the enslaved were once auctioned. By 1694, Annapolis became the seat for Maryland's colonial government in place of St. Mary's City (Leone et al. 2014: 6). In fact, Annapolis is still home to the Maryland State House, located in its original spot in State Circle, and is also the home of the U.S. Naval Academy. Of the four men who signed the Declaration of Independence from Maryland, all four lived in Annapolis. In addition, the city once operated as a locus for oystering and served as a major port of the Chesapeake Bay until being replaced by Baltimore in late 18th century. Although less known, Annapolis was also a main port of entry for enslaved African Americans (Leone 2005: 2-4).

The Archaeology in Annapolis project began in the 1960s as the result of the efforts of Anne St. Clair Wright and Historic Annapolis Incorporated. For the next twenty years, a preservation movement took place in Annapolis which focused on gathering the documentary history of the city and surveying the extant structures throughout. One important aspect of this work included seeking partnerships with local scholars. In 1981, under sponsorship by the University of Maryland, College Park; Historic Annapolis Incorporated; and the City of Annapolis, Dr. Mark Leone formed Archaeology in Annapolis (Leone 2005: 29-32). Later joined by Drs. Anne E. Yentsch and Richard J. Dent, this public archaeology project began excavating around the city for the purposes of using "the past for public, democratic purposes" (Leone 2005: 30). Over the past three decades, the goal of the Archaeology in Annapolis project has always been to apply critical theory to archaeology in order to examine power relations in the past and how they persist in the present. Essentially,

these archaeologists sought to uncover the impact of capitalism on the lives of those in the past and in the development of Annapolis (Leone and Potter 1999).

Critical Archaeology in the City of Annapolis

Though researchers of Archaeology in Annapolis have approached excavations from a multitude of theoretical perspectives focusing on different interests, since its inception in 1981, the historical archaeology performed has been rooted in the foundations of critical theory (Leone et al. 1987). The way that critical theory has been adopted by archaeologists, otherwise called critical archaeology, started in the 1980s and draws almost exclusively from Marxist scholars. Critical theory was initially developed by scholars in the Frankfurt School, of the Institute for Social Research which began in 1923 (Jay 1996; Knauf et al. 2012). The work produced by those from the Frankfurt School was the result of two lines of inquiry. The Frankfurt School sought to criticize the society of modern capitalism that came about after World War I. They also wanted to revise classical Marxist theory which ultimately did not produce the predicted eruption of socialist revolutions across Europe. Instead, these Frankfurt School scholars such as Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Herbert Marcuse, and Jürgen Habermas, employed core Marxist principles to examine ideology and the way that it reproduced the status quo. Their theories were expanded upon by other European social theorists such as Antonio Gramsci, Georg Lukács, Louis Althusser, and Michel Foucault (Jay 1996; Tang et al. 2014: 2).

The crux of critical theory as it is applied to archaeology revolves around not only examining the past, but also the present. Of the past, there is the understanding that no one objective past exists. And while archaeologists agree that the past is created out of political, economic, and social factors, critical archaeologists contend that there are in fact multiple and competing pasts that emerge out of various identities and orientations (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 11). What this translates to is that oftentimes, varying renditions of the past can, and will, contradict one another. This leads to another central facet of critical archaeology which asserts that it is the competition for a validation of one version of the past that illustrates past power struggles and can indicate those who are powerful in the present (O'Donovan 2002: 3). Effectively, critical archaeologists point out two important things about history and about archaeology. In history, they show that ideologies, the taken-for-granted³, and the naturalized parts of everyday lives were integral in exploiting unequal social relations and reproducing systems of inequality, sexism, racism, etc. (Tang et al. 2014: 1). And in archaeology, they reveal how the producers of past narratives – archaeologists – are most guilty of misrepresenting, masking, naturalizing, and validating those unequal social relations of the past using the ideologies in the present (Leone and Potter 1999).

While archaeological work was seen as an unbiased, scientifically neutral reading of the past using material culture patterning, critical archaeologists argue that

³ Louis Althusser (1971) describes ideology as those ways of acting or reacting in any given situation based on natural or unspoken rules which we learn from those around us. It is this unquestioning nature of how to act in certain social situations that serve to reproduce the social order which is ideal to some, but exploitative to most. It is through ideology that those who experience inequality unconsciously reproduce these systemic imbalances and also wrongly acknowledge its immutability.

archaeological interpretations are merely a point of view constructed through its relation to present interests and ideologies (Leone 1973; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 14). Thus, critical archaeology not only urges archaeologists to uncover the more controversial or ignored versions of the past, but it also advocates that archaeologists be more reflexive and critical of how they develop their interpretations of the past and for whom their interpretations benefit in the present (Leone et al. 1987: 284; Tang et al. 2014: 1). Therefore, the goal of a critical archaeology is to complicate and interrogate the way that traditional interpretations have provided natural associations or meaning to objects. Thus, critical archaeologists are to question which ideological structures of our contemporary society caused these meanings to exist and become selected over others.

It was under these guiding principles that Archaeology in Annapolis sought to present a different history of Annapolis. Some Archaeology in Annapolis researchers who have produced historical archaeology informed by critical theory include: Barbara Little's (1987) work with Anne Catharine Green and the Jonas Green House, Paul Shackel's (1993) examination of etiquette and consumption, Parker Potter's (1994) analysis of how to conduct public archaeology in the city, Paul Mullins' (1999) work at the Maynard-Burgess House, Christopher Matthews' (2002) work on the development of a historical tradition presented of the city, and Matthew Palus' (2010) work on public utilities and the suburb of Eastport, among many others. This small selection illustrates the range of topics, identities, and inequalities that Archaeology in Annapolis researchers have previously examined.

One of the earliest examples of this type of work is found in Mark Leone's (1984) examination of the William Paca Garden. The garden and the house were built in the 1760s by Paca⁴, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The mansion structure and garden design were both built in strict accordance with Georgian principles. James Deetz (1977) describes this style as one revolving around bilateral symmetry and the segmentation of life. This could be seen in divisions within material objects as well as the attempt to segment the natural world. Extending interpretation more to social manifestations, Rhys Isaac (1982) explains that this period of the 18th century in the Chesapeake was marked by unstable definitions of social hierarchy due to relations with England, a newly formed economic and political base, and a persisting reliance on African American enslavement. Therefore, the Georgian Order was a local set of behaviors with material correlates enacted by those who sought to maintain power in an environment where it was not guaranteed (Leone 1984: 26).

In this study, Mark Leone observed that the Paca Garden appeared to be symmetrically balanced, though in actuality, it did not display perfect bilateral symmetry. Closely following prescriptive literature of the time describing Georgian formal gardens (i.e. Miller 1733; Langley 1726; LeBlond 1728), the Paca Garden was a terraced landscape which utilized the house and a small structure on opposite ends as focal points. The entire garden was created in accordance with Georgian rules of perspective for the purpose of drawing the eye towards the grandeur of the house and

⁴ William Paca was one of four men in Maryland who signed the Declaration of Independence. He was the first governor of Maryland after independence, and was reelected for two more terms after. Paca was incredibly prominent in national, state, and Annapolis politics.

making it appear further away when viewed from the base of the terraces (Leone 1984: 29; Matthews and Palus 2007: 231).

This was not unique; Mark Leone and Paul Shackel (1990) identified fourteen properties built between 1763 and 1774 by other Annapolis elites that followed the same principles (Matthews and Palus 2007: 231-232). Leone argues that just as Renaissance painters utilized techniques of perspective to mislead the eye to the painter's image of reality, these Georgian gardens were a three-dimensional manipulation of perspective that were used to create illusions using space. Since Leone defined ideology as a masking of reality and unequal relations, these gardenscapes could be interpreted as naturalized materializations of these ideologies. In the case of Paca and his contemporaries, Leone argued that these gardens which promoted the Georgian Order were also reaffirming a place of dominance within the social hierarchy for these elite men (Leone 1984: 32-34).

As one of the first examples for how to apply critical theory to historical archaeology, Leone's analysis of the Paca Garden has received significant criticism (see Beaudry et al. 1991; Hodder 1986: 164-170). Scholars suggested that Leone's adaptation of ideology as defined by Althusser was based too much on the perspective of those in perceived dominance and that there was no room to assess the individuals or groups who recognized and saw through those ideologies. Additionally, all non-elite groups were inevitably presented as passive victims of dominant ideology (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Leone later acknowledged that his original

examination of the Paca Garden did not appropriately address those who not only identified the ideology, but those who disagreed with the naturalization of social hierarchy displayed (Leone 2005: 45). It was this appreciation of the limitations of Althusser's hypothesis of ideology that motivated Leone and other Archaeology in Annapolis researchers to begin exploring the archaeology of those who were not deceived about the reality of their social exploitation and the material forms of their resistance to capitalist ideologies. In this way, critical archaeology could be expanded to "enfranchise those thought to be without history, and...protect democracy by bringing more participants into it" (Leone 2005: 27).

Archaeology of African-Americans

It is through this avenue and the ideas of Jürgen Habermas⁵ that Archaeology in Annapolis began intensively excavating sites of those omitted from dominant ideology and history, and refocusing efforts on the African American communities within the city. By 1990, Archaeology in Annapolis, through collaboration with the Banneker-Douglas Museum, began exploring the lives of free African Americans in Annapolis (see Warner 1998; Mullins 1999; Jopling 2008)⁶. Leone recounts his initial

⁵ Habermas (1984; 1987) argues that despite capitalist ideologies, many groups have been successful in resisting these conditions. An ideal dialogue as proposed by Habermas is one where the voices of subordinate groups frequently muted in everyday life are given a chance for equal negotiation of the past which does not have to compete or be filtered by past or present social inequalities (Tang et al. 2014: 4-5).

⁶ During this time, in conjunction with this effort and the goal of expanding analyses to alternative versions of history, Archaeology in Annapolis also focused excavations on middle- and working-class residents in the city as well (Knauf et al. 2014).

meeting with Barbara Jackson, the associate director of the museum at the time. Jackson said, “We want to know if we have archaeology; we want to hear about freedom—we’re tired of hearing about slavery...Tell us what is left from Africa” (Leone 2005: 192). The poignancy of this request shaped the way that Archaeology in Annapolis began to apply critical archaeology to the study of African Americans. On one hand, it pointed to the need for a richer history of African American enslavement than that which was already offered. And on the other, it reiterated a goal of critical archaeology to remember that a group who is unsure if they have any archaeology is not questioning the existence of physical material remains. That group is questioning whether a greater knowledge of their past makes a difference for their current purposes. Jackson’s request challenged Archaeology in Annapolis to produce a version of the lives of African Americans that was different from the dominant narrative, did not present them as inferior, and did not reify racism.

One way that this was accomplished was through the discovery and analysis of African spiritual practices. By concentrating excavations in sites known to have had African Americans living or working there, several ritual bundles were recovered as part of the project’s many discoveries about African American daily life. These were interpreted as part of West Central African spiritual traditions, and were a material indication of both the consciousness of, and resistance to, the capitalist ideologies dominated by white elites (Leone and Fry 1999; Leone et al. 2001; Ruppel et al. 2003). Archaeology in Annapolis became familiar with African American material culture and descendent communities, and subsequently was more successful

at comprehending what an African American culture that was produced by, resisted against, and negotiated within capitalism would have looked like. The project became well known for promoting these alternative and critical histories, both locally and in historical archaeology.

Thus in 2000, Archaeology in Annapolis moved its geographic focus outside of the city of Annapolis and into the greater Chesapeake region. The project began working on the Eastern Shore of Maryland at the Wye Hall Plantation, located on Wye Island. Wye Hall was owned by William Paca, who began designing the grounds in 1792 with the landscape architect, Luke O’Dio. Paca⁷, of the previously mentioned Paca Garden in Annapolis, built another massive formal garden on this property as well as a large neoclassical great house (Leone et al. 2005: 142). While this house built by Paca is no longer standing, the landscape remains intact. In the 1980s, a comprehensive landscape survey and archaeological testing were conducted at Wye Hall. The work affirmed that some of the archaeology remained intact and it also produced a topographic map of the garden terrace (Bescherer and Yentsch 1989; Leone et al. 2005: 143). In 1999, the Brendsel family purchased the core of the property and set out to recuperate the land and ensure that any future usage was in accordance with regional goals of preserving the Chesapeake Bay. Archaeology in Annapolis became involved because of the reputation it had built as a historical archaeological project and Leone’s reputation as a landscape archaeologist. The Brendsels had hired an Annapolis-based landscape firm to help redesign the property,

⁷ Wye Hall was the last property Paca built after he retired from civil service. The original great house built by Paca burned down in 1876. There were approximately 100 enslaved people living on the plantation when it was built, rising to 150 by the time of the 1860 census (Leone 2007: 35).

and the owner of the firm had previously heard of Archaeology of Annapolis. The purpose of Archaeology in Annapolis at Wye Hall started as a way to assess and record any intact archaeology in order to provide a better picture of the past landscape and reestablish the historic value of this property (Leone 2007: 35-36).

From 2000 to 2004, Archaeology in Annapolis led the work on the Wye Hall property. Over five field seasons, the project sought to uncover as much about Wye Hall as possible. They found additional historic documentation about the property and about William Paca, such as maps and historic photographs. They conducted shovel test pits and placed excavation units throughout the entirety of the property. They also conducted aerial surveying of the land, using LiDAR technology⁸. The archaeologists discovered and fully excavated a slave quarter which was later used as a tenant farmhouse in the early 20th century. This work yielded several different things. It produced a clearer understanding of the land and its architectural remains. It also provided a picture of an experiment with industrial agriculture using enslaved labor. This was a different perspective of Paca's legacy which was predominantly focused on the Revolution, independence, and democracy. The project was ultimately successful in reinserting the historical importance of this property and helped to restore the land and shoreline for more responsible ecological practices (Leone 2007: 35-37).

⁸ LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) is a type of non-invasive, non-optical remote sensing technology that employs aerial flyovers for the purpose of mapping topography and elevation. A LiDAR instrument is mounted to an aircraft, and using pulse lasers, is able to measure the time it takes the laser to reflect off the ground and back to the plane. This travel time is translated to distance and will produce a map of the land which includes all of its built landscape, cultural features, and standing structures. For archaeologists, this technique can provide a map of features or structures belowground that may not be easily discernable to the eye with on-the-ground surveys (see Harmon et al. 2006; Ackerman 1999).

In partnering with Archaeology in Annapolis, the resourceful and dedicated owners of Wye Hall produced a model of stewardship that is desired in any archaeological or environmental landscape. Wye Hall essentially remains a model, though not truly a method to teach as Leone originally hoped. Despite major efforts from the Brendsels to reach out to the black and white descendants of Wye Hall, the project was not successful at establishing an invested descendant community which had been easily found in Annapolis. Ultimately, the owners of Wye Hall were ideal stewards of the landscape but the history of Wye Hall was not truly their history. The ability to teach about working-class whites and free or enslaved African Americans using archaeology was limited without an active descendant community. This changed drastically with Archaeology in Annapolis' ensuing work, located on a peninsula only a few miles south of Wye Hall, at Wye House Plantation (Leone 2007: 37-39). At Wye House, Archaeology in Annapolis brought its tradition of understanding African American history and a model of stewardship for a new project that still continues today.

Archaeology at the Wye House Plantation

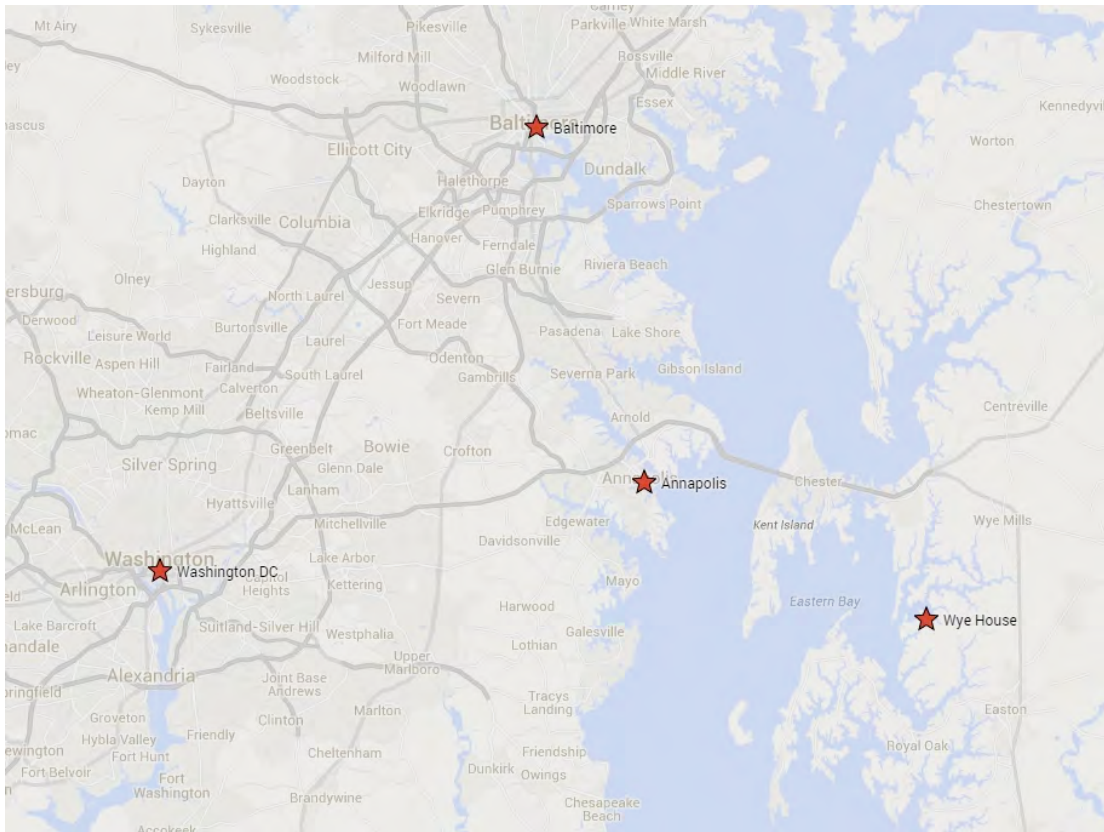


Figure 1. Location of Wye House (Image by John E. Blair Jr.)

After about two decades of research in and near the historic district of Annapolis, Archaeology in Annapolis became a small, but growing presence on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. While researching the incomplete and nominal documentary information available about Wye Hall, the researchers kept coming across references instead to Wye House and the Edward Lloyd family. Wye House is situated just a few miles away, directly south of Wye Island where Wye Hall is located. Wye House is on a small peninsula, bordered by Shaw Bay, Lloyd Creek, and the Wye River. The usage of the word ‘*Wye*’ for plantation names and many

other landmarks on the Eastern Shore⁹ was a frequent a point of confusion for researchers and continues to be for those not from the area.

Through research on Wye Hall, William Paca and his contemporaries, and in an attempt to search for local descendants of the enslaved, it became apparent to Archaeology in Annapolis that Wye House was something worth further investigation as the archaeological world had seemed to neglect this farm. This is not to say that Wye House had to be rediscovered by any means. Locals, and those who know the history of its famous former resident, Frederick Douglass, know well the importance of this plantation. They also know the legacy of abolitionism in the vicinity, as Harriet Tubman was born and escaped to freedom from Dorchester County (Hopkins Bradford 1886), located just south of Talbot County. Wye House Plantation was added to the National Register of Historic Places and was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1970 because of its association with the Edward Lloyd family and the unique, extant architecture on the property (National Park Service 2009)¹⁰. Prior to Archaeology in Annapolis' excavations, what little we knew about those enslaved at Wye House came from its most famous resident, noted abolitionist,

⁹ Speaking with locals, many believe the usage of 'Wye,' especially in Talbot County, comes from the Wye Oak located in Wye Mills. The germination of this white oak tree would have predated European settlement on the Eastern Shore and was a noted landmark by the 19th century. It drew national attention at the turn of the 20th century, and in 1939 was purchased by the state along with about 30 acres, creating the Wye Oak State Park. It was unfortunately destroyed on June 6, 2002 ("An American Champion 2002; Wye Oak State Park 2014). The more likely explanation for where the 'Wye' name came from ties right back to the Lloyd family, owners of Wye House. The Lloyds named the river bordering this land for the River Wye located in Wales, where the family originated (Talbot County Free Library 2014; Russo 2014). The name was likely adopted for local farms and landmarks through their proximity to the river at first, and then after the 19th century, to the renown of the Wye Oak.

¹⁰ The National Register of Historic Places was created by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (16 U.S.C. 470) to designate that something (sites, buildings, districts, objects, etc.) has cultural significance to our collective heritage and needs to be protected and preserved.

orator, and writer, Frederick Douglass. Each of Douglass' autobiographies recounted his life of enslavement by one of the plantation's overseers, Aaron Anthony. Most of our archaeological efforts have focused on the land that Douglass refers to as the "Long Green" (Tang 2012). Of the Long Green, Douglass says, "...there were numerous other slave houses and huts, scattered around in the neighborhood, every nook and corner of which was completely occupied" (Douglass 1855).

Archaeology in Annapolis submitted a proposal for excavation at Wye House (18TA314) to the Tilghman family and we were invited to begin digging there in 2005 by the late Mrs. Mary Tilghman¹¹, an 11th generation Lloyd descendent who was the owner of Wye House at the time. Mrs. Tilghman offered Archaeology in Annapolis the opportunity and funding to explore enslaved life on the plantation, since so little had been recorded beyond Douglass' recollections. Before Archaeology in Annapolis' excavations, Wye House had some archaeological testing conducted on the property in the 1980s (Kerns and Gibb 1988), but it was limited to a small area surrounding a structure known as the Captain's House¹². An addition was planned to be added for modern living space, so the immediate area surrounding the late 17th or

¹¹ Mary Donnell Singer Carmichael Tilghman (1919-2012) inherited approximately 147 acres and Wye House from her great aunt, Elizabeth Lloyd Schiller in 1993. Since that time, Mrs. Tilghman sought to preserve the 18th century Great House, the farm's many outbuildings, the 18th century greenhouse which is the only original and standing one of its kind in North America, the formal gardens, and its rich documentary history (Rasmussen 2012).

¹² The Captain's House is an original structure and would have been the external kitchen of the first Great House on the plantation, approximately seventy feet to the south. There is no exact date, but it is estimated to have been built in the late 17th or early 18th century. There were two additions made to the north of the original part of the structure, an ell in the 19th century, and the modern addition of a large room in the 1990s. The Captain's House is referred to as such for Captain Aaron Anthony, who lived in this structure when Colonel Edward Lloyd V owned the plantation. Anthony was one of Colonel Lloyd's overseers and owned Frederick Douglass. When Douglass describes his living situation upon being brought to Wye House, the structure described is this Captain's House (interview with Mary Tilghman, December 4, 2010; Douglass 1892).

early 18th century structure was tested to assess the amount of archaeology that would be disturbed by the new wing. Beyond this, the archaeology at Wye House was limited to artifacts which turned up in the fields during farming or were pushed up to the ground surface by animal and plant movement.

Besides the fact that such a large farm could be retained throughout time in one family's hands, which could not be said for the majority of the American South after the Civil War, the other incredible fact about Wye House is that Archaeology in Annapolis could answer the question of where their enslaved people went. The descendants of those once enslaved at Wye House could be found mere miles from the plantation on Unionville and Copperville Roads. After the Civil War, eighteen veterans of the Union Army formerly enslaved at Wye House returned to settle the nearby area, which was renamed Unionville. As you drive through today, you will notice the local church and cemetery. In front of the cemetery stands a large placard detailing the names of these original Unionville founders. Since it includes the founders' first and last names, today's residents of Unionville can trace their lineages back to each of these veterans.



Figure 2. Wye House in relation to Unionville and Copperville Roads (Image by John E. Blair Jr.)

When Archaeology in Annapolis received permission from Mrs. Tilghman to excavate on her property, the project’s first objective was to meet and contact this group of Unionville descendants. Leone and several students started by attending Sunday services at St. Stephen’s African Methodist Episcopal Church in Unionville. The descendants of those formerly enslaved at Wye House welcomed our project as a chance to investigate their heritage. After many discussions with the congregants, Archaeology in Annapolis developed a group of research questions which would guide our excavations. A local teacher and community leader, the late Mrs. Martha

Ray Greene, said to us: “I would want to know of slave spirituality. I would want to know what the Lloyds did for freedom.” From these conversations, Archaeology in Annapolis crafted the following questions for our work on the Long Green: How did the Lloyds help the slaves (or fail to help them) achieve freedom? What were the spiritual practices of the slaves? How did the Wye House slaves live on a day-to-day basis? And, what was family life like on the Long Green (Larsen et al. 2011)?

In addition to Douglass, Archaeology in Annapolis consulted various historical, architectural, and archaeological studies and sources. This, along with our discussions with the descendant community of Unionville and the Tilghmans, helped define our project’s research approach which underlies all the work conducted at the site. The impetus for our research continues to revolve around a reclamation of the Long Green and its history of resistance. The role of Archaeology in Annapolis at Wye House was to reestablish the historical significance of this plantation and produce a record of the lives of the enslaved population in a modern landscape that currently bears no signature of this rich past.

Chapter 3: Context of Wye House

This chapter details some of the extensive historiographic information about slavery in Maryland and the Chesapeake region, the Edward Lloyd family and their time at Wye House, and the various historic and primary documents which were utilized for understanding this dissertation project. There is an enormous amount of information related to these topics available that has been collected extensively by historians and archaeologists alike, so the details gathered here include those of most relevance to the current project and gives unequal attention to the associated time periods.

Located on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay, Wye House has been occupied by the Edward Lloyd family since the late-1650s. The current farm represents only a portion of nearly 43,000 acres of holdings throughout Maryland and Delaware once held by the Lloyds. Wye House was the nucleus of their agricultural enterprise and the country home of the family (Weeks 1984). This was the only plantation where a Great House was built, the second of which was built in the late 18th century and still stands today. The Lloyds began by primarily growing tobacco, like many other Chesapeake farms, but by the end of the 18th century, had expanded to more diverse agricultural and husbandry practices. Instead of the exportation of goods across the Atlantic, the Lloyds also became focused on domestic distribution of their products (Land 1964; Kulikoff 1986). Through the generations, its occupants

have included many influential figures such as statesmen, soldiers, and three Maryland state governors (Historical Society of Talbot County 2005).

The dissertation will focus temporally on the early Lloyd period, follows as the farm transitions into a plantation system, and concludes before the close of the Civil War. Following the abolition of slavery in Maryland, the cultural and economic structures change rapidly and drastically at Wye House. Obviously the main reason for this is the sudden lack of enslaved labor. The Lloyd family also loses a large portion of their wealth which impacts their economic decisions about the plantation and other properties. Although we are aware that there still remained tenant farmers and domestic laborers on the plantation of African descent, the records are not as clear, the approach for studying freed African-Americans is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and the archaeological data for this late 19th and early 20th century period is disturbed by modern intrusions in many areas of the plantation. The focus will instead be on the earlier occupation at Wye House by the Lloyd family in the 18th century until 1865. Archaeologically, this amounts to material which can be dated to the turn of the 18th century until the middle of the 19th century. The occupation periods of Wye House and its surrounding areas are presented here. During the historic period, the discussion is delineated by the different Lloyds who owned Wye House. The information that can be gathered about enslaved people from the historical records during each of these periods is presented in relation to the current dissertation project.

A Note about the Historical Documentation

Documentary information derives from multiple primary and secondary sources. A number of researchers have written about the Lloyd family specifically, namely historians Jean Russo and Amy Speckart. Their work features prominently in this section. There is also substantial literature about the Eastern Shore, Maryland, and the Chesapeake, from all time periods starting with pre-contact to the modern period. The periods related to enslavement in these areas and the American South have been detailed by many scholars, most historians, such as: Ira Berlin, Edmund S. Morgan, Phillip D. Morgan, Timothy H. Breen and Stephen Innes, Paul G.E. Clemens, and Allan Kulikoff to name only a few. The volumes, *History of Talbot County, 1661-1861* are used throughout though they are employed with caution as their accuracy has been questioned by several historians. Though it was not published until 1915 by Oswald Tilghman, the writings come from Samuel Alexander Harrison (1822-1890) who was a contemporary of Edward Lloyd VII.

Most of the primary information comes from documents written or collected by the Lloyds in the form of the Lloyd Family Papers, most of which are located at either the Maryland Historical Society or the Maryland State Archives. These include land deeds, employee contracts, ledgers for sales or purchases, probate inventories, last wills and testaments, personal letters, slave schedules, and many others. Some Lloyd documents like the Lloyd Family Cookbooks are still owned by the Lloyd descendents and were loaned directly to Archaeology in Annapolis. Other primary

accounts come from slave narratives, written by individuals who escaped from Maryland such as Frederick Douglass. Also utilized are the narratives from the Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers' Project which collected interviews of former slaves around the country from 1936-1938. General population information was gathered from published reports from several relevant years of the U.S. Federal Census. Information related to runaway slaves comes from local newspapers in Easton, Maryland. And to understand the different changes in the perception of the enslaved population and its corresponding impact on state regulations, the session laws from the Maryland General Assembly were employed, and these can be found at the Maryland State Archives.

This chapter uses a critical perspective when presenting the historical documentation. Each section begins with a discussion of the documents available for the time period in question. Most of these documents are about the Lloyds, and the purpose in this chapter is not to reiterate this, but to pull information that may provide information about how the enslaved were eating during that time period. This is to establish what is already known by historians, and to show the gaps which can be filled by archaeological research. Thus, each of the following sections presents archival and historical information by tacking back and forth between documents associated with the Lloyds and documents from the enslaved or formerly enslaved. After 1770, in the Plantation period, this is simpler to do and it is possible to present a much more vivid and personal picture of enslaved foods in Maryland, in the Chesapeake, and even directly at Wye House. This is not as well-defined

unfortunately in the Early Lloyd period before 1770. Historians and archaeologists both struggle with the paucity of primary documents from enslaved African-Americans before 1830, with the advent of publishers in the U.S. and the steady increase of abolitionist writings as part of the anti-slavery movement (Andrews 2004). There is simply an absence of this type of information in the early period, so the richness of data about enslaved food is not altogether possible to present.

One well-known source from former slave Olaudah Equiano is sometimes employed for information about enslavement in the 18th century. It has been used often to describe the Atlantic world of slavery, the Middle Passage, life in the Caribbean, in Central and South America, in Europe, and even in Virginia. His account, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789), is one of the first known slave narratives. Equiano was a unique individual who had been kidnapped from Africa, purchased his own freedom in 1766, and traveled around the Atlantic world as a merchant and explorer. He joined the abolitionist movement in the late 18th century. Though his recollections from his early life would have dated to before 1770, his narrative was published in 1789 and its contents were targeted at abolishing African-American enslavement. Of this early period, scholars have also noted that some of the recollections may have been accounts that Equiano believed to be factual, rather than actual autobiographical experiences (Carretta 2005; Lovejoy 2006; Byrd 2006).

Another early narrative, written by Thomas Bluett (1734), is the second-hand biography about Job ben Solomon or Ayuba Suleiman Diallo. Although the right location and time period, the narrative gives almost no information about enslaved people. Job was from a prominent Muslim family in the Senegambia region. His family was of the upper class and practiced owning and selling slaves themselves. In the account, Job is more or less mistakenly taken from Africa and sold into slavery. The ship travels from Africa to Annapolis, where he is purchased by a tobacco farmer from Kent Island, located between the Eastern and Western Shores of Maryland. He is enslaved there between 1731 and 1733, and besides for tobacco farming, Job recounts being tasked to care for the cattle. He provides no other information about his treatment or his life at the farm. Later in the memoir, Bluett states that on their voyage to London, Job was allowed to slaughter the animals in accordance to Muslim traditions. Bluett mentions Job eating cow, sheep, and fish, but “won't touch a bit of Pork, it being expresly forbidden by their Law” (1734: 26). These food preferences are more a reflection of Job’s religious devotions to Islam. There is little indication historically of a significant Muslim presence at Wye House to warrant much additional consideration regarding the avoidance of pig consumption.

Beyond this, information regarding food in the Colonial period and before the Revolutionary period can be gleaned from work conducted by historians and archaeologists, but these are extrapolated from secondary sources. Most work focuses topically on early, white settlers or colonists (e.g., Miller 1988; Carr and Menard 1989; Walsh 1989; Crews 2014; Menard et al. 1991; Martin 2010; Anderson 2006;

Carson et al. 2008). Many of these accounts detail the difficulties of establishing sustainable food production, provisioning from Europe, and starvation periods more than they discuss details about regular meals. Even when laborers are discussed, the information is unclear because this period frequently collapses the categories of European indentured servants with those of enslaved African-Americans. On the one hand this is beneficial, because black and white laborers likely shared similar daily experiences and many times this would have mirrored the living arrangements of their masters (for more discussion of this, see Epperson 1990; Upton 1988; Morgan 1975; Morgan 1998; Breen and Innes 1980). On the other hand, as the following historical data shows, Wye House and the Lloyds were always something of an exceptional case. By the time the Lloyds establish at Wye House, they are already incredibly wealthy. The Lloyd documents show a persistent separation in space between all laborers and distinctions based on conspicuous consumption that were possible given social standing and wealth of the Lloyds. While there have been many successful and creative attempts by scholars to assess the daily lives of enslaved people, given the temporal scope of the Early Lloyd period before 1770, the regional and contextual information that has been gathered is not comparable to Wye House. Therefore, until the Plantation period where abolitionist writing abounds, every attempt is made in the earlier time periods to glean information about how enslaved people could have been eating at Wye House from the Lloyd documents.

Before the Lloyds (Pre-17th Century)

Though the Lloyds, enslaved people, and the development of the United States and its economies are the main focus of this dissertation, this group of historical events barely span 300 years. The cultural life of the land before Maryland even came to be reaches back over ten thousand years. It is generally accepted that by at least 11,000 B.C.E., Native Americans had settled in North America (Steponaitis 1986). There are three prehistoric periods in North America and these are known as the Paleoindian, the Archaic, and the Woodland Periods.

The Paleoindian period lasted until about 10,000 B.P. and is commonly associated with the ubiquity of the Clovis point¹³. Over five thousand of these projectiles have been recovered in the southeast U.S. alone (Haynes 2002: 43). These large tools were used in the hunting of now-extinct, Pleistocene megafauna (Humphrey and Chambers 1977: 7-9). It was largely assumed that this large game hunting was indicative of all Paleoindian groups in North America, though more recent research suggests that this was more common in the western U.S. In the eastern U.S., the population more likely hunted white-tailed deer and turkey, caught fish, trapped small game mammals, and subsisted predominantly on plant foraging (Haynes 2002: 39). About twenty-five Paleoindian sites have been discovered in the

¹³ Clovis points are named for a city in New Mexico where the projectiles were first found. They are characterized as large, fluted, lanceolate, bifaced points. These points were meant to be hafted onto long spears for use in hunting. They were frequently made of jasper, chert, or quartz (Anderson and Sassaman 1996).

Mid-Atlantic or Chesapeake. Most sites in this area support a diversified subsistence pattern, as evidenced by seasonal base camps which have been discovered in the region (Dent 1995: 106-107).

The Archaic Period begins at about 10,000 B.P. and is initially marked by ecological and climatic shifts rather than by cultural changes. By about 8,000 B.P. or the late Archaic, there are discernable cultural changes linked to the new ecology. With a more temperate climate, the riverine environments become inundated and northern hardwood forests take over the previous coniferous environment (Whitehead 1972). As groups learn to better exploit the dense woodland environment, more North American Indians are able to live in semi-sedentary camps and subsist off the woods instead of simply hunting bands of wild game. In the Mid-Atlantic, it is likely that these groups consumed mostly estuarine resources and their toolkits, storage features, and cooking vessels reflect this type of subsistence base as well as the ability to remain at one camp for a longer period of time (Custer 1984: 97).

As the Archaic transitions to the Woodland Period, archaeologists have noticed an increase in woodworking, an increase in population and sedentism, the use of ceramics, and the introduction of mortuary practices. This period spans approximately 1000 B.C.E. until European contact in the early 17th century. In the areas surrounding the Bay and on the Eastern Shore, the condensing of population has been marked by the appearance of chiefdoms as well as agriculture utilizing the crop rotation system. The crops which were grown included maize, barley, beans, and

squash, though the amounts grown would not yet be sufficient as the main form of subsistence. The population instead would have continued to hunt and forage for aquatic animals, deer, and turkey, and also gathered plants and nuts from the forests (Rountree and Davidson 1997). Groups also exhibited early interaction with European settlers during the Late Woodland Period in the Chesapeake, but this would have been sparse and sporadic until 1607 with John Smith and the English settlers. Before then, other European ships sailed into the Chesapeake but they were primarily searching for slaves, exploring new areas for missionizing, or conducting mapping expeditions. These trips rarely made it as far north into to Bay as Maryland and were mainly limited to Virginia and around the James and York Rivers (Dent 1995: 223).

The presence of Native Americans on the Eastern Shore contributes some thoughtful information towards this dissertation. The plants and animals commonly exploited by these people help us understand the breadth of indigenous species that are abundant in the area even before introduction of new species by Europeans. Though certain animal species, such as the oyster, become overexploited through the historical period and their populations decrease significantly, it is clear that the Eastern Shore was a place where it was easy to find wild foods. Whether it was from the water, on land, hunted, trapped, gathered, fished, or caught, flora and fauna flourished in the region and it was not difficult to find edible items with a little knowledge of the natural environment. In addition to this, as evidenced by the Native groups, the land could be greatly productive with minimal efforts of cultivation and was conducive to supporting a large number of domesticated plants as well. Therefore

centuries later, although the enslaved were provided a monotonous diet of low nutrition, a varied and more complete spectrum of foods could indeed be garnered from the local environment without an immense deal of time or effort.

Early Lloyd and the Founding of Wye House

Edward Lloyd I

By 1631, William Claiborne had established a trading settlement on Kent Island and several tribes still lived and traded on the Eastern Shore (Dent 1995: 261). The Wicomiss or Ozinies, the Nanticoke, and the Choptank were based around the Eastern Shore, and they regularly traded with the Accomacks or Accohannoeks on the Western Shore of Maryland. Linguistically, these tribes spoke variations of Algonquian (Rountree and Davidson 1997). Besides the impacts of competition and the introduction of new diseases already decreasing the Native American population, by the 1650s, the English had started to aggressively drive out the remaining tribes in the Chesapeake. Once the colony of Maryland was officially established at St. Mary's City in 1634, the European settlers already required more land as well as more labor for tobacco farming. This speculative system based on small farms, European capital, and indentured servants continued throughout the 17th century.

This is the setting that enticed the emigration of Edward Lloyd I in 1636. The best records have his year of birth in 1620 in eastern Wales in an area called Wye Valley. He first arrived in the Virginia Colony in Lower Norfolk County and in 1645 was appointed a justice of peace and later, elected as a delegate to the Virginia House of Burgesses (Papenfuse et al. 1985: 534). Lower Norfolk was a port of call for ships traveling between New England and the Caribbean, and while residing here, it appears that Edward Lloyd I was exposed to a version of a diversified economy that was based not on agriculture, but on tobacco and ships provisioning which he would come to establish at Wye House (Speckart 2011: 22). It is clear that Edward Lloyd I and his older brother Cornelius came to the Virginia Colony for capital gain and to achieve the status of gentlemen merchants, but in addition to financial freedom, they were also seeking religious freedom. The Lloyds were Puritans and were one of several waves of the English Puritan diaspora that began in the 1620s. Lower Norfolk as a destination was not arbitrary and many other Puritans had already settled in the area. In 1649, Edward Lloyd I was charged with a violation of Virginia law and with nonconformity to the Church of England. Instead of facing these charges, he and several hundred Puritans left for the Maryland colony. They then established the Providence settlement along the Severn River (Russo 2000; Luckenbach 1995).

During his time in Anne Arundel County, Edward Lloyd I rose politically in Maryland's proprietary government. While it does not appear he was engaging in much cultivation, Edward Lloyd I became a noteworthy land speculator. In 1658, he patented 4,050 acres on the Eastern Shore in Kent County, which would later become

Talbot County. By 1667, he acquired 2,200 more acres in Talbot County, and the core of these Talbot County holdings would form the Wye House Plantation. He patented about 8,470 acres of land throughout Maryland in total¹⁴, though he sold the vast majority for profit before he returned to England in 1668 (Speckart 2011: 29-31). The land that he retained was left for his only son, Philemon Lloyd, to manage.

Philemon Lloyd

While his father bought and established Wye House, Philemon Lloyd was responsible for managing and building up the farm. Similar to Edward Lloyd I, Philemon was interested in increasing the family's wealth and land holdings, and owned about 9,000 acres of land mostly on the Eastern Shore by the time he died. Eleven plantations were noted on his probate record. On four of these plantations, thirty-eight slaves and nine indentured servants total were documented, though they were not all owned per se by Philemon as some belonged to his wife and her family. At Wye House, there lived five indentured servants and at least twenty slaves. Probate appraisers accounted in 1685, eleven adult male slaves, eleven adult female slaves, and at least eight enslaved children on the plantation¹⁵. Of both enslaved and indentured laborers, two men were listed as carpenters, one man as a tailor, four women as likely field hands, two women as house servants, and one elderly woman

¹⁴ "Edward Lloyd, c. 1620-1696," Legislative History Project biographical files, SC 1138-001-805/817, No. 808. Maryland State Archives.

¹⁵ "Inventory," August 3, 1685, Prerogative Court, Inventories and Accounts, Liber 8, folios 398-406, Maryland State Archives (qtd in. Speckart 2011: 22).

who may have been kept to care for the children (Speckart 2011: 42-43). The origin of the enslaved people was likely from the Western Shore or from the Caribbean (Clemens 1980: 60). Owning this many enslaved people and indentured servants classified Philemon as elite and one of the largest planters on the Eastern Shore at the time (Kulikoff 1986: 330-331).

Philemon managed Wye House in the diversified farming practiced by Edward Lloyd I, one which primarily grew a lesser grade tobacco but supplemented profits by raising animals and growing plants¹⁶. At Wye House, Philemon's probate inventory accounted fifty-five cattle, ninety-nine sheep, and thirty hogs alone, with over a hundred more animals being raised on other farms¹⁷. Wye House has a long legacy of diversified farming and animal rearing that continued throughout its history. In addition to a primary crop, whether it was tobacco or later wheat, Wye House produced a great deal of other plants and animals that surpassed the needs of its inhabitants and its surrounding farms. It had always been a farm which produced for the purpose of trade and for export. Though some of the enslaved were listed in probate records as skilled individuals, it should be noted that growing the farm's crops and raising the various animals, required significant skill and knowledge as well. Therefore, above knowing the natural environment and the native bounty of

¹⁶ The regional Chesapeake version of tobacco, oronoco, only became profitable when a planter could yield as much and over as large an area of land as possible. The variety of tobacco was not prized for its quality, so planters had to flush the market with their product in order to profit, in addition to seeking other sources of profit such as animal husbandry and agriculture (Speckart 2011: 30).

¹⁷ "Inventory," August 3, 1685, Prerogative Court, Inventories and Accounts, Liber 8, folios 398-406, Maryland State Archives (qtd in. Speckart 2011: 44).

food, the enslaved had to be experts on a wide variety of profitable domesticates regularly cultivated and raised in the region.

Upon Philemon's untimely death in 1685, the land of Wye House was managed temporarily by his wife, Henrietta Maria. When Edward Lloyd I died in 1696, Henrietta Maria in 1697, and then the widow of Edward Lloyd I – Grace – in 1700, ownership of the various landholdings of Edward Lloyd I had to be divided among the remaining family members (Papenfuse et al. 1985: 541). The Lloyd family and the family of Henrietta Maria, the Bennetts, managed their holdings together for about ten years before Wye House was officially turned over to its intended inheritor, Edward Lloyd II.

Edward Lloyd II

When the land and wealth of Edward Lloyd I was settled, the eldest son of Philemon Lloyd – Edward Lloyd II – inherited the holdings of Wye House in addition to what he had already inherited after the death of his father and mother. Although farming and animal rearing remained the economic base for the Lloyds, Edward Lloyd II focused much of his time and attention on increasing his political status and amassing his family's wealth through consignment. Edward Lloyd II was elected to the Maryland assembly in 1697, and continued to be elected into more prominent political positions until he became the acting governor of Maryland from 1709 to 1714 (Papenfuse et al. 1985: 534-535). By concentrating his efforts on trade and

supplying his inherited stores, Edward Lloyd II gained social prominence and wealth as part of the growing genteel, merchant elite class, rather than through land speculation as practiced by his predecessors (Speckart 2011: 60-61).

There were about sixty merchant-planters located in Talbot County at the turn of the 18th century. As opposed to using an agent in the colonies that connected these merchant-planters to goods manufactured in London and who collected a commission for the transactions, Edward Lloyd II engaged in consignment directly with London merchants. This meant that many transactions operated on credit, which typically led to greater gains by the merchant-planter, especially in the case of Edward Lloyd II who ran two stores to sell goods locally. His stores were located at Wye House and at Wye Town and stocked household goods. When Edward Lloyd II owned the stores, he increased the amount of genteel items to include cloth, tablewares, and other luxury items such as ginger, molasses, rum, and brandy¹⁸. In addition to providing goods from overseas to people locally, Edward Lloyd II also capitalized on the expanding food provisioning trade to the Caribbean as well as to Europe. The Chesapeake now exported and traded in much more than simply tobacco, and this provisioning became much more important to the region through the early 18th century. This is clear in Edward Lloyd II's 1719 probate inventory that listed two ships. While his parents owned less costly shallops which were suitable only for traveling in shallow waters, Edward Lloyd II owned a brig and a sloop, valued respectively at £470 and £280. A sloop was capable of sailing around the Bay and

¹⁸ This information comes from Edward Lloyd II's probate inventories from 1719 and 1720, Prerogative Court. Maryland State Archives.

along the Eastern coast, but a brig was required for sailing into the Caribbean. Similar to cutting out the middle agent in trade with London, Edward Lloyd II was interested in maintaining more control over his profits by transporting his own goods. In fact, in 1720, Edward Lloyd II was only one of four people in the state who owned a brig (Speckart 2011: 72).

In the 1719 inventory, the brig *Sarah*, likely on its way to the Caribbean listed: bread, flour, pork, and beef. The same inventory listed the sloop *Rebecca*, with: corn, pork, and live hogs. Cattle and pigs were listed in Edward Lloyd II's inventory at Wye House, and it is likely that most of the animals used for trade were raised on the plantation itself. By the time of Edward Lloyd II's death, we can see that Wye House is at the center of a new Maryland economy not dominated by agriculture or tobacco, but which relied on a combination of diversified farming and animal husbandry, local provisioning, and trade to Europe and the Caribbean (Clemens 1980: 95-96). Somewhat different from his father and the owners of Wye House to come after Edward Lloyd II, historian Amy Speckart also notices a preference for indentured servants and argues that this is due to increased separation in work and housing beginning in the 18th century between servants and the enslaved.

As the 18th century progressed, there appear more social and racial distinctions between the enslaved and indentured servants. Edward Lloyd II's father, Philemon, had nine servants and thirty-eight slaves listed in his probate inventory in 1685. His inventory reflects a constant need of the importation of new slaves, with a

population that was not naturally sustaining. By the 18th century, skilled labor – those skills associated with trades, grain agriculture, and livestock rearing – were seen as “English” and had become work for indentured servants and Whites, while the enslaved were forced to farm tobacco (Speckart 2011: 74). This trend can be seen in the inventory of Edward Lloyd II who increased his number of indentured servants to seventeen. While his 1719 inventory still listed a higher proportion of enslaved individuals at thirty, his preference can be seen when comparing the number of males, which were the more desired laborers on plantations – sixteen indentured male servants versus fourteen enslaved males. Judging by how Edward Lloyd II adjusted the labor at Wye House, it can be seen that he was more interested in diversifying his capital through mercantile trading than by tobacco farming, and in doing so, was enacting racial separation on his plantation and creating status distinctions based on skill set in his laborers.

Edward Lloyd III

Edward Lloyd III officially inherited Wye House in 1732. His eldest brother Philemon should have inherited the plantation but died in 1729. His mother, Edward Edward Lloyd II’s wife, Sarah Covington Lloyd, was still living in 1732 but renounced her rights to her son since she was already remarried and had moved to her husband’s family seat in Queen Anne’s County (Papenfuse et al. 1985: 450-451; Bordley 1962: 69). Edward Lloyd III built upon the legacy of political involvement paved by his family members. He served on the Maryland Council, was the treasurer

for the Eastern Shore, and was also a naval officer. In the latter two positions, Edward Lloyd III became knowledgeable about financial matters in the colony, and in 1753, was appointed by the sixth Lord Baltimore to be agent and receiver general for the proprietary revenue. At this time, Edward Lloyd III was also appointed rent roll keeper of the Western Shore by the governor (Owings 1953: 60-65). In short, Edward Lloyd III was responsible and familiar with a large amount of the colony's financial matters. Because of his reputation and standing in coveted financial offices, Edward Lloyd III increased his already substantial wealth through credit lending. His business as a creditor became the most valuable part of his estate upon his death, with the debts receivable coming to about £11,400 sterling¹⁹.

The ability of Edward Lloyd III to amass so much wealth and political influence came in part through the efforts of the Lloyd men before him, but also from a fortuitous relationship with his half-uncle, Richard Bennett III. It was because of Bennett III that Edward Lloyd III was favored to be appointed by Lord Baltimore as his chief revenue agent. And when Bennett III died in 1749, he named Edward Lloyd III as his heir at law²⁰. His wealth and holdings were comparable to some of the most elite in the state, such as Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Estimated from several inventories taken after his death in 1770, historians Trevor Burnard and Amy Speckart calculate that Edward Lloyd III owned 252 enslaved people and about

¹⁹ "Estate Papers of Edward Lloyd III", box 71, Lloyd Papers (qtd. in Speckart 2011: 145).

²⁰ "Estate Papers of Edward Lloyd III" and "Estate Papers of Various Lloyds," box 71, Lloyd Papers (qtd. in Speckart 2011: 148).

43,000 acres of land²¹. This meant that his probate records put Edward Lloyd III in the upper 5% of Maryland slaveholders (Burnard 2002: 36-38). His enormous increase in landholdings appears to be due to a stabilization of the market which made land ownership and diversification of agriculture and animal husbandry lucrative again.

In the first half of the 18th century, both tobacco and grain prices rebounded and steadily climbed (McCusker and Menard 1991: 120-131). While tobacco lingered as a base crop in the region, it was no longer the most profitable as the only cash crop for a farm. By the mid-18th century, Edward Lloyd III focused equal efforts on growing wheat, a decision that paired well with the immense amounts of land he was accumulating, as the crop requires large expanses of acreage in order for the yield to be profitable. Edward Lloyd III continued with his father's mercantile trading and the operation of four stores in the area, but he also focused again on cultivating the lands he owned. And similar to his father again, Edward Lloyd III owned ships and vessels to reduce costs in the provisions trade, but he also purchased grist, fulling, and hemp mills which helped negate costs of outsourcing this labor (Speckart 2011: 145-146; Russo 2014).

As far as labor was concerned, the increase in scale of productive landholdings coincided with a more than drastic increase in slaveholdings as well.

²¹ "Inventory of Edward Lloyd's estate, December 1770, Estate Papers of Edward Lloyd III," box 71, Lloyd Papers; "List of Negroes, Stock &c at Shrewsbury, Wards Gift, and Hammonds Plantations," August 1768, box 16, folder 5, Cadwalader Collection, series 2, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (qtd. in Speckart 2011: 142).

The marked jump from about 30 slaves in Edward Lloyd II's probate records to 252 at the time of Edward Lloyd III's death is striking. There were three causes for this 800% increase in Wye House's slave population. The first is that Edward Lloyd III was simply wealthy and had steady and multiple revenue streams which could be used to purchase slaves. It seems that most of the slaves Edward Lloyd III purchased in 1730 and 1740 came from England (Clemens 1980: 165-166). The second source of the marked increase is due to the inheritance of slaves from Richard Bennett III upon his death in 1749 (Speckart 2011: 148; Russo 2014). The final and most distinguishing cause for the population increase is due a noticeable shift in the birth rate of the Chesapeake enslaved in about 1720. The historian Phillip Morgan has written about this demographic shift, noting that after 1720, the slaves born in the Chesapeake region – in other words, African-American slaves – began to outnumber slaves which had been purchased and either born in Africa or the Caribbean (1998: 81-85).

This point is meaningful for this dissertation. What this indicates is that after 1720, the majority of slaves in the Chesapeake region and the slaves at Wye House are native-born African-Americans. Not only is the birth rate increasing, or more of the enslaved are growing into adulthood to be enumerated, or the ratio between males and females becoming more normalized, but this means that the 1720s marks a shift from a population predominated by African or Afro-Caribbean men, to a population comprised of the earliest generations of Chesapeake African-American men, women, and children. This is important to understand, as this dissertation covers materials that

date from the 18th century. While the period from about 1770 to 1774 at Wye House points to rapid population growth, by purchase or trade, the oldest members of the Wye House community were African-American and Chesapeake-born. This 1720s demographic shift indicates that some of the earliest historic materials excavated so far at Wye House are likely related to African-Americans that are several generations removed from Africa or the Caribbean (Russo 2014; Morgan 1998: 81-85).

The Lloyds and their Holdings in the late-18th through mid-19th Centuries

Edward Lloyd IV

Edward Lloyd III died in 1770 and left all his wealth and possessions to his three children. Edward Lloyd IV was the eldest son, and since his father did not make any other designations, he became the heir at law, meaning he was responsible for settling all debts, he would inherit all of the real estate, and he was responsible for carrying out his father's wishes of dividing the remaining personal estate wealth equally among himself and his siblings. For about a year following the death of Edward Lloyd III, the family experienced internal contention primarily between Edward Lloyd IV and John Cadwalader, the husband of his older sister, Elizabeth. There were numerous disputes over the fairness of the estate division and how Edward Lloyd IV initially gave himself the first pick of all property and items (Speckart 2011: 189-192).

The dispute between Edward Lloyd IV and John Cadwalader escalated to a point that latter correspondences between the two prior to the final estate divisions included accusations of lacking honor, abusive and foul language, and of being ungentlemanly²². Some of the contested or unwanted items were sold, and the profits were shared equally. Being heir at law, Edward Lloyd IV received most of his father's real property, and approximately one-third of the personal properties. This amounted to all of the land except for a parcel set aside in his father's will for his younger brother, Richard; three vessels; a mill; and three provisions stores. His third of the moveable or personal properties came to about £35,000 current money; this included the values approximated from selling two ships and their cargo, the value of enslaved and indentured people, livestock, household items, leather and skins, pig iron, salt, and other miscellaneous property²³.

Despite this rocky inheritance dispute with his brother-in-law, the benefits of receiving so much from his father only helped to increase Edward Lloyd IV's social and economic standing. Just like his father, Edward Lloyd IV built upon an already stable legacy of an elite planter lifestyle and he was already familiar with holding political power and capitalizing on sound business prospects. Edward Lloyd IV was prominent in Annapolis politics, and beginning in 1781, was elected to serve in the Maryland Senate. But differing from his father, Edward Lloyd IV transitioned out of

²² "John Cadwalader to Edward Lloyd," August 30, 1770, box 71, Lloyd Papers; "Edward Lloyd to John Cadwalader," November 9, 1770, box 4, series 2, Cadwalader Collection (qtd. in Speckart 2011: 213, 219).

²³ Papenfuse, *Biographical Dictionary*, 536-537; "1770-1774 ledger," 230, Box 14, Vol. 5; "Will of Edward Lloyd III," Provincial Wills, 37/474, Maryland State Archives (qtd. in Russo 1992: 66-67).

the mercantile business during his lifetime, opting instead to concentrate almost entirely on diversified agriculture. One reason for this was practical and due to the decreasing profitability and increasing risks of the merchant trade during the Revolutionary War. Another practical reason was simply the lack of personal knowledge of the mercantile business. The most likely reason for decreasing his involvement in merchant trading was that it was a way to further entrench himself in the elite, genteel planter class that put a premium on scientific curiosity and leisure (Russo 1992: 66-68). Edward Lloyd IV took many steps to enact this transition economically and socially throughout his ownership of Wye House.

In the social realm, he modeled himself as a genteel plantation owner, as opposed to a working farmer. It was clear that he had little to do with the daily farm operations and decisions, instead delegating these responsibilities to several different tiers of supervisors, clerks, stewards, and overseers²⁴. Rather than doing this, he spent more time in Annapolis involved in politics than his predecessors and when at Wye House, was generally focused on entertaining and leisurely activities. Edward Lloyd IV regularly spent his time gardening, hunting, out on fishing or shooting parties on his pleasure boat, raising and racing thoroughbred horses, maintaining a deer park for viewing and hunting, and collecting scientific objects and books. The remnants of his

²⁴ Jean Russo (1992) describes the different occupations available at Wye House, and the people who effectively managed the plantation to the wishes of Edward Lloyd IV. Though he owned the plantation, the daily decisions and operation of the farm and even household activities were in the hands of dozens of agents, clerks, stewards, overlookers, and overseers. Those most directly responsible for the enslaved people and the everyday activities of the farm were the overseers. They were hired on annual contracts, though many were rehired year after year, and most were from the same families. It seems that Lloyd IV held the overseers to a high standard and their contracts, which had to be renewed annually, frequently detailed exactly what was expected from their behavior as well as their treatment of the enslaved.

dedication to gentility are apparent even today when walking around the grounds at Wye House or through the standing Great House. In addition to these hobbies, Edward Lloyd IV also built an entirely new Great House with formal gardens and the famous Greenhouse²⁵ and he also purchased the Chase House in Annapolis. It was obvious that Edward Lloyd IV was attempting a physical and visual transition from the Wye House of his father and his predecessors²⁶, in addition to a social and economic one. Both the new Great House and the Chase-Lloyd House were impressive structures and opulently decorated with luxuries from all around the world as a testament to the knowledge of Edward Lloyd IV of the genteel planter lifestyle²⁷.

In the economic arena, Edward Lloyd IV evolved into more of a planter than his father, who had been securely of the merchant-planter class, though Edward Lloyd IV still maintained a firm position in the agricultural provisioning trade as well as in money lending. It was a wise decision when considering the state of international and domestic markets during the war period. Growing grains and raising animals for meat became much more profitable, and this renewed focus is evident by the desire of

²⁵ These current and standing structures make up the modern landscape of Wye House today. Chapter 4 includes specific information and references to these architectural features.

²⁶ His father, Lloyd III, had renovated the original Great House after about 1750. Unlike the earlier version with the vernacular and colonial hall-and-parlor plan, Lloyd III built a double-pile, high Georgian-style structure, that was likely in brick. It appeared more ordered and symmetrical, and had Georgian elements like a separation of formal receiving or entertaining spaces and private rooms accessible only by the family. Though these major renovations for a high-styled 18th century house were done only about forty years earlier, instead of rebuilding the original Great House, Lloyd IV opted to reorient the entire plantation and build a brand new, even grander Great House in wood frame rather than the more popular brick of the period (“Assessment Record”, General Assembly of Delegates, Talbot County, 2nd District, Maryland State Archives [qtd in. Speckart 2011: 136-139]).

²⁷ “Inventory of the estate of Edward Lloyd IV,” 8/1/1796, Talbot County Inventories and Accounts, JP F/38-I 33, Maryland State Archives; “Lloyd to Thomas Eden and Company,” 8/6/1791, Business Papers, Box 50, Lloyd Papers (qtd. in Russo 1992: 65).

Edward Lloyd IV to drastically increase his population of enslaved labor. Shortly after his inheritance of Wye House, the number of enslaved people increased by 200% and this was the greatest exploitation of slave labor that was practiced by any of the previous owners of Wye House (Russo 1992: 78-79). The sudden increase in the enslaved population was necessitated by the changes Edward Lloyd IV made in how the plantation drew its profits. Instead of directly supplying to London and the Caribbean using a handful of large ships, Edward Lloyd IV sold off three of his father's ships and schooners. From then on, Edward Lloyd IV retained just one ship which was used for transporting products among his farms and for bringing his goods around Baltimore, Annapolis, and the Eastern Shore²⁸. While he still grew tobacco on the plantation which was sold on consignment directly to England and Scotland, the majority of the farm yields were staple crops which were sold locally in the state. Besides wheat, Edward Lloyd IV focused most of his production on corn, barley, oats, beans, peas, potatoes, hogs, cattle, and sheep. He not only supplied food to local buyers, but even sold to the state during the war for provisions for troops. Interestingly for this dissertation, historian Jean Russo has found that Wye House regularly supplied both meat and livestock to butchers in Annapolis and Baltimore (1992: 69-70). This meant that live animals as well as those which were already slaughtered and broken down left the plantation for consumption in the local region. Also, in addition to selling and transporting animals and meat to butchers in the state's major cities, ledger books from Edward Lloyd IV detail that pre-butchered meat was sold directly to individuals in Annapolis. In 1782, there is a ledger entry for

²⁸ "1770-1774 ledger," 200, 215, 222; "1770-1791 ledger," 27; "1770-1774 ledger," passim; "1770-1791 ledger," passim. Lloyd Papers, Maryland State Archives (qtd. in Russo 1992: 67).

13,000 pounds of pork sold to thirteen Annapolitans; and in 1783, another entry of 21,000 pounds to fifteen people²⁹.

As already mentioned, in order to maintain such high levels of agricultural production, Edward Lloyd IV needed to expand his labor force. Starting in 1770 with the inheritance disputes over his father's estate, enslaved life at Wye House would undergo many changes and reach a scale only seen in a handful of plantations around the Chesapeake. When Edward Lloyd III died, the enslaved were to be divided equally among the three living children by way of drawing random lots³⁰. 174 slaves were divided arbitrarily, though one instance of preference by the enslaved was acknowledged for house servants or domestic slaves. In a memorandum drawn up detailing how the personal estate of Edward Lloyd III would be fairly and equally divided into thirds, there is a clause that gives house slaves the ability to object to the lot and owner drawn for them. They would be able to select which of the three siblings they would rather be owned by, and the selected sibling would pay the one who drew the house servant's lot for their cash value³¹. The majority of the slaves, the field hands, were randomly divided without regard. At this point, from his father's

²⁹ "1780-1783 memo book," Box 15, Vol. 10, two entries for sales to Annapolis residents (qtd. in Russo 1992: 69).

³⁰ "1770-1774 ledger," p. 230, box 14, volume 5, Lloyd Papers (qtd. in Speckart 2011: 222).

³¹ "If it should happen that any of the House servants or Negroes should prefer to go to that person who may not happen to get such House servant by Lot, then [that] Person to whom such unwilling servant may fall by Lot is to give up such servant to such person to whom such House servant may prefer to live with." ("Goldsborough, Robert (1740-1798)" in *BDML*, 1:363; memorandum of an agreement, April 25, 1770, Estate Papers of Edward Lloyd III, box 71, Lloyd Papers, [qtd. in Speckart 2011: 208-209]). The implication here is that there were both white indentured house servants as well as black house slaves. Here, the race of the individual appears to not be of consideration as much as the fact that these individuals were classified as domestic workers.

inheritance, Edward Lloyd IV owned 59 enslaved people. Though Edward Lloyd IV inherited almost all of his father's land, farms, and businesses, he only had one-third of his father's labor. Thus, in order to expand Wye House into a larger agricultural producer, Edward Lloyd IV needed to bolster his enslaved labor force quickly. Within four years, the population bounced back to well over what it had been before his father's death. In 1772, he purchased another plantation and 17 slaves from his brother-in-law. In the next two years, he purchased over a hundred slaves, bringing his enslaved population to 250 by 1774³². Although some of these could be attributed to natural births, Russo asserts that the majority had been purchased though there are no documents or accounts as to where these additional hundred slaves specifically came from (1992: 79). Upon his death in 1796, the inventories of Edward Lloyd IV list 312 slaves total.

It is important to explore what plantation life would have been like in the twenty-five year period from when Edward Lloyd IV inherited the plantation until his death in the late century. According to Jean Russo's work, approximately 122 slaves would have lived at Wye House in the 1790s. These were comprised of 44 men, 35 women, and 44 children. Because of his focus on agricultural production, Edward Lloyd IV retained a larger proportion of prime, male field slaves³³. And while the numbers of domestic slaves did increase over time, the proportion of skilled or semi-skilled laborers Edward Lloyd IV owned accounted for only 12% of his entire labor

³² "Expenses for clothing the Negroes, 1773," Box 15, Vol. 8. Lloyd Papers.

³³ "Plantation book," Lloyd Papers. "Inventory of Edward Lloyd IV," Talbot County Inventories and Accounts, JP 4/45-54, Maryland State Archives (qtd. in Russo 1992: 80-81).

force. Many other Chesapeake planters kept a large proportion of skilled laborers, yet Edward Lloyd IV appeared to prefer hiring free artisans and skilled tradesmen for the various plantation needs. The small number of skilled slaves Edward Lloyd IV had was limited to carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, weavers, and spinners, though there were a handful of sawyers, shoemakers, and gardeners noted over time³⁴. According to the censuses that this information came from, the small amount of skilled slaves that Edward Lloyd IV did own would have resided at Wye House³⁵. Field hands would have been rotated among the different farms when needed, and women and children were sold when the population rose too high (Russo 1992: 79).

Using the historical documents, we have a detailed yet incomplete record of enslaved life at Wye House for the time period that begins this dissertation. In 1796, the inventory of Edward Lloyd IV lists 312 slaves³⁶. While many archival records for the years between 1770 and 1796 exist³⁷, there are no records detailing the large jump in slave acquisition before 1774 (Speckart 2011: 229). There are no deeds of transfer, bills of sale, or legal documents describing how and where nearly 200 enslaved people appeared on the Lloyd plantations. A perusal of the Lloyd censuses from 1773 and 1774 indicate that the growth was not due to natural increase though, since the

³⁴ “1770-1791 ledger,” passim; “Business papers,” Box 50; “Contracts,” 10/17/1794, Plantation records, Box 3, Lloyd Papers (qtd. in Russo 1992: 83).

³⁵ “People of Wye House,” 1770-1834 online database. Archaeology in Annapolis. Lloyd Papers.

³⁶ “Inventory of Edward Lloyd IV,” Talbot County Inventories and Accounts, JP 4/45-54, Maryland State Archives.

³⁷ Lloyd IV and his clerks kept records of most of the farm activities though the documents are certainly not a total or comprehensive picture of all the business activities. In the Lloyd Papers, there are several plantation books, business papers, miscellaneous legal documents, the 1770-1774 ledgers, and the 1770-1791 ledgers that likely would have captured the purchase of so many slaves during a period of no more than four years.

distribution of age points to a population geared towards intensive agricultural production favoring young males. If Edward Lloyd IV had made a large purchase of slaves from Africa, from British traders in London, from slave ships arriving first in the Caribbean, or even from purchasing the slaves from the colonies further south, the assumption is that there would be better or even minimal documentation referring to these transactions. Historian Jean Russo argues that one way Edward Lloyd IV managed to attain 312 slaves by his death could be attributed to purchasing slaves from within the state and even within Talbot County itself (1992: 85). Russo notes that small planters were increasingly unable to farm the labor-intensive tobacco due to unsuitable land, and coupled with the ideologies of freedom of the Revolution and religious sentiments against owning slaves, it led to many deeds of manumission or wills granting freedom. On the other hand, the number of slave owners listed in the county increased at the same time. Russo cites the work of a historian of Prince George's County, Allan Kulikoff, who found that many small planters in the county owned children aged 7-15. Russo's suggestion is that small planters such as these, who owned slaves just at the cusp of prime age, were the most likely market for Edward Lloyd IV to maintain his population of agriculturally productive slaves. This is not to say that Edward Lloyd IV did not purchase slaves from elsewhere since the jump in numbers prior to 1774 is substantial, but that a sizeable proportion of the prime slaves purchased could have very well been native-born Marylanders even if the age distribution does not reflect a naturally occurring birth rate.

Nonetheless, even these local African-American slaves would have been newcomers to the large Lloyd plantation operations. Whether foreign or native-born, the environment of almost 200 new people surely created anxiety and discontent. Following the 1770 division of the estate of Edward Lloyd III, the enslaved at Wye House suffered from a diminished quality of life. While Edward Lloyd IV was noted as a strict master, his attention seemed more focused on fiscal matters and revitalizing the resources of the Lloyd holdings which had recently been cut into thirds. Except for house slaves, the daily life of an enslaved individual at Wye House generally did not include the Lloyds as much as the teams of white employees hired by Edward Lloyd IV. There were business agents who supervised activities on the smaller plantations, attended to legal matters, purchased supplies, negotiated the sale of the Lloyd products, and traveled on behalf of Edward Lloyd IV. There were clerks, who maintained the account books, saw to business correspondences, kept the different plantation inventories, negotiated contractual agreements, distributed food and clothing to the enslaved, and supervised crop storage. There was the steward, who supervised the overseers and overlookers and also made decisions about the plantations on behalf of Edward Lloyd IV in his absence. The overlookers supervised activities that ensured a successful crop or stock yield, such as grain storage, accounting and allocating slaves and equipment, circulating goods among the plantations, and most importantly, managing the overseers.

The last of the supervisory hierarchy were the overseers, who were directly responsible for the farms, the slaves, and their productive output. According to the

many overseers contracts drawn up, Edward Lloyd IV preferred continuity among his overseers, though many men were not rehired the following year due to intemperance, incompetence, inefficiency, gambling, or simply being barbarous and too severe³⁸.

For example, the 1795 contract of John Nabb Junr. for overseer, stated that:

...He will conduct himself in such a manner among the negroes under his immediate direction as to keep them in proper subjection without using any act of Barbarity ...He will not attend horse racing, Gaming Houses or any other places of Gambling, Idleness or drunkenness, nor Absent himself at any time from the Service of the said Edward without permission from him first obtaine...no Idle persons of any Character shall be suffered to frequent his time...That he will pay the greatest attention to stock of every kind and attend personally to their feed being given them and that the negroes entrusted with this business do not embezzle any part of the corn given out for their use.³⁹

Even with these contracts, it appears that Edward Lloyd IV had a reputation for being a harsh master. In 1793, an Anglican minister, most likely Rev. John Gordon, publicly accused Edward Lloyd IV of being hard and cruel to his slaves. A series of depositions were collected by Edward Lloyd IV from employees and friends for the purpose of denouncing the accusation and attesting to his character⁴⁰. Clearly the purpose of these depositions and certificates were to clear Edward Lloyd IV of any wrongdoing and there were no statements collected which said anything other than denying he was hard or cruel. Any cruelty was due to other employees or the author of the deposition personally. Richard Grason, the steward, wrote in his

³⁸ "Overseer contracts," Roll 7, Plantation book, 1788-1798, Box 16, vol. 12. Lloyd Papers.

³⁹ "Articles of agreement made and concluded on between Edward Lloyd of Talbot County Esq. of the one part and John Nabb Junr. late of Queen Anne's County," Overseers contracts, Roll 7, Plantation book, 1788-1798, Box 16, vol. 12, p. 63. Lloyd Papers.

⁴⁰ "Treatment of Slaves, 1793," box 73, Lloyd Papers.

statement that “if any Act of Cruelty was made use of among the Negroes I most certainly must be to blame as Colo. Lloyd was from home the greatest part of the time.⁴¹” Reading beyond the obvious, we can find hints about the perception, behavior, and regular interactions between the enslaved and the plantation supervisors. The same steward Grason recounts that the years 1779-1782 were difficult because he was required to “keep Strikt Orders among [the slaves]...and was Obligated to be more Severe” because they were “encouraged by the Success of the Refugees.” This may be reference to a number of things, whether marronage, local runaways, or slave uprisings, but it means that the enslaved were frequently motivated by the potential of freedom and were subsequently punished for it. Slaves were also admittedly punished for stealing and fighting among themselves. The depositions also indicate observations about the ampleness of provisions, such as how much and what kinds of clothes, blankets, shoes, and dwellings were provided to the enslaved.

The clerk, a handful of acquaintances, a private teacher, and several overseers all refer to fair rations of corn, bread, meat, and clothing and claimed slaves appeared well fed and warm. Using these depositions and reading into the overseers contracts recorded, it is possible to reconstruct some of the documentation regarding how the enslaved ate for this dissertation project. According to James Holland, another clerk, Edward Lloyd IV set aside every year 6,000-6,500 pounds of bacon, 2,500-3,500 pounds of pork, 10,000-11,000 pounds of beef, and almost 1,700 pounds

⁴¹ “Certificate of Richard Grason,” August 23, 1793. Treatment of Slaves, 1793, box 73, Lloyd Papers.

of lard, though he interestingly notes that “all of which are Consumed in his family and among his Slaves.⁴²” It is not actually clear how much of this was consumed in the Great House versus how much of each was provided for the enslaved. Many records indicate that slaves were encouraged to raise dunghill fowl⁴³, but no other poultry. The contract for overseer, Thomas Chapman, includes a clause stating that he would “not suffer any of the negroes to raise any other poultry but dunghill fowl and they are not to be suffered to sell a chicken or fowl but by the consent of Edward Lloyd under the penalty of having the heads of all their Poultry taken off nor are they at liberty to see any eggs.⁴⁴” Looking at the 1793 Depositions again, it seems that the enslaved were allowed to raise dunghill fowls though they could not keep any eggs. They could also sell excess fowl but only back to Edward Lloyd IV, and the transaction was more of a barter for additional meat, lard, or linen than a monetary exchange. The depositions also refer to other sources of food for the enslaved. Slaves were allowed to keep garden or truck patches. They were rationed butter and milk in the summer, and during harvest received salted or fresh meat daily. Corn, meat, fish, lard, and rum were provided throughout the year. Mealtimes were ample, usually an hour or pushing two. Some depositions stated that parts of Saturdays were given to

⁴² “Certificate of James Holland,” August 23, 1793. Treatment of Slaves, 1793, box 73, Lloyd Papers.

⁴³ A dunghill fowl is effectively any variety of impure chicken. They can be a mix of almost any ordinary domestic chicken, and their appearance differs by individual. “They are so easily fed, as they will in a country place cater almost entirely for themselves; and if they do indeed require further feeding than they can procure, a few handfuls of potato skins, and other refuse, will suffice. The chickens are also hardy, and easily fattened for the table; and the Dunghill is also frequently the only fowl the poor man can obtain.” (Richardson 1847: 44-45). Essentially, the dunghill fowl type chicken would be the perfect type of poultry to be raised by the enslaved.

⁴⁴ “Articles of agreement entered into by Edward Lloyd on the one part and Thomas Chapman on the other part,” Overseers contracts, Roll 7, Plantation book, 1788-1798, Box 16, vol. 12, p. 86-88. Lloyd Papers.

the slaves to fish, oyster, care for their fowl, or cultivate their gardens⁴⁵. One of the clerks even state that the “greater part if not all has a cow each to give milk.⁴⁶” What is implicit though in reading these documents is what slaves were not allowed to eat, which included: turkeys, ducks, geese, and partridges. Also implicit is what they were not allowed to do, such as hunt or trap without permission of their overseers, something which was rarely given except for instances of net-hauling fish or dredging for oysters⁴⁷. The zooarchaeological remains will be able to show what the enslaved did ultimately eat, in spite of these restrictions and in addition to their portioned rations.

Edward Lloyd V

When his father Edward Lloyd IV died in 1796, his estates passed to his only son, Edward Lloyd V. By this time, the Lloyd family had established themselves as one of the wealthiest and most influential in Maryland and beyond. Edward Lloyd V

⁴⁵ “Certificate of John Merchant et al.,” “Certificate of Joseph Turner & William Ferguson,” August 23, 1793. Treatment of Slaves, 1793, box 73, Lloyd Papers.

⁴⁶ The word ‘each’ is not referring to individual slaves, but I believe the clerk is saying that almost all slave quarters each has access to a cow for purposes of milk. “Certificate of James Holland,” August 23, 1793. Treatment of Slaves, 1793, box 73, Lloyd Papers.

⁴⁷ It seems that these were expressly for the hunting and trapping enjoyment of the Lloyds, so even the overseers were forbidden from consuming these. To ensure this, some overseers were not even allowed to raise turkeys or ducks for their own family. Thomas Ozment’s contract stipulates he is “not to kill or otherwise destroy any kind of Game on any of my said Plantations or Land under his management unless with leave from Edward Lloyd or suffer Traps to be set to take partridges either on the place he resides or elsewhere nor are any this kind of Game to be taken on any of my plantations by anyone.” (“Articles of agreement entered into by Edward Lloyd on the one part and Thomas Ozments on the other part,” Overseers contracts, Roll 7, Plantation book, 1788-1798, Box 16, vol. 12, p. 64. Lloyd Papers.)

built off of his father's wealth and political standing, and surpassed both during his lifetime. By the time of his death in 1834, he was regarded as the wealthiest of the Lloyds (Maryland Historical Society 2008). He is referred to as Edward Lloyd, the Governor, and this name hints at his success in politics. Edward Lloyd V began his political career by 1800, when he was only 21 years old, and served as a member of the Maryland House of Delegates until 1805. In 1806, he was elected to Congress to fill the term of Joseph Hopper Nicholson. Until 1809, Edward Lloyd V served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1809, Governor Robert Wright resigned from office, and the Maryland General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for Edward Lloyd V to complete his term. He was reelected in two subsequent elections, defeating prominent Marylanders such as Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Levin Winder, Benjamin Stoddert, and John Eager Howard. Edward Lloyd V served as Governor until 1811. Afterwards, he served on the Maryland State Senate from 1811-1813, in 1814, and from 1826-1829 when he resigned from ill health due to gout. He also served as a U.S. Senator from 1819-1826 (Eisenberg 1992; Sobel and Raimo 1978).

The policies of Edward Lloyd V during his impressive political career are worth noting and indicative of the contradictions faced by the American gentry of the time. Edward Lloyd V was born in 1779 after the start of the Revolutionary War, waged as a rebellion against British colonial rule, taxation, and independence. The ideologies of freedom were in direct opposition to the main economic agricultural system which utilized African enslavement practiced by so many of the Revolution's

leaders. Edward Lloyd V is best known for his efforts of increasing suffrage and reform of the judicial system. When he served in Congress, he dealt with issues of dispensing with surplus revenue, opposed conspiracy charges against Aaron Burr, and supported the U.S. resistance to British encroachment at sea. As governor, he reduced the residency requirement for voting to one year, the need to hold property in order to hold political office was eliminated, and he authorized a resolution in support of President Jefferson's embargo of British and French trade (White 1970: 62). As a Maryland senator, he was a proponent for military action against the British and was in support of President James Madison and the War of 1812. Edward Lloyd V was effectively a staunch nationalist and patriot, using his political power to assert the independence of the newly formed U.S. with military action if needed. He opposed all conciliatory relations with Great Britain and enacted local pride in the domestic economy in his daily life. For example, when he swore his oaths as governor, a local newspaper commented on his attire which was of domestic manufacture and of high quality merino wool produced on his own farms (Weeks 1984: 71)⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ *The Republican Star*, November 27, 1810: "Yesterday Gov. Lloyd took the oaths of office in the Senate Chamber both Houses attending. It was with sincere gratification we observed his Excellency, clothed in the manufactures of the State. It was a beautiful suit of green, in fineness, softness and texture equal to imported cloths. The wool was grown upon his own farm and was produced from merino blood, with which he has lately enriched the State. It is by these means alone that domestic manufacturers can be encouraged. The heads of departments by wearing those manufactures lend more than anything else to encourage them. Many persons with a foolish pride will not wear them because they are not exactly equal to foreign manufactures; but in this instance a specimen is exhibited in Maryland, equal to any from the other side of the Atlantic, which at once meets the objection originating from pride and vanity. With pleasure we state that this truly patriotic Governor to be a Republican, and before he obtained the wool of this superior quality, he had clothed himself (during the last session) in inferior manufacture, which evinced his patriotism and desire to encourage America to shake off entirely her dependence upon foreign countries," (qtd. in Tilghman 1915: 191).

In addition to his work to support the establishment of an independent U.S., other policy decisions made by Edward Lloyd V highlight the contradictory nature of the domestic economy of his time in respect to African enslavement. While a patriot, a true republican, and a successful agriculturalist, the plantations of Edward Lloyd V could not have existed without enslaved labor. The ideologies of the period that Edward Lloyd V advocated did not extend freedom, suffrage, and basic human rights to Africans and African-Americans. While serving in the U.S. House of Representatives, he voted against an 1807 proposal to outlaw the African slave trade in the country. Later, as a U.S. Senator, he was in opposition to prohibiting slavery in the new territories acquired through the Louisiana Purchase. It was likely difficult to reconcile that he and his family for many generations had built their wealth upon the labor of enslaved people. In his father's probate inventories, the Lloyds enumerated over three hundred slaves in 1796. A census of Wye House in 1805 lists Edward Lloyd V as housing 122 enslaved people on this one plantation alone. The number of people at Wye House rises to 166 by 1822, and remains approximately at this number through to the final census is taken in 1834, when Edward Lloyd V dies⁴⁹.

His time as Governor of Maryland from 1809-1811 best illustrates these state and personal contradictions. The session laws passed by the Maryland General Assembly and Governor Edward Lloyd V illustrate the roles that the gentry had in using legislation to codify the institution of 19th century American and Maryland slavery, as well as their efforts to distance themselves from active slave trading. The

⁴⁹ "People of Wye House," 1770-1834 online database. Archaeology in Annapolis. Lloyd Papers.

majority of the laws passed by the General Assembly under Governor Edward Lloyd V in 1809 and 1810 were directed at giving permission to certain individuals to bring slaves into the state⁵⁰. These were exceptions to a 1783 law which prohibited anyone from bringing slaves into the state, with the purpose of curbing the African slave trade in Maryland. This law stated:

That it shall not be lawful, after the passing of this act, to import or bring into this state, by land or water, any negro, mulatto, or other slave, or to reside within this state; and any person brought into this state as a slave contrary to this act, if a slave before, shall thereupon immediately cease to be a slave, and shall be free.⁵¹

A subsequent clause states that it would be lawful to bring slaves into the state if the person or citizen intended to reside in Maryland, for at least a year and so long as they can prove that they had owned those slaves for at least three years. Most of the laws enacted during Governor Lloyd's tenure relate to this 1783 law; they specifically mention people who inherited slaves, people who were moving to Maryland from another state, or people who had temporarily left Maryland with their slaves. The

⁵⁰ In 1809, "Chapter 45: An act authorising Doctor James Cocke to remove certain Negroes into the State of Maryland," "Chapter 61: An act authorising Thomas Greenwell to remove his Negroes from the State of Virginia into this State," "Chapter 186: An act for the relief of Sophia Bland," and "Chapter 187: An act for the relief of Theodorick Bland," Session Laws, 1809, v. 570 p. 20, 28, 122, 123. And in 1810, "Chapter 2: An act for the relief of Elizabeth Fling, of Allegany County," "Chapter 3: An act for the benefit of Elizabeth Coale, of Baltimore County," "Chapter 53: An act for the benefit of Doctor James Archer, of Claiborne County, in the Territory of Mississippi," "Chapter 79: An act for the relief of Harriet G. Wynkoop," and "Chapter 117: An act for the relief of Francis C. Hall, of Queen-Anne's County," Session Laws, 1810, v. 599 p. 3, 28, 55, 76, Maryland General Assembly. Maryland State Archives.

⁵¹ "Chapter 23: An ACT to prohibit the bringing slaves in to this state," Hanson's Laws of Maryland 1763-1784, v. 203 p.350, Maryland General Assembly. Maryland State Archives.

other laws relate to designating runaway slaves and also explicating what would be considered valid testimony or documents for manumitted slaves⁵².

Two laws introduced in 1809 highlight some of the anxiety of the period about the large slave population and also a growing population of freed people. The first, “An act concerning Crimes and Punishments⁵³,” details that the penalty for any “free negro, mulatto or slave” or “white person” for insurrection or rebellion was death by hanging. The act also gives a penalty of six months to a maximum of twenty years for conspiracy towards rebellion or insurrection. The law continues to detail other crimes committed by slaves where the more serious crimes were punishable by hanging, and the lesser crimes punishable by whippings or being sold out of the state. It shows the apprehension during the early 19th century towards the black population both freed and enslaved, as well as some of the contradictory sentiments within the state regarding the treatment of the enslaved. The other 1809 law, “An act to ascertain and declare the condition of such Issue as may hereafter be born of Negro or Mulatto Female Slaves, during their servitude for Years, and for other purposes therein mentioned⁵⁴,” clarifies the status of children borne by enslaved women. This law

⁵² “Chapter 15: AN ACT relating to Servants and Slaves” details revised rules for manumission, valid documents and/or testimony. Clement Dorsey. *The general public statutory law and public local law of the state of Maryland : from the year 1692 to 1839 inclusive, with annotations thereto, and a copious index*, v. 141 p. 596, Maryland General Assembly. Maryland State Archives.

“Chapter 63: A Further Supplement to the Act, entitled, An Act relating to Negroes, and to repeal the Acts of Assembly therein mentioned” refers to how runaways were to be treated and petitions for freedom filed to the courts. *Session Laws, 1810*, v. 599 p. 35, Maryland General Assembly. Maryland State Archives.

⁵³ “Chapter 138,” *Session Laws, 1809*, v. 570 p. 90, Maryland General Assembly. Maryland State Archives.

stated that any children borne to female slaves were also slaves for life. If the mother became free or was manumitted, this law stated that her children were not automatically considered freed as well. The only way that the children could be considered freed was if their freedom was explicitly indicated in the will of the slave owner. This law clarified the position of any children born of enslaved women and ensured that slave owners had as much access as possible to a self-reproducing pool of labor.

A naturally-sustaining slave community independent of importation was desired since the African slave trade into the state had been banned by 1783, and people like Edward Lloyd V required a steady population of labor for the agricultural products Maryland came to be known for. Edward Lloyd V became the largest producer of wheat in Maryland. The Lloyd farms also continued to grow other cereal grains like barley and corn, but no longer focused on substantive production of tobacco. In addition to grain, Edward Lloyd V continued the diversified animal rearing of his predecessors. He was particularly well-known for raising Merino sheep, Durham horned cattle, and cross-breeding English race horses (Tilghman 1915: 201-202). He had a reputation as an elegant and courteous host, and when he died, the *Easton Gazette* commented that “the social world will extensively and deeply lament the loss of so distinguished a patron, whose elegant hospitality was so generally and liberally diffused.”⁵⁵ A description of his hospitality states,

⁵⁴ “Chapter 171,” Session Laws, 1809, v. 570 p. 117, Maryland General Assembly. Maryland State Archives.

⁵⁵ *Easton Gazette*, June 7, 1834 obituary (qtd. in Tilghman 1915: 209).

Wye House, when the family was present was almost constantly filled with company who were entertained with an ease and elegance to be met with in few houses in Maryland. Here were to be met at all times people belonging to the first circles of polite society and occasionally personages of the first distinction in public life, State and National...His table was always bountifully and even luxuriously spread, with the products mostly from his own estates, and its appointments were in a style of richness and elegance known to but a few houses in Maryland (Tilghman 1915: 204).

Some of the leisurely activities that the Lloyds and their guests enjoyed during this period at Wye House provide additional information as to the array of animals that were available both in the local environment and those that were domesticates of the plantation. Besides for breeding and racing horses, one of the favorite pastimes of Edward Lloyd V was fowling for wild ducks, geese, and swans. A related animal, the Chesapeake Bay Retriever dog, was bred purely to assist in fowl hunting and some credit the emergence of this breed of water dog to Edward Lloyd V⁵⁶. Deer hunting was also a popular activity and the deer park created by his father Edward Lloyd IV was still in use for stalking wild white-tailed deer. Edward Lloyd V also enjoyed cockfighting, so raised and bred his own game fowl solely for this purpose. Finally, Edward Lloyd V and his guests occasionally went fishing in the nearby waters and in the Bay (Tilghman 1915: 205).

⁵⁶ In a letter written by George Law from Baltimore, MD on January 7, 1845, he recounts an incident of a sinking ship and a the discovery of two well-bred Newfoundland puppies. Sailor, the male and Canton, the female "...were not large; their hair was short, but very thick-coated; they had dew claws. Both attained great reputation as water-dogs. They were most sagacious in every thing; particularly in all duties connected with duck-shooting. Governor Lloyd exchanged a Merino ram for [Sailor], at the time of the Merino fever, when such rams were selling for many hundred dollars, and took him over to his estate on the eastern shore of Maryland where his progeny were well known for many years after; and may still be known there, and on the western shore, as the Sailor breed" (qtd. in Baldwin 2009). Breeding Sailor with other retrievers at Wye House supposedly led to the breed now recognized as the Chesapeake Bay Retriever.

Some of these wild-caught recreational animals would be served at the dinner table, so they would have contributed to the already diverse amount of animals raised on the plantation for food such as the cattle, hogs, and sheep. The Durham cattle likely refer to early versions of the shorthorn cattle. They were initially bred in the late 18th century, and were distinct in that this breed could be used for both beef and dairy production. It was not until after the 1950s that the breed became reared for one or the other. In the time of Edward Lloyd V, the cattle bred at Wye House likely served both purposes and females would have been kept until they were quite aged for milk production, while male populations would have been culled for slaughter before they reached maturity (Friend 1978). As for the sheep raised, it is not surprising that Edward Lloyd V raised Merino sheep. Besides for being recognized for its exceptional wool quality, merino wool became increasingly popular during the first half of the 19th century in the U.S. It had only been introduced into the U.S. through Vermont in 1802, but their importation increased quickly due to the need for domestic clothing manufacture during British embargoes before the War of 1812 (D'Arcy 1979; Vermont Historical Society 2012). Raising Merino sheep and wearing it to his gubernatorial oath-swearing were not only practical acts by Edward Lloyd V but very political ones. The issue with Merino sheep is that those individuals kept for annual shearing do not make for good meat, and vice versa, those raised for mutton do not produce good wool. Thus, sheep that were destined for mutton were likely slaughtered early, while sheep that ultimately came to be consumed after a life of growing wool were probably undesirable for the table of the Lloyds at that point.

Likely candidates for the consumption of these past aged animals could have been the enslaved as it would have provided usable though unpalatable meat, but there are no documents from this period that show mutton being provided as part of rations. The best recollections of enslaved foods and daily life from this period though do not come from the Lloyds or their numerous overseers, but from one of the enslaved themselves. The writings of Frederick Douglass have made Edward Lloyd V and Wye House famous and this dissertation relies on his autobiographies for much of the historical documentary information regarding enslaved life and foodways of this period. In 1832, two years before the death of Edward Lloyd V, Talbot County assessed the total number of his slaves at 468⁵⁷. Over 160 of these enslaved people would have lived at Wye House and about 10-15 of these were employed as house slaves with the rest as skilled laborers or field slaves⁵⁸. This was in direct opposition to his father's mode of plantation management where Edward Lloyd IV insisted upon having the enslaved remain as unskilled field laborers, while hiring free artisans and craftsmen for most of the specialized tasks required around the plantation. Conversely, Edward Lloyd V employed his enslaved in every possible skilled and unskilled task that was necessary including but certainly not limited to: blacksmithing, gardening and horticulture, tool and equipment repair, building construction, healing and doctoring, music playing, farming, food production and processing, animal rearing, horse training, cooking, etc. (Demczuk 2008: 153). The only positions or skills out of the reach of the enslaved were those of overseers and

⁵⁷ "Slave owner: Col. Edward Lloyd. Total Number of Slaves and Assessment Value," Assessment Record, Slaves. Talbot County Board of County Commissioners. 1832. Election District 1, pg. 84, C1836-1. Maryland State Archives.

⁵⁸ "People of Wye House," 1770-1834 online database. Archaeology in Annapolis. Lloyd Papers.

boat captains (Douglass 1855: 48). Of Wye House, Douglass writes that it was the locus of the Lloyd operations and a great business place.

It was the seat of government for the whole twenty farms. All disputes among the overseers were settled here. If a slave was convicted of any high misdemeanor, became unmanageable, or evinced a determination to run away, he was brought immediately here, severely whipped, put on board the sloop, carried to Baltimore, and sold to Austin Woolfolk, or some other slave-trader, as a warning to the slaves remaining (Douglass 1845:10).

Punishment was not the only cause for being sold, and Douglass writes that “scarcely a month passed without the sale to the Georgia traders, of one or more lots, there was no apparent diminution in the number of his human stock” (1892: 46).

There were two reasons that the numbers of slaves owned by Edward Lloyd V seemed to never decrease. The first was that at this point, the population of enslaved people was generally self-sustaining. Not only did this sustain the numbers, but the reproducing community gave birth to more slaves than Edward Lloyd V preferred to keep on his plantations and many children were sold for profit at an early age or at the very least removed from their mothers to be raised elsewhere.

It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor (Douglass 1845: 2).

The second reason for steady numbers within the enslaved population was the constant purchase of new slaves. Although some of the Lloyd’s enslaved could trace themselves back through family lines as old as the early development of Wye

House—the Denbys (Dembyes), the Roberts, the Coppers, the Baileys (Demczuk 2008; Krech 1982)—there was also an influx of slaves that came recently from Africa.

There is not, probably, in the whole south, a plantation where the English language is more imperfectly spoken than on Col. Lloyd's. It is a mixture of Guinea and everything else you please. At the time of which I am now writing, there were slaves there who had been brought from the coast of Africa (Douglass 1855: 59).

And of those that were not directly from Africa, many were only a generation removed: “There were several slaves on Mr. Lloyd's place who remembered being brought from Africa. There were others who told me that their fathers and mothers were stolen from Africa” (Douglass 1892: 57). This meant that the total enslaved population of Edward Lloyd V was one that was eclectic and mixed of both Africans and African-Americans who were forced to create a community together. In addition to overcoming these language or cultural distinctions, Douglass describes differences among groups of slaves based on their classification as skilled or unskilled laborers, namely the differences between field slaves and house slaves:

These servants constituted a sort of black aristocracy on Col. Lloyd's plantation. They resembled the field hands in nothing, except in color, and in this they held the advantage of a velvet-like glossiness, rich and beautiful. The hair, too, showed the same advantage. The delicate colored maid rustled in the scarcely worn silk of her young mistress, while the servant men were equally well attired from the over-flowing wardrobe of their young masters; so that, in dress, as well as in form and feature, in manner and speech, in tastes and habits, the distance between these favored few, and the sorrow and hunger-smitten multitudes of the quarter and the field, was immense; and this is seldom passed over (Douglass 1855: 85).

Despite these distinctions imposed upon the enslaved by the Lloyds, all of the enslaved nonetheless experienced the same oppression and denial of freedoms, similar punishments, threats of being sold, and the vast majority lived in the same accommodations and faced a daily challenge of having to procure sufficient food. The biographies of Douglass recall poor housing for slaves throughout the area. Even in his grandparents' cozy quarter at Tuckahoe which he remembers fondly, he states that typical housing for the enslaved in the region was inadequate: "It was a log hut, or cabin, built of clay, wood, and straw. At a distance it resembled – though it was smaller, less commodious and less substantial – the cabins erected in the western states by the first settlers" (Douglass 1855: 28). And of the interior, he describes a clay floor, a dirt chimney, no windows, a rail floor and rail bedsteads in an upstairs loft, and "that most curious piece of workmanship dug in front of the fireplace, beneath which grandmammy placed the sweet potatoes to keep them from the frost"⁵⁹ (Douglass 1855: 34). Though the enslaved were built quarters to share, they were provided little else by the Lloyds beyond their rations, a set or two of clothing and shoes, and a blanket. While it may at first seem beneficial to have the ability to procure food from the bountiful land and waters of the plantations, it was not always reasonable to think that there was ample time for doing this. Describing a typical day of a field slave:

⁵⁹ This is referring to a root cellar, also sometimes called sub-floor pits or hidey holes. They are found frequently in archaeological excavations of southern slave quarters, and are especially prevalent in the Tidewater and Chesapeake regions. Archaeologists have located them in most slave quarters excavated in the area at: Kingsmill, Flowerdew Hundred, Carter's Grove, Monticello, etc. (for more discussion, see Deetz 1995 or Heath 1999).

They find less difficulty from the want of beds, than from the want of time to sleep; for when their day's work in the field is done, the most of them having their washing, mending, and cooking to do, and having few or none of the ordinary facilities for doing either of these, very many of their sleeping hours are consumed in preparing for the field the coming day; and when this is done, old and young, male and female, married and single, drop down side by side, on one common bed – the cold, damp floor – each covering himself or herself with their miserable blankets; and here they sleep till they are summoned to the field by the driver's horn (Douglass 1845: 11).

Douglass writes about injustice and hunger, so the purpose of his writings in this dissertation is to glean information about what he and the others at Wye House managed to eat in spite of their treatment. There were two systems of food distribution for the enslaved at Wye House. The first is what Douglass experienced since he was owned by Aaron Anthony. Since Anthony kept only a few slaves at the Captain's House at Wye, his slaves were given precooked food, distributed by Anthony's cook, Aunt Katy. The other system accounts for the vast majority of slaves at Wye House and also the neighboring plantations owned by Edward Lloyd V; adult slaves were given monthly rations in the form of uncooked food. While being provided cooked meals meant a stable food supply, it was not necessarily of better quality and the food was frequently stretched beyond nutritional value.

Differing from the practice of Col. Lloyd, old master [Aaron Anthony], instead of allowing so much for each slave, committed the allowance for all to the care of Aunt Katy, to be divided after cooking it, amongst us. The allowance, consisting of coarse corn-meal, was not very abundant – indeed, it was very slender; and in passing through Aunt Katy's hands, it was made more slender still, for some of us (Douglass 1855: 58).

This coarse corn meal dish was likely the same corn mush Douglass describes eating communally. Adult slaves appeared to receive their own individual portions of cooked food, while enslaved children were forced to compete with others for a share.

...We were not regularly allowanced. Our food was coarse corn meal boiled. This was called mush. It was put into a large wooden tray or trough, and set upon the ground. The children were then called, like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and devour the mush; some with oystershells, some with pieces of shingle, some with naked hands, and none with spoons (Douglass 1845: 30).

It also seems that slaves fed with this cooked food system could depend on rewards of additional food by the cooks. Douglass recalls that he received an “accustomed reinforcement of a slice of corn bread, at sundown” from Aunt Katy, who baked it daily and distributed slices to the children. But, these additional supplements or even full meals were also easily withheld as Douglass reveals during an occasion where he offended Aunt Katy and went most of a day without food, leading him to pilfer a handful of corn kernels (Douglass 1855: 42-43).

Most other slaves on the plantation were of course owned by Edward Lloyd V, and they were provided food using the second system on food distribution, which was by rations. Adult men and women slaves were each given eight pounds of either pork or fish, a bushel of corn meal, and a pint of salt once every month (Douglass 1845: 10).

The pork was often tainted, and the fish was of the poorest quality—herrings, which would bring very little if offered for sale in any northern market. With

their pork or fish, they had one bushel of Indian meal—unbolted—of which quite fifteen per cent was fit only to feed pigs. With this, one pint of salt was given; and this was the entire monthly allowance of a full grown slave, working constantly in the open field, from morning until night, every day in the month except Sunday, and living on a fraction more than a quarter of a pound of meat per day, and less than a peck of corn-meal per week (Douglass 1855: 78).

And as far as the type of meals that the enslaved could construct out of these meager rations, Douglass describes the typical fare of a field slave:

As a general rule, slaves do not come to the quarters for either breakfast or dinner, but take their "ash cake" with them, and eat it in the field. This was so on the home plantation; probably, because the distance from the quarter to the field, was sometimes two, and even three miles. . . . The dinner of the slaves consisted of a huge piece of ash cake, and a small piece of pork, or two salt herrings. Not having ovens, nor any suitable cooking utensils, the slaves mixed their meal with a little water, to such thickness that a spoon would stand erect in it; and, after the wood had burned away to coals and ashes, they would place the dough between oak leaves and lay it carefully in the ashes, completely covering it; hence, the bread is called ash cake. The surface of this peculiar bread is covered with ashes, to the depth of a sixteenth part of an inch, and the ashes, certainly, do not make it very grateful to the teeth, nor render it very palatable. The bran, or coarse part of the meal, is baked with the fine, and bright scales run through the bread. This bread, with its ashes and bran, would disgust and choke a northern man, but it is quite liked by the slaves. They eat it with avidity, and are more concerned about the quantity than about the quality (Douglass 1855: 80-81).⁶⁰

⁶⁰ These ash cakes were nearly ubiquitous throughout the American South, and were eaten by whites and blacks alike. In different parts of the country or for different social classes, they could be referred to as any of the following: ash cakes, Johnny cake, pone, journey cakes, corn cake, Indian fritters, Shawnee cake, or hoe cake. All are composed of similar proportions and ingredients, sometimes replacing corn with sweet potato, and those made for the upper classes would frequently include some wheat flour, milk, cream, sugar, spices, lard, yeast, eggs, or butter to make the cake more tasty or improve its texture. Even with minor alterations in ingredients, the technique in cooking is what makes these the same, in that they are cooked in an open fire usually directly in the hot ashes. The only variations are cooking in a griddle or wrapping in leaves to prevent scorching. These ash cakes resemble much more the cooking traditions of American Indians and settlers of the frontier than anything particularly African, though scholars have erroneously tried to link American ash cakes to West African fufu before (see an example of this argument in, Covey and Eissach 2009). And although geographically distant, WPA interviewee Polly Colbert of Oklahoma attributes this type of cake to American Indians as well,

This type of meal is different from many of the stewed dishes typically associated with African-American enslaved cuisine in other parts of the American South (for example, see Ferguson 1992). A stewed dish consisted of small amounts of meat, usually salted meats, added to water and vegetables to produce a broth or stock which would be spooned over a starch or served in a bowl with a malleable starch used to scoop the stew. The meal that Douglass is describing here entails a relatively dry meal of a coarse, bread-like cake, served with a small side of salted meat and probably any vegetables which could be grown or gathered. This was a meal that was also portable since Douglass notes that slaves often had to carry them along into the fields. Additionally, looking at the portions that are rationed, note that it only applies to adults and thus working men and women. Children and the elderly were not provided regular allowances and it was the responsibility of their mothers or the old women tasked to care for them to procure suitable food. Obviously for all involved, neither the precooked meal nor the rationing systems of providing food for the enslaved would be sufficient for normal sustenance and field workers who did physical labor from sunrise until sunset would require much more nutrition.

The food provided by slaveowners was minimal, monotonous, and bland, and certainly would not constitute the origins of such complex foodways that have evolved into African-American cuisines today, so Douglass must be read more

We cooked all sorts of Indian dishes: Tom-fuller, pashofa, hickory-nut grot, Tom-budha, ash-cakes, and pound cakes besides vegetable and meat dishes. Corn or corn meal was used in all de Indian dishes... We cooked on de fire place wid de pots hanging over de fire on racks and den we baked bread and cakes in a oven-skillit. We didn't use soda and baking powder. We'd put salt in de meal and scald it wid boiling water and make it into pones and bake it. We'd roll de ash cakes in wet cabbage leaves and put 'em in de hot ashes and bake 'em... We sweetened our cakes wid molasses, and dey was plenty sweet too (Federal Writers' Project 1936-1938: 34-35).

critically in order to comprehend the different plants and animals that would have contributed even occasionally to the enslaved diet at Wye House. First, there are the foods that the enslaved could openly consume without reproach. Most prevalent were probably oysters. They were abundant and could be gathered easily from any of the waterways surrounding Wye House. Douglass recalls that the enslaved “were in the habit of spending a part of their nights and Sundays in fishing for oysters” (1845: 27). These oyster beds also provided crabs and clams and were similarly easy to gather. The same waterways also abounded in shad and herring, and many slaves like his grandmother Betsey were adept at making nets to catch these fish. Many of the Lloyd slaves had canoes, but hook and line were all that were essentially required to fish in the nearby waters if nets or canoes were not available (Douglass 1855: 26, 99). In addition to her net-making skills, grandmother Betsey was also expert in preserving seedling sweet potatoes over the winter by burying them near her hearth at Tuckahoe, and she would annually give these away to others for planting. Sweet potatoes and other such tubers and root vegetables could be easily grown and probably constituted a substantial part of food supplementation.

This still would not have constituted the range of enslaved foods, and by reading the descriptions by Douglass of the Wye House environment and the Lloyd table, it is clear that many other animals and plants could be available, though their procurement may have been prohibited by Edward Lloyd V and his overseers. Other perhaps irregular additions to an otherwise repetitive diet could have been acquired through hunting, trapping, gathering, growing, stealing, and even buying. In his

comparison to the diversity and luxuriousness of the Lloyd meals versus those eaten by the enslaved, Douglass gives a glimpse of the wild and domestic animals, fruits and vegetables, and finer foodstuffs that were accessible on the plantation:

Fish, flesh and fowl, are here in profusion. Chickens, of all breeds; ducks, of all kinds, wild and tame, the common, and the huge Muscovite; Guinea fowls, turkeys, geese, and pea fowls, are in their several pens, fat and fattening for the destined vortex. The graceful swan, the mongrels, the black-necked wild goose; partridges, quails, pheasants and pigeons; choice water fowl, with all their strange varieties, are caught in this huge family net. Beef, veal, mutton and venison, of the most select kinds and quality, roll bounteously to this grand consumer. The teeming riches of the Chesapeake bay, its rock, perch, drums, crocus, trout, oysters, crabs, and terrapin, are drawn hither to adorn the glittering table of the great house. The dairy, too, probably the finest on the Eastern Shore of Maryland—supplied by cattle of the best English stock, imported for the purpose, pours its rich donations of fragrant cheese, golden butter, and delicious cream, to heighten the attraction of the gorgeous, unending round of feasting. Nor are the fruits of the earth forgotten or neglected. The fertile garden, many acres in size, constituting a separate establishment, distinct from the common farm—with its scientific gardener, imported from Scotland (a Mr. McDermott) with four men under his direction, was not behind, either in the abundance or in the delicacy of its contributions to the same full board. The tender asparagus, the succulent celery, and the delicate cauliflower; egg plants, beets, lettuce, parsnips, peas, and French beans, early and late; radishes, cantelopes, melons of all kinds; the fruits and flowers of all climes and of all descriptions, from the hardy apple of the north, to the lemon and orange of the south, culminated at this point. Baltimore gathered figs, raisins, almonds and juicy grapes from Spain. Wines and brandies from France; teas of various flavor, from China; and rich, aromatic coffee from Java (Douglass 1855: 83-84).

Douglass describes duties that involved driving cattle in the evenings, taking a flock of sheep onto the sloop *Sally Lloyd* to be slaughtered in Baltimore, and keeping free-roaming fowl out of gardens (1845: 29, 32). In addition to these ducks and geese which moved about the plantation relatively unhindered, the Lloyds maintained hen-, turkey-, and pigeon-houses so these birds were in regular supply. Other animals

Douglass recalls are wild water fowl which he would retrieve after Daniel Lloyd shot them down and wild rabbits, deer, and other game that lived in the parks surrounding the plantation (Douglass 1845: 29; 1855: 51-52, 62). As for the cultivated plants, the fruits and vegetables grown in the greenhouse, the gardens, and orchards were not as easy to obtain, but it is clear that many persisted nonetheless.

Colonel Lloyd kept a large and finely cultivated garden, which afforded almost constant employment for four men, besides the chief gardener, (Mr. M'Durmond.) This garden was probably the greatest attraction of the place. During the summer months, people came from far and near—from Baltimore, Easton, and Annapolis—to see it. It abounded in fruits of almost every description, from the hardy apple of the north to the delicate orange of the south. This garden was not the least source of trouble on the plantation. Its excellent fruit was quite a temptation to the hungry swarms of boys, as well as the older slaves, belonging to the colonel, few of whom had the virtue or the vice to resist it. Scarcely a day passed, during the summer, but that some slave had to take the lash for stealing fruit. The colonel had to resort to all kinds of stratagems to keep his slaves out of the garden. The last and most successful one was that of tarring his fence all around; after which, if a slave was caught with any tar upon his person, it was deemed sufficient proof that he had either been into the garden, or had tried to get in (Douglass 1845: 17).

Besides for monthly rations, none of these items could be counted on to contribute to regular meals. Regardless of the bounty of food resources that were potentially available, the acquisition of these things would still require skill, time, and/or stealth. Douglass' recollections of consistent hunger would remain valid observations, especially so for children and the elderly who were not rationed. Finding any of these other food items archaeologically show the opportunistic and skillful but also creative quality of enslaved meals and cuisine. Conversely, while it may provide a positive perspective on rations or the potential of rare gifts for the enslaved, finding remains that may reflect more of the food consumed in the Lloyd

household should be approached with caution. It would not be unusual for the leftovers or inedible portions of meals in the Great House to be discarded and scavenged by the enslaved who would be competing with various dogs and cats that roamed the plantation. Douglass recalls the,

...many times have I followed, with eager step, the waiting-girl when she went out to shake the table cloth, to get the crumbs and small bones flung out for the cats. The water, in which meat had been boiled, was as eagerly sought for by me. It was a great thing to get the privilege of dipping a piece of bread in such water; and the skin taken from rusty bacon, was a positive luxury (1855: 58).

Douglass writes at a monumental time in American history, before and after the Civil War and during the Abolitionist Movement. Although he is most relevant for this dissertation since he gives first hand and precise recollections of Wye House in particular, many other former slaves contributed their thoughts and narratives during this period. The dissertation will glean information regarding food, rations, cuisine, and meal-taking from others who published their memories of enslavement. These will include: James W.C. Pennington, William Green, John Thompson, Francis Fedric, Peter Randolph, and Josiah Henson. I include their writings throughout the dissertation because of their proximity to Wye House and their location on the Eastern Shore or the Delmarva Peninsula. I also include a few located in Maryland and Virginia that lived on plantations that had similarities to Wye House, such as the number of enslaved people and proximity to the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries. For these reasons, I exclude many important abolitionist narratives that originate in areas outside of the mid-Atlantic region.

Edward Lloyd VI

Edward Lloyd VI took over Wye House upon the death of his father in 1834, but had been fully entrenched in the plantation life and farming since his birth on the farm in 1798. Besides for a short time spent in Philadelphia, Edward Lloyd VI grew up and lived either at Wye House or nearby on another of the family's estates, Wye Heights. He received no formal education during his childhood due to the principles of his father, Edward Lloyd V, who believed the only knowledge his son required was practical training in agriculture and in the management of the plantations (Weeks 1984: 74). He was referred to as "the greatest farmer of the State of Maryland" (Tilghman 1915: 212). Though his predecessors engaged in diverse economic strategies and mixed agriculture and animal husbandry, Edward Lloyd VI instead began to shift the focus of his farm production to mostly wheat, though he still farmed and raised what was necessary to sustain the people who lived on his farms without having to purchase from elsewhere. He was renowned for his farming capacities because under his ownership, the Lloyd farms remained successful through the agricultural depression that began in the region in the 1820s. While many farmers lost their lands and could not sustain their livelihood, the farms of Edward Lloyd VI flourished and their yields remained high. And although all the farms continued to operate on the system of supervisors and overseers set in place before him, Edward Lloyd VI was known to be much more involved in the agricultural management, and made daily rounds of the farms to observe and make adjustments to how the farming was done (Tilghman 1915: 214).

There are several possibilities for why Edward Lloyd VI was such a successful farmer in comparison to his predecessors and his contemporaries. One is that Edward Lloyd VI spent much less time involved with politics than any of his forefathers. While others spent the majority of their time as treasurers, councilors, senators, congressmen, and governors, Edward Lloyd VI participated as an elected politician minimally. His only significant political appointments were in 1836 and 1840, as presidential elector for Martin Van Buren, and in 1850 as Maryland State Senator for Talbot County for two years (Weeks 1984: 74). Also probably stemming from the lack of a significant political career, unlike his father who was known to entertain many important people at lavish parties and dinners, Edward Lloyd VI chose not to live as opulently. His life as a genteel farmer necessitated fewer social gatherings and the need to entertain, and this avoidance of extravagant, upper class consumption was likely more economical and also gave more time to focus on plantation management. Yet another reason for Edward Lloyd VI's success was that he focused all of his agricultural efforts on refining the farming of wheat, rather than spending his time with the copious amounts of scientific gardening experiments that his father and grandfather were so keen on. This meant avoiding experimental plants unsuited for the region, spending less time on understanding the chemistry and science behind farming, and investing less in new technologies and equipment invented to compensate labor shortages. Although this last aspect was probably not a choice for most farmers in the region, Edward Lloyd VI could continue labor-intensive farming because he experienced absolutely no shortage of labor (Tilghman 1915: 213-215).

While it would be easy to assume that Edward Lloyd VI was quite simply an excellent farmer, most of his success was probably due to his overabundance of slave labor which he targeted at increasing wheat production. The Lloyds rarely sold their slaves and manumissions were never granted, even in wills (Sparks 2011). Almost 750 enslaved people have been estimated as being owned by the Lloyds, though this number would have been spread throughout all of their properties located in four different states and about nine plantations (Tilghman 1915: 225; Demczuk 2008: 196). On July 16, 1860, the U.S. Census enumerated Edward Lloyd VI as owning 410 slaves in Talbot County alone⁶¹. Of these 410 people, 355 were recorded as living at Wye House by this time, with about 25 listed as house servants⁶². This immense number of people was due to sustaining reproductive rates, their exponential increase over time as slaves and families were passed down from one Lloyd to another, and a coinciding aging populous who were never granted freedom. With this growing population, Edward Lloyd VI required a way to mitigate the numbers of slaves as well as remove those that persistently resisted their oppression or the usual gamut of violent punishments provided by the overseers. In 1837, Edward Lloyd VI purchased a plantation in Madison County, Mississippi, and also made large land purchases in Arkansas and Louisiana in 1857 and 1858 respectively. It was to these areas that some of the enslaved voluntarily went, but most were transported to as a form of punishment. As a way to alleviate the Lloyds' growing enslaved population of especially the aged or troublesome, Edward Lloyd VI effectively established several

⁶¹ "Slave Inhabitants in Easton District in the County of Talbot State of Maryland," Slave Schedules, United States Federal Census, 1860, pgs. 11-16. Maryland State Archives.

⁶² "Land Papers Maintenance of Property," Land Vols. 114-135, Reel No. 13, Lloyd Papers; and "Slave Schedules #2," 1850, 1860, Talbot County Land Records (qtd. in Demczuk 2008: 196).

penal colonies to send these slaves (Tilghman 1915: 217). The land in Arkansas and Louisiana was not profitable and sold during the lifetime of Edward Lloyd VI, but the plantation in Mississippi survived long enough to be inherited by his son, Edward Lloyd VII⁶³.

For those enslaved that remained in Talbot County, and especially at Wye House, life would have been quite harsh at this point. This was not only in regards to their treatment at Wye House itself, but because of the heightened resistance to slavery in the U.S. in general. The Underground Railroad activity was at its peak during the time that Edward Lloyd VI owned Wye House. In fact, one of the most famous abolitionists, Harriet Tubman who was enslaved nearby in Dorchester County, spent the time between her escape in 1849 until the Civil War traveling back and forth to the Eastern Shore to help at least seventy slaves escape bondage (Bradford 1869: 19; Larson 2004: xvii). The Lloyds themselves experienced the loss of many runaway slaves at this time, and notices in the local newspapers, the *Easton Gazette*⁶⁴ and the *Easton Star*⁶⁵, hint at the frequency of these occurrences. One of these slaves who was successful in attaining freedom from the Lloyd plantations was Emory Roberts, who escaped in the summer of 1855 using the Underground Railroad.

⁶³ "Col. Edward Lloyd Last Will & Testament," August 23 1861. Talbot County Register of Wills (Wills, Original) 1828-1890. Box 2, T2536-2. Maryland State Archives.

⁶⁴ "Notice," *Easton Gazette*, April 26, 1828. Maryland State Archives. This ad was posted by the warden of the Baltimore County jail. It stated that George Grayson was jailed as a runaway, and that he stated he belonged to Edward Lloyd. The warden also wrote that if Lloyd was not able to prove he owned George Grayson and pay the charges, the warden would discharge him in accordance to the law.

⁶⁵ "\$250 Reward," *Easton Star*, November, 14 1848. Maryland State Archives. Lloyd VI issued up to \$250 for the recovery of the 22-year old, Henry Seeney. He described Seeney's physical characteristics and mentioned that his manners are polite and pleasant. There were lesser amounts offered for his recovery within the county and the state.

Roberts fled due to the promise of a severe whipping, and he had to leave behind his wife, mother, brothers, and sisters. As written by William Still who interviewed Roberts,

He gave his master the character of treating his slaves with great severity. The “lash” was freely used “on women as well as men, old and young.” In this kind of property Lloyd had invested to the extent of “about five hundred head,” so Emory thought. Food and clothing for this large number were dealt out very stintedly, and daily suffering was the common lot of slaves under Lloyd (Still 1872: 306).

Even the by and large hagiographic work, *The Worthies of Talbot*, compiled by the work of doctor and annalist Samuel Alexander Harrison (1822-1890) had little to say to dispute the cruelties experienced by the enslaved. And though Edward Lloyd VI is in effect absolved from any conscious acts of negligence or brutality against his slaves, Harrison writes:

Slavery on his estate differed from the slavery that existed almost everywhere else in the county, in this, that it was plantation rather than domestic slavery, to use terms of differentiation that here need not be explained. Owing to the great extent of that estate and the great number of slaves upon it, it was necessary to divide them by placing gangs or groups made up mostly of families upon each farm. These gangs were under overseers, and lived in quarters, a kind of barracks, or where there were families in separate cabins. The greater portion of those thus situated seldom came in communication with their master or his family, indeed many of them were as unknown to him as he was to them. There was therefore small opportunity for him to become acquainted with their grievances or unusual wants, and an impression became current that these grievances were unredressed and those wants unsupplied. That much hardship was silently endured is probable and there may have been even instances of cruelty at the hands of the rude men over them, but not with the consent, much less at the instance of the master. For the maintenance of due discipline a rigid regimen was absolutely necessary, and often without doubt the rules which were proper and mild in themselves were enforced by the overseers in so harsh a manner as to give grounds for a belief that the

burdens of slavery, never and nowhere light and easy to be borne, on those portions of Col. Lloyd's estate which were not immediately and constantly under his eye, were rendered more heavy and galling than he wished them to be, or than they were elsewhere in the county (Tilghman 1915: 215-216).

Reading around the attestations to Edward Lloyd VI's innocence and lack of knowledge as to the daily activities on his plantations⁶⁶, the lives of the enslaved living on the Lloyd plantations and at Wye House can be discerned. The harshness with which the slaves regularly lived was known throughout the county and spoken of. Edward Lloyd VI conducted the productivity of his enslaved in the same way as any other southern plantation, which contradicts sentiments of there being a less severe form of slavery in Maryland than that in the deeper South. The enslaved were still grouped frequently by families and would live in cabins, but many others who had no families lived in barracks, also called quarters. Their grievances went unnoticed and their standard needs – probably clothing and food – went unsupplied. They would have lived under a strict regimen of constant discipline that was carried out by cruel and rude overseers, which probably meant constant punishment.

There are few accounts above this from Edward Lloyd VI's period that attest to life at Wye House as clearly as Douglass had recounted for Edward Lloyd V. To better understand more about enslaved life in the area and also for accounts of the types of foods slaves ate or had access to, the interviews of former slaves conducted

⁶⁶ Ironically, the same account states the exact opposite in a previous section. This section lauds Lloyd VI's farming prowess, saying that he made daily rounds to all of his nearby farms, making minor adjustments here and there for how the planting and harvesting was to be done and also advising the overseers and stewards on how to better increase their productivity. In fact, the very distinction of being the "greatest farmer in the State of Maryland" results from the expansive agricultural knowledge of Lloyd VI and his ability to spend more time supervising the day-to-day operations of the plantations (Tilghman 1915: 212-214).

by the Works Progress Administration are utilized. Most of these people were in their 80s or 90s at the time of the interviews, putting their memories of enslavement and their experiences as children and young adults right at the time of the period of Edward Lloyd VI. The set of interviews from the Maryland Narratives will be used primarily, and regionally relevant interviews from the Virginia Narratives will also be included.

Slaves living either in Maryland or in Virginia, along major rivers or bordering the Chesapeake Bay, recount extremely similar living conditions. These former slaves relate living in basic to rudely-constructed quarters, shanties, or cabins. Most were grouped by families, but those that had none were housed in either male or female barracks. James V. Deane⁶⁷ of Charles County, Maryland recalls living in a log cabin that included a large, plastered log chimney with a fireplace that only had an open grate used for heating and cooking. Richard Macks⁶⁸, also from Charles County, remembers a log cabin with a dirt floor and two rooms. Each of the rooms had two windows but none were enclosed with any window glass. Mary James⁶⁹, from a farm on the James River of Virginia, describes their quarters as similar to horse stables that were seen at race tracks. The quarters were 1.5-storied, and approximately 25' x 75', with windows only on the roof gables. There were partitions within and one family would occupy each room section. The front and rear of the

⁶⁷ "James V. Deane, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/009006. Library of Congress.

⁶⁸ "Richard Macks, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/054051. Library of Congress.

⁶⁹ "Mary Moriah Anne Susanna James, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/040037. Library of Congress.

structure contained two long shelters, probably similar to a porch covering, and the front side had benches to sit upon while the rear had nails on which pots and pans were stored. On this approximately 8,000 acre tobacco farm, there were eight quarters like this, two of which were kept for single males and females. The types of housing described encompasses some of the range of slave quarters either indicated in historical records or discovered archaeologically at Wye House.

Unlike these farms though, Wye House appears to have a variety of different housing types, ranging from small cabins to larger barracks. This can probably be explained by the main difference between Wye House and these farms recalled in the WPA Narratives: scale. The scale of operations and acreage at Wye House was far greater than what most other slaves experienced throughout Maryland and Virginia. The scale of people was also immensely larger. While most from the WPA Narratives recall living with a handful of other enslaved people, even those who proclaimed that they lived on very large plantations estimated the presence of about 150 enslaved people. The Lloyds existed on a whole different scale of wealth, as already mentioned, and at this period Edward Lloyd VI is estimated at owning over 700 slaves by some accounts. Over 300 enslaved people would have lived at Wye House alone by 1860, and nearly another hundred more on nearby plantations within Talbot County. The only account from the WPA Narratives that bears similarity to such a large plantation operation comes from James Calhart James⁷⁰, who lived on the Randolph plantation in Virginia, home to the family whose lineage, wealth, and

⁷⁰ “James Calhart James, ex-slave,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/037034. Library of Congress.

power could be comparable to the Lloyds. James' father was a Randolph, so he states that he was half incorporated into the family and lived a very different life from the majority of the 300 slaves living on the rice plantation.

Despite the differences in size, both in land and population, the accounts of those interviewed by the WPA echo one another in regards to food. The differences discerned relate to personal taste preferences – as with Mary James who ate other small game but never ate opossum – and a pattern that those slaves living in small farms recalled receiving more sufficient amounts of food, though the fare was still dull. Most related receiving weekly rations, as opposed to communal dining of precooked meals. As in Douglass' period at Wye House, where he describes the staple food item as ash or hoe cakes, Elizabeth Sparks recalled a similar fare and eating schedule. She lived in the lower Chesapeake Bay region of Virginia, and though very young at the time, remembers that slaves were given a slice of bread for breakfast, and for dinner they would prepare an “ash cake baked on the blade of a hoe⁷¹.” Also mentioning these cakes, Richard Macks said, “we had nothing to eat but corn bread baked in ashes, fat back and vegetables raised on the farm; no ham or any other choice meats; and fish we caught out of the creeks and streams⁷².” Lucy Brooks, who was once enslaved on Maryland's western shore along the Bay, remembered

⁷¹ “Autobiography of Elizabeth Sparks,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, *Virginian Narratives*, Volume 17, mesn 170/054050. Library of Congress, p. 51.

⁷² “Richard Macks, ex-slave,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, *Maryland Narratives*, Volume 8, mesn 080/054051. Library of Congress, p. 52.

eating mostly clabber⁷³, fish caught from the bay, and corn bread⁷⁴. Dennis Simms⁷⁵, who lived on a tobacco plantation in Prince George's County, MD recalled being given only bread, hominy, black strap molasses, and a red herring each day. Additional rations were given during Christmas, and slaves were occasionally given permission to hunt for raccoon or opossum which they would cook into a pot pie. But on the whole, for fear of a thrashing, the slaves were not allowed off the plantation after dark and were not even allowed to wander from the vicinity of their cabins. James Deane remembers that, "our food was very plain, such as fat hog meat, fish and vegetables raised on the farm and corn bread made up with salt and water⁷⁶." James said some slaves worked small garden patches by moonlight, and he personally hunted for opossums and raccoons but his "choice food was fish and crabs cooked in all styles by mother⁷⁷."

Of the selection from the WPA Narratives used for this dissertation, those formerly enslaved regularly ate either fat back or some type of fatty pork and/or herring, and this was accompanied by a bread or cake composed of corn meal, with a

⁷³ Clabber is a type of soured milk, probably bearing closest resemblance to buttermilk. It was made by leaving fresh, raw milk at room temperature, which soured and thickened the milk, but caused it to keep from spoiling. It could be used as a leavening agent in the absence of baking powder, or could be allowed to curdle until it formed something like cottage cheese (Christensen 2009).

⁷⁴ "Aunt Lucy Brooks," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/004001. Library of Congress.

⁷⁵ "Dennis Simms, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/063060. Library of Congress.

⁷⁶ "James V. Deane, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/009006. Library of Congress, p. 6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pg. 7.

side of vegetables either provided through rations from their farm or personally grown in garden patches. This was supplemented by hunting or trapping small mammals, predominantly opossum, raccoons, and rabbits. Most were also able to consume a steady supply of fish and even crabs, provided they were given the time to net or catch them. James Calhart James remembered that the enslaved brewed a special alcoholic corn and rice drink that even the overseers enjoyed drinking⁷⁸. The only somewhat unusual account about food comes from Annie Young Henson⁷⁹ of Northumberland County, Virginia who remembered that weekly rations consisted of about twenty pounds of food, comprised of beef, pork, lamb or mutton, and vegetables from the farm⁸⁰. Although Annie could not remember the exact size of the farm or the number of slaves who lived there, she did mention that there were no overseers and all the slaves took orders from “an old colored man⁸¹” which indicated a small operation that did not require tiers of overseers to run. So besides regular rations and a small number of foods acquired from the local environment, the diets were uneventful except for memories related to Christmastime. The interviewees recalled receiving additional or special rations as well as new clothes or shoes. Some like Mary James were given money for the holiday too. Mary remembered each slave being given \$2.50 to buy what they pleased at their owner’s store, although they were

⁷⁸ “James Calhart James, ex-slave,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/037034. Library of Congress, p. 35.

⁷⁹ “Annie Young Henson, ex-slave,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/029026. Library of Congress.

⁸⁰ This is quite the disparity from the Lloyds, who Douglass writes only provided about eight pounds of herring or salt pork, a bushel of corn meal, and a pint of salt to their slaves for weekly rations.

⁸¹ “Annie Young Henson, ex-slave,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/029026. Library of Congress, p. 26.

ironically punished if they chose to spend their money elsewhere or at someone else's stores⁸². In addition to this Christmas, food celebrations associated with annual farm activities also brought the consumption of special or rare food items. James Deane remembered that for when it came time to shuck corn for the season:

...all the slaves from other plantations would come to the barn, the fiddler would sit on top of the highest barrel of corn, and play all kinds of songs, a barrel of cider, jug of whiskey, one man to dish out a drink of liquor each hour, cider when wanted. We had supper at twelve, roast pig for everybody, apple sauce, hominy, and corn bread⁸³.

Though we lack the detail in the first-hand accounts of Wye House such as those Frederick Douglass left for the period of Edward Lloyd V's ownership, the interviews collected from former slaves of Maryland and Virginia provide a valid and accurate alternative. Their accounts noticeably parallel one another, and most recalled rations of a single protein, pork or fish, and corn or a corn bread derivative. Interestingly, there did not appear any regional linkage to the choice in providing pork fat or herring and these two are vastly different in regards to nutritional content, with the latter bearing much more beneficial nutrients as a lean protein than the former. Rationed vegetables or personal gardens made up the rest of a regular meal for the enslaved. Opportunistic supplementation or a desire for a more varied diet comprised any additional foods for the enslaved, though these were not always abundant depending on the season or slaves may not have always had time, liberty, or

⁸² "Mary Moriah Anne Susanna James, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/040037. Library of Congress, p. 38.

⁸³ "James V. Deane, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/009006. Library of Congress, p. 8.

ability to hunt or catch extra animals to eat. What can be gleaned from the WPA Narratives is that a trend can be easily seen regarding the amount and quality of the totality of foods eaten and the scale of the plantation operations. As the size of a plantation increased, rations appear to be lessened probably stretched for economic reasons with having to feed a larger population. The ability to procure additional foods, whether by growing or hunting also appears diminished, and this can be explained by a greater need of regimentation and supervision required of a larger and more dispersed slave population. Also, while smaller farms employed slaves to produce enough for the farm itself to subsist, most larger farms were focused on capitalizing profits through harsher and more restrictive working conditions. These points can be extrapolated to surmise that the lives of those enslaved at Wye during this time were probably less than ideal, given that the Lloyds owned more slaves than they ever had since the founding of the plantation and also many more slaves than most plantation owners in the Chesapeake region.

Edward Lloyd VII

Born in 1825 at Wye House, Edward Lloyd VII is the last to be mentioned for the purposes of this dissertation project. His ownership of Wye House until his death in 1907 well surpasses the temporal scope of the dissertation. Nonetheless his tenure is an important one as it includes a period of great tension within the country as the Civil War approaches, as the war is carried out, and as slavery is abolished in the southern states. And though slavery is not fully abolished in Maryland until 1864, it is

important to speak about the lives about the recently freed African-Americans that remain in the region, some likely still at the plantations they were enslaved upon, as was the case at Wye House. Wye House remained a productive farm, but was not as successful as in previous periods of Lloyds. Edward Lloyd VII had to struggle to maintain the farm's economy as national sentiment about slave-based labor was reaching a decisive point. Nevertheless, Edward Lloyd VII lived a life quite similar to the previous Lloyds before him. He attended Princeton University, but after he graduated, returned to Maryland to take over the operations of several of his father's farms. In 1846, at the start of the Mexican-American War, Edward Lloyd VII formed a militia company in Talbot County. He never served in any capacity in Mexico but spent a year in this military company and advanced to the rank of colonel. By 1847, Edward Lloyd VII had exchanged service in the military for public service in politics. He began by serving in the General Assembly and later chaired the committee on finance. He was elected to the Maryland Senate and served from 1874 to 1882, and also from 1890 to 1894. In 1877, he was also nominated to be president of the Maryland Senate as well (Tilghman 1915: 222-224; Weeks 1984: 74).

In 1861, Edward Lloyd VI died and while Edward Lloyd VII inherited a great deal of wealth and land holdings, this occurred as the Civil War began. In his last will and testament, Edward Lloyd VI appointed his son as executor and administrator⁸⁴. In addition to Wye House, Edward Lloyd VI also bequeathed to his son: Wye Town, 400 Acres, New Design, Hopewell, and Blissland farms. Edward Lloyd VII also

⁸⁴ "Col. Edward Lloyd Last Will & Testament," August 23 1861. Talbot County Register of Wills (Wills, Original) 1828-1890. Box 2, T2536-2. Maryland State Archives.

received all the household goods, plate, prints, paintings, books, and furniture at Wye with the exception of the items within the rooms of his sisters. Edward Lloyd VI also gave his three surviving daughters, Elizabeth, Alicia, and Sally their choice of a “negro girl” of their choosing, stipulating that the order of choice would proceed by seniority. This meant that all the other enslaved not stipulated in the will and the vast majority who resided on farms not bequeathed specifically to his daughters was inherited by Edward Lloyd VII. Edward Lloyd VI gave his son permission to sell his lands in Allegany and Madison Counties to be applied towards payment of his debts and legacies. Allegany County is in far western Maryland, bordering Pennsylvania on the north, and the land in Madison County comprised the plantation Edward Lloyd VI established for the purpose of sending his undesirable enslaved people to. After settling his debts and administering for the distribution of inheritances to his sisters, Edward Lloyd VII became heir to all of the remaining real and personal estate left by his father.

While Edward Lloyd VII remained one of the largest farmers in the county, his farms were already suffering with the onset of the Civil War and the loss of his enslaved population was happening well before the abolition of slavery in the state. Slaveowners were confronted with this predicament throughout the South. Many abolitionists were already arguing for the Union Army to recruit slaves as soldiers. Frederick Douglass was a proponent of this, and had written of the passion that a recently freed slave would fight with for the Union in return for citizenship⁸⁵. By

⁸⁵ “Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters ‘US’ ... Let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket, and there is no power on earth which

March 1863, Secretary of War Stanton was allowing officers in the West and the South to recruit enslaved African-Americans into the Union Army. The largest numbers came from those who escaped from Louisiana and Mississippi cotton plantations, but this also occurred through the Eastern Shore and in Talbot County. Edward Lloyd VII surely felt the effects of this on his farms. While the enslaved were escaping bondage to fight in the war with the encouragement of Union Army leaders, President Lincoln agreed to compensate disgruntled slaveowners \$300 for each slave they manumitted and permitted to join the Union Army. This was beneficial in two ways for people like Edward Lloyd VII. If slaves were already running away to join the army, this would help recover some of the monetary losses, especially before full emancipation occurred which was likely by that point. Enlisting African-Americans and helping the state meet its wartime draft quota also meant that whites would not have to be drafted unwillingly. On May 22, 1863, President Lincoln signed General Order No. 143, which created the United States Colored Troops. And by October 3rd of that year, General Order No. 329 set regulations for Maryland, Tennessee, and Missouri for the recruitment of slaves into the army (Demczuk 2008: 215-217). Both of these were monumental for the enslaved, though this had already been going on in an unofficial capacity for years as previously mentioned

In light of all this, in the summer of 1863, Edward Lloyd VII escorted about a hundred slaves to be mustered into the Union Army at Easton Point. The only recollections of the number of slaves Edward Lloyd VII manumitted to the army are

can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States,” *The Douglass Monthly Newsletter*, August 1863 (qtd in. Demczuk 2008: 212).

either eighty-four⁸⁶ or one hundred⁸⁷ men, but this would have compensated Edward Lloyd VII about \$30,000 for his timely donation. Between 1863 and 1866, a total of 8,718 African-Americans from Maryland were recruited in this way to serve in the Union Army. Nine of the men that Edward Lloyd VII mustered in the summer of 1863 would later return after the close of the war to form the nearby descendent community of Unionville (Demczuk 2008: 218). Even with the compensation promised to Edward Lloyd VII, within several years of his father's death and his large inheritance, by 1864 he had lost all of his slaves. Before the Civil War, almost 700 slaves were owned by Edward Lloyd VII in total and these were valued at approximately \$350,000 (Tilghman 1915: 225). In 1870, five years after the end of the Civil War, the U.S. federal census listed Edward Lloyd VII with a substantial real estate value of \$283,000, but a personal estate value of a mere \$25,444⁸⁸. The loss of the enslaved population drastically dropped the amount of Edward Lloyd VII's personal estate value over \$300,000 within the span of ten years. Edward Lloyd VII was nearly forced to sell Wye House, making it the first time since its inception that it would not be in Lloyd family hands, but his second son, Charles Howard Lloyd and his wife were able to contribute enough investment into the property to prevent its sale (Weeks 1984: 75).

⁸⁶ "The Civil War Journal of Dr. Samuel A. Harrison," *Civil War History* (Wagandt 1967: 131-146 [qtd in. Demczuk 2008: 221]).

⁸⁷ "Unionville Anniversary," *The Easton Star*, July 1922 (qtd in. Demczuk 2008: 220).

⁸⁸ "Talbot County, Maryland, District 1," United States Federal Census, 1870, pgs. 53-54. Maryland State Archives.

In this way, Edward Lloyd VII was able to retain Wye House until his death in 1907 which amounted to a period of 46 years, longer than any other Lloyd had presided over Wye House. This consistency in ownership is ironically paralleled by a consistency in the labor pool as well. While it would be easy to assume that the Civil War and the abolition of slavery culminated in the immediate absence of African-Americans at Wye House, this would be untrue. Many of the formerly enslaved remained in their cabins on the property and continued to work as hired laborers, especially those that worked closely with the Lloyd household like the domestic laborers (Tilghman 1915: 226-227). During the few years between when Edward Lloyd VII inherited the plantation until slavery was abolished, the treatment of his enslaved did not change much from what they would have experienced when his father was alive. According to Samuel Harrison's annals, "no change in circumstances had rendered necessary a change in the regime of the plantation...and there was no such difference in the character of [Edward Lloyd VII and Edward Lloyd VI] as to justify a belief that the disciplinary rules were administered differently under the younger, from what they were under the elder Lloyd" (Tilghman 1915: 226).

Considering the harshness and bleak conditions with which Edward Lloyd VI's huge population of slaves lived under, those who continued under the tenure of Edward Lloyd VII would not have experienced much that was different. Even after the war ended, when speaking of those manumitted years earlier to join the Union Army, historian Bernard Demczuk says that the original eighteen founders of

Unionville returned from war in 1865 and 1866 to find that the plantations which they left behind remained largely the same. The families of these men still lived in the same slave quarters although they were no longer enslaved, but now working for wages. Talbot County had 3,725 slaves on November 1, 1864 when the state constitution ended enslavement. The men who returned to establish Unionville found that the lives of those they left behind changed very little, even after their legal status was altered (Demczuk 2008: 242). They may have continued to live in poverty, but they were free. These descriptions fail to highlight the momentous changes that must have occurred mentally and also within both black and white communities in Talbot County, as an entire previously subjugated group evolves after achieving freedom. A parallel discussion about this era in the American South and the changing social world in these rural communities can be found in Laurie Wilkie's (2000) study of Oakley plantation in Louisiana. Although social and race relations were changing dramatically post-emancipation, archaeological remains do not exhibit significant change in relation to freedom as much as it does to the introduction of wage labor. Archaeologist Laurie Wilkie found on Oakley Plantation that the material culture reflected more participation in consumerism as opposed to any heightened representation of freedom.

The reconstruction of what those enslaved at Wye House would have eaten while Edward Lloyd VII lived will have to be borrowed from information gleaned during the period of Edward Lloyd VI, at least on the level of historical documentation. And in the juncture when the enslaved transition into freed people, it

will be assumed that much of the same resources would be available and the diet would be less restricted since rations did not exist any longer. The natural environment would still provide the same types of plants and animals, and African-Americans would be able to engage more readily in the purchase of food items, though the rural location of Wye House would likely hinder the latter somewhat. Most regular meal options were likely still caught, trapped, hunted, or grown. One historical resource which will prove beneficial as a comparative that is employed for this dissertation is the Lloyd Family Cookbooks⁸⁹ (Tang 2010b). While these books were written and collected by Lloyd women for the purpose of their own dining, it is utilized for this project as a gauge to compare to the food remains found archaeologically in the contexts of the enslaved.

During the Fall 2008 semester, through inquiries from myself and Dr. Mark Leone, Mrs. R. Carmichael Tilghman – Lloyd descendant and then owner of Wye House – was able to locate at least two family cookbooks from the extensive library at Wye House which were written and used by her family. There are two complete cookbooks as well as about twenty loose pages that may belong to other cookbooks. Recipes or receipts include those instructing on: polishing silver; pickling meats; preserving fruits and vegetables; and preparing meal courses such as soups, entrees, and desserts. The earliest date in the cookbook written is 1852 with the name of Mary Lloyd next to it. This date though, appears in the second set of cookbooks, which appear to be the more recent set. This would mean that other Lloyd women, probably

⁸⁹ “Lloyd Family Cookbooks,” Lloyd papers 1658-1910, Archives and Manuscript Department, Hornbake Library, College Park, University of Maryland Special Collections.

generations earlier, began the first set of cookbooks. Mary Lloyd though, of 1852, likely refers to the wife of Edward Lloyd VII. She was the granddaughter of Francis Scott Key. Mary Lloyd Howard married Edward Lloyd VII on June 5, 1851. If her additions to the cookbooks started in 1852, this was likely the efforts of the newest mistress of Wye House as she moved into her new home. There is no documentation for exactly why Mary Lloyd started compiling this second cookbook, but it has been suggested that this was done shortly after she married into the family and was her way of contributing domestically and impressing her new family (Mary Carmichael Tilghman, personal communication 2009). Mary would have been the mistress of Wye House during the Civil War. The latest date found is 1892, meaning that the books span the periods of Emancipation, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow, providing a culinary parallel to major transition periods in American history.

The first cookbook set is neatly organized about halfway through, showing that someone intended to compile the recipes into a volume. All of the recipes that follow are in no particular order and seem to have been written at different times for the remainder of the first, older cookbook. The second cookbook, started by Mary Lloyd Howard by 1852 was continually added to for well over thirty years afterwards. Some of the recipes from this book refer to a grandmother Lloyd, so to Mary Lloyd Howard and her children, could possibly be the wife of Edward Lloyd V, Sally Scott Murray⁹⁰. The U.S. Federal Census in 1850 records Sally as residing at Wye House⁹¹,

⁹⁰ While it may seem more likely that grandmother Lloyd would refer to the wife of Lloyd VI, Alicia Thompson McBlair, she was deceased by the time that Mary Lloyd Howard and Lloyd VII were married in 1852. She had died rather young at the age of 32, in 1838.

and she lives there until her death in 1854 so when Mary Lloyd Howard writes after 1852, she is most likely referring to Sally Scott Murray, grandmother to Edward Lloyd VII. And while they have been titled the Lloyd Family Cookbooks, they are not simply cookbooks in the conventional sense. These documents are more like “cookery manuscripts” (Harbury 2004: xiv). They not only contain recipes for eating, but are guidebooks for how keep a proper home, such as how to carry out tasks and make household items. There are instructions on how to polish rosewood and mahogany, how to clean silver and marble, how to make oil paint, how to make soap and candles, and how to wash blankets. Medicinal type recipes are also included such as how to make a liniment and mouthwash, and also a remedy for dyspepsia.

The cookbooks are handwritten, surprisingly well-preserved, and give us a glimpse of the domestic life of this prominent family. Using the cookbooks, we can better understand the roles of women in running a plantation, both White and Black. The recipes seem to mostly be for smaller scale consumption, though there are several to cure and pickle large quantities of meat or produce. It is likely that these recipes were meals for the family. Additionally, it can be assumed that most of the cooking was conducted by African-American women, enslaved and later free. There are very traditional English recipes, such as plum pudding, bread pudding, preserves, force meat balls, and popovers, but there are also non-English recipes such as gumbo soup, Indian meal muffins, sweet potatoe pie, rice and tomatoes, okra, and homony bread. Looking at the ingredients of the Lloyd cookbooks, there are also a number of

⁹¹ “Talbot County, Maryland, District 1,” United States Federal Census, 1850. Maryland State Archives.

different spices that are used, which is uncommon to English cooking. The cookbooks also have an abundance of fish and seafood recipes. There are at least sixteen different recipes to prepare seafood, with many of the recipes stipulating that any available or seasonal fish would serve as a suitable alternative. Also differing from European cooking is that there are more fresh fish recipes than those that include pickled, cured, salted, or dried fish.

Also interesting to note is the Lloyd's use of offal meats⁹². There are recipes for calf's head soup, boiled calf or lamb's head, and numerous ones for calf's feet jelly. The cookbooks have many recipes for offal parts. Interestingly, there is not an overabundance of meat recipes, which is contrary to the usual patterning of meat consumption of planters that culinary historians and archaeologists have indicated (see for example, Hess 1984; Harbury 2004; Crader 1990). And while there are not many beef or mutton recipes, there are a variety of quickbread items, such as pancakes, muffins, wafers, waffles, and cornbreads. Harbury explains that this probably related to the religious observances where no meat could be consumed such as during Lent (2004: 61-62). These everyday meal items were neither lavish nor luxurious. There is even a recipe for corn mush, something Frederick Douglass recalled was served to slaves, but this is not the same preparation because the quantity is too small.

⁹² A discussion of the rise and fall of offal in fashionable, elite meals can be found in Justin Lev-Tov's (1998) study of 18th century Annapolis. Offal does not refer to any part or type of animal in particular, but is a general term for variety meats, internal organs, or entrails. The more appropriate definition is probably anything that does not include muscle tissue. Popular offal items include: heads, brains, tripe, testicles, intestines, feet, hearts, kidneys, livers, sweetbreads, tendons, etc. Tasty preparations are frequently: boiled with vegetables, fried with onions or herbs, as pâtés, or as sausages (Edwards 2013).

The cookbooks also contain an excess of recipes for cakes, desserts, and sweets. These signified the end of the meal event, and was the last thing guests would remember before leaving, thus this was frequently a dish of pride, showcasing the woman's skill. This was also probably the only dish that the women would consistently prepare themselves, instead of leaving the responsibility to the cooks. Food historian, Katherine Harbury notes in her analysis of the Randolph family of Virginia that using such a large amount of sugar was an exercise of conceit and it asserted elite social standing since sugar was still such an expensive commodity. She also writes that the Randolphs and other Virginia hostesses kept their dessert secret from their enslaved because this final course was seen as a true art form (Harbury 2004: 66, 117). This is not to say that these upper class women could not cook or cooked rarely though. Harbury notes that it was the duty of the housewife to spread her knowledge to her daughters and teach them the art of cooking and presentation (2004: xiv, 13, 42). This is evident in the Lloyd cookbooks as scattered throughout there are recipes written in a childish script which were probably a way to teach the girls to read, write, and cook at the same time. Three of Edward Lloyd VII and Mary Lloyd Howard's daughters appear in the cookbooks: Alicia, McBlair, and Elizabeth Phoebe Key. There is a recipe for caramel, signed by Alicia Lloyd in 1865 and written with childish penmanship. Alicia goes on to edit that caramel recipe three years later in 1868, and would have been thirteen years old at the time. Another recipe is attributed to McBlair Lloyd in 1878, for preserving watermelon rind. McBlair would have been sixteen years old when she added the recipe.

As far as the various cookbook authors and contributors, there are obviously Lloyd women and girls. At least six different types of handwriting can be discerned throughout the pages. Many of the contributors appear to be friends or acquaintances, and there appear at least twenty-one recipe contributors who are mentioned by name: Mrs. Goldsborough, Mrs. Hinder, Mrs. Henry, Mrs. Goodwin, Mrs. Eyre, Mrs. Grasiol, Ms. Martin, Mrs. G. Theshald, Mrs. George Gibron, Mrs. Edgeworth Bird, Mrs. Groome, Mrs. John McF. Bergland, Mrs. Bradley T. Johnson, Mrs. Pennington, Mrs. William Gilmore-Lew, Mrs. Peter Hoffman, Mrs. Greenwood, Mrs. W.K.H., Mrs. Rev. Howard, Miss Lyons, and Miss Mary C. Stokes. Differing from the styles with which these recipes are given formal attributions, one scrap of paper tucked into the cookbooks is of special interest. It has four different recipes from three people, all with only first names attributed and with the name appearing in quotations. For example, the recipe for lemon cake is attributed to “Harriet” (cook). There is also “Harris” and “Dar Ellie.” In comparison to the ladies who contribute recipes throughout the cookbooks, these are likely referring to recipes from African-Americans. Since there is no date entered and the page was loose and tucked into the other bound cookbooks, there is no way to conjecture whether these people were enslaved or free African-Americans at the time.

While the cookbooks appear to also hold ordinary recipes for regular consumption, as with all cookbook compilations, they are arguably several steps removed from the everyday insofar as many scholars have noted (i.e. Engelhart 2011). Nevertheless, the comparison of these recipes to the archaeological materials

recovered on the Long Green provides a much more complete picture of foodways at Wye House since the archaeological materials for the Lloyds have never been excavated. And though they are referring to meals on the Lloyd table, from the commonplace to the extravagant, it helps to understand the changes through time regarding taste preferences, ingredient availability, cooking techniques, and the various factors involved with preparing and cooking foods during these time periods. For this dissertation, these recipes, cookbooks, and authors can be extrapolated to examine details about the rest of the inhabitants at Wye House, the enslaved. It would be illuminating to see the difference in meat consumption between the Lloyds and the enslaved. Above the difference in meat varieties, the various preparation techniques such as butchery or animal portions would begin to show if differences between black and white diets are as clear as they have been made out to be. Archaeologically, since this dissertation project emphasizes the role of the regional environment in food availability, it would be useful to examine the proportions of coastal or Chesapeake Bay animals being eaten by both groups. And from the cookbooks, since it appears the Lloyds consumed a range of domestic and wild animals and a mix of terrestrial and aquatic ones, but the enslaved were rationed a fairly bland diet such as salt pork which would leave no archaeological remains, discovering other animals in enslaved contexts would show they had greater access to foods that were supposedly only for the Lloyd table.

Usage of Historical Context Data

The historical information gathered here is extensive, yet still rather incomplete. Even with an admittedly uneven focus on different time periods, ultimately most of the historical data presented comes from the perspective of the Lloyds themselves, their peers, or at the very least, from whites that operate within the complex of plantation management that accepted the enslavement of African-Americans. There are handful of documents from the 19th century from the perspective of those who were formerly enslaved. As critical historians do, every time one of these documents is read, especially the secondary documents, we must reconsider their ‘labors of representation’. This phrase is utilized in the manner of historical archaeologist, Barbara Voss (2007). Voss reminds us that every text requires an analysis of production and dissemination involved in the creation of any text or image. It is a demand to remember not only the context of the author of the document, but to be cognizant of the audience that he or she writes to either directly or indirectly. Essentially it is a reminder to evaluate the political projects that motivate all representational practices. Voss’ final step in analyzing labors of representation includes “evaluating the ways in which archaeological evidence converges or diverges from the representation (2007: 147). Even though there is more historical information available in the 19th century that comes directly from the writings of fugitive slaves and abolitionists, it would be too simple to assume that these are necessarily the only picture of enslaved life that is accurate. It must be

emphasized that abolitionists too had a very clear agenda and labors of representation in their writing that went beyond factual descriptions of life as an enslaved person.

This is the value of archaeology, and the dissertation picks up on the Long Green where the historical documents leave off. And of the information we do have about enslaved life and the Long Green, the dissertation carries on the final step in evaluating labors of representation by determining how the archaeological record bears similarity or differences to the data presented in this chapter. The goal is not to dispute the historical documents, but to fill in the gaps which they leave and perhaps provide more complexity to the linear timeframe of life at Wye House based on generations of Lloyds which has been presented above.

Chapter 4: Excavations

When Archaeology in Annapolis first began work on the Long Green, the task we agreed to take on was a large one. We had the important goal of writing slavery into the history of Wye House that could add more than Douglass' descriptions. At least in part, the stories of violence and starvation and subjugation are known. Also known are the stories of the elite of the plantation, especially the generations of Lloyd men. Using archaeology, our mission is to fill in the blanks between Douglass and the Lloyds, and perhaps even present contradictory histories of the thousands of lives that inhabited the plantation since the mid-17th century. In the past decade of our presence at Wye House, we have started this process, we have made conclusions which conflict with family oral histories, we have been surprised by our own findings, and most importantly, we have opened a dialogue about enslavement at Wye House that did not exist before. We have done this through open communications with descendent communities, with public forums and blogging, with museum exhibits, with academic and popular publications and radio talk shows, and with scholarly collaborations which have led the project down avenues of exploring the freed African-American population in nearby Easton.

This chapter introduces the site and the land where Wye House is located. Before our work began on the Long Green, the renown of Wye House – besides when associated to Douglass – was due to its standing structures. Numerous stellar examples of vernacular and elite architecture are dotted throughout its landscape and

these buildings were responsible for the addition of Wye House to the National Register of Historic Places. Within this section, the archaeology conducted over ten years prior to our arrival at Wye House is also presented. Knowing the contributions of architectural historians and prior archaeology – and also contributions from historians detailed in the previous chapter – it becomes apparent how much that archaeology can bring to the understandings of the people who have lived at Wye House. The power of our excavations additionally complicates the accepted history of Wye House by uncovering many different and overlooked histories. The chapter closes with summaries of the important archaeological excavations which have been completed so far by Archaeology in Annapolis. Three of the excavations – the Tulip Poplar Building, the Middle Building, and the North Building quarters – contribute the data to the current dissertation project. Our discoveries and our increasing comprehension of the Wye House environment are scattered throughout, as this was part of the learning process that Archaeology in Annapolis and the author experienced as our familiarity with the history of this property grew with each passing year.

Site Introduction

Phase II archaeological investigation conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis completed excavations of four slave quarters from 2006 to 2010. These quarters are called the Tulip Polar, the North Building, the Middle Building, and the Greenhouse quarter. The first three were separate structures located within the main portion of the Long Green, and the last is attached to the north-facing side of the Greenhouse. The

archaeological data for this dissertation derives from the Long Green quarters and their surrounding yard spaces. Field and laboratory work was carried out and overseen by Archaeology in Annapolis staff. Summer field school students of the University of Maryland participated in field excavations, and independent study undergraduate students at the University of Maryland assisted in laboratory work. The structures of completed excavations by Archaeology in Annapolis are denoted in Figure 3. Other geographic features are indicated, as well as extant structures of historical importance.



Figure 3. Satellite image of excavations and plantation core (Image originally by Benjamin A. Skolnik, Updated by John E. Blair Jr.)

The 966 acres of land that Wye House sits upon is uniquely fertile and ecologically diverse, though this is not unusual for the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

Wye House is located in the Atlantic Coastal Plain Province within the Chester River-Eastern Bay Drainage (Blair et al. 2009a: 19). It occupies the floodplain and a low terrace with maximum elevations at about 20 feet above sea level (Kerns and Gibb 1998). According to the Maryland Department of Natural Resources (2007), the Chesapeake Bay watershed constitutes the largest estuary in the U.S. Because over fifty major tributaries feed into the Bay as freshwater, and an approximately equal portion of water enters from the Atlantic Ocean as saltwater, all the waterways connected to the Chesapeake Bay are composed of a combination of brackish, freshwater, and saltwater (Chesapeake Bay Foundation 2007). Shaw Bay to the west and Wye River to the north are estuarine, while Lloyd Creek is of fresh water (Blair et al. 2009a: 20).

The substrata soils in this region are composed of unconsolidated sedimentary deposits of salt, silt, clay, and gravel, overlying crystalline bedrock. The Eastern Shore contains inconsistently fertile soils, but the loamy soil found in certain pockets and at Wye House constitutes some of the most arable soil in the state (Blair et al. 2009a: 20; Rountree and Davidson 1997: 8-9). The temperate, mid-continental climate of the area also contributes to Wye House's farming potential. The region has four distinct seasons with slightly higher average temperature ranges than the mainland portion of the state. The winter temperature range is between 26.9 to 44 degrees Fahrenheit, and in summer averages 76.9 degrees Fahrenheit (National Climate Data Center 2007).

An average of 190 frost-free days a year and moderate precipitation also help to make the Eastern Shore a successful area for cultivation and provides an ideal environment for wild flora and fauna (Rountree and Davidson 1997: 3; Southeast Regional Climate Center 2007). Native floral species include spruce, pine, fir, birch, oak, hickory, Virginia creeper, chokeberry, elderberry, maple, willow, and gum trees (Haynes 2002: 43; US Fish and Wildlife Service 2007). The dominant fauna in the region includes deer; small mammals such as rabbit, squirrel, and fox; and birds such as turkey, Bald Eagles, and waterfowl. Common reptiles and amphibians include Diamondback terrapins, loggerhead turtles, snakes, frogs, toads, salamanders, and newts. The Eastern Shore and its areas support an abundance of aquatic fauna, and these regularly include oysters, clams, blue crabs, perch, striped bass, herring, shad, alewife, shad, and sturgeon. During the warm season, bluefish, weakfish, croaker, menhaden, flounder, and spot can also be found (Shelford 1963).

Significant Architectural Structures

The Wye House Great House and surrounding plantation land were designated as a U.S. National Historic Landmark and placed on the U.S. National Register of Historic Places on April 15, 1970 (NRHP 2010; NHL Programs 2010). The property consists of agricultural fields, woodlots, farm roads, and standing buildings that were constructed from the mid-18th through 20th centuries (Blair et al. 2009a: 20). The most substantial structure is the Great House, followed by the Greenhouse, but there

are also several other significant historic structures as well as protective easements on the property⁹³.

The building of the current and standing Great House was completed in the 1780s by Edward Lloyd IV. It is a large, Southern frame plantation house, in seven-part form. The house was originally built as a 5-part plan, but was expanded by Edward Lloyd V in the 19th century into a 7-part plan. The main block of the house is a 5-bay, double-pile, 2.5-storey, front-gabled structure with a raised basement and double, interior-end chimneys. It is wood framed on a masonry foundation and contains both Georgian and Federal style elements (see Figure 4, for an image of the front façade). The main block has a large, central passage and the portions of the house are connected by a rear, cross passage. The architectural design is attributed to Robert Key and illustrates the stylistic transition from late Georgian to early Federal architecture (Tang and Knauf 2010: 5-6).



Figure 4. Photograph of Great House Façade (Image courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis)

⁹³ “Inventory Form for State Historic Sites Survey,” 1977, 1989, T-54, Maryland Historical Trust, Wye House, Maryland State Archives.

The placement of the second Great House in its new position along a north-south axis is not unusual for Southern plantation architecture and layout. The original east-west axis would have faced the water, but also overlooked the Long Green. It would have been a bustling area for farm activities and had a growing enslaved population housed there. As ideologies about African enslavement altered at Wye House and on other Southern plantations, 18th century plantations began to institute more spatial and visual separation between the spaces of the slave holders and the enslaved. Architectural historian Willie Graham and colleagues describe this as a pattern towards the ‘polite house’, which begins to appear by the end of the 17th century, and which the reorientation of the standing Great House and plantation core at Wye House exemplifies:

The polite house was as common in England and New England as in the Chesapeake, and everywhere it demanded refinement of social behavior, displays of wealth, and the privacy required for entertaining. Uncontrolled servant access to the private recesses of the master’s house and frequent unscripted interaction between laborers and family members or guests would not do. The polite house offered a means of checking the access and controlling interaction if servants lived in separate buildings. By the end of the seventeenth century, all these factors converged in the Chesapeake to create a plantation model in which laborers were segregated from masters and the planter lived in a great house that made a statement about his wealth, power, and status (Graham et al. 2007: 521).

Across from the rear of the current Great House, to the north, stands arguably the most significant architectural feature at Wye House, the Greenhouse. It is located at the end of a long formal garden, with an axis set at a slight angle to provide the appearance of more depth to the formal garden when viewed from the Great House (Kerns and Gibb 1998). It is so unique because it constitutes the only intact and standing example of its kind from the 18th century in North America. There were

three other 18th century greenhouses built in the mid-Atlantic though these are either in ruins or are reconstructions – Mount Airy, Mount Clare, and Mount Vernon. A pea gravel drainage ditch outlines the Greenhouse today, a modern addition installed in the 1980s in the hopes of preventing water seepage into the foundation and up the walls (Blair et al 2009a: 20, 62). See Figure 5, for a modern photograph of the Greenhouse.



Figure 5. Photograph of the Greenhouse Façade (Image courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis)

When Frederick Douglass came to live at Wye House, he stayed in the Captain's House when it served as the home to his owner and one of the plantation's overseers, Captain Aaron Anthony. When Douglass writes his observations about the Long Green, he does so from within and around this very structure, just a few paces across a farm lane from the bustling slave village he details for readers. Before the time that Douglass came to the plantation, the Captain's House was already an important building on the farm. The southern portion makes it one of the oldest standing structures on the farm. It constituted the detached kitchen of the great house that was destroyed upon the building of the currently standing Great House of the

late-18th century built by Edward Lloyd IV. This now-destroyed great house with the detached kitchen is in all likelihood, the second house constructed by the Lloyds on the property. Through archaeological surveying by the Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County, signatures of a post-in-ground structure were discovered within the footprint this earlier great house. In the historical documents, this rebuilding of a grander great house in place of the original post-in-ground structure was commissioned by Edward Lloyd III. Assessment records indicate that Edward Lloyd III renovated an original hall-and-parlor plan house and replaced it with a brick, Georgian house after about 1750⁹⁴.

The building that is currently called the Captain's House would have been the external kitchen of these earlier great houses. It is a 3-bay, single-pile, 1.5-storey, side-gabled, Flemish brick-bonded building with one large, interior-end chimney on the north side. It is built in a post-medieval style, evidenced by the minimal number of windows and the massive hearth and chimney. The hearth and chimney features attest to the Captain's House being built sometime between the late 17th century and the early 18th century. The distance from the Captain's House to the early two great houses is estimated at approximately 70 feet away. Figure 6 denotes this pre-1780s layout. The box labeled with a 2 is the site of both the earlier earthfast building and the great house renovated by Edward Lloyd III. There is nothing architectural above-ground that remains of these great houses. The box labeled with a 3 to the north is the external kitchen associated to these early houses. The small ell connected to its north

⁹⁴ "Assessment Record," General Assembly of Delegates, Talbot County, 2nd District, Maryland State Archives (qtd in. Speckart 2011: 136-139).

side was added in the early 19th century, and the addition north of the ell was constructed in the late 20th century.



Figure 6. Satellite image of current Great House, location of earlier great house, and Captain's House (Image by Amanda Tang)

There are five additional historic structures and one complex of farm features of note included in Wye House's National Register listing. Several were originally built in the 18th century and most have been repurposed for modern usage. The first is the dairy. It is the closest structure to the current Great House, and is a single-storey, gabled, wood frame building. Currently, it holds the heating system for the Great House. Next is a smokehouse, which is two-part, wood-framed, and on a brick foundation. The south section has two-stories, while the north side is single-storied and currently serves for vehicle storage. Also in this area is the carriage house. It was built in the 19th century and is two-storied, wood-framed, and has been converted into a gym. The last in this core section is the garage, a two-storey, wood-framed structure built in the 20th century that serves today as storage for farming supplies and

gardening equipment. Set apart from these core buildings is a group of structures and architectural features that are listed as the barn complex. They comprise the northernmost group of buildings on the farm. There is a board-and-batten framed barn, a tile silo, three corn cribs, and two tenant houses (Blair et al. 2009a: 76).

The final historic structure on the plantation is located to the southeast, near the area Archaeology in Annapolis currently excavates and calls the East Cove. It is a tenant house known as the Red Overseer's House. This is a one-and-a-half storey, wood-framed, pitched-gabled, hall-and-parlor plan house on a brick foundation with one exterior- and one interior-end chimney. Douglass describes this "little red house, up the road, occupied by Mr. Sevier (1855: 51)," who was a notably cruel overseer. Archaeology in Annapolis conducted limited excavations under and around the structure during the summer of 2006 as the building foundations were being reconstructed. The area beneath the house was exposed so archaeology was possible within the footprint, and two test units were also placed by each chimney. The architectural history, archaeology, and dendrochronology of the house points to an initial construction date of 1815. As the areas around the old foundations were dug out before archaeological intervention, information regarding the building's age, construction, and any reconstructions was lost. Dendrochronology was sought as a way to reestablish these dates. Several wood beams from the structure were selected for analysis by the Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory in England. This analysis resulted in a more precise construction date of the Red Overseer's to 1815 (Worthington and Miles 2007).

The amount of artifacts recovered from these excavations was scant and much of the archaeology was damaged as a result of burrowing by rodents. While oral history attributes the construction of the building to the 18th century, the research by Archaeology in Annapolis revealed that our ideas about the presence of the Long Green had to be revised. It is clear from the Red Overseer's that the Long Green was part of the many changes of the plantation and was not such a stable fixture as Frederick Douglass describes (Blair et al. 2009b: 57-60). The Long Green indeed became the most obvious and visible aspect of enslaved plantation life during Douglass' time there, but it was built up over time and was a rather new development at the time of Douglass' arrival at Wye House. It attests that the Long Green environment that we may picture was constructed in the early 19th century, when much of the plantation, its economy, and appearance, were being rebuilt, redeveloped, and reimagined first by Edward Lloyd IV and then continued with Edward Lloyd V. The work on the Red Overseer's highlighted our unique ability to contribute to the history of Wye House. In addition, we realized that the late-18th and early-19th century at Wye House was a critical juncture. Plantation operations were intensified, the plantation core was rebuilt and redefined, and the numbers of enslaved people living there increased substantially. Archaeology in Annapolis has traced these changes with our work, and this current zooarchaeological analysis utilizes the same time intervals to understand how these changes affected food consumption.

Protective Easements and Previous Archaeology

Although there is so much of prehistoric and historic significance on this property, only two easements⁹⁵ exist for Wye House. The easements are held by Preservation Maryland and are for the Greenhouse/Orangerie and the Lloyd Family graveyard (see Figure 7 for an aerial image of the two easements). The Greenhouse as previously mentioned is the only surviving 18th century greenhouse in North America. And the graveyard houses many members of the Lloyd family, notably a son and two grandchildren of Francis Scott Key and a Confederate admiral.

⁹⁵ An easement is defined as: An interest in land owned by another person, consisting in the right to use or control the land, or an area above or below it, for a specific limited purpose... Unlike a lease or license, an easement may last forever, but it does not give the holder the right to possess, take from, improve, or sell the land (Garner 1996: 232). According to Ingram (2008: 12), an easement is probably the best way to protect an archaeological site, second to true ownership. Besides for limiting the usage and the changes that could be made to the areas by the owners, the easements protect the resources for posterity for all of American heritage. If the Lloyd/Tilghman family line should ever end with no one to claim Wye House or if the property should ever be sold or foreclosed, the easements will persist. Therefore, should the property change hands, even within the family, the easement stays with Preservation Maryland and the areas cannot be destroyed or harmed.



Figure 7. Satellite image showing Greenhouse and graveyard (Image by John E. Blair Jr.)

Because of the depth of historical and archaeological significance that could be found within the ground, any substantial construction or alterations are preceded at the behest of the Tilghmans by architectural surveying or archaeological mitigation.

Before 2005, when Archaeology in Annapolis began the research project at Wye House, the only other archaeological work conducted was in the early 1990s. In 1993, when the late Mrs. Mary Tilghman inherited Wye House from her great aunt, Elizabeth Lloyd Schiller, it became necessary to renovate and add an extension to the Captain's House for her residence. The northernmost annex to the Captain's House was built as a bedroom for Mrs. Tilghman. Before this was done, the Lost Towns Project of Anne Arundel County was consulted to explore the area to retrieve information about the structure and its surrounding areas, and also to determine the extent of the archaeological damage the new extension would cause (Kerns and Gibb 1998).

Their work uncovered the foundations of the first earlier great house and explored the foundations of the Captain's House using archaeological excavations and GPR (ground penetrating radar). The foundation associated with the Captain's House and the earlier great house was constructed with a standard, Flemish bond brick pattern. Close to the brick foundations of the earlier great house, Lost Towns discovered a set of post holes. They formed a shape that was roughly the size of a building they believed to be the earliest great house on the property, providing a predecessor to what oral history referred to as the first Great House. Their work discovered that that two great houses stood in the same place; the first was supported by posts and the second supported by brick. The current, standing Great House built by Edward Lloyd IV would then be more appropriately referred to as the third great house. The excavated assemblage found included domestic artifacts with approximate

late-17th century dates. In addition, within the footprint of these earlier great houses, Lost Towns uncovered a very large cellar built with great care, larger and more intricately built than any known or discovered on the plantation to date (Tang 2012: 16-17).

Archaeology in Annapolis Excavations



Figure 8. Long Green excavations grouped by quarters (Image by John E. Blair Jr.)

When the Tilghman family invited Archaeology in Annapolis to excavate on their property, it initiated a project to comprehend African-American culture and the lives of enslaved people which still continues today. The project's efforts have been solely focused on uncovering African-American archaeology since there is an abundance of historical information known about the Lloyds through family oral history and historical documents. Early testing and surveying on the plantation started with information provided by the plantation's owners and current inhabitants, and a growing body of historical information. Two sources helped to direct the archaeology at the beginning. Researchers looked to the writing of Frederick Douglass and to maps redrawn by architect and historic preservationist Henry Chandlee Foreman. From Douglass, Archaeology in Annapolis had a descriptive account that was used in attempts to recreate the physical landscape and the potential location of slave quarters. Between 1956 and 1965, Henry Chandlee Forman created a map of Wye House based on a 1784 plat of the property. In his version, he shows the Great House, the Greenhouse, the outbuildings that comprised the plantation's core, and the Long Green. This map not only depicts the 18th century layout of the plantation, but also labels structures with descriptive names indicative of their use. The map illustrates a stretch of land which researchers believed to be the area Douglass coined as the Long Green. Douglass' description of the Long Green states, "...there were numerous other slave houses and huts, scattered around in the neighborhood, every nook and corner of which was completely occupied" (Douglass 1855: 67). See Figure 9 for the Foreman map, and Figure 10 for an enlargement of the Long Green area.

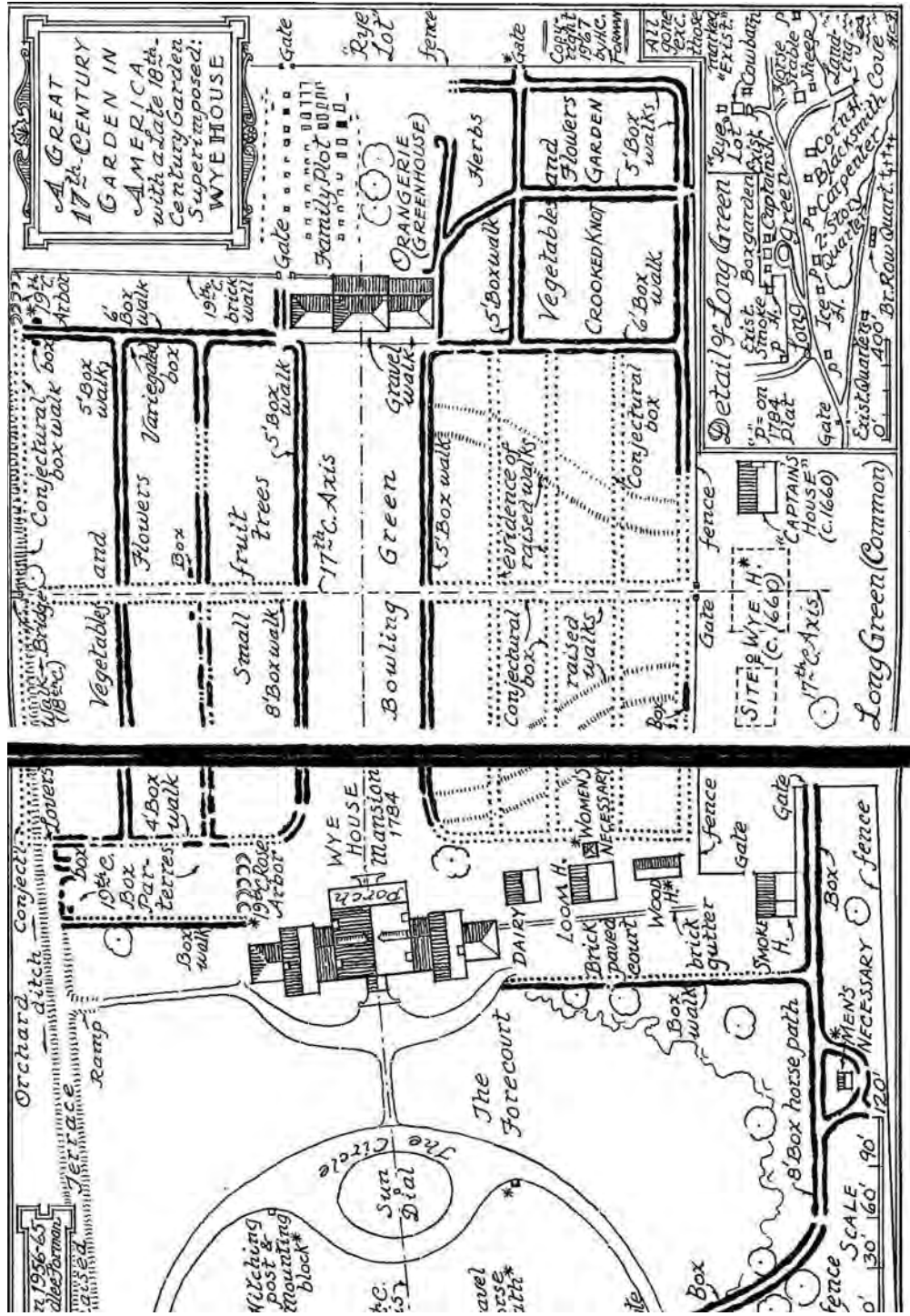


Figure 9. Drawing of Wye House by Henry Chandlee Forman

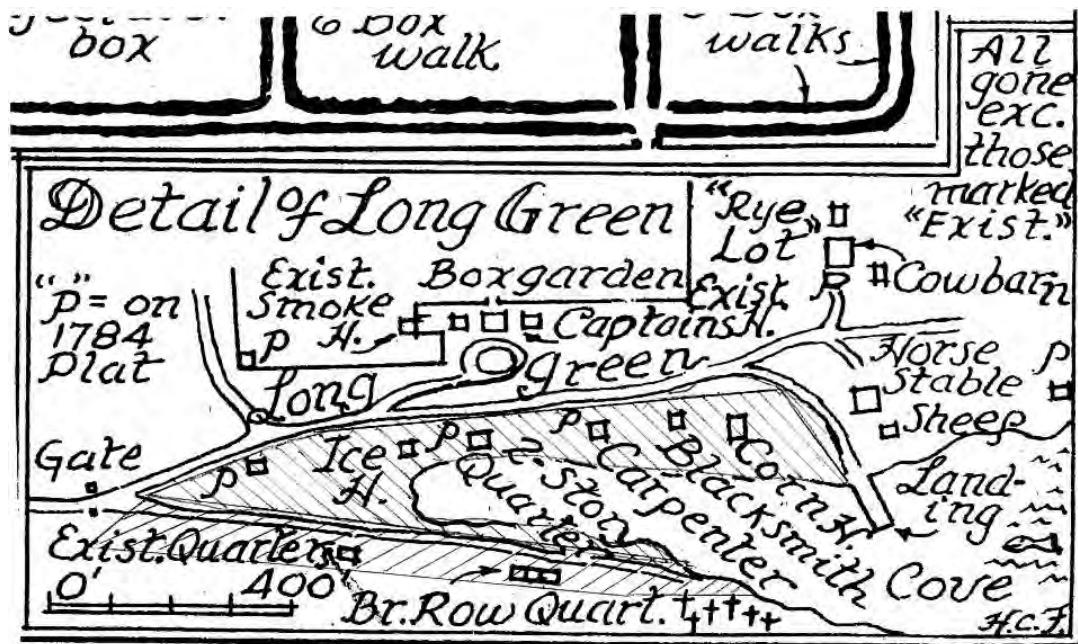


Figure 10. Enlargement of Long Green from H.C. Forman drawing

In all Archaeology in Annapolis excavations, test units were placed in accordance to historical research, extant architecture, invasive testing (i.e. probing, shovel test pits), and non-invasive surveying (i.e. walk-over surveys, magnetometry, ground penetrating radar⁹⁶). Since the core of the plantation is set on a north-south axis, excavations were directed in reference to “site north” as opposed to “true north.” Data points were established for each site grid, and these points were tied into a preexisting base map, recorded using a total data station. Except for a few unique instances, test units were placed as 5’ x 5’ squares. An individual datum point was established for each test unit and placed in the highest ground surface corner, so as to obtain all positive measurements while excavating down. Test units were grouped or

⁹⁶ Bryan Haley conducted a geophysical survey of four areas of the plantation which was influential in discovering new areas of excavation for Archaeology in Annapolis. The results of the survey were used to target additional, invasive surveying which helped to isolate more structures at Wye House that no longer had an above-ground signature (Haley 2009).

placed to establish the footprint of structures and to explore the associated yard spaces. Test units were excavated according to natural soil levels, with arbitrary levels were designated when there appeared to be no natural break in the soil layers. Features were excavated in the same manner, with non-architectural features excavated using a bisection before the entire feature was removed. All soil removed which was not bagged separately as a sample was screened through a ¼-inch mesh screen. Forms and drawings were completed for each level and feature to record soil description, depth of the excavation, artifacts recovered, and a plan view (see Appendix A for examples of field forms). Features also included a profile drawing. When each unit was completely excavated, wall profiles were drawn of all four sides.

All artifacts were collected for curation, except for certain materials which are so pervasive that their collection would cause a curation problem, and retaining such items rarely provide any additional archaeological information. The artifacts instead are collected by provenience and subsequently counted, weighed, and discarded (see Appendix B for an example of the field discard forms). These artifact groups include coal, clinker, slag, brick, mortar, and oyster shell. The forms used have a comments section for excavators to include any relevant information as well. Oftentimes, a sample of the material is still collected, especially if it could contribute any interpretive value or if the item has unusual characteristics that are not the norm of those typically recovered. During the 2009 and 2010 field seasons of Long Green excavations, an oyster shell sample of no more than ten was collected from each level or feature.

During these field seasons, the author was also Associate Director of the summer field schools. Rather than discarding all oyster shells, since oysters can provide zooarchaeological information, the research strategy was altered to include collection of an oyster sample. Excavators gathered all oyster shells from a level or feature and before discarding, were directed to select no more than ten whole shells. Excavators were taught to only select left shells or valves, and were instructed to choose a variety of whole valves exhibiting different sizes, growths, and taphonomic modifications. The left valve of an oyster is the spawning valve and thus constitutes the side which can provide the most information about the life of the oyster. In addition, collecting only one half of all oysters reduces redundancy and maximizes information potential as it constitutes a sample of ten possible individuals. At the most basic, having a sample of oyster shells is more beneficial for a faunal analysis than only discard forms because the analyst is able to measure and weigh each individual valve. Size and weight can easily denote the health of the oyster beds around the Bay and provide information regarding (over)exploitation over time. Information such as spawning and parasitic activity can also be evaluated and can speak to the quality of the oyster bed. Location of where the oyster lived is also possible to determine since differing amounts of salinity in the water affects the shell in noticeable ways. And although the data was not collected during the course of this faunal analysis, the left valve is used for ageing the oyster and also contains information about seasonality (Russo 1991; Coakley 2004), so it enables the possibility of future research requiring the age of oysters at death.

During the summers of 2005 and 2006, fourteen test units were excavated in Locus 1, the Tulip Poplar Building. Archaeology in Annapolis focused the very first seasons of excavations here. During the course of walk-over surveys, the area surrounding a large tulip poplar tree appeared highly promising. The uneven ground caused by the tree's roots had exposed a large number of oyster shells and surface artifacts like glass bottles. Upon closer inspection of the area, flat-lying bricks were uncovered which were suggestively arranged in a straight line. These bricks could be found in different areas surrounding the tree and connecting the areas of bare bricks, a square shape was nearly discernable. To the dismay of the archaeologists, it appeared that the tulip poplar tree was growing through the center of a destroyed structure. Since probing and shovel test pits had not revealed other areas of potential interest, the first season concentrated test units around this tulip poplar tree. Several of the test units were asymmetrical since it followed the contours left by the roots of the tree. The structure was 16.5' x 16.5', a standard unit of historical measurement called a perch. Estimated from the extent of the brick foundation, the structure was likely one and one-half story. The units were placed with the purpose of exposing the entirety of the structure's brick foundation and chimney fall. Although it was difficult to discern at times because of the tree's root disturbance, stratigraphy was intact enough to isolate the major cultural strata. The cultural strata include the Prehistoric stratum, the Early Lloyd stratum, the Plantation stratum, and the Post-Emancipation or Modern stratum (Blair et al. 2009b: 13-14). As the first set of excavations conducted, the isolation of these cultural strata set the basis of date ranges and chronology for all other Archaeology in Annapolis excavations to follow. The historic period strata,

Early Lloyd and Plantation, were utilized for this dissertation research. At least 25,365 artifacts were recovered from the Tulip Poplar Building excavations. 8,867 faunal remains total were analyzed for this dissertation from the Tulip Poplar quarter. Using datable artifacts such as ceramics, 7,778 of these faunal remains could be dated to the Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770), and 1,089 were dated to the Plantation period (1770-1865). Figure 11 depicts the test unit locations of the Tulip Poplar site, as well foundations discovered.

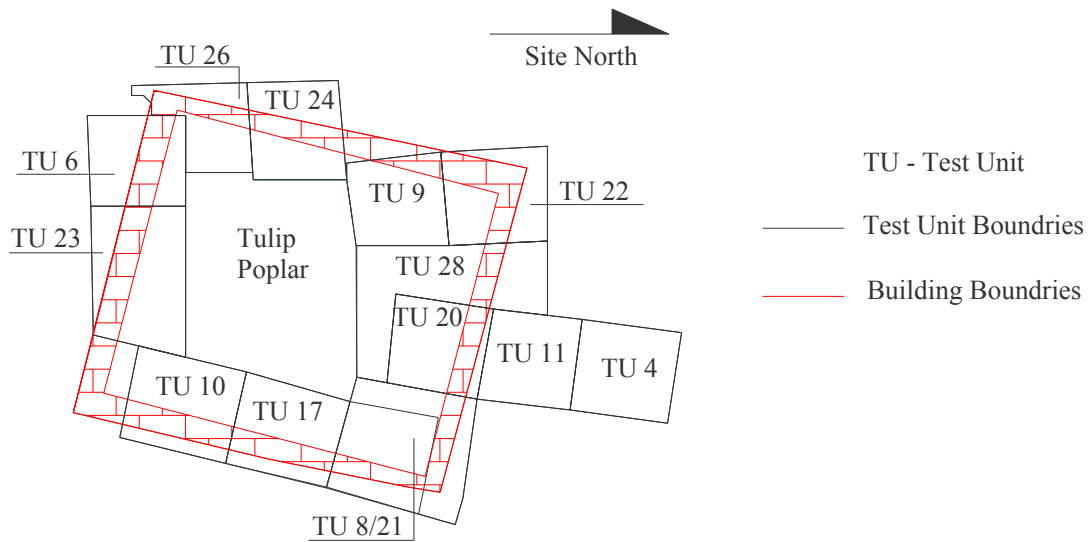


Figure 11. Tulip Poplar quarter test units (Image by John E. Blair Jr.)

Next, in the summers of 2006 through 2008, Locus 3 or the North Building was excavated. This structure is located to the north of the Tulip Poplar Building and was found during continued efforts of non-invasive surveying by Archaeology in Annapolis while the Tulip Poplar Building was being excavated. Using the same thinking of following brick clustering which revealed the Tulip Poplar Building, the North Building was discovered by surveying the ground, which isolated large amounts of bricks within a wooded area to the north. A few exploratory test units

were placed to verify if there was indeed a structure to be found. Because of our frequent roaming throughout the landscape, the groundskeeping staff began intensively clearing this area that few were able to access as it was ridden with poison ivy, ticks, and snakes. As the area became cleared, it was obvious that the bricks were part of a very large structure that caused substantial undulations in the earth. Thirteen 5' x 5' test units were excavated and placed in order to establish the brick pier foundations of the structure, its dimensions, and the hearth and cellar features. The structure uncovered was approximately 30' x 40' and would have been multiple-storied, evidenced by the large foundational elements (Blair et al. 2009b: 35-37). A total of 10,315 artifacts were recovered from the North Building excavations. It appears that construction of the building demolished any stratigraphy that could be associated to the Early Lloyd stratum. Building chronology and artifact distribution showed clear stratigraphic distinctions for the Prehistoric stratum, the Plantation stratum, and the Post-Emancipation or Modern stratum. As such, there were no faunal remains identified which could be associated to the Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770), and all 995 faunal specimens analyzed from the North Building date to the Plantation period (1770-1865). Figure 12 shows the test units placed in the North Building site, and includes the foundations uncovered for reference.



Figure 12. North Building quarter test units (Image by Stephanie N. Duensing)

Following this, Locus 2 or the Middle Building, was excavated over the course of five summer field seasons from 2006-2010. As excavations took place at the Tulip Poplar Building and the North Building and archaeologists moved daily across the expanse between the two quarters, a section of land between the two buildings contained the obvious signs of a buried structure that Archaeology in

Annapolis came to be familiar with. There was a light scattering of surface artifacts, a clustering of oyster shells, several already exposed flat bricks, and noticeable depressions in the ground. Nineteen test units were placed to expose the brick foundation, two cellars, and yard spaces. All test units measured 5' x 5', except one which measured 10' x 10' and one that measured 6' x 4'. The structure would have been one or one-and-a-half storey and was approximately 30' x 40'. A total of 27,713 artifacts were excavated from the Middle Building (Tang 2012). There was no prehistoric stratum isolated in the Middle Building, but the other three – Early Lloyd, Plantation, and Post-Emancipation or Modern – could be discerned through the stratigraphy and associated artifacts. Faunal remains analyzed totaled to 6,915 specimens, with 3,783 specimens dating to the Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) and 3,132 specimens dating to the Plantation period (1770-1865). Figure 13 illustrates the test units from the Middle Building site, and architectural features discovered.

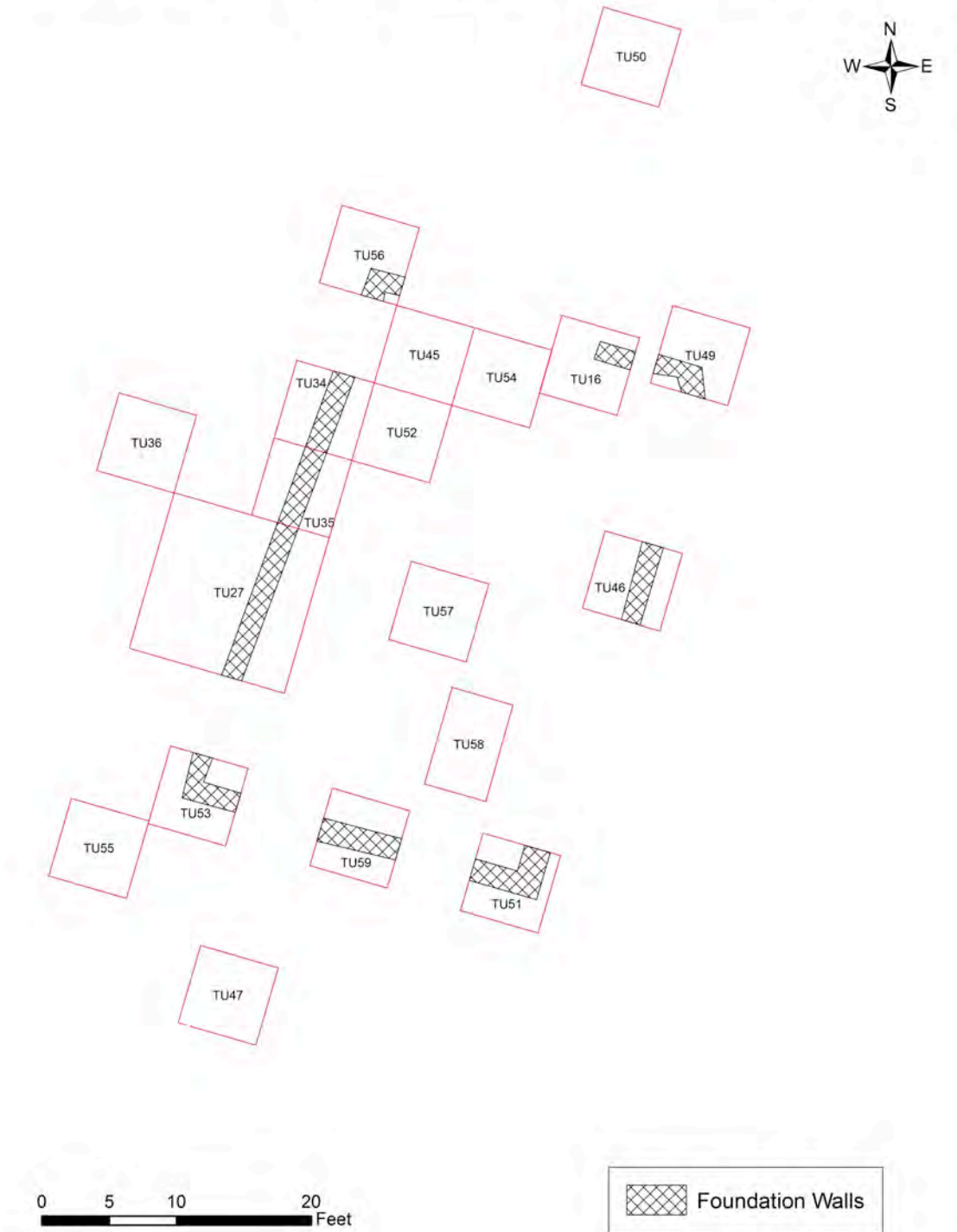


Figure 13. Middle Building quarter test units (Image by John E. Blair Jr. and Amanda Tang)

The Greenhouse or Orangery was conservatively excavated in the fall of 2008 and the summer of 2009 by Archaeology in Annapolis staff rather than by field

school students. As opposed to our work on the Long Green, the excavations of the Greenhouse were part of mitigation efforts ongoing in the structure due to water damage. Nine test units as well as a small 1' x 1' test pit were excavated. The excavations were placed around key exterior locations such as door and window openings, where the exterior steps to the upper floor would have been, and also within the north shed and main, south room interior spaces (Blair and Duensing 2009). Three units placed in association to the north shed exhibited strong evidence of domestic occupation and the north shed was interpreted as a slave quarter. The units were placed to explore the areas outside the doorway and alongside a window and a hearth. A total of 8,426 artifacts were recovered from the entirety of the Greenhouse excavations (Blair et al. 2009a). Figure 14 shows in detail the extant architectural features of the Greenhouse and the test units excavated.

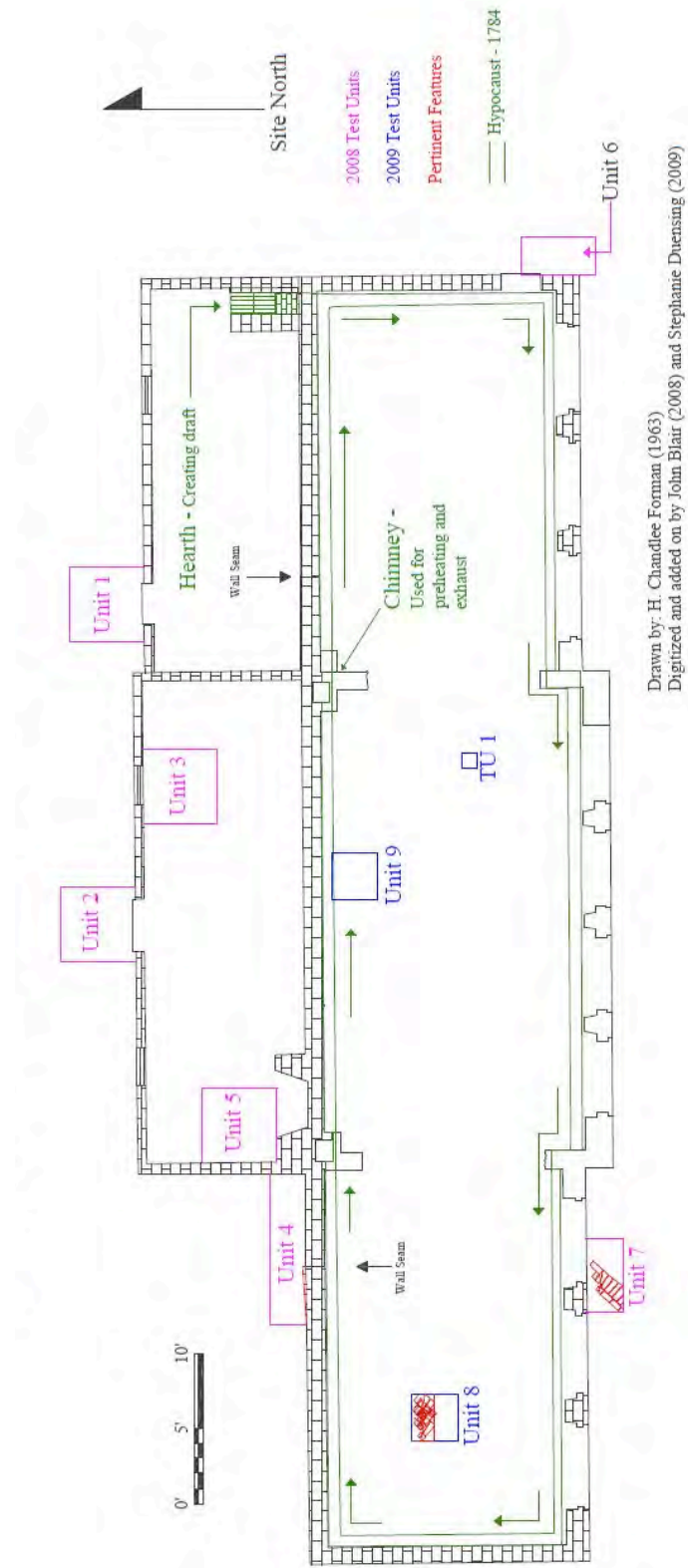


Figure 14. Greenhouse test units based off of H.C. Forman drawing of building plan (Image by John E. Blair Jr. and Stephanie N. Duensing)

Laboratory

As artifacts are recovered, the items are bagged according to provenience, a way to record vertical and horizontal placement within the unit. Provenience information includes the site number (18TA314), unit number, level or feature, excavators' initials, and date of excavation. All artifacts collected were processed and analyzed in the Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory at the University of Maryland, College Park. Laboratory processing included washing, labeling, cataloging, and data entry, and these were done by Archaeology in Annapolis staff and University of Maryland undergraduates. Ceramics, glass, and other stable artifacts were washed in water, while metal, bone, and other fragile artifacts were either wet- or dry-brushed. When cleaned, artifacts were placed on drying racks until completely dried. Artifacts were then re-bagged into acid-free, re-sealable, plastic bags with holes punched for air flow. This group of processing tasks was sometimes performed in field labs when possible to mediate the large number of accumulating artifacts.

Once the entirety of the field season's assemblage was processed to this point, the artifacts were then individually cataloged using the Archaeology in Annapolis master codes system. Each artifact was assigned an individual, itemized number, which is used for data entry and for labeling. The system employs a six-digit code to identify each item during data entry. Other information recorded included form, quantity, color, and comments that frequently consist of the artifact's weight. This data entry was initially done on hand-written sheets, which were then entered into a

computer as digital Excel sheets. Current procedures skipped the paper entry step and entered data directly into an Excel sheet using laptop computers.

Laboratory work is considered complete by this point though researchers frequently conduct a handful of secondary analyses that focus on main artifact groups like ceramics, bone, glass, and metal. Secondary analyses of minimum vessel counts (MVCs) were carried out for ceramics from the Tulip Poplar Building, the Middle Building, and the Greenhouse. This involved cross-mending ceramic sherds which were combined and matched together by building site, regardless of provenience within that site. This method was used as another way to ensure our accurate interpretation of the archaeological record. Mends that occurred across our designated soil levels, may point out how the sherds were deposited in the ground and help us understand the site more clearly (Blair et al. 2009a: 32-34). Another type of secondary analysis, faunal analysis or zooarchaeology, was conducted and this constitutes the primary data of the current dissertation. Following labeling and cataloging, the faunal remains were bagged separately from the remaining artifacts, but kept with their unique proveniences as labels on bones frequently slough off. The methodologies utilized for the faunal analysis will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Archaeological Interpretations of the Quarters

As already mentioned the Tulip Poplar Building, the North Building, and the Middle Building were located through walk-over surveys and ground probing. Since

the stratigraphy at Wye House is fairly shallow, approximately two feet deep, erosion had caused the foundation bricks of each of these buildings to appear at the ground surface. Each of these structures, their excavations, and findings will be discussed briefly. The archaeology of the slave quarter in the Greenhouse is discussed last. Different from the architectural histories collected of Wye House and the brief archaeological investigations conducted prior to our arrival, the archaeology that we have uncovered speaks to the rich historic life of the plantation. Examining these destroyed buildings and the artifacts of its inhabitants, Archaeology in Annapolis is able to trace how a plantation system operated, rose and fell in accordance to the influx of enslaved people, and crashed after the Civil War. Historical archaeology provides a lively picture of the Long Green that has been missing since hundreds of enslaved people left the plantation after slavery was abolished.

Tulip Poplar Building

This structure was the first building Archaeology in Annapolis completed excavations of at Wye House. The Tulip Poplar Building exemplified the rich history of the land the plantation was built upon. It included a substantive prehistoric stratum with date ranges of 1000 BCE to 1600 CE, which equates to the Early and Middle Woodland Periods. This Native American presence predates the purchase of the land by the Lloyd family. Over 100 ceramic sherds, quartz flakes, a scraper, and an oyster shell midden were recovered. Because the oyster is commonly exploited in the Chesapeake region, recovering hundreds of pounds of oyster shells even in a single

day is not unusual. Through conversations with the Tilghman family, it was already known to the researchers that the land of Wye House had a likely Native American occupation though few details were known above that. When farming, it was a regular occurrence to uncover prehistoric artifacts in the fields. Additionally, during walk-over surveys and when conducting shovel test pits, it was easily ascertained that oyster shells were discarded along the Long Green areas which faced the water. This practice is seen in many coastal regions during the Woodland Period, which appeared to be the regional equivalent to the better-known earth mound architecture of interior regions (McManamon 2009: 211-212). While shell mounds or middens on the whole are refuse associated with consumption of oysters, clams, etc., like many earth mounds, burials are oftentimes placed within these mounds.

This was the assumption of the excavators as they dug through a feature they believed to be a refuse pit. Upon discovering a human cranium, excavations were halted and Dr. Charles Hall, the Maryland state archaeologist, was called to investigate further. This is protocol whenever human remains are discovered, whether archaeological or modern. As a prehistoric archaeologist, Dr. Hall identified the remains as archaeological and posited that it dated to the Middle Woodland Period (1000 BCE – 500 CE). For ethical and professional reasons, as historical archaeologists, Archaeology in Annapolis reburied the remains that had been exposed and proceeded excavations in a different area (Blair et al. 2009b: 16). As the excavations only incidentally uncovered prehistoric archaeology, there is no further evidence as to whether the Native American occupation at Wye House was merely a

seasonal base or a more permanent encampment. According to the dates provided by the pottery sherds, so far no later than 1 CE, it is not likely that Native Americans were present when the Lloyds arrived in Maryland (Blair et al. 2009b: 14-16).

Unlike some of the other excavations around the plantation, the Tulip Poplar Building contains information dating to when the Lloyds first used the plantation. Approximately half of the test units excavated recovered intact stratigraphy and data from 1650-1820. The material was rich and indicated a steady domestic occupation in a structure that was likely post-in-ground, rather than the one with a small brick foundation which was discovered first. The time period associated with this brick foundation would be approximately 1820-1870. During this period, the artifacts became equally distributed between utilitarian/occupational and domestic remains. This version of the Tulip Poplar Building also contained a hearth, though the scarcity of artifacts related to cooking points to the majority of cooking being done elsewhere. This was concluded through an analysis of the ceramics recovered. In the earlier period, there was a slightly higher proportion of coarse earthenware at 43% with refined earthenware following closely at 38%. By the time of the later Plantation period, or the structure which would have had a brick foundation, the ceramic assemblage only accounted a small amount of coarse earthenwares and stonewares. On the other hand, refined earthenwares, especially whiteware, accounted for over 78% of the ceramic assemblage in the Plantation period (Blair et al. 2009b: 23-30). According to historical records, the enslaved were provided rations rather than gathered together for communal dining. Therefore, it is an unlikely explanation that

the higher proportion of tablewares to cookwares is due to the enslaved receiving fully cooked meals and returning to their quarters to consume them. Douglass states: “The men and women slaves received, as their monthly allowance of food, eight pounds of pork, or its equivalent in fish, and one bushel of corn meal” (1845: 10). Although for the children, referring directly to his own experiences there as a boy, Douglass shares that children were served corn mush in a large trough and often were not provided utensils with which to eat (Douglass 1845: 30). So while most of the enslaved prepared their own meals with rations, it seems that communal eating was the norm for the children. Interestingly enough, while cookwares were scant, the presence of tablewares in both glass and ceramics was higher than during any other period so it is still unknown how and where the enslaved of this period were cooking (Blair et al. 2009b: 24-30).

This structure, though small, and likely in poor condition by the time it was destroyed in about 1870, provides a large and early spectrum of life at Wye House even before it was named Wye House with the arrival of the Lloyds. By dating the destruction and brick fall, the building did not last into the late 19th century. A tulip poplar tree which still stands today and was the namesake for the excavation probably began growing soon after the building was torn down. Aerial photographs show this current tulip poplar tree in full maturity by 1930. This specie is fast-growing and in as little as 15-20 years, can reach full height (USDA Forest Service 2014). Thus the planting or germination of the tree would have occurred in the early 20th century,

when the slave quarter was long gone and its immediate area no longer used (Blair et al. 2009b: 31).

North Building

The next structure that Archaeology in Annapolis selected for excavations contrasted substantially from the Tulip Poplar quarter. Although it can never be fully verified, it is possible that the North Building could have been the structure Douglass referred to in *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Douglass writes, “Perched on upon a hill, across the Long Green, was a very tall, dilapidated, old brick building – the architectural dimensions of which proclaimed its erection for a different purpose – now occupied by slaves...” (1855: 52). This structure contained no intact prehistoric stratum, and only one test unit recovered prehistoric material that was excavated from a fill layer caused by the construction of the building. The life of the building was short and limited to a late 18th – early 19th century construction with an early 20th century destruction. The building was composed of both brick foundation walls and brick pier supports. There is also evidence of multiple episodes of reconstruction, with at least two major structural changes (Blair et al. 2009b: 35-43).

The first period of its use pointed to the North Building functioning as a storage warehouse. The lack of artifacts except for building materials attests to this. Between 1815 and 1820, the structure was rebuilt, likely to accommodate domestic occupation and a lack of buildings to house a growing enslaved population.

Archaeologists also discovered two architectural features that confidently point to domestic occupation, a hearth and a cellar. Food remains were predominantly recovered from this cellar feature. While the number of artifacts remains lower than in other excavated areas at Wye House, after about 1820, the amount of domestic artifacts increases drastically in proportion to the North Building's assemblage. This means that there were never as many enslaved people living in the North Building as compared to other quarters, but the number of residents living in the building increased significantly after 1820. There are few occupation-related artifacts in the assemblage during this period, so it can be concluded that the North Building was still primarily utilized as a storage warehouse, but additionally housed a small number of enslaved people and these people were employed elsewhere on the plantation (Blair et al. 2009b: 52-53). In Douglass' recollections of Wye House, he mentions that Colonel Lloyd owned a large sloop named Sally Lloyd for carrying the predominant crops of farm – tobacco, corn, wheat – to market in Baltimore (1845: 9). A large, pier-supported structure such as the North Building would be a likely candidate for storage of these types of items. In addition, its location on a portion of land near a small inlet of the creek would have been a likely spot to pull the sloop onto the land, and be an easy area for loading and unloading.

From the end of the Civil War until the turn of the 20th century, the North Building fell into disrepair though it was still used. There were a small amount of domestic material present, and one explanation for this is that the North Building continued to house workers for the farm, likely tenant farmers at this point. It is

unlikely that the Lloyds would have left such a large structure located in a key area of the farm – near the creek bend and docks – to go unused. Until the time that the North Building was torn down in the early part of the 20th century, the structure probably reverted back to its original purpose as a storage building and secondarily to house a few farm workers (Blair et al. 2009b: 54).

The North Building tells us that even with a short lifespan, the Long Green was an area of multiple uses. It was part of the core of a large, working plantation and also the central point of collection for a dozen other farms and plantations in the area. Thus, Wye House required structures with large storage capacity. It not only could sustain the residents on this one farm, but it had to keep a surplus for its outlying farms. It also had to function as a storage center for goods and foods which were to be exported overseas or to other parts of the state and country. The North Building shows evidence of the vast economic enterprise that Wye House was a part of, and which this plantation was the center of.

Middle Building

The third series of excavations undertaken by Archaeology in Annapolis focused on the Middle Building, aptly though unoriginally named for its location in approximately the middle of the Long Green. This wood-framed, low structure could potentially refer to the building Douglass calls the Long Quarter. “A little nearer to my old master's, stood a very long, rough, low building, literally alive with slaves, of

all ages, conditions and sizes. This was called ‘the Long Quarter,’” (Douglass 1855: 66). Douglass’ old master, Aaron Anthony, resided in the Captain’s House and the Middle Building would have been within clear view and easily described as near the Captain’s House. The structure excavated was indeed long, rough, and low. The Middle Building included several different types of foundation – post-in-ground, partial dry-laid, continuous mortared – which indicate multiple reconstruction episodes. In the areas of and surrounding the Middle Building, no prehistoric stratum was uncovered.

All excavation units were dug to sterile subsoil, and the only prehistoric artifacts recovered were curated by later inhabitants and found within historic strata. Two prehistoric, chipped stone projectiles were discovered on either side of the south wall foundations where a door opening would have been. The placement of the projectiles is strong evidence for West African spiritual practices that have been found in similar contexts throughout the enslaved South (e.g. Leone and Fry 1999; Leone et al. 2001), and also in several instances at Wye House. Corresponding items were not left in situ for closer analysis as to whether a cache had been assembled, but the other artifacts excavated resembled the contents of many caches which have been previously excavated by Archaeology in Annapolis (Ruppel et al. 2003). The other items found within the same context included bent nails, shiny metal pieces, and an iron lock box (Tang 2012: 29). Thus, although prehistoric artifacts were discovered, they were clearly associated with historic occupation levels. Though the Middle Building is absent in regards to the full usage of the land of Wye House, it has

evidence of being one of the oldest historic structures on the plantation (Tang 2012: 14-18).

The Middle Building was likely constructed at the end of the 17th century, rebuilt several times, and finally destroyed like the other structures on the Long Green in the early 20th century. The earliest version of the building would have been post-in-ground with a staggered, simple brick foundation. This is unusual for a 17th century structure in the Mid-Atlantic region, and shows evidence of trends towards more stable and permanent vernacular architecture. This is seen throughout the Chesapeake at the beginning of the 18th century (Lanier and Herman 1997; Glassie 1975). Two cellars were found within the structure with 18th century construction dates. A root cellar was likely built earlier and contained only 18th century materials, with a late 18th century fill date. A vaulted or cool cellar was used for a longer period and filled by the early-19th century. In the late 19th century, the vaulted cellar was torn down and the building required maintenance, so a mortared foundation replaced some of the old foundations in most areas. The Middle Building was entirely demolished by the early 20th century (Tang 2012:15-16).

A substantial proportion of artifacts were excavated from the Middle Building from all periods of its use. In the earliest period, the structure was primarily used for food storage although domestic artifacts point to a small number of residents, likely enslaved people. During the 19th century, the amount of artifacts increased dramatically and the Middle Building is not only used for food storage within the

vaulted cellar, but occupational activities are taking place there, as the amount of work-related and utilitarian artifacts becomes much closer in proportion to domestic artifacts than in other periods. It is likely that the enslaved residents during this period were engaged in fine metal- or leather-working activities and/or repair of metal components such as those found in farm equipment. After about 1865, the Middle Building like the North Building appears to have turned into a storage area, probably for farm supplies and equipment. The amount of domestic artifacts decreased substantially though there is a significant amount of glass vessels such as tonic or alcohol bottles found in the surrounding yardspace. The Middle Building, similar to some of the famous standing structures, has been one of longest occupied and used buildings on the plantation.

Greenhouse

The Greenhouse or Orangerie is an ideal example of 18th century Georgian planning (Deetz 1977) and is the only standing structure of its kind and age in North America (Leone and Tang 2015: 7). The original block of the Greenhouse was built around 1775 by Edward Lloyd IV. It is mirrored after the façade and arcades of Palladio's Villa Emo (Blair et al. 2009a; Fletcher 2000). Later redesigns added two flanking additions, and the intricate hypocaust system⁹⁷ was installed between 1798

⁹⁷ The hypocaust was a system of stepped flues and ducts that began in a furnace in a shed attached to the northeast portion of the Greenhouse and progressed around the perimeter of the building starting lowest in the floors and gradually stepping upwards as it wrapped around the structure until it reached the rear/north wall, where the steps increased and led out through the chimney flue. This Roman design

and 1822 (Pruitt 2013: 17). The Greenhouse was part of a major reorientation of the plantation. Previously, the plantation core was oriented towards the east, facing the water and also the Long Green. When Edward Lloyd IV inherited the plantation in 1770, he redesigned the core to incorporate the fashionable Georgian principles of the time (for more on Georgian landscape and architecture, see Isaac 1982). This included the construction of a brand new Great House, a formal garden, and the Greenhouse as the distant focal point. The Greenhouse and formal gardens were the prizes of Wye House and still remains so today. Douglass wrote about this area:

Colonel Lloyd kept a large and finely cultivated garden, which afforded almost constant employment for four men, besides the chief gardener, (Mr. M'Durmond.) This garden was probably the greatest attraction of the place. During the summer months, people came from far and near – from Baltimore, Easton, and Annapolis – to see it. It abounded in fruits of almost every description, from the hardy apple of the north to the delicate orange of the south (Douglass 1845: 17).

The grouping of the Great House, Greenhouse, and gardens were all oriented on a north-south axis, with the approach to the house starting from a long circular driveway that connected the house to the road instead of to the water (Blair and Duensing 2009: 21-23; Pruitt 2013: 11).

The dates described above were provided through three seasons of archaeological excavation and investigation of the Greenhouse by Archaeology in Annapolis. The excavations were minimal and originally began as a part of ongoing

allowed heat to circulate through a room, while allowing the smoke to escape through the chimney instead of entering the room (Blair and Duensing 2009: 29-36).

efforts to understand how to mitigate water damage to the building. Excavations were focused on exploring the construction episodes of the structure, understanding how plants were kept in the interior, seeing how the hypocaust system operated, discovering the functions of the two north shed additions, and comprehending the detection of underground anomalies found using ground penetrating radar.

Additionally, to establish the range of plants grown in and around the Greenhouse, many excavations employed the collection of pollen samples. The pollen samples collected from inside the Greenhouse and the attached slave quarter have been analyzed by palynologists from the Fiske Center of Archaeological Research at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. By studying the microscopic pollen, Archaeology in Annapolis has been able to establish a range of plants that were grown in these areas for different time periods. They include tropical plants, flowers, fruits and vegetables, and medicinal plants and herbs. It was also discernable that during the summer months, the large windows of the Greenhouse were likely propped open and the palynologists were able to identify the pollen from plants that would have been growing in the local environment (Jacobucci and Trigg 2010).

The archaeological excavations discovered that the original block of the structure which still stands today was built by 1775, and additionally, the remains of the construction of an earlier precursor were discovered in the interior excavations. Also established was that the north shed addition was a room which housed enslaved people, probably whoever tended to the furnace room and also cared for the plants.

As opposed to the artifacts found in and around the Greenhouse proper – clay pots, glass, brick, commensal animals – the north shed or slave quarter contained substantial domestic materials, including tablewares, food remains, personal items, and evidence of spiritual practices. A cache related to West African spirit practices was excavated in the test unit placed outside the door opening of the slave quarter. The objects included a brass button and two projectile points made of chert and quartz (Blair et al. 2009a: 94-95). This was not an unexpected discovery, as the quarter faced the small Lloyd family cemetery which stood just a few feet away. Douglass described the fear of the graveyard held by the enslaved, so the desire for protection against spirits by the inhabitants of the Greenhouse quarter was no surprise. In *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Douglass writes:

A short distance from the great house, were the stately mansions of the dead, a place of somber aspect. Vast tombs, embowered beneath the weeping willow and the fir tree, told of the antiquities of the Lloyd family, as well as of their wealth. Superstition was rife among the slaves about this family burying ground. Strange sights had been seen there by some of the older slaves. Shrouded ghosts, riding on great black horses, had been seen to enter; balls of fire had been seen to fly there at midnight, and horrid sounds had been repeatedly heard. Slaves know enough of the rudiments of theology to believe that those go to hell who die slaveholders; and they often fancy such persons wishing themselves back again, to wield the lash. Tales of sights and sounds, strange and terrible, connected with the huge black tombs, were a very great security to the grounds about them, for few of the slaves felt like approaching them even in the day time. It was a dark, gloomy and forbidding place, and it was difficult to feel that the spirits of the sleeping dust there deposited, reigned with the blest in the realms of eternal peace (Douglass 1855: 52-53).

The last set of excavations conducted did not concentrate on the Greenhouse itself, but was located several yards to its southeast. Following non-invasive testing which pointed to the potential of structural remains (Haley 2009), Archaeology in

Annapolis discovered the footprint of a hothouse. It is likely that this structure was the 16 x 16 hothouse listed in the 1798 direct tax records, meaning that the structure itself would have been one of several built by about 1785 (Pruitt 2013). The archaeology collected from the Greenhouse and its surrounding area points to the vast interest held by the Lloyds regarding scientific gardening and experimentation. It also shows that this was an arena where African Americans were an integral part the operations and had the botanical knowledge necessary to run the Greenhouse. In addition to this, by providing more precise dates to the construction of the Greenhouse, its additions, the hypocaust and furnace, and the hothouse, the research is beginning to make apparent that the formal garden landscape may be wrongly attributed solely to Edward Lloyd IV. While he was certainly responsible for the initial plans and construction of the gardens and Greenhouse, the archaeology makes it clear that many of the late 18th and early 19th century changes to the garden occurred after his death in 1796. This would identify his wife, the widowed Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd, instead as driving the period's scientific gardening achievements (Pruitt 2013: 14, 26).

Continuing Excavations

Because of the way that archaeology has forced everyone to sometimes uncomfortably question the readily-accepted narratives of Wye House, since 2005, the presence of the Archaeology in Annapolis team has become a permanent summertime fixture. The Tilghmans graciously renew and accept continuing

excavations on an annual basis, so it is unknown the number of years the project will be permitted to continue excavations on their property. There are currently no further plans for excavation in or around the Greenhouse. As previously mentioned, the archaeology is conducted very conservatively in this area, and in the past has been initiated due to a need for mitigation of damage to the archaeological record. As for the three structures excavated in the main part of the Long Green, the buildings themselves have completed excavation with no reason to fully excavate what remains of the areas. That section of land has had hundreds of shovel test pits dug and other methods of non-invasive exploration have been applied.

These structures were frail with evidence of frequent maintenance and scant evidence of dense domestic occupation. Additionally perplexing is that no evidence of garden plots or animal pens frequently found in similar enslaved contexts has been excavated on the Long Green (Heath 1999; Franklin 2000). It is clear from the historical and archaeological record that slaves were housed in a variety of structures originally built for other purposes, such as storage or other types of farm-related production. However despite Douglass' evocative descriptions, because of our archaeology, it is not reasonable to assume that the large number of enslaved owned by the Lloyds could have lived in these buildings, even accounting for those who resided on other satellite farms. This makes our archaeological discoveries important contributions to the property's heritage, but leave many questions about the enslaved population unanswered.

After several years, the project's researchers realized this section of the Long Green may have housed the skilled laborers – the wheelwrights, cartwrights, weavers, blacksmiths, coopers, perhaps even the cooks and house slaves – but not necessarily the majority of the enslaved population. In 2011, the project investigated a different method for finding slave quarters on the plantation that extended beyond the standard archaeological repertoire in the hopes of expanding our excavations beyond the Long Green area already excavated and within the vast amount acreage still owned by the Tilghmans (Tang and Skolnik 2012). In a 2006 *American Antiquity* article titled, “LiDAR for Archaeological Landscape Analysis,” James Harmon and colleagues discuss one way of using Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) technology for archaeological research. They suggest that LiDAR data would be most successful in combination with more traditional archaeological datasets.

Following this recommendation, Archaeology in Annapolis staff gathered multiple datasets including Maryland LiDAR-derived elevation models, historic aerial photographs, historic maps, and modern satellite imagery to identify the locations of two slave quarters believed to have been on the Long Green. The data and images were orthorectified and georectified using GIS⁹⁸, and the possible locations of the ‘Br[ick] Row Quarter’ and the ‘2-Story Brick Quarter’ indicated on

⁹⁸ Ortho- and georectification refers to a method of correcting for the angle of an aerial camera so they can be matched to actual geospatial coordinates (Leone et al. 2013: 229). GIS, or Geographic Information Systems, is defined as “a computer-based system to aid in the collection, maintenance, storage, analysis, output, and distribution of spatial data and information (Bolstad 2008: 559), where “different layers of data representing vastly different datasets in time and space can be superimposed and displayed simultaneously (McPherron and Dibble 2002: 88-215). ArcGIS was utilized to integrate these multiple datasets in this case.

Henry Chandlee Forman's 1960s drawing were pinpointed on the modern topography (Leone et al. 2013: 228-230).

When Archaeology in Annapolis surveyed the proposed areas using only forty-four shovel test pits, structural and dense domestic remains were found within ten feet of where they were predicted to be. Beginning in the summer of 2011, excavations of these two areas have been conducted. The area of land that includes the 2-story Brick Quarter has been dubbed the South Long Green, and the area around the Brick Row Quarter is called the East Cove. Excavations continue for these two structures and it is already apparent that the buildings were heavily occupied, and are a much closer reflection of Douglass' descriptions of a bustling Long Green and enslaved community. Additionally, the dates associated to these structures are much later than those buildings which were excavated in the previously excavated main Long Green. These buildings appear to have 19th century construction and 20th century destruction dates, whereas the older portion of the Long Green contains some of the oldest historic dates on the plantation and show evidence of multiple episodes of repair and reconstruction.

Therefore, the data used for this dissertation may not reflect the densest occupation episodes within the 19th century that the newer excavations are exhibiting. Instead, the quarters included in this dissertation project provide a long view of enslaved life at Wye House. This section of the Long Green also provides information regarding the occupational as well as domestic lives of the enslaved. Most

importantly these structures present with some of the earliest usage dates for the plantation, not found in the newest quarters. The comparison of the food remains from the 18th century to those of the 19th century is how this dissertation derives the conclusions regarding this critical period of shifting race relations. Historically and archaeologically, knowing that so much was altered on the plantation and in greater Maryland history at this time, it is predicted that foodways will likewise evidence important changes.

Chapter 5: Theoretical Framework

This chapter details the theoretical perspectives that informed the current dissertation project. Understanding how people in the past ate is complicated and multifaceted. In addition to this, though this is an examination of the archaeological past, it would be a mistake to ignore the vast amount of thought that has been given to these topics by those in other fields. In addition to archaeological theory, this project draws heavily from anthropological perspectives and from fields such as American Studies, African-American Studies, History, and Food Studies. This was necessary because the dissertation approaches the data from different angles in order to comprehend the intersections of: racial categories, capitalism, ethnic identity, power relations, regionalism, ecology, food symbolism, and the politics of interpreting the past. Therefore, there is no single body of theory that can be utilized but the theoretical strains presented all contain common themes, the most important of which is that food identities require historicization of a difficult, contested, non-linear, and non-uniform past. The perspectives presented relate to food and identity, archaeologies of race, and zooarchaeology of plantation food patterns.

Before presenting the theoretical framework that informed this project, the way that this dissertation understands the concept of race versus ethnicity is discussed. While it is commonly understood today that race has no biological or genetic validity, this was not always the case. Rudimentarily, *race* can be defined as “a label imposed from the outside by people who classify themselves as nonmembers

of a racial group” (Orser 2007: 8). To expand this, a *racial group* can be defined as one which is “usually not self aware and often exist as cohesive units only in the minds of researchers and other social groups” (Stine 1990: 38). These definitions are basic at best. While they highlight the social nature of race and the fact that race is frequently imposed by those outside of the designated group, they do not illuminate the complexity of race. Although racial categories are almost always forced upon a group, these definitions do not address how members of the group can act in resistance to or in recognition of their group membership. Though its creation is derogatory and demeaning, a racial group can cease to be a passive label when it is collectively acted upon. These definitions also do not reflect the durability of race which exceeds simple individual interventions because race is grounded in specific historical traditions (Hartigan 1997: 497; Smedley 1993).

According to anthropologist Lee Baker, “race in the United States is at once utter illusion and a material reality...It is a political wedge and a unifying force...Though historically contingent, it is constantly being transformed” (1998: 1). This description of race is productive for this dissertation because it turns race from a static and fixed designation into a process that can be analyzed in the past and maintains fluidity in the present. Race as an analytical tool has been adapted and refined by archaeologist Charles Orser into the term known as racialization (Miles 1989: 75; Omi and Winant 1986: 64-65). *Racialization* is a process of signification that involves assigning people to essentialist groups. These groups are created based on physical appearance and/or other identifiable characteristics and allow members to

be perceived as biologically inferior or socially unequal. It is an ongoing process that produces a racially meaningful social relationship where the defining group holds the defined group in collective contempt (Orser 2007: 9). Terminology aside, this is similar to the current goals of social theorists who are engaged in rehistoricizing race. This involves revitalizing the historiography of racial meanings, structures of inequality, forms of resistance, and the interpenetrating pasts of race and scholarly work (Baker 1998: 7).

To comprehend the study of race in anthropology, it is necessary to begin with the 19th century work of unilinear evolutionist anthropologists such as E.B. Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan and sociologists Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. These early social scientists were some of the most influential for providing scientific credence to racial ideologies. Engaging in what is now known as physical anthropology (as opposed to biological anthropology), these scholars attempted to explain human prehistory by ranking modern groups along the evolutionary path, starting with “savage” and ending with “civilized.” Cranial and morphological measurements were gathered out of the mistaken belief that physical traits were linked to intelligence and morality. On the basis of these observations, Africans were ranked at the lowest end of the spectrum while western Europeans were placed at the highest end. This became the central justification used by European-Americans to own African-Americans as slaves (Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997: 517-518). Although these ideas persisted into the 1920s and 1930s in academia, by the very end of the 19th century, their tenets were already being challenged.

During the early 20th century, sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois was already publishing about the unsound findings of race by these 19th century scholars. In anthropology, this occurred by 1897 with Franz Boas. Boas' theories of cultural relativism or historical particularism stated that no group was biologically inferior to another. Differences in culture could be attributed to geographic regions, local histories, and specific traditions. Thus, different groups could not be so simply compared and ranked because their cultures were relative. In response to the conclusions derived by evolutionist scholars, Boas provided evidence that craniometrics were an unreliable reference due to their malleability during the span of merely one generation. Racial hierarchies could not be scientifically supported, and race was understood as not fixed in biology (Baker 1998: 100; Shackel 2003: 9; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997: 518). Boas epistemologically and methodologically reconfigured an entire discipline. His work and that of his students have left a lasting legacy on race (Sidky 2004: 112; Barth et al. 2005: 263). Race was no longer seen as naturalized and biological, but rather, a purely social and cultural construct.

Although there is no critique here about the monumental contributions of 20th century cultural relativists for race and racism, this has caused a theoretical dilemma in anthropology. Scholars ceased to study race even as social phenomena and this has come to be known by a variety of labels: the no-race position, the color-blind thesis, and vulgar anti-essentialism (Baker 1998: 209; Harrison 1995; Epperson 2004). The problem with this is while race is a social construct, it is still created from perceived physiological characteristics and continues to be a reality for numerous groups today.

Because race could not exist, scholars began to invest their efforts in the study of ethnicity instead. Many have critiqued this movement because the study of ethnicity is simply not an appropriate replacement for the study of race. To use ethnicity as a terminological surrogate for race tends to euphemize and deny how racial categories emerged and persist. It also ignores how racism has played an important role in the historiography of our country (Baker 1998: 210; Mukhopadhyay and Moses 1997: 523; Epperson 1994; Harrison 1995). According to archaeologist David Babson (1990), historical archaeologists make the mistake of reifying ethnic identity through artifacts, and this merely serves to ignore the way that racism has defined identities and power in the past. Simplifying race into ethnicity not only obfuscates power relations, but it creates ethnic classifications which are timeless and immutable, thereby ignoring the ways that racial ideologies can transform how people ascribe ethnic identities. Therefore, this dissertation elected to concentrate on race, racism, and processes of racialization rather than highlighting the development or maintenance of ethnicity⁹⁹. The following sections now turn to the theoretical thoughts that additionally drove this dissertation research. First, critical theory is revisited as it forms some of the fundamental views of not only this dissertation but the larger archaeological project that the dissertation is part of.

⁹⁹ Many archaeologists have been successful at incorporating the study of race into their work. Some common themes include the deconstruction of racial ideology, the rehistoricization of race, the effects of capitalism on racial categories, and considerations about the current impact of our work on modern populations. These are not always independent themes as many scholars attempt to address more than one of these factors at once (for notable examples of archaeologies of race, see Epperson 1990; Fennell 2011; Franklin 2001; Joseph 1993; Matthews 2001; Warner 1998; Stine 1990; Orser 2007; Potter 1991; Blakey 1990; Otto 1980; Mullins 1999; Wilkie 2000).

Critical Archaeology

Since 1981, Archaeology in Annapolis has been committed to conducting historical archaeology informed by critical theory (Leone et al. 1987; Palus et al. 2006). As part of a larger project within Archaeology in Annapolis, this dissertation research begins with a critical archaeology approach, examining firstly the ways that archaeological work has reproduced social order and systematic inequality by misrepresenting the past (Leone et al. 1995). Thus, this dissertation project acknowledges that the interpretations created are merely one version of the past, and are also a reaction to the present realities of archaeology and of contemporary social relations (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 11). The dominant narrative about enslaved foodways has been asserted and reinforced by archaeology for the past several decades. This dissertation questions why the narrative emerged and suggests new histories which may be more useful for African-Americans today.

In our current world, I argue that it is not useful to promote ideas that the racial categories of today are an unquestionable mirror of racial categories which have always existed in the past. In fact, this is probably a damaging conclusion for African-Americans today, as it merely proves that inequalities experienced are rooted in the indisputable racisms that always existed in the past. This advocates that contemporary, unequal social relations are immutable into the future, and this is the wrong message to support as archaeologists. In this way, the dissertation project attempts transparency in recognizing that the interpretations concluded are simply one

point of view which has been crafted in relation to contemporary interests and ideologies, both in the field and in our modern world.

Through influences by Anthony Giddens and Michel Foucault, recent critical archaeology work examines changing social relationships and identities—class, race, sexuality, gender, ethnicity, age, etc.—in avoidance of static and essentialist categories. Instead of producing self-justifying metanarratives, the goal is to understand how identifying factors are linked to ideology and local histories (Schmidt and Walz 2007). Food and cooking serve as representation and remembrance. Studying the changing uses of food and its linkages to racial identities is a way to study inequalities in the past and the genealogy of ideology which created and sustained them. Memory is argued to be necessary to understand society and control the future, so archaeological work therefore has power to create a genealogy or speak to origins. Genealogy is a political necessity and serves as an enduring form of polemical discourse (Shklar 1971), so this research on foodways is one way to make the past multivocal as well as alter popular and scholarly discourse of those who have been historically misrepresented. This dissertation evaluates why designations of Soul Food and African-American foodways emerged, how this cuisine compares to Southern cooking, and the ideologies behind keeping the two cuisines separate.

Food historian Frederick Douglass Opie notices that from a variety of interviews conducted on African-Americans about their views of Soul food, “the differences in eating habits are greater between northerners and southerners of any

race than between white and black southerners” (2008: 130). Using a cookbook as evidence of ideological discourse, in white cookbooks, a recipe is Southern cuisine just because it is and because it always has been. In black cookbooks of Soul Food, which do not even appear until after the 1960s (Opie 2008: 133), a recipe includes lengthy narratives, memories, and justifications. It could be said that cookbooks for Soul Food include so much text because the authors are re-appropriating a cuisine that they believe is theirs. Because white Southerners had since the antebellum period eaten and then written recipes prepared by African-American cooks, they were the first to write the recipes. Therefore, white Southerners have an easier claim and less necessity for justification of Southern cuisine than African-Americans do with Soul food. An analysis such as this gives multiple facets for why people make claims to objects, to food, to material things, and how it can be appropriated for whatever agendas or ideologies that the group is attempting to pass on.

Food and Identity

Although identity tends to be interpreted as naturalized, it is a worthy unit of analysis simply because it is not innate at all, and is instead a set of habitual actions which develop from culture and tradition. Identity is constructed and reconstructed daily (Bourdieu 1977; Orser 2001: 1-2). Archaeologist Siân Jones refers to identity as an “aspect of a person’s self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent (1997: xiii). Archaeologists Christopher

Fennell (2003) and James Gregory Cusick (1993) and anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969) all provide similar definitions of identity. They assert that identity includes the establishment of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. It also includes determining features which indicate being within or outside of a particular group. In this way, boundaries are created to distinguish shared cultural features. Furthermore, within a collective, an individual is the bearer of cultural traits and also possesses the ability to self-define. For this dissertation, these understandings mean that identity is rooted in the past, it is repeated and recognizable, and it is also subject to specific contexts and individual decisions. There are two variables in the past that must be recognized. Representation of self are based on a selective conception of where one originates, and the idea of self is also based on the group that a person most associates with. Food becomes dialectic because ideas of identity can be imposed on food and the reproduction of food helps to reproduce identities.

Anthropologists have been interested in the role of food in culture for quite some time. The earliest published work related to food was probably Garrick Mallery’s article “Manners and meals” (1888) which appeared in the first volume of *American Anthropologist*. In their ethnographies, William Robertson Smith (1889), Frank Hamilton Cushing (1920), and Franz Boas (1921) prominently featured food and recipes as critical cultural attributes. The advent of structuralism by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1965) and symbolic structural thought from Mary Douglas (1966) reinvented the way that people thought about the basic concepts of meal-taking. By the 1980s, with Jack Goody’s work (1982), anthropology was placing food at the forefront of

research. Food was not just an avenue to describe culture but it was clear that food was frequently the locus of cultural change (Mintz and DuBois 2002: 100).

One of the perspectives that emerged from thinking about food was historical materialism, as proposed by anthropologist Marvin Harris (1975). Arguing against structuralist thought, Harris contended that foodways did not come about as a way to convey messages of arbitrary values for unexplainable beliefs¹⁰⁰. Harris argued that anthropologists should instead examine the actual nature of the food items, and he insisted that preferences/aversion, ecological restraints, and regional opportunities must always precede the construction of meaning. In his work, Harris suggests that pork consumption was avoided by Jews and Muslims in the Middle East because pigs were not ecologically suitable for the region. Pork was tabooed for several reasons: they competed with humans for resources; they were unable to convert plants into meat in the same way that ruminants were able to; they were not adapted to the climate so were not cost-effective to raise; and deforestation in the region meant that pigs could not roam freely and required more human attention. Harris concludes by saying that the taboo against eating pork in Leviticus was merely a codification of existing food prejudices. Of course, this type of materialist thought always garners heavy criticisms by those uncomfortable with the overgeneralizations which have a

¹⁰⁰ Here, Harris is pointedly answering to the symbolic structural perspective proposed by Mary Douglas (1966) and her interpretations regarding food taboos in the Middle East. Douglas traces the aversion of certain foods to pronouncements of holiness in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. In these texts, holiness equates to completeness, and incomplete animals were those that were unclean and did not fit into neat categories. By avoiding animals deemed unclean by scripture, the act of avoidance served as a signifier for meditation, oneness, and purity. The enactment of holiness was then given material expression at every meal, which made a simple and regular activity a meaningful part of daily worship. The symbols of these foods therefore structured boundaries which were to be observed by followers of the Old Testament.

tendency to ignore individual action. Also critiqued is how these perspectives tend to overemphasize local ecology while deemphasizing the power of humans to change their natural environment. Acknowledging these shortcomings, I see the value of such an approach for its thoughts on highlighting how cuisines and their meanings or symbols were invented alongside the realities and practicalities of the past. Instead of only focusing on environmental variables though, this dissertation includes sociopolitical variables as part of past realities and practicalities that the enslaved would have faced daily.

A critical look at the development of Soul Food highlights some of the inconsistencies in our understandings of African-American food. Food functions as a symbolic elaboration (Haaland 2007: 165-166) and a means of crafting a recognizable mosaic of cultural objects. In order to assert the importance of black identity, Soul Food was created as a way to re-appropriate a food culture that African-Americans helped to produce. The hope is that instead of seeing the arguments of this dissertation as a rejection of the authenticity of Soul Food, this dissertation is attempting a claim of categorical equality (Wilk 1999). African-Americans did not just make Soul Food, they made Southern Food, and they made parts of American Food. Culinary historian Adrian Miller (2013) discusses why a straightforward application of Soul Food onto the past may not be the most beneficial tactic for African-Americans. Using hundreds of cookbooks, slave narratives, and oral histories, Miller shows that Soul Food was a historical evolution of foods with direct links to race and poverty. Echoing critical theorists, Miller asserts that the illusion of

only one traditional African-American cuisine is a modern, urban creation. This is in opposition to his research which demonstrates that there are in actuality many African-American regional cuisines, such as that of the Chesapeake Bay, the Lowcountry, the Carolinas, Georgia, and the lower Mississippi creoles. He finds that the dishes cited are frequently linked to enslaved 19th century African-Americans of the deep South, but are more defined by individual and family experiences of the speaker or author. Since most of 19th century African-American foods remain undocumented, many Soul Food recipes are nostalgia for certain foods experienced as a child and recreated from memories. By doing this, he illustrates that our conception of Soul Food is really a limited repertoire of food items from migrant, rural Southerners that relocated to mostly urban areas of the country.

In the 1960s, these newly urbanized groups of African-Americans hailing from many areas of the South – but especially the rural, southern interior of the country – took one identifiable set of foods and made it a distinctly black food. During the Civil Rights Movement, African-Americans were adding foods to their mosaic of cultural objects and began constructing “edible black power” (Miller 2013: 45). When poet Amiri Baraka published the phrase soul food, plenty of white southerners were surprised since they had likewise been cooking the same foods for generations. At this time in history, soul came to stand for black and southern stood for white. While powerful and necessary for that moment in history, Miller argues that our perceptions of Soul Food have continued to evolve and now, the cuisine is considered unhealthy, standard slave food. Our acceptance of a single manifestation

of Soul Food becomes an internalization of white superiority and black/white social relations rather than a celebration of African-American foodways at this juncture. Like Miller, another culinary historian Michael Twitty (2006) describes how our African-American food standard is really just a mainstreaming of special occasion or Sunday foods. While the enslaved may have eaten or cooked some of these foods occasionally, it generalizes the many African-American experiences through time and obfuscates the contributions which have been made towards the creation of American cuisine. Understanding the often contested place of food in identity politics, it is useful now to present the theoretical frameworks informing this dissertation on the level of archaeology since it is the main focus of this project.

Archaeology of Race and Racism

This dissertation forefronts race not because other identifications¹⁰¹ were irrelevant, but because the lives of enslaved African-Americans were impacted daily by physiologically-based inequality and ideologies of racism. By attaching material correlates of food to differentiate African-American versus European-American cuisine, archaeologists have effectively naturalized these identifications as immutable and ahistorical. In attempting to understand race and identity on a plantation, archaeologist Christopher Matthews (2001) provides an important warning against

¹⁰¹ To avoid these issues where identity results in reification, historian Frederick Cooper (2005) suggests the usage of the term identification. This word stresses the process of identifying and is an active term. In this way, people can self-identify and in the Foucauldian sense can also be identified. This term calls attention to the complex processes that are involved with crafting identities, instead of designating a passive condition.

employing patterns of identity markers. He states that even though race has been used in the past to form difference, there is a fine line between recognizing difference and reifying difference. If all we do, is prove that African-Americans have a certain type of material pattern and European-Americans have another, we are only “essentializing difference and making racial identity a precursive rather than a recursive artifact of the social formation” (Matthews 2001: 72). Zooarchaeologists are too quick to resort to “ethnic faunal indices” when in reality, assemblages were the result of multiple cultural factors; an assemblage that seems to reflect an enslaved African-American pattern could just as easily reflect a culture of poverty (Lev-Tov 2004: 304).

This project aims to recontextualize the development of African-American foodways based on racist ideologies, rather than producing a trajectory of foodways explained by ethnic retention which begins in West Africa and inevitably results in the modern African-American diet. Focusing on the ideological origins of foodways highlights the particular conditions of African enslavement while following Diaspora scholar Paul Gilroy’s (1993) suggestion of balancing pan-Africanism with black pluralism. Gilroy attempts to show that black culture needs to be understood as one striving for innovation and change and is not one of simple repetition. He proposes that the black Atlantic derived from hybridity and intermixture, one based on notions of sameness and otherness; he calls this “a changing same” (1993: xi). Gilroy portrays the black Atlantic as inhabited by people who confound structures of the nation-state, ethnicity, and national particularity. Posing black identity in this manner shows that

there is no simple way to identify it because it developed within a world of exile and dispersal. Avoiding a unified description of black identity, Gilroy reminds us that expressions of identity are constantly negotiated depending on socio-political contexts. Using the Atlantic to tie identities together, we are able to see black identity as connected, yet substantive and complex. This is what he defines as his ‘anti-anti-essentialist’ position (1993: 102), used to strike a balance between strict pan-Africanism and black pluralism.

In this way, black identity can be seen as connected to practices of inequalities based on race, yet substantive and complexly linked to specific contextual factors. Similar to Gilroy, anthropologist Terrence Epperson states that today, archaeologists must “de-naturalize” race and emphasize it as a constructed category of domination, but at the same time, also concentrate their work on the recognition and celebration of African-American heritage and a culture of resistance (1990: 35-36). Basing his perspective on W.E.B. Du Bois’s concept of ‘double consciousness’ (Du Bois 1961: 16-17), Epperson argues that these goals are not antithetical but are instead vital to historical archaeology. The valorization of the African-American culture of resistance working in concert with the denaturalization of essentialist racial categories enables the comprehension of the contradictory tendencies which have developed as a result of African-American enslavement (Orser 1999).

The goal is to expand the study of zooarchaeology beyond what has already been argued time and again in plantation archaeology when connecting fauna to

foodways (e.g. Ferguson 1992; Deetz 1995; Crader 1984; Crader 1990). The crux of most debates can be reduced to two schools of thought: domination/resistance or creolization (Singleton 1995). The first is that the food of enslaved African-Americans was derived from memories, ideas, skills, and tastes from Africa. This is an argument centered on the resistance of the enslaved to the culture of their enslavers and also of the ingenuity of the enslaved to incorporate new elements in order to recreate a familiar cuisine and lifestyle. The other camp highlights the cruelties of the plantation system and sees developing foodways as a reaction to the structural and institutional inequalities faced by the enslaved. This is an argument based on perseverance, impoverishment, and survival that leads to the emergence of a uniquely African-American culture which could not have existed without the circumstances of enslavement.

Many scholars have successfully argued for and against these two perspectives (summarized also in *African American Foodways* 2003). In archaeology, much of the work has been devoted to enslavement during the 19th century spanning from plantations in the Mid-Atlantic down into the Caribbean, to farms in states further west, and to urban centers in major cities. Many of these archaeologists have included the study of fauna and food consumption in ways which have been fraught with problems and overgeneralizations. Archaeologists in practice were unable to reconcile the highly-contextualized nature of ethnicity and the oversimplification of the ideology of race. The next and final section details the part that zooarchaeologists

have played in these debates, as well how this dissertation aims to approach the zooarchaeology differently based on the theoretical frameworks proffered.

Food Patterning in Plantation Archaeology

Since historical archaeologists began studying enslaved life in the U.S., one of the most popular areas of focus has been the question of what enslaved people ate. Conclusions ranged from those that were based on nutrition, to starvation, to food supplementation, to social class, and to ethnicity, among others. Over time, there has emerged a set of principles regarding what enslaved African-Americans ate and what the slaveowning European-Americans ate. Eventually, they were identified repeatedly at archaeological sites and continually published in academic literature (see Singleton 1995 for a discussion of this trend). From this emerged the idea that two distinct patterns were indeed discernable not only between the enslaved and the slaveowners, but further, between blacks and whites. These race-based food patterns have been alternately vehemently contested and enthusiastically supported by scholars since its initial dissemination. This dissertation project asks: does a consumption pattern for plantations exist, and if so, what are its characteristics and how does Wye House compare to the standard?

Archaeologist Patricia Samford (1996: 99) traces the origins of the antebellum plantation pattern to archaeological work of the 1980s, in particular that of John Otto from Canon's Point Plantation (Otto 1984). Samford summarizes the general

plantation pattern as one which could distinguish between enslaved and slaveowner assemblages, using a combination of fauna and ceramic artifacts. It entailed that the enslaved consumed low-quality portions of pork and beef, highly fragmented for the preparation of stews, and sometimes supplemented their diets with animals which could be easily trapped or caught with simple tools. On the other hand, an elite slaveowner diet consisted of roasted beef or mutton, served as steaks, and it would have included a range of valuable hunted game¹⁰². While many studies included caveats that suggested these patterns were possibly more indicative of class, the more sensational hypothesis that subsequent archaeologists retained were the similarities of enslaved food patterns to the stewed meals common to West African foodway traditions. Over time, this enslaved/slaveowner pattern fed into a racialized foodway pattern and analysts began to expect such patterning to exist for all African-Americans and European-Americans with a tendency to ignore anomalies or outliers in their data (Samford 1996: 95-101; Singleton 1995: 134).

An example of this can be seen in zooarchaeologist Diane Crader's work with assemblages from Monticello. In the first analysis, Crader (1984) begins with the assumption of the existence of patterns. Analyzed fauna which did not fit into this pattern were removed from the final interpretation with the explanation that they were anomalous due to taphonomy or were simply intrusions in the assemblage that did not

¹⁰² Even without considering the archaeology, this pattern already becomes problematic at Wye House. Following the pattern, any wild fauna that could be trapped or caught – as opposed to the more elite large-game hunting or birding – were classified as food for the enslaved. In Maryland, animals like terrapin were consumed at such a rate that resources quickly depleted and price lists show that they were very expensive to purchase (Walter 1973). In addition to this, while oysters and fresh fish were typically seen as low-status foods, in the cookbooks of the Lloyd family, the family made ample use of the aquatic resources that abounded in the river and streams adjacent to their land.

belong. In a later reanalysis incorporating new material (1990), although Crader finds evidence that disputes the existence of slave versus planter consumption patterns, she persists in adhering to the recognition of patterns and created a new, third pattern when too many outliers to the data appeared. This analysis could have been interpreted as a lack of identifiable patterns that distinguished slaves from planters, but instead, Crader makes unsubstantiated conjectures as to why this new group of slaves was different. She provided several reasons for the occurrence of high-quality meats in the enslaved assemblage but finally concluded that it constituted evidence of hierarchy among slaves. Yet, other archaeologists (see for example, McKee 1999) have asserted that this concept of slave hierarchy was something imposed by the white planters and was not a real system observed by slaves. It was beneficial for slaveowners to have classes of house or field slaves where some were treated better, but there is no reason to think that slaves applied these imposed statuses within their communities. The conclusion presented by Crader recreated ideologies of domination by the slaveowners and provided archaeological evidence of their ability to craft identities among the enslaved with or without any action on the part of the enslaved.

Within the past three decades, many historical archaeologists began challenging these established assumptions by positing more contextualized and/or regionally-based patterns for the antebellum period. Scholars have argued for distinct patterns for the enslaved living in the Upland South region (Peres 2008), the Southeastern region (Reitz et al. 2006), the Tidewater Virginia region (Heath and Bennett 2000), Afro-Virginians (Franklin 2001), and those living in urban areas (Lev-

Tov 1998). Besides for explicating the differences between an enslaved person and the elites, other zooarchaeologists began exploring the meals of the other class of whites that were forgotten, the middling European-American planter class (Carson et al. 2008). The emergence of these and other new patterns are indicative of a growing understanding that a complex narrative of the past is more illuminating than overgeneralized statements reiterating racial binaries. The danger of this is that when archaeological materials are interpreted as proving the presence or absence of a particular ethnic or race group, artifacts become markers for people. This is not only inappropriate but serves to objectify people through artifacts. So in addition to either reifying people or personifying artifacts, critics of this plantation pattern have noted that conclusions are effectively based on the valuation of meat portions. This means that the only conclusion the patterns support is that slaves were of a lower class than slaveowners, something that is unequivocally denoted by their status as enslaved people. I suggest that a zooarchaeological analysis which expands faunal interpretations beyond the value of animals or their parts, and which incorporates more explicitly contextual factors, can provide a way to comprehend other aspects of identity beyond socioeconomic status.

Although a pattern of African-American and European-American consumption has been published widely for the past thirty years, these comprise inductive arguments and false analogies (Lyman 1987: 303). For instance, employing anthropologist Tony Whitehead's (1992) compilation of the 'African-American

traditional core diet' can be misleading for zooarchaeologists¹⁰³. This qualitative assessment of an African-American diet makes few regional or temporal distinctions. Though a helpful guide of general dietary trends, it provides no measures for zooarchaeologists to compare their quantitative data to, allowing too easily for the identification of certain patterns to be based on what the analyst considers significant proportions. While there certainly is value in inductive reasoning, the archaeological interpretations of African-American or European-American patterns are presented as deductive testing which are commonly used for intersite comparisons. Beginning with an anticipated set of foodways is not an appropriate way to test generalizations because it lacks constants and there is little against which to compare similarity or deviation (Wylie 1985: 98).

Archaeologists create two anachronisms here, making categories in the past that did not exist in such defined terms before. Ethnographer Margaret Thompson Drewal (1992) argues that an identifiable Yoruba culture did not emerge in a cohesive and recognizable way until the 19th century in Africa. In extension, ideas of a pan-African culture developed even later and did not come about until race relations delineating blackness and whiteness became more established. Recognizing African attributes in enslaved groups in the American South becomes more like drawing out the modern African markers from the past. The second anachronism would be the

¹⁰³ Whitehead presents three categories of traditional black foods: traditional black core, traditional foods external to the black core, and nontraditional foods now present in the south. His list of foods considered core to the traditional black diet includes: pig tails/ears/feet/head/backs, neck bones, heads/backbones, liver, kidney, brains, chitterlings, ham hocks, fatback/salt pork/side meat, chicken wings/neck/backs/feet, wild game, fish, eggs, collard/mustard/turnip greens, cabbages, okra, peas/beans, sweet potatoes, white potatoes, corn, poke salad, cornbread, biscuits, pies/cakes/cookies, rice, grits, whole milk, buttermilk, coffee, tea, onions, molasses, jelly/jams/preserves (Whitehead 1992: 102).

recognition of soul food in enslaved contexts, before soul food defined African-African food culture during the Black Power Movement of the 1960-1980s. During the Civil Rights Movement, the phrase “soul food” was coined by the cultural nationalist poet Amiri Baraka. It was intended to describe the urban version of African-American heritage cooking, and soon after became the symbol for the black cultural revolution (Mitchell 2009: 19). Although couched in terms of finding the origins of African-American soul food, identifying this archaeologically only reasserts racist ideas by saying that African-Americans always ate differently based solely on racial attributes.

Essentially, archaeological work has imposed modern conceptions of ‘Southern Cooking’ and ‘Soul Food’ onto the past by uncritically associating certain faunal remains to blackness or whiteness. Similar to American Studies scholar Psyche Williams-Forsion, I argue that there really is no difference between these two cuisines. Williams-Forsion claims that they are the same foods which have been given different names in order for Whites to demarcate themselves from Blacks by preserving the purity of their foods and domestic rituals (2001: 177). This is expanded upon by archaeologist Maria Franklin (2000) who postulates that European-Americans familiar with the eating habits of enslaved African-Americans vilified black cultural traditions in efforts to sustain domination and reinforce black inferiority and difference. With the influence that African-American cooks likely had in the Great House kitchen, it is more likely that European-Americans learned and acquired a taste for foods cooked by African-American women (see also Wilkie 2000 or Fox-

Genovese 1988 for similar arguments). As an expression of power and dominance, European-American women began appropriating and publishing African-American-influenced recipes in their cookbooks of Southern cooking by the early 19th century. This erasure ensured that African-American claims to Southern cuisine could be easily dismissed. It also set rules for delineating the foods of white Southerners versus African-Americans. This chapter has demonstrated that there needs to be new methods to examine enslaved foodways that avoid the materialization of racism while highlighting the contributions of African-Americans to what has become a recognized part of our national food culture. Ways to examine these arguments via faunal remains are explained in the following chapter, which focuses on the exact zooarchaeological methods employed for this analysis.

Chapter 6: Zooarchaeology

This chapter details the main body of data for this dissertation project: the faunal or zooarchaeological remains. First, I discuss the development of the specialty of zooarchaeology and some of the important technical and intellectual contributions made by historical zooarchaeologists. The second section will focus on methodology. It presents the methodological decisions made about the analysis that includes excavations, taphonomic indicators selected for recording, and the database used to capture primary data. Following this is the presentation of the primary data collection and findings gathered through the zooarchaeological work. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the current zooarchaeological data compares to relevant archaeological sites.

This dissertation aims to prove that foodways at Wye House were not fixed through time, based on ethnicity. In the earlier part of the 18th century, I predict that the diets of enslaved African-Americans will deviate significantly from the established food patterns proposed by zooarchaeologists (see Samford 1996 or Chapter 5 for a description of these patterns). The food remains overall might resemble diets of the poor or of those living in frontier environments. This should appear as diverse exploitation of animals with a high proportion of wild animals, including ones which were hunted or those which could be caught. In the last quarter of the 18th century, this should begin to shift, and the faunal remains will become more similar to established indices, with the exception of seafood being consumed by

all. The enslaved would probably begin consuming more domesticated animals as rations become more regimented. For supplementation of meager rations, there will likely be a sizable portion of wild animal remains, but perhaps more of those which could be trapped or caught. Surface modifications may indicate steady or increased consumption of stews. Stewed meals are used as a predictor of African ethnicity by many historic zooarchaeologists, though the historical documentation does not support the presence of stewed meals at Wye House or the local region.

The zooarchaeological data in this current chapter will therefore test whether there were changes in food consumption over time at Wye House. My hypothesis is: Faunal representation will be inconsistent when comparing the periods before and after the late 18th century. The purpose of this is to evaluate the validity of a single, traditional African-American diet influenced by West African foodways. I posit that the hypothesis will be correct, and propose two food trends will be observed. In the first period, I propose the fauna will be represented by a larger proportion of wild animals and a small amount of domestic farm animals. By the turn of the 19th century in the later period, I propose the fauna will be represented by more domestic farm animals and less of the locally-available wild animals. In addition, I propose that these changes are caused by shifting race relations which promoted solidification of a cohesive African-American group. This will result in food usage that is more recognizably pan-African, and the evidence for this will be a predominance of stewed pig remains.

In order to write as succinctly as possible, I include a list of terms utilized throughout this chapter. The terms chosen are commonly used in current zooarchaeological literature, though their definitions may not be clear to non-zooarchaeologists. The definitions provided are adapted from those provided by a number of well-known zooarchaeologists (Brewer 1992: 195; Grayson 1973: 432; Grayson 1984: 16; Lyman 1987: 252; Fisher 1995: 11; Gilbert and Singer 1982: 22; Reitz and Wing 2008: 116). They are arranged topically and also by their frequency of usage throughout the chapter.

Fauna: a set of vertebrate or invertebrate taxa found in a defined geographic area

Faunal assemblage: the recovered faunal remains from a cultural or geographic context as defined by the analyst

Methods: theoretical components directed at the solution of a particular problem

Technique: the application of a method to a set of phenomena

Specimen: a single bone, tooth, or fragment

Element: a single, complete bone or tooth in an animal skeleton

Caprid: the goat-antelope subfamily; used to refer to sheep and goats

Ungulate: any hoofed mammal

Artiodactyl: an even-toed ungulate; for example, cow, sheep, goat, pig, and deer

Bivalve: marine and freshwater mollusks that have laterally compressed bodies enclosed by two hinged shells; for example, oysters, clams, mussels, scallops

Taphonomy: paleoecological inquiry into burial processes, including ancient episodes as well as modern events

Surface modification: any alteration to the surface of a bone, caused either by human or non-humans

Faunal processing: the reduction and modification of an animal into consumable parts by any agent or actor

Butchering: human reduction and modification of an animal carcass into consumable parts directed towards resource extraction

Actor: a causal agent which carries out the action bringing an object in contact with bone; for example, human, carnivore, rodent

Effector: the object, article, or particle that creates a surface modification; for example, stone tool, metal tool, tooth, sediment

Biotic disturbance: plant and animal action taken after a bone is discarded; actors are frequently carnivores, rodents, bacteria, or roots

Abiotic disturbance: inanimate forces or phenomena; most common actors are wind, rain, floods, earthquakes, or rivers

Approaches to Zooarchaeology

This section presents the utilization of faunal analysis by archaeologists and the associated intellectual developments, before discussing the specific methods selected for use in this dissertation. Due to the nature of studying fauna and its obvious links to the natural environment, zooarchaeology has been persistently linked to ecological, functional, and systemic approaches. During the 1960s, processualism or middle-range theory emerged within archaeology, and this body of theory has had the greatest impact on the specialty of zooarchaeology. Middle-range theory was developed by archaeologist Lewis Binford. As a student of anthropologist Leslie White, Binford was influenced by the ecological anthropological approaches of the time (Barnard 2000: 40). Middle-range theory was a way to derive general laws in a scientific manner about archaeological materials. The act of doing archaeology was thus considered the experimental phase of theory building. Instead of making inferential arguments, the goal was to derive empirical arguments about the past. Binford wanted to be able to isolate and understand the causal factors behind events and material culture. Because of this, Binford also became a supporter of ethnoarchaeological studies as the only true method of observing and recording

events which would cause similar artifactual occurrences (Binford 1978; Binford 1981: 22-26). Zooarchaeology as a recognized specialty developed at about this time during the 1970s, and most of the work was conducted on prehistoric sites.

By the 1980s, the first zooarchaeologists to focus predominantly on historic period assemblages were publishing their work and they began to develop models which zooarchaeologists could use exclusively for historic sites. These early historic zooarchaeologists were Joanne Bowen, Terrance Martin, and Elizabeth Reitz. For some of the earliest contributions, see Joanne Bowen's work in New England and at Mott Farm (Bowen 1975; 1992; 1998; Brown and Bowen 1998), as well as her work in the colonial Chesapeake (Bowen 1988; 1990). Bowen has made important contributions to the historic study of agriculture, seasonality, and herd slaughtering practices. Very different from the colonial Chesapeake or New England, Terrance Martin concentrated his early work on the Midwest and French Colonial sites (see Branstner and Martin 1987; Martin 1986; 1990; 1991). His work helped to understand French subsistence as different from that of the English and also presented a different perspective on colonial interaction with Native Americans. In another region of North America, Elizabeth Reitz's work in the Southeast has vastly expanded collaborative and analytical approaches in her work. Reitz has successfully integrated the study of fish and other aquatic remains. She has also heralded the integration of other sources of food data such as archaeobotanical remains for a fuller perspective on food use (see Reitz 1979; 1986a; 1986b; 1987; 1994a; 1994b; Reitz et al. 1985; 1987; Reitz and Honerkamp 1983; Reitz and Ruff 1994). Although many of the basic techniques

used by these early zooarchaeologists focusing on historic materials mirrored those used for prehistoric sites, the interpretive models became catered towards the nuances of post-domestication and historic sites. Thus, special consideration was given to agricultural practices, market variables, animal husbandry management, and the evidence provided by written records (Landon 2005: 3-4).

During the course of the 1980s, there came a major paradigm shift in anthropology and archaeology in reaction to processualism. The main critiques claimed that: site-formational processes were often overlooked, the scientific method was misinterpreted, the ideological or systemic meaning of material culture was ignored, change was based purely on environmental models, and the position of the archaeologist in affecting interpretations went unacknowledged (Watson and Fotiadis 1990: 614). These critiques became the basis of post-processualism, heralded by archaeologist Ian Hodder (1986). While this debate occurred, although not all zooarchaeologists claimed to be processualists, most faunal analyses were inevitably grounded in positivist and functional paradigms. When post-processual criticisms were raised against environmental approaches, according to zooarchaeologist Terry O'Connor, zooarchaeology became "marooned in a functionalist paradigm" (1996: 12). Even though archaeology continued to derive a variety of other theoretical approaches, zooarchaeology was slow to incorporate these (1996: 6). Because of its early attribution to processualism, zooarchaeology remained tied to a relatively outdated approach, even after paradigmatic shifts in the field of archaeology by the 1990s. Some common techniques and interpretive models based

in processual thought lingered in zooarchaeology, and the following sections discuss popular concepts which the dissertation research avoids: meat-weight estimates, body part valuation, and pattern recognition.

The first to be presented is the avoidance of techniques related to estimating meat weight or biomass. These measures refer to average estimates for the amount of meat that a certain type of animal would yield. The presence of bones does not necessarily equate to meat, therefore the calculation of meat-weight estimates is an inappropriate measure. The weights are standardized measures computed in laboratory settings using modern animals, sometimes with different estimates produced based on age and sex. Many times, pending the existence of historical documentation, average meat weight is frequently adjusted since past animals would have differed from modern ones. For example, the average weights used for mature, domestic animals in the 17th and 18th century Chesapeake are: 400 pounds of meat for cattle, 100 pounds for swine, and 35 pounds for sheep (Miller 1988: 198-199). The problem with these calculations is that they account for the meat of an entire animal. This presumes that a whole animal in its entirety was received and consumed. Estimating meat-weight does not account for butchery practices or differential acquisition and distribution of meats. It likewise makes the false inference that the bones found archaeologically arrived with meat still on them. This can be particularly erroneous in a plantation context, when there is a large possibility that the enslaved received bones with little or no meat attached. While this is an assumption that must be accepted by all zooarchaeologists, producing a meat-weight estimate can

exponentially overemphasize the role of meat in the enslaved diet by using these techniques (Grayson 1984: 172-174; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 34-36).

To correct for this, some zooarchaeologists instead began to reevaluate the bone itself correlating quality and utility of the bone, with and without meat.

Techniques of attaching valuation to animal portions are the second type of measures which this dissertation avoids. Referring to all cattle, deer, pig, sheep, and goats, portions deriving from the forelimbs, back, and hindquarters are considered to be high-quality. This correlates to body parts with the greatest amounts of meat or muscle attached. On the other hand, meat from the head, neck, ribs, tail, and distal appendages of the feet are considered low-quality. The portions of the head and feet in particular are of the very lowest quality and would thus be consumed by the poorest members of society (Samford 1996). Unfortunately, this also made for many false assumptions. Valuing portions of meat placed the worldview of the analyst onto the bones of a different time and place. It instilled a notion of value from our modern perspective onto ones that may not have existed in the past. This became a problem when inferring about access, wealth, and social status. As stated by zooarchaeologist Larry McKee:

Our culture recognizes a range of quality in the different pieces of a carcass. This is reflected in the pricing practices of the American meat industry for at least the last century (Schulz and Gust 1983). The system of industrial, highly organized butchery that developed during the late 19th century standardized and codified retail butchery cuts and relative pricing...It is unclear how far back we can project this carcass-quality treatment (1987: 35).

Therefore, most of our concepts of meat values were not even in place until after the late 19th century with the advent of industrialized butchery. Values based on commercial butchery are anachronistic when considering contexts where people would have been butchering animals on their own. On a plantation site especially, where animals are raised and slaughtered on site, both high- and low-quality skeletal elements have equal probability of appearing in the archaeological record because a whole carcass would have been consumed or distributed (Crader 1990: 700-702). The emphasis on meat quality then becomes irrelevant and unreliable.

In addition to this, when meat quality is extended to serve as an indicator of social class, these ideas merely impose our own unjustified perspective of animal quality onto the past. Archaeologist Justin Lev-Tov (1998) illustrates this point in his analysis of assemblages from the Calvert and Jonas Green Houses of 18th century urban Annapolis. Contrary to what most assume about meat quality and wealth, Lev-Tov found that the upper-class Calvert household consumed significantly more offal¹⁰⁴ portions than the middle-class Greens. This occurred across all categories of cattle, pig, and sheep. In fact, the Calverts consumed more offal portions than any other cuts, a distribution not seen with the Greens. According to Lev-Tov, using historical research, dishes composed of animal heads were popular in the 18th century and these cuts were more expensive than meaty cuts. This alone contradicts what most zooarchaeologists assume. Another aspect of Lev-Tov's analysis examines the proportion of domestic versus wild taxa consumed by these households. The Calvert assemblage had significantly more wild meats than the Greens whose diet was mostly

¹⁰⁴ A discussion of offal meats and parts can be found in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

composed of domesticates. This is in opposition to the argument that lower classes had to supplement their diet by hunting or foraging for wild species, such as has been presented in enslaved contexts (Samford 1996: 95-96). The assumption supports the idea that the upper classes that had the means to purchase domesticate animals, would not need or want to eat wild fauna. Lev-Tov explained that the opposite was true of the Calvert assemblage, and the Calverts frequently offered wild game when they hosted grants meals or feasts as a means to reinforce social status. The variety of animals in their diet helped them maintain power as well as distinguish themselves from middle class, who could only afford domesticates. In this case, the established dietary patterns of the upper versus lower classes were essentially switched, emphasizing just how incongruent our judgments of value may be compared to those in the past.

The previous point made by the comparison of wild versus domestic animals as indicators of social class leads to the final zooarchaeological technique which will be avoided for the current dissertation, that of pattern recognition. Pattern-recognition only serves to problematize zooarchaeological analyses with misleading predispositions. According to archaeologist Theresa Singleton (1995), patterns are ineffective because a majority of sites do not fit into the established patterns and the patterns tend to obfuscate diversity and variability. For example, the pattern describing the foodways of African-American enslaved people states that slaves ate stews composed of crushed bones and small morsels of meat. These parts were stewed all day, which allowed for more flexibility and time to work. Conveniently,

this mirrors foodway patterns that exist in some parts of Africa. Other archaeologists have supported this African-based food pattern using ceramic analyses, linking stewed meats to bowls and hollow-ware vessels required for these types of meals (Ferguson 1992). Therefore, the pattern was expanded to include the assumption that enslaved contexts would produce minimal amounts of dishes or plates. This differed from the dietary pattern of the slaveowners who would use plates to consume large roasts of meat (Samford 1996: 99). Besides for the number of instances where this pattern is not found or a different pattern is found altogether, this generalization lumps all African cultural traditions together and ignores the vast diversity that exists in Africa. While stews do appear in many African food traditions, it does not account for the great range of African foodways that exists. African herders and pastoralist for instance consume a substantial amount of meat, much of it roasted (Singleton 1995: 134). Although patterns are convenient and help to organize information for ease of comparability, zooarchaeological analyses should not be solely concerned with adhering to, proving, or establishing these patterns.

Ultimately, measures sure as these lack contextualization. They incorrectly impose the archaeologist's perspective of our current world onto the past. They merely illustrate our current society and the value we place on meaty animal cuts. And regarding enslaved people on plantations, these measures arguably indicate nothing more than general socioeconomic status distinctions. As stated by zooarchaeologist David Landon (2009: 84), for historical zooarchaeologists, "the challenge in these situations is to develop an interpretation that does more than

simply reiterate what we already know about a site.” As a zooarchaeologist, showing that there were class- or economic-based differences in consumption between the enslaved and the slaveowners is simply stating the obvious. If our only conclusion is that the enslaved did not have access to the same food luxuries as the Lloyds, our research amounts to something of an uneventful anthropological contribution.

It would not be an overgeneralization to say that most people today, are somewhat aware of the horrific treatment of African-American enslaved individuals during this period in American history. Perhaps less acknowledged, but easy to see, is that subjugation of enslaved Africans created a legacy of racism that African-Americans still combat the effects of. Historical zooarchaeology does not need to ask whether enslaved individuals ate poorer quality foods than the white elites; it is quite simply a waste of our time. Rather, zooarchaeologists could instead explore what African-Americans did with these rations to eventually craft their own style of foodways. Furthermore, on an additionally reflexive level, we could be asking why archaeologists have so readily accepted African-American foodways as being a direct retention of West African culture. When these food items in question are examined closely, they overlap with white, Southern foodways so much that an analysis of the modern cuisines would show that they actually differ very little. These questions intertwine a complex history of ideologies of race, heritage ownership, and representation (Epperson 2004; Voss 2007), and this chapter uses zooarchaeology to highlight this complexity rather rearranging the data to fit into the model of standard African-American food patterns previously used in plantation archaeology.

Methodology

Excavation Methods and Faunal Recovery

Standard excavation procedures used in the recovery of materials from the Long Green have been presented in Chapter 4. On the whole, the recovery of faunal material does not diverge from these typical archaeological excavation procedures. During the course of field excavations, when the author acted as associate director, some units were placed expressly for improving the potential yield of faunal remains. This included placing test units in areas that had a greater probability of collecting a trash assemblage. Therefore, some units were placed outside openings of structures such as doors for isolating yardscatter and any trash that may have accumulated. Units were also placed so as to recover as much as possible from features such as cellar pits. During the time that these cellars were in use, they would have functioned for food storage, but once they were no longer used, they would have been filled with trash remains and evolved into trash pits. Most archaeological fauna was recovered from cellar features. Even though the purpose was to recover faunal remains, besides for when archaeologists seek to establish structural boundaries or building episodes, targeting excavations around doors, windows, and pit features are normal recovery strategies simply because artifacts tend to cluster around these activity areas.

In the field, fauna was hand-collected from ¼" mesh screens and placed into paper bags until the artifacts were washed in the laboratory. A large amount of faunal

material can be lost at this juncture. One-quarter inch mesh screens do not capture any microfauna, and smaller remains such as ones from invertebrates or fish are frequently thin or delicate. These remains are either destroyed during screening or pass easily through the mesh. The same occurs with small mammals and highly fragmented bones, especially since their time spent in the predominantly clay soil of Wye House causes the bones to be soft and additionally susceptible to being crushed. This is another layer of density-mediated attrition which impacts bones once they are deposited in the ground. As described by archaeologist Lewis Binford (1981), density-mediated attrition refers to the likelihood of bone survivorship and the larger, denser bones are more likely to survive deposition and recovery than those that are not.

This means that larger animals tend to be overrepresented in zooarchaeological assemblages, and certain skeletal elements tend to be overrepresented. For example, the bones of cow and deer will be more likely to survive in the archaeological record than the bones of fish or mice. And if small animals are recovered, elements that have more compact than cancellous tissue have a higher survival rate. Thus, if mice bones are recovered, certain elements like tibiae or mandibles will appear more frequently than elements such as phalanges or ribs. Consequently, it is acknowledged that the faunal assemblage which reaches the laboratory for analysis is always an incomplete sample of the living animal populations in the past. The zooarchaeological sample has been affected multiple times from when the zooarchaeologist begins analysis by cultural processes of the

past, natural processes during burial, excavation strategies of the present, and screening or recovery practices by each archaeologist.

Faunal Laboratory Procedures

The fauna that does survive will then proceed to the laboratory where it is processed in preparation for zooarchaeological analyses. The first part is typical to nearly any artifact, and the bones are cleaned and bagged by artifact type according to provenience. Many artifacts are simply washed with water. Bones are more fragile and can be damaged by immersion, so most faunal material is brushed clean with a dry toothbrush. Some faunal remains such as teeth can be washed with water, and some of the denser bones that are particularly caked with soil can be brushed with a damp toothbrush. The fauna dries if necessary and then is placed into acid-free archival bags for storage. Following this the bones as well as other artifacts are catalogued and most artifacts are directly labeled with its provenience. Bones are labeled with acid-free archival ink and covered with a barrier coating of acryloid or paraloid. These steps were done for the dissertation faunal assemblage by University of Maryland students and Archaeology in Annapolis staff members. After this point, the fauna is ready for analysis, and for this dissertation project, the fauna was analyzed according to provenience. As each was identified, it was given a unique specimen number which was added to the provenience label already on the faunal specimen. The information collected for this analysis was then entered into a

database. Undergraduate students utilized a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for data entry, and the author used a Microsoft Access database for all data entries.

University of Maryland students enrolled in the author's ANTH298D: Introduction to Zooarchaeology course in Fall 2009, Fall 2011, and Spring 2012 collectively analyzed approximately 500 faunal specimens from Wye House that were incorporated into this project. Upper level, independent-study undergraduate students mentored by the author contributed another 100 specimens for analysis. Data collected by the undergraduate students were recorded using a spreadsheet in Microsoft Excel. There were fewer categories required for entry and the more complex details of taphonomy were not recorded. These 600 specimens were reanalyzed for the purposes of this dissertation project. They were merged with a more sophisticated Microsoft Access database and reexamined for accuracy of identifications and to capture necessary details.

The database utilized was recreated using model versions provided by zooarchaeologist, April Beisaw. The original model databases were created exclusively for use in historical contexts, capturing data most relevant to these sites. The Microsoft Access database created emphasized collection of butchery and human surface modifications. Since the dissertation concentrates on understanding ways that enslaved people were cooking their food items and the type of animals that were accessible to them, aspects related to fragmentation and anything that occurred after the animals were discarded became less important beyond establishing taphonomy.

Alterations to the model database versions included: revising the expected taxa list for animals common to the region; incorporating data fields for establishing the element portion identified; and expanding the types of human modifications related to slaughter, preparation, and cooking of animals. The reasoning behind these data collection decisions, their manner of identification, and their interpretive potential are discussed in the following section in greater detail.

Taphonomic Measures and Indicators

As with any scientific analysis, there are many options and alternatives when selecting techniques, measures, or methods used to answer the research questions posed. The taphonomic indicators collected therefore are not a comprehensive picture of the information which could be gathered for each and every specimen, but merely one story that faunal remains can tell us about enslaved foodways. Although the zooarchaeological literature abounds with discussions of meat-weight estimates, biomass, and seasonality, these will not be employed in the current analysis. The calculation of meat weight and biomass provide misleading interpretations about the amount of nutrition attached to a skeletal element and discounts how the enslaved might have acquired bones after the bulk of the meat was already removed. The inappropriateness of utilizing measures of meat-weight and biomass has been discussed intensively by many zooarchaeologists (see Grayson 1984 or Klein and Cruz-Urbe 1984).

On the other hand, the choice to exclude seasonality in this dissertation is not due to methodological or interpretive flaws (see Reitz and Wing 2008 or Landon 2009, for the usefulness of accessing seasonality at different sites). Since Wye House was a food producing farm and throughout its history was heavily engaged with markets, consignment, and transport of items domestic and overseas, comprehending seasonality does not yield much fruitful information at this juncture. In the future, an area where seasonality could be of importance is when fuller data about aquatic animals, mostly fish and oysters are incorporated into the analysis. Due to the anatomy of these animals, the methods of analysis and recording were very different and extensive details beyond identification of lowest taxa and element were not feasible for this dissertation¹⁰⁵. For the majority of the faunal assemblage, comprising terrestrial domestic and wild animals, the following indicators were recorded when present or discernable: bone preservation and representation, taxa diversity, skeletal element representation, surface modifications, and age-at-death. The following sections discuss each of these in turn.

i) Bone Preservation and Representation

Acknowledging taphonomic processes means adjusting one's perceptions of how representative a faunal sample is of the past context in question. Because bones are organic material and their preservation is influenced by a multitude of factors

¹⁰⁵ The analyses of fish and mollusk remains constitute a subfield specialty within zooarchaeology and have been given extensive treatment in the published literature. For mollusks, see Claassen 1991, 2000; Klippel and Morey 1986; Peacock 2000; Pinto-Guillaume 2002; Russo 1991; Thomas 2002; and Waselkov 1987. For fish, see Capriles et al. 2008; Colley 1990; Erlandson and Moss 2000; Gobalet and Wake 2000; Hales and Reitz 1992; and Reitz 2004.

which other artifact groups are not subject to, scholars have devoted much attention to elucidating various taphonomic processes that could affect preservation (Lam et al. 1999). Zooarchaeologists Allan Gilbert and Burton Singer (1982) highlight five taphonomic factors that analysts must be attentive of, and though they are referring to prehistoric hunter-gatherer groups, their advice can be generalized to historic sites. They firstly recommend the evaluation of skeletal part distribution, which is when a single carcass is partitioned and redistributed. This can be due to the discard of certain elements at a kill site, to transference of butchered parts to different people, or to different methods of carcass preparation. The second taphonomic factor to be mindful of is differential butchery, meaning that specific species are butchered in different ways. For instance, small mammals tend to have most of a skeleton represented, while less valuable portions of large mammals are frequently left at a hunting site. The third factor to establish is meat consumption habits, referring to the destruction enacted onto bones as a result of cooking practices. If bones are heavily processed, the spongy or epiphyseal ends tend to be obliterated while the long bone shafts will remain. A fourth factor to understand is the secondary uses of bone for utilitarian or decorative purposes such as grease, tools, jewelry, buttons, or even musical instruments. Finally and already mentioned above, the factors of natural perturbations remind the analyst to acknowledge the large number of biotic and abiotic disturbances that could have been present, including carnivore scavenging, soil chemistry, and geodynamic processes (Gilbert and Singer 1982: 25-29).

At Wye House, a number of these taphonomic factors can be addressed or are known. For skeletal part distribution, most domesticates on the farm were probably butchered on site. According to the historical records, the Lloyds were not purchasing portions of animal meat to redistribute on their plantations. The animals were either slaughtered at Wye House or brought in after they had been slaughtered on one of the other farms. These areas where animals were butchered have yet to be found archaeologically. The animal remains found in and around slave quarters should likely be skewed towards certain animal portions, at least with the larger domesticates such as the cows, sheep, and pigs. More pronounced differences would be seen with the second taphonomic factor of differential butchery. Wild animals and small domesticates are likely to be represented by whole skeletons. Wild-caught animals would most likely be caught by the enslaved and brought back to the slave quarters where they would have to be processed for consumption. Small domesticates such as chickens were likely raised by the enslaved and would appear as whole skeletons since they were not distributed by previously portioned rations. The appearance of deer would be of interest since deer hunting was one of the valued leisurely activities of the Lloyds and it is not clear how often the enslaved had access to guns which would have been required for hunting deer.

At Wye House, this also leads into the next factor of meat consumption habits. The animals considered edible and those not considered food items differ across time and space. Another layer of this is that in enslaved contexts, some animals which are predominantly considered inedible have been shown to make up at least the

occasional diet of a hungry enslaved person. Some of these animals would include: opossum, raccoon, rats, muskrat, pigeon, squirrel, etc. Whatever animals were eaten, the common cooking techniques at Wye House would have been roasting and boiling or stewing. These would have most likely been done over an open fire or hearth. And once the animals were eaten, for secondary uses, there is evidence at Wye of the use of bone buttons. It has not been established whether these buttons were manufactured on site, but this is certainly possible and there were indeed seamstresses who lived and worked on the Long Green. Finally for the natural perturbations found at Wye, these include living/biotic effectors as well abiotic effectors of inanimate forces such as weather and soil chemistry. Some biotic effectors at Wye would be dogs and other rodents that would have scavenged around the plantation. Owls probably would have been part of this group as well. A consideration of all of these factors is necessary when considering the final zooarchaeological sample used for this dissertation project.

ii) Taxonomic Representation

This category constitutes the first type of data gathered for entry and one which will provide a substantial body of information for the interpretation of the research questions. Identification to a taxon is commonly the first step of primary data collection for most zooarchaeologists. Accurate identifications are important for all specimens, even if the most unidentifiable fragments only receive the assignment of a size class. This allows for a proper assessment of taxa diversity that can be linked to

contextual periods or groups of people. For Wye House, since the concern is to evaluate a plantation pattern that is divided by the types of animals being consumed, understanding the taxonomic distribution is critical. As shown in the previous chapters, the known ecological information and historical documents points to a large range of faunal diversity which could be found at Wye House.

Taxa identifications are done by reference to relevant anatomical literature (e.g., Hillson 1999; Gilbert 1990; Gilbert et al. 1996) and comparative skeletal collections (Reitz and Wing 2008; Grayson 1984). The comparative collection primarily employed was assembled by the author. Even though most comparative skeletons are composed of modern animals, researchers have conducted experiments to test the applicability of using these versus 19th century comparatives and have found that no difference exists for comparing modern domesticates to historic assemblages (Greenfield and Arnold 2008). This being said, it must be remembered that given taphonomic variables and density-mediated attrition, the taxonomic distribution will not perfectly reflect the representation of these animals in the past. For one, small mammals and fish will be underrepresented. The larger ungulates with densest bones will also survive best in the archaeological record, even if the carcasses are more fragmentary due to the methods of butchery necessary for their size. The bones of bovids (e.g., cows), cervids (e.g., deer), and equids (e.g., horse) not only have the best rate of preservation, but have been shown to have no significant differences in bone density so differential bone survival can be readily linked to human selection (Lam et al. 1999). It should be noted that the detail regarding fish

and mollusk remains will not be addressed with the subsequent lines of faunal evidence to be presented, since the following data is collected specifically for the analysis of mammalian and avian remains.

iii) Skeletal Element Profile

The next important identification that was catalogued is the skeletal element. This type of evidence has probably received the most attention in zooarchaeological literature because it is the most contentious. Researchers have differing opinions on whether to catalogue unidentifiable specimens, long bone shaft fragments, or only identifiable articular ends. There is disagreement about how to record these observations and the usefulness of computer-based technology. And there is significant divergence on how to quantify the data, both for observed and derived measurement units (Reitz and Wing 2008). Included in all this is the awareness that taphonomic processes have the greatest impact on fragmentation or destruction of bones, so arriving at interpretations of body part distribution due to past behaviors can be very difficult when combined with analyst biases (Crabtree 1990: 166). Nonetheless, establishing a systematic way of doing this is crucial to evaluate plantation foodways that may rely heavily on the valuation of animal parts. This was combined in the interpretation phase to with taxonomic data to ascertain if skeletal element distribution showed linkages to certain animals and whether this was the result of differential decision-making on the part of the slaveowners and consumers.

An important methodological choice for the Wye House assemblage was to catalogue all specimens, not just identifiable limb ends. This provided a more balanced element profile that was not skewed towards large ungulates with the greatest bone density or larger limb articulations. Limb ends are the easiest to identify but also have the lowest rate of preservation. Researchers have shown that overlooking the difficult to identify long bone shaft fragments can completely alter the results of an analysis, such as creating an exploitation profile of low-value elements (Marean and Frey 1997) or misrepresenting the presence of limb bones which have been destroyed by carnivore scavenging (Marean and Spencer 1991).

The next methodological choice was directed at gathering the appropriate information for secondary data quantifications, which most literature on skeletal element profiles focuses on. The most common measures in zooarchaeological reports include the number of identified specimens (NISP) and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) (Crabtree 1985). NISP is the most fundamental unit and is an observed measurement. It is the count of every specimen in the assemblage and it quantifies all fragments even if they are from the same element. It provides a maximum number for the assemblage and is the most easily acquired since it is a simple summation of all specimens. There are a number of flaws to employing NISP which revolve around the critique that it essentially measures fragmentation of an assemblage – from the past through excavation – more than it measures the skeletal elements present in the assemblage. The results of NISP are affected by differential butchery and preservation, NISP is not supportive of many analytical techniques and

is subject to statistical sample inflation, and NISP is influenced by collection techniques. These flaws and the tendency to overestimate a sample led researchers to explore other techniques of derived quantifications, based on NISP but attempting to correct for its errors. One of the earliest, MNI, was developed by zooarchaeologist Theodore White (1953). This method involves using the most abundant element of a single taxon, then separating it into left and right components. The side with the greatest number was used as the MNI. This is obviously a very conservative measurement, and like all derived measures, is subject to aggregation effects by the analyst depending on how the numbers of stratigraphic levels or archaeological divisions are applied (Grayson 1984: 17-34). This prompted most analysts to advocate reporting both NISP and MNI with the observation that if a maximum and minimum measurement has been provided, the true measurement of the assemblage lies somewhere in between (Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984: 30; Brewer 1992; Marshall and Pilgram 1993).

Given this reasoning, researchers have since developed a derived measure similar to MNI which is simpler to create, the minimum number of elements (MNE). MNI is more complicated to calculate because it involves indicating which side every specimen came from. But once calculated, knowing how many left versus right sides are present does not provide any interpretive benefit. Instead, MNE arranges the NISP according to skeletal elements by specific anatomical zones on each bone. The highest occurring fragment on each element is used as the MNE, and unlike NISP then, can account for overestimating fragmentation. Calculating abundance in this

way using the presence of different portions of a single bone is also made easier with the help of computerized databases which eases analysis of large assemblages (Abe et al. 2002: 649; Morlan 1994: 798). Furthermore, if the production of an MNI is necessary, given that the analyst collected left and right sides during initial identifications, this measurement can be produced using MNE data. The reverse, deriving MNE from MNI is not possible (Marean et al. 2001: 335).

In addition to all this, MNE is one of the most versatile measures to use for subsequent analytical quantifications. Because of aggregation effects, MNI numbers are independent from one another, inhibiting appropriate comparison among aggregates and to other assemblages. This is because MNI is subject to a researcher's decision to aggregate their assemblage, whether by the entire site, by temporal context, or by excavation levels or features. Thus, once divided, the MNI cannot be recombined for additional quantifications for risk of overestimating the number of individuals at the site. Because MNE is used to obtain another common analytical unit, the minimum animal units (MAU), many analysts who employ derived measurements tend to use the combination of MNE and MAU. Lewis Binford (1978; 1984) first developed MAU as a measurement of human behavior. MAU was an attempt to recognize that the whole carcass of an animal was frequently not exploited, but rather, certain portions are targeted. It then is a better measure of skeletal element abundance rather than taxonomic abundance (Brewer 1992: 20). MAU is calculated by taking the MNE and dividing by the number of times that element appears in the animal. The absolute MAU is then converted to %MAU for comparing relative

representation of different body parts within the assemblage or designated analytical unit. This is produced by standardizing the greatest MAU calculated for a taxon with a value of 100% and then scaling the other skeletal element MAUs against it (Binford 1984; Morlan 1994: 798; Grayson 1984: 89).

Therefore, it is clear that all these measures build upon one another and are useful for interpretations in this dissertation project. To reiterate, the values which will be presented are two different sets. The first set is NISP and MNI. And the second set is MNE, MAU, and %MAU. The first set of two are observed values and are necessary for discussions of taxonomic abundance. In other words, NISP and MNI will give a good idea of the type of animals exploited by the enslaved. It will enable interpretations regarding which animals were likely part of rations, and what other animals the enslaved were able to procure on their own. These could be compared with the animals consumed in the Lloyd cookbooks and other sources for the differences in what the slaveowners were eating. On the other hand, the second set is of three derived values, and build off of one another. These values will provide a glimpse of skeletal element abundance, and does not necessarily have to be aggregated by taxa or animal. In this manner, it will be possible to combine these by groups of taxa to understand if the enslaved were consuming low or high value animal portions without having to be specific to animal.

iv) Surface Modification

This next category is critical for comprehending cooking and cuisine. It refers to the analysis of markings that appear on bones. Coupled with taxonomic representation and skeletal element profiles, modifications are where interpretations move from utility value of animals to the preparation of a carcass for meals. While this information is ideal, it unfortunately is not always present or readily identifiable. Although primary butchery, or initial disarticulation, is important and leaves predictable marks, knowing the techniques of secondary butchery aimed at cooking and serving is optimal for deciphering differences in cuisine. While an analyst can typically identify many marks related to the slaughter of an animal or its initial partitioning into manageable portions, the nuances in cooking that come along with smaller tools and different kitchen techniques may not always leave marks on the bone. It is more than possible to slice fresh meat off a bone without leaving any sort of metal tool markings whatsoever. Many meal preparations or standard cooking temperatures may not have any clear impact on bones once they have entered the archaeological record.

As much as taphonomy must be understood to assess fragmentation and preservation, many taphonomic factors can modify the surface of bones. Many of these are often confused for human activity so these need to be distinguished before social behaviors can be interpreted. Examples of common non-human modifications are those caused by carnivore or rodent gnawing, trampling, sedimentary abrasion,

alluvial polishing, and cracking or splitting from weathering (Reitz and Wing 2008: 115-116; Fisher 1995: 31-43). While biotic and abiotic disturbances can provide information about the environment where the bones were buried, misidentifying them as human activity can distort interpretations about human behavior. Fortunately, these marks can be quite distinct, even for novices. Robert Blumenschine and his colleagues (1996), all zooarchaeologists, conducted an experiment on a group of analysts with varying expertise taught by different researchers. They found that marks produced by metal tools, hammerstone technology, and carnivore teeth were detected with a high percentage of accuracy given strong lighting and at least a 16x magnifying lens.

In a historic context, typically the appearance of hammerstone technology would be rare, and instead all marks would likely be caused by metal tools. But since the enslaved at Wye House may not have always had metal tools such as knives for processing food items, the appearance of hammerstone technology would not be unexpected. The types of modifications expected included: cutmarks, scrapemarks, chop or hackmarks, gougemarks, sawmarks, percussion marks, and polishing (Capaldo and Blumenschine 1994; Fisher 1995: 12-31; Lyman 1987: 253-254). In reference to an African-American food pattern, this would exhibit as highly fragmented bone with many chopmarks and possibly polishing from being boiled in a stew pot. While there is no archaeological information for the Lloyds, the pattern for slaveowners would be evidenced by a series of cutmarks that are aligned perpendicular to the long axis of a bone due to slicing a steak. It would be interesting

if these sorts of cutmarks were found on large ungulates in the quarters of the enslaved.

Also worth noting for historic contexts is the advent of industrialized butchery in the 19th century. This resulted in a standardization of retail meat cuts as well as a different range of modifications (Schulz and Gust 1983; McKee 1987: 35). Certain unwanted or undesirable elements like head or feet portions could cease to appear in the archaeological record, if consumers did not regularly purchase these. Also, reciprocal and circular saws enabled bones to be cut in ways that were not seen previously with the use of a hand saw. Besides for more unusual cuts of bone that did not correspond to weak points or articular ends, industrial saws leave a different type of sawmark than hand saws. Although the distinction is fine, these too can be distinguished readily (Reitz and Wing 2008: 128-135). At Wye House, while the Lloyds certainly had the means and access to industrially butchered meat, there are no records showing that they purchased meats already butchered like this to bring onto the plantation, especially for distribution to the enslaved. Because of the Lloyds' diversified agrarian and husbandry practices, they would have produced enough food and animals to supply their own needs. Indeed, butchered animals were more likely to move in the opposite direction and leave the plantation. This is seen in historical documents where the Lloyds regularly sold animals and pre-butchered meat to people in Baltimore and Annapolis, to the Caribbean, and as military provisions. These animals for sale were likely slaughtered and butchered by hand somewhere on the plantation. Thus, although industrial butchery must not be discounted, the rural

environment of Wye House probably meant that distribution of meat was not very different from that described in most zooarchaeological literature.

v) Mortality Profile

The last line of faunal evidence cataloged was the assessment of how old animals were when they died – an age-at-death profile or a kill pattern. The mortality profile at Wye House will likely be very diverse because of the range of domestic and wild animals available. In general, it is most like a self-contained economy as described by archaeologists Paula Wapnish and Brian Hesse (1988) because animals are produced and consumed locally. Although the Lloyds of course brought their foods to markets beyond the borders of their plantations, the food consumed by the enslaved would have been from animals living or being raised in their immediate vicinity. The mortality profile of most of their rations would resemble a typical domestic herd with neonatal mortalities, accidental or disease-related deaths, and older animals culled from the breeding stock. Prime-aged animals slaughtered would typically be male since more females are kept for breeding purposes.

But at Wye House, there were plenty of taxa that did not fit into this profile. Certain cattle used as draft animals would not be slaughtered until they were too old to work. Also, raising beef cattle meant that there would have been a substantial number of juvenile and prime-aged steer present. The opposite would be true of the dairy cattle, where there would predominantly be prime-aged females and juveniles,

but very few prime-aged steer. Since there were sheep kept on the plantation prized for their wool – by the time of Edward Lloyd V, Wye House had flocks of merino sheep – there was probably an unusual number of adult sheep with a high proportion of wethers (castrated males) (Crabtree 1990: 165). Mortality profiles are also not relevant for fowl or other wild animals. These would be represented by a range of ages since their capture would be opportunistic and animals the enslaved kept like chickens would be slaughtered based on need. Nonetheless, mortality profiles can offer information about the type of rations the enslaved were receiving from the Lloyds if they cannot offer much information about food supplementation. Usually, provisions are of consistent portions from mature individuals (Maltby 1981: 182). If prime-age or young individuals were being consumed, this could mean the enslaved were not always rationed with poorly valued cuts of meat, they were able to raise their own animals besides for chickens, or they were able to procure valuable portions of meat through other avenues.

Constructing mortality profiles requires knowledge of ageing domestic mammals. This was done using several different methods and there are many publications describing the fairly narrow age ranges which have been established (e.g., Davis 1987; Klein and Cruz-Uribe 1984; Reitz and Wing 2008; Wilson et al. 1982). The most common and effective methods examine epiphyseal fusion, closure of cranial sutures, incremental structures, and horn or antler development. Epiphyseal fusion is probably the simplest to detect and appears frequently in an assemblage since these bones tend to survive well archaeologically. While the fusion of the

epiphyses is a good indicator of age, its efficacy ends once an animal reaches maturity and its epiphyses completely fuse¹⁰⁶.

Presentation of Faunal Analysis

A total of 16,777 faunal remains were analyzed for this dissertation project. The Tulip Poplar quarter yielded 8,867 of these remains, the Middle Building had 6,915, and the North Building totaled at 995. Since there was fluidity among those who lived on the Long Green, with evidence of people being shifted among the Lloyd holdings and also a high probability of communal cooking, the data from these three structures were combined. It would be inappropriate to isolate faunal materials to a single structure since the expanse of land that these three occupy spans no more than a hundred yards. These structures were grouped in sight of one another along this part of the Long Green and its inhabitants would have shared much more in their daily lives than just a patch of land. Analyzing the fauna specific only to each structure would be imposing boundaries and hint at family-like groupings which may not have existed in the past. There is ample evidence archaeologically and in oral histories of

¹⁰⁶ The most accurate method of ageing animals is using tooth growth, tooth replacement sequences, and tooth wear. The most effective section of teeth to observe these are the mandibular premolars and molars (Greenfield and Arnold 2008). Age sequences corresponding with teeth have been established for all domestic ungulates which could be found at Wye House (e.g., Hillson 1999; Grant 1975, 1982). Unfortunately this technique could not be employed effectively with the Long Green assemblage due to a lack of mandibular teeth or teeth which remained in the mandible or maxilla.

Likewise, although age sequences have been established for avians (Steffen et al. 1990; Wakeling et al. 1997) and even some species of fish (Hales and Reitz 1992), the complexity with doing this coupled with the lack of appropriate elements found in the assemblage made these ageing techniques unusable for the Long Green.

the development of an enslaved community, the importance of shared spaces such as yards, and the existence of strong social networks that transcended a nuclear family or the residents of a single home unit (see archaeological discussions from, Heath and Bennett 2000; Ferguson 1992; Battle-Baptiste 2004). Therefore, the remains recovered from the Long Green quarters were combined and grouped within their relevant context period. For ease of discussion, the periods are referred to as the Early Lloyd period and the Plantation period. The purpose for doing this was to coincide the passing of ownership of Wye House with the immense changes enacted by each subsequent Lloyd. The second reason for this break in time was because the terminus post quem dates for each provenience excavated was distinguishable for these periods.

The Early Lloyd period ends in 1770 with the death of Edward Lloyd III, and the Plantation period picks up with the inheritance of Wye House by Edward Lloyd IV. As mentioned in previous chapters, this dissertation aims to show that this integral period of the late 18th century marks the institutionalization of African-American enslavement characterized by the increasing codification of racial differences and the regimentation of slave life on southern plantations. This analysis will show that processes of racialization were played out at Wye House and that enslaved foodways were impacted by these changes. The purpose of this section presenting the zooarchaeological data is to show that the faunal remains from the earlier to the later period were not consistent over time. The observations of the current faunal data are carried over into Chapter 7. The chapter will discuss how

enslaved foodways at Wye House were incongruent with a ubiquitous African-American diet.

Taphonomy and Bone Preservation

Before discussing the findings of the zooarchaeology in relation to the project research questions, a discussion of taphonomy is necessary to comprehend the type of assemblage that was analyzed and to assess the amount of faunal material that may have been lost post-deposition. The following figures depict the density quartiles for cows, caprids, and pigs to illustrate the representation of different bones within the animal ranked by bone density. It is a way to display the survivability of fauna in this assemblage (Binford and Bertram 1977; Speth 1983). The figures show that there is good representation of bones that are 'less dense' and 'least dense' across all three taxa.

Figure 15. Bone density ranked by quartile for cow, based on %MAU

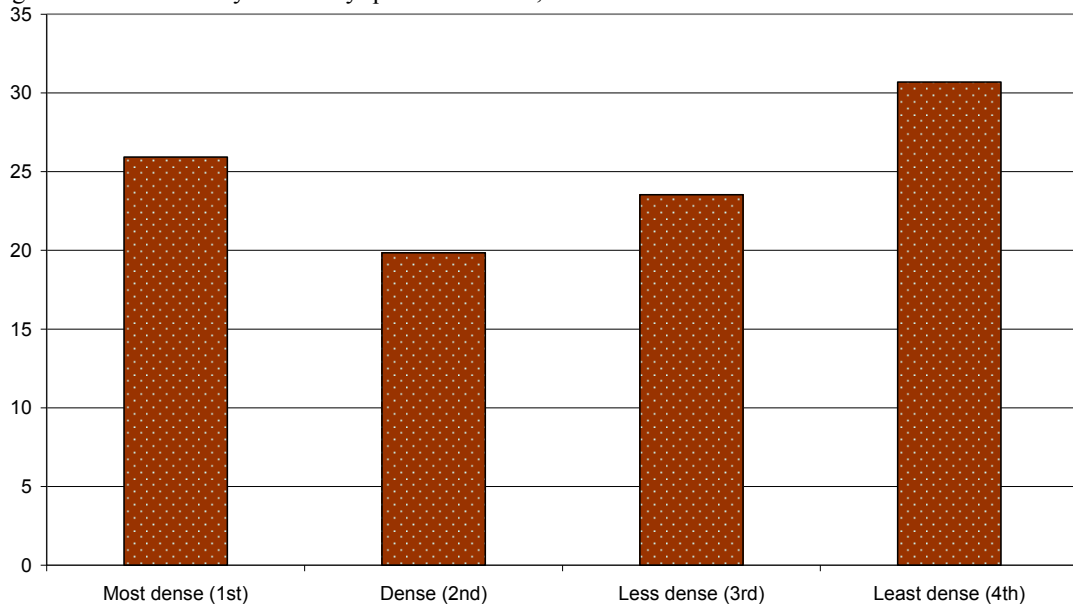


Figure 16. Bone density ranked by quartile for caprid, based on %MAU

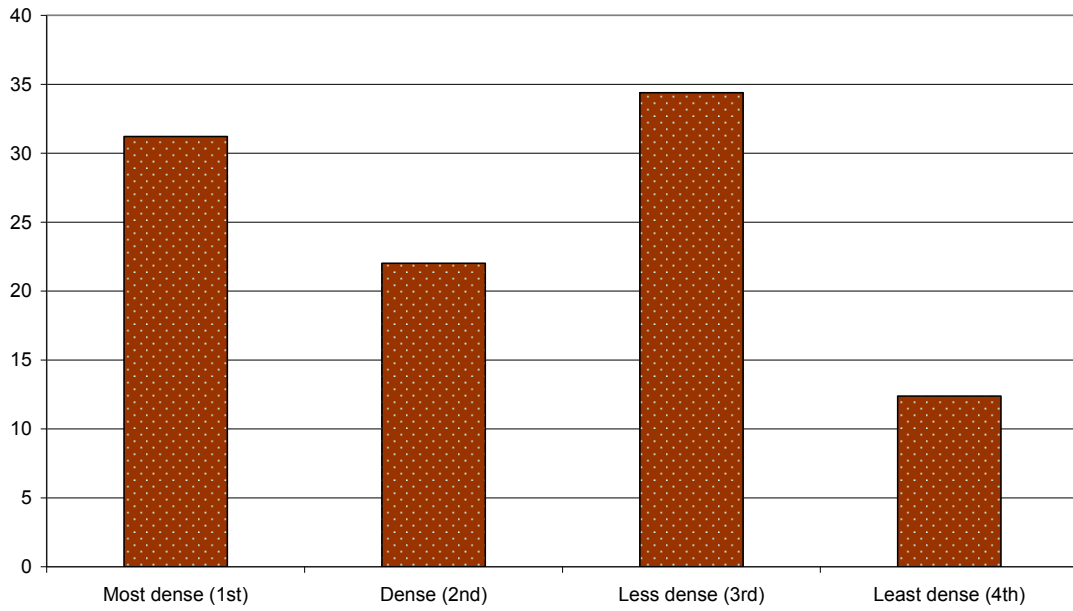
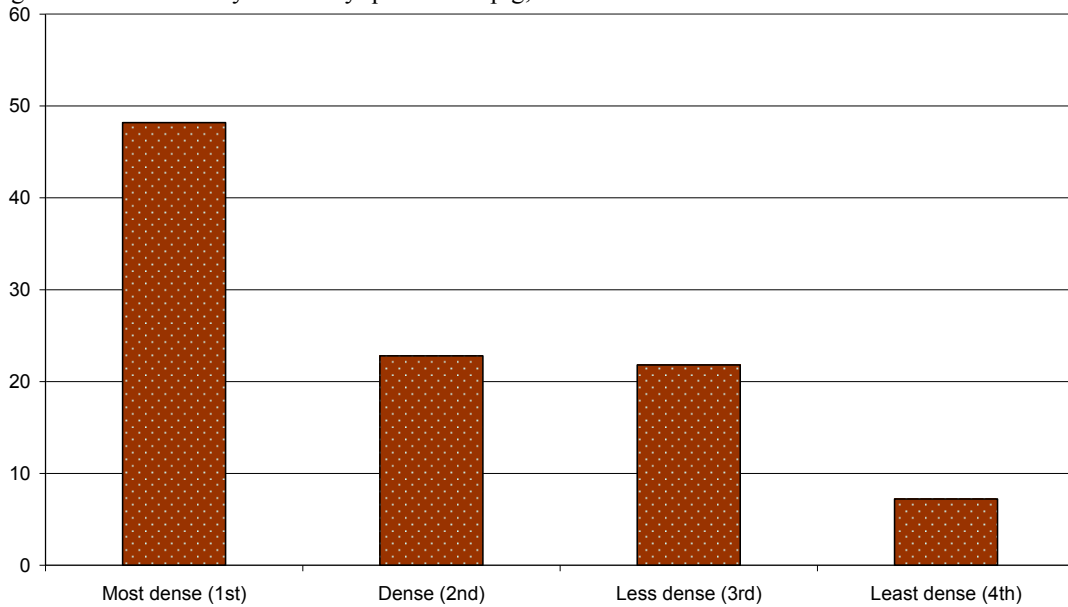


Figure 17. Bone density ranked by quartile for pig, based on %MAU



The next sets of figures present the same taxa data as they are ranked in accordance to archaeologist Lewis Binford's Modified General Utility Index (MGUI) (1978). MGUI is a way to evaluate body part utility while recognizing that different animal portions can yield differing amounts of food or be of some other value to the consumer. This can expand our understandings to more than meat, to include considerations of bone marrow and grease. The following figures group the MGUI quartiles of each taxa first, then presents the MGUI data as compared with the density rankings. In this way, the presence of high-utility animal parts identified can be assessed with the rate of preservation in the archaeological record at Wye House.

Figure 18. MGUI quartiles for cow

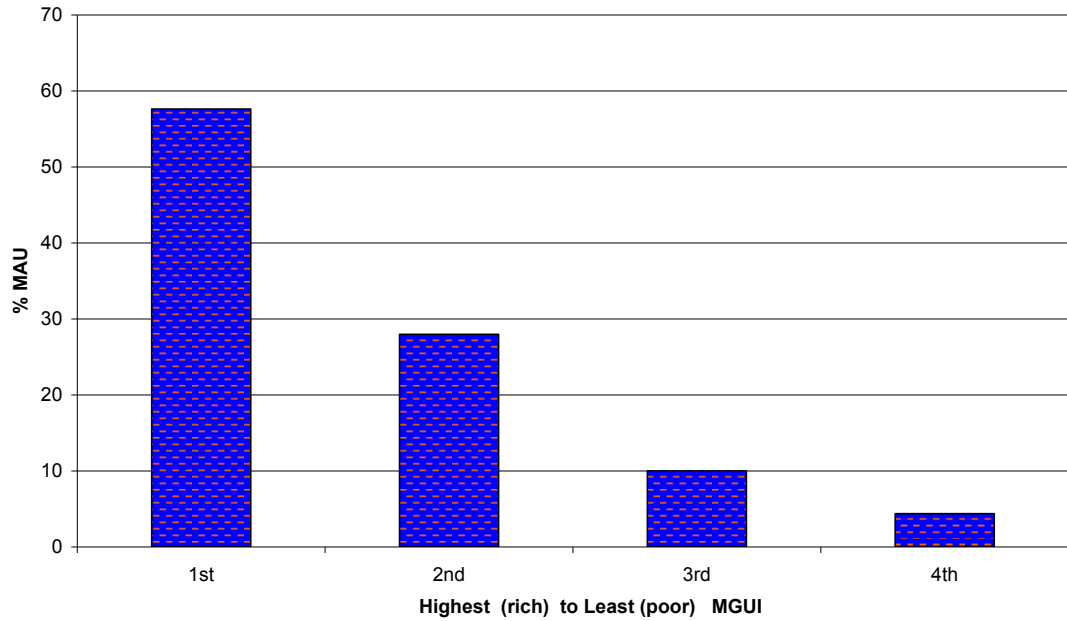


Figure 19. MGUI as compared to bone density ranking for cow

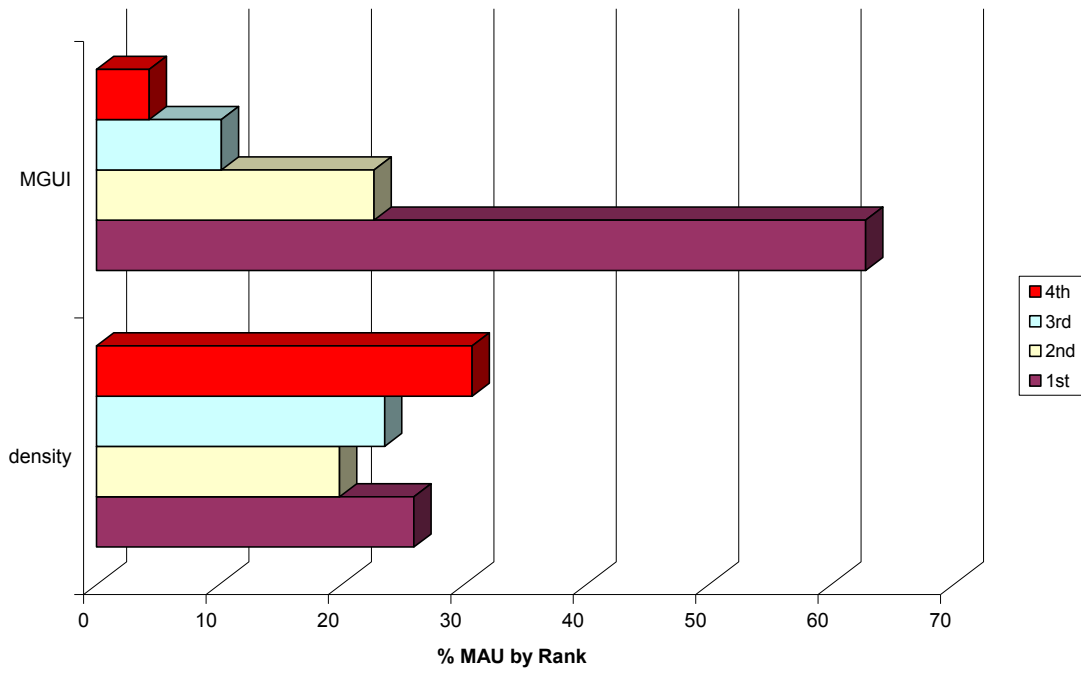


Figure 20. MGUI quartiles for caprid

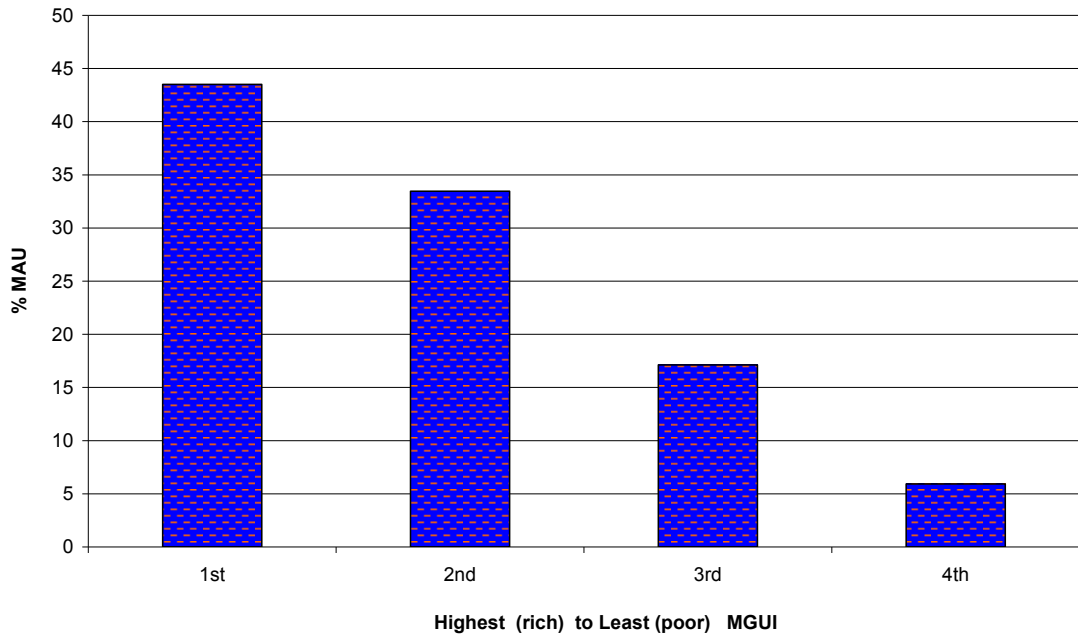


Figure 21. MGUI as compared to bone density ranking for caprid

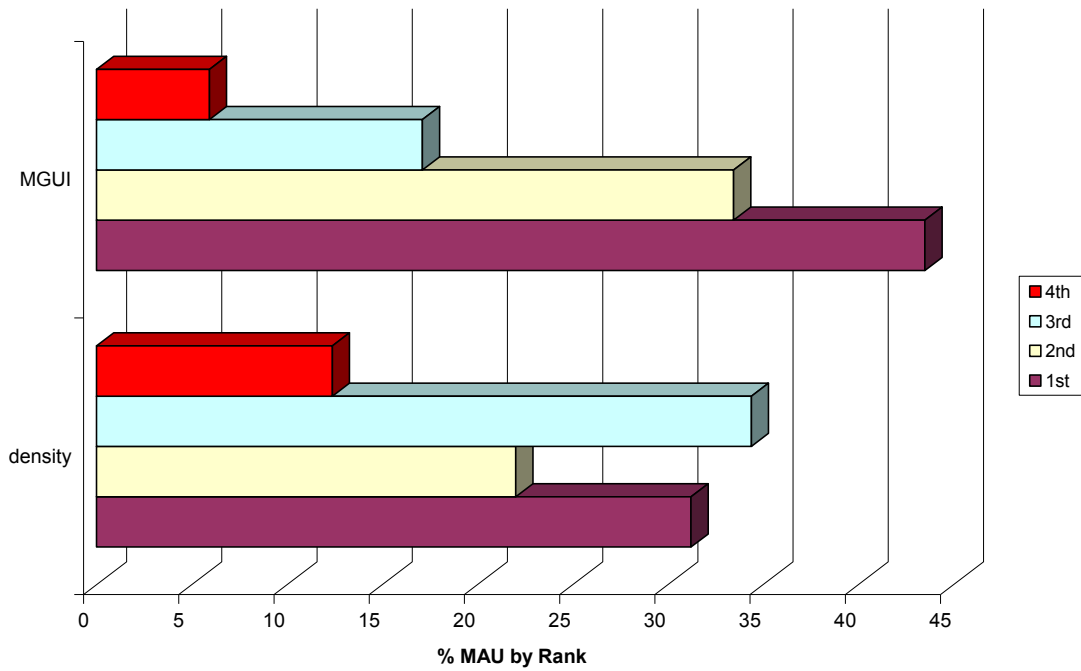


Figure 22. MGUI quartiles for pig

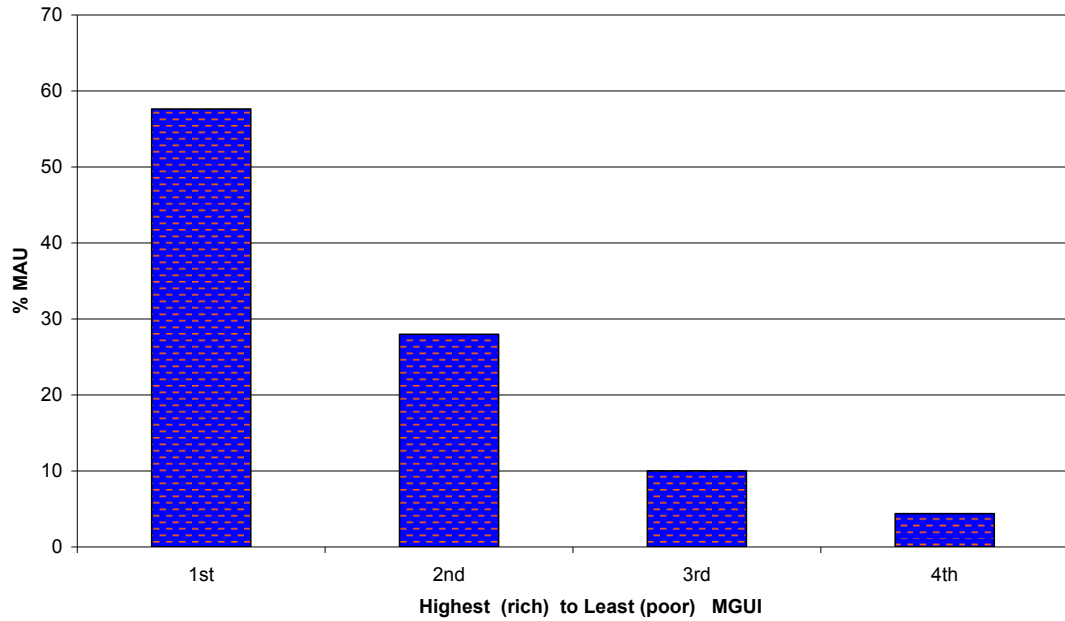
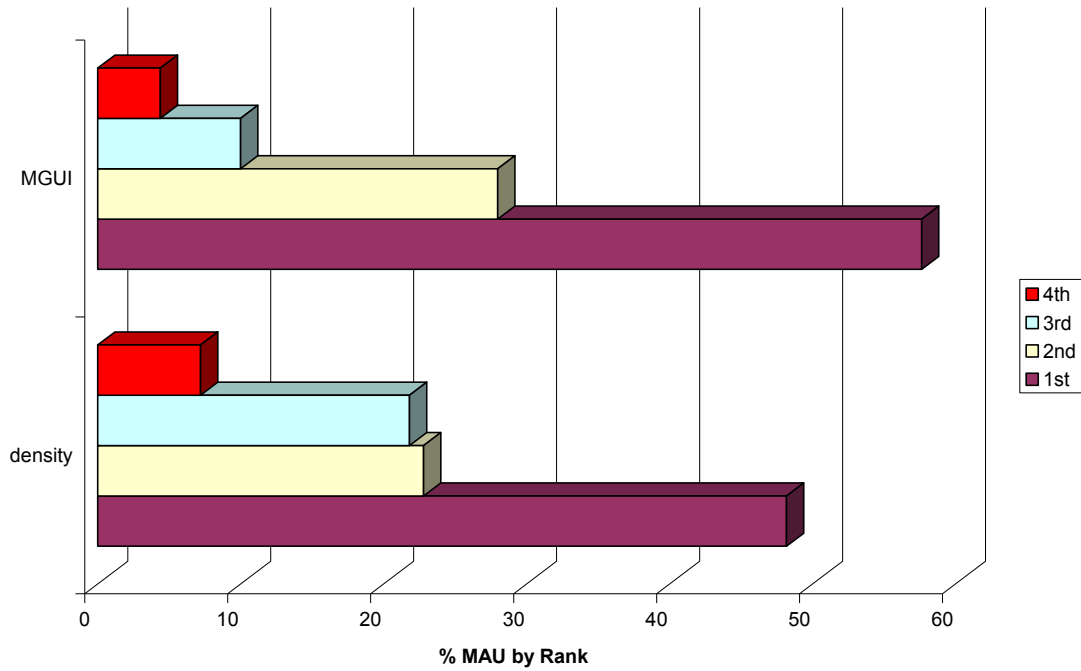


Figure 23. MGUI as compared to bone density ranking for pig



These figures indicate that the assemblage has a good representation of fauna that has survived the archaeological record. Each animal shows an expected range of body

parts given density-mediated attrition as well as differential butchery, transport, or consumption based on body-part utility. The assemblage used for this dissertation is robust and exhibits good bone preservation for cows, pigs, and caprids. The subsequent sections continue the presentation of the faunal analysis, referring specifically to the research questions and hypotheses posed.

The following tables present the taxa diversity for each of the periods and the NISP and MNI data. While in other zooarchaeological contexts, it is frequently easy to separate out the commensal animals from those that were food, enslaved contexts require more consideration. Those separated as ‘Typically not eaten,’ were done so because very little compelling evidence exists to indicate that these animals were even occasionally considered suitable food items. The same consideration was applied to rodents such as rats and mice, but they were ultimately included as consumables since there is evidence of these animals being eaten in enslaved contexts, and the assemblage analyzed indicated that some rats and mice were cooked or butchered. In contrast, the animals listed as non-edible showed no evidence of butchery or other human surface modifications. In addition to this, oyster remains were left in the final count and charts although many zooarchaeologists remove them from analysis because their prevalence can skew numbers so greatly. They remain in this analysis because they were an important part of food supplementation and it is inaccurate to exclude them merely because oysters constitute little nutritional value. Those enslaved at Wye House made frequent use of oysters in their diets and at times, collected oysters on a weekly basis according to historical records. Archaeologically,

the shells recovered were mostly deposited as food refuse and had little indication of being used secondarily such as for paving or tempering mortar¹⁰⁷. The following sections are organized topically, based on observations of the actual and derived data. The focus is on the changes seen when comparing the Early Lloyd to the Plantation periods.

Table 1. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) totals

| NISP | 11561 | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | | Common Name | Taxon | NISP | %NISP | MNI |
| Mammals | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Domestic cattle | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 161 | 1.39 | 2 |
| | | Cattle- to horse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 129 | 1.12 | 2 |
| | | White-tailed deer | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 19 | 0.16 | 2 |
| | | Deer-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 62 | 0.54 | 1 |
| | | Pig | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 244 | 2.11 | 4 |
| | | Sheep/goat | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 122 | 1.06 | 3 |
| | | Pig- to sheep/goat-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 584 | 5.05 | 2 |
| | | N.American opossum | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 4 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | Muskrat | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 2 |
| | | Raccoon | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 13 | 0.11 | 3 |
| | | Eastern cottontail | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | Rabbit-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 98 | 0.85 | 3 |
| | | Eastern gray squirrel | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Mouse | <i>Mus</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |

¹⁰⁷ One instance of secondary usage of oyster shells comes from the Middle Building. Test units 53 and 59, placed along the southern wall of the structure where a door opening would have been recovered a sloping level topped with a single, flat layer of packed oyster shells. It was interpreted as an earthen ramp that began in the southwest corner of the building and ended at the southern doorway, all of which was “paved” with oyster shells.

Another instance of secondary usage for oyster shells would be as an eating utensil. Douglass mentions that this is how children consumed corn mush. The shells were likely not curated for a long time, and were probably taken from freshly shucked oysters. These were likely discarded after a single or a few meals as a replacement would come in the form of more fresh oysters. Thus these oyster spoons were probably discarded relatively soon after its contents were eaten and counting it in the temporal scope with the other faunal remains would still be relevant.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|-------|---|
| | | Rat | <i>Rattus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | Squirrel- to mouse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Small) | 16 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | | Unidentified mammal | <i>Mammalia</i> (Unid) | 331 | 2.86 | 2 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 15.57 | |
| | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | Domestic dog | <i>Canis familiaris</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | Domestic cat | <i>Felis catus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 2 |
| | | Meadow vole | <i>Microtus pennsylvanicus</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | | | | | |
| Avian | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Turkey | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | | Turkey-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | | Guineafowl | <i>Numididae</i> | 7 | 0.06 | 2 |
| | | Pheasant | <i>Phasianus</i> | 6 | 0.05 | 1 |
| | | Goose | <i>Branta</i> | 13 | 0.11 | 2 |
| | | Canada goose | <i>Branta canadensis</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Duck | <i>Anas</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | | Domestic chicken | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 16 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | | Chicken-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 146 | 1.26 | 1 |
| | | Passenger pigeon | <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Chicken- to pigeon-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 21 | 0.18 | 2 |
| | | Pigeon-sized and smaller | <i>Aves</i> (Small) | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | Unidentified avian | <i>Aves</i> (Unid) | 22 | 0.19 | 1 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 2.22 | |
| | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | Heron | <i>Ardeidae</i> | 4 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | Falcon | <i>Falconidae</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | Woodpecker | <i>Picidae</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | | | | | |
| Aquatic | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Sturgeon | <i>Acipenser</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | Sturgeon- to carp-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Large) | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | Gar | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 11 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | | Salmon- to gar-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 26 | 0.22 | 1 |
| | | Striped bass or rockfish | <i>Morone saxatilis</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | | White perch or crappie | <i>Morone americana</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | Porgy | <i>Sparidae</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Croaker- to trout-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> | 34 | 0.29 | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|------|-------|-----|
| | | | (Medium/small) | | | |
| | | Perch- to shad-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 86 | 0.74 | 2 |
| | | Unidentified bony fish | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Unid) | 32 | 0.28 | 1 |
| | | Oyster | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 9049 | 78.27 | 109 |
| | | Clam | <i>Bivalvia</i> (general clam) | 91 | 0.79 | 1 |
| | | Crab | <i>Brachyura</i> | 7 | 0.06 | 1 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 80.84 | |
| | | | | | | |
| Reptile | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Box turtle | <i>Terrapene carolina</i> | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | | Pond/marsh turtle | <i>Emyridae</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Mud/musk turtle | <i>Kinosternidae</i> | 101 | 0.87 | 1 |
| | | Turtle-sized | <i>Reptilia</i> (Small/medium) | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | | Unidentified reptile | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 1.05 | |
| | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | Snake | <i>Serpentes</i> | 4 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | | | | | | |
| Other | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | Snail | <i>Gastropoda</i> | 22 | 0.19 | 22 |

Table 2. Plantation period (1770-1865) totals

| NISP | 5216 | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | | Common Name | Taxon | NISP | %NISP | MNI |
| Mammals | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Domestic cattle | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 85 | 1.63 | 2 |
| | | Cattle- to horse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 118 | 2.26 | 1 |
| | | White-tailed deer | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 48 | 0.92 | 3 |
| | | Deer-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 55 | 1.05 | 2 |
| | | Pig | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 162 | 3.11 | 6 |
| | | Sheep/goat | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 68 | 1.30 | 4 |
| | | Pig- to sheep/goat-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 372 | 7.13 | 2 |
| | | N.American opossum | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----|-------|----|
| | | Muskrat | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 8 | 0.15 | 2 |
| | | Raccoon | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 20 | 0.38 | 2 |
| | | Eastern cottontail | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 4 | 0.08 | 2 |
| | | Rabbit-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 68 | 1.30 | 4 |
| | | Eastern gray squirrel | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 6 | 0.12 | 3 |
| | | Mouse | <i>Mus</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | | Rat | <i>Rattus</i> | 234 | 4.49 | 28 |
| | | Squirrel- to mouse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Small) | 11 | 0.21 | 2 |
| | | Unidentified mammal | <i>Mammalia</i> (Unid) | 225 | 4.31 | 1 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 28.53 | |
| | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | Canid | <i>Canidae</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Donkey | <i>Equus africanus asinus</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Domestic cat | <i>Felis catus</i> | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | | Meadow vole | <i>Microtus pennsylvanicus</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 2 |
| | | | | | | |
| Avian | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Turkey | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | | Turkey-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | | Guineafowl | <i>Numididae</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | | Pheasant | <i>Phasianus</i> | 7 | 0.13 | 2 |
| | | Goose | <i>Branta</i> | 3 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | | Duck | <i>Anas</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Domestic chicken | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 8 | 0.15 | 1 |
| | | Chicken-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 20 | 0.38 | 2 |
| | | Passenger pigeon | <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i> | 6 | 0.12 | 2 |
| | | Chicken- to pigeon-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 10 | 0.19 | 2 |
| | | Pigeon-sized and smaller | <i>Aves</i> (Small) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Unidentified avian | <i>Aves</i> (Unid) | 8 | 0.15 | 1 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 1.40 | |
| | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | American oystercatcher | <i>Haematopus palliatus</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Seagull | <i>Laridae</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|-------|-----|
| | | | | | | |
| Aquatic | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Sturgeon- to carp-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Large) | 9 | 0.17 | 1 |
| | | Gar | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Salmon- to gar-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | | White perch or crappie | <i>Morone americana</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Croaker- to trout-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium/small) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Perch- to shad-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 3 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | | Unidentified bony fish | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Unid) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | | Oyster | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 3244 | 62.19 | 192 |
| | | Clam | <i>Bivalvia</i> (general clam) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 62.77 | |
| | | | | | | |
| Reptile | Commonly/ Can be eaten | | | | | |
| | | Pond/marsh turtle | <i>Emydidae</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Turtle-sized | <i>Reptilia</i> (Small/medium) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | Unidentified reptile | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 2 | 0.04 | 2 |
| Total %edible | | | | | 0.08 | |
| | | | | | | |
| Other | Typically not eaten | | | | | |
| | | Snail | <i>Gastropoda</i> | 366 | 7.02 | 366 |

Taxonomic Representation

Before 1770 in the Early Lloyd period, the enslaved consumed a more diverse diet. Most of the diversity could be accounted for by a larger variety of wild taxa. The following tables depict only the consumable fauna identified for each period, and regroups the taxa according to known domesticates versus wild-caught animals.

Table 3. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770), wild versus domestic taxa

| NISP | 11524 | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | Common Name | Taxon | NISP | %NISP | MNI |
| Domestic | | | | | |
| | Domestic cattle | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 161 | 1.40 | 2 |
| | Cattle- to horse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 129 | 1.12 | 2 |
| | Pig | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 244 | 2.12 | 4 |
| | Sheep/goat | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 122 | 1.06 | 3 |
| | Pig- to sheep/goat-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 584 | 5.07 | 2 |
| | Turkey | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Turkey-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | Guineafowl | <i>Numididae</i> | 7 | 0.06 | 2 |
| | Pheasant | <i>Phasianus</i> | 6 | 0.05 | 1 |
| | Domestic chicken | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 16 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | Chicken-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 146 | 1.27 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 12.39 | |
| | | | | | |
| Wild | | | | | |
| | White-tailed deer | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 19 | 0.16 | 2 |
| | Deer-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 62 | 0.54 | 1 |
| | N.American opossum | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 4 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Muskrat | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 2 |
| | Raccoon | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 13 | 0.11 | 3 |
| | Eastern cottontail | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Rabbit-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 98 | 0.85 | 3 |
| | Eastern gray squirrel | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Mouse | <i>Mus</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | Rat | <i>Rattus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Squirrel- to mouse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Small) | 16 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | Goose | <i>Branta</i> | 13 | 0.11 | 2 |
| | Canada goose | <i>Branta canadensis</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Duck | <i>Anas</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | Passenger pigeon | <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Chicken- to pigeon-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 21 | 0.18 | 2 |
| | Pigeon-sized and smaller | <i>Aves</i> (Small) | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | Sturgeon | <i>Acipenser</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | Sturgeon- to carp-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Large) | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Gar | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 11 | 0.10 | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------|-----|
| | Salmon- to gar-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 26 | 0.23 | 1 |
| | Striped bass or rockfish | <i>Morone saxatilis</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | White perch or crappie | <i>Morone americana</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Porgy | <i>Sparidae</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Croaker- to trout-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium/small) | 34 | 0.30 | 1 |
| | Perch- to shad-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 86 | 0.75 | 2 |
| | Unidentified bony fish | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Unid) | 32 | 0.28 | 1 |
| | Oyster | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 9049 | 78.52 | 109 |
| | Clam | <i>Bivalvia</i> (general clam) | 91 | 0.79 | 1 |
| | Crab | <i>Brachyura</i> | 7 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | | | | | |
| | Box turtle | <i>Terrapene carolina</i> | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Pond/marsh turtle | <i>Emydidae</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Mud/musk turtle | <i>Kinosternidae</i> | 101 | 0.88 | 1 |
| | Turtle-sized | <i>Reptilia</i> (Small/medium) | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | Unidentified reptile | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 84.50 | |
| | | | | | |
| | Unidentified mammal | <i>Mammalia</i> (Unid) | 331 | 2.87 | 2 |
| | Unidentified avian | <i>Aves</i> (Unid) | 22 | 0.19 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 3.06 | |

Table 4. Plantation period (1770-1865), wild versus domestic taxa

| NISP | 4839 | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | Common Name | Taxon | NISP | %NISP | MNI |
| Domestic | | | | | |
| | Domestic cattle | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 85 | 1.76 | 2 |
| | Cattle- to horse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 118 | 2.44 | 1 |
| | Pig | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 162 | 3.35 | 6 |
| | Sheep/goat | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 68 | 1.41 | 4 |
| | Pig- to sheep/goat-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 372 | 7.69 | 2 |
| | | | | | |
| | Turkey | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Turkey-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | Guineafowl | <i>Numididae</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Pheasant | <i>Phasianus</i> | 7 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | Domestic chicken | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 8 | 0.17 | 1 |
| | Chicken-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 20 | 0.41 | 2 |
| Total | | | | 17.54 | |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------|-----|
| Wild | | | | | |
| | White-tailed deer | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 48 | 0.99 | 3 |
| | Deer-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 55 | 1.14 | 2 |
| | N.American opossum | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Muskrat | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 8 | 0.17 | 2 |
| | Raccoon | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 20 | 0.41 | 2 |
| | Eastern cottontail | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 4 | 0.08 | 2 |
| | Rabbit-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 68 | 1.41 | 4 |
| | Eastern gray squirrel | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 6 | 0.12 | 3 |
| | Mouse | <i>Mus</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Rat | <i>Rattus</i> | 234 | 4.84 | 28 |
| | Squirrel- to mouse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Small) | 11 | 0.23 | 2 |
| | | | | | |
| | Goose | <i>Branta</i> | 3 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | Duck | <i>Anas</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Passenger pigeon | <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i> | 6 | 0.12 | 2 |
| | Chicken- to pigeon-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 10 | 0.21 | 2 |
| | Pigeon-sized and smaller | <i>Aves</i> (Small) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | | | | | |
| | Sturgeon- to carp-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Large) | 9 | 0.19 | 1 |
| | Gar | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Salmon- to gar-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | White perch or crappie | <i>Morone americana</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Croaker- to trout-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium/small) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Perch- to shad-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 3 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | Unidentified bony fish | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Unid) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | Oyster | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 3244 | 67.04 | 192 |
| | Clam | <i>Bivalvia</i> (general clam) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | | | | | |
| | Pond/marsh turtle | <i>Emydidae</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Turtle-sized | <i>Reptilia</i> (Small/medium) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Unidentified reptile | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 2 | 0.04 | 2 |
| Total | | | | 77.60 | |
| | | | | | |
| | Unidentified mammal | <i>Mammalia</i> (Unid) | 225 | 4.65 | 1 |
| | Unidentified avian | <i>Aves</i> (Unid) | 8 | 0.17 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 4.82 | |

During the early period, domesticates account for 12.39% (NISP=1428) of the assemblage while wild animals comprise 84.5% (NISP=9743) of the edible spectrum of foods¹⁰⁸. And though many of the wild animals could be easily trapped by the enslaved on or near the plantation, others came from much farther out in the Bay or had to be hunted. Animals such as white-tailed deer, sturgeon, rockfish, or geese would not have been so easily caught without boats, special tools, or weapons. After 1770 in the Plantation period, there is an increase in the consumption of domestic animals to 17.54% (NISP=849) and a decrease in wild animals to 77.6% (NISP=3757). What this amounts to, is that over time, the enslaved experienced a 41.57% increase in domestic animal consumption and a corresponding decrease of 8.17% in the consumption of wild animals. The majority of enslaved foods through time remain dependent upon wild animals much more than domestic animals, but there is a substantial jump in the proportion of domestic animals in their diets. Understanding this information, more detail is necessary to comprehend the changes that occurred within each of the animal classes: artiodactyls, large rodents or vermin, birds, fish, oysters, and reptiles. The following tables are referred to throughout the remaining part of this section. The tables divide the Early Lloyd and Plantation periods by the edible or consumable animals, grouped according to similar taxa.

¹⁰⁸ About 3% of the assemblage could not be identified to a taxon lower than mammal or bird, so could not be classified as either wild or domestic since both of these could exist on or around the plantation.

Table 5. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) edible taxa

| NISP | 11524 | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | Common Name | Taxon | NISP | %NISP | MNI |
| Mammals | | | | | |
| | Domestic cattle | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 161 | 1.40 | 2 |
| | Cattle- to horse-sized | <i>Mammalia (Large)</i> | 129 | 1.12 | 2 |
| | White-tailed deer | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 19 | 0.16 | 2 |
| | Deer-sized | <i>Mammalia (Medium/large)</i> | 62 | 0.54 | 1 |
| | Pig | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 244 | 2.12 | 4 |
| | Sheep/goat | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 122 | 1.06 | 3 |
| | Pig- to sheep/goat-sized | <i>Mammalia (Medium)</i> | 584 | 5.07 | 2 |
| | N.American opossum | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 4 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Muskrat | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 2 |
| | Raccoon | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 13 | 0.11 | 3 |
| | Eastern cottontail | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Rabbit-sized | <i>Mammalia (Medium/small)</i> | 98 | 0.85 | 3 |
| | Eastern gray squirrel | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Mouse | <i>Mus</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | Rat | <i>Rattus</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Squirrel- to mouse-sized | <i>Mammalia (Small)</i> | 16 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | Unidentified mammal | <i>Mammalia (Unid)</i> | 331 | 2.87 | 2 |
| Total | | | | 15.62 | |
| | | | | | |
| Avian | | | | | |
| | Turkey | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Turkey-sized | <i>Aves (Large)</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | Guineafowl | <i>Numididae</i> | 7 | 0.06 | 2 |
| | Pheasant | <i>Phasianus</i> | 6 | 0.05 | 1 |
| | Goose | <i>Branta</i> | 13 | 0.11 | 2 |
| | Canada goose | <i>Branta canadensis</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Duck | <i>Anas</i> | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | Domestic chicken | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 16 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | Chicken-sized | <i>Aves (Medium)</i> | 146 | 1.27 | 1 |
| | Passenger pigeon | <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Chicken- to pigeon-sized | <i>Aves (Medium/small)</i> | 21 | 0.18 | 2 |
| | Pigeon-sized and smaller | <i>Aves (Small)</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | Unidentified avian | <i>Aves (Unid)</i> | 22 | 0.19 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 2.23 | |
| | | | | | |
| Aquatic | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------|-----|
| | Sturgeon | <i>Acipenser</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | Sturgeon- to carp-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Large) | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Gar | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 11 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | Salmon- to gar-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 26 | 0.23 | 1 |
| | Striped bass or rockfish | <i>Morone saxatilis</i> | 1 | 0.01 | 1 |
| | White perch or crappie | <i>Morone americana</i> | 3 | 0.03 | 1 |
| | Porgy | <i>Sparidae</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Croaker- to trout-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium/small) | 34 | 0.30 | 1 |
| | Perch- to shad-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 86 | 0.75 | 2 |
| | Unidentified bony fish | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Unid) | 32 | 0.28 | 1 |
| | Clam | <i>Bivalvia</i> (general clam) | 91 | 0.79 | 1 |
| | Crab | <i>Brachyura</i> | 7 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | Oyster | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 9049 | 78.52 | 109 |
| Total | | | | 81.10 | |
| | | | | | |
| Reptile | | | | | |
| | Box turtle | <i>Terrapene carolina</i> | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Pond/marsh turtle | <i>Emydidae</i> | 2 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Mud/musk turtle | <i>Kinosternidae</i> | 101 | 0.88 | 1 |
| | Turtle-sized | <i>Reptilia</i> (Small/medium) | 8 | 0.07 | 1 |
| | Unidentified reptile | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 5 | 0.04 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 1.05 | |

Table 6. Plantation period (1770-1865) edible taxa

| NISP | 4839 | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| | Common Name | Taxon | NISP | %NISP | MNI |
| Mammals | | | | | |
| | Domestic cattle | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 85 | 1.76 | 2 |
| | Cattle- to horse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 118 | 2.44 | 1 |
| | White-tailed deer | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 48 | 0.99 | 3 |
| | Deer-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 55 | 1.14 | 2 |
| | Pig | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 162 | 3.35 | 6 |
| | Sheep/goat | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 68 | 1.41 | 4 |
| | Pig- to sheep/goat-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 372 | 7.69 | 2 |
| | N.American opossum | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Muskrat | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 8 | 0.17 | 2 |
| | Raccoon | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 20 | 0.41 | 2 |
| | Eastern cottontail | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 4 | 0.08 | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|------|-------|-----|
| | Rabbit-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 68 | 1.41 | 4 |
| | Eastern gray squirrel | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 6 | 0.12 | 3 |
| | Mouse | <i>Mus</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Rat | <i>Rattus</i> | 234 | 4.84 | 28 |
| | Squirrel- to mouse-sized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Small) | 11 | 0.23 | 2 |
| | Unidentified mammal | <i>Mammalia</i> (Unid) | 225 | 4.65 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 30.75 | |
| | | | | | |
| Avian | | | | | |
| | Turkey | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Turkey-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | Guineafowl | <i>Numididae</i> | 2 | 0.04 | 1 |
| | Pheasant | <i>Phasianus</i> | 7 | 0.14 | 2 |
| | Goose | <i>Branta</i> | 3 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | Duck | <i>Anas</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Domestic chicken | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 8 | 0.17 | 1 |
| | Chicken-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 20 | 0.41 | 2 |
| | Passenger pigeon | <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i> | 6 | 0.12 | 2 |
| | Chicken- to pigeon-sized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 10 | 0.21 | 2 |
| | Pigeon-sized and smaller | <i>Aves</i> (Small) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Unidentified avian | <i>Aves</i> (Unid) | 8 | 0.17 | 1 |
| Total | | | | 1.51 | |
| | | | | | |
| Aquatic | | | | | |
| | Sturgeon- to carp-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Large) | 9 | 0.19 | 1 |
| | Gar | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Salmon- to gar-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | White perch or crappie | <i>Morone americana</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Croaker- to trout-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium/small) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Perch- to shad-sized | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 3 | 0.06 | 1 |
| | Unidentified bony fish | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Unid) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | Clam | <i>Bivalvia</i> (general clam) | 5 | 0.10 | 1 |
| | Oyster | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 3244 | 67.04 | 192 |
| Total | | | | 67.66 | |
| | | | | | |
| Reptile | | | | | |
| | Pond/marsh turtle | <i>Emydidae</i> | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Turtle-sized | <i>Reptilia</i> (Small/medium) | 1 | 0.02 | 1 |
| | Unidentified reptile | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 2 | 0.04 | 2 |
| Total | | | | 0.08 | |

The artiodactyls identified included cattle, deer, pigs, and caprids¹⁰⁹. All of these animals see an increase in consumption from the Early Lloyd to the Plantation period. Cattle increase from 1.4% (NISP=161) to 1.76% (NISP=85). If the category classified as large mammals is combined to cattle, the numbers change from 2.52% to 4.2%; this would be a 66.67% increase in beef consumption. The presence of deer increases likewise from .16% (NISP=19) to .99% (NISP=48). Combining the category of medium/large mammals, it is observed that venison consumption changes from .7% to 2.13%, an increase of 204.29%. Similarly, pigs begin at 2.12% (NISP=244) in the early period and rises to 3.35% (NISP=162), amounting to a 58.02% in pork consumption. As for caprids, 1.06% (NISP=122) were recovered from the Early Lloyd period while 1.41% (NISP=68) were from the Plantation period. This reflects a 33.02% increase in mutton consumption. Additionally, to consider the category of medium mammal which includes the size classes of both pigs and caprids, the earlier period had 5.07% (NISP=584) and the later period had 7.69% (NISP=372). If all types of medium mammals are combined – pigs, caprids, medium mammal category – the enslaved increased consumption of these types of animals by 50.97%, as the combined remains analyzed amounted to 8.24% in the early period and 12.44% in the later.

These findings are not exceptional on a general scale but upon closer inspection, are indeed unique when comparing the changes at Wye House to what an expected enslaved diet would be on other plantations. It is predictable that the

¹⁰⁹ Caprids refer to animals within the subfamily, Caprinae. In the charts, these refer to the category Ovis/Capra or Sheep/Goat, but the term caprid will be used throughout the text as a more eloquent substitute than referring to a sheep/goat.

enslaved would experience a diet comprised of more domestic animals as the institution of enslavement became more regimented. As the slave system becomes more strict, so too would rations. A stricter enforcement of rations would appear as more control over the foods distributed, likely more repetition in the animal resources used as food, and more restrictions upon the enslaved for procuring their own foods. The typical plantation pattern regarding domesticates predicts an increase in pork consumption, and a decrease in beef and mutton consumption. Venison as a food option is not discussed. On the Long Green, while there certainly was a jump in pork consumption, consumption of beef increased comparably and both venison and mutton consumption increased as well. This is contrary to an expected enslaved diet pattern. The increase in pork should have been countered by a decrease in both beef and mutton. Moreover, the Long Green deviates from standard patterns in that its residents increased venison consumption by a higher percentage than any other animal. This does not mean that those of the Long Green ate more venison than any other meats, but that they ate much more venison in the Plantation period than they did in the Early Lloyd Period, whereas the other meats reflected a steadier increase. Nonetheless, it is striking that deer is found in any quantities. Deer had to be hunted, usually with firearms. Though having access to firearms is not completely uncommon for the enslaved, being able to hunt deer on the Lloyd plantation would have been, as it was a luxury reserved explicitly for the Lloyds and their guests. Even overseers were prohibited from deer hunting. It is worth noting that residents did indeed appear to consume the most pork over time, but it would be incorrect to say their diet consisted only of pork or that they preferred pork over other meats.

In many zooarchaeological contexts, the analysis of mammal consumption would end here with the artiodactyls. In enslaved contexts, a number of small mammals would commonly be considered food items, even if their consumption was only occasional or needed due to hunger. These small mammals include the rodents and vermin, and those identified in the assemblage were: opossum, muskrat, raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, mouse, and rat. All of these animals are classified as wild taxa. While rabbits could certainly be raised on the plantation, there is no indication that this was done large-scale as part of plantation operations or even individually at slave quarters. These small mammals would be acquired by laying traps, and this would be less time consuming and skill-intensive than hunting by game stalking. The proportions of small animals are as follows for the edible animals of the Early Lloyd period: .03% opossum (NISP=4), .07% muskrat (NISP=8), .11% raccoon (NISP=13), .03% rabbit (NISP=3), .02% squirrel (NISP=2), .01% mouse (NISP=1), .03% rat (NISP=3), .85% medium/small mammals (NISP=98), and .14% small mammals¹¹⁰ (NISP=16). During the Plantation period, the following proportions of edible rodents and vermin identified were: .04% opossum (NISP=2), .17% muskrat (NISP=8), .41% raccoon (NISP=20), .08% rabbit (NISP=4), .12% squirrel (NISP=6), .04% mouse (NISP=2), 4.84% rat (NISP=234)¹¹¹, 1.41% medium/small mammal (NISP=68), and .23% small mammal (NISP=11). Since an individual would rarely target the capture of any of

¹¹⁰ The category “medium/small mammal” refers to animals that are approximately the size of rabbits. The category “small mammal” refers to animals that are between the size of squirrels and mice.

¹¹¹ As mentioned earlier, though rats and mice are only rarely considered a consumable food item, even for the enslaved, they were included into these charts because the rats and mice exhibited signs of human modification so it was necessary to either include or exclude these small rodents entirely. While it was decided that mice and rats were to be included into this edible group, it should be noted that one explanation for the significant increase in rats found in the Plantation period could be partially attributed to their appearance in test units associated with the North Building. Although enslaved people inhabited the North Building, this structure functioned predominantly as a storage building,

these animals exclusively and their procurement is more opportunistic, it is more appropriate to speak of these animals as a group instead of by individual taxa.

Combining all of the vermin and rodents together, 1.28% of the edible assemblage from the Early Lloyd period was identified and 7.34% of these animals were identified for the Plantation period. This is a substantial increase in the consumption of rodents and vermin over time of 473.44%. Even if the mice and rats are excluded entirely from these counts, in recognition of whatever portion may have only been commensal, the change in consumption of all vermin amount to a 100.9% increase. These numbers indicate that the enslaved were increasing their exploitation of small mammals, rodents, and vermin at a far greater rate than any of the other taxa identified in the assemblage. Although the large mammals or artiodactyls composed a larger proportion of their diet, the consumption of these small mammals and rodents became more important in the Plantation period. This could be due to a greater desire to seek out these animals because of changes in food preference, because of a need to bring more variety to a less diverse diet, or because the enslaved were required to contribute more nutrient supplementation to their rations.

The first two explanations presented for why the enslaved would seek out more rodents and vermin to eat is further supported when examining the remains identified from the avian assemblages. According to the historical record, the

most likely for grains. Food storage and refuse from human habitations always attract pests, and it is no surprise that cat remains were found throughout the Long Green excavations since they served as valuable pest management. Nevertheless, as many of the rodent specimens appear to have been eaten, these animals could not be ruled out since their pervasiveness and increased presence likely played a role in their consideration as a viable food option.

enslaved were allowed to and were frequently encouraged to raise chickens. Chickens would require little care or maintenance and provided the added benefit of eggs. In several instances throughout his ledgers, Edward Lloyd IV mentions purchasing – more likely bartering – eggs from chickens raised by the enslaved. In the Early Lloyd period, birds account for 2.23% (NISP=257) of the edible assemblage and this decreases to 1.51% (NISP=73) in the Plantation period, which amounts to an overall decrease in avian resources of 32.29%. If the bird taxa are regrouped according to avian size classes, it can be seen that the decrease is due to the consumption of fewer medium sized birds by 50.58%. These include both wild and domestic medium bird varieties, and those identified included: guinea fowl, pheasant, goose, duck, chicken, and medium-sized birds. They amounted to 1.72% (NISP=198) of the edible Early Lloyd assemblage and .85% (NISP=41) of the edible Plantation assemblage.

Overall, there is no clear delineator to explain the increases in certain bird taxa and the decrease in others. Of those that could be identified to a lower taxa classification, pheasant, chicken, and passenger pigeon percentages increased while guinea fowl, goose, and duck decreased. Turkey contributions remained the same over time. One observation which could be elaborated upon is the finding that the consumption of geese and ducks decreased, both of which are wild waterfowl. The Lloyds were avid fowl hunters so perhaps the enslaved experienced more restrictions for hunting of wild animals over time. So while hunting and trapping rodents and vermin were permitted, waterfowl hunting may have been prohibited. This would not be unusual, though it does not compare well with the increase seen regarding

increased deer consumption in the Plantation period. It seems strange that restrictions applied to waterfowl hunting would not be equally levied against deer, and secretive hunting of small birds would actually be simpler than the procurement of the much larger deer. Despite these inconsistencies, it is clear that a variety of birds certainly contributed to enslaved meals, though their overall contribution does decrease over the course of time.

Another food group that compares well to the birds is the fish assemblage. The proportion of fish exhibits trends that compare closely with the bird assemblage. The fish remains also provide strong evidence for a shift towards a less diverse diet on the Long Green. While five identifiable taxa – sturgeon, gar, rockfish, crappie, and porgy – were identified in the Early Lloyd period, only two of these taxa were identified in the Plantation period. Of the edible assemblage overall, the total fish assemblage analyzed came to 1.73% (NISP=199) in the earlier period and only .52% (NISP=25) in the later period. This equates to a 69.94% decrease in fish consumption over time. All of the fish categories decrease in the Plantation period, except for sturgeon and other large bony fish which see an increase from .03% (NISP=4) to .19% (NISP=9). Although Atlantic sturgeon live deeper out in the ocean, they annually swim into the Bay and rivers to spawn. On the other hand, shortnose sturgeon lives in the freshwater rivers surrounding the Bay permanently. The former can grow to be much larger than the latter, but there is no way to identify one or the other zooarchaeologically with certainty. Either way, sturgeons stay within rivers and larger bodies of water, so the enslaved would not have been able to procure any in the

immediate vicinity of Wye House. Interestingly enough on the opposite end of the size scale, although there appear .75% (NISP=86) of small bony fish in the early period, there are only .06% (NISP=3) identified in the later period. Small bony fish, or fish that are between the size of perch and shad, would be the type of fish the Lloyds mention rationing to the enslaved. The historic documents stipulate that the enslaved were rationed herring. Shad is a type of river herring with a slightly larger body type, and Atlantic herring comes from the ocean. There is no way to know whether the enslaved were given herring procured in nearby freshwater or herring which brought in from ocean vessels and purchased for rations. It may be possible that small bony fish bones have better preservation in the Early Lloyd period since many of the remains were excavated from intact features but the overall decrease in all fish and aquatic animals – some with excellent preservation potential – indicates that there was simply a decrease in fish consumption in general.

The other aquatic animals that also see a decrease in consumption, the bivalves, help support the previous suggestion that the decrease in fish was not the result of poor preservation or taphonomy. Mollusks preserve remarkably well in the archaeology of the region. Frequently, the soils which can be too harsh for delicate bone preservation have no effect on bivalve shells. Oyster shells are found in such overabundance in Chesapeake sites that many excavation procedures call for these remains to simply be noted and discarded. Oysters and clams comprised the largest group of animals consumed on the Long Green by a huge margin. But similar to many of the other food items exploited, even the bivalve consumption proportionately

decreased over time. The Early Lloyd period had .79% (NISP=91) clams and 78.52% (NISP=9049) oysters in its assemblage, while .10% (NISP=5) clams and 67.04% (NISP=3244) oysters were identified in the Plantation period. This meant that there was a 15.34% decrease in bivalve consumption from the early to the later period.

Though many excavators do not curate oyster shells and many zooarchaeologists do not extend their analyses to bivalves, this animal played such an integral role in communities surrounding the Chesapeake that attempts were made to gather additional details for the current analysis. Sampling strategies employed in the field resulted in the collection of 295 oyster shells suitable for additional faunal analysis. During the primary data collection phase, oyster valves were measured; weighed; and examined for signs of salinity decalcification, parasitic activity, and spawning. Because comprehending where the enslaved may have procured their oysters could be of interesting interpretive value, a morphometric analysis of shell shape was conducted. The height-length ratio (HLR) was calculated for each oyster. This is the relationship between the maximum dorsal-ventral dimension and the anterior-posterior dimension of a left valve. The ultimate shape of an oyster shell is highly affected by its environment; a low HLR points to an intertidal or shallow, sandy living environment while a high HLR points to tightly packed communities located in reefs or deep channels. Therefore, the mean HLRs of an aggregated assemblage can produce a fairly accurate assessment of where the oysters were harvested from. The most common oyster types ordered from lowest to highest HLR are: sand oysters, bed oysters, channel oysters, and reef oysters (Kent 1988: 28-33).

In the Early Lloyd period, the mean HLR (NISP=103) was 1.51 and in the Plantation period the mean HLR (NISP=192) was 1.41. These numbers fall into the range of bed oysters, which live in mixed muddy sand and either grow alone or in loosely clustered colonies. It is important to remember that this is merely the mean of the entire sample, and a closer look at each period is worthwhile. In the earlier period, the proportions appear as 25.24% (NISP=26) sand oysters, 70.87% (NISP=73) bed oysters, and 3.89% (NISP=4) channel oysters. For the later period, there are 31.77% (NISP=61) sand oysters, 63.54% (NISP=122) bed oysters, 1.56% (NISP=3) channel oysters, and 3.13% (NISP=6) reef oysters. Both periods recovered oysters that came predominantly from the waters that surrounded Wye House. These oysters would require a small boat and a net or a dredging device. Not surprisingly, over a quarter of both assemblages included sand oysters, which would cluster close to land and could be hand-picked or gathered easily with raking. What is interesting is that the later period shows an increase in oysters that were procured farther away from the plantation by 20.57%. Also missing from the earlier assemblage are reef oysters which appear in the later group. This indicates that in the later period, the enslaved were consuming oysters that came from the deeper rivers, the Bay, and perhaps even the ocean. Harvesting these types of oysters would require a larger vessel equipped for oyster dredging. Considering this, compared to the early period, the enslaved in the later period were eating proportionately less oysters, but may have had more access to oystering outside the immediate vicinity of Wye House. Returning momentarily to the larger assemblage of aquatic animals, it is easily seen that seafood comprised the majority of the enslaved diet – 81.10% in the Early Lloyd period and

67.66% in the Plantation period. Some of these remains would have been in the form of rations, but most of these foods would have been procured by the enslaved themselves.

The last of the taxa groups to be presented are the reptiles. Similar to the aquatic animals, their consumption displays the resourcefulness of the enslaved in the exploitation of their natural environment. Since snake bones were removed from the edible assemblage, when including the categories identified of small/medium reptiles and unidentified reptiles, it would be appropriate to speak in terms of the change in turtle consumption. Like many of the other wild taxa exploited at Wye House, the diversity of reptiles consumed over time decreases in the Plantation period. The edible reptile taxa identified from the Early Lloyd period included box turtles, marsh turtles, and musk turtles. They comprised 1.05% (NISP=121) of the edible assemblage. This decreases to .08% (NISP=4) in the plantation period and only marsh turtles are identified. Turtle consumption from the early to the later period exhibited a decrease of 92.38%. It could be that overall turtle populations decreased along with the overexploitation of diamondback terrapins in Maryland. Perhaps the popularity of terrapin led to the experimentation of other turtles in recipes as terrapin populations were decimated throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Walter 1973; Chesapeake Bay Program 2012). But, it is probably not coincidental that the same reduction in diversity and quantity identified across most wild taxa is also seen with turtles during the Plantation period. Similar to these other wild animals, one reason turtles may have had a smaller role in enslaved diets during the Plantation period

could be that restrictions against food procurement may have been enforced more as slavery became more regulated and ideas about rationing were more rigid.

Skeletal Part Representation

While researchers have placed the understanding of animal types and quantities at the forefront of analyses, conclusions are nevertheless limited by the flaws of using NISP so it is necessary to explore other zooarchaeological measures. Also on another level, when looking at the standard enslaved food pattern, it has been suggested that appearances of atypical animals such as beef or mutton were acceptable because slaves received lower quality portions of these animals. The argument is that highly-valued animals could be considered part of the enslaved pattern if the remains consisted of lower-valued body parts. So if cows or sheep were identified, then the elements identified should be from low-value portions such as the head, feet, and upper torso sections. The opposite then was true for assemblages with remains from the slaveowners, when pigs were identified the portions would be of high-value portions such as the hindquarters and the limbs. Therefore, in order to comprehend how animal portions were utilized on the Long Green, this section presents the Minimum Number of Elements (MNE) data and the associated values of Minimum Animal Units (MAU).

The taxa used to gather MNE information were cows, large mammals, deer, medium/large mammals, pig, caprids, and medium mammals. Most of the other taxa

identified in the assemblage were either small enough that they were probably prepared as whole carcasses or had underrepresentation of certain body portions because of transport from a kill site. For instance, a captured opossum could be brought back to the quarters alive or killed where it was trapped. In both cases, the opossum would be brought to the quarters as a whole animal with equal representation of all skeletal elements by the time of preparation for cooking. On the other hand, although small, some animals may consistently be transported from their kill site back to the quarters without certain body parts. This is often the case with fish, especially those caught en masse by netting. To alleviate the transport of excess waste and for convenience, fish are frequently killed, gutted, and cleaned once they are hauled from the water. Thus, many fish kill sites exhibit a high representation of head and fin portions, while the home site will have the bones from the main body section. In contrast to the opossum or fish, large animals evidence very different body part portioning. These carcasses necessitate a greater degree of butchering to split the body into manageable sections, and the representation of these sections can be examined for preferences in addition to carcass acquisition behaviors. Since calculating the MNEs for the smaller animals would not provide much evidence regarding portion preferences or differences in rationing, this portion of the analysis focuses only on the large mammals. The tables below present the MNE, MAU, adjusted MAU, and %MAU values for these animals during the Early Lloyd and the Plantation periods. The element representation for each taxa will be compared for its changes over time.

Table 7. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) Minimum Number of Elements

| Taxon | | Element | MNE | MAU | Adjusted MAU | %MAU |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----|------|--------------|------|
| <i>Bos taurus</i> | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Astragalus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Calcaneus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Carpal | 1 | n/a | | |
| | | Caudal Vertebra | 1 | 0.06 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 4 | 0.8 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Cranial | 4 | 4 | 4 | 100 |
| | | Horn core/Antler | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Metacarpal | 4 | 2 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Phalange | 10 | 0.42 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Tooth | 23 | 0.72 | 1 | 25 |
| | Torso | Innominate | 4 | 2 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Lumbar Vertebra | 3 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Rib | 6 | 0.23 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Sacral Vertebra | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Scapula | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 4 | 0.31 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Vertebra | 2 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 4 | 2 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Humerus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Long Bone | 2 | n/a | | |
| | | Radius | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Tibia | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | | | | | |
| <i>Mammalia (Large)</i> | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Cranial | 5 | 5 | 5 | 100 |
| | | Horn core/Antler | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Malleus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Tooth | 2 | 0.06 | 1 | 20 |
| | Torso | Costal cartilage | 1 | 0.04 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Rib | 7 | 0.27 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Scapula | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 1 | 0.08 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Vertebra | 7 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Humerus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----|------|---|-----|
| | | Long Bone | 13 | n/a | | |
| | | Radius | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Tibia | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |
| | | | | | | |
| <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Astragalus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Calcaneus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Carpal | 1 | n/a | | |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Maxilla w/teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | Torso | Innominate | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Lumbar Vertebra | 1 | 0.17 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Rib | 2 | 0.08 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Scapula | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | Limbs | Femur | 4 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Radius | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Tibia | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | | | | | |
| <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Cranial | 2 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Maxilla | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Maxilla w/o teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Pisiform | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Tooth | 4 | 0.13 | 1 | 50 |
| | Torso | Innominate | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Rib | 5 | 0.19 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Scapula | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Vertebra | 1 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Long Bone | 5 | n/a | | |
| | | Tibia | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | | | | | |
| <i>Sus scrofa</i> | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Cranial | 2 | 2 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Lunate | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Mandible w/teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Maxilla w/teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Metacarpal | 21 | 2.63 | 3 | 75 |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----|------|---|-----|
| | Limbs | Femur | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 40 |
| | | Long Bone | 1 | n/a | | |
| | | Radius | 2 | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Tibia | 2 | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| | | Ulna | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 20 |
| | | | | | | |
| Mammalia (Medium) | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | | | | | |
| | | Atlas | 2 | 2 | 2 | 29 |
| | | Axis | 1 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Carpal | 2 | n/a | | |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Cranial | 7 | 7 | 7 | 100 |
| | | Cuneiform | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Horn core/Antler | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Maxilla w/o teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Metapodial | 1 | n/a | | |
| | | Phalange | 4 | 0.17 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Sesamoid | 7 | n/a | | |
| | | Tooth | 10 | n/a | | |
| | | Unciform | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Caudal Vertebra | 1 | 0.06 | 1 | 14 |
| | Torso | Costal cartilage | 4 | 0.15 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Innominate | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Lumbar Vertebra | 2 | 0.33 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Rib | 13 | 0.46 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Sternum | 3 | 3 | 3 | 43 |
| | | Vertebra | 18 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Humerus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Long Bone | 20 | n/a | | |
| | | Patella | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 14 |
| | | Radius | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 29 |
| | | Tibia | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 29 |
| | | Ulna | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 14 |

Table 8. Plantation period (1770-1865) Minimum Number of Elements

| Taxon | | Element | MNE | MAU | Adjusted MAU | %MAU |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----|------|--------------|------|
| Bos taurus | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Astragalus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 3 | 0.6 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Cuneiform | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Horn core/Antler | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Maxilla w/teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Metacarpal | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Metatarsal | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Naviculo-cuboid | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Phalange | 3 | 0.13 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Tooth | 12 | 0.38 | 1 | 50 |
| | Torso | Lumbar Vertebra | 1 | 0.17 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Rib | 10 | 0.38 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Scapula | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 3 | 0.23 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Vertebra | 2 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 4 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Humerus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Long Bone | 2 | n/a | | |
| | | Patella | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Radius | 4 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Tibia | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Ulna | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | | | | | |
| Mammalia (Large) | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Cranial | 8 | 8 | 8 | 100 |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 13 |
| | | Tooth | 1 | 0.03 | 1 | 13 |
| | Torso | Rib | 12 | 0.46 | 1 | 13 |
| | | Scapula | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 13 |
| | | Vertebra | 5 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 13 |
| | | Humerus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| | | Long Bone | 10 | n/a | | |
| | | Radius | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 13 |
| | | | | | | |
| Odocoileus virginianus | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----|------|---|-----|
| | Heads, feet, tails | Axis | 1 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Cranial | 2 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Mandible w/teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Maxilla w/teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Metacarpal | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Metatarsal | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Phalange | 6 | 0.25 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Tooth | 3 | 0.09 | 1 | 50 |
| | Torso | Rib | 4 | 0.15 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Scapula | 4 | 2 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 2 | 0.15 | 1 | 50 |
| | Limbs | Femur | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 100 |
| | | Humerus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Long Bone | 1 | n/a | | |
| | | Tibia | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | Ulna | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 50 |
| | | | | | | |
| Mammalia (Medium/large) | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Cranial | 3 | 3 | 3 | 100 |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Metatarsal | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Scaphoid | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | Torso | Innominate | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 67 |
| | | Rib | 7 | 0.27 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Scapula | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Vertebra | 1 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 2 | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Humerus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Long Bone | 8 | n/a | | |
| | | Radius | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Tibia | 2 | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| | | | | | | |
| Sus scrofa | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | Astragalus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Atlas | 1 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Axis | 1 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Calcaneus | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Carpal | 10 | n/a | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----|------|---|-----|
| | | Caudal Vertebra | 1 | 0.05 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Cranial | 1 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Mandible w/teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Metacarpal | 23 | 2.88 | 3 | 75 |
| | | Metatarsal | 9 | 1.13 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Phalange | 23 | 0.48 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Sesamoid | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Temporal | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Tooth | 24 | 0.55 | 1 | 25 |
| | Torso | Innominate | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Lumbar Vertebra | 4 | 0.67 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Rib | 3 | 0.11 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Scapula | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 3 | 0.21 | 1 | 25 |
| | | Vertebra | 7 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Humerus | 8 | 4 | 4 | 100 |
| | | Radius | 4 | 2 | 2 | 50 |
| | | Tibia | 5 | 2.5 | 3 | 75 |
| | | Ulna | 2 | 1 | 1 | 25 |
| | | | | | | |
| Ovis/Capra | | | | | | |
| | Heads, feet, tails | | | | | |
| | | Astragalus | 2 | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Calcaneus | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Carpal | 2 | n/a | | |
| | | Cervical Vertebra | 1 | 0.2 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Metacarpal | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 67 |
| | | Metatarsal | 2 | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Phalange | 19 | 0.79 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Tooth | 5 | 0.16 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Zygomatic | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | Torso | Acetabulum | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Lumbar Vertebra | 1 | 0.17 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Rib | 5 | 0.19 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Scapula | 2 | 1 | 1 | 33 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 1 | 0.08 | 1 | 33 |
| | Limbs | Humerus | 5 | 2.5 | 3 | 100 |
| | | Long Bone | 1 | n/a | | |
| | | Radius | 4 | 2 | 2 | 67 |
| | | Tibia | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 67 |
| | | | | | | |
| Mammalia (Medium) | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----|------|----|-----|
| | Heads, feet, tails | Cervical Vertebra | 2 | 0.4 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Cranial | 16 | 16 | 16 | 100 |
| | | Mandible w/o teeth | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Maxilla w/o teeth | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Metacarpal | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Metatarsal | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Phalange | 2 | 0.08 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Tooth | 3 | 0.09 | 1 | 6 |
| | Torso | Innominate | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Rib | 32 | 1.23 | 2 | 13 |
| | | Scapula | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Sternum | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Thoracic Vertebra | 2 | 0.15 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Vertebra | 15 | n/a | | |
| | Limbs | Femur | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 13 |
| | | Humerus | 3 | 1.5 | 2 | 13 |
| | | Long Bone | 31 | n/a | | |
| | | Patella | 1 | 0.5 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Radius | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | Tibia | 6 | 3 | 3 | 19 |

The representation of cow portions is discussed first. The largest %MAU came from cranial elements for the Early Lloyd period. The next largest %MAU for this period was for metacarpals, innominates, and femora. If the MNE values for cow are combined with those of the large mammal category, then the %MAU is changed slightly, and the largest representation is from cranial elements while the second largest comes from femora. Looking at the elements represented overall for cows and large mammals, it appears that in the Early Lloyd period, all portions of the body are represented with the highest amounts coming from the head and rear limb portions. In comparison, the cow portions in the Plantation period exhibit the highest %MAU for horn cores, metacarpals, femora, radii, and tibiae. When the values from large mammals are added, the highest %MAU changes to cranial elements with the second

highest values from femora and radii. For both periods, the %MAU for crania are 100% and the %MAU for the highest represented limb bones are over 33%.

Figure 24. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) combined cow and large mammal %MAU graph

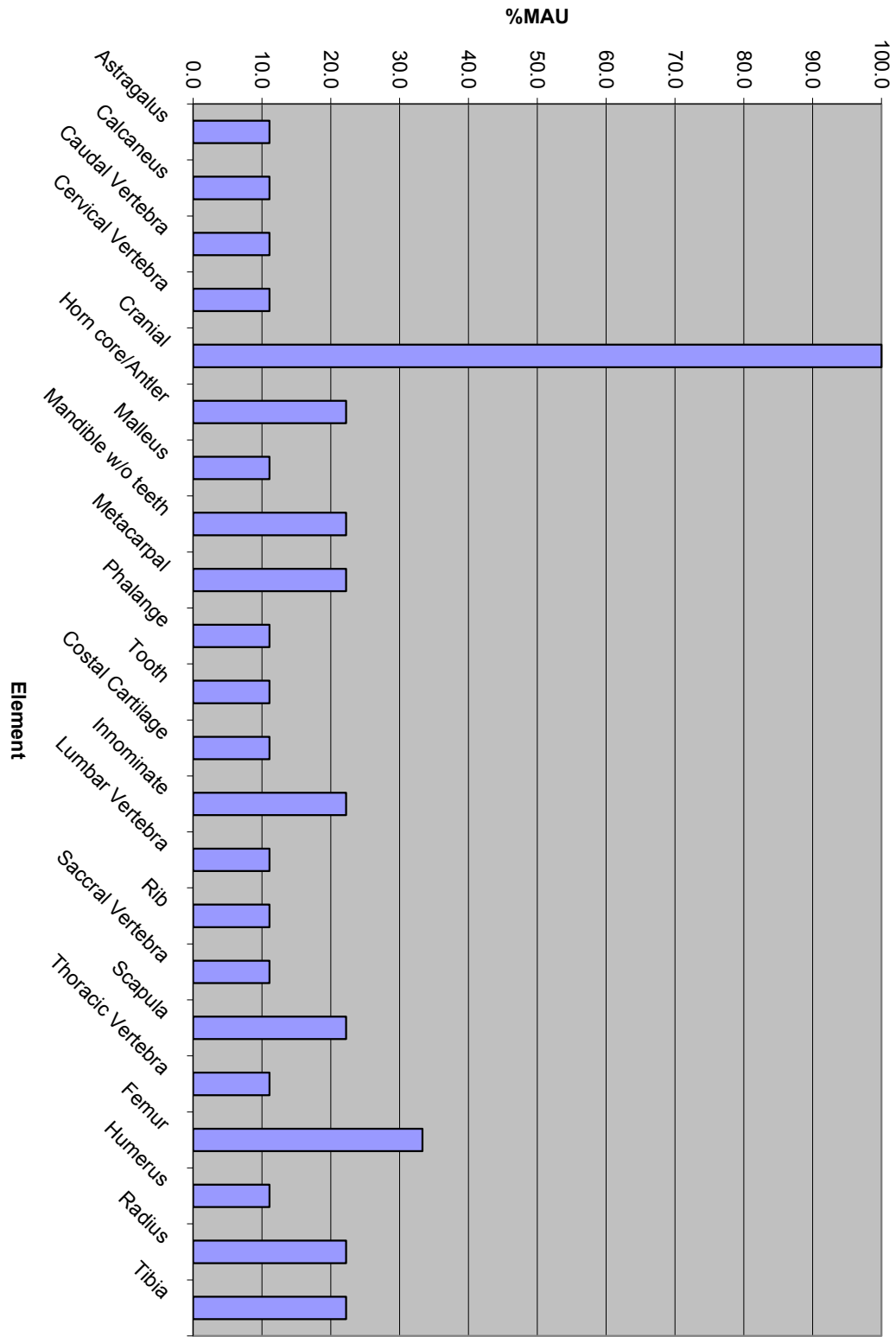
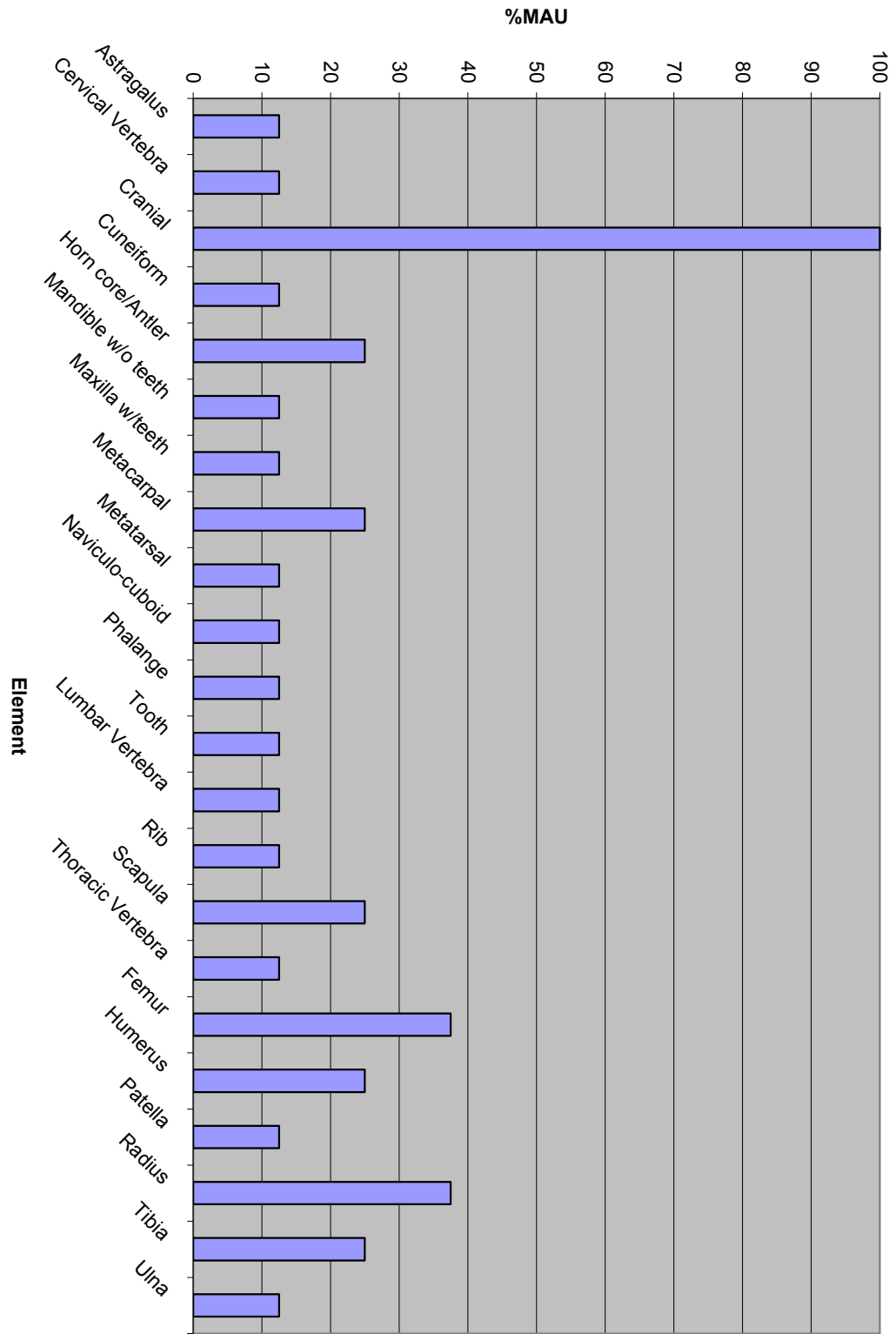


Figure 25. Plantation period (1770-1865) combined cow and large mammal %MAU graph



Looking at the Early Lloyd period versus the Plantation period, it does not appear that any substantial changes occurred in the parts of cow that the enslaved were consuming. The crania, feet, torso, and limbs of cows are represented similarly in both assemblages. Cranial portions are the most prevalent but limbs are well represented in both periods. Considering the NISP data with the MAU values, it appears that the enslaved had access to whole cows and the consumption of cows increased over time. This is certainly inconsistent with any assumptions of racial linkages to body portion consumption because the enslaved were consuming low- and high-value elements at Wye House. Unless the enslaved were receiving unfinished or cast off cow parts from Lloyd meals, it seems that they were exploiting whole cow carcasses. This may support the idea that the enslaved did indeed raise cows for their own usage. Some of the historical documents indicated that slaves were allowed to keep milk cows. An analysis of the age-at-death profile for cows may further support this theory if many of the cows were adult or aged.

The next animal examined is deer and the category of medium/large mammal. The appearance of deer in the earlier period and its increase in contribution to food eaten by the enslaved in the later period is unexpected. Deer hunting is a time-consuming activity that requires experience and weapons. Not only this, but the Lloyds had many restrictions against hunting in their deer park and the lands they owned. If the overseers were explicitly forbidden from hunting deer, then how did the enslaved acquire venison? In the later period, the proportion of deer in the assemblage increases and surpasses even the contribution of the medium/small mammals such as

opossum and muskrat. An examination of deer MNE values provides support that the enslaved may have been hunting or at least that venison was not a meat reserved exclusively for the Lloyds. In the Early Lloyd period, the highest %MAU for deer is of femora. Combining the data from medium/large mammals, the highest %MAU remains the same but the second highest %MAUs are scapulae, tibiae, and crania. Considering the good representation of all body portions, it seems that the enslaved had access to whole deer. The missing phalanges and metapodials also indicate that these deer underwent initial processing wherever they were killed. The feet elements are frequently cast aside as the animal is eviscerated and skinned at the kill site. In the Plantation period, the highest deer %MAU values are crania, metatarsals, scapulae, and femora. By including the medium/large mammals, the highest %MAU changes to the crania, with the next highest being the scapulae and femora. Feet elements are well represented so it seems that deer would have been processed on the Long Green itself and not where they were hunted. Again, like in the early period it appears that the enslaved are receiving all or most of an entire deer carcass.

Figure 26. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) combined deer and medium/large mammal %MAU graph

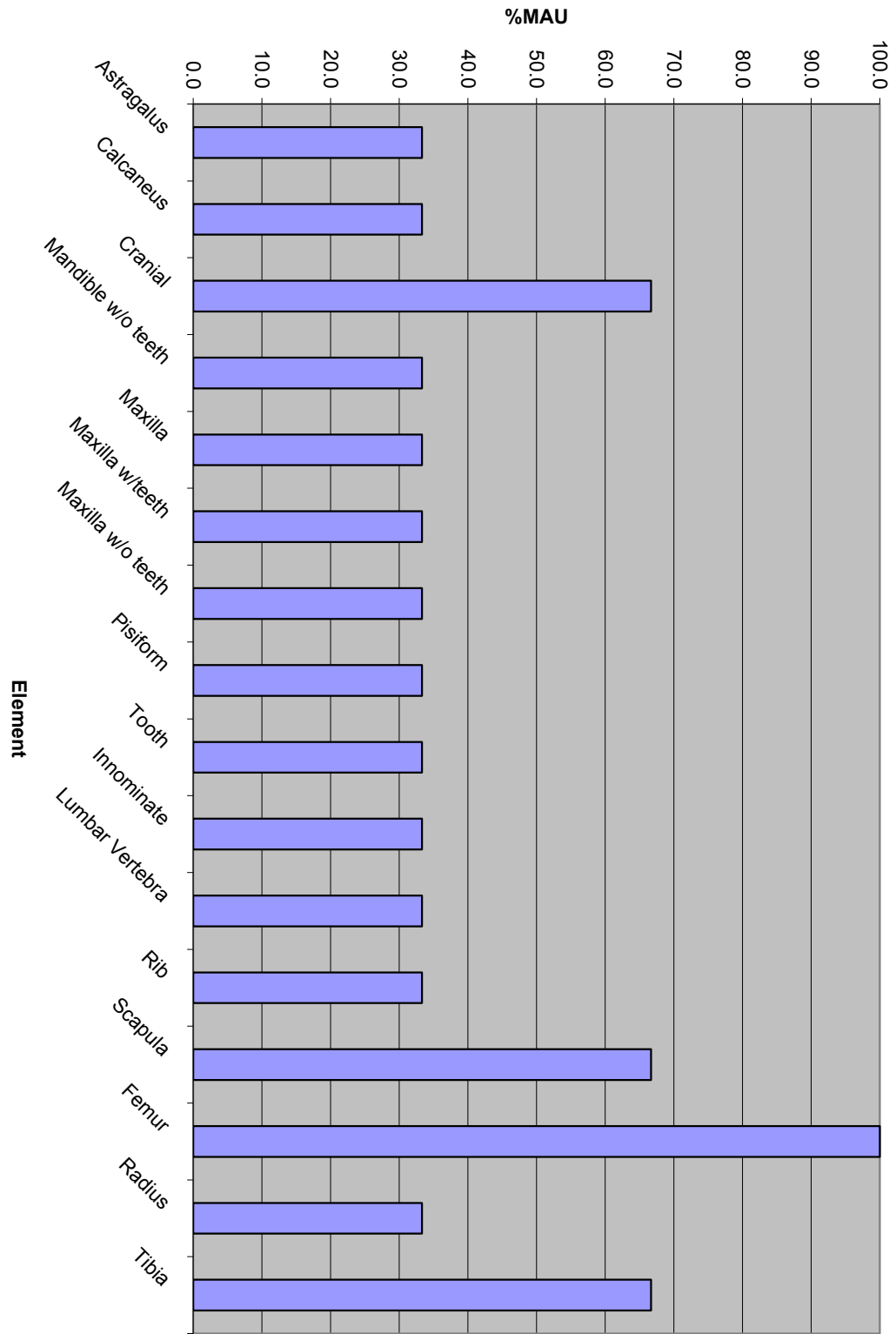
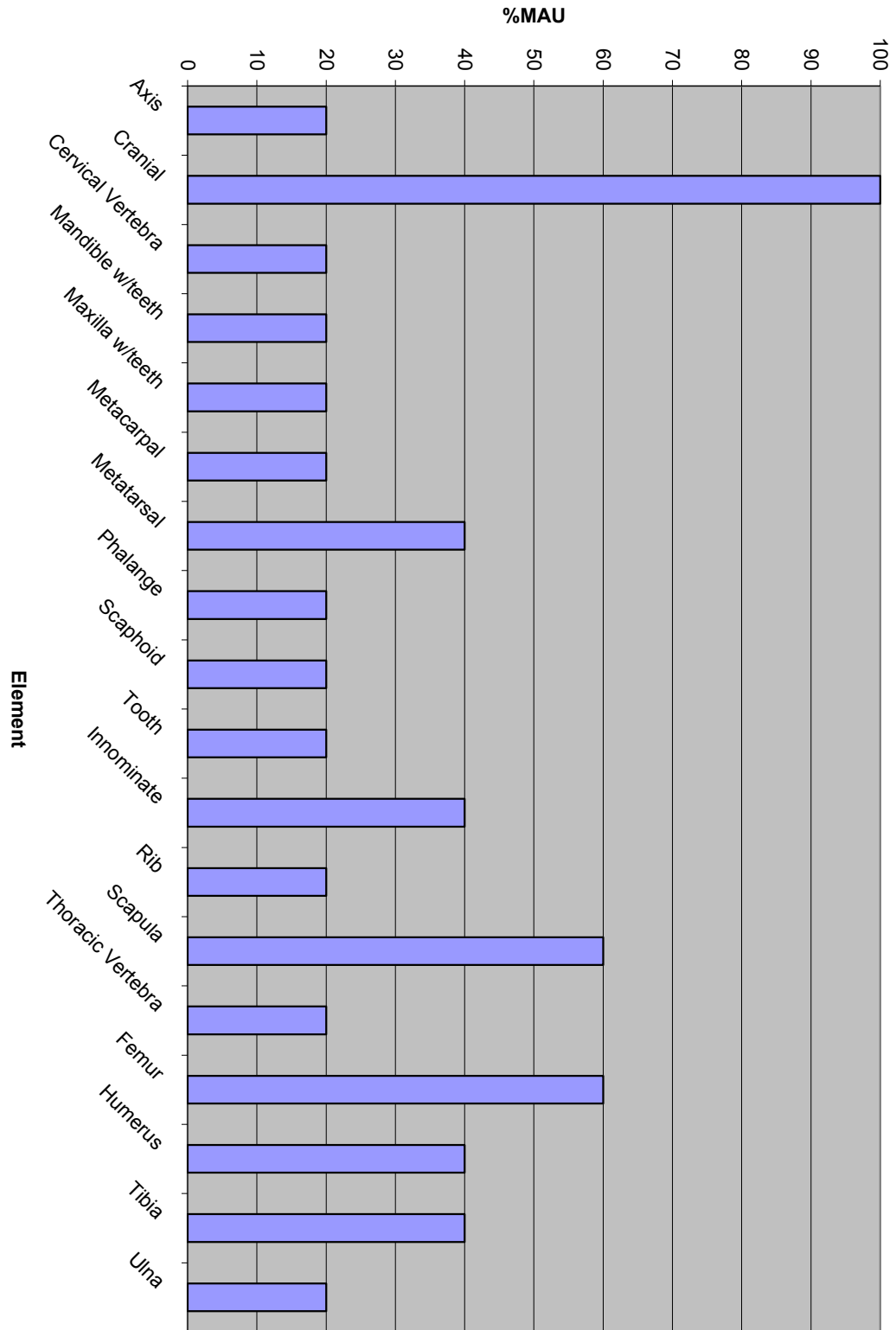


Figure 27. Plantation period (1770-1865) combined deer and medium/large mammal %MAU graph



Before slave codes became more restrictive and prohibited the enslaved from having firearms, there is no historical evidence at Wye House that stated slaves were forbidden access to guns. But because deer stalking requires a substantial time investment and because one of the main leisure activities of the Lloyds was hunting deer, it seems unlikely that the enslaved were able to do their own hunting. While the records indicate many times that the enslaved were free to fish and oyster especially on Sundays, there is no record that permits them to hunt game freely. One explanation for all this can be gleaned from the Lloyd Cookbooks. Out of 310 receipts or recipes total, only one recipe for venison is included. The recipe is for “Veal dressed like Terrapin” and venison, along with duck and chicken, are listed as alternatives to using veal. Given that a favorite pastime of the Lloyds was deer hunting with their honored guests, it is unusual that there is only a single recipe for the ample amounts of meat that would result. Perhaps the Lloyds enjoyed the sport of deer hunting much more than the venison that it provided. Therefore, it is possible that the deer brought back from a successful hunt by the Lloyds was given to the enslaved as part of rations, or more likely in the guise of a gift to supplement their meager daily meals.

The next animal – the pig – is argued by researchers to be the preferred meat of choice for African-Americans and many theories surrounding the enslaved pattern begin here. For pigs in the Early Lloyd period, the highest %MAU values are represented by scapulae and humeri, with the next highest of metacarpals and tibiae. For the Plantation period, the highest %MAU are from humeri, and the next highest are metacarpals and tibiae. They are remarkably similar through time and indicate

that the enslaved were receiving whole pig carcasses. Considering the %NISP counts, this demonstrates that the enslaved were processing and consuming whole pigs, and that the contribution of pork in the enslaved diet increased through time similar to beef and venison. As opposed to some arguments of African-Americans receiving lesser quality portions or preferring rib cuts the most (i.e. Crader 1984), it seems that the most prevalent portions of the pigs consumed by the enslaved are from the pectoral girdle and limb regions. These are supposedly high-valued sections of the pig that were not provided to enslaved people so it is interesting that those on the Long Green actually had the most representation of these high value elements.

Figure 28. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) pig %MAU graph

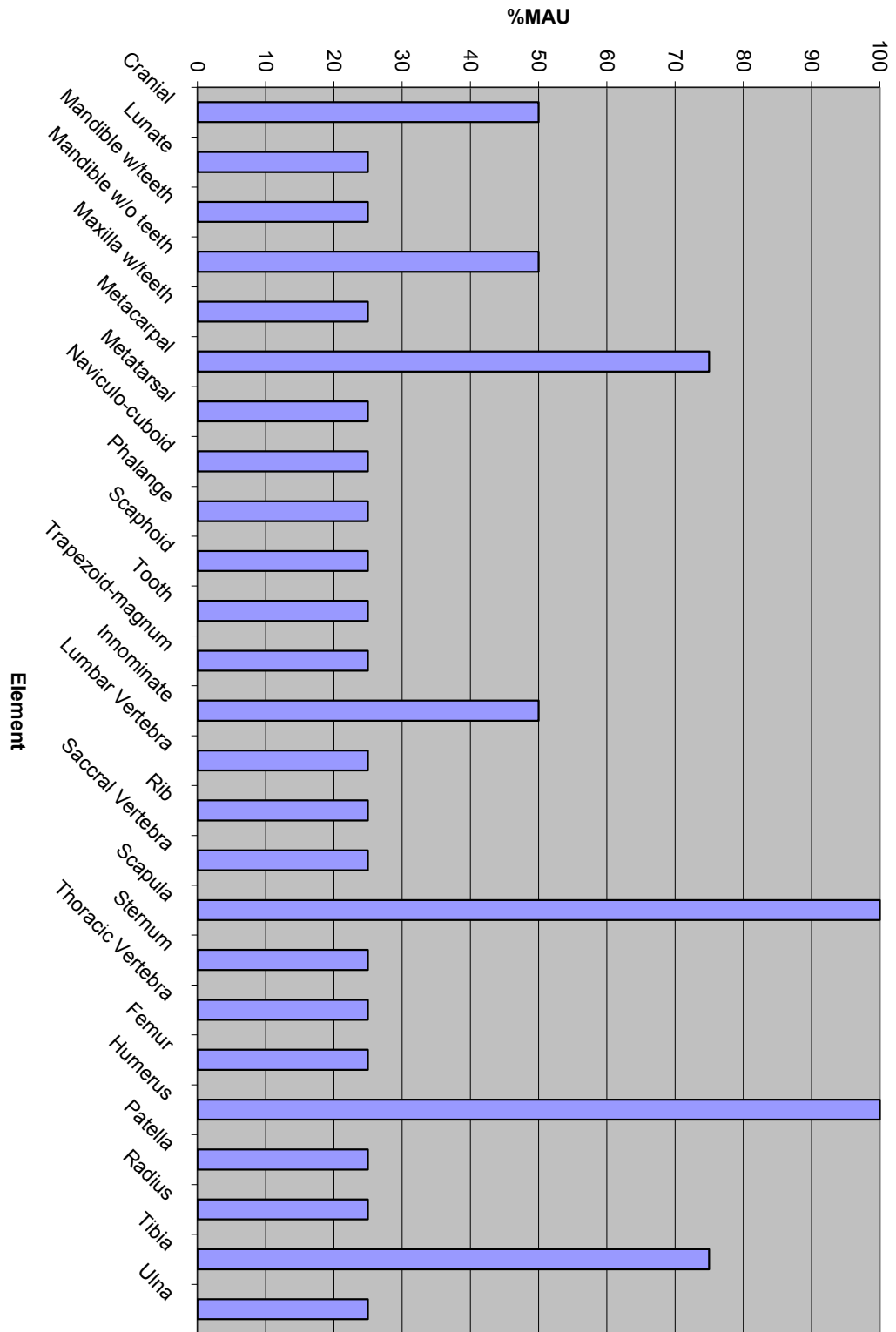
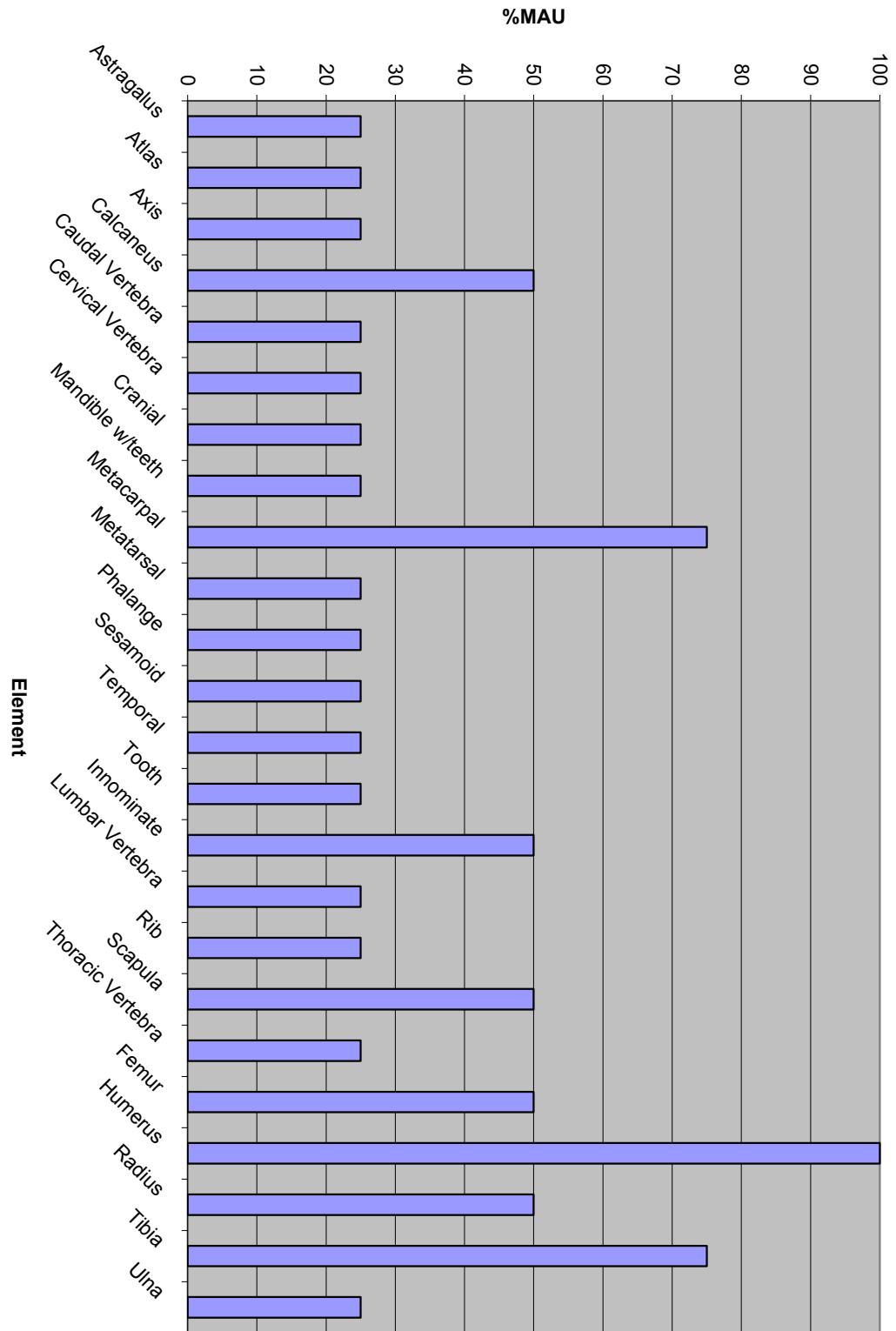


Figure 29. Plantation period (1770-1865) pig %MAU graph



The next animal group – the caprids – also play a role in the typical enslaved pattern insofar as they are supposed to be absent from the assemblage. While slaveowners were supposed to consume some beef and pork according to the typical patterns, their meat of choice was mutton or lamb. An enslaved assemblage should show little to no representation of caprids, and if caprids are represented then the portions would consist of the undesirable elements of the animals. The %NISP from the Long Green presents quite the opposite situation and caprids increase in usage over time though their dietary contribution is not as high as either cattle or pigs. As far as element distribution, the highest %MAU during the Early Lloyd period is from the metatarsals, with the second highest elements being the mandibles, metacarpals, phalanges, and femora. In the Plantation period, the highest %MAU comes from humeri and the second highest ones are of metacarpals, radii, and tibiae.

Figure 30. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) caprid %MAU graph

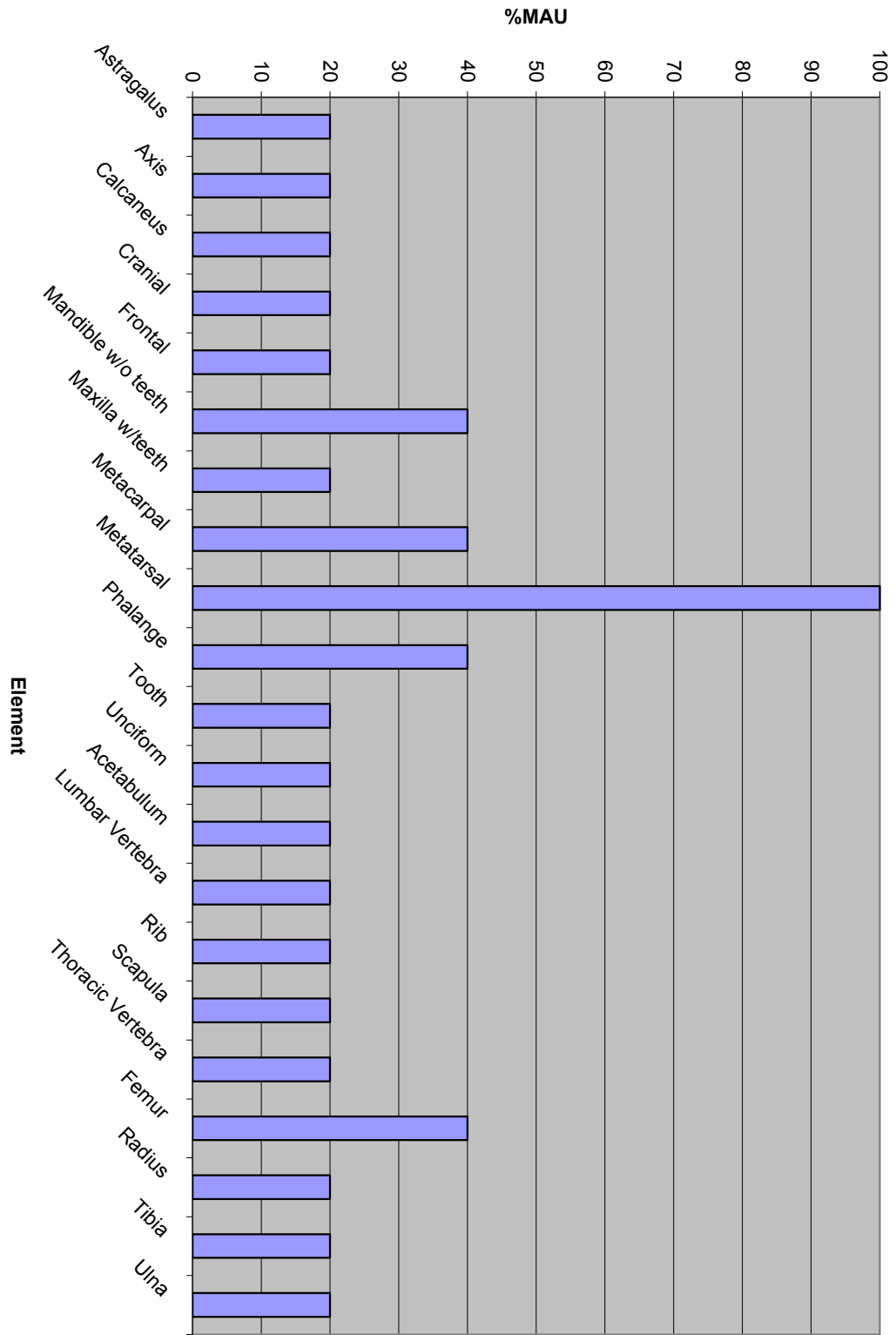
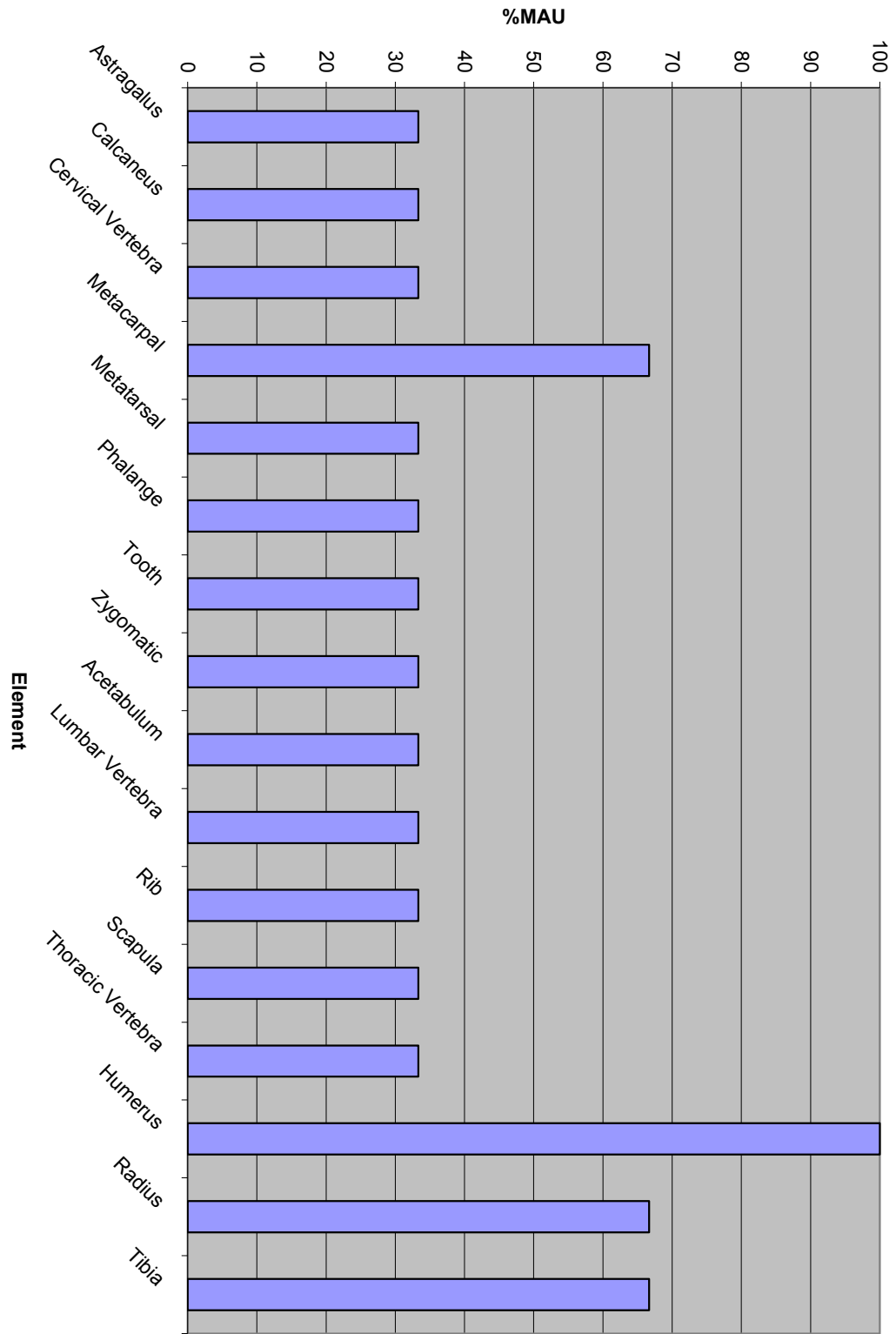


Figure 31. Plantation period (1770-1865) caprid %MAU graph



Compared to cattle and pigs which appear to have high representation from all body portions, the caprids exhibit a noticeably low representation of torso portions for both periods. It seems that the enslaved are consistently receiving mostly head and limb portions of sheep or goat, but lesser amounts of the girdles and middle sections. It is unclear why this would occur, and looking to the Lloyd cookbooks does not provide any potential answers for differential distribution of caprid bodies even within the Lloyd family. While the Lloyds are consuming lamb and sheep heads, sheep brain, and sheep tongue there are no recipes for mutton or lamb for meat from the torso region. Perhaps for both the Lloyds and the enslaved, the midsection of a sheep was used for some other application. It might even be that adult sheep had truly unpalatable meat from this section, as the Lloyds raised sheep predominantly for wool and sheep raised for wool made for very poor meat.

The final category to be presented is of the medium mammals. While the large and medium/large mammals were combined respectively with cattle and deer, the medium mammals are kept separate because fauna that fell into this class size could be from either pig or caprids. Combining medium mammals into either of these would wrongfully inflate the values for one while deemphasizing the role of the other. Thus, the MNE values for medium mammals must be considered as a category that applies equally to both pigs and caprids. The largest %MAU value in the Early Lloyd period was of crania; the second largest from the sternum; and the third largest were atlas, radii, and tibiae. In the Plantation period, cranial fragments remain the largest %MAU; with the second largest of tibiae; and the third largest of ribs, femora, and

humeri. Thus, for medium mammals, the earlier period presents with the consumption of whole animal carcasses. The later period is the same, though there is more frequent representation of limb bones than previously. Both periods show low representation of foot elements. Unfortunately, there is no clear conclusion which can be drawn about these %MAUs. That is probably because the exploitation of pig versus caprid bodies appears to be different when considering the pig and caprid %MAUs above which were identifiable to a lower taxon than medium mammal. While pigs were represented as whole carcasses, it seems that caprids were portioned and the extremities were mostly consumed. With this differential body portioning, and because this medium mammal category refers to both pigs and caprids, the %MAU for this group should not be overemphasized since it lacks certainty regarding the animal.

Figure 32. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) medium mammal %MAU graph

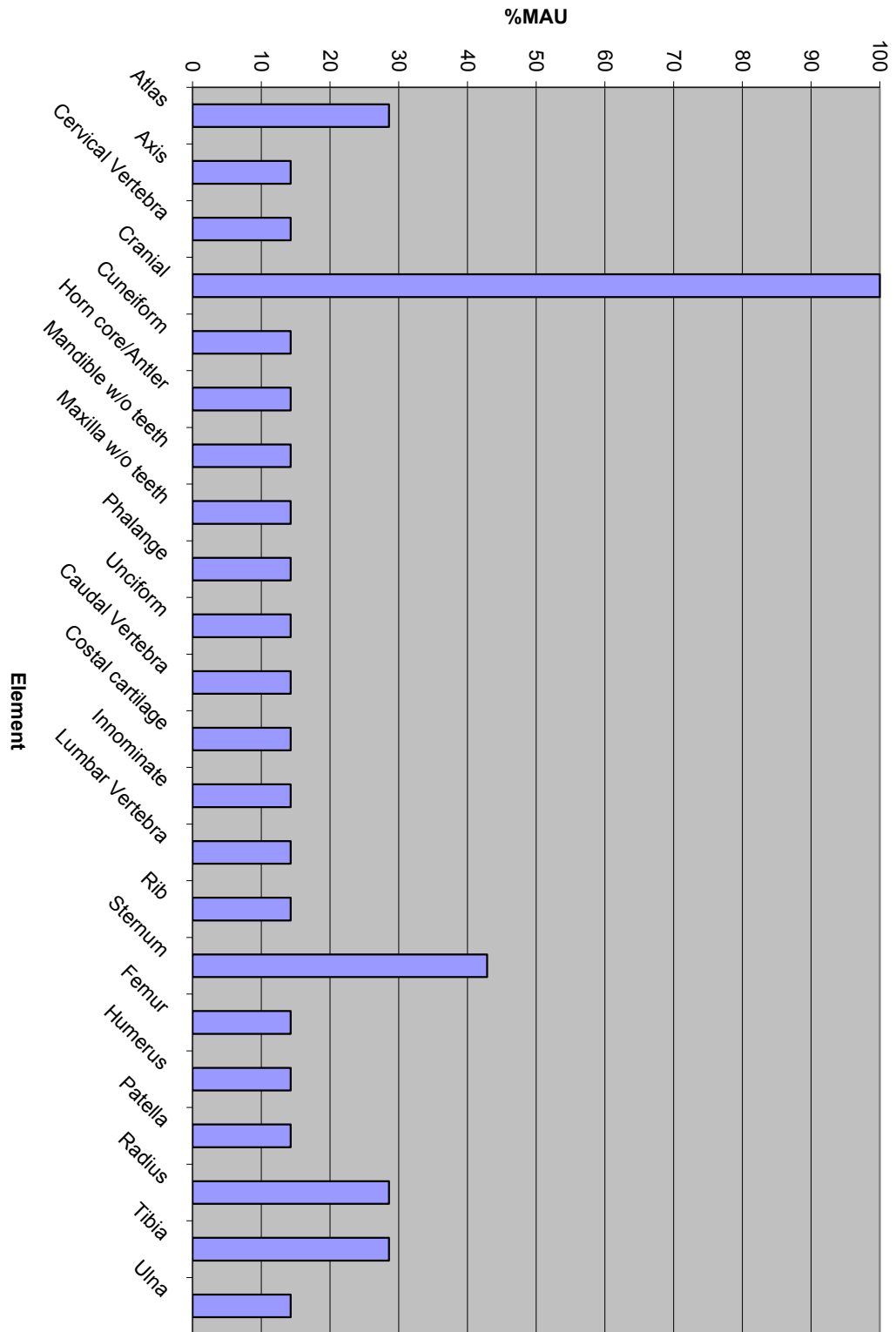
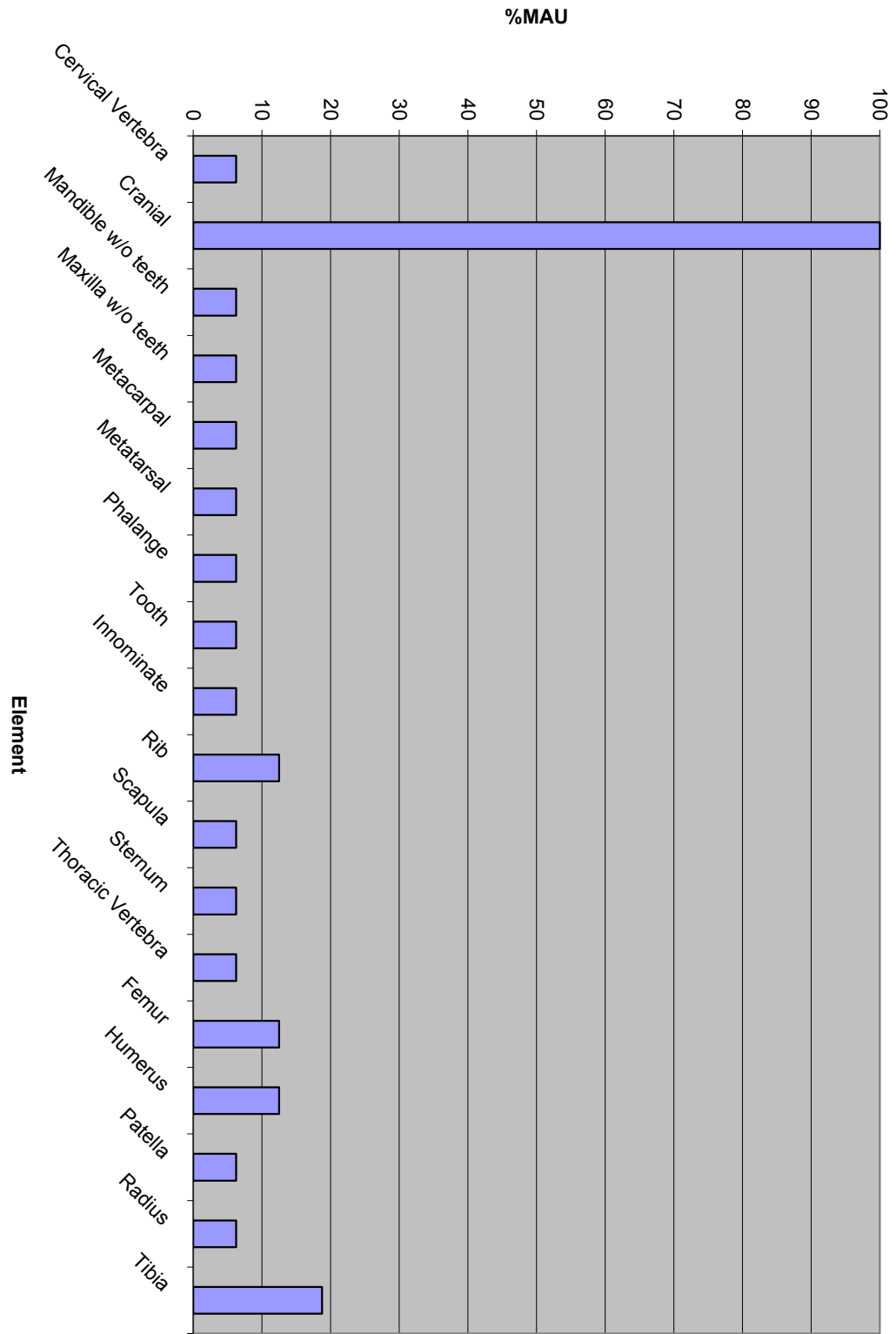


Figure 33. Plantation period (1770-1865) medium mammal %MAU graph



Butchery and Cooking

Upon understanding both taxa variation and element distribution, adding information about human surface modifications will help to elucidate how the enslaved were preparing their meals. The manner that one processes a carcass and breaks it down into manageable portions to make a meal will never tell us exactly the meal that a person was making, but it can begin to point out the cooking style. With knowing the general cooking techniques, it is possible to compare known recipes in an attempt to follow cuisine development. In looking at the cooking done on the Long Green, is it African? Is it European? Is it American, Southern, or Chesapeake? Or is it something distinct altogether? The following tables detail the types of human-induced surface modifications identified in the Early Lloyd and Plantation assemblages; it also groups the exact instances according to taxa. The coinciding charts display the same information pictorially, but display the modifications according to the percentages identified in each assemblage. There are several notable differences between the assemblages. The discussion will follow generally in order of how a carcass is slaughtered, processed, and then cooked.

Table 9. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) human surface modifications

| | Taxa | Instances |
|---------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Boiled | <i>Anas</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 3 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 4 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 6 |
| | <i>Branta canadensis</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Didelphis virginiana</i> | 1 |

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 27 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 21 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 47 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 7 |
| | <i>Numididae</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 8 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 10 |
| | <i>Reptilia</i> (Unid) | 1 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 13 |
| | <i>Testudines</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 154 |
| | | |
| Carbonized | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 4 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 2 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 9 |
| | | |
| Smoked | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 4 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 2 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 7 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 1 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 20 |
| Total | | 38 |
| | | |
| Scrape | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 2 |
| Total | | 10 |
| | | |
| Snapped | <i>Anas</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Branta</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 2 |

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 4 |
| | <i>Numididae</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 7 |
| | <i>Phasianus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 3 |
| Total | | 21 |
| | | |
| Spiral Fracture | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 5 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 11 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 2 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 8 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 1 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 2 |
| Total | | 29 |
| | | |
| Percussion Mark/Notch | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 3 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 5 |
| | <i>Branta</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 12 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 5 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 18 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 2 |
| Total | | 49 |
| | | |
| Chop/Hack | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 1 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 38 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 19 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 13 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 19 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 5 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 6 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 44 |
| Total | | 149 |
| | | |
| Knife Cut | <i>Anas</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 9 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 42 |
| | <i>Branta canadensis</i> | 3 |

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 18 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 13 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 7 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 52 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 6 |
| | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Numididae</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 7 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 14 |
| | <i>Phasianus</i> | 15 |
| | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 9 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 29 |
| Total | | 227 |
| | | |
| Hand Saw | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 17 |
| | <i>Branta</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 3 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 4 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 3 |
| Total | | 33 |
| | | |
| Machine Saw | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 7 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 11 |
| | | |
| Calcined | <i>Gastropoda</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 3 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 16 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 2 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 25 |
| | | |
| Grand total | | 755 |

Figure 34. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) human surface modifications percentage chart

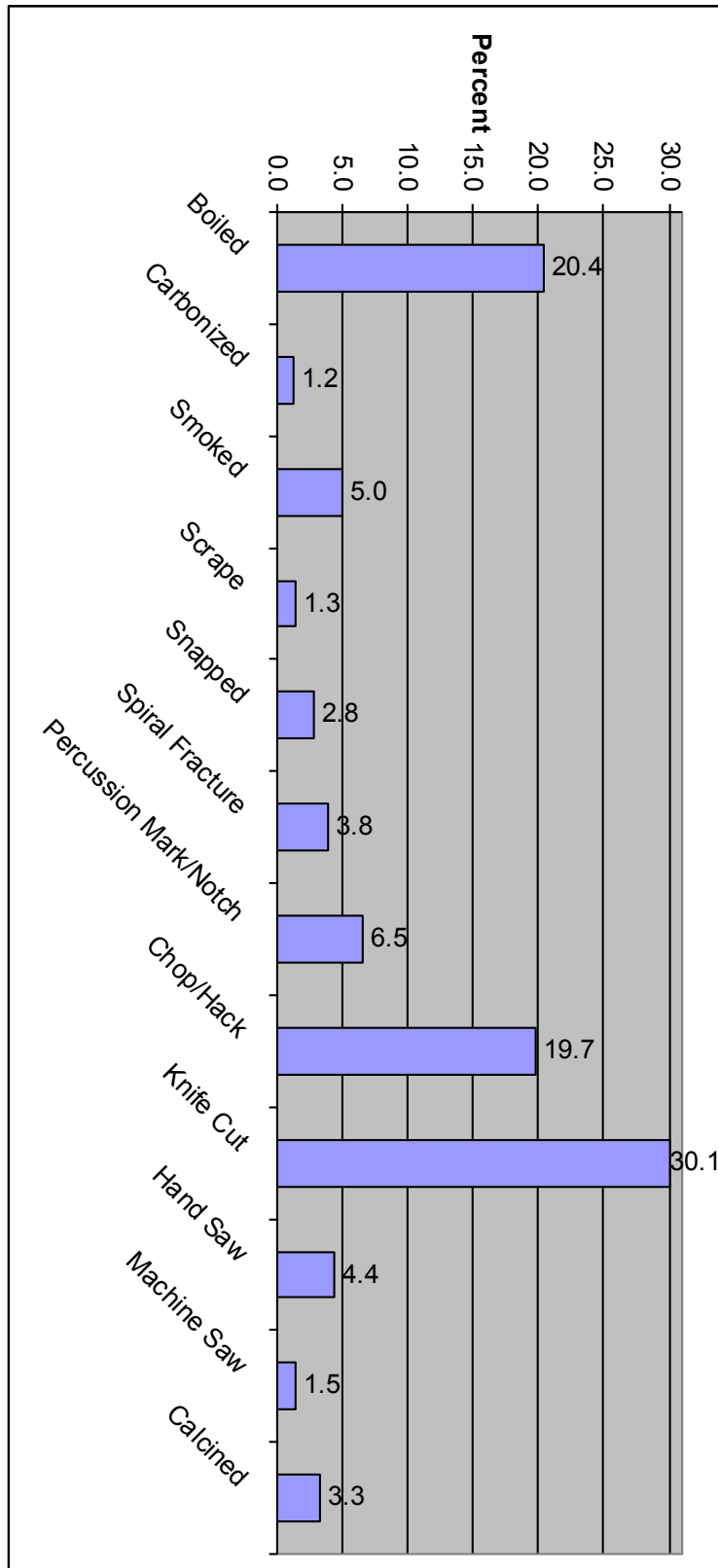


Table 10. Plantation period (1770-1865) human surface modifications

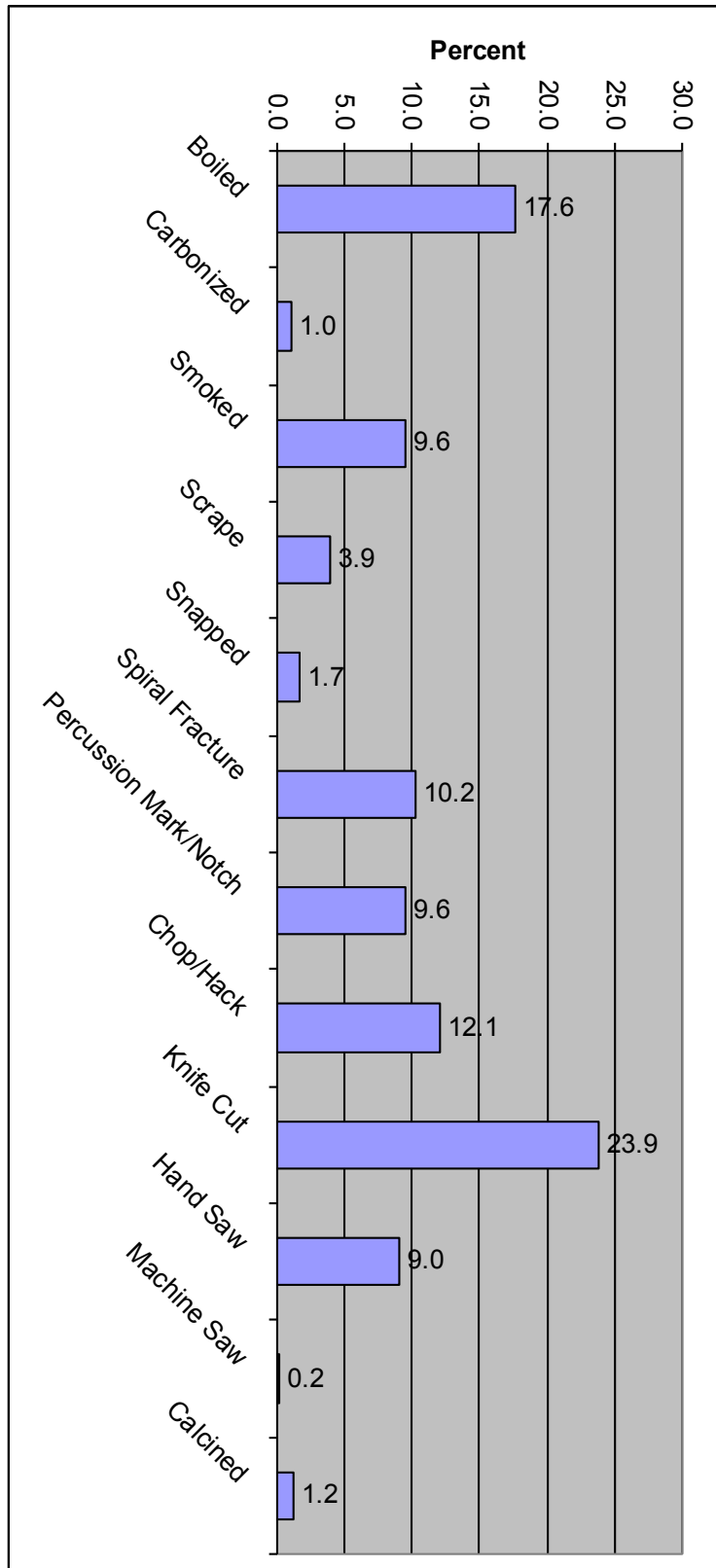
| | Taxa | Instances |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|
| Boiled | <i>Anas</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 1 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 3 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 6 |
| | <i>Branta</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Gallus gallus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 25 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 12 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 9 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 3 |
| | <i>Microtus pennsylvanicus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 12 |
| | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Small) | 1 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Phasianus</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Rattus</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 10 |
| | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 103 |
| Carbonized | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 2 |
| | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 2 |
| Total | | 6 |
| Smoked | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 2 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium/small) | 1 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Crassostrea</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Lepisosteus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 3 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 10 |

| | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|----|
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 6 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 6 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 6 |
| | <i>Ondatra zibethicus</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Rattus</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 4 |
| Total | | 56 |
| | | |
| Scrape | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 4 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 6 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 1 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 3 |
| Total | | 23 |
| | | |
| Snapped | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 1 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Phasianus</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 2 |
| Total | | 10 |
| | | |
| Spiral Fracture | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 9 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 11 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 16 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 7 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 10 |
| | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 60 |
| | | |

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|
| Percussion Mark/Notch | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 8 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 13 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 5 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 10 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 11 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 6 |
| Total | | 56 |
| | | |
| Chop/Hack | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 27 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 7 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 4 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 9 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 6 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 16 |
| Total | | 71 |
| | | |
| Knife Cut | <i>Anas</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Large) | 9 |
| | <i>Aves</i> (Medium) | 5 |
| | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 23 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 12 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 22 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/small) | 2 |
| | <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Numididae</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Osteichthyes</i> (Medium) | 2 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 24 |
| | <i>Phasianus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Procyon lotor</i> | 4 |
| | <i>Rattus</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 22 |
| | <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i> | 4 |
| Total | | 140 |
| | | |
| Hand Saw | <i>Bos taurus</i> | 22 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 6 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium/large) | 4 |
| | <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 8 |

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----|
| | <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> | 8 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 5 |
| Total | | 53 |
| | | |
| Machine Saw | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 1 |
| | | |
| Calcined | <i>Mammalia (Large)</i> | 1 |
| | <i>Mammalia (Medium)</i> | 3 |
| | <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 2 |
| | <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 1 |
| Total | | 7 |
| | | |
| Grand total | | 586 |

Figure 35. Plantation period (1770-1865) human surface modifications percentage chart



Examining the two sets of butchery data, the absence or presence of different modification marks indicate that the enslaved received and distributed animals differently throughout time and there was also a change in food preparation from one period to the other. The first to be discussed are the saw marks, created by hand sawing and machine sawing. Saw marks account for 5.83% of the Early Lloyd assemblage and 9.22% of the Plantation assemblage. This is a 58.15% increase in the use of sawing, a technique mostly used for primary butchery. Sawing is a much newer form of breaking down a carcass and can create more the uniform cuts of meat that were becoming popular during the 19th century. Sawing is necessary to produce cuts of meat such as t-bone steaks, baby back ribs, and short cross-sections of long bones, among others. A saw can be used to efficiently cut through dense bone matter that would not be possible with knives or cleavers.

Machine sawing is more common in industrialized butchery, but there is little evidence to what type of machine saws were available on the Lloyd plantations where hand sawing is more common. Instead of yielding fine cuts of meats familiar in the modern supermarket, hand sawing would be used primarily to reduce a large carcass into more manageable but still large portions. Thus the result of hand sawing would be an entire leg, the heck and neck, or a quartered or halved torso. Animals exhibiting saw marks increased over time in the assemblage. It could be that animals were being butchered on a more communal level and then redistributed to the enslaved, though the MNE data contradicts this since it appears that most animals were whole at least

within the bounds of the Long Green quarters in the analysis. The simpler explanation may be the more likely, and perhaps the enslaved were required to process any animals that they procured above their rations. As time went on, saws could have been more accessible and it is easy to get through a large animal with a saw if a very large and sharp knife is not available. This coincides with a decrease in knife marks during the Plantation period, so perhaps using a saw created more convenient portions so the use of a knife for additional butchery was less necessary.

This leads into the knife cuts category which can actually encompass a wide range of human actions. Knives are used for slaughter, for skinning and gutting, and for cutting meat off bones. Skinning marks were found on several specimens. They are fairly easy to identify and are shallow, clustered cut marks that are usually found around the jaw region and around the distal limb areas. Knife marks are also frequently found on articular bone ends. These are typically deep cut marks caused during disarticulation. It is another manner of reducing a carcass into manageable portions, but one that follows anatomical weak points. Lastly, knife marks are also commonly caused during the secondary butchery phase, which resizes larger portions such as an entire limb into something suitable for cooking. More often than not, smaller animals exhibit knife marks due to slaughter and disarticulation, while larger animals present more knife marks related to cooking preparations. Knife cuts comprised 30.07% of the butchery profile of the Early Lloyd period and 23.89% from the Plantation period. This is a 20.55% decrease in knife cuts identified through time. The larger proportion of knife marks in the early period along with less evidence of

saw marks may indicate that the enslaved were required to break down whole animals more often than in the later period. Also there are more instances of knife marks on small animals in the early period, and using a knife to break down smaller animals is more sensible than using a saw. This is reasonable given that it has already been established that those of the Early Lloyd period made greater use of smaller animals than those of the Plantation period who grew more dependent upon larger animal resources.

The next group of related modifications – snap marks, spiral fractures, and percussion marks – is discussed together. These are all variations of techniques used to exploit additional nutrients or fat from a bone that has already been cleared of flesh. These are mostly marks found on long bone elements. Spiral fractures are caused when a fresh bone is broken. Since the bone is fresh and the collagen would not have begun to deteriorate, the fracture line would spiral in a longitudinal manner along the cortical bone surface rather than cleanly breaking as a cross-section. This can be created easily with small animal bones with no other instrument, but some external force would be needed with denser large animal bones. Often then, spiral fractures on large animals exhibit percussion marks, pits, or notches which would be the spot where an object collided with the bone. No special tool is required for enacting this force and a sizeable rock can be most effective. As for bones that are not fresh, evidence of snapped bone was identified. Snapped bone that was done post-depositionally or during excavation was not recorded for this analysis. Predepositional snapping of bone could occur after the bone or animals have already

been cooked. The bone is therefore less pliable than it would have been soon after the animal was slaughtered. Snapping is limited to animal size as no amount of standard cooking would render something like a cow femur to be easily broken with only the hands. All three of these forms of breaking long bones – snapping, spiral fracturing, percussion pitting – point out a need to extract additional resources. In addition to nutritional contribution, extraction of fat from long bone marrow has high utility value for the production of rendered grease or tallow. Besides for storing for future cooking needs, this by-product was used to make candles.

In the Early Lloyd period, this group of bone breaks accounts for 13.11% of the modifications. In the Plantation period, it increases to 21.5%. This is a 64% increase in the later period. When cataloguing bones, the assumption is that the bones are evidence of the meat that is consumed. One question that is always asked of impoverished contexts is how much meat is actually being received along with the bones? As Douglass says, the children at least would eagerly await the water that meats were boiled in from the Lloyd or overseer kitchens, and they would regularly compete with the dogs for discarded bones. Perhaps then, the higher representation of head and limb elements in the Plantation assemblage does not necessary point to the enslaved receiving more of these portions, but that they were exploiting the resources from bones already stripped of meat. Adding to this is the observation that scrape marks also increased during the Plantation period by 196.97% – from 1.32% to 3.92%. Although scrape marks are modifications caused by filleting meat to create boneless portions, they are also a required step to free the bones of any cushioning so

that breaking the bone shafts are successful. Therefore, there are two explanations for these sets of marks when considering the taxonomic representation and element distribution. The first is that the population of enslaved people reached such high levels during the 19th century that having access to whole animals was no longer sufficient for meeting nutritional and utilitarian needs. The enslaved had to exploit more of the discarded portions of animal skeletons for the fat and grease that was not being provided to them by the Lloyds. The second explanation is that slaves were receiving large animals already broken down, and they scavenged or were given bones with minimal meat remaining on them. The higher representation of long bones or limb bones then would be a secondary use of bones after the Lloyds and the overseers had already consumed the meat.

Another way to investigate whether more bones were rendered for fat and grease would be to identify signs of boiling. It is necessary first to explain the identification of boiled bones for this analysis, because the techniques and markers are neither unequivocal nor consistent among analysts. Generally, bones that have been boiled have a shiny appearance from pot polishing that occurs as the bone continuously hits the interiors of the vessel used for boiling. Because the chemical and structural matrix is altered from prolonged exposure to moisture and heat, boiled bones decompose faster than other bones within the same assemblage (Smith-Lintner 2005: 149). Boiled bones can be more confidently identified using a combination of observations. As bone is boiled, bones become more porous and are more subject to mineral alteration once deposited in the ground. Archaeologically recovered bones

frequently appear either greasy and shiny, or flaky and weathered. Finding both of these can be an indication of boiling. When boiling for many hours, grease can be reabsorbed within the matrix of the cortical bone, but at the same time the matrix is weakened from the application of prolonged heating. The image below displays the unusual appearance of a bone that appears to have been heavily boiled.

Figure 36. Pig humerus subjected to prolonged boiling (18TA314.30.F.2619)



This appearance, coupled with observations about element representation, fragmentation, and modifications can help identify boiling. Researchers like S.J. Roberts and colleagues remain skeptical and after conducting a series of actualistic studies, they add that observable changes in bone matrix are entirely dependent upon cooking times. Their experiments show that cooking between one and nine hours, which would be soup-making or stewing, leaves few discernable physio-chemical effects on bone. On the other hand, extended cooking over twenty-seven hours, such

as found with a constant stockpot cooking style popular in medieval periods or that which is required to render grease, would indeed disrupt the mineral-organic interface and increase bone porosity (Roberts et al. 2002: 486-488, 492). Since the conclusion is that boiling changes bone so that it is more susceptible to taphonomic factors, the current analysis only catalogued boiled bones when all of the above aspects were found, and only if the bone differed in preservation from the rest of the bones from within the same archaeological provenience. That being understood, when considering evidence of boiling, it appears that many of the bones from the Plantation period were indeed boiled to render grease, as the majority was catalogued as both boiled and heavily weathered in the database. The image used above as the best example for evidence of extended boiling in fact, comes from the Plantation period.

Knowing this, it would be easy to assume that the same was occurring in the Early Lloyd period, but the following sets of evidence related to cooking indicate otherwise. While the Plantation period had 17.58% of bones with evidence of boiling, the Early Lloyd period had more identified at 20.40%. Whereas the plantation period has correspondingly greater rates of fragmentation related to accessing marrow cavities, it has already been said that the Early Lloyd period lack this. Instead, the boiling in the Early Lloyd is more likely related to cooking practices. The bones identified as boiled from this period show less obvious markers regarding signs of weathering, and appear more as greasy, pot polished bones. This is more indicative of soup or stew preparations. And where the Early Lloyd period lacks fragmentation marks for grease extraction, it has a higher percentage of chop or hack marks, at

19.74% as opposed to the 12.12% in the Plantation period. Chop or hack marks are done with a less sharp but heavier knife such as a cleaver. The purpose is to reduce animal portions into much smaller ones necessary for cooking. In the case of chopping through bone and meat, the pieces would be proportional to the cooking vessel and style. The increased amount of chop and hack marks found on large mammals and birds, combined with the number of boiled specimens found, points to these animals being portioned to fit into a pot for boiling. It seems that the enslaved of the Early Lloyd period practiced a cooking style that was distinct from those in the Plantation period. It was characterized by whole animals which were butchered and broken down by the enslaved themselves, and the animal portions were then chopped into small pieces to be boiled into soups or stews.

This cooking style changes in the Plantation period, and besides for bones which appear to be boiled secondarily for grease, those living on the Long Green appear to be consuming roasted meats. This was ascertained by examining bones for whether they were smoked or carbonized. Smoked bones exhibit a darkening of the exterior cortical surface and many bones were found with browned articular ends. Carbonized bones from cooking refuse are rarer than smoked bones. Bones covered in meat have the protection of the flesh which prevents the bone from overexposure to heat sources. If a bone was very well carbonized and turned entirely black then this likely occurred only after the bone was freed of flesh, therefore no longer relevant for discussions of cooking. But, carbonized ends can often occur if meat is roasted over high heat and the bone is exposed for the time that the meat is cooked. These

instances were catalogued as evidence of being carbonized. There were no fully carbonized bones that did not show evidence of being calcined – when the bone is exposed to high heat for such a long period that it turns bluish to chalky white – which typically occurs when bones are swept into a fire or hearth. Bones that were found both carbonized and calcined were catalogued as calcined in the analysis so that identifications of carbonized bone would better attest to cooking practices.

On the Long Green, the Plantation period had 9.56% of bones that were smoked and 1.02% of bones that were carbonized. This is higher than the Early Lloyd period that had 5.03% smoked bones and 1.19% carbonized bones. This is a 69.82% increase in roasted or baked meats from the early to the later period. While the early period did show evidence of roasting meats, this was limited to the large mammals, whereas the Plantation period seemed to consume roasted meats across all animal classes with the exception of turtles. To summarize, it seems that those from the Early Lloyd period on the Long Green prepared soup or stewed meals while those from the Plantation period consumed meat cuts and whole animals roasted or baked. This displays a lack of adherence to standard patterns of enslaved foodways, which predict that meals become more African in nature over time. Instead, it seems that enslaved meals at Wye House bear more similarity to recipes collected in modern southern cookbooks.

Age-at-death Profiles

During analysis of the Long Green assemblage, information pertaining to general age groups was catalogued for all animals when present. Although very detailed information is available for ageing most domesticated animals with a span of just a few months, that degree of detail was not useful for the current research project. A broader classification of either juvenile or adult was sufficient. Epiphyseal fusion was utilized to identify whether the animal had reached adulthood. Elements that were unfused or semi-fused were classified as juvenile and those that were fully fused or exhibited evidence of an aged individual were classified as adult. This was done consistently throughout the analysis, and of the total Long Green assemblage, 432 specimens had evidence pointing to being a juvenile or an adult. Of these, 142 were of wild animals. These specimens are not included in the table below, which depicts the age data for the domesticated large mammals. The wild animals were excluded because their capture and slaughter was likely random and there is no indication that certain age groups of wild species were targeted for consumption. The hunting or trapping of wild animals was more opportunistic and the enslaved probably consumed whatever was caught, regardless of age. Similarly, there were two specimens of domesticated birds, turkey and pheasant adults but those were excluded from the table as well. The birds provided no additional information regarding slaughter practices that could add effectively to the current analysis. The table below only presents data

for cattle, large mammals, caprids, pigs, and medium mammals as they relate to one another.

Table 11. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) age profile for domestic mammals

| Taxa | Juvenile | % | Adult | % |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| | | | | |
| <i>Bos taurus</i> | 13 | 7.34 | 14 | 7.91 |
| <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 3 | 1.69 | 1 | 0.56 |
| <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 24 | 13.56 | 13 | 7.34 |
| <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 89 | 50.28 | 16 | 9.04 |
| <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 4 | 2.26 | 0 | 0.00 |
| | | | | |
| Totals | 133 | 75.14 | 44 | 24.86 |

Table 12. Plantation period (1770-1865) age profile for domestic mammals

| Taxa | Juvenile | % | Adult | % |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| | | | | |
| <i>Bos taurus</i> | 13 | 11.71 | 7 | 6.31 |
| <i>Mammalia</i> (Large) | 2 | 1.80 | 1 | 0.90 |
| <i>Ovis/Capra</i> | 5 | 4.50 | 10 | 9.01 |
| <i>Sus scrofa</i> | 45 | 40.54 | 18 | 16.22 |
| <i>Mammalia</i> (Medium) | 9 | 8.11 | 1 | 0.90 |
| | | | | |
| Total | 74 | 66.67 | 37 | 33.33 |

In the Early Lloyd period, there were 177 specimens that presented with age information. Juvenile domesticates account for 75.14% of this group and adults make up 24.86%. The Plantation period identified 111 specimens that could be aged. 66.67% of these were of juveniles and 33.33% were of adults. On the whole, for both periods, the enslaved were consuming mostly juveniles rather than adult animals. It becomes somewhat less extreme during the Plantation period, but the vast majority of domesticates the enslaved were eating was still comprised of juveniles. It is necessary

to examine each of the animals separately though because their consumption exhibit changes through time. In the early period, while the enslaved are consuming more juvenile cattle, it is only a difference of .57% meaning that cattle consumption was not particularly selective by age. During the later period on the other hand, more young cows are consumed and the difference between juvenile and adult cows is 6.3% greater.

The opposite is true for the pigs. Juvenile swine comprises more than half of the aged specimens from the early period, amounting to 50.28%. Only 9.04% of adult swine are identified from this time period, which is a 41.24% difference in consumption. In the Plantation period, the numbers of juveniles decrease slightly while the numbers of adults increase, but there are still 24.32% more juveniles in the group. The most drastic change in consumption can be seen with the caprids. In the early period, more young caprids are being consumed than adults and their proportions mirror that of cow consumption, with a difference between juvenile and adult at 6.22%. This is the only domesticate that sees a switch between time periods in the slaughter ages of domesticates. While cattle and pig have higher percentages of juveniles to adults across time, the enslaved begin by consuming more young caprids but then it changes and they begin consuming more adult caprids in the later period. Juvenile caprids in the later period are then the least common domesticate consumed at 4.50% whereas adult caprids are at 9.01%.

The changes in culling patterns of these domesticated animals can potentially point to the development of cuisine at Wye House. The reason for this is that the early period reflects much more of a typical culling pattern for herds of livestock. If the early period has more normalized livestock management practices, then any changes which appear in the Plantation period could point to a shift in foodways. Standard culling practices for herd animals tend to have a living population of mostly females and just a few adult-aged males for breeding purposes. Steer cattle would have very few prime-aged animals and even fewer old-aged ones. Most prime-aged animals would be sent to slaughter, except for certain females and a very small number of males kept for breeding. There would be a larger population of juveniles and many of these may even be slaughtered before they reached adulthood (Atici and Stutz 2002; Stiner 1991). Milk cows would show a similar living population but there would be the presence of many more mature and aged females (Hesse 1978; Zeder 2005).

Both of these population profiles could appear with the caprids – at Wye House most likely they would be sheep. Sheep kept for meat would likely be slaughtered young for lamb meat. Some would be allowed to mature but there would be very few aged individuals kept. Sheep used for wool would exhibit a much larger population of prime and aged individuals as well as a naturally occurring number of juveniles. The cattle and sheep populations from the early period of the Long Green exhibits typical herd management (Zeder et al. 2006; Wasse 2002). There is a slightly higher amount of juveniles to adults being slaughtered and this could reflect both beef cattle and milk cow herds where more adults are kept alive than juveniles. The same

is true of the sheep, although the slaughter pattern points more to a population kept for meat since there are more juveniles in the group than adults represented.

These patterns change for the Plantation period, when there is an increase in the amount of young cattle slaughtered and a coinciding decrease in the adult cattle slaughtered. At the same time, sheep consumption overall is decreased but instead of eating more lamb meat, the amount of mutton or adult sheep consumed increases. In the Plantation period, it seems that more young cattle and old sheep are being consumed. This is actually very similar to foods that appear in the Lloyd cookbooks, which do indeed show consumption of beef and lamb, but double the amount of recipes for veal and mutton are included. Veal and mutton are popular meats for 19th century in Southern cuisine and this kill-off pattern may point to creating meals that were commonplace in the region such as mutton soup, baked calf's head, or veal force meat balls – recipes found throughout the Lloyd cookbooks.

As for the pigs through the two time periods, the age distributions are not as clear but some explanations can be postulated. There were certainly many more juvenile pigs eaten during the Early Lloyd period, and this distinction becomes less drastic during the Plantation period. The consumption of many more juveniles during the early period could indicate a preference for young pig, or the need to cull juveniles to keep the population manageable. In the later period, the amount of adult pig increases as the amount of juvenile pig sees a slight decrease. Clearly in both periods, young and adult swine comprise an important part of the food eaten. The

increase of adult pigs during the Plantation period could point to practices of allowing more juveniles to reach adulthood, perhaps because larger or mature pigs were more desirable. If pork fat, bacon, and hams were an important part of meals – something that most southern cooking and recipes would support – then this culling pattern would seem reasonable. Even so, the changes are not severe and though adult pig increase, the majority of animals slaughtered during the Plantation period are from juvenile pigs so young swine was still an important part of meals at Wye House. With all the detailed data that has been presented, a brief synopsis is presented in the next section to simplify some of the key discoveries and revisit the hypothesis tested against the data.

Summary of Findings

After the analysis of almost 17,000 individual faunal specimens, a picture of enslaved foodways emerges which has never been presented before at Wye House. Zooarchaeology helps us see that enslaved people contributed to the formation of several types of American cuisines – Southern, Soul, Chesapeake – enacted through their daily meals by at least the 19th century. The hypothesis applied to this dataset asserted that food remains over time on the Long Green would not exhibit as uniform, based on the prediction that a traditional African-American dietary pattern could not be identified through time. This hypothesis has been verified. The reasons proposed for the changes observed in consumption from the early to the later period could only

been partially attained though, and the suppositions for the Plantation period had to be rejected. It was proposed that the enslaved on the Long Green would consume mostly wild animals and a small amount of domestic animals during the early period. For the later period, it was proposed that the enslaved would eat mostly domestic animals, prioritizing pig consumption, with a small amount of trappable wild animals, all eaten in the form of stews. The predictions for the Early Lloyd period were accurate, but those for the Plantation period were not.

Instead, of seeing a shift to a primary exploitation of domestic animals, the Plantation period continued to make the most use of wild resources by a large margin. Although the residents still consumed plenty of oysters, they reduced consumption of fish, reptiles, domestic bird, and wild birds. This reduction was replaced by the consumption of more domestic mammals – cows, pigs, and caprids – and wild mammals. The enslaved were receiving whole carcasses of these animals, except for the caprids which lacked the torso or midsections. The category with the largest jump in consumption was the rodents and vermin. Combining these observations with those linked to food preparation and slaughter ages, the differences in the Early Lloyd and Plantation assemblages additionally highlight the occurrence of two important changes linked to cooking style and food preferences.

Changes in cooking style and food preferences essentially relate to changes in taste, cuisine, and foodways. Through the zooarchaeology, it was observed that the enslaved of the Early Lloyd period consumed more boiled or perhaps stewed meals,

whereas those in the Plantation period consumed more meats that were roasted or baked. Moreover, the later period has evidence of consuming more veal and mutton. Both of these sets of observations point to foodways more reflective of Southern Cooking than a standardized African-American diet. Chapter 7 will take these interesting zooarchaeological conclusions and combining with historical and archaeological data, demonstrate that the enslaved of the Long Green were cooking meals that are recognized as southern foods today. This is in opposition to arguments that enslaved people were replicating African foods in efforts to solidify their African ethnicity. Before doing this though, the closing section of this chapter departs briefly from the zooarchaeology centered on Wye House, to assess the differences that the assemblage had to the zooarchaeological findings of some comparative sites.

Comparative Data

This dissertation emphasizes the contextualization of the zooarchaeological data to the particularities of Wye House. The point of doing this was to avoid overgeneralization and demonstrate that the specific circumstances experienced at Wye House were integral to the development of foodways by the enslaved. Nonetheless, on an anthropological level, it is worthwhile to briefly assess the similarities or differences that the Wye House assemblage had when compared to other sites. Because zooarchaeological data presentation is unique to each researcher, it is not simple to find similar sites which also present the data in ways which can be

manipulated for comparison to the zooarchaeology conducted in this dissertation. In that way, many of the results, computations, and derived analyses could not be ascertained for other sites since the raw data is rarely included in publications or reports.

Since taxonomic and NISP data are oftentimes reported together, comparisons are limited to these fields and the flaws inherent in such data must be remembered. Identifications of taxa or animal category assume the presence of a whole animal. It has already been established that so much data exists for a bone specimen, the least of which is the fact that animals are differentially butchered and body portions may appear at different rates in an assemblage. And for NISP, although it can be easily normalized into percentages, crucial points regarding NISP are that it frequently overestimates an assemblage, overestimations tend to occur with bones least affected by density-mediated attrition, and it is a measure of taphonomy and fragmentation more than anything else. In addition, the data collected from other zooarchaeological work had to be manipulated in order to fit parameters already established for Wye House. Because of such a large amount of specie variation, it was necessary to collapse taxa into sensible groups so that the categories could be equally compared and the number of variables did not become unmanageable.

Therefore, for these general intersite comparisons, the collected studies and the Wye House data were recombined into the categories of: cattle, pig, caprid, medium mammal, domestic birds, deer, vermin, wild birds, bivalves, other aquatic,

and reptile/amphibian. For ease of viewing in charts or graphs, the categories were further combined for clarity into: domestic mammals, domestic birds, wild mammals, wild birds, reptiles/amphibians, and aquatic. These were the most relevant categories at Wye House, so the comparative data was forced into this model. The animals deemed non-edible at Wye House were excluded as well for consistency, even if these other contexts may not have considered the animals commensal.

Wye House compared to other Enslaved Contexts in the Chesapeake Region

In order to assess what other variables may have contributed to the type of food consumed on the Long Green, several comparative sites were collected for potential answers. Interpretations regarding the zooarchaeological materials were either nonexistent, inconclusive, or presented alternative contextually-based theories. Again, the sites selected were filtered by the ability of the data to be manipulated for comparison to the Wye House assemblage. The sites selected were all of enslaved contexts throughout the Chesapeake region, and the data was gathered using the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS). The excavations used for comparison were those that had materials from a tightly dated segment of time, because then the data collected could be grouped into the time periods used by the dissertation. Given that all the sites are from the Chesapeake, on the whole, the region can be discussed in terms of similar economies and race relations. Most of the Chesapeake region would have experienced similar fluctuations regarding economic intensification and racialization, so the continued separation of sites by the late-18th

and turn of the 19th century juncture is considered suitable. The Early Lloyd period data was compared to three sites with dates that fall before 1770: Fairfield Plantation, Utopia, and Rich Neck Plantation. The Plantation period in turn, was compared to three sites with date ranges post-1770 until about 1826: Monticello, Poplar Forest, and the last occupation period at Rich Neck Plantation. Each set of comparisons will be discussed in turn, and a short description of the sites is provided.

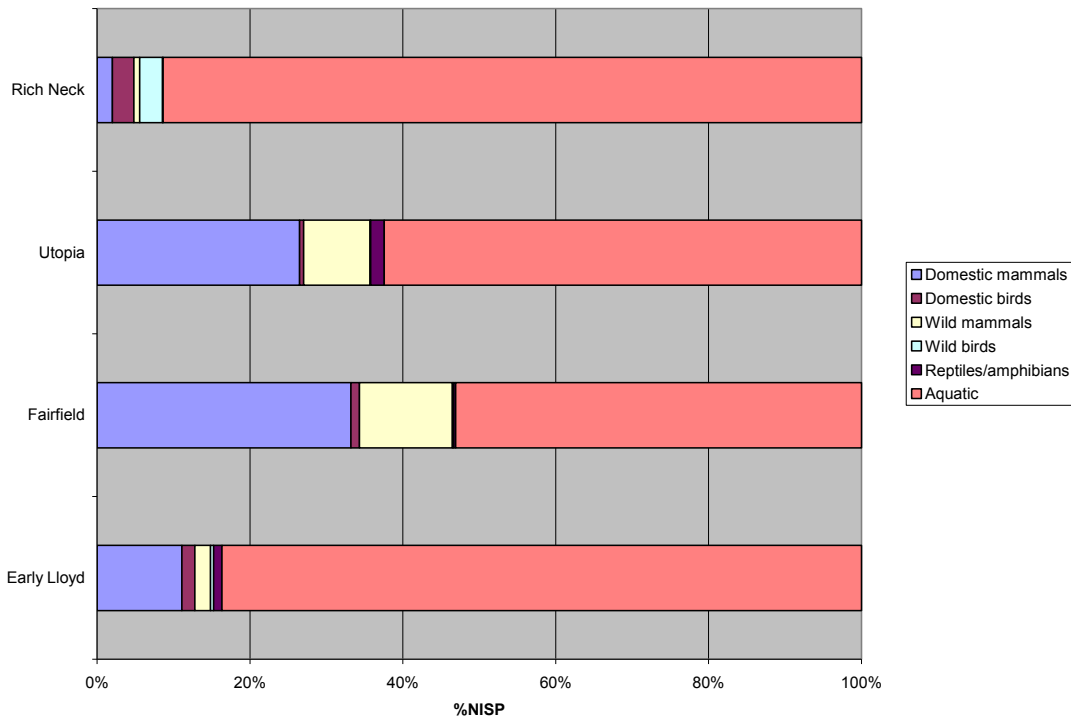
The sites included for comparison to the Early Lloyd period are all located in Virginia and are clustered in the same area. Rich Neck is located about a mile west of Colonial Williamsburg and Utopia is about double that distance to the southeast. Utopia is located right along the James River, while Rich Neck is on one of its tributaries. Fairfield is close by, but on the next peninsula to the north, off of the York River. Both the Fairfield and Utopia quarter sites have date ranges from 1700-1750, whereas the Rich Neck quarter extends until 1770. Fairfield Plantation was owned by the Burwell and then the Thruston families. The quarter was approximately 10 x 22 feet and was located about 75 feet from the plantation's manor house. The plantation began by farming tobacco, and later expanded to crop experimentation and intensive animal husbandry (Brown 2006). The second site is Utopia, owned by the Bray family from 1700-1750. There were two sections of excavations in close proximity, Utopia II and Utopia III. Each of these had an approximate 20-30 year range of occupation, and both were a cluster of multiple quarter structures. The Brays may have owned as many as 80-90 enslaved people at one point, though not all were housed at Utopia. The plantation primarily produced tobacco but also grew a diversity

of crops, raised various livestock, and was devoted to several different small industries (Fesler 2005). Lastly Rich Neck was owned by the wealthy Ludwell family who owned almost 250 enslaved people and nine plantations. The quarter itself was 20 x 30 feet and probably housed two families, each with their own separate section of the structure. The plantation primarily produced corn, tobacco, and wheat (Agbe-Davies 2003). There were five discrete time periods delineated and four are included for this comparison. The table below details the comparative set, and the following graph displays the proportions when regrouped into more general taxa categories.

Table 14. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) comparisons

| | Early Lloyd | Fairfield | Utopia | Rich Neck |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| | % NISP | % NISP | % NISP | % NISP |
| Cattle | 2.6 | 5.0 | 6.8 | 0.2 |
| Pig | 2.2 | 1.6 | 2.2 | 1.6 |
| Sheep/Goat | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.2 |
| Medium Mammal | 5.2 | 26.4 | 17.3 | 0.0 |
| Birds | 1.7 | 1.1 | 0.5 | 2.8 |
| Deer | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 |
| Vermin | 1.3 | 12.1 | 8.6 | 0.8 |
| Wild Birds | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 3.0 |
| Bivalve | 81.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Other Aquatic | 1.8 | 53.1 | 62.4 | 91.4 |
| Reptile | 1.1 | 0.2 | 1.8 | 0.1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Figure 37. Early Lloyd period (c.1650-1770) comparisons graph



When these four sites are examined together, it appears that that the Early Lloyd period does not compare well overall to similar contexts in the Chesapeake. The Utopia and Fairfield assemblages are very similar, with about half the proportion consisting of fish and around a third of domestic mammals. Both have a significant contribution of vermin in their diets as well. The proportion of foods consumed at Wye House appears somewhere in the middle of what is experienced at Fairfield and Utopia, and at Rich Neck. Rich Neck has almost an entirely fish-based diet, with less than 9% of the remainder of their diet left for other foods. Domestic mammals are a marginal contributor in fact, and after fish, the residents of Rich Neck were consuming nearly equal amounts of domestic and wild birds. At Wye House on the other hand, though over 83% of the food items are aquatic, only 1.8% is of fish and the vast majority of aquatic resources consumed at Wye were of oysters. And though

the enslaved foods were comprised primarily of oysters, domestic mammals had a much more substantial contribution to enslaved diets (11.1%) than they did at Rich Neck.

One suggestion for the differences exhibited could be the scale of plantation operations that the enslaved were a part of. Both Rich Neck and Wye House were home to some of the wealthiest families in their respective states, and both families owned several hundred enslaved people who were spread throughout many plantations. Fairfield and Utopia were sizeable but smaller operations, and the owning families were less prominent and wealthy. The difference in scale could mean that plantation management was stricter. But it could also mean that groups of enslaved rarely came in contact with the owning family and were instead managed by hierarchies of overseers and other staff. The difference in scale definitely meant that there were more people on the plantation at any given time, both the residents and those who were circulated from other plantations. There are two reasonable explanations for the substantial amounts of wild animals in the assemblages. The first is that a lack of direct oversight – both from the plantation owners and from decreased surveillance due to the large numbers of enslaved with a limited number of staff – allowed the enslaved community more flexibility in procuring desired foods. The second – and perhaps these explanations are not independent of one another – is that the large population coupled with a focus on increasing production led to an inability to provide enough sustenance and rations, forcing the enslaved to be self-reliant for their foods.

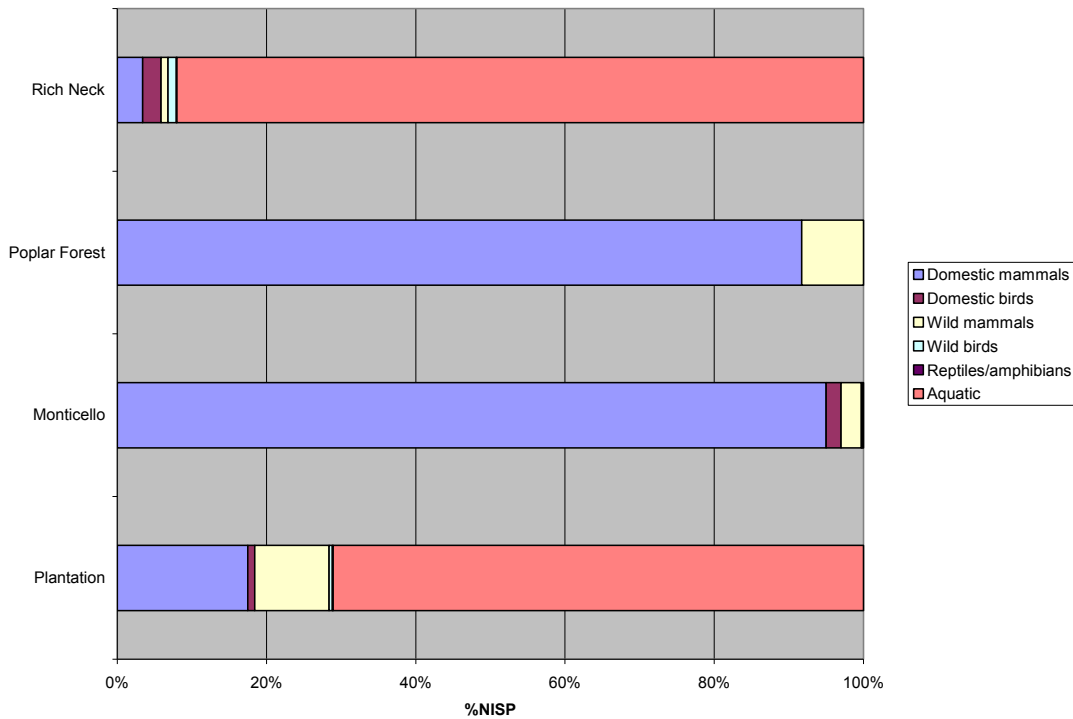
Knowing the possibility of the effects of plantation scale on enslaved consumption, this next section presents the comparisons of the later Plantation period when operations at Wye House intensified drastically. The sites selected for comparison are Monticello, Poplar Forest, and Rich Neck Plantation. Rich Neck has already been described above; the data included for this period relates to the final occupation of the site after 1770. Monticello and Poplar Forest were both owned by Thomas Jefferson. Poplar Forest was considered Jefferson's retreat, located in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Although there are nearby creeks and lakes, there was no major waterway near the property. The quarter has a date range of about 1790-1812. Before this period, there were only a small amount of enslaved people, but by the time the quarter was occupied there were almost one hundred enslaved people at Poplar Forest (Heath 2004). Monticello on the other hand, was the home plantation of the Jefferson family and housed between 100-200 enslaved people. It is located near a tributary river of the James River, along the Virginia Piedmont like Poplar Forest though more north. Monticello began by primarily growing tobacco but diversified in this period to wheat production for foreign exports. Monticello has been extensively excavated so only some of the buildings were selected to be combined for this comparison. The decision was made based upon a discrete range of dates which fell within the Plantation period at Wye House, and also based upon the building being confidently associated to enslaved people. The buildings chosen were: Building c (Joiner's Shop), Building d/j (Smith/Nailers' Shop), Building l, Building o, Building r, Building t, and Site 8. These were all identified as slave quarters; some were associated to field slaves, some to domestic or skilled slaves, and several also

served as workshops (Neiman 2010). The following table and graph display the data gathered from these three sites as compared to the Plantation period at Wye House.

Table 15. Plantation period (1770-1865) comparisons

| | Plantation | Jefferson | Poplar Forest | Rich Neck |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| | % NISP | % NISP | % NISP | % NISP |
| Cattle | 4.4 | 27.1 | 23.2 | 0.5 |
| Pig | 3.5 | 14.9 | 17.1 | 2.7 |
| Sheep/Goat | 1.5 | 1.3 | 0.6 | 0.2 |
| Medium Mammal | 8.1 | 51.8 | 50.8 | 0.0 |
| Birds | 1.0 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 |
| Deer | 2.2 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Vermin | 7.7 | 2.5 | 8.3 | 0.9 |
| Wild Birds | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 1.1 |
| Bivalve | 70.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Other Aquatic | 0.5 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 92.0 |
| Reptile | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.1 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Figure 38. Plantation period (1770-1865) comparisons graph



There is a stark difference seen between the Wye House and Rich Neck assemblages as compared to the Monticello and Poplar Forest ones. While the majority of foods are of aquatic resources in the former, the latter displays almost none (0% at Poplar Forest and .1% at Monticello). Instead, the residents of Jefferson’s plantations consumed almost all domestic mammals, over 91% for both sites. The majority of these animals eaten were identified as cattle as well. Wye House still exhibits differences to all three sites though, because as the amount of fish eaten at Rich Neck became slightly greater over time, the residents of the Long Green were eating 12.6% less aquatic animals. The enslaved on the Long Green instead increased their consumption of both domestic and wild mammals across all categories including cattle, pig, caprids, deer, vermin, and wild birds. Perhaps the plantation management and populations at Rich Neck remained the same, and the enslaved

remained consistent in their food resources, whereas the enslaved on the Long Green saw larger changes on their plantation. This is probable given that this was the last period of occupation at Rich Neck before it was abandoned, while the Plantation period at Wye House was marked by ever-growing operations and enslaved people. The changes at Wye House could be explained by either, a decrease in the ability to procure local resources with an increase in restrictions against the activities of the enslaved, or an increase in domestic mammal consumption due to changing food preferences. It has already been established in the zooarchaeological data section above that the domestic mammals eaten by the enslaved at Wye House appear in the assemblage as whole carcasses, so they either received whole animals as rations or they were personally raising these animals. The variables of plantation scale and shifts in animal preferences seem equally reasonable for this set of comparisons.

Comparing again to the Jefferson plantations it is clear that another variable supersedes both these factors: ecological availability. The locations of Wye House and Rich Neck are similar and are located near large bodies of water. Monticello and Poplar Forest on the other hand, are characterized by a mountainous to rolling hill landscape. Although both are within distance of waterways and smaller tributaries, the enslaved on these plantations would not have had such easy access to native, aquatic resources. Therefore, the enslaved on the Jefferson plantations had to be reliant upon domestic mammals and birds, as well as the capture of wild vermin. Except for how the enslaved on these plantations consumed more cattle than pig, this pattern of consumption focused on domestic mammals, with small amounts of

domestic birds and wild vermin is a better reflection of a typical enslaved food pattern than any seen at Wye House.

Thus, to summarize these comparisons of the Early Lloyd and Plantation periods to similar sites in the Chesapeake, a few observations can be made. The first is that the natural ecology and environmental availability of resources is a foremost indicator for decisions regarding the type of foods which will be consumed. This is an argument made by many archaeologists who have proposed regional foodway patterns (see Reitz et al. 1985, for a discussion of differential consumption on coastal plantations). It influences the plantation owner insofar as economical decisions about what foods should be rationed, with the most likely choice being the animals which are both cheap to acquire and abundant. And it also influences the enslaved because the natural environment would be most readily sought out when supplementation of meager or monotonous rations were required. But, given similar environments, other variables observably affect enslaved meals. A few variables proposed above based on some basic knowledge of the comparative plantations are: the differences based on the scale of operations of the plantation, the need for regimentation or restrictions for enslaved activities, and the potential changes in animal meat preferences. The following chapter takes these observations from archaeological site comparisons, the detailed conclusions from the zooarchaeological analysis of the Long Green, and combines them with other historical and archaeological information to assess the changes in foodways at Wye House.

Chapter 7: The Archaeology of Foodways

This chapter reiterates the findings from the zooarchaeological analysis conducted of the Long Green to conclude on the changes in enslaved foodways seen at Wye House. Information presented previously – theoretical, archaeological, and historical – is revisited as it relates to the research conclusions. The chapter closes with a discussion of how the analytical period of this dissertation connects to our current ideological misconceptions, as is evident through cookery books. The research question posed for the excavated faunal remains was whether enslaved people ate differently before and after the late-18th century at Wye House. If consumption remained reasonably consistent or intensified through time in its reflection of African food traditions, then an African-American foodway pattern would indeed have been enacted at Wye House. The hypothesis is supported by the zooarchaeology, but the standard African-American diet could not be isolated with confidence at Wye House. Instead, as time passed, the residents of the Long Green showed evidence of consuming foods that resembled a combination of modern and historic examples of Chesapeake cuisine and Southern Cooking, in addition to Soul Food.

I have suggested that the emergence of a foodway based on blackness or African ethnicity was the result of historically contingent actions necessitated by the reinforcement African-American enslavement. Further, the masking of ideologies reproduced racial differences, and this created a modern discourse maintaining

distinctions between objectively similar black and white cuisines of the South. The dissertation questioned how this came to be. The research did this by confounding the commonly accepted narrative for the origins of African-American food. Instead of concentrating consumption around ethnicity, research was situated around the enforcement and implementation of racism. This has produced a more powerful set of conclusions than those based on ethnic repetition. I have found that enslaved people were responsible for several strains of regional cuisine identifiable today. It is the ideological muting of African-Americans past and present, which caused these foodway associations to become obscured.

Anthropologist Judith Farquhar has said that food is one of the most culturally conservative aspects of social groups (2006: 155). This may be too romanticized of a sentiment to be applied to archaeological materials. Paul Gilroy states that scholars should not view black culture as one of simple repetition (1993: xi). Practicing cultural conservatism could mean therefore, that a group is retaining what they consider shared cultural food attributes and then repeating or replicating those foods in their current lives. Though this serves a purpose within the lifetime of an individual, or could serve an intergenerational purpose, it would be a mistake for archaeologists to assume that each subsequent permutation of that food tradition points something authentic, original, or unchanged. Believing that only one version of a food tradition exists, amounts to a casual ignorance of the experiences and factors which caused the meal to be made (Heldke 2001: 77). As Soul Food historian Adrian Miller has said, when someone cooks a Soul Food dish, it is frequently nostalgia for

childhood memories. Though the African antecedents for a dish could be traced, the impetus for the meal comes from personal memories of the familiar. When former slave, James Calhart James was asked by his WPA interviewer whether he ever ate opossum or raccoon, he replied that he hunted for them but preferred the fish and crabs cooked by his mother¹¹². Thus, we crave and we cook the foods that we know. And for the vast majority of enslaved people at Wye House, what they knew were southern foods and Maryland specialties.

At Wye House, in opposition to the cultural ethnic retention argument for consumption, changes in foodways are linked to larger factors that can be traced in the move out of the colonial period, in the time leading up to the American Revolution, to the intensification of the country's agrarian system, until the Civil War. The intention is not to vilify the Lloyds, but their ownership of Wye House and their status in the upper echelon of the state provide a convenient backdrop on which to follow the greater social and economic changes that occurred. Because of their great wealth and political power, it is still reasonable to assume that the Lloyds were likely at the forefront of many social and economic changes, at least in the state. In my research, I link changes in food consumption to a shifting economic base, and a delineation of foodways to the codification of race following the Revolution. The following sections merge data from the previous chapters in a presentation of how life and food were different before and after this late-18th century juncture at Wye House.

¹¹² "James V. Deane, ex-slave," WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/009006. Library of Congress, p. 6.

Early Lloyd Period (pre-1770)

At no time could the Lloyd family be considered poor, or even middling. The Lloyds never toiled in the fields, and even though they had far fewer enslaved people during this period, their slaveholdings were proportionately higher than most in the region. By the time of his death, Edward Lloyd III amassed 252 enslaved people though his predecessors inventoried no more than 40. It is clear that the scale of operations was already changing at the end of this period. Previously, Philemon Lloyd and Edward Lloyd II each owned 47 people, and some of these were indentured servants. Before Edward Lloyd III took over Wye House in 1732, the Lloyds were predominantly engaged in tobacco farming like most others in the Chesapeake.

The Lloyds procured additional wealth through land speculation, consignment, food provisioning, and credit lending. Edward Lloyd II noticeably expanded from farming tobacco to also raising cattle and pigs, sold as far as the Caribbean. Edward Lloyd III was a wealthy merchant-planter like those before him, but began growing wheat and running small industries like milling. Both landholding and slaveholdings likewise increased to accommodate these changes. Edward Lloyd III accrued about 43,000 acres of land and over 250 slaves. The decision of Edward Lloyd III to farm equal amounts of wheat and tobacco mirrored that of many elite colonists who had the capital to explore the production of other resources in addition to tobacco. Unlike many of the earliest colonists like Edward Lloyd I who briefly

farmed tobacco and returned to England with their profits, in the 18th century, those like Edward Lloyd III were there to stay. The impermanent houses were replaced with grander Georgian brick houses, the purchase of consumer goods increased, and farming practices looked to sustenance rather than just tobacco exports.

The Tulip Poplar Building and the Middle Building quarters were already around during this time. Like the earliest version of the house inhabited by the Lloyds, both of these quarters were impermanent structures supported by posts. The original great house would have directly faced the Tulip Poplar quarter from its entrance. Both quarters showed evidence of steady domestic occupation, and the lesser amount of utilitarian ceramic vessels point to the enslaved cooking communally outside of the quarters. The enslaved who lived on the Long Green – perhaps even before it was referred to as the Long Green – were most likely several generations removed from Africa during this period. After 1720 in the Chesapeake, most enslaved people were indeed African-Americans. These were not saltwater slaves, a population composed of mostly young adult men who had recently survived the Middle Passage from Africa. These men were frequently viewed as foreigners who did not understand the ways of life and languages in the places they were brought. Saltwater slaves also fared poorly, died quickly, and were soon replaced by new waves of saltwater slaves from Africa (Smallwood 2008).

Instead, the enslaved at Wye House during this period were more like the Atlantic Creoles introduced by historian Ira Berlin. They were frequently of mixed

descent, had come from Europe or the Caribbean, and had generations of knowledge about the Chesapeake and the colonial Atlantic world (Berlin 1998). In the first quarter of the 18th century, most of the enslaved people in the Chesapeake were probably born in the Chesapeake. By this time, enslaved people had formed a self-sustaining population of African-Americans with balanced proportions of men, women, children, and the elderly (Morgan 1998). Edward Lloyd III acquired some of his slaves in 1730 and 1740 from England, but the majority of his population came from the immediate area. The biggest jump in his acquisitions came from the 1749 inheritance of his half uncle, Richard Bennett III. These were not a disparate group of African slaves, and in his will, Bennett states that he does: “recommend and order that the Families shall go together¹¹³” in any dispersal of his estate. Even more than this, living descendants of those once owned by the Lloyds can trace their lineages back as far as Edward Lloyd I with the last names of Denby (Demby), Roberts, Copper, and Bailey (Demczuk 2008; Krech 1982). Thus, the enslaved who lived at Wye House during this early period were most likely composed of African-American families that had been residents of the Chesapeake region for as many generations as the Lloyds. The excavated remains of their foods reflect this.

While the zooarchaeology does not categorically point to any indication of African-American foodways as they have been established by scholars, the enslaved were certainly eating like those who had generations of knowledge about the Chesapeake region. The enslaved consumed predominantly wild seafood and game,

¹¹³ “Will of Richard Bennett,” September 25, 1749, proved February 17, 1750, copy in Lloyd Papers, box 74; original in Wills, Queen Anne's County, Liber 28, folios 466-81, MSA (qtd. in Speckart 2011: 226).

comprising nearly 85% of the assemblage for this period, and the remaining amount consisted of domestic mammals and birds. This is very similar to zooarchaeological assemblages identified in newly established farms and colonies which relied upon the region's woodlands and waterways because time was dedicated to the labor-intensive tobacco export crop. A similar assemblage was identified in Jamestown in the early 1600s by archaeologists. The Jamestown colonists began by consuming provisions but when these ran out, were forced to depend on wild animals. After the farms became established towards the end of the 17th century, colonists also began raising cattle and pigs to add to their diets (Carson et al. 2008: 41-46). This is very similar to what is seen at Wye House in the first hundred years of its occupation by the Lloyds. Eighty percent of what the enslaved consumed consisted of the easiest wild animals to procure: oysters, fish, clams, and crabs. It is not unreasonable to believe that the enslaved were experts of the local environment. The archaeology we have completed of the Greenhouse indicates that the enslaved were skilled in gardening and botany, and that they understood the bounty and the limitations of the natural environment. Just as they knew the woods and the plants, the enslaved knew the waterways and its animals.

Above this, the enslaved also consumed a wide variety of other terrestrial or semi-aquatic animals – cattle, pigs, domestic birds, game mammals, and turtles – in comparable proportions. Judging from butchery marks, the enslaved were most likely hunting, trapping, or raising their own animals. Even if they did not personally own the domestic animals they ate, the enslaved were rationed live animals and were

responsible for slaughtering and portioning these on their own. The evidence collected also points to the enslaved preparing these animals on the whole in soups or stews. Though stews have been attributed to African cooking practices, it should be remembered that soup-making or stewing is a popular preparation through time among the poor, in rural areas, and feature prominently in many strains of rustic cuisines (Lev-Tov 2004). Although there is no way to compare to how the Lloyds were eating during this period, it seems like the enslaved are eating similar meals to others living around the Chesapeake. Though the 1700s at Wye House saw intensification of farming to include wheat and some livestock, there is no strong evidence that this affected enslaved foods until a true plantation system was underway.

Plantation Period (post-1770)

While Edward Lloyd III amassed exceptional wealth, land, and power, he considered himself a merchant-planter and the Lloyd name was still being established. By the time Edward Lloyd IV took over Wye House, the Lloyds were firmly in place as some of the state's most prominent elite. Edward Lloyd IV sought to distance himself from his predecessors, and instead presented his family as that of the genteel planter class. Genteel planters were of families that could trace their lineages to the earliest colonists, and their participation in Georgian Order ideals was apparent in many aspects of their lives. Edward Lloyd IV enacted many separations in

his life that mirrored others of the gentry at the time. He physically and visually transformed Wye House and his daily activities. Though his father's house was had been recently rebuilt, Edward Lloyd IV opted instead to create the impressive Georgian landscape that can be seen today at Wye House. He destroyed the old great house and built a new one that faced the road, instead of the water. He redesigned the road and the grand approach to the new Great House and surrounded this structure with pristine formal gardens. He also built the Greenhouse, a structure made exclusively for leisure and scientific gardening experiments. If the early period could be argued to have some degree of nearness or similarities between slaves and slaveowners, this was eliminated by the time of Edward Lloyd IV.

In the Plantation period of analysis, there are several instances where racial differences between blacks and whites required definition or reinforcement. The first major instance occurred during the ownership of Edward Lloyd IV. In the years leading up to the Revolution and while it was being fought, it was clear that a rhetoric of freedom and independence was contradictory to enslavement. The wealth and ability to be independent was built upon the establishment of a profitable and sustainable agricultural economy by the early colonists. These labor-intensive agricultural practices could not continue without the forced labor of enslaved people. African-Americans could not successfully continue to be enslaved if racial distinctions were not readily established to justify enslavement based only on blackness. Edward Lloyd IV enacted this separation in several ways. When he built his new Great House, he visually distanced himself from his enslaved population by

orienting his house and gardens in such a way as to obscure the presence of the quarters. Within the Great House, the Long Green would not be visible. In addition, to reinforce his gentility, though he owned a farm, Edward Lloyd IV was not a farmer. He spent most of his time involved in politics in Annapolis and lived in the lavish Chase-Lloyd House. Instead, Edward Lloyd IV hired teams of supervisors to run the plantation and manage the enslaved. His time at Wye House was purely dedicated to scientific and leisurely pursuits. Directly affecting the enslaved, he also established more rigid guidelines for rations. He set rules for what could be raised or gathered (e.g., garden patches, oysters and fish, chickens), he restricted other activities (e.g., leaving the plantation, hunting, trapping, eating and selling chicken eggs), and he perpetuated the idea of unskilled blacks by using the enslaved as field hands and hiring white craftsmen for skilled jobs. These steps to reinforce racial differences were continued by his son.

Edward Lloyd V furthered his father's performances of gentility during his time at Wye House. Edward Lloyd V became governor and was known for his elaborate dinners and reputation as a superior genteel host. Politically, he and his peers took this unease about racial relations and increased the legal codifications of enslavement based on blackness¹¹⁴. During his time as governor, he passed several

¹¹⁴ The Maryland laws enacted by Governor Edward Lloyd V would have constituted at least the third or fourth generation of legislation restricting the lives of enslaved people. The Maryland Assembly passed its first acts directed at African and African-American slaves starting in 1664. These first laws prohibited miscegenation and mandated lifelong servitude for slaves. The remainder of the 17th century saw the enactment of laws for fugitive slaves, laws stipulating that baptism did not equate to freedom, and laws against assembling as a large group following Bacon's Rebellion of 1676. The 18th century witnessed the passage of legislation related to the better punishment of slaves, restrictions against receiving help from the clergy, rules for how slaves should be tried in court, and most importantly an

laws enabling slaveowners to bypass a 1783 law prohibiting entry of African slaves into the state. Most importantly he passed laws against conspiracy and insurrection, and an 1809 law designating that children born of enslaved women were slaves for life regardless of their mother's status. This was the most probable way that he and his father increased their slaveholdings, by exploiting the naturally-growing population. The probate inventory of Edward Lloyd IV listed 312 enslaved people, with about 120 living at Wye House. By 1832, Edward Lloyd V had increased the total population to 468 enslaved people, and at least 160 people lived at Wye.

Fugitive slave James W.C. Pennington recounted how the land was exhausted from slave labor and Maryland was in “the business of breeding slaves for the more southern states” (1849: 1). Historian Jean Russo has suggested that most of the slaves acquired during this period came from natural births of Chesapeake slaves. Further, Russo argues that a large majority were probably purchased from middling planters or from farms that were facing bankruptcy (Russo 1992). This is supported by Douglass in his accounts of being sent to work for Mr. Edward Covey¹¹⁵, who was “a poor

act that prevented voluntary manumission of slaves by slaveowners (Maryland Slavery Legislation 2005; Slavery and the Making of America 2005).

¹¹⁵ Quoted from *My Bondage and My Freedom*: “I have already said, or implied, that Mr. Edward Covey was a poor man. He was, in fact, just commencing to lay the foundation of his fortune, as fortune is regarded in a slave state. The first condition of wealth and respectability there, being the ownership of human property, every nerve is strained, by the poor man, to obtain it, and very little regard is had to the manner of obtaining it. In pursuit of this object, pious as Mr. Covey was, he proved himself to be as unscrupulous and base as the worst of his neighbors. In the beginning, he was only able—as he said—“to buy one slave;” and, scandalous and shocking as is the fact, he boasted that he bought her simply “*as a breeder.*” But the worst is not told in this naked statement. This young woman (Caroline was her name) was virtually compelled by Mr. Covey to abandon herself to the object for which he had purchased her; and the result was, the birth of twins at the end of the year. At this addition to his human stock, both Edward Covey and his wife, Susan, were ecstatic with joy. No one dreamed of reproaching the woman, or of finding fault with the hired man—Bill Smith—the father of the children, for Mr. Covey himself had locked the two up together every night, thus inviting the result...No better illustration of the unchaste and demoralizing character of slavery can be found, than is furnished in the fact that this professedly Christian slaveholder, amidst all his prayers and hymns, was shamelessly and boastfully encouraging, and actually compelling, in his own house, undisguised

man.” Covey was invested in increasing his “human stock,” and purchased a young woman named Caroline for the purposes of keeping her “as a breeder” (Douglass 1855: 169).

In addition to selling children like livestock¹¹⁶, the enslaved experienced increasing restrictions as the plantation system intensified. Plantation owners were shifting to diversified agricultural and husbandry practices, and focused production on domestic distribution more than foreign provisioning. This coupled with increasing instances of marronage and insurrections. As a result, the lives of enslaved people at Wye and in the region became more oppressive. The rations at Wye House became monotonous and sparse, and Douglass only recalls slaves receiving rancid pork, cheap herring, corn, and salt. Earlier descriptions from overseers at Wye attesting that the enslaved received daily rations of salted or fresh meat as well as regular rations of butter, milk, and lard were gone. Narratives from escaped slaves of the region instead detail rations of corn meal and salt herrings (e.g. Henson 1849; Randolph 1855; Fedric 1863; Thompson 1856). These same narratives recount scanty

and unmitigated fornication, as a means of increasing his human stock. I may remark here, that, while this fact will be read with disgust and shame at the north, it will be *laughed at*, as smart and praiseworthy in Mr. Covey, at the south; for a man is no more condemned there for buying a woman and devoting her to this life of dishonor, than for buying a cow, and raising stock from her. The same rules are observed, with a view to increasing the number and quality of the former, as of the latter” (Douglass 1855: 169-170).

¹¹⁶ Children were certainly sold and relocated without much regard to family lines. This has been equated to the lack of concern shown in the selling of livestock. Abolitionist and fugitive slave writings such as those from Douglass and J.W.C. Pennington (above) observed it to be a system of slave breeding. Historical economists Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman (1995) have argued that the procreation of slaves for sale could not be considered systematic livestock breeding per se. They found no explicit records of this manner of breeding, defined as control over normal sexual patterns and selection for ideal traits. They admit though, that reproduction was generally encouraged by masters. This was done with rewards and special considerations for fertile women and their children. So while it cannot be said that Marylanders were necessarily breeding slaves, amassing families and children were preferable. And ultimately, both adults and children could be sold at the discretion of the slaveowner.

clothing rations, being whipped for attempting to leave the plantation, and being forced to learn skilled trades to increase their value.

The unending oppression continues into the ownership by Edward Lloyd VI and Edward Lloyd VII. In 1860, Edward Lloyd VI owned 410 slaves in Talbot County, and 355 enslaved people were living at Wye House. These numbers remained steady until Edward Lloyd VII begins losing slaves to the Union Army, both voluntarily and through escapes. The plantation is almost entirely focused on wheat production at this point, besides plants or animals eaten on the Lloyd farms. The carrying capacity of this plantation was reached and recollections of the treatment of enslaved people and the archaeology of their quarters reflect this. Former slaves and WPA interviewees from similar plantations recalled that rations became less plentiful, yet the enslaved were forbidden to procure their own foods. The interviewees remembered poorly constructed quarters which were cramped, and archaeologically this can be verified at Wye House.

The Tulip Poplar Building and Middle Building witnessed at least two reconstruction episodes by this point and would not have been in great condition. Because the amount of people living at Wye increased so drastically – approximately one hundred more people with each subsequent Edward Lloyd from IV to VI – living spaces were at a premium. Hundreds of enslaved people were crammed into areas that once housed a few dozen. On other plantations, families were no longer housed in

single cabins, but arranged in stalls similar to how horses were kept¹¹⁷. Seen from the archaeology of the Middle Building and the North Building, people were made to live in structures that were originally used, or were still used, for other purposes. The Middle Building began as a structure that housed a large cold-cellar. By this later period, the large cellar had been filled in and the entire structure was used to house enslaved people, seen by a nearly six-fold increase of domestic and utilitarian artifacts. The North Building was not built until about 1815 for grain storage, but slaves were housed within and forced to live among the rats and other pests that were attracted to the building. By this time, it was common knowledge that the Lloyd farms were little different from the massive plantations of the deep South, and the enslaved were treated with excessive cruelty by the overseers with no chance of recourse from the Lloyds (Tilghman 1915: 226).

While the Lloyds intensified their agricultural and livestock production, the country was also within decades of the Civil War and racial differences are once again called into question. Religious sentiments against enslavement were being voiced again, the abolitionists were demanding an end to slavery, and politicians were beginning to listen. Though Wye House appeared like the standard Deep South plantation, it was not quite so distant or isolated. The Underground Railroad was highly active in the area and fugitive slaves were a regular occurrence, as seen from ads posted by the Lloyds themselves. In addition, free communities of African-Americans were dotted through Maryland, and many of these freed African-

¹¹⁷ “Mary Moriah Anne Susanna James, ex-slave,” WPA Slave Narrative Project, Maryland Narratives, Volume 8, mesn 080/040037. Library of Congress.

Americans had been freed since the colonial period. In fact, more than half of the African-American population on the Eastern Shore was listed as free by about 1840 (Larson 2004: 63). The closest town to Wye House, Easton, housed one of the oldest freed African-American communities called the Hill. The 1790 U.S. census recorded 410 people living on the Hill (Woods 2013). Those enslaved at Wye House would have had full knowledge of the possibilities of freedom.

Therefore during the Plantation period, as the basis for oppression, race needed to be codified and reinforced. The result of this was that enslaved life became harder and plantation management became stricter. This is seen on one level in the zooarchaeology. Regimented rations would mean that food items had to be regularly available. The increased consumption of each of the typical farm mammals (e.g., cattle, pig, and sheep) attests to this. Regimented, but insufficient rations, would lead to a need to procure food via other channels but the consumption of reptiles, wild birds, fish, and oysters all decrease. Instead, the consumption of vermin – opossum, muskrat, raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, mice, and rats – increases at a rate greater than that of any other animal category.

In many accounts of enslaved foodways, these types of animals feature prominently. It could be that the time previously given to the enslaved to procure foods became limited or they were discouraged from supplementing their rations. Time and permission would be required to procure the other wild species, but vermin animals could be acquired by setting traps and returning at a later time. Discouraging

or restricting the enslaved from supplementing rations is also seen with the domestic birds, especially chicken. Previously, the enslaved were encouraged to raise dunghill fowl. Chicken is also one of the meats included in a typical African-American diet. The Plantation period sees a decreased consumption of chicken and other domestic birds. Although these observations point to the limitation or prohibition of activities, the enslaved at Wye House continued to exploit wild resources the most, and it comprised almost 78% of their diet. Even though slave behaviors were regimented and punishment became harsher, it did not stop the enslaved from finding food when hungry. All that the plantation codes did was curb the type of foods that the enslaved were able to obtain.

As for the procurement of domestic animals, it is unclear at Wye House whether the enslaved of this period were receiving cattle, pig, or sheep as part of rations or whether they were able to continue raising their own livestock. Either way, it does appear that cattle and pigs continued to come to the Long Green as whole animals. Sheep continued to lack torso portions as in the earlier period. And while the enslaved received whole cattle and pigs during the early period as well, the zooarchaeology indicates that slightly more carcasses during the Plantation period were previously slaughtered and portioned into large parts; this is more indicative of rations. In this period, the enslaved also consumed more juvenile cattle and adult sheep, in other words, more veal and mutton. If these were part of distributed rations, then the enslaved would not have much control over what they received. It is worthwhile to note though that veal and mutton were popular additions in many

meals of the period judging from historic recipes. This could indicate that the enslaved made meals that were more regionally southern than they were necessarily African.

Adding to this theory of southern-style meals is the evidence of cooking and butchery seen on the bones. Soup- or stew-making decreased, as seen by the overall decrease in boiled bones. This drop is even more dramatic when considering that a large proportion of the boiled bones identified had evidence of being boiled to render grease. Instead, the enslaved consumed more roasted or baked meats during this period, evident from a 70% increase in the presence of smoked or carbonized bones. Roasting and baking are typical of southern-style cooking. Using a cookbook compiled in 1963 that collected historic Maryland recipes¹¹⁸, 291 recipes which included meat were identified. 122 of these recipes called for roasting, baking, or smoking; as compared to 64 recipes which called for boiling or making soups, chowders, and stews. If the enslaved of this period were eating meals similar to modern southern foodways and cuisine attributed to Maryland, then this was a development of the late-18th century. The historic data supports this as a period of great change at Wye House, and the archaeology of the three quarters supports this as well.

The Long Green was newly expanded and the older quarters were renovated to accommodate the population influx. When Douglass arrived at Wye House in the

¹¹⁸ *Maryland's Way: The Hammond-Harwood House Cook Book*, L.R. Andrews and J.R. Kelly, 1963.

1820s and described the slave villages and the machine of the plantation system, he saw something that was firmly established but was relatively new. The late 1700s and early 1800s at Wye House marked the beginning of a massive plantation operation comparable to the large plantations of the deeper South. The economic changes at this juncture stimulated racial differentiation and harsher plantation management. This in turn caused a shift from the enslaved procuring their own food items. It was replaced with stricter rations and limitations against hunting. The enslaved persisted in crafting meals of their choosing despite the restrictions, and the zooarchaeological evidence mirrors modern renditions of Chesapeake and Southern foodways more than it reflects African cuisines. Instead of promoting the idea of cultural ethnic retention among the enslaved on the Long Green – many of whom were descended from a long line of Chesapeake African-Americans – this dissertation discovered that the enslaved were participating in the creation of local and regional cuisines. If this is so, then the questions to be asked are: How do cuisines develop? What is the process of claiming ownership of foodways? And, why are there two foodways attributed to African-Americans and European-Americans? The final section of this chapter addresses these issues.

Writing Recipes, Ownership of the Past, and Claims in the Present

At Wye House, if it can be accepted that there existed an African-African community whose oldest members and family lines had a deep familiarity of the Chesapeake, then the change in foodways at the end of the 18th century would not

necessarily be due to the retention of African culture. The fact that it is considered so today is the result of multiple scales and instances of symbolic elaboration using food to assert black identity (Haaland 2007). Before arriving there, it is useful to discuss the broader nature of cuisine formation and expand the discussion beyond enslaved people momentarily. Cuisine, whether it is regional or ethnic, is a claim to authenticity and an assertion of ownership. Historian Reay Tannahill argues that national cuisines and its later derivations (e.g., local, regional, ethnic) did not develop until the 18th century in Europe (1973: 231). The pursuit of empires and colonization led to an interconnected world but a heightened awareness of national identities. Before this, Tannahill states that foodways were divided horizontally – rich food versus poor food – but the 18th century witnessed vertical divisions in accordance with national styles that spanned social classes. In effect, the local way of eating was suddenly recognized as distinguishable when these familiar foods were compared to the unfamiliarity of those eaten by new people. Food is a convenient way to define self. As such, the early 18th century witnessed many assertions of self, in the form of cookery books. Different European countries – at this time, more empires than nation-states – began to codify their foods in writing. For example, the epitome of culinary arts, French cuisine, did not publish its first bourgeois cookbooks until 1739 and 1746 (Tannahill 1973: 239). Thus, haute French cuisine as we understand it was not defined until just before the mid-18th century.

Creating a recognizable cuisine is, according to anthropologist Richard Wilk, much like creating a recognizable brand. In order for a cultural group to be

acknowledged, a mosaic of cultural objects must be organized (Wilk 1999: 244-245). It is effectively a process of cultural branding, and it is often the result of taking self-identifications and identifications determined by others to produce an ideal or authentic version of an identity. A successful mosaic of cultural objects evokes in the viewer, reader, or listener a cohesive image claimed by the particular group. For example, the cultural objects of pasta, Prada shoes, marinara sauce, Parmigiano Reggiano, or the Renaissance should evoke one image. So should butter, foie gras, Champagne, baguettes, the Eiffel Tower, and berets for instance. And a little closer to home, another set could be: McDonald's, burgers and fries, Budweiser, Hollywood, or apple pie. These are neither ubiquitous markers for every single member of the group nor are they the only alternative that could exist in practice, but they have become consistent and identifiable. This occurred throughout Europe in the early 18th century, but it did not occur in the Chesapeake until the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Before the Revolution, English identity was a pervasive part of the culture in many of the colonies which would form the U.S. During and after the Revolution, a symbolic separation from Great Britain was needed, as was the need to formulate an American identity. One way to do this would be to take the foods already being eaten, and to write them down into cookery books, just like the French and the English had done. This codified the foods that were tasty, familiar, and local which many different people had been eating since the colonial period. Perhaps this is one reason why the wife of Edward Lloyd V – the likely author of the earliest set of Lloyd Family

Cookbooks – began collecting recipes when she did. Cookbooks, recipes, and writings about food are a form of ideological discourse (Hall 2000). Even if the foods collected are not daily fare and even if they are not fully part of the group's cultural mosaic, writing about food is a presentation about what you would like the world to believe you eat.

As suggested above, one aspect of food writing is that it is a way to attest ownership of foodways that are not yours alone. This was the inevitable outcome of collecting local foodways by elite women in the 19th century (Hess 1984). What was originally local or regional, and cooked in the Great House kitchen as well as the hearth of the enslaved quarter, soon became known as the food of elite white Southerners. And as eating certain foods (e.g. turtle, feet, organs, opossum, raccoon) went out of fashion and were associated with the rural poor or the enslaved, these too were filtered out of the cookbooks of the South. This repetition during the 19th and 20th centuries created a Southern cultural foodway mosaic that is associated with white, Southern women though these would have been familiar foods to many southerners, black or white. If we fast forward to the mid-20th century and the Black Power Movement, it should be clear now that similar steps were taken by African-Americans as a way to secure cultural objects that could be used to assert black identity.

The foods that were originally reclaimed by African-Americans were those rejected by white Southerners, so black-eyed pea soup, chitterlings, hog maws,

possum, grits, squirrel, catfish, pig feet, etc. became the foundation of Soul Food. By the late 20th century, African-Americans had worked to reclaim much of the food that had been cooked and eaten by their ancestors for generations, and the modern Soul cookbook differs very little from a Southern one. Currently, this dissertation takes this a step further to clarify that a reclamation of Southern Cooking is not just a modern agenda, but a past reality. The zooarchaeology demonstrates that African-Americans of the Long Green were eating and cooking Southern foods insofar as we are able to define southern foods today. Not just this, but the zooarchaeology of the Long Green has shown that the enslaved – along with the Lloyds but also in spite of the limitations imposed by the Lloyds – had been formulating modern Chesapeake cuisine since at least the 18th century. We owe crab cakes, steamed crabs, baked rockfish, and oyster-anything to the culinary talents of the many enslaved African-Americans that inhabited Wye House. When Soul Food historian Adrian Miller (2013: 54) proclaims “fried chicken belongs to all of us,” it is a demand for scholars to finally acknowledge the shared, yet contradictory and complicated history of foodways. And like this dissertation, it is a declaration to reappropriate African-American contributions in the creation of many foods that are now recognized as culturally American.

Future Directions

Before closing this chapter, it is necessary to address the zooarchaeological work that is missing in this analysis as well as the kind of work possible with the continuation of this research. Because of excavation and recovery strategies employed by Archaeology in Annapolis in the field, soil samples are not collected systematically for wet screening and the recovery of small zooarchaeological remains. Significant information is also lost from the inability to use a finer-gauged mesh screen in the field. Using a fine mesh screen or collecting soil samples for wet screening could potentially produce an abundance of small fauna, bone fragments, or delicate remains. For example, though there was good recovery of fish remains, using different screening strategies could potentially yield significantly more of an important part of the regional diet.

Moreover, as an additional consideration for fish, this analysis could have benefitted from the ability to produce even lower taxonomic fish identifications. This was not possible for the current analysis since fish element analyses comprise a specialized skillset within zooarchaeology and an extensive comparative collection of local fish was lacking. Finally, also concerning aquatic fauna, since oysters are such a large part of the local diet and the diet of the enslaved, the analysis could have benefitted from a broader analysis of the information an oyster shell could yield. Some of the analytical information that could be collected includes: seasonality, parasite activity, salinity decalcification, and aging. This type of information could

also produce extremely beneficial information regarding the exploitation and health of the Chesapeake Bay and its resources over time. Not only is this type of research useful for archaeologists, but the information could contribute to many strains of research undertaken by anthropologists, ecologists, biologists, and many others who study the environmental changes of the Bay and other estuarine environments.

Beyond zooarchaeological data recorded, there are several different directions that this research could continue for future research. One would be the inclusion of faunal data dating to after 1865. Because this is post-Emancipation and the current research was focused on enslaved people, fauna found within these stratigraphic levels was omitted. Inclusion of this post-1865 context would require topical and theoretical expansion to address tenant farmers as well as freed African-Americans. Secondly, this research can be expanded once excavations of the entire Wye House Plantation (18TA314) are completed. While the zooarchaeological assemblage was substantial and constituted remains from three different slave quarters and yardspaces, Wye House is a large farm even today, and the conclusions made here about foodways would benefit greatly if a complete analysis were possible. Thirdly, considering assemblage completeness, it is acknowledged that zooarchaeological remains only constitute one portion of food and diet. There have been some archaeobotanical analyses conducted at Wye House (Jacobucci and Trigg 2010), but none from the quarters used for this dissertation. A complete picture of foodways at Wye House would necessitate not only a comprehensive zooarchaeological analysis, but the incorporation of the types of plants that the enslaved were eating. Plants as

food source likely formed a larger part of regular diets than animal meat. And lastly, since this dissertation analyzed zooarchaeology in reference to strains of historic and modern cuisines, a fruitful area of future research would be a comprehensive compilation and examination of cookbooks related to Chesapeake Cuisine, Southern Cooking, and Soul Food. Recipes could be catalogued using text analysis software as a method to quantify such a large body of textual data. To close, having addressed the shortcomings of the current analysis and the potential for future research, the last and final chapter briefly considers the contribution this dissertation makes to zooarchaeology, to historical archaeology, to anthropology, and to the collaborative study of foods across disciplines.

Chapter 8: Epilogue

When Archaeology in Annapolis first began studying the archaeology of African-Americans in the 1990s, the associate director of the Banneker-Douglass Museum said, “We want to know if we have archaeology; we want to hear about freedom—we’re tired of hearing about slavery... Tell us what is left from Africa” (Leone 2005: 192). This request was a reaction to the archaeological work that had been produced about enslaved people before and during the 1980s (e.g., Otto 1984; Adams and Boling 1989; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). This work focused on dominant ideology and the power of the slaveholders in dictating the lives of the enslaved. It was an uncomfortable set of conclusions because the end result was a picture of enslaved people that lacked resistance, individuality, and personal choice. Thousands of enslaved people were depicted as acceptant of the oppressive plantation system.

By the 1990s, people instead wanted to know about identities and lives that developed in spite of or independent from enslavement. Thus many archaeologists endeavored to speak about Africa (e.g., religion, food, jewelry, burial practices, gaming, ceramics, housing, family structure, language, and more), because knowing about the mistreatment of African-Americans was no longer useful for modern people. This was a celebration of the pervasiveness and strength of African-American culture. While it was illuminating to know what was retained after the Middle Passage and the ways enslaved people recreated their cultures in the U.S., the

conclusions began to generalize the African-American experience in practice. Proving the existence of blackness or a cohesive African-America unwittingly led to the reproduction of the status quo. It made white superiority and currently unequal black and white social relations seem like the only inevitable outcome of our past.

Archaeologists had only partially attained a narrative requested by the African-American community. Archaeologists had presented Africa, but they had yet to address freedom. Freedom is a sticky topic when it comes to enslaved individuals. Archaeologists who spoke too much about freedom, choice, and independence were attacked for ignoring the primary factor of being enslaved; enslavement at its core was a total lack of freedom (Orser 1988, 1999).

Perhaps a different way to interpret freedom then would be the ability or power to enact cultural change, even if people were never literally free. In this way, freedom becomes less so about the enslaved, and more so for those asking the questions today. Modern African-Americans seek a freedom from the dominant narrative. The dominant narrative presented a history of African-America that was inferior and secondary. This dissertation used the archaeological conclusions previously established as a foil. In a reactionary way, the research sought to present interpretations that are more beneficial for African-Americans in the present (Leone et al. 1987). In other words, this dissertation is as much about the present as it is about the past, and the research has contributed to the vindicationist tradition of African-American scholarship as it has been proposed by anthropologists and archaeologists (see for example, LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Mullins 2008). The narrative offered

instead is threefold. It helps African-Americans reappropriate more than just black or Soul Food. It helps to establish African-Americans claims to Southern Cooking. And finally, it resituates enslaved people as the locus of cultural food changes in the U.S. Previous archaeology enabled claims to modern Soul Food, but this was always in competition with the more significant white claims to Southern Cooking. This dissertation project found instead that enslaved people were responsible for many cuisines. As such, many of the dishes and foodways that merged to form our national cuisine can be attributed to blacks as much as it has been attributed to whites, as well as many other groups. This is more than reifying Soul Food; this is a claim that enslaved people were primary actors and movers in American culture.

To reflect upon this on an anthropological level, this dissertation also found a way to add more to our collective knowledge about how foodways change and take on meaning through time. It highlighted the meanings that are imposed upon food in the modern world, and the role that anthropologists play in giving credibility to one agenda versus another. To return to the introduction of this dissertation, the archaeological research conducted satisfies the fourth dimension of anthropological quests for food sustainability (Williams-Forsen 2013). Food sustainability usually centers on profitability, social responsibility, and environmental accountability. The point of food sustainability from an anthropological level is to discover where our food came from. By knowing this, we are able to live fuller, more conscientious, and healthier lives in the future. Understanding why we eat what we eat and the past of our food, is the archaeological contribution to the fourth dimension of food

sustainability. Teasing out the complexities of our national cuisine(s) past and present is how we will be able to move into the future, as we attempt to comprehend the unsustainable nature of our food system.

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