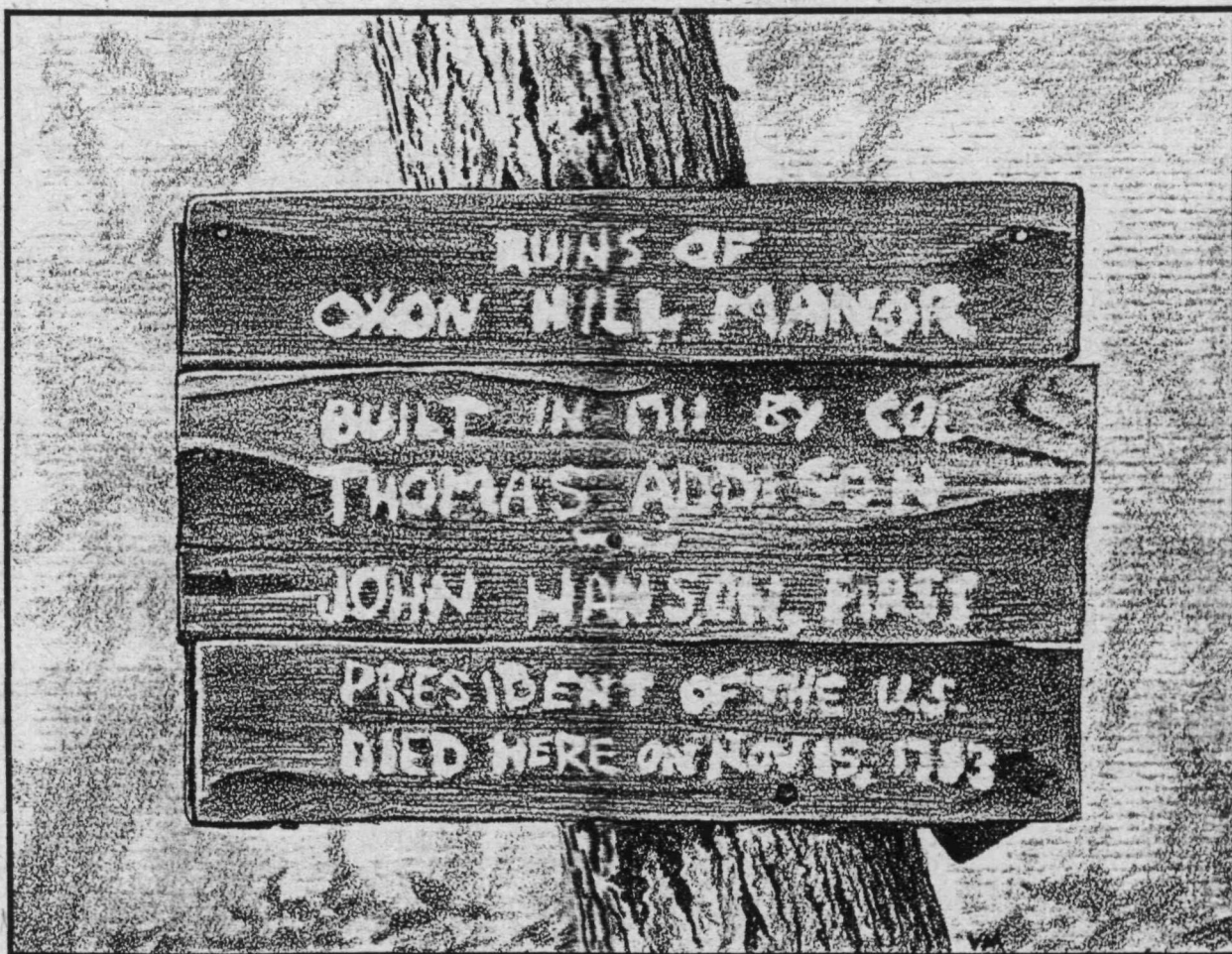


# OXON HILL MANOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MITIGATION PROJECT



Patrick H. Garrow and Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr.  
Editors

Prepared for:  
The Maryland Department of Transportation  
State Highway Administration  
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**FINAL REPORT**  
**OXON HILL MANOR**  
**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE MITIGATION PROJECT**  
**I-95/MD 210/I-295**

Prepared for:

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**Editors:**

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## ABSTRACT

The Oxon Hill Manor Archaeological Project was conducted from January 3, 1985 until January 2, 1986 for the Maryland State Highway Administration. The first six months were devoted to field investigations and a field laboratory. The second six months were devoted to laboratory analysis and the writing of this report. The Oxon Hill Manor site (18PR175) is located on a bluff on the east side of the Potomac River and just south of Washington D. C. The site was inhabited during the prehistoric and historic periods, with the major features and artifact concentrations dating to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantation site. At the time of the field work the main house site had been abandoned for 90 years and was covered with dense undergrowth.

Several guiding research goals were established for the project based on current research themes in plantation archaeology, including status, culture change, and world view or mind set. The resulting five hypotheses were tested through historical, field, and laboratory research.

Exhaustive historical research was conducted at all repositories in Maryland which could conceivably have had archival resources bearing on the Oxon Hill site, its occupants, its contents, and how the site fit into the mainstream of Maryland and national history over three centuries. This research resulted in a complete chain of title from the late seventeenth century to the present, and in three eighteenth-century probate inventories, which proved invaluable in making artifact comparisons with the archaeological material.

Fieldwork was conducted in six areas which had been established by Silas Hurry and the Maryland Geological Survey during two previous testing projects (Hurry 1984; Hurry and Kavanagh 1985). The fieldwork consisted of block excavations, mechanical excavation, and intensive testing of midden areas. Major features which were excavated included two wells and two cellars. Various structures and landscaping features were also examined. Analysis of the functions of the structures and features in the six areas provided a definition of a hierarchy of functions within the site from the high status domestic areas around the main house to the progressively more mundane storage and agricultural functions further from the main house area.

Laboratory analysis included a computerized database of all artifacts, and extensive manipulation of this large database to develop artifact patterns and distributions. Other databases were developed for minimum vessel and crossmend analyses. Faunal, floral, probate inventory, and other standard analyses were also conducted. A new crossmend analysis technique used on the eighteenth-century well material provided insights into well-filling sequences and socioeconomic status. The Robinson Index of Agreement was successfully used on bottle glass and ceramics to study status through the "Bottle Glass/Ceramic Comparison".

Through the historical and archaeological research the high socioeconomic level of the site's inhabitants was amply documented. With various artifact pattern studies and analysis of the features and structures, it was possible to establish the "Georgian" world view of the site's inhabitants. The marketing choices of the eighteenth-century inhabitants was examined, using probate inventories and the artifacts. Due to a dearth of prehistoric features and artifacts, the prehistoric component was not studied in as much detail as the historic remains.

This project was perhaps the largest of its kind ever conducted in the State of Maryland. As such, the completeness of the historical, field, and laboratory research should be of significant use to future researchers at plantation sites in the region. However, only the southern half of the main site area was included in the present project area, and was therefore investigated. If the opportunity arises, it is suggested that more work be conducted north of the manor site where the main house, various slave quarters, a cemetery, and a mausoleum are located.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Historic Properties, Inc. conducted the historical research. Lorne McWatters, Bill Adams, and Mike Scardaville compiled the historical data. Dr. John Foss of the University of Tennessee conducted the soil analysis at the site.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xix
I INTRODUCTION (Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr.)	1
The Physical Setting	1
The Historic Setting	1
The Field Work	3
The Analysis	6
The Report	12
II. RESEARCH GOALS (Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr. with contributions by David Anderson)	15
Introduction	15
Prehistoric Archaeology Overview	15
Introduction	15
The Paleo-Indian Period (Ca. 12,000-9,800 B.P.)	15
The Archaic Period (Ca. 9,800-3,000 B.P.)	16
The Woodland Period (Ca. 3,000 - 400 B.P.)	17
Plantation Archaeology Overview	18
Previous Investigations at Oxon Hill	24
Project Goals and Hypotheses	26
The Areas	26
The Research Goals	27
Summary	33
III ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING (Bruce Bauer with contributions by John Foss)	35
Introduction	35
Climate	35
Geology	35
Physiography	36
Soils	36
Soil Morphology	38
Soil Genesis	43
Vegetation and Wildlife Resources	43
IV HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (Lorne McWatters)	45
Methodology	45
Sources	46
Introduction	46
Archival Sources	47
Primary Printed Sources	49

Secondary Sources: General Works	49
Secondary Sources: Previous Research on Oxon Hill Manor	49
Secondary Sources: The Colonial Period	50
Secondary Sources: The National Period	50
Secondary Sources: The South	51
Colonial Maryland	53
Settlement	53
The Colonial Tobacco Economy	54
The Colonial Social Order	59
Demographic Trends	59
The Colonial Social Structure	59
Colonial Prince Georges County	61
Oxon Hill Manor in Colonial Maryland	67
Ownership and Status, 1674-1774	67
Land Use and Labor Patterns, 1674-1793	74
Maryland Since the American Revolution	80
Introduction	80
Decline and Adjustment, 1783-1860	80
Agriculture	80
Slavery	84
Free Blacks	86
Antebellum Prince Georges County	89
Agriculture	89
Slavery, Wealthholding and Free Blacks	96
Summary	98
Agricultural Diversification and Farm Tenancy, 1860-1900	98
General Trends in Maryland and the South	99
Trends in Prince Georges County and in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850 - 1890	102
Prince Georges County	102
Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts	105
Summary	121
Oxon Hill Manor Since the American Revolution	121
Introduction	121
The Walter Dulany Addison Years, 1793-1810	122
The Thomas and Zachariah Berry Years, 1810-1860	128
The Thomas E. Berry Years, 1860-1888	133
Speculation and the New Oxon Hill Manor, 1888-1970	149
Summary	159
Chain of Title	160
 V FIELD AND LABORATORY METHODS (Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr. with contributions by Patrick H. Garrow)	 171
Introduction	171
Field Methods	171
Laboratory Methods	179
Dating Methods	181
Artifact Pattern Analysis Methods	182
Ceramic and Glass Vessel Analysis	185
Ceramic Set Analysis Methods	186
Methods of Measuring Economic Level of Ceramic Assemblages	187



Estate Inventory Analysis Methods	188
Marketing Analysis Methods	188
VI FIELD RESULTS (Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr. with contributions by Jeffery Snyder)	189
Introduction	189
Area I	191
Description	191
The Terraces	195
The Features	214
The Well	214
The Cellar	217
The Possible Structure	222
The Gardening Features	230
The Trash Features	232
The Cobble Feature	232
Summary	235
Area II	235
Description	235
The Excavation	238
Summary	242
Area III	242
Area IV	244
Description	244
The Excavation	248
The Drains	248
The Northwest Quadrant	254
The Buried A Horizon	255
The Remaining Features and Units	256
Summary	256
Area V	256
Description	256
The Excavation	257
The Structure	262
The Remaining Features	265
Summary	266
Area VIa	267
Description	267
The Excavation	271
The Cellar	271
The Trenches	278
The Posthole Structure	282
The Remaining Features	286
Summary	287
Area VIb	289
Description	289
The Historic Maps	292
The Units	292
The Features	301
The Well	301
North of the Well	307
The Fenceline	308

The Possible Barn	311
Agriculture	311
A Possible Structure and Remaining Features	312
Southeastern Portion of Area VIb	312
Summary	312
Area VIc	313
Area VIId	313
Conclusions	318
 VII	
ARTIFACT ANALYSIS RESULTS (Patrick H. Garrow with contributions by Ramona Avallone, Kathy Callum, Douglas Dicks, James Errante, Stephen Ferrell, Elizabeth Grove, Jeanne Harris, Elizabeth Jorgensen, Agnes Lang, Kathleen Mulchrone, Marian Roberts, and Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr.)	321
Introduction	321
Analysis of the 1727, 1765, 1775 Estate Inventories	321
Ceramics and Glass Vessels	324
Metal Vessels	328
Cutlery and Flatware	333
Sifters, Milling Stones, Mortars, and Pestles	333
Furniture	335
Cloth and Clothing Items	340
Miscellaneous Items	347
Firearms, Sidearms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition	348
Yard, Garden, and Plantation Tools	349
Miscellaneous Hardware	351
Horse Tack, Riding Gear, Carts, and Wagons	352
Stored Food and Spices	353
Inventory Summary	356
Area I	356
Artifact Patterns - Units and Features	357
Kitchen Group	359
Architecture Group	360
Additional Artifact Groups	365
Artifact Patterns - The Area I Cellar	366
Kitchen Group	369
Architecture Group	371
Additional Artifact Groups	371
The Area I Well	372
Artifact Patterns	376
Kitchen Group	378
Architecture Group	385
Furniture Group	386
Arms Group	388
Clothing Group	390
Personal Group	399
Tobacco Pipe Group	401
Activities Group	405
Ceramic Vessel Analysis	406
Bottle Glass Vessel Analysis	430
The Wise Analysis	445

Area II	445
Artifact Pattern Analysis	446
Kitchen Group	447
Architecture Group	448
Additional Artifact Groups	448
Area III	449
Area IV	449
Artifact Patterns	449
Kitchen Group	451
Architecture Group	451
Additional Artifact Groups	452
Area V	452
Artifact Patterns	454
Kitchen Group	457
Architecture Group	458
Additional Artifact Groups	459
Ceramic Analysis	460
Glass Vessel Analysis	464
Area VIa	464
Artifact Patterns	467
Kitchen Group	473
Architecture Group	474
Additional Artifact Groups	474
Ceramic Analysis	475
Glass Analysis	470
Area VIa Cellar	480
Area VIb	483
Artifact Patterns	483
Kitchen Group	485
Architecture Group	486
Additional Artifact Groups	486
Area VIc	488
Area VI d	489
The Twentieth Century Deposits from Area VI	489
Dating Methods and Results	490
Artifact Pattern Analysis	495
Kitchen Group	497
Architecture Group	497
Furniture Group	498
Arms Group	498
Clothing Group	498
Personal Group	498
Tobacco Pipe Group	498
Activities Group	499
Ceramic Sherd and Vessel Analysis	449
Ceramic Set Analysis	515
Analysis of Ceramic Marmalade Jars	522
Bottle Glass Analysis	526
Table Glass Analysis	530
Artifact Analysis Interpretations	534



Artifact Patterns	536
Area I	536
Area II Artifact Patterns	537
Area IV Artifact Patterns	538
Area V Artifact Patterns	538
Area VIa Artifact Patterns	539
Area VIb Artifact Patterns	541
Twentieth-Century Artifact Patterns	541
Comparisons of the Oxon Hill Artifact Patterns With Existing Artifact Pattern Models	542
Artifact Pattern Results Summary	549
Artifact Analysis Evidence For Socioeconomic Position	549
Marketing Pattern Evidence	553
 VIII FAUNAL ANALYSIS (Lisa O'Steen with contributions by Susan Eigen)	555
Introduction	555
Methods	556
Results	557
Reptiles and Amphibians	557
Fish	564
Birds	566
Mammals	568
The Upper Well Sample (Table VIII-1)	569
The Lower Well Sample (Table VIII-2)	569
Feature 5000 (Structure, Table VIII-3)	569
Interpretations	569
Dietary Elements at Oxon Hill	570
Information From the Probate Inventories of 1727, 1765, and 1775	572
Records of Food Storage	572
Food Preparation	573
Butchering Practices and Cuts of Meat	574
The Addison Well	574
Cuts of Beef - The Upper Well Sample (Levels 36-45)	574
The Forequarter	575
The Hindquarter	589
The Lower Well Sample (Levels 59-76)	590
Cuts of Pork - The Upper Well Sample	592
The Forequarter	604
The Hindquarter	606
Cuts of Pork - The Lower Well Sample	610
The Forequarter	610
The Hindquarter	612
Mutton and Lamb - The Upper Sample	612
The Skull	620
The Forequarter	620
The Hindquarter	622
Mutton and Lamb - The Lower Sample	623
The Skull	624
The Forequarter	624
The Hindquarter	625
Feature 5000-The structure in Area V	625

	Cuts of Beef	625
	The Forequarter	630
	The Hindquarter	631
	Cuts of Pork	631
	The Skull	631
	The Forequarter	637
	The Hindquarter	637
	Cuts of Sheep	638
	The Forequarter	638
	The Hindquarter	638
	Diet and Socioeconomic Status	640
IX	FLORAL ANALYSIS (Cheryl Holt)	643
	Methods	643
	Results	643
	Flowers	644
	Trees	645
	Vegetable and Field Crops	645
	Fruits	646
	Herbs-Aromatic, Culinary, and Medicinal	646
	Weeds	648
	Grasses	648
	Site Areas	648
	Area I Structural Features	648
	Area I Well	649
	Area I Cellar	649
	Area IV Buried Topsoil Horizon	650
	Area V Meathouse	650
	Area VIa Trenches	650
	Area VIa Structure	651
	Area VIa Cellar	651
	Summary	651
X	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS (Patrick H. Garrow)	653
	Summary	653
	Conclusions	656
	REFERENCES CITED	667
	APPENDICES	
	Appendix 1. CONSERVATION OF ARTIFACTS	
	Appendix 2. ARTIFACT CODES	
	Appendix 3. ESTATE INVENTORIES	
	Appendix 4. CORRESPONDENCE WITH CHINA COMPANIES	
	Appendix 5. FLORAL MATERIAL	
	Appendix 6. PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS	
	Appendix 7. FEATURES	

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## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
1	Profile descriptions of soils occurring at the Oxon Hill archaeological site	39
2	Particle size analysis of profiles 2 and 5 at Oxon Hill, Maryland	42
3	Percentage/Distribution of Gross Estates in Maryland	60
4	Percentage of Slaves on Plantations of Various Sizes	62
5	Distribution of Landownership in Prince Georges County, 1756 and 1771	64
6	Comparison of Inventories of Thomas Addison (1727), John Addison (1765), and Thomas Addison (1775), Oxon Hill Manor	71
7	Agricultural Production in Maryland, 1840-1860	83
8	Slaves as a Percentage of Total Population in Maryland, South Carolina, and the South, 1790-1860	85
9	Slave Population as a Percentage of Total Population in the Five Counties of Southern Maryland, 1790-1860	87
10	Racial Distribution of Population in Maryland, 1748-1860	87
11	Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County and in Maryland, 1840	90
12	Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County, 1840-1860	92
13	Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County, by Districts, 1840	93
14	Agricultural Production in 1850 Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings District	93
15	Agricultural Production in 1860 Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings District	94
16	Percentage Slave and Free Black or Black Population of Maryland and Prince Georges County, 1790-1890	96
17	Free Black Population of Maryland and Prince Georges County, 1790-1860	97
18	Agricultural Production in Maryland, 1860-1880	99
19	Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County 1850-1880	102
20	Average Agricultural Production Per Farmer in Prince Georges County, 1850-1880	103
21	Population of Prince Georges County By Race, 1790-1890	105
22	Agricultural Production in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850-1880	107
23	Agricultural Production in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts as a Percentage of Production in Prince Georges County, 1850-1880	108
24	Number and Percent of All Farmers Who Indicate Values in Production Categories, Spaldings and Oxon Hill District, 1850-1880	109
25	Average Agricultural Production by All Farmers, Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850-1880	111
26	Average and Median Agricultural Production Per Producing Farmer (Owners and Tenants) in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850-1880	112
27	Percentage of State or County Agricultural Production Compared to Percentage of State or County Population: Prince Georges County, Spaldings District, and Oxon Hill District, 1880	113
28	Average Farm Size by Total and by Improved Acreage, 1850-1880: Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts	114

29	Average Farm Size for Owners and Tenants, 1880, Prince Georges County, Oxon Hill, and Spaldings Districts	115
30	Average Agricultural Production by All Farmers and Tenants, Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Oxon Hill District, 1880	116
31	Average Agricultural Production by Oxon Hill Farmers and Tenants, 1880	117
32	Average Agricultural Production by Spaldings Farmers and Tenants, 1880	118
33	Average Agricultural Production by Farm Owners and Tenants and by Producing Farmers and Tenants, Oxon Hill and Spalding Districts, 1880	119
34	Racial Distribution of Farmers and Farm Laborers in Oxon Hill District, 1880	120
35	Racial Distribution of Farmers and Farm Laborers in Spaldings District, 1880	120
36	Agricultural Production by Thomas Berry Compared to Average and Median Production by All Producing Farmers (Owners and Tenants), Spaldings District, 1850	132
37	Agricultural Production by Thomas Berry at Oxon Hill Manor, Spaldings District, and at Ellersbie, Queen Anne's District, 1860	135
38	Agricultural Production by Thomas E Berry at Ellersbie, Queen Anne's District, 1850	136
39	Agricultural Production by T Owen Berry at Oxon Hill Manor, Spaldings District, 1870	141
40	Agricultural Production by Oxon Hill Manor Tenants and Possible Tenants (average)*, with Oxon Hill District Average and Median, 1880	146
41	Codes for Feature Functions	174
42	Codes for Internal Feature Provenience	174
43	The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern	183
44	The Public Interaction Pattern	183
45	Observed Percentage Ranges of Selected Urban Artifact Patterns	184
46	The Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern	184
47	Densities of Features and Artifacts in the Areas	189
48	Elevations and Depths of Structural Postholes (in meters)	198
49	Terrace and Cellar Soil Quantities in Meters	222
50	Fenceline Posthole Elevation Data In Area I	222
51	TPQs and MCDs of Features with Both Postholes and Postmolds	228
52	Mean Ceramic Dates and <i>Termini Post Quem</i> of Area II Trash Deposits	240
53	Material From the Buried A Horizon	255
54	Various MCDs and TPQs in Area V	257
55	Mean Ceramic Dates and <i>Termini Post Quem</i> of Features in Area V	265
56	Dimensions of Fenceline Postholes and Postmolds	308
57	Rooms and Closets Within the Manor House in 1727, 1765, and 1775	322
58	Ceramics and Glass from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	324
59	Metal Containers, and Cooking and Food Service Vessels from the 1725, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	328
60	Cutlery and Flatware from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	333
61	Sifters, Milling Stones, Mortars and Pestles from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	334
62	Furniture from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	335
63	Cloth and Clothing Items from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	340
64	Miscellaneous items from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	347

65	Firearms, Sidearms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	348
66	Yard, Garden, and Plantation Tools from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	349
67	Miscellaneous Hardware from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	351
68	Horse Tack, Riding Gear, Carts, and Wagons from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	352
69	Stored Food and Spices from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories	354
70	Area I	357
71	Area I Kitchen Groups	359
72	Area I Architecture Group Artifacts	365
73	Area I Cellar Artifact Patterns	366
74	Area I Cellar Kitchen Group Artifacts	369
75	Area I Cellar Architecture Group Artifacts	371
76	Artifact Patterns from the Area I Well	376
77	Kitchen Group Artifact Classes by Depositional Section	378
78	Glass and Tumbler Vessels	379
79	Kitchenware by Depositional Section	386
80	Architecture Group Artifacts by Depositional Section	386
81	Furniture Group Artifacts	388
82	Arms Group Artifacts by Depositional Section	388
83	Clothing Group Artifacts by Depositional Sections	390
84	Textiles by Depositional Sections	397
85	Personal Group Artifacts by Depositional Sections	399
86	Activities Group Artifacts by Depositional Sections	405
87	Types and Varieties of Hoes	406
88	Well Section A Ceramic Crossmends for Section A	408
89	Well Section B Ceramic Crossmends for Section B	410
90	Well Section C Ceramic Crossmends for Section C	411
91	Well Section D Ceramic Crossmends for Section D	412
92	Ceramic Vessels From Depositional Sections B, C, and D	430
93	Wine Bottle Forms by Depositional Sections	441
94	Wine Pontil Types by Depositional Section	441
95	Wine Bottle Lip Types by Depositional Section	441
96	Wine Bottle Rims by Depositional Section	442
97	Area II	446
98	Area II Kitchen Group Artifacts	447
99	Area II Architecture Group Artifacts	448
100	Area IV Artifact Patterns	450
101	Area IV Kitchen Group Artifacts	451
102	Area IV Architecture Group Artifacts	451
103	Area V Features and Units Artifact Patterns Exclusive of "Feature 5000"	454
104	Area V Artifact Patterns From "Feature 5000"	456
105	Area V Kitchen Group Exclusive of "Feature 5000"	457
106	Area V Kitchen Group Artifacts From "Feature 5000"	458
107	Area V Architecture Group Artifacts Exclusive of "Feature 5000"	459
108	Area V Architecture Group Artifacts From "Feature 5000"	459
109	Minimum Vessel Counts from "Feature 5000"	462

110	Ceramic Minimum Vessel Counts For All Area V Contexts Outside "Feature 5000"	462
111	Area VIa Artifact Patterns Exclusive of the Cellar	467
112	Area VIa East of Trenches	469
113	Area VIa West of Trenches	470
114	Area VIa Inside of Trenches	471
115	Area VIa North of Trenches	472
116	Area VIa Percentage of Ceramic Vessel Completeness	474
117	Area VIa Porcelain Ceramic Vessels by Type and Decoration	475
118	Area VIa Early Refined Earthenware Vessels by Decorative Ware Types	476
119	Late Refined Earthenware Vessels by Decorative Ware Type	477
120	Coarse Earthenware Vessels by Type and Decoration	477
121	Area VIa Artifact Pattern for the Transitional Level of the Cellar	480
122	Area VIb	483
123	Area VIb Kitchen Groups	485
124	Area VIb Architecture Group	486
125	Area VIb Activities Groups	487
126	Area VIc	489
127	Ceramic Manufacturers	491
128	Date Ranges for Bottle Maker's Marks	492
129	Brand Name Date Ranges	493
130	Kitchen Group Bottle Glass Mean Date	494
131	Artifact Pattern from Column Sample	495
132	Ceramic Sherd Counts from the Column Sample	501
133	Comparisons of Ware Types from the Column Sample With Total Vessel Counts	503
134	Porcelain Ceramic Vessels by Decoration	504
135	Ivory Colored Earthenware Vessels by Decoration	506
136	Ironstone Vessels by Decoration	507
137	Other Refined Ware Vessels by Decoration	509
138	Yellow Ware, Stoneware, and Redware by Decoration	510
139	Total Vessels by Form	511
140	Area VI Percentage of Completeness of All Vessels from the Cellar and Well	513
141	Area VIa Percentages of Completion of Ceramic Vessels from Units and Features	514
142	Area I Percentages of Completion of All Ceramics from the Well	515
143	Area VI Percentages of Completion of the Cellar and Well Ceramics, Excluding Marmalade Jars	515
144	Ceramic Sets by Ware Types, Area VI Cellar and Well	515
145	Ceramic Sets by Ware and Form, Area VI Cellar and Well	516
146	Bottle Glass Function Groups	526
147	Bottle Glass Color Percentages	526
148	Bottle Glass Sherd Counts by Function	527
149	Glass Sherd Counts and Percentages	530
150	Categories of Glass Forms	530
151	Characteristics of Cut Glass Starburst Sets	531
152	Undiagnostic Glass Vessels	533
153	Artifact Pattern Summaries From Area I Exclusive of the Well and Cellar	536
154	Artifact Pattern Summaries From the Area I Cellar and Well	536

155	Artifact Pattern Summaries From Area II	537
156	Artifact Pattern Summaries From Area IV	538
157	Artifact Pattern Summaries From Area V	539
158	Artifact Pattern Summaries From Area VIa Exclusive of the Cellar	540
159	Area VIa Cellar Below the Sumner Welles Dump	540
160	Artifact Pattern Summaries From Area VIb	541
161	Artifact Pattern Summaries From a Column Sample Through the Sumner Welles Deposits	542
162	Comparative Artifact Patterns	544
163	Bottle Glass Sherds Versus Ceramic Glass Sherds at Various Sites	551
164	Robinson Index of Agreement Calculations: Area I Well, Depositional Section A	551
165	Robinson Index of Agreement Calculations: Area I Well, Depositional Sections B-D	552
166	Fauna of the Upper Well Sample	558
167	Fauna of the Lower Well Sample	561
168	Fauna from Feature 5000	563
169	Distribution of Beef Portions in the Well and in Feature 5000 (as MNP)	577
170	Cuts of Beef in the Upper Well Sample	582
171	Cuts of Beef in the Lower Well Sample	591
172	Portions of Cattle Long Bones in the Well Samples (Minimum Number of Elements)	591
173	Distribution of Pork Portions in the Well and in Feature 5000 (as MNP)	598
174	Cuts of Pork in the Upper Well Sample	604
175	Distribution of Mutton/Lamb Portions in the Well and in Feature 5000 (as MNP)	612
176	Possible Cuts of Mutton/Lamb in the Upper Well Sample	621
177	Possible Cuts of Mutton or Lamb in the Lower Well Sample	624
178	Possible Cuts of Beef in Feature 5000	630
179	Possible Cuts of Pork in Feature 5000	637
180	Possible Cuts of Sheep in Feature 5000	638



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figures	Title	Page
1	Location Map	2
2	Topographic Map	4
3	Oxon Hill Archaeological Site	5
4	Area I Looking West-Northwest	7
5	Area I Looking South	7
6	Area I Well Excavation, Illustrating Platform Scaffolding, and Concrete Well Rings in Place	8
7	Area I Well Boards	8
8	Area I Cellar Looking North	9
9	Area II Laying Out Grid Lines	9
10	Area IV Brick Drains Looking South	10
11	Area V Meathouse Structure Looking South	10
12	Area VIa Cellar Looking East	11
13	Area VIb Well Looking North	11
14	Distribution of Soil Types and Locations of Soil Profile Tests	37
15	Southern Maryland, with Oxon Hill Manor	56
16	Maryland Settlement Expansion, 1640 - 1800	57
17	Land Grants along the Potomac River to 1696	58
18	Genealogical Table of the Addison Family	68
19	Oxon Hill Manor, 1767	70
20	Oxon Hill Manor, 1785	76
21	Prince George's County, 1850	91
22	Prince George's County, 1860 - 1880	106
23	Thomas's Ferry at Oxon Hill Manor	127
24	Genealogical Table of the Berry Family	129
25	Oxon Hill Manor, 1861	138
26	Oxon Hill Manor, 1862	139
27	Oxon Hill Manor, 1863	140
28	The Ellersbie Plantation of Thomas E Berry, 1861	142
29	Oxon Hill Manor, 1878	147
30	Oxon Hill Manor, 1894	151
31	Oxon Hill Manor, 1903	153
32	Two Views of the Oxon Hill Manor House	154
33	The New Oxon Hill Manor House, 1952	155
34	Oxon Hill Manor, 1981	156
35	Oxon Hill Manor, 1970	158
36	Area I Looking South After Clearing Undergrowth	177
37	Area I Looking North-Northwest, Clearing	177
38	Area I Excavation Shelters	178
39	Area I Inside Shelter	178
40	Area VIb Shovel Shaving and Scraping	180
41	Oxon Hill Archaeological Site	190
42	Area I Topography and Excavation	192
43	Area I Excavation Units Numbered	193
44	Area I Features	194
45	Area I - West Profile at E 234 Line	196



46	Hypothetical Terrace Sequencing	197
47	Structural Posthole Depths and Elevations	199
48	Area I Feature Numbers, West Half	201
49	Area I Feature Numbers, East Half	202
50	Area I Ceramic Crossmends Between Excavation Units	203
51	Area I Ceramic Crossmends Between Features	204
52	Kitchen and Architecture Group Artifacts on Terraces in Area I Units	206
53	Termini Post Quem and Mean Ceramic Dates in Area I Units by Level	207
54	Area I Features by Occupation Period	209
55	Area I Erosional Features	210
56	Kitchen and Architecture Group Artifacts in Area I by Units	211
57	Furniture, Arms, Clothing and Personal Group Artifacts in Area I by Units	212
58	Tobacco and Activity Group Artifacts in Area I by Units	213
59	Area I Well Profile	216
60	Area I Cellar Plan View	218
61	Area I Cellar, East Profile at E 228 Line	219
62	Area I - Feature 1003	220
63	Area I - Fence Line	223
64	Area I - First Series of Post Holes	225
65	Area I - Post Holes with Elevations Between Features 28 & 117	226
66	Area I - Post Holes with Irregulars Removed	227
67	Area I - Best Estimate of Post Hole Structure	229
68	Area I - Gardening Features	231
69	Area I - Trash and Cobble Features	233
70	Area I - Well and Associated Features	234
71	Area II Topography and Excavation	236
72	Area II Excavation Units Numbered	237
73	Area II Features and West Profile at E 228 Line	239
74	Area II Schematic Diagrams of Kitchen and Architecture Artifact Distributions	241
75	Area III Topography	243
76	Area III Backhoe Trench East Profile	245
77	Area IV Topography and Excavation	246
78	Area IV Excavation Units Numbered	247
79	Area IV - Trench 1 East Profile	249
80	Area IV - Trench 5 South Profile	250
81	Area IV Features	251
82	Area IV Schematic Diagram of Architecture and Kitchen Artifact Distributions	252
83	Area IV Drainage Features - Plan View	253
84	Area V Topography and Excavation	258
85	Area V Excavation Units Numbered	259
86	Area V Features	260
87	Area V South Profile at S 215 Line	261
88	Area V - Feature 5000 and Related Features	263
89	Area V Dating of Structures	264
90	Area VIa Topography and Excavation	268
91	Area VIa Excavation Units Numbered	269
92	Area VIa Stratigraphy	270
93	Area VIa Schematic Diagram of Termini Post Quem and Mean Ceramic Dates	272
94	Area VIa Features	273
95	Area VIa Features by Period	274

96	Area VIa Sumner Welles Cellar South Profile at S 206 Line	275
97	A - Area VIa Sumner Welles Deposit; B - Post Mold in Northeast Corner of Cellar	277
98	Area VIa Vertical and Horizontal Crossmends Within Cellar	279
99	Area VIa Sumner Welles Cellar West Profile at E 289 Line	280
100	Area VIa Cellar, Plan View (Also See Post Mold Photograph in 97B)	281
101	Area VIa Feature 6006 South Profile at S 204 Line (top)	
	Area VIa Feature 6008 North Profile at S 194 Line (bottom)	283
102	Area VIa Schematic Diagram of Kitchen and Architectural Artifact Distributions	284
103	Area VIa Schematic Diagram of Arms, Tobacco, Activities and Clothing Artifact Distributions	285
104	Area VIa Ceramic Crossmends Between Excavation Units	288
105	Area VIb Topography and Excavation	290
106	Area VIb Excavation Units Numbered	291
107	Tracing of 1863 Map	293
108	Tracing of 1903 Map	294
109	Schematic Diagram of Testing Phase Artifacts	296
110	Area VIb Schematic Diagrams of Kitchen and Architectural Artifact Distributions	297
111	Area VIb Schematic Diagrams of Activities, Clothing, Tobacco and Personal Artifact Distributions	298
112	Area VIb Schematic Diagram of Furniture and Arms Artifact Distributions	299
113	Area VIb Schematic Diagram of Termini Post Quem and Mean Ceramic Date Distributions	300
114	Area VIb West Profile at E 372 Line	302
115	Area VIb Features	303
116	Area VIb Features by Period	304
117	Area VIb Well Profile	305
118	Area VIb Well and Associated Features	306
119	Area VIb Well and Fence Line Features	309
120	Area VIc Topography, Excavation, Features, and North Profile at S 135 Line	314
121	Area VIc - Unit Numbers	315
122	Area VIc Topography, Excavation, and South Profile at S 136 Line	316
123	Area VIc - Unit Numbers	317
124	Results of Oxon Hill Site Excavations	319
125	Dark brown stoneware bottle #6051 from Area I	361
126	Tan stoneware bottle #6046 from Area I	361
127	Plain ironstone bowl from Area I, Feature 6	362
128	Overglaze red transfer print ironstone from Area I cellar	362
129	Pharmaceutical bottle from Area I Embossed "SCHENK'S PULMONIC SYRUP" Sherds from Feature 6, Levels N13 and N17, Unit 17, Level 1Y, and Unit 980, Level 2 (minimum vessel 7071)	363
130	Glass "gargling oil" bottle from Area I, Unit 17, Level 1Y (minimum vessel 7076)	363
131	Light green glass bottle from Area I, Unit 17, Level 1Y Embossed "FOGARTY'S & CO" "ALEXANDRIA VA"	364
132	Pharmaceutical bottle from Area I, Feature 233Z01	364
133	Blue transfer print pearlware vessel from Area I cellar, organic level	370

134	Ceramic crossmends in Area I well	373
135	Spirit bottle glass crossmends in Area I well	374
136	Stemmed glasses #834 (l), #848 (r) from Area I well	380
137	Wine glasses #839 (l), #840 (r) from Area I well	380
138	Wine glass #840 reconstruction	382
139	Glass tumbler #837 from Area I well	383
140	Tumbler #837 reconstruction	383
141	Clear glass salver #847 sherds from Area I well	384
142	Globular pharmaceutical bottle reconstruction from Area I well	384
143	Wooden kitchenware artifacts from the Area I well	387
144	Metal arms group artifacts from Area I well	389
145	Metal gun parts from Area I well	389
146	Buttons from Area I well	392
147	Beads from Area I well	392
148	Metal buckles from Area I well	394
149	Metal sewing related items from Area I well	394
150	Leather shoe parts from Area I well, Level 63	395
151	Leather shoe parts from Area I well, Level 70	395
152	Leather shoe parts from Area I well, Level 71	396
153	Wood shoe heel from Area I well, Level 67	396
154	Textiles from Area I well	398
155	Coins from Area I well	400
156	Personal artifacts from Area I well	400
157	Personal group artifacts from Area I well	402
158	Bone artifacts from Area I well	402
159	Jewelry related artifacts from Area I well	403
160	Kaolin clay pipe fragments from Area I well, showing maker's marks	403
161	Kaolin clay pipe stems from Area I well Note teeth impressions	404
162	Fragment of leather saddle from Area I well, Level 57	413
163	Metal bridle parts from Area I well	414
164	Milling stone from Area I well, Level 48	414
165	Wooden brush back from Area I well, Level 60	415
166	Musical instruments from Area I well	415
167	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain from Area I well	416
168	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain from Area I well	417
169	Overglaze enamelled Chinese trade porcelain from Area I well	417
170	White salt glazed stoneware from Area I well	418
171	White salt glazed stoneware mug #240 from Area I well	418
172	White salt glazed stoneware bowl #225 from Area I well	419
173	White salt glazed stoneware bowl #240 from Area I well	419
174	Westerwald stamped blue stoneware vessel #17 with embossed medallion from Area I well	420
175	Clear glazed refined earthenware bowl #267 with white rim from Area I well	420
176	Unglazed redware jar #0005 from Area I well	421
177	British brown stoneware jug #200 from Area I well	421
178	Unglazed redware jar #0005 reconstruction	422
179	British brown stoneware pitcher #0018 from Area I well	423
180	British brown stoneware mug #0014 from Area I well	424
181	Plain Delft pot #153 with everted rim from Area I well	425
182	Faience bowl #112 from Area I well	425
183	Blue and white Delft milk pan #0116 from Area I well	426

184	Blue and white Delft bowl #0111 reconstruction from Area I well	427
185	Plain clear glazed redware milk pan #0001 from Area I well	428
186	Plain clear glazed redware milk pan from Area I well	428
187	Plain clear glazed redware milk pan #0003 from Area I well	429
188	Trailed clear glazed slipware milk pan #0002 from Area I well and cellar	429
189	Olive green glass wine bottles from Area I well	432
190	Olive green glass wine bottles from Area I well	432
191	Olive green glass onion bottle #0400 from Area I well	433
192	Olive green glass mallet bottle #0522 from Area I well	434
193	Olive green glass mallet/cylinder bottle #0401 from Area I well	435
194	Olive green glass cylinder bottle #0403 from Area I well	436
195	Olive green glass case bottle #0706 from Area I well	437
196	Olive green glass case bottle #0703 from Area I well	438
197	Olive green glass case bottle #0706 from Area I well	439
198	Spirit bottle crossmends by type	440
199	Olive green bottle glass sherds from Area I well, with "A"s scratched on them	443
200	Olive green glass wine bottle sherd from Area I well, with the name "Addison" scratched on it, Level 55	443
201	Olive green glass wine bottle sherd from Area I well, with an "A" and the date 1720 or 1726 scratched on it, Level 57	444
202	Section of stemmed glass from Area V, Feature 5000, Level 13	455
203	Glass beads from Area V, Feature 5000, Level 13	455
204	Brass gun side plate from Area V, Unit 5022, Level 1	461
205	Delft bowl #4079 from Area V	465
206	Delft bowl #4069 from Area V	465
207	Underglaze handpainted polychrome pearlware bowl #5039 from Area VIa	479
208	Amber glass sunburst commemorative flask #5300 from Area VIa	479
209	Three piece mold bottle from bottom of cellar in Area VIa	482
210	Artifacts from Area VI, 20th century deposits	500
211	Green glazed dog bowls (l to r) #2129, #2128 from Area VI, 20th century deposits	500
212	Three dinner sets with identical decal patterns from Area VI, 20th century deposits	520
213	Set 49 - Breakfast set from Area VI, 20th century deposits	520
214	Set 45 - Dinner set from the Area VI, 20th century deposits	521
215	Set 65 - Dinner set from Area VI, 20th century deposits	521
216	Set 66 - Plate # 2337, with coat of arms, Area VI, 20th century deposits	523
217	Set 70 - Food preparation/serving set	523
218	Black transfer print labels on modern ironstone marmalade jars from Area VI, 20th century deposits	525
219	Undecorated modern ironstone marmalade jars from Area VI, 20th century deposits	525
220	Liquor bottles from the Area VIa, 20th century deposit	529
221	Green glass bottle from Area VI, 20th century deposits	529
222	Glass stemware from Area VI, 20th century deposits	532
223	Comparative Kitchen and Architecture Artifact Group Percentages	546
224	A- Butchering cuts of meat for London and Home Counties, England	
	B - Skeletal diagram of cow illustrating osteological terminology	576
225	Cuts on cattle bone from Level 36 of the upper well sample	578
226	Cuts on cattle bone from Levels 37, 38, 39 of the upper well sample	579
227	Cuts on cattle bone from Levels 40-41, 42 of the upper well sample	580

228	Cuts on cattle bone from Levels 43, 44, 45 of the upper well sample	581
229	Beef scapulae illustrating cut/hack markings	583
230	Beef ribs	585
231	Beef humerus illustrating hack markings on distal end	587
232	Beef radius and ulna illustrating hack marks	588
233	Cuts on cattle bone from Levels 60, 61 of the lower well sample	593
234	Cuts on cattle bone from Levels 63, 65 of the lower well sample	594
235	Cuts on cattle bone from Levels 67, 70, 71 of the lower well sample	595
236	Cuts on cattle bone from Level 74 of the lower well sample	596
237	Cuts on cattle bone from Level 76 of the lower well sample	597
238	A - Butchering cuts of meat for pork	
	B - Skeletal diagram of pig illustrating osteological terminology	599
239	Cuts on pig bone from Level 36 of the upper well sample	600
240	Cuts on pig bone from Levels 37, 38, 39 of the upper well sample	601
241	Cuts on pig bone from Levels 40, 41, 42 of the upper well sample	602
242	Cuts on pig bone from Levels 43, 44, 45 of the upper well sample	603
243	Cuts on pig bone from Levels 59, 60 of the lower well sample	609
244	Cuts on pig bone from Levels 61, 63, 67 of the lower well sample	610
245	Cuts on pig bone from Levels 70, 71, 74 of the lower well sample	611
246	A - Butchering cuts of meat for lamb	
	B - Diagram of lamb illustrating osteological terminology	613
247	Cuts on sheep bone from Level 36 of the upper well sample	614
248	Cuts on sheep bone from Levels 37, 38, 39 of the upper well sample	615
249	Cuts on sheep bone from Levels 40, 41, 42 of the upper well sample	616
250	Cuts on sheep bone from Levels 43, 44, 45 of the upper well sample	617
251	Cuts on sheep bone from levels 60, 61, 67 of the lower well sample	618
252	Cuts on sheep bone from Levels 70, 71, 74 of the lower well sample	619
253	Cuts on cattle bone in Feature 5000	626
254	Cuts on cattle bone in Feature 5000	627
255	Cuts on cattle bone in Feature 5000	628
256	Cuts on cattle bone in Feature 5000	629
257	Cuts on pig bone in Feature 5000	632
258	Cuts on pig bone in Feature 5000	633
259	Cuts on pig bone in Feature 5000	634
260	Cuts on pig bone in Feature 5000	635
261	Cuts on pig bone in Feature 5000	636
262	Cuts on sheep bone in Feature 5000	639
263	Results of the Garrow and Espenshade Survey (1985)	657
264	Oxon Hill Site: Conceptualized Physical Layout	659

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

### THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The Oxon Hill archaeological data recovery project was conducted for the Maryland State Highway Administration in preparation for the construction of a new interchange at I-95 and Indian Head Highway in Prince Georges County, Maryland (Figure 1). The site is located on the edge of a high, steep bluff approximately one mile east of the Potomac River. The river channel facing the site is tidal and deep enough to allow ocean going ships. These were undoubtedly among the reasons for the original decision to locate the historic period site there. In prehistoric times the site would probably have been somewhat less inviting since the closest year round water supply is the river.

In prehistoric and early historic times the uplands behind the bluff were probably dominated by an oak-hickory forest, while the lowland area between the bluff and the river may have had more water resistant species since the area was subject to periodic flooding. Today, this low area is somewhat swampy as it has been dredged within the last one hundred years as a source of sand. The river shore is therefore somewhat closer than it was during the period when the site was inhabited, i.e. before 1895.

This combination of lowlands and uplands along a tidal river supported a diverse fauna. Among other species that inhabited the river and which may have been important to the prehistoric and historic inhabitants of the site were oyster and sturgeon as well as a wide variety of other fish. Waterfowl must also have been plentiful, as they still are. Land animals, including bison, elk, wolf, bear, and deer, are known to have been relatively abundant during the early years of historic settlement. However, since about the mid eighteenth century many of these large mammals have been forced out of the area, and unlike migratory fowl, have not been able to reenter and reestablish themselves. During field work only adaptable species such as raccoon, deer, and fox were noted in the area of the site, even though for a mile or more to the north and south along the Potomac most of the area is wooded and nearly uninhabited.

Coupled with this rather typical tidewater physical setting is a humid, temperate climate with mild winters and uncomfortably hot summers. At the Oxon Hill site the hot, humid summer days are mitigated to certain extent by breezes which come up and over the bluff edge from the river valley below. Unfortunately, during the winter these same humid breezes, occasionally approaching sixty miles an hour, often cause wind chill factors of below zero.

Before field work began the work area was covered with relatively recent secondary growth, resulting in large part from a forest fire which occurred in the early 1960s while the nearby I-95 was being built. This secondary growth consisted of a thick understory of vines and brush as well as small--3 to 12 inch--locusts, pines, and assorted hardwoods. Interspersed with this secondary growth were large old oaks and a single pear tree, sometimes over 3 or 4 feet in diameter, undoubtedly representing decorative plants from the eighteenth century. Many of these larger trees showed evidence of having been burned or had fallen within the last 15 or 20 years.

### THE HISTORIC SETTING

The importance of this site derives mainly from the historic period occupation, although it was

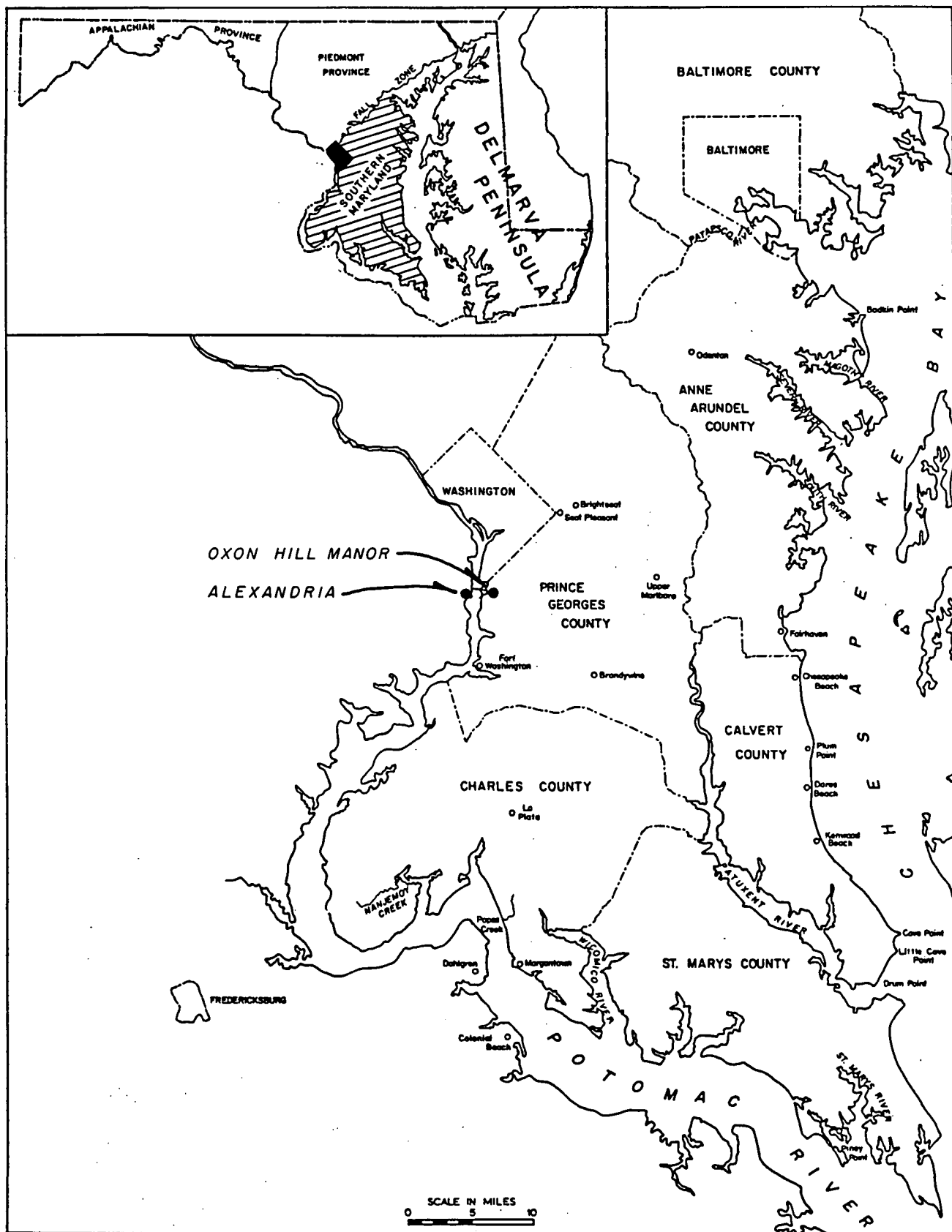


FIGURE 1. Location Map.

initially felt that the prehistoric occupation would also prove to be significant. As the project progressed it became apparent that the prehistoric component did not have any in-situ features or clear functional areas and for these reasons the prehistoric component is not dealt with in as much detail in this report as the historic period.

The plantation, of which the present work area is only a small part (Figure 2), was first inhabited by Thomas Addison. Addison built the main house in 1710 or 1711 (MacIntosh 1974:75), which is located outside and only a few feet to the south of the present work area (Figure 3). The buildings and other features excavated during the present project were built at the same time or later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. No construction dates to the twentieth century. The plantation remained in the Addison family until 1810 when it was purchased by Zacariah Berry. The Berry family owned the plantation until the 1880s when it was purchased and repurchased by a series of speculators.

The main house burned in 1895, and from that time the project area was not inhabited, but was farmed by tenants. One set of these tenants may have been the Butler family. Until the mid 1970s there was a structure in what is now known as the Oxon Hill children's farm, which is north of I-95 but still on the original Oxon Hill plantation property. According to William Butler (George McDaniel, personal communication 1986) the structure was built in the 1850s as a stage coach stop or a post office. This would place the structure on the old Fox Ferry road (see Chapter IV). The structure was bought by Mr. Butler's ancestors, who were freed slaves, and used as a house by them from the mid 1850s onward. Sumner Welles built the new Oxon Hill Manor across the ravine to the south of the study property around 1927, and used portions of the study area for trash disposal during his ownership.

The Addisons, the Berrys, and the Welles were members of the elite upper classes of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, respectively. As such, the Addisons partook of the patrician values and way of life of the gentry discussed by Isaacs (1982) and Deetz (1977). The Berrys and later their tenants provide an example of how the tidewater gentry evolved in the nineteenth century as tobacco cultivation exhausted the soil and many settlers moved west. Finally, the Welles illustrate a further evolution of the elite as the Oxon Hill plantation area became a country home for a high level government official in the Franklin Roosevelt administration. The Oxon Hill site naturally lends itself to the study of how status can be examined archaeologically through time and space, and in the following chapters the history and archaeology of Oxon Hill will be used to examine the world view of the eighteenth-century inhabitants, the use of space on a large upper class plantation, the difference between upper and lower class occupations within a single plantation, and the marketing choices of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century inhabitants.

## THE FIELD WORK

The present field work follows a series of archaeological survey and testing projects which took place over a period of several years, and after various engineering changes were made to avoid portions of the site. The previous archaeological work is discussed in detail in Chapter II. In 1984, when it became apparent that the site could not be entirely avoided, the State Highway Administration designed an appropriate archaeological mitigation project and reviewed a number of competitive proposals. On the basis of these proposals Garrow and Associates, Inc. was selected to perform the extensive archaeological investigations. Field work began on January 3, and was completed on June 28, 1985. Over 1,235 square meters of the site were excavated by hand. Crew size during field work fluctuated between 35 and 77, with approximately 10 to 15 persons in a temporary field laboratory and the remainder in the field.





FIGURE 2. Topographic Map.

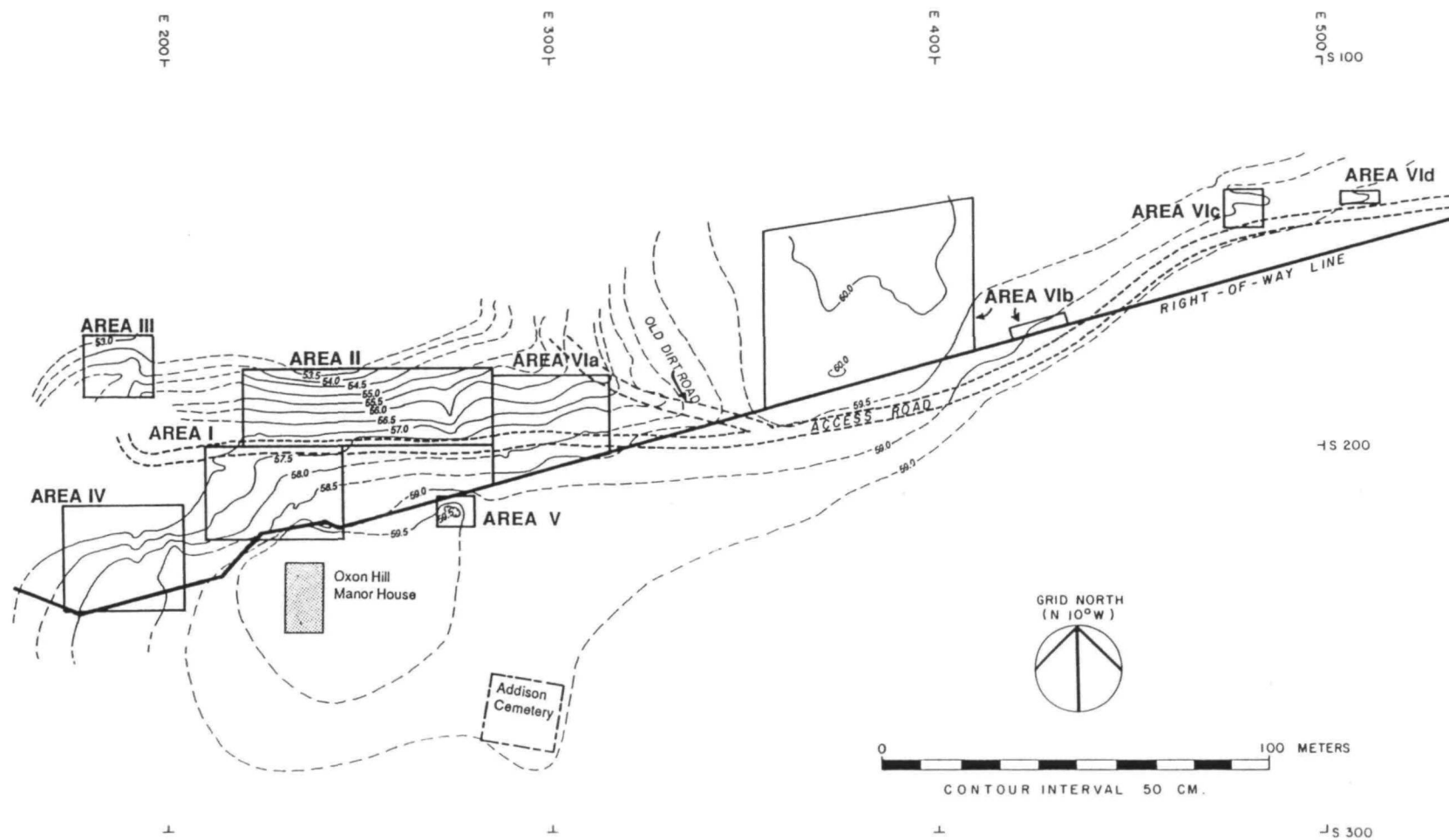


FIGURE 3. Oxon Hill Archaeological Site.

The site was divided into six areas (Figure 3). Area I was a terraced side yard just to the north of the ruins of the main house. Area II was a steep, eroded slope to the north of Area I, while Area III was a flat area to the west of Area II. Area IV was an artificial terrace to the west of the main house ruin, and Area V was an area with a deep depression to the east of Area I and to the south of Area II. Area VI was divided into several subareas, of which four (A through D) were examined. Area VIa was located to the east of Area V and north of the Addison family cemetery, which lay outside the project area to the south. Area VIb was a large flat area to the east of Area VIa, while Areas VIc and VI d were much smaller areas further to the east. These six areas provided a fairly complete view of the northern half of the site, and contained primarily utility structures, trash disposal areas, and landscaped lawn/garden areas. It is known that the southern half of the site contains the main house, the Addison family cemetery, and more landscaped lawn/garden areas. It is also felt that the southern half of the site contains the remains of various slave quarters and other outbuildings.

Area I contained the most features and artifacts (Figures 4 and 5), and the well in this area produced the largest and best preserved sample of eighteenth-century artifacts and bone from the site. Safe excavation of the unlined well in Area I was a high priority for the project, and the plan developed, using concrete well rings, was extremely effective (Figures 6 and 7). An unanticipated feature in Area I was a cellar (Figure 8), which required an unforeseen manpower commitment to the area.

Area II was densely covered in underbrush (Figure 9), which was not as much of a problem as it was in other areas, since only scattered units were to be placed there. This area was badly eroded, and, while it produced a relatively high number of artifacts, very few features were encountered.

Area III contained no archaeological deposits; this area appears to have been a heavy equipment turnaround area used during the construction of I-95 in the 1960s.

Area IV produced evidence of intensive gardening and landscaping during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, containing an artificial terrace and brick lawn drains (Figure 10). Relatively few artifacts were found in this area.

Area V produced evidence of a structure which probably functioned as a meat storage house (Figure 11). The floor of this structure was sunk about a foot below ground surface and the interior walls were lined with brick below ground surface, much like a similar structure at Mount Vernon. The structural fill produced a large quantity of relatively well preserved bone from eighteenth-century butchering activities.

Areas VIa and VIb produced excellent data on the use of the site, especially for the twentieth century. A nineteenth-century cellar with a concentrated deposit of material from the Sumner Welles family was partially excavated in Area VIa (Figure 12). Area VIa also contained several features and a structure dating to the eighteenth century. Area VIb contained a number of features, the most productive of which was a nineteenth-century brick lined well, filled with twentieth century material from the Sumner Welles household (Figure 13). The remainder of Area VIb contained a few features dating to the nineteenth century. Areas VIc and VI d produced very few artifacts or features.

## THE ANALYSIS

Laboratory analysis and report writing began in Atlanta, Georgia on July 1, 1985, and the analysis and draft report were completed by January 2, 1986. During the year it took to complete the project,



FIGURE 4. Area I Looking West-Northwest.



FIGURE 5. Area I Looking South.



FIGURE 6. Area I Well Excavation, Illustrating Platform Scaffolding, and Concrete Well Rings in Place.



FIGURE 7. Area I Well Boards.





FIGURE 8. Area I Cellar Looking North.



FIGURE 9. Area II Laying Out Grid Lines.



FIGURE 10. Area IV Brick Drains Looking South.

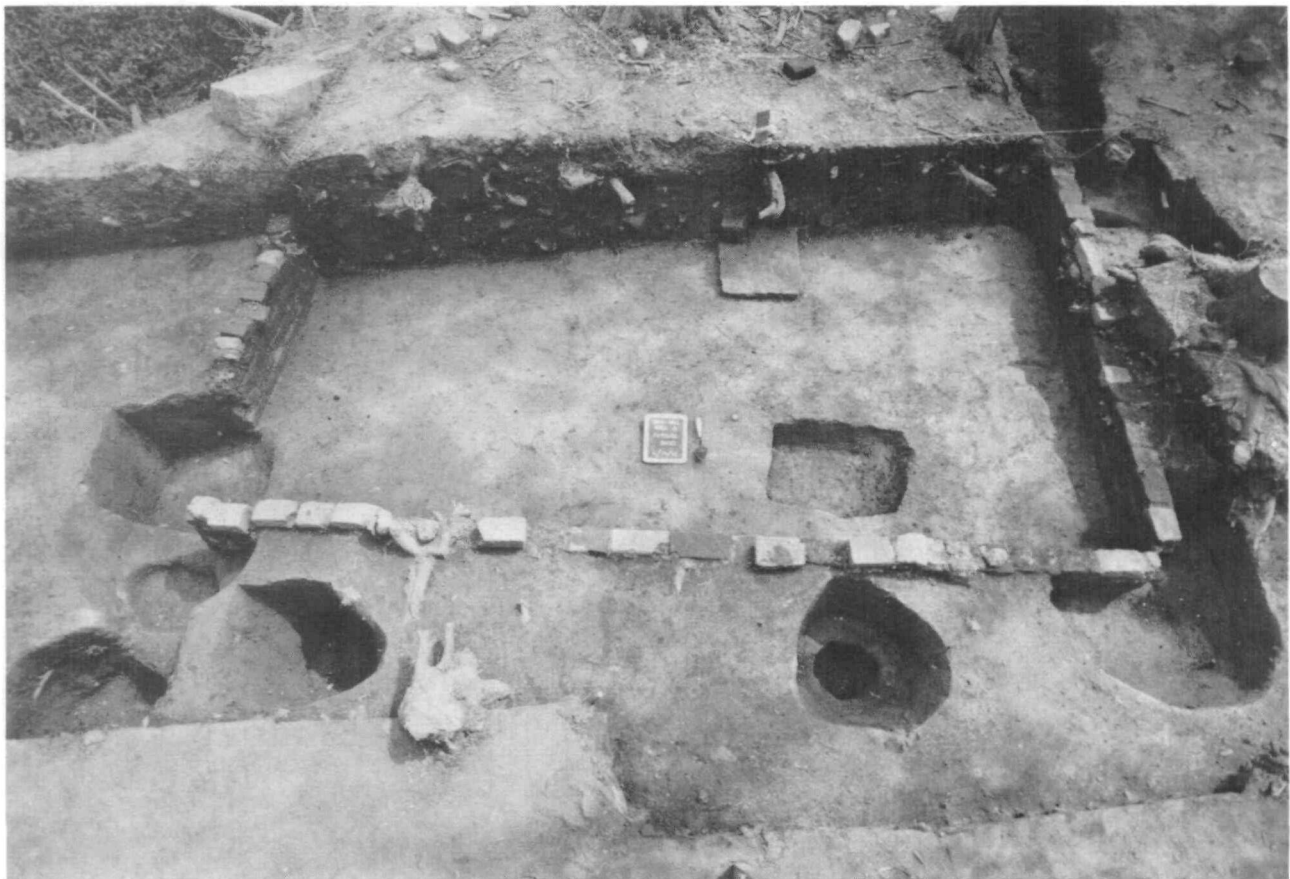


FIGURE 11. Area V Meathouse Structure Looking South.



FIGURE 12. Area VIa Cellar Looking East.



FIGURE 13. Area VIb Well Looking North.



over 236,659 artifacts were excavated, cleaned, cataloged, and analyzed (certain classes of artifact, such as brick fragments, were cataloged by weight, not by count). Because of the quantity of the material and the large number of individual proveniences, the cataloged data was entered into a computerized database, and then was manipulated with dBase-II. Analysis consisted, in part, of the examination of artifact patterns across the site; analysis of minimum vessels in selected areas of the site; ceramic and bottle glass crossmend analysis; chemical research on cloth; quantitative analysis of probate inventories; ceramic set analysis for the Sumner Welles' material; and ceramic economic analysis. The floral and faunal material were dealt with separately. The preservation of the faunal material allowed a more indepth analysis of meat usage than is normally the case on historic sites. Actual meat portions, beyond a simple head/body/leg examination, could be and were analysed. Floral material was analysed for the project by Cheryl Holt of Alexandria, Virginia and produced information on ornamental garden plants as well as foodways. The results of these analyses and the field work were then used to address the hypotheses and project goals.

The project produced much data useful in characterizing and evaluating status relationships of the upper class inhabitants of Oxon Hill Manor (and the new Oxon Hill Manor) from the early eighteenth century until the mid twentieth century. Data were also developed concerning the day-to-day, economic functioning of a Maryland Potomac River plantation. Historical data, especially probate inventories of the eighteenth century, helped provide a unique view of the history of the area.

## THE REPORT

This report is the result of the efforts of many people. Since time was short for analysis and report writing, it was obvious that one or two persons would not have been able to write the report in time. For this reason individuals were assigned particular parts of the analysis which they followed through write-up. The editors were responsible for overseeing the analysis procedures and results, and the subsequent write-up. Certain chapters were written almost exclusively by the editors and, of course, editing was required to provide a flow between portions written by contributing authors.

A project of this size and scope naturally involves the interweaving of various distinct yet mutually supportive subject areas. It was not always easy to decide where to make chapter breaks or what to include with what, or what order would make the most sense to the reader. The following organization was eventually decided upon. Previous site specific research, the comparative literature, and the research goals are examined in Chapter II. The environment--with special emphasis on the soils--is discussed in Chapter III. The historical background of the plantation, the occupants, and the overall historical setting are discussed in Chapter IV. The field and laboratory methods are explained in detail in Chapter V. The results of the field work with appropriate maps and illustrations are presented in Chapter VI. The artifact analysis results are presented in Chapter VII with appropriate artifact patterns, tables and illustrations; this chapter also includes a discussion of the probate inventories and how these relate to the artifact analysis. An intensive examination of the exceptionally well preserved faunal material from the well in Area I and the structure in Area V is presented in Chapter VIII. The analysis of the seeds and floral material from the site is presented in Chapter IX. Chapter X addresses the hypotheses and research goals and presents a summary of and our conclusions on the results of the project.

Certain data, while meaningful to the project and future researchers, was too cumbersome to include in the body of the report. This material was put into a series of Appendices at the end of the report. Appendix 1 includes a description of the methods and results of the conservation of the artifacts conducted by Katherine Singley and later by our own staff. Appendix 2 includes a copy of the computer code book used to classify the over 236,000 artifacts. Appendix 3 presents transcribed

versions of the estate inventories used in the artifact analysis. Appendix 4 has copies of the extensive correspondence conducted in an attempt to establish dates, pattern names and costs of the Sumner Welles ceramics. Appendix 5 lists the floral material which was submitted to intensive examination by Cheryl Holt. Appendix 6 gives tables of the prehistoric material from the site. Appendix 7 presents a table of all feature proveniences sorted by feature number. This table includes the top and bottom elevations above or below grid S200/E200, the depth, the length and width of the feature, the mean ceramic and terminus post quem dates, and a brief characterization of the feature.



## **CHAPTER II. RESEARCH GOALS**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the research goals which guided the field and analytical methods described in Chapter 5. In order to present the research goals and hypotheses in the proper perspective general overviews of the prehistory and historical archaeology are given here. The prehistoric sequence of the Potomac River valley is based upon research conducted in the general Middle Atlantic region. As with most regions of the United States, the prehistory of this region is partially extrapolated from data from adjacent areas since there are still gaps in our understanding of the cultural sequences in this part of the Middle Atlantic. The general sequence for the northern half of the eastern seaboard begins with the Paleo-Indian Period, followed by the Archaic Period, ending with the Woodland period. The following section describes these periods in more detail. Historical archaeology in the region has largely been conducted to support architectural reconstruction and few large, well analyzed artifact studies are available for comparison. The section following the prehistoric overview presents a discussion of the comparable historical archaeological research in the region that has a bearing on the Oxon Hill studies.

### **PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OVERVIEW**

#### **Introduction**

The evidence for the prehistoric cultural history and chronological sequence for the Potomac River area presented here is based on archaeological investigations in both the immediate and general region. Detailed summaries of the specific evidence used in the development of this record have been presented by a number of authors (e.g., Ayers 1972; Gluckman 1973; Wright 1973; McNett and Gardner 1975; Steponaitis 1980; Gardner 1982; Thurman 1985).

#### **The Paleo-Indian Period (ca. 12,000-9,800 B.P.)**

The earliest inhabitants of North America entered the continent across the Bering Land Bridge, possibly as early as 30,000 years ago. The age of these initial occupations is still a matter of considerable controversy in American archaeology. At the present, however, there are no unequivocally accepted sites yielding evidence for human occupation south of the Wisconsin ice sheets prior to ca. 12,000 years ago. The first evidence for human occupation in the Middle Atlantic region occurs around or shortly after this time, and is characterized by the presence of fluted, lanceolate shaped Clovis and Clovis-variant projectile points. Most of our knowledge about the Paleo-Indian occupation of the Middle Atlantic area has come from surface finds of isolated fluted points. Comparatively few actual sites of this period, with extensive artifact assemblages, are known. The Thunderbird site in the Shenandoah Valley remains one of the few well-documented sites of this time level along this portion of the east coast (Gardner 1974, 1983). The presence of over 700 fluted points reported from Virginia (McCary 1986) and over 50 from Maryland (Brennan 1982:35), however, indicate a moderate use of the region.

Overall population density during the Paleo-Indian period is thought to have been fairly low, as shown by the infrequent occurrence of sites, and the low numbers of artifacts, at least when compared with later periods. Climate and vegetation were changing rapidly at this time, as the continental ice sheets

retreated to the north. Initial Paleo-Indian groups probably encountered a mixed coniferous forests/parklands vegetational mosaic, which was gradually being replaced by northern hardwoods (summarized in Steponaitis 1980:5-7, 19). The retreat of the glaciers coincided with a marked rise in sea-level, resulting in the flooding of Chesapeake Bay. The traditional view of Paleo-Indian life in the east was that these people were highly nomadic, specialized "big game" hunters, living off, and perhaps driving to extinction, the late Pleistocene megafauna such as mammoth, mastodon, bison, horse, and other animals. Due to poor preservation, however, evidence for Paleo-Indian exploitation of animals of any kind in the east is extremely rare. While megafauna may well have been hunted, it is highly likely that a more diversified subsistence strategy was followed, particularly as the Pleistocene floral and faunal assemblages were replaced by more modern, Holocene assemblages.

Over the course of the Paleo-Indian period locally fluted point forms underwent a general reduction in size, and true fluting gave way to basal thinning. Terminal Paleo-Indian assemblages locally are identified by Hardaway/Dalton projectile point forms, broad, thin, triangular bifaces with deeply concave bases and shallow side notches (Coe 1964:64). The replacement of the fluted forms by non-fluted forms is thought to reflect a change in adaptive strategies, away from the hunting of megafauna and towards the hunting of small game, and the collection of plant resources (McNett et al 1977). Because regional population density was apparently quite low, fairly sophisticated information exchange and mating networks had to have been in operation, to ensure reproductive viability. A greater cultural complexity than is traditionally inferred is thus likely to have existed during these times, although unfortunately it remains almost unknown archaeologically. No Paleo-Indian remains were found during the Oxon Hill investigations.

### **The Archaic Period (ca. 9,800-3,000 B.P.)**

The Archaic period formally begins with the onset of Holocene, post-glacial, climatic conditions in the east, and has been subdivided into three sub-periods, the Early, Middle, and Late Archaic. The Archaic was a relatively long and successful foraging adaptation, with subsistence based on hunting, fishing, and the collection of wild plant resources. Diagnostic projectile points form the primary criteria used to identify and date these occupations in the Middle Atlantic area. During the Early Archaic, from ca. 9,800-8,000 B.P., the regional vegetation matrix was still changing fairly rapidly, as the remnants of the late Pleistocene mixed coniferous forest were replaced by northern hardwood communities dominated by oak, hemlock, beech, and birch. A fully modern faunal assemblage was in place, following the extinction of the Pleistocene megafauna. In the Middle Atlantic area the Early Archaic is subdivided into earlier Corner-Notched and later Bifurcate traditions, named for the shapes of the projectile points used to recognize these occupations. Corner-Notched Tradition (ca. 9,800-9,200 B.P.) components are identified by the presence of Palmer and Kirk projectile points, while Bifurcate Tradition (ca. 9,200-8,000 B.P.) assemblages are identified by a range of bifurcate-based forms, including the succeeding St. Albans, LeCroy, and Kanawha types (Gardner 1974; Chapman 1975; Steponaitis 1980:20-21).

During the Middle Archaic along the Middle Atlantic coast, from ca. 8,000-6,000 B.P., the cooler, dryer conditions of the early Holocene gave way to the warmer, wetter climate of the mid Holocene Hypsithermal interval. Extensive estuarine marshes and riverine swamps began to emerge as sea level slowly stabilized. Sweetgum was added to the northern hardwoods vegetational matrix, which continued to be dominated by oak, hemlock, and beech (Steponaitis 1980:22; Delcourt and Delcourt 1985). Subsistence economies became increasingly diversified, and the first use of estuarine shellfish resources and possibly anadromous fish may have begun at this time. Archaeologically, the transition from the Early Archaic to the Middle Archaic is characterized by the appearance of stemmed rather than notched projectile points. Three sub-periods within the Middle Archaic are recognized in the general

region. These are identified by the presence of Stanly Stemmed (ca. 8,000-7,000 B.P.), Morrow Mountain I and II (ca. 7,000-6,200 B.P.), and Guilford Lanceolate (ca. 6,200-6,000 B.P.) projectile points, following the classic Archaic sequence first identified by Coe (1964).

During the Late Archaic period, from ca. 6,000-3,000 B.P., regional population appears to have grown markedly, and to have concentrated in riverine and estuarine settings. Climatic conditions were warm and dry, and by the end of this interval an essentially modern vegetational matrix had emerged. Sea level appears to have been relatively stable, rising to within ca. 3 m of its present stand; only minor fluctuations on the order of one to a few meters occurred (Carbone 1976; Steponaitis 1980:6-7,22). Grinding implements, polished stone tools, and carved soapstone bowls become fairly common, suggesting increased use of plant resources, and possibly changes in subsistence strategies and cooking technologies. Although evidence is minimal, the first experiments with horticulture probably occurred at this time, with the cultivation of plants such as squash, sunflower, and chenopodium (Ford 1981; Cowan 1985). Sites occur in a wide range of environmental zones, suggesting considerable intensification in the use of the area. Settlements appear to have been occupied for longer periods of time than in earlier periods, and the existence of formal residential base camps occupied seasonally or longer is inferred, together with a range of smaller, resource exploitation sites such as hunting, fishing, or plant collecting stations (Gardner 1980; Steponaitis 1980:24-27).

The Late Archaic in the Middle Atlantic area has been divided into a series of sub-periods, identified primarily by the presence of diagnostic projectile points. The basic outlines for this sequence in the area of Oxon Hill were first developed at the Accokeek Creek site, which is located just to the south of Oxon Hill (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963). Initial Late Archaic occupations (ca. 6,000-5,000 B.P.) are marked by the presence of Piscataway, and possibly Otter Creek Corner Notched points (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:146-147; Steponaitis 1980:24). The subsequent period (ca. 5,000-4,200 B.P.) is characterized by a number of types, including Vernon Side-Notched, and a range of Brewerton forms (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:143; Steponaitis 1980:25). These are in turn replaced by Holmes points (ca. 4,200-3,900 B.P.). Beginning around ca. 4,000 B.P., the distinctive "Broadspear" tradition emerges, characterized by large, broad-bladed points, steatite (soapstone) bowls, and an apparent strong riverine focus, thought possibly to reflect the intensive use of fish resources (Turnbaugh 1975, Turner 1978). Diagnostic projectile points include the Savannah River Stemmed, Koens-Crispen, Perkiomen, and Susquehanna types, which are thought to occur primarily between ca. 4,000-3,500 B.P. in the general region (see Steponaitis 1980:26-28). The terminal Archaic/initial Woodland occupation of the region, ca. 3,500-2,700 B.P., is identified by the presence of Orient Fishtail and Dry Brook points, steatite vessels and, towards the end of this interval, steatite tempered pottery of the Marcy Creek series. A continuation of previous Late Archaic subsistence and settlement strategies, with the addition of pottery, seems to have occurred.

Archaic artifacts found during the Oxon Hill project included one small corner notched form, thought to date to the Early Archaic; two Late Archaic Holmes or Clagett points, one each from Areas I and VI; and one Late Archaic Piscataway point found in Area VI.

### **The Woodland Period (ca. 3,000 - 400 B.P.)**

The Woodland period began about 1,000 B.C. and continued until permanent European settlement in the seventeenth century. Across the eastern Woodlands the period is marked by the appearance of pottery, a greatly increased role for horticulture in subsistence economies, and an elaboration of mortuary ceremonialism, including the appearance of burial mounds (Griffin 1967:180). In the Middle Atlantic area the warm, dry conditions of the proceeding era give way to a milder, wetter

climate that persists, with minor fluctuations, to the present (Steponaitis 1980:28). Initial Woodland occupations (ca. 3,200-2,750 B.P.), which are thought to reflect a more-or-less unchanged continuation of preceding Late Archaic lifeways, are characterized by steatite tempered plain and cord marked Marcy Creek series pottery. The Early Woodland occupation of the region continues into the subsequent Accokeek phase (ca. 2,750-2,400 B.P.), which is characterized by cord marked, crushed quartz tempered pottery (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:96-100). Site density appears to increase considerably over previous periods, extensive shell middens occur adjacent to the estuarine zone, and a settlement pattern characterized by relatively permanent riverine/estuarine base camps and interior specialized exploitation camps is inferred (McNett and Gardner 1971).

The Middle Woodland period, from ca. 400 B.C. to A.D. 800, is marked by a change in pottery manufacture, with net impressed types tending to replace the earlier Woodland cord marked finishes. The period is characterized by an intensification of long distance trade throughout the eastern Woodlands, although evidence for direct participation of local groups in the classic Hopewell interaction sphere exchange network remains minimal (Gardner 1982). Horticulture is thought to assume increasing importance, and the cultivation of maize may have been initiated at this time, although it did not assume importance until the subsequent Late Woodland period. Sand tempered Popes Creek Net Impressed ceramics and Rossville projectile points (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:92-96, 145) are characteristic of the earlier part of this range, from ca. 400 B.C. to A.D. 200). Latter Middle Woodland components are identified by the presence of coarse shell tempered Mockley Net Impressed, Cord Marked, and Plain pottery, and Selbey Bay Knives (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:103-109; Steponaitis 1980:30-31). Numerous large and small sites have been found dating to this period, suggesting periodic aggregation and dispersion, or some kind of a village/base camp-specialized resource extraction station settlement dichotomy.

The Late Woodland period (ca. A.D. 800-1600) in the Middle Atlantic area sees the emergence of sedentary village life based on intensive maize agriculture, and the development of complex tribal and chiefdom-level political forms. A proliferation of ceramic decorative motifs occurs, possibly a stylistic manifestation of this increased sociocultural complexity. Sites dating to the earlier part of the Late Woodland, ca. A.D. 800-1250, are identified by the presence of Rappahannock Incised and Fabric Impressed pottery, and Jacks Reef pentagonal and corner notched points (Blaker 1963:17-18; Steponaitis 1980:31-32). Later Late Woodland occupations are characterized by a continuation of Rappahannock pottery, together with Townsend, Mayone, Potomac Creek, and Sullivan series ceramics, and Madison small triangular projectile points (Steponaitis 1980:32-35). Resolution of fairly fine-grained measures of social interaction and chronology within the Late Woodland, through the examination of ceramic decorative motifs, is an area of research that shows great promise.

During the testing phase at Oxon Hill a number of sherds of Late Woodland period Mayone series ceramics were recovered in the terrace fill in Area IV (Hurry 1984). During the mitigation stage investigations Woodland artifacts recovered included eight Middle Woodland Mockley series sherds found in Area I. A probable Rossville point and two pieces of pottery resembling Middle Woodland period Albemarle ware (Stephenson and Ferguson 1963:100-103) were found in Area IV, although not in the buried A horizon. Late Woodland site use was reflected by the presence of a single sherd of Townsend Corded Horizontal ware (Blaker 1963:18-19). No Mayone ware was found by the current project. All of the prehistoric material is listed in Appendix 6, and the buried A horizon is discussed in more detail in Chapter VI.

## PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY OVERVIEW

In an attempt to develop background data for this project and to locate comparative literature, various

libraries, universities, governmental offices, and archaeologists in the Middle-Atlantic region were contacted. These included, but were not limited to, archaeologists and personnel at the College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, the National Park Service, the Delaware Historical Society, Colonial Williamsburg, Monticello, and the Maryland Historical Society. Specifically, information was sought on the most recent published data relating to plantation archaeology which had quantified archaeological material and which addressed questions of comparative socioeconomic status, slavery, tenancy, marketing patterns, settlement patterns, and culture change. Information on certain major sites and projects was searched for specifically, including the Kingsmill sites, Shirley Plantation, Monticello, Mount Vernon, Martins Hundred, and Epps Plantation in Virginia; and Dickenson Mansion in Delaware. Comparative data on plantation archaeology was also gathered for those sites with which the editors are most familiar, including Drayton Hall, Hampton, Middleton Place, Green Grove, Limerick Plantation, Elfe Plantation, Sanders Plantation, Spiers Landing, Curriboo Plantation and Yaughan Plantation in South Carolina, and Cannon's Point in Georgia.

In the following paragraphs these projects will be briefly described and their usefulness to the current project will be assessed. Among the points considered about these projects were: when the site was occupied; what types of structures and features were found; what classes of people lived at and owned the site; the type of plantation or what it produced; an estimate of how much material was recovered and how much area opened compared to Oxon Hill; the field methods (block excavations or test units, water screening, 0.25 inch mesh, etc.); the laboratory methods (usage of artifact pattern analysis, cross mend analysis, minimum vessel analysis, flotation, floral analysis, faunal analysis, etc.); the quality of maps and illustrations; and finally how useful was the report or reports for other investigators.

The Kingsmill Plantation sites were excavated during the 1970s by William Kelso (1977 and 1984) then of the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology. Although technically an emergency salvage operation, the fieldwork was conducted over the course of several years and dozens of structures were excavated. Excavated structures included main houses; slave quarters; specialty structures such as milk houses, barns, stables, and storehouses; and five wells (Kelso 1984). The sites represented a range of social classes, and were primarily occupied during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, with excellent examples of eighteenth-century structures and artifacts. Compared to Oxon Hill this project may have opened up ten times as much area and recovered as many more artifacts. Much of the architectural data, besides being very well illustrated in the report, also appears as the major portion of an extensive article on earthfast building techniques, *Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies* in the Winterthur Portfolio series (Carson et al. 1981).

Undoubtedly, the Kingsmill project developed more artifacts and features than most of the remaining plantation archaeology projects combined. Unfortunately, only the architectural data is given in any detail and is therefore useful for comparisons with Oxon Hill. No artifact lists or artifact patterns are given, and laboratory and field methods are not discussed in detail. Apparently no minimum vessel analysis was conducted, although a brief chapter is attached to the report that deals briefly with a functional analysis of the ceramics and a comparative study of the faunal remains. Since it is unclear whether soil was screened at the sites, the conclusions drawn on the faunal remains can not be directly compared with those from Oxon Hill, where remains were screened through 0.25 inch mesh and bridal veil. This uncertainty over field methods and limited discussion of laboratory analyses makes the Kingsmill project only of marginal use for comparisons with the Oxon Hill material.

Monticello has been examined archaeologically since at least 1979 (Kelso 1984). Even after contacting the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation and the Virginia Historical Society, no published material pertaining to the archaeology of the site with quantifiable data could be obtained. Alain Outlaw



(personal communication 1986) stated that ongoing archaeological work at Monticello included research goals dealing with questions of slavery, and socioeconomic status, as well as more traditional architectural description. Except for an article by Diana Crader (1984) on the faunal analysis of the dry well at Monticello, there are currently no data available with which to make comparisons to Oxon Hill. This is unfortunate since Monticello was inhabited by a high status family during the eighteenth century, which would make it a desirable comparison with the present project.

Mount Vernon, too, would be comparable to Oxon Hill in socioeconomic status terms and in period of occupation. Unfortunately, little archaeology, beyond that presented at the Mount Vernon museum and published in pamphlets is available. Some work has been conducted for the purposes of architectural reconstruction and description, but this is of little comparative worth for the present project.

Martin's Hundred, although not really a plantation, was examined for its usefulness for comparison with Oxon Hill. Extensive fieldwork was conducted at the site during the 1970s by Noel Hume (1982) of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The site covered 150 acres and many acres of this were opened, much more than was opened at Oxon Hill. The site proved to be a seventeenth-century settlement which had been burned down during an Indian attack only three years after being established in 1619. The site produced many structures, including dwellings, storehouses, and a fort. The site also produced perhaps the best collection of seventeenth-century artifacts in North America. The major publication on the site, besides the heavily illustrated National Geographic articles, emphasizes artifact and architectural description. There is no quantified analysis of the artifacts, no artifact patterns, and no discussion of analytical laboratory methods beyond curation methods. While the report is very interesting and uses extensive historical research to provide an anecdotal history of the artifacts and structures, the project cannot be used to make useful comparisons, except on the individual artifact level, with other sites. The earthfast architecture is presented much more conclusively in the Carson et al. (1981) article. Since no quantified data were presented, and no research goals beyond description of the site appear to have guided the research, the Martin's Hundred project cannot be used to compare with Oxon Hill. This is unfortunate since few seventeenth-century sites have been published with which to compare eighteenth-century sites such as Oxon Hill.

Shirley Plantation, an eighteenth- to twentieth-century plantation, was investigated by Theodore Reinhart and others (Reinhart 1984) in 1979 and 1980. This project is one of the few published projects conducted in Maryland or Virginia which provides a modern analysis of the artifactual material, using artifact patterns and limited attempts at a form-function analysis. No faunal material was discussed in any detail, and it is unclear whether standard recovery techniques such as screening and flotation were used to recover faunal samples which could be compared with other sites. This project, like most of those in the region, was conducted for purposes of architectural dating and reconstruction, and for historical description. Because the report indicates that the work was conducted under varying conditions and under different archaeologists, and the field methods are never clearly defined from one portion of the site to another, it is of limited utility in making comparisons with Oxon Hill. If future excavations are conducted at the main house at Oxon Hill, Shirley Plantation might be a useful comparative resource for architectural purposes.

Beverly Plantation, an eighteenth- to late twentieth-century plantation in Maryland, was investigated by Thomas Davidson and Ethel Eaton in 1984 (Davidson and Eaton 1985). This project was a large scale, fairly intensive archaeological survey, which produced evidence of an eighteenth-century school and a nineteenth-century domestic structure. Neither of these structures was related to high status plantation occupants. Field methods appear to have been conscientious and thorough. Since this project was a survey, no useful crossmend or minimum vessel analyses could reasonably be conducted, although the artifact data presented in the report is complete.

Epps Plantation on the James River is currently in final draft and should be published within the year (David Orr, personal communication 1986). This project concerns a plantation occupied from the mid seventeenth to the eighteenth century. During the eighteenth century, at least, the site was inhabited by high status occupants, whereas during the seventeenth century it may have been occupied by tenants. If this is the case, then this site would be of great value for comparisons with Oxon Hill. The site was test excavated during 1983 and 1984, and contains mostly mid eighteenth-century material. While some preliminary reports have been published concerning the prehistory, colonial history, and a cabin, there are currently no quantified data available with which to make comparisons to Oxon Hill. It would appear that the field work was not as extensive as that conducted at Oxon Hill, although it would also appear that the analytical techniques and goals may be comparable.

The John Dickinson Mansion near Dover, Delaware has been excavated for the past several years (Guerrant 1986), but so far has not produced a final report. The site was first occupied by a high status family in the eighteenth century and continued to be occupied into the mid twentieth century. While this project was initially established to determine architectural reconstruction, much like Shirley Plantation, it seems to have evolved into a more goal-oriented research project. Even though the above noted paper does not give quantified data on the artifacts, and the project has been limited to testing and backhoe work, it is evident that the methods employed were designed to obtain data which would make pattern studies and comparisons with other more recently excavated sites possible. Unfortunately, these data are not yet available.

The above discussion is not exhaustive. Other plantation sites have been worked on in Maryland and Virginia, however, none to our knowledge have been as extensive or are as near completion as those discussed above. The following sites are located in South Carolina and Georgia and are presented here more because of how they were examined than what they contained. Some of these plantation sites are not at all like those along the Potomac; for example, none were tobacco plantations like Oxon Hill or most of those in Maryland, and therefore used different slave tasking systems and probably different settlement patterns. Most were sea island cotton or rice/indigo plantations occupying a different environment with a different point of view on slavery and the owners' position in society (Berlin 1980). What many of these projects have provided to the study of plantation archaeology is an evolution of research methods and goals with which to address the questions of status, social class, and culture change within the plantation system. It is difficult to point directly at a particular project and say exactly what it has contributed that is unique to the study of plantation archaeology, but these projects are high on the list of projects which have provided an atmosphere which have made books such as Theresa Singleton's (1985) *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life* possible in the last few years. Most of the authors of the following project reports have been greatly influenced by Stanley South and his *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (South 1977) and by Charles Fairbanks, who may be considered the father of plantation archaeology in the United States (Singleton 1985:1). The orientation of plantation archaeologists in the Southeast has tended towards hypothesis testing, and until recently this has generally not been the case in the Middle Atlantic.

Drayton Hall is located in South Carolina and was test excavated by Lynn Lewis (1978) during the 1970s. Drayton Hall was built in the early eighteenth century by a high status family and was inhabited by the same family until 1974 (Lewis 1978:1). Most of the main plantation structures are still standing, with the exception of the slave quarters. Few original outbuildings are left. The work was not as extensive as that conducted at Oxon Hill, but the field methods included screening the soil, and all artifacts were cataloged and analysed. No artifact patterns are given and no crossmend or minimum vessel analysis was apparently conducted. Mean ceramic and pipe stem dates were given, although the latter are of limited usefulness on late eighteenth-century sites. An in-depth analysis and a typology of ceramics is given. Because the report lacks artifact patterns or the results of the analysis

of other common types of artifacts it is of little use for direct comparison with Oxon Hill.

Hampton Plantation, a high status eighteenth- to early twentieth-century South Carolina plantation, was extensively tested by Kenneth Lewis and Helen Haskell (Lewis 1979, Lewis and Haskell 1980) during the late 1970s. Their research goals were ambitious and included an attempt to establish artifact patterns to illustrate social process, and investigating settlement patterns to determine the presence or absence of the Georgian mind set. Unfortunately, their field work was less ambitious and consisted of very limited testing. They were unable to produce the numbers of artifacts or features needed for pattern development. Their laboratory work and results, while inconclusive, are presented in some detail, along with artifact patterns from most proveniences. Because of the limited nature of the fieldwork at Hampton few conclusions can be drawn, and there is little utility in making comparisons with Oxon Hill.

Middleton Place, an eighteenth- to late nineteenth-century South Carolina plantation, was also investigated by Lewis and Haskell (1981) and by Lewis and Hardesty (1979). The goals, and unfortunately the field methods, were similar on this project to those employed at Hampton. As a result, the conclusions and data, while presented in some detail, are of little use in comparing this site to Oxon Hill.

Green Grove was intensively tested by Richard Carrillo (1980) in 1978. His goal was to examine whether he could identify the post renaissance nature of an archaeological deposit, based on Deetz's (1977) theories. For this purpose Carrillo opened one large block excavation and several smaller blocks resulting in several structures and many features. He also analysed the artifacts in order to show reestablishment of contacts with England. Although he presents extensive data in his report, his artifact classification is somewhat too simplified, and is not the one used by South (1977). Also his laboratory methods are unclear, and do not appear to be comparable to those used at Oxon Hill (modified after South, see Chapter VI below).

In 1977 William Lees (1980) conducted extensive test excavations at Limerick Plantation in the Carolina Low Country. This was a high status eighteenth-century plantation which had evidence of at least three structures, including the main house, plus two wells. Test units revealed much information on the architectural sequence of the site, but except for an interesting discussion of Colono-ware ceramics and a brief summary listing of the artifact patterns, the artifact analysis presented very little useful data for inter-site comparisons, and it appears that neither of the wells was excavated or analyzed. Since no block excavations were opened, and the artifact analysis is not presented in useable detail, this project could not be profitably used to compare with Oxon Hill.

Elfe and Sanders plantations were subjected to limited testing in 1985 by Michael Trinkley (1985). Trinkley was especially interested in slave studies and was guided by previous plantation archaeology in the region. However, his fieldwork was too limited and his data base was too small to be profitably compared with Oxon Hill.

Spiers Landing, a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century site, was investigated in the late 1970s by Drucker and Anthony (1979). This is one of the first plantation projects to use South's analytical techniques with a solid database. The site investigated, however, was not a high status household, and may have been a free black or isolated slave house. Nevertheless, the use of Otto's (1976) methodological techniques of examining status, and the thoroughness with which the artifact analysis was conducted and described in the report, make it one of the most useful on plantation archaeology. However, the area examined, one structure, and the low status nature of the inhabitants does not make the site strictly comparable to Oxon Hill. The data developed and especially the artifact patterns have been used by this project and are given in Chapter V.

Curriboo and Yaughan Plantations were investigated by the editors (Wheaton et al. 1983) in 1979. These plantation sites uncovered three slave quarters, plus many other outbuildings, by opening an area only slightly smaller than that at Oxon Hill. This project was one of the first major projects to use crossmends, minimum vessel analysis, Otto's (1976) form-function analysis, and South's artifact patterning to investigate acculturation of slaves, status, and culture change from the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. Except for Kingsmill, few if any projects have completely exposed so many structures (25) and none have analysed them more thoroughly. Unfortunately, the high status areas were not investigated and only the artifact patterns, insofar as they form the basis of the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern (see Chapter V) are used here. Many of the same laboratory techniques have been refined and used here as well (Chapter V).

Cannon's Point, a high status late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plantation, was investigated by John Otto (1976) in the early 1970s, and is perhaps the first major attempt at addressing questions of status at a plantation using quantifiable methods. Two main avenues were used, form-function analysis on the ceramics and extensive use of faunal analysis. The field methods employed avoided many of the pitfalls of much of the Virginia work cited above, and included screening of the soil. However, this project only tested a slave cabin, an overseer's house and the plantation kitchen, and did not include opening large areas or complete excavation of any of the structures. This work in the sea island area of Georgia has been supplemented by the work of Theresa Singleton (1980, 1985) and Sue Mullins-Moore (1981), among others. While the methods employed included quantified artifact pattern studies, faunal analysis, and other modern techniques, these projects did not go beyond testing restricted areas of the sites involved, dealt exclusively with slave components or dealt with very isolated sea island cotton plantations. Therefore they are not readily comparable to Oxon Hill, although many of what we consider to be standard analysis techniques used at these sites were also used at Oxon Hill.

Millwood Plantation, a nineteenth-century plantation in the South Carolina Piedmont, was investigated by Charles Orser and Annette Nekola (1985) in 1980 and 1981. One of the thrusts of this study was to examine settlement patterns on an antebellum plantation and how these changed during the plantations' adaptation to tenancy after the Civil War. Despite the use of modern recovery and analytical techniques (Orser, personal communication 1986) this project cannot be meaningfully compared to Oxon Hill because the final report still has not been published by the National Park Service.

Only a few of these sites and projects are truly comparable to the present project in the amount of area opened, the numbers of artifacts recovered, research goals, or analysis methods. Most of these projects have been large or small testing programs with relatively small areas opened and low artifact return. Some projects have been conducted to answer questions of building phases and for descriptive purposes with little emphasis on research goals and artifact patterning similar to those of this project. Others were guided by the same or similar research goals, were large scale, and provided published quantified artifactual data, but are not truly comparable since they dealt strictly with slave quarters, or dealt with a plantation system that was not at all comparable to Oxon Hill. To our knowledge no high status tidewater plantations have been excavated as completely or thoroughly as Oxon Hill. Of the high status plantations excavated, none have resulted in publication of artifact patterns, cross mend analysis, or minimum vessel analysis comparable to those used here, and none have also been guided by research goals dealing with culture change and status, rather than simple description.

## PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS AT OXON HILL

Terrence W. Epperson (1980) was the first to record the Oxon Hill site (18PR175) in the Maryland Archaeological Site Survey files; this recording was part of a Phase I archaeological reconnaissance for the planned Maryland Route 210/Interstate 95 Interchange (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:1). Epperson also recorded the Addison family cemetery (18PR176) and the presumed Addison mausoleum (18PR177). The highway alignment proposed at that time would have impacted the foundation of the manor house and the mausoleum, and Epperson recommended further investigation to determine the site's extent and its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (Epperson 1980:3-4).

In accordance with Epperson's recommendations for continued investigations at the Oxon Hill site, Dr. Richard J. Dent, University of Maryland, College Park, conducted a preliminary site examination in 1981. Sampling began with a pedestrian survey of the area to be impacted. This was expanded into a series of shovel test pits, spaced at five meter intervals, followed by systematic probing of the entire area and excavation of 18 one meter test units. These units were placed to investigate potential features and artifact concentrations discovered during the shovel testing. Dent also cleared a portion of the manor house foundation (Dent 1983:31-36). Although much of Dent's work was conducted to the south of the current right-of-way, his investigations included portions of what became Areas I, II, IV, and V.

Dent created distribution maps from the data recovered from the shovel test pits; these maps indicated several concentrations of domestic artifacts and architectural debris at the site (Dent 1983:55-56). Based on these maps and on the results of the test units, Dent identified portions of (1) a cobble drive in front of the manor house, (2) a "subsurface depression" which may have been the remains of a root cellar or some other type of storage facility in Area V, and (3) a structure which was a possible overseer's house or slave cabin south of Area VIa. He also located a potential trash disposal area along the slope north of the manor house in Area II (Dent 1983:71-74).

The Oxon Hill site was recommended by Dent (1983:75-76) as an extremely significant archaeological resource, eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. He also recommended additional archaeological testing within "a reasonable portion" of the new right-of-way to (1) collect samples from the cultural deposits, (2) gain a clearer understanding of their "depositional history," and (3) test the area for outlying structures (Dent 1983:81).

The State Highway Administration reviewed Dent's draft report and designed an alternate alignment for the interchange, shifting the highway to the north and protecting the manor house foundation with a retaining wall between it and the interchange. This shift also placed the possible overseer's house or slave cabin, the depression in Area V, and the cobble drive to the south of the realigned right-of-way and out of the impact zone (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:3).

Based on Dent's recommendations for additional testing, Maureen Kavanagh and Silas Hurry, of the Division of Archeology, Maryland Geological Survey, conducted more detailed investigations during the fall of 1983 and winter of 1984 in the western half of the area investigated by Dent (Hurry 1984:5); this area was within the western portion of the realigned right-of-way (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:7). Their investigations involved the excavation of dispersed sampling units in areas indicated to be culturally significant by re-analysis of Dent's systematic sample and in areas with above-grade features (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:3-8). Test excavations were undertaken in five locations within the new impact area, designated Areas I through V by the investigators (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:Figure 6). Area I included the site of the planned retaining wall directly north of the manor house. Hurry delineated Areas II, III, and IV by re-analyzing the artifacts recovered by Dent's systematic sampling

strategy. Area V was designated as the site of the possible root cellar or storage facility previously noted by Dent (Hurry 1984:20-26). After a pedestrian survey of the new impact zone, a grid was established and oriented in relation to the current highway center line (Hurry 1984:26-28). Thirty-three 1 x 1 m test units were excavated in Areas I - V to test areas of artifact concentration as indicated by Dent's intensive shovel testing.

Hurry's work resulted in the discovery of an apparently filled well, numerous post holes, and planting ditches in Area I, possible structural remains in Areas III and V, and major landscape modifications dating to the eighteenth century in Area IV. Historic research, conducted concurrently with the fieldwork, traced the ownership of the land through time and attempted to identify and locate outbuildings (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:3-8).

Additional intensive archaeological testing was undertaken by Silas Hurry and Maureen Kavanagh in the eastern portion of the new right-of-way in the fall of 1984 (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:1). Investigations in the eastern portion focused on the excavation of units in portions of the site indicated through historic research to have high potential and in areas with above-grade features. Investigations included (1) historical research, (2) pedestrian survey, (3) shovel testing, and (4) one meter square test units. Historic research produced maps locating a minimum of seven structures within the eastern portion of the realigned right-of-way. These maps provided no clear evidence of eighteenth-century structures, but provided information on nineteenth-century buildings.

The 1863 original topographic survey depicted the manor house and a number of other structures. This map shows two small structures in Area I, directly north of the manor house. A cluster of three additional small structures is indicated to the east in Area VIa, and four additional buildings are depicted in Area VIb to the north and east of this cluster of three. No structures are indicated on the 1863 map in locations corresponding to Areas VIc or VId. The 1903 original topographic survey shows only one structure, a barn, remaining within the entire eastern impact area (Area VI) by that year. An aerial photograph taken in 1937 revealed no structures within the eastern impact area, indicating that the barn had apparently been removed by that time (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:11-23, 91).

Hurry and Kavanagh also conducted a pedestrian survey to locate above-grade features within the eastern impact area (Area VI). Once located, these features were marked for test excavation and for mapping; features identified included mounds, depressions, roadways, and a well. Also located within the eastern impact area were modern surface deposits dating mostly from the "third quarter of the twentieth century". In Area VIa an old road trace was encountered; this trace extended upslope from the Potomac to the crest of the terrace, where evidence of it was no longer present. Recent earth moving activities removed all evidence of the road trace from the top of the terrace (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:29).

In Area VIb Hurry and Kavanagh located a small depression, slight soil ridges, a brick-lined well, and a rectangular mound. The small depression covered approximately 75 square meters with no associated spoil mound. The slight soil ridges created a three sided rectangular form, interpreted by Hurry and Kavanagh as a possible enclosure. The brick-lined well had a spoil pile around it with a diameter of six meters and a height of 0.3 meters. The well was flush to the ground when found, and was lined with bricks. The rectangular mound of soil discovered in Area VIb appeared to have been created in the 1960s (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:29).

A second abandoned roadway was found passing directly north of Area VIc and cutting through Area VId. This roadway was defined by a linear depression measuring approximately 4.5 m wide and 170 m long. A steel guardrail was placed across the roadway at its western end (Hurry and Kavanagh

1985:29).

Following the pedestrian survey and identification of surface features, Hurry and Kavanagh next conducted subsurface testing. The entire eastern site area was initially shovel tested at 10 meter intervals. This initial testing provided evidence of two large clusters (Areas VIa, VIb), and three small clusters (Areas VIc, VIe) of domestic debris (Figure 3). Each area was sampled with shovel tests at five meter intervals (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:30-33). In the areas of highest artifact densities, shovel tests were excavated at 2.5 m intervals (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:29).

Distributional maps were generated by Hurry and Kavanagh for the overall 10-m interval sampling and the 2.5 m sampling. While an artifact catalog of the materials recovered from the five meter sampling was made, the information was not included in the distribution maps (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:30). Maps were made for domestic, architectural, and prehistoric materials. Thirty-six 1 x 1 m square test units were excavated based on the results of the shovel tests. Hurry and Kavanagh identified through these units a cellar in Area VIa filled with twentieth-century artifacts, two or three possible buildings represented by features, a number of structural post holes, and several landscape/planting features. In Area VIb they identified the possible remains of two of the four structures depicted on the 1863 topographic map, and one brick lined well filled with twentieth-century artifacts. Area VIc produced artifact assemblages which could indicate an "ephemeral domestic structure." Concentrations of domestic artifacts dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were recovered from Areas VIa - VIe (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:91-93). Hurry and Kavanagh (1985:8) concluded, "[b]ased on the fieldwork and historical research, Dent's recommendation was confirmed that Oxon Hill Manor should be determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places. Avoidance of this valuable cultural resource was recommended. As an alternative, extensive data recovery within the impact area was suggested to mitigate the deleterious effects of construction upon this unique site."

## PROJECT GOALS AND HYPOTHESES

### The Areas

In the following discussion of the research goals and hypotheses, it should be kept in mind that the original hypotheses and goals were based on assumptions of what would be found during the field work and historical research. Based on the previous research it had been anticipated that the various areas of the site would contain data which could test certain hypotheses. Without such data certain hypotheses presented at the beginning of field work either could not be tested at all or could only be incompletely tested. These assumptions are given here to gauge the effectiveness with which the hypotheses could be tested.

Area I had been expected to produce evidence of structures, gardening features, and a well. In general, this was the case. It was also expected that this area would produce artifacts with which to date the structures and features and to address questions on the relative quality and quantity of the artifacts themselves. In this, the project was only partially successful. As will be seen below, the artifacts recovered from Area I were very small and therefore difficult to identify or date. While the well produced data of good quality and quantity on the eighteenth century, and a cellar produced a very limited amount of data on the nineteenth, in general the features could not be dated with the exactness that had been hoped.

Area II had been expected to produce discrete dumping episodes that could be dated to the nearest



century or half century. The material thus dated would have been used to determine who was using the area for dumping (the Addisons or the Berry tenants), and thereby illustrate cultural differences of the occupants through time. Unfortunately, Area II had been greatly eroded in the past, and any discrete concentrations of artifacts that might have originally existed had been destroyed. Although it had been anticipated that this area would contain larger artifacts from primary deposition, this was not the case, and the artifacts were as small and fragmented as those in Area I.

Previous research in Area III had indicated the possibility that the area would contain remains of a mid nineteenth-century or later structure. This area produced no data, and no evidence bearing on eighteenth- or nineteenth-century uses of the area was developed.

Area IV had been expected to contain an artificial terrace with formal gardening features, and to produce the only intact prehistoric component on the site. It was intended that data collected in Area IV be used to address questions on the world view of the inhabitants over time. The area did produce formal gardening features, although there were very few dateable artifacts. There was only very scattered prehistoric material located under the artificial terrace, and the portion of the research design that dealt with the prehistoric occupation could not be addressed.

Area V had been expected to develop limited information on a possible structure built around a large depression just outside the right-of-way to the south. However, the area actually produced one of the few identifiable structures of the project, a possible meathouse, and also produced dateable artifacts. The data developed from Area V were to be used to address hypotheses concerning the layout of the plantation, and therefore the world view of the inhabitants. The area produced particularly informative data concerning a number of facets of the site in the mid eighteenth century.

Area VI was expected to produce data on lower socioeconomic status groups, slaves and nineteenth-century tenants, as well as data on the more functional areas of the site, barns and work areas. Further, a twentieth-century deposit was expected to produce data on upper socioeconomic groups. This latter expectation was more than adequately fulfilled. However, little or no data was developed on lower socioeconomic groups in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. Some data, mainly features, were developed on the functional layout of that area of the plantation.

The historical research had been expected to produce wills, plantation day books, diaries, correspondences, and probate inventories related to the wealthy and well known families owning and living on the property during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With these data, questions of socioeconomic status, world view, change over time, and the function of specific areas of the plantation were to be addressed. Only three probate inventories, all from the eighteenth century were found. While excellent data on the county and region were recovered, providing a thorough historical framework in which to place the plantation, very little site specific data was found. Since these data were to be used as controls over the archaeological data (the inhabitants' world view, their socioeconomic status, and the interpretation of the function and layout of the plantation) a lack of such data seriously affected the ability to test the project research questions. Fortunately, the probate inventories did provide substantial data for three critical periods in the eighteenth-century life of the plantation. And these data were used to make useful comparisons with the archaeological data.

## **The Research Goals**

The following hypotheses were developed prior to excavation, and in general, were used to guide overall field and analytical decisions. This discussion addresses the types of data required of the project in order to test each hypothesis, and discusses whether such data were found. In the following



chapters the data are presented in detail, and finally the hypotheses are tested using these data.

**HYPOTHESIS 1.** The world view of the inhabitants of a site has a specific series of effects on the design and use of space within that site. This should be empirically demonstrable in the archaeological record.

James Deetz (1977) introduced a concept of early American history which has archaeological implications for the Oxon Hill site. Deetz presented much supporting data for a theory that posits a shift from a medieval type of society in the American colonies during the seventeenth century to a post-medieval society in the eighteenth century. The more corporate medieval society was imported directly from England into the colonies, where it was allowed to develop in relative isolation until the eighteenth century. Beginning in the eighteenth century for the upper classes, and later in the century for the middle and lower classes, this medieval society gave way to a more formal and ordered approach to life which is termed "Georgian" after the prevalent architectural style. This way of looking at life, or mind set, was also imported from England, and had been developing there since the late seventeenth century, but had not taken root in the American colonies because of their relative isolation.

Deetz (1977) characterizes the medieval society as emphasizing corporate values over personal values, as emphasizing the group over the individual, and as the "acceptance of nature taking its course" (Deetz 1977:40) without attempting to control natural phenomena. This was a distinctly unscientific approach to the environment and to life, so that social institutions and housing and traditional ways of doing things slowly evolved and did not leap full blown onto the scene. The Georgian mind set was the opposite of this medieval approach to life in many ways, and was "a new and different concept of the relationship between man and nature" (Deetz 1977:40). Nature was viewed as a rational set of laws, and if one could learn these laws then one could control the environment. Since nature was underlain by a rational order it followed that man and man's institutions were also governed by an underlying set of laws, which once mastered could be used to radically improve the quality of life. This approach negated that of acceptance of tradition and the submission of the individual to the group, and emphasized the qualities of the individual and his ability to define his own future in his own way. Personal privacy became important along with spatial specialization within and without the home.

To support this theory Deetz (1977) examined several aspects of historical archaeology, thereby setting up a model which other investigators have explored more or less successfully (see Carrillo 1980 above; Leone 1984). These archaeological aspects can be divided into those dealing with artifacts, architecture, and refuse disposal. Many of the types of data used in Deetz's model were obtained from estate inventories which not only listed the goods of the deceased but usually indicated (one way or another) where the items were found in the house and grounds. Because of this one can project within certain limits the use to which certain items were put. Items found in the dairy in one generation and in the parlor the next indicate a shift in the function of the item. Using such logic Deetz noted the following patterns.

The medieval/traditional culture used ceramics primarily for dairy activities, milk pans, crocks, and jars according to the inventories (Deetz 1977:55). There was a lack of personal items including ceramics since the group was prized over the individual. Trenchers, which would not have survived archaeologically but which appear in inventories, also indicate a communal approach to foodways. Utensils were generalized forms such as spoons and knives. These large and generalized communal forms should outnumber smaller personalized items during the seventeenth century since the importance of the individual and therefore individual place settings was a Georgian idea. The early inventories also show that there were fewer chairs, tables, or beds than there were persons in the household, and the rooms that did have more than one chair had a mixture of chair types (Deetz

1977:121). There were no sets of chairs, plates, or silverware even among the upper classes. Deetz (1977:124-125) also hypothesized that butchering techniques, which could be examined archaeologically, would emphasize large communal type meat cuts that would go along with foods eaten from large trenchers and bowls, such as roasts, stews, and soups. Such meat preparation techniques would include hacking off of large generalized portions rather than careful sawing of individual portions.

On the other hand the Georgian mind set would emphasize the individual, formality, order, and balance. Inventories show an increase in the eighteenth century of individualized forms, bowls, cups, and plates (Deetz 1977:57). Large plates and decorated delftware are found in the parlor as display items and not as dairying items as they had been in the seventeenth century (Deetz 1977:55). Perhaps very indicative of the Georgian mind set are porcelain tea sets, which are the first types of sets of ceramics to appear in the inventories. Especially after 1760, there was a greater availability and presence of Stratfordshire ceramic sets such as creamware and pearlware sets, and plates and chamber pots (Deetz 1977: 58). Inventories also indicate that there were not only enough beds and chairs for the inhabitants of a house but that increasingly there were matched sets of chairs, tables, and table and bed linen (Deetz 1977:121). As foodways became more formalized and individualized the eating utensils changed. Forks were introduced in the eighteenth century, and as a result pointed table knives were no longer needed for spearing food, and the shape of knife tips became more rounded (Deetz 1977:122). Rounded knife tips may have been a sign of the acceptance of this newer Georgian mind set, which was recognized by the upper classes even at that time.

Besides the kinds and relative amounts of artifacts found at medieval and Georgian sites, one can examine the architecture. Medieval architecture was traditional and had a long history of development. There were no formal rule books on how to layout a floor plan, and once a house was built it was added to as needed, without following an original plan (Deetz 1977:40). There were no architects specializing in residential architecture; the builder or carpenter was the architect, and he was a product of the limited experience and medieval tradition of his community.

The Georgian approach to the world in general is reflected in their architecture (Deetz 1977:112-115, 115-117). It was formal and balanced. There were books of plans and rules on how best to layout a house. Form took precedence over function, and even later additions to the house and grounds showed bilateral symmetry. Specialization, a typical Georgian trait, is illustrated in Georgian architecture by the presence of architects who were not builders and spatial specialization within the home. There were separate rooms for special activities; dining rooms, bedrooms, kitchens, parlors and separate halls. The medieval house had fewer rooms and these were multi-purpose. The medieval hall was used for a parlor, eating, sleeping and crafts, while the kitchen was also used for most of the same functions. The effect of the Georgian house, therefore, was to enforce ideas of privacy and the individual, while that of the medieval house was to force group or communal living and values.

Siting of the main house and its dependencies was also formalized by the Georgians to show order, balance, and to support social institutions. Isaac (1982:34) states that siting and external appearance "had come to be elaborate, overt expressions of social values." The main house was often sited on high ground with a view of the dependencies which occupied progressively lower ground further from the main house as their place in the social hierarchy dictated. Here again the layout of the outbuildings was symmetrical and often followed elaborate underlying mathematical rules of proportion.

A last aspect of the archaeology which should illustrate a shift from a medieval to a Georgian mind set is that of refuse disposal. Deetz (1977:125) feels that the sheet deposit of artifacts across seventeenth-century sites and the absence of deep trash pits illustrates a medieval lack of order and is more organic, as well as less hygienic, than the subsequent Georgian pattern of disposal in specialized

trash deposits (Deetz 1977:126). This explains in part why artifacts from seventeenth-century middens are usually small, worn and fragmented (they were trod upon in the yards around the house) and why artifacts from Georgian sites are often more complete and larger.

In summary, Deetz (1977) has made a case for a shift in world view from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century in colonial America. This shift can be seen historically in the composition of estate inventories and extant papers such as site plans showing the formal layout of Georgian sites. Archaeologically, this shift can be seen in the artifacts as generalized communal forms are replaced by individualized forms and sets of items. Food bone should illustrate this same shift as illustrated by hacked bone versus sawed portions. Trash disposal should shift from generalized trash middens in the yards to specialized trash locations as shown by the size and condition of artifacts and by the distribution of trash features. Architectural remains should be comparably oriented and formal patterns of architectural relationships should be evident if the Georgian mind set is active at a site, as opposed to an additive, more functional and organic, site plan on a medieval site. Isaac (1982), in his social history of colonial tidewater Virginia, generally supports Deetz's model, and in fact Isaac seems to owe much of his discussion of the Georgian mind set to Deetz's work and to the work of Carson et al. (1981) (which in turn relied heavily on Deetz) (see note 14, Isaac 1982:72, and notes 8 and 10, Isaac 1982:305).

By the end of the eighteenth century, the severely formalized upper class Georgian mind set had been modified by the political effects of the Revolutionary War, by the religious revolution of the New Light movement, and by westward migration (Isaac 1982:311-312). "Virginia entered the nineteenth century still a wholly agrarian society, yet with a complex of cultures that was fractured by a widening ethnic rift and an enduring legacy of conflicting value systems" (Isaac 1982:322). Isaac does not deal with how this modification of eighteenth-century society should be characterized, beyond the above statement. Deetz (1977) goes further by expressing his belief that the major change was from the medieval mind set to the Georgian mind set and not between the Georgian mind set and any subsequent value systems. He states that the, "new way of perceiving the world is the hallmark of" the Georgian mind set, "which lasts to the present and accounts for much of the way in which we ourselves look out upon reality" (Deetz 1977:40). Neither author presents a testable model with which to examine the nineteenth-century mind set against the archaeological record.

In spite of this, Isaac's point that the nineteenth century began with a complex of value systems (most stemming from the original Georgian concept of the importance of individual autonomy) can be taken into consideration and extrapolated from. Even if there was no one model that can be applied to the nineteenth-century inhabitants, it is apparent from Isaac's statement that there was a change away from the strict Georgian mind set which reached its peak at the time of the Revolution.

Since it was originally thought that the nineteenth-century occupants of Oxon Hill were primarily tenants, it was anticipated that the world view of the inhabitants would have changed from the formal Georgian mind set in the eighteenth century to a less formal, more local outlook exemplified by middle or lower class tenant farmers. This was based on the assumption that the Berry family did not occupy the main house, but rented various parts of the estate to different tenants who would not have fully accepted or have been economically capable of partaking in the Georgian mind set. Unfortunately, very little data on the world view of the nineteenth-century inhabitants, whether tenants or owner-occupants, was developed from the history to control for world view. Since there was no extant model for the nineteenth century and the historical research could not develop data to independently test for the nineteenth-century world view of the inhabitants of the site, the archaeology was used to see if there was a shift from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century which could be interpreted as a change in world view. An attempt is made in later chapters to interpret these changes archaeologically even though they cannot be strictly tested against a model or the historical

research at the site.

To test this hypothesis the world view of the inhabitants had to be established independent of the archaeological record. Historically it was expected that plantation records would be found indicating a formal layout of the plantation with a formal plan underlying decisions of structure and garden placement. Other records were expected to show that individual items would be formally arranged within the structures. In some cases, types of objects would be expected to indicate acceptance of the Georgian mind set simply by their presence; telescopes, matching furniture, and tea services, for example. And in fact, all of these things were found establishing that the Addison family participated heavily in the upper class manifestations of the Georgian mind set.

Once the historical record established the acceptance of the Georgian mind set by the eighteenth century inhabitants, then archaeological data was to provide supporting evidence for the acceptance of the Georgian mind set as illustrated by Deetz (see above). Such archaeological evidence would include data from eighteenth-century components supporting or denying formal gardening and formal placement of structures on the site. Other evidence would include clean yard and garden areas with clearly defined trash disposal areas. Further evidence to support the acceptance of the Georgian mind set would include evidence from the eighteenth-century component of artifact types in such quantities to indicate that the inhabitants invested a substantial portion of their time and wealth in processes and items which are considered to be primary evidence of the Georgian mind set.

A prime requisite of the archaeological data would have to be the control of time. If time could not be controlled, either for the structures uncovered or the artifacts found, then conclusions concerning these structures and artifacts could not be assigned to the eighteenth-century Addison occupation. Time was also an important consideration with the nineteenth-century Berry and Berry tenant occupations.

**HYPOTHESIS 2.** Use of space within a site and items consumed and discarded by residents of that site reflect status advertisement of the site occupants, rather than a response to functional considerations or least cost economics.

In order to test this hypothesis the historical research needed to produce data on the status of the inhabitants in different parts of the site at different times. Variation in the social status of the groups of inhabitants was also a prerequisite, for without a difference in the groups none of the archaeological variability could be attributable to social status. In other words, this hypothesis required that the historical research develop data showing that the social status of the various inhabitants of the site differed and by how much. Further, it was preferable, if not necessary, that the historical research indicate where the inhabitants of varying status actually lived. Unfortunately, the historical research was unable to indicate who actually lived on the plantation during parts of the nineteenth century, although it may be assumed that when rented by tenants, the tenants actually occupied the grounds. Even less is known about where the slaves or dependents lived during the nineteenth century.

For the eighteenth century the same problem arises, although to a lesser extent. The three inventories mentioned above list the manor house contents at different periods, and from other data it is known that the Addison family was inhabiting the manor house at the time the inventories were made. The inventories also mention the contents and names of various slave quarters and other structures. However, the location of these quarters and structures is often unclear. While slaves and other dependents are mentioned in the inventories it is difficult to determine whether these slaves are located near the main house or several miles away.

The historical research on who occupied the new manor site during the twentieth century was clear. Archaeologically it was evident that debris from the new manor was disposed of within the present

project's boundaries. What is not clear from the historical research is what part of the debris belonged to the Sumner Welles' servants and what part belonged to the family and guests. Archaeologically the twentieth-century deposits were somewhat mixed on the basis of socioeconomic level, and while the social class of much of this twentieth-century material seems to be self-evident, there is no independent test from the historical research which can be applied to the study of socioeconomic status.

**HYPOTHESIS 3.** The socioeconomic positions of lower status groups at a plantation such as Oxon Hill correlates to at least some degree with the socioeconomic position of the socially and economically preeminent family within the plantation.

This hypothesis again depended on finding lower status habitation areas at the site. With this data it was planned that comparisons could be made with the material culture of equivalent status individuals and groups on other plantations. It was anticipated that since the Addisons were so high up the socioeconomic ladder that this would be reflected by their slaves when compared to slaves of owners who were not so affluent. It was also hoped that this hypothesis could be tested within the limits of the Oxon Hill plantation itself when the eighteenth-century Addisons were compared with the Berry tenants.

**HYPOTHESIS 4.** Artifacts recovered from contexts attributable to the Addison family will represent a broad range of marketing choices available to wealthy families in the eighteenth century, and the geographic range of origin of goods will be restricted only by import laws operative in that period. Residents of post-1810 Oxon Hill will demonstrate a close dependency of goods from a constricted range of sources, and probably purchased goods funneled through a nearby marketing center such as Baltimore.

This hypothesis was based on the state of our knowledge of the site at the end of Hurry's (1984) testing of Areas I to V. Based on the historic research to that point, it appeared that the site was occupied by lower or middle class tenants during the entire nineteenth century, while the upper class Addison family occupied the site in the eighteenth century. Based on this assumption, it seemed clear that lower or middle class tenants would not be able to purchase imported goods to the extent that the Addisons could.

In order to test this hypothesis it was necessary to find refuse clearly attributable to the Addisons, determine the geographic range of origin of the goods, find refuse clearly attributable to the post-1810 inhabitants of the site, determine the origin of the goods represented in that refuse, and then inspect the data to see if the post-1810 inhabitants partook of a constricted range of choices in goods purchased.

There were at least two problems which complicated the testing of this hypothesis. First, the nineteenth-century artifacts recovered did not lend themselves readily to origin studies as there were no exclusively nineteenth-century deposits like the eighteenth-century well. The only post-1810 refuse on the site that did contain the potential for geographic or origin studies was the twentieth-century material from the Sumner Welles household. Second, subsequent historical research indicated that the nineteenth-century inhabitants were not lower or middle class tenants, but were the upper status owners of the plantation, the Berry family. Based solely on the historic data it was clear that the hypothesis would not apply to either the nineteenth-century Berry family or to the twentieth-century Sumner Welles. Further, it was incorrectly assumed that purchases from Baltimore in the nineteenth century would be more restricted than purchases from factors in the eighteenth century. However, it now seems clear that after the Revolution cities like Baltimore were actually able to partake of a more international market since the restrictive colonial policies of England no longer applied (Błaszczuk 1984 and Isaac 1982).

**HYPOTHESIS 5.** The Late Woodland in the Lower Potomac River Valley is characterized by a settlement subsistence system involving a central village and a series of surrounding farmsteads/hamlets. The prehistoric occupation at Oxon Hill represents such a farmstead or small hamlet.

Testing of this hypothesis relied heavily on the presence of an intact prehistoric component in the buried A horizon in Area IV. Little prehistoric material had been found elsewhere on the site during testing. Unfortunately, the excavated portion of the buried A horizon did not contain any features and only a very few scattered artifacts. Because of this, Hypothesis 5 could not be tested.

## **SUMMARY**

The general themes of the above hypotheses proved useful even though the hypotheses themselves were difficult or impossible to fully test with the data at hand. These themes can be stated as :

- The study of socioeconomic change through time;
- How a site's owner's world view affects the spatial organization of a site;
- How the status of the owner affects the status of his dependents;
- Marketing strategies through time and how these affect the archaeology of a site; and
- The interrelationship of historic documents and the archaeological record from the standpoint of the function and anthropology of a site.

These themes will be elaborated in the chapters that follow and were the guiding research themes for the field work and artifact analysis.



## CHAPTER III. ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

### INTRODUCTION

The study area is located in Prince Georges County, Maryland near the town of Oxon Hill, approximately one mile south of the District of Columbia line and about the same distance east of the Potomac River. The archaeological site at Oxon Hill, Maryland is located in the Coastal Plain physiographic province. The area is further classified as upper Coastal Plain; thus, the landscapes are dissected and considered early or post-Pleistocene in age. The silt mantle occurring throughout the site is considered late Pleistocene in age.

### CLIMATE

Prince Georges' County has a humid, temperate, semi-continental climate. Winters are mild, and summers are warm and moist. Spring and fall are the most pleasant seasons (Kirby et al. 1967).

The annual precipitation in the county averages 45 inches, with a range of 18 to 60+ inches. Droughts may occur, most likely in the summer. Snowfall averages 19 to 20 inches annually, with the extremes noted during a 55-year period recorded as 2.0 (1949 - 1950) and 48.3 inches (1939 - 1940) at Cheltenham (Kirby et al. 1967).

Smith (1907:80-84, cited in Miller 1984:109) described the climate he experienced in early seventeenth-century Virginia as:

the sommer is hot as in Spaine; the winter colde as in Fraunce or England. The heat of sommer is in June, Julie and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heat. The chiefe of winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The colde is extreame sharpe.

An important consequence of temperature is the length of the growing season, normally assumed to be the time between the last and first freezing temperatures of the year. The average length of the growing season in the study region ranges from 190 days near the Fall Line to 230 days around the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay (Weeks 1941:913; Hubbard 1941:1118; Gibson 1978).

### GEOLOGY

The site is within the Western Shore Division of the upper Coastal Plain physiographic province. This area is underlain by a wedge of unconsolidated sediments including gravel, silt, sand, and clay, which overlays the rocks of the eastern Piedmont along an irregular line of contact known as the Fall Line. The Fall Line represents the maximum inundation of the continent during the Mesozoic and Cretaceous, a time of enlarged seas. The subsequent uplifting of the continent in the late Cretaceous exposed the Coastal Plain. Eastward, this wedge of sediments thickens to more than 8,000 feet at the Atlantic Coast line.

The sediments of the coastal plain dip eastward at a low angle, generally less than one degree, and range in age from Triassic to Quaternary. Mineral resources of the Coastal Plain are chiefly sand and gravel, and are used as aggregate materials by the construction industry. Clay for brick and other



ceramic uses is also important. Plentiful supplies of ground water are available from a number of aquifers throughout much of the region (Edwards 1981).

## PHYSIOGRAPHY

The study area is characterized as a partly dissected low plateau with V-shaped valleys with short, steep slopes near the Potomac River. Elevation of the Manor site is approximately 190 feet above sea level and drainage is directly into the Potomac River.

Sea level rises at the end of the Pleistocene created larger bodies of open water. Wind-produced waves along with tidal action began to erode the unconsolidated geological deposits of the coastal plain, resulting in a heavily indented and sinuous shoreline. Because of the tidal nature of the river of the Potomac, ocean going ships were able to travel far inland. European settlement during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concentrated along those portions of the river that were subject to daily tidal action. The tidewater region extends up the Potomac to the vicinity of Washington, D.C. (Miller 1984).

## SOILS

The soils developed on these landscapes are quite complex as a result of the length of weathering time and the complex geologic formations occurring in the study area. Soils were formed under forested conditions and thus show typical characteristics of thin A horizons, E horizon (A2), and argillic B (clayey). The soils developed in the thin loess mantle in this portion of Maryland also develop a fragipan (Bx) horizon. This horizon is characterized by very hard peds when dry and typical morphology showing platy structure, gray vertical channels, closed pores, and some mottling in the Bx or horizon above. Soils developed in the alluvial material below the loess show the typical red hues and deeply developed profiles characteristic of early Pleistocene or late Tertiary sediments.

The objectives of this phase of the study were to characterize the major soils at the site, determine their physical properties, and develop the pedologic history based on soil development patterns. To these ends Dr. John Foss, a soil scientist from the University of Tennessee, was employed to conduct an detailed examination of the soils at the site. In order to accomplish his goals Dr. Foss examined exposed stratigraphies and took samples from these stratigraphies and with a bucket auger. This research was done late in the field phase to insure that exposed stratigraphies would be available across the site, and so that most, if not all, potential archaeological questions concerning soil development would have already arisen.

Soils were described in archaeological excavations and by augering techniques. Nine profiles were examined in detail and two profiles were selected for particle size analysis. Additional profiles were examined in excavations and by augering. Soils were described by methods outlined by Foss et al. (1985). Particle size analysis was accomplished by sieving for the sand fractions and hydrometer method for the clay fraction.

Figure 14 shows the distribution of soils and the locations of the soil profiles at the study site. The soil mapping units and their respective descriptions are given below. Observations from pit sites and a limited number of auger borings (as discussed below) are the basis for the soil map.

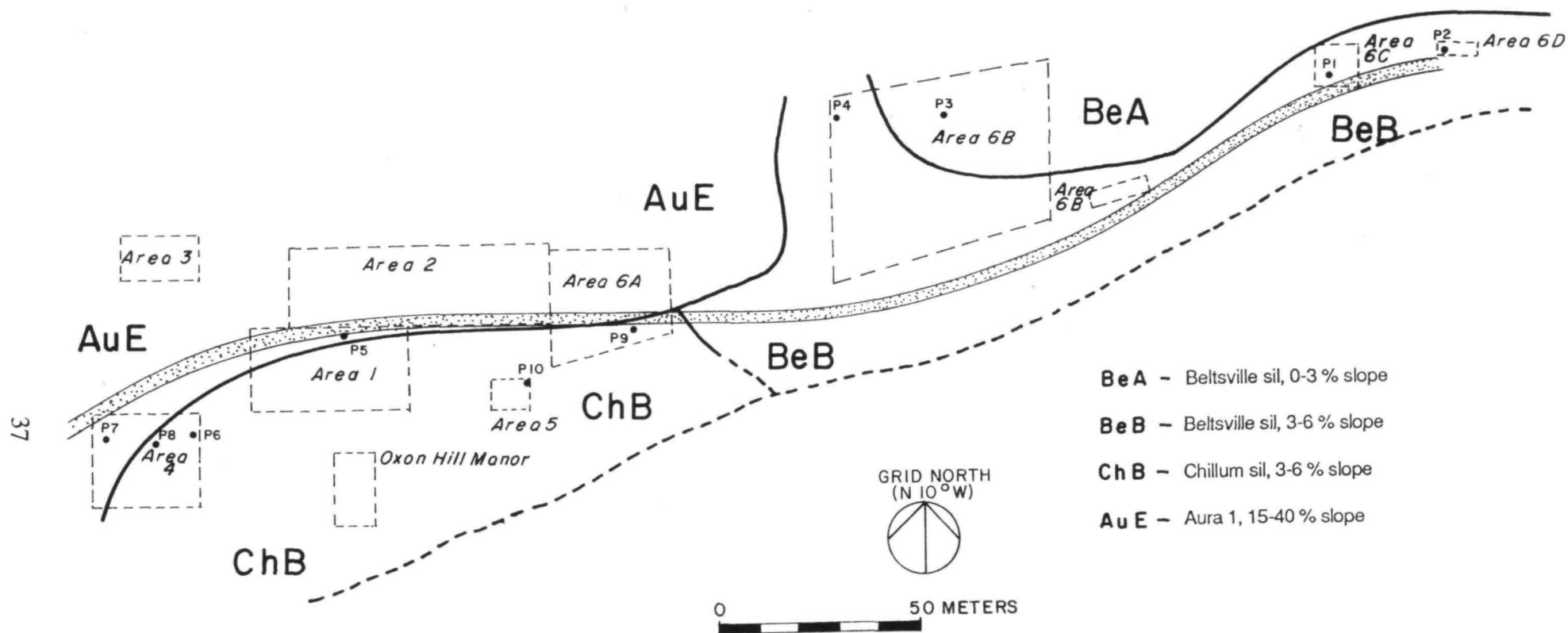


FIGURE 14. Distribution of Soil Types and Locations of Soil Profile Tests.

## Mapping Unit

## Description

BeA	Beltsville silt loam, 0-3 percent slope. This unit consists of Beltsville series that has a fragipan in the subsoil. This soil is developed in loess (>100cm) overlying a paleosol developed in medium textured gravelly sediments. This soil is moderately well drained.
BeB	Beltsville silt loam, 3-6 percent slope. This unit consists of soils with a fragipan in the subsoil. The loess will generally be 60 to 100cm in thickness and overlies a paleosol developed in medium textured gravelly sediments. The soil is moderately to severely eroded in most landscapes.
ChB	Chillum silt loam, 3-6 percent slope. Chillum soils are developed on a thin mantle of loess (30-80cm) overlying a paleosol developed on medium textured gravelly sediments. These soils will have an argillic (clayey) subsoil or a thin fragipan. Chillum soils are considered well drained except where they have a thin fragipan.
AuE	Aura loam, 15-40 percent slope. The Aura series is a well drained gravelly soil formed on Brandywine sediments. The soils are also found underlying younger soils developed on loess.

## **Soil Morphology**

Table 1 shows the morphologic characteristics of the profiles examined in detail. The soils identified could basically be broken down into three major soil series. The dominant soil noted throughout the site was the Beltsville series. This soil is formed on a loess mantle and has a well developed fragipan. Profile 1, for example, shows the typical horizon sequence for the Beltsville soil, with the thin A1, E, Bt above the fragipan, and the strongly developed fragipan horizon. The soil has mottling in the Bt and Bx horizon; this indicates excessive water occurring in these horizons for significant periods of time. Horizons are silt loam in texture which is characteristic of soils developed in loess. The 2Btb horizon is associated with a paleosol that is developed in alluvial materials deposited in the early Pleistocene. The soil series associated with the paleosol is either Caroline or Magnolia. The paleosol is well developed and can have clayey B horizons extending four to five meters in thickness. Other paleosols at the site are gravelly in nature and are classified into the Aura soil series.

As the loess mantle thins, the resulting profile may still show a fragipan but not to the extent of the Beltsville soil formed in loess a meter or more in thickness. The soil series associated with the thinner loess is called Chillum. Profile 4 in Area VIb is a typical profile of the Chillum soil.

Profile 5 (located in the cellar in Area I) was described to over four meters. The soil is developed in thin loess over the older alluvial materials. The soil developed in the loess would probably be classified as Chillum because of the thin silt mantle. The underlying paleosol extends to over 409 cm; thus, it is obvious this soil is at least early Pleistocene in age. With the content of gravels in the paleosol, this soil would be classified in the Aura series.

In some areas of the study site, recent material was deposited on the natural soil surface. Profile 6 in Area IV, for example, had approximately 79 cm of overburden on the original A1 horizon. Profile 8 in Area VIa, also showed some overburden material on the natural soil horizons.

Table 1. Profile descriptions of soils occurring at the Oxon Hill archaeological site (See Figure 14 for Soil Profile Locations).

<u>Horizon</u>	<u>Depth(cm)</u>	<u>Color</u>	<u>Mottling</u>	<u>Texture</u>	<u>Consistency</u>
Profile 1 (Area VIc)					
A1	0 - 5	10YR 3/3	None	sil	fr
E	5 - 23	10YR 5/4	None	sil	fr
Bt	23 - 48	4/2, 4/3 10YR 5/6	f1f	sil	fr
Bx1	48 - 84	7.5YR 5/6 10YR 5/6	c2d	sil	fr
Bx2	84 - 107	10YR 6/2 7.5YR 5/6	c2d	sil	fr
2Btb	107 - 122	10YR 5/6 10YR 6/2, 6/4	c2f	cl	fr
		7.5YR 5/6 5YR 5/6 10YR 6/2			

Remarks: Moderate medium subangular blocky structure in the Bt horizon; 2 and 8 percent gravel in the Bx1 and Bx2 horizons, respectively; 12 percent coarse fragments in the 2Btb; refusal at 122cm; 0 - 23cm appears to be old Ap Horizon, with A1 and E horizon developed in the Ap since the area was abandoned for agricultural crops; this soil would be classified as a Beltsville silt loam.

Profile 2 (Area VIId)

A1	0 - 8	10YR 3/3	None	sil	fr
E	8 - 25	10YR 5/4	None	sil	fr
Bt	25 - 69	10YR 5/6	f2d	sil	fr
Bx	69 - 119	10YR 6/2 7.5YR 5/6	c2d	sil	fr
2Btb	119 - 163	10YR 5/4 10YR 6/1			
		7.5YR 5/6 Reticulate Mottling		cl	fi
		10YR 7/1, 5/1, 5/6 5YR 5/8			

Remarks: structure: A1 = weak fine granular, E = moderate medium platy, and Bt = moderate medium subangular blocky; 10 percent gravels in 2Btb; lower portion of 2Btb horizon in sandy clay loam in texture; soil is classified as Beltsville silt loam with the paleosol underlying the silt mantle usually associated with the Caroline soil series.

Table 1. Continued.

## Profile 3 (Area VIb)

A1	0 - 8	10YR 3,2,3/3	None	sil	fr
E	8 - 23	10YR 5/4	flf	sil	fr
Bt	23 - 48	10YR 5/6	flf	sil	fr
Bx	48-102	10YR 5/8, 6/3	cld	sil	fr
		10YR 5/4			
		10YR 6/2			
		7.5YR 5/8			
2Btb1	102 - 142	10YR 5/6	None	l	fr
		10YR 7/3 (veins)			
3Btb2	142 - 157	2.5YR 4.6	Reticulate	cl	fr
		10YR 5/6, 6/2			

Remarks: Location is 25 meters east of well; soils is classified as a Beltsville silt loam with the underlying paleosol similar to the Caroline soil.

## Profile 4 (Area VIb)

A1	0-8	10YR 3/3	None	sil	fr
BE	8 -23	10YR 5/4	None	sil	fr
Bx	23 -66	7.5YR 5/6	None	sil	fr
		10YR 5/4, 6/4			
2Btb	66 - 112	2.5YR 4/6	Reticulate	cl	fr
		10YR 5/6			

Remarks: Soil is developed on silt mantle overlying the Caroline paleosol.

## Profile 5 (Area I)

Ap	0 - 18	10YR 3/3	None	sil	fr
Bt	18 - 46	10YR 5/6	None	sil	fr
Bx	46 - 71	7.5YR 5/4	flf	l	fr
		10YR 6/2, 6/4			
2Btb1	71 - 99	2.5YR 4/6	None	vgscl	fr
3Btb2	99 - 130	2.5YR 4/6	None	cl	fr
4Btb3	130 - 175	2.5YR 4/6	None	vgscl	fr
5Btb4	175 - 257	2.5YR 4/6	None	gsl	fr
5BC1	257 - 318	5YR 4/6	None	gsl	fr
5BC2	318 - 396	5YR 5/6	None	gls	fr
6BC3	396 - 409	5YR 5/6	None	cos	lo

Remarks: This soil is developed in a thin loess cap overlying a paleosol developed in old alluvial terrace geologic material; the base of this profile (409cm) contained abundant boulders and cobbles; structure for the horizons was as follows: Ap = 2mgr; Bt = 2msbk; Bx = 2mpl; 2Bt = 2msbk, with thin continuous clay films; 5 percent gravels were present in the 3Btb2.

Table 1. Continued.

## Profile 6 (Area IV)

A1	0 - 8	10YR 3/2	None	sil	fr
AC	8 - 25	10YR 3/2, 4/6	None	sil	fr
2C	25 - 79	2.5YR 4/6	None	gcl	fi
		10YR 6/4, 5/6	Streaks		
3A1	79 - 91	10YR 4/4, 4/3	None	sil	fr
3BE	91 - 109	7.5YR 4/6	None	sil	fr
3Bt	109 - 140	7.5YR 4/6	None	sil	fr
3Bx	140 - 160	10YR 5/4	None	sil	fr
		7.5YR 4/6			
4Btb	160 - 178	5YR 5/6	None	gcl	fi

Remarks: Approximately 79 cm of overburden (disturbed) material overlies a soil developed in loess overlying a buried paleosol developed in alluvial material; some brick fragments were present in the 8 - 25 cm horizon.

## Profile 7 (Area IV)

Ap	0 - 12	10YR 4/4	None	l	fr
		7.5YR 4/6			
Bt1	12 - 53	7.5YR 4/6	None	l	fr
2Bt2	53 - 76	5YR 5/6	None	gcl	fi

Remarks: Clay skins, thin discontinuous in Bt1; thin, continuous clay skins in 2Bt2; 25 percent gravels in 2Bt2; slope is 10 percent, west; iron stone outcrops in the immediate area; soil is developed in thin, mixed loess over alluvial terrace material.

## Profile 8 (Area IV)

AC	0 - 18	Mixed Material		sil	fi
		7.5YR 4/6, 10YR 4/3, 3/2			
A1	18 - 25	10YR 3/2	None	sil	fr
E	25 - 41	10YR 5/4	None	sil	fr
Bt1	41 - 89	7.5YR 4/6	None	sil	fr
2Bt2	89 - 107	5YR 5/6	None	gcl	fr

Remarks: Soil is developed on mixed overburden materials over thin loess, with the paleosol developed on alluvial terrace material underlying the loess-overburden; thin, continuous clay skins in Bt1 and 2Bt2; brick was noted in the A1 horizon.

## Profile 9 (Area VIa)

Ap	0 - 18	10YR 3/2	None	sil	fr
Bt	18 - 38	7.5YR 4/4, 4/6	None	sil	fr
Bx	38 - 71	10YR 5/4	c2d	sil	fr
			7.5YR 4/6		
			10YR 6/4		
2Btb	71 - 96	2.5YR 4/6	None	gcl	fr

Table 1. Continued.

Remarks: Structure noted is as follows: Ap = 1fgr; Bt = 2msbk; Bx = 2mpl; 2Btb = 2msbk; refusal at 96 cm; soil is developed in loess overlying gravelly deposit usually associated with the Aura series.

## Profile 10 (Area V)

Ap	0 - 23	10YR 3/2	None	l	fr
Bt	23 - 31	10YR 4/4	None	sil	fr
Bx	31 - 38	7.5YR 4/6	c2d	l	fr
			10Yr 5/4		
			5YR 5/8		
2Btb	38 - 64	10YR 5/4	c2d	gcl	fi
			2.5YR 4/6		
			7.5YR 5/6		

Remarks: 20 percent coarse fragments in 2Btb.

Table 2 shows the particle size data for the two representative profiles sampled at the site. Profile 2, formed in the loess over alluvial sediments, shows the typical silt loam textures of the silt mantle. Silt contents range from 52.9 to 68.1 percent for the loess. Clay contents increase over 12 percent in the Bt and Bx horizons. The clay accumulation in the Bt and Bx horizons represents an appreciable weathering period; generally 10-12,000 years would be needed for this amount of development. The 2Btb horizon in profile 2 shows an abrupt change in texture. The alluvial sediments are lower in silt and higher in sand. The clay content of 33.3 percent in the 2Btb is the result of weathering and translocation from horizons above. It is likely that this profile has been truncated prior to the deposition of the loess. Coarse fragments are very low in the loess and they increase appreciably in the underlying sediments. Some of the surface coarse fragments is probably related to surface movement from higher elevations.

Table 2. Particle size analysis of profiles 2 and 5 at Oxon Hill, Maryland.

<u>Horizon</u>	<u>Depth</u> <u>cm</u>	<u>VC</u>	<u>Sand Fractions</u>				<u>Sand</u>	<u>Silt</u>	<u>Clay</u>	<u>2mm</u>
			<u>C</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>VF</u>				
Profile 2										
A1	0-8	2.6	4.8	3.2	5.2	7.6	23.4	64.9	11.7	1.6
E	8-25	0.4	2.0	2.4	4.6	8.2	17.6	68.1	14.3	0.2
Bt	25-69	0.4	1.2	2.2	4.2	6.8	14.8	58.7	26.5	tr
Bx	69-119	0.6	2.6	3.8	7.4	6.8	21.2	52.9	25.9	0.9
2Btb	119-163	0.8	4.8	8.2	10.2	4.6	28.6	38.1	33.3	5.5
Profile 5										
Ap	0-18	2.6	7.2	7.2	9.4	14.2	40.6	42.1	17.3	4.4
Bt	18-46	0.6	3.4	3.4	4.2	14.2	25.8	41.9	32.3	0.5
Bx	46-71	2.4	14.6	11.0	5.0	3.0	36.0	42.3	21.7	0.7

Table 2. Continued.

2Btb1	71-99	14.2	14.2	10.2	4.2	2.4	45.2	15.7	39.1	65.0
3Btb2	99-130	9.4	32.4	14.2	2.2	0.6	58.8	2.5	38.7	3.6
4Btb3	130-175	10.2	28.2	12.4	2.6	1.6	55.0	16.5	28.5	28.7
4Btb4	175-257	6.2	38.6	25.6	1.2	0.4	72.0	5.1	22.9	11.7
4BC1	257-318	26.8	27.6	8.8	3.4	2.2	68.8	5.9	25.3	52.0
4BC2	318-396	23.0	30.4	17.4	5.0	1.2	77.0	4.1	18.9	39.5
4BC3	396-409	14.6	37.4	28.4	3.4	0.8	84.6	4.5	10.9	50.0

The textural characteristics of profile 5 show the silty nature of the loess mantle and the gravelly-clay-sand variations of the underlying paleosol. Because of the thinner loess of profile 5 as compared to profile 2, more sand particles and less silt are evident. Sand particles are commonly incorporated into shallow loess deposits; this was noted by Foss et al. (1978) on a study of loess deposits on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

### Soil Genesis

The soils formed at the archaeological site at Oxon Hill show two major geological depositional sequences. The upper silty mantle was deposited in the late Pleistocene and the soils developed on the loess are characterized by well developed horizons. The fragipan (Bx) horizon is characteristic of silty soils in this area of Maryland; these soils are classified mainly into the Beltsville series. Those soils formed on thinner loess (less than 40 to 50 cm) are classified into the Chillum series. The argillic and fragipan horizons and general depth weathering are typical for soils developed in 10-12,000 years.

The paleosols occurring under the loess are formed in alluvial sediments probably deposited in early Pleistocene. The thickness of the paleosols and general horizon development indicate a long weathering period; it is estimated that these paleosols represent at least 500,000 to 750,000 years development. Similar age relationships were suggested by Wright (1970) in paleosols studied in southern Maryland on alluvial and Coastal Plain sediments.

### VEGETATION AND WILDLIFE RESOURCES

Shelford (1963) classified the forest of the Chesapeake Bay area as the oak-hickory type of the Temperate Deciduous Forest Biome. The oak-hickory forest is characterized by the presence of post oak, white oak, and black oak. Near the mouth of the Potomac River a relict area of very old trees was composed of post oak, 47 percent; southern red oak, 21; black oak, 9; white oak, 7; chestnut, 6; and hickory, 3 (Chrysler 1910). The original composition of the forests of the study area is largely unknown since there are no uncut stands remaining in the entire region. Braun (1950) has pointed out that pine is probably much more common today than it was when the colonists arrived. Kraft and Brush (1981) conducted a pollen analysis of sediments from an estuarine pond in St. Marys City, Maryland, the results of which do provide some useful insight into the composition of early forests. Their results cover a period of over 5,000 years and indicate that a mixed deciduous forest with some pine covered the area during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Oak and hickory were the most important genera with maple, birch, beech, ash, and sweet gum of secondary importance. Chestnut,



walnut, cedar, and alder made up a minor component of the forest stand. Forest edge species were likely greenbriars, maple leaf, viburnum, and sassafras. Vokes (1957) listed non-tree flora as probably including a wide variety of thorns and haws, blackberries, strawberries, laurel, pawpaw, and black cherry.

The Chesapeake area has a rich and diverse fauna, undoubtedly a fauna that was even richer at the time the colonists first arrived. Overhunting has resulted in a much decimated fauna, with many species such as the passenger pigeon, heath hen, Carolina parakeet, elk, bison, and gray wolves becoming extirpated or extinct. By the time game laws were enacted, most of the larger mammals had disappeared, and because they were extirpated over such large areas of the east they did not have the opportunity to reinvade their former range. As a group the game species of mammals were decimated in Maryland much more severely than were the birds. Today there are over 380 species of birds listed for Maryland, a result of both a diversity of habitats for resident species and the fact that the state is located within the pathway of the Atlantic Flyway, a major route for migratory species. Miller (1984) presents a detailed listing of species of animals known from the Chesapeake Tidewater region of Maryland.

## CHAPTER IV. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### METHODOLOGY

Research for this report on the history of Oxon Hill Manor has focused on three principal themes: ownership patterns, land-use trends, and labor systems. An effort has also been made to assess the evolution of the estate within the context of trends within Prince Georges County, Maryland and the South. Evaluating specific historical changes in relation to such larger patterns serves a dual purpose. First, it allows the analysis to proceed within a more self-censoring explanatory framework by highlighting key similarities and differences between local and regional trends. Second, it places the analysis within the historiography of the topic under discussion, thereby enhancing the value of the report as a unique contribution to both the history of Maryland and of the South.

Historical documentation on Oxon Hill Manor is uneven both in quantity and in quality. As the research unfolded it became apparent that the few available private papers would not be of much value and that the history of the site would have to be reconstructed largely from public records. The need to work with public documents pushed the research in certain directions, but did not obstruct the analysis of ownership, land use, and labor as the key historical themes of the study. As will be seen later, the opportunity to thoroughly explore such materials as tax assessments and census data greatly enhanced the depth of analysis of certain points. As research progressed it also became apparent that certain aspects of the hypotheses discussed in Chapter II could not be adequately explored for the lack of personal papers, especially maps indicating the location and function of various status groups at the site.

The theme of ownership of Oxon Hill Manor, which includes close examination of the social, economic, and political role of the manor's proprietors, was more easily studied in the eighteenth century than in the nineteenth. Various qualitative sources, augmented by several estate inventories, offered a fairly clear picture of the manor during the Addison family years from the 1720s to 1810. A complete understanding of nineteenth-century ownership was hindered somewhat by the fact that the manor was occupied by the son of the owner from 1812 to 1845, by the lack of estate inventories, and by not altogether clear occupancy patterns by the owner or the owner's sons and by various tenants from the mid 1850s until the 1880s. After 1888 the estate changed hands frequently, both before and after the fire that destroyed the manor house in 1895.

Land use, a second theme of this report, is more thoroughly understood in the nineteenth century. While various sources reveal something of eighteenth-century patterns, the agricultural population and slave censuses of the nineteenth century offer more precise data. The details of land use of the site are not usually available, but we can establish the general land use patterns at Oxon Hill Manor by examining appropriate census materials for both owners and tenants. Again, the absence of private papers which might have provided maps or descriptions of site use was a limiting factor.

Labor patterns are also best understood for the site in the nineteenth century, owing mainly to the discovery of a court record which included information on Oxon Hill Manor tenants in the 1870s and 1880s. Although the census did not list tenants separately before 1880, a great deal was learned about labor and agricultural practices at the site during this latter period. Pre-Civil War details on labor patterns are not precise in that we do not have exact data on crops and levels of production. We do have, however, considerable documentation on the numbers of slaves present and, in some cases for the eighteenth century, of their distribution around the estate. Primary source research and obvious secondary sources also permit in-depth comparison of slaveholding at Oxon Hill with regular

state and southern trends. Discussion of slaveholding also affords the opportunity to measure the social and economic status of the owners or occupants of Oxon Hill Manor.

To generalize about the themes of ownership, land use, and labor patterns at Oxon Hill Manor, it is evident that economic and social life in the site area tended to follow dominant historical trends of the agricultural South: from heavy dependence on a single crop (tobacco) employing slave labor toward greater diversification and widespread use of tenant labor. Oxon Hill's agricultural practices and labor arrangements, however, were also conditioned strongly by the proximity of major urban centers--Washington, D.C. and Baltimore. Census analysis reveals a clear and marked shift toward market gardening and orchards, as well as various changes which may have begun before the Civil War. The impact of nearby urban centers was especially strong in Prince Georges County, for reasons to be discussed later.

As is evident in the preceding paragraphs, the purpose of the research into the history of Oxon Hill Manor was not to produce a general history of plantation archaeology. Its original purpose was to develop a history of the Oxon Hill plantation, to tie this history into regional and national trends, and to provide historical data with which to test hypotheses. Providing a detailed history of the general plantation system over two and one half centuries would have entailed much more research time than was allowed for this project. As the research was being conducted, it became apparent that personal papers were lacking with which to test adequately some of the hypotheses. Other of the historic research which bears directly on the archaeology is presented in the appropriate chapter. This chapter presents an historical overview tying the history of Oxon Hill Manor into general trends in eighteenth through twentieth century Maryland and the South. The periods of regional and national history follow meaningful time divisions at that level, e.g. the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, etc., while the local history is divided into meaningful time divisions at the local level, the Addison occupation, the Berry occupation, etc. After the discussion of each regional or national period the appropriate local period is discussed and related to the regional and national trends. This was done, rather than discussing regional and national history completely before discussing the local history, in order to make it clear to the reader how the local history fit into national history.

## SOURCES

### Introduction.

This section examines the contributions of the most important sources used in this study. Before looking at specific sources, however, a few generalizations can be made about the relative strengths and weaknesses of Maryland historiography. First, the overwhelming bulk of high-quality research done on colonial Maryland has been done mainly by young historians working since the late 1960s with the "new social history" method. With the notable exception of the city of Baltimore, the newer methods in economic and social history have not been applied to post-revolutionary Maryland, although a variety of sound political studies of both colonial and national period Maryland were of limited value to this report.

Second, even general treatments of Maryland history which utilize modern methods and up-to-date information are rare. Development of a clear understanding of the economic and social history of nineteenth-century Maryland was especially limited by this weakness.

Third, Prince Georges County, the county in which Oxon Hill is located, has not benefited from a sound or comprehensive historical treatment. County-level studies have been conducted with little or no attention to economic or social patterns, focusing more on the history of the courthouse than on the lives of residents of the county. Some valuable general research has been done by various authors.

Fourth, Maryland's history is extremely accessible for primary research, due mainly to the existence of several well-developed repositories. Most important to this study were materials located at the Maryland Hall of Records in Annapolis. Among the most valuable records consulted were the estate inventories, land records, court cases, plats, and tax assessments. Another important Annapolis repository, the Maryland State Law Library, provided most of the nineteenth-century manuscript census data, along with a variety of additional secondary sources. The Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore was the most useful repository for cartographic information, although the library also offered many other secondary materials. The Maryland Historical Society library in Baltimore holds the Addison family papers along with other genealogical records and secondary sources. The Prince Georges County courthouse in Upper Marlboro contains the land records for the county, although these were more efficiently utilized at the Hall of Records. The vitally important Chancery Court Case (#1208) dealing with the insanity hearings of the last Oxon Hill Manor owner, Thomas E. Berry, is housed at the courthouse. Also useful was the Maryland collection of the University of Maryland, College Park. This collection was especially valuable as a source of theses and dissertations. The largest repositories, the Library of Congress and the National Archives, were the least useful for this study, as neither archive offered significant documentation not found elsewhere. An 1840 Maryland census at the National Archives was helpful.

Special mention should be made of a number of individuals whose cooperation made this research both more pleasant and more thorough. The initial research conducted by Silas Hurry at the Maryland Geological Survey and by his assistant, Lori Frye, was very helpful. Their assistance and cooperation are greatly appreciated. Harriet "Quinta" Castle, a descendant of the Addison family allowed us to consult her family papers.

### Archival Sources

Without attempting to evaluate the quality of all archives utilized, a brief commentary on the most important sources will be useful. The Addison family papers in the manuscript collection of the Maryland Historical Society proved to be of little value. Most of the collection deals with the family in the nineteenth century, after the sale of Oxon Hill Manor to the Berry family, and the little remaining material of value has been presented in the works of Murray (1895) and Castle (1957). The papers held by Harriet Castle, an Addison descendent living near Oxon Hill, Maryland, are also overwhelmingly from the nineteenth century, and deal mostly with the related Bayne and Leitch families. Ms. Castle's father drew his information on the pre-1810 Addisons from these and other public documents. No other Addison family papers, nor any private papers relating to the Berry family were located. Unlike public records, the private papers of Maryland's prominent planters have not survived in any abundance (Land 1967:470, 1969: 69; Marks 1979:174).

Among the most useful archival sources were inventories, accounts against deceased estates, land records (deeds), chancery papers, wills, marriage licenses, plats, census records, and tax assessments. Inventories list the personal property, including loans and debts, of individuals at the time of death. These documents describe the property of the deceased in great detail, listing all the items in individual rooms of their homes and in all outbuildings or other dependencies. They list the

number of slaves at various locations, such as on separate quarters or plantations, as well as all tools, livestock, and crops on hand. Inventories for Addison owners from 1727, 1765, and 1775 were especially helpful. The inventory for Zachariah Berry in 1845 was of no use, however, since Berry was not residing at Oxon Hill. The 1856 inventory of his son, the owner of Oxon Hill Manor at that time, contained only minimal information. The associated "accounts against deceased estates" provide auxiliary details regarding the settlements of estates.

Land records provided the essential data on the pattern of ownership of the estate. They also mentioned sales of parts of the original manor and offered some data on leasing. Careful examination of these records revealed that they excluded some relevant land transactions at Oxon Hill Manor, perhaps because they were not recorded. References to survey plats from 1809 by George Fenwick and from 1879 by William P. Latimer served only to frustrate research; neither plat was located, despite diligent searching.

Chancery records were scarce, but an invaluable civil case from the 1780s in which the minor, Walter Dulany Addison, sued his stepfather and mother for abusing his estate, contained extremely helpful information regarding the organization of the property. An accompanying plat, dated 1785, revealed some of the uses of the main lands and outlined the portion awarded his mother as a dower. The 1870s and 1880s case, dealing with insanity proceedings against Thomas E. Berry, included personal, financial, land use, tenancy, and other information. Both cases were extremely helpful in filling the vacuum left by the paucity of private papers.

Wills and management records assisted in filling genealogical gaps, and wills also offered important data on the inheritance of land. Among the plats not found in other records, the most significant was the 1767 "resurvey" of the original 3,663-acre estate.

Census records were one of the most crucial forms of documentation for this study. Research already performed by other scholars was examined at times, however, almost all of the analysis of censuses after 1790 was carried out during this study. The nineteenth century in Maryland has not yet been studied in anything approaching the depth of research afforded the colonial period. Even the all-important population, slave, and agricultural censuses from 1850 to 1880 have been barely touched. Unlike areas of the Cotton South, where some excellent studies of agriculture have been done, rural Maryland both before and after the Civil War remains an historiographical wasteland. Because of this, and also because of the absence of private papers, the nineteenth-century census material was analyzed in depth. Given the lack of site-specific maps or descriptions, the next best approach was to analyze the agricultural production of both owners and identifiable tenants within the context of local, regional, state, and Southern agriculture.

A final archival source absolutely essential to this report was the tax assessment collection of the Hall of Records in Annapolis. Tax assessments include data on the name, size, and value of the landholdings of all county residents--their real property--as well as documentation on the value of their personal property -- slaves, household furniture, plate, gold and silver watches, and livestock. Although the tax assessments for Prince Georges County are quite complete from 1790 to 1850, they have several gaps from 1850 to 1888. No assessments from the 1850s have survived. The special value of the tax assessments was in their delineation of the occupants of particular tracts of land. One of their weaknesses is that they do not always distinguish owners from occupants, as in the case of Thomas Berry. Berry occupied but did not own Oxon Hill Manor from 1812 to 1845, but the assessments do not indicate this fact. Another consideration when working with the assessments is that they were not completed every year. Changes which occurred in a given year may not have been recorded immediately.

## **Primary Printed Sources**

Among primary printed sources, the most useful single source was the *Reminiscences of the Reverend Jonathan Boucher* (1925). An Addison relative by marriage in the late eighteenth century, Boucher's feisty and often tactless commentary provided valuable personal information on various members of the Addison family in the years just before the American Revolution. Other printed sources of some value were the *Maryland Directories* of the late nineteenth century (1878, 1880, 1882, 1887), and the offerings by Fisher (1852), Higgins (1867) and Johns Hopkins University (1893). All of these sources offered statistical data on Prince Georges County agriculture, and the directories added material on the occupations of certain named individuals in the Oxon Hill area (1727-1734, 1745-1789). The *American Farmer* (1819-1897) and *The Planters' Advocate* (1851-1861) were of little use, as were newspapers even though the *Maryland Gazette* has been thoroughly indexed. Travelers' accounts provided almost nothing of value to this report. The bibliography does not include most of the travelers' accounts examined.

## **Secondary Sources: General Works**

Aubrey C. Land, one of Maryland's foremost historians, has written the most useful general study of colonial Maryland (1981). Based on more up-to-date research, it greatly supercedes the older works of such scholars as McSherry (1849) and Scharf (1879). The edited general history of Maryland by Walsh and Fox (1974) includes a chapter on the colonial period by Land. Middleton's study of the *Colonial Chesapeake* (1953), although more specialized, was of some value in providing an orientation to the overwhelming importance of Maryland's tobacco industry in the colonial period. Also of assistance for general colonial history were works by Gutheim (1949), Reys (1972), Tilp (1978) and Wilstach (1920, 1931). Gutheim and Wilstach's works are general histories covering both colonial and national periods. Tilp focuses on maritime history and reports on the development of urban areas along the river. None of these sources contained significant data on the Oxon Hill Manor estate itself.

The history of Maryland since independence has not yet received modern general historical treatment. For general trends the researcher must rely on the older studies or on the edited volume by Walsh and Fox. While helpful, the Walsh and Fox study does not reflect much of current research. In any case, few areas outside the city of Baltimore have been studied in any depth.

## **Secondary Sources: Previous Research on Oxon Hill Manor**

In 1957 Guy Castle, an Addison family descendant, published a newspaper article and an accompanying photograph of the old manor house. Castle's article did not cover the family in any depth, but it did offer a general outline of the ownership of Oxon Hill Manor and of the social status of the Addisons in the eighteenth century. In 1974 Barry Mackintosh prepared a report for the National Park Service on the new Oxon Hill Manor built near the old manor house site by Sumner Welles in 1929. His report contained some information on the old Oxon Hill Manor and was most useful for its partial chain of title of the old estate. Silas Hurry's 1984 report for the Maryland Geological Survey built on Mackintosh's information by exploring the history of the old Oxon Hill Manor in some depth. Hurry turned up a variety of valuable documents and conducted a general analysis of three estate inventories from the eighteenth century. Owing to lack of time and other

research difficulties, the report had only minimal information on the estate in the nineteenth century.

### **Secondary Sources: The Colonial Period**

Among the various specialized studies of colonial Maryland, studies by Clemens (1980), Craven (1965), Earle (1975), Kulikoff (1976), Land (1965, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1972), Gloria Main (1982), Menard (1973, 1975, 1977, 1980), Papenfuse (1972, 1975), Skaggs (1973), and Stiverson (1977a, 1977b) stand out. Most of these works are representative of the newer studies on social and economic history that employ statistical and demographic data. Clemens deals with the agricultural changes of the eighteenth-century Eastern Shore of Maryland, Earle with All Hallows Parish in Anne Arundel County on the Western Shore, Main and Menard with more general social, economic, and demographic trends in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and Skaggs with land ownership patterns in the eighteenth century. Stiverson's work is an important contribution to our understanding of colonial tenancy, even though his study deals with tenants on Lord Baltimore's private manors rather than those on the privately owned plantations. Kulikoff's studies, especially his dissertation, are the single most significant contribution to the history of colonial Prince Georges County, despite its somewhat narrow focus on slave life and slaveholding patterns. The works of Land and Papenfuse offer more general treatments of plantation society and are especially important in evaluating the social and economic structure of colonial agriculture.

Perhaps the single most influential study of Maryland history is Avery O. Craven's *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland* (1965). While no longer accepted completely by either Maryland or Virginia scholars, Craven's focus on soil exhaustion as the key factor in the agricultural evolution of the Maryland and Virginia Tidewaters has become the touchstone of virtually all agriculturally oriented histories.

Apart from Kulikoff's excellent research, Prince Georges County has not received the attention of modern scholars. The works of Bowie (1975), Heinton (1972), Van Horn (1976) and Watson (1962) tend to be superficial, although they are useful in a general introductory sense. Bowie and Heinton offer valuable genealogical data on the Addison and Berry families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. McGrath (1950) also presents useful genealogical information, while Land (1968) and Zimmer (1978) provide in-depth treatments of two eighteenth-century Addison family relatives, the Dulanys and the Reverend Jonathan Boucher.

### **Secondary Sources: The National Period**

The history of Maryland since the American Revolution has not received the same amount of modern treatment as has been applied to the colonial years. Although the city of Baltimore has received considerable attention in such works as Browne (1980) and in numerous articles of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, our understanding of modern Maryland must rely on scattered sources of uneven quality. The most useful general source is Walsh and Fox's edited study (1974), a work which treats the general outlines of nineteenth-century Maryland's politics, economy, society, and culture. Otherwise, the researcher is forced to rely on the less valuable older general histories by McSherry (1849) and Scharf (1879), among others.

The history of Prince Georges County in the nineteenth century has been boosted by a brief but insightful article by McCauley (1977), and by the same author's master's thesis (1973). Taken together, these studies examine general trends in Prince Georges County agriculture from 1840 until

1880. McCauley is particularly interested in explaining the influence of nearby urban centers on Prince Georges County agriculture patterns. Both works were of some assistance in the analysis of Prince Georges County agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century. Less helpful because of their extreme institutional orientation were Vivian Wiser's doctoral dissertation (1963) and her article on ante bellum agricultural reform (1969). Both examine the development of agricultural societies and publications rather than the actual changes in Maryland's agricultural practices on the farm and plantation, and neither focus on any particular region of Maryland. A brief and sometimes inaccurate study of Suitland, Prince Georges County, by Norton (1976) was of some use.

The most helpful source on Oxon Hill Manor itself was Elizabeth Hesselius Murray's *One Hundred Years Ago - The Life and Times of Walter Dulany Addison, 1769-1848* (1895). A descendant of the Addison family, Murray had access to private papers no longer available to either the family or researchers. Her research on the last Addison owner of Oxon Hill Manor, the Reverend Walter Dulany Addison, provided several details useful to our understanding of the operation of the estate from 1790 to 1810. The work's genealogical orientation limited its value for economic or more general social themes. Examination of the Addison family papers, both of the Maryland Historical Society and in the possession of Harriet Castle, revealed that Murray and Guy Castle had fully used all of this currently available documentation on Oxon Hill Manor. Murray's lack of attention to the spatial organization of Oxon Hill Manor suggests that she probably had no plats, drawings or descriptions of the estate in her possession, even in 1895.

Works dealing with the impact of the War of 1812 in Maryland, including those of Gleig (1836) and Marine (1913), were of no value. More surprising was the lack of helpful data in studies of the Civil War in Maryland. Civil War histories by Duncan (1962), Evitts (1974), Manakee (1961), Murfin (1965) and Toomey (1983) revealed no significant information about the Oxon Hill Manor area, largely because little activity took place in the region during the war years. Maryland was almost immediately occupied by Union troops, and most of the battles took place to the north of Washington D. C., at Antietam and Gettysburg.

One of Maryland's most unusual nineteenth-century social trends was the rapid growth of the free black population after the American Revolution. Since Walter Dulany Addison elected to free his own slaves around 1800, it was decided to investigate sources which might have dealt either with Addison specifically or with the phenomenon more generally. Studies of blacks by Berlin (1974), Douchett (1889), Brown (1972), Callicott (1969), Carroll (1961), Franklin (1943), Genovese (1974), Jackson (1942), Russell (1913), Wagandt (1964) and Wright (1921) are among the Maryland comparative studies consulted. In general, these studies provided a close picture of free black life in the ante-bellum period, but a less than satisfactory assessment of the trend toward manumitting slaves after the American Revolution. While religious conscience and the post-Revolutionary influence for equality and liberty are frequently mentioned, little attention is given to such economic factors as the decline in the tobacco economy, and almost no effort has been made to systematically examine the phenomenon by employing vigorous qualitative or quantitative techniques.

### Secondary Sources: The South

Placing the economic and social history of Oxon Hill Manor into its proper historical context necessitated research into general and comparative studies of Southern history. For general social trends in the colonial period the works of Bridenbaugh (1952) and Main (1965) were useful, especially



in conjunction with the social histories of Maryland by Land, Papenfuss, Kulikoff, and others. Phillips (1929) and Schlebecker (1975) were also helpful on trends in agricultural/social history. The most valuable single source on antebellum agriculture was Lewis Cecil Gray's classic, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (1941). Although outdated in many respects, Gray's work still remains not only a model of historical scholarship but also a veritable treasure-house of information on southern agricultural practices and trends. Like Craven's work, *Soil Exhaustion*, Gray's *History of Agriculture* appears as a point of departure for studying Southern agriculture.

As an outgrowth of long-standing interest in the Civil War and slavery and of periodic concern for the roots of black poverty, the topic of agricultural trends since 1860 has received considerable attention from historians. Although much of the research since the 1970s is very thorough and methodologically sophisticated, it still does not compare favorably in quantity or quality with the research which has been conducted on antebellum slavery. These inadequacies notwithstanding, a number of scholars have turned their attention to the impact of the Civil War on antebellum agricultural and labor patterns. Of particular interest has been the development of tenant labor systems to replace the old plantation and slave complex. Since one of the principal themes of this report is the organization and development of agricultural labor at Oxon Hill Manor in the nineteenth century, a brief evaluation of some of the literature seems appropriate.

Farm tenancy and labor patterns received little systematic attention from historians before the 1930s. Although tenancy expanded rapidly after the Civil War, it was not until 1880 that the census began to separate tenants and it was not until Goldenweiser and Truesdell (1924) examined tenancy that the issue received close attention. Goldenweiser and Truesdell, along with various sociologists, agricultural economists, and Farm Security Administration photographers in the 1930s worked out of feelings of concern for the apparently continuous association between tenancy and rural poverty from the late nineteenth century. Historians Mendenhall (1937) and Cox (1944) were the first scholars to address the issue on concrete historical terms, with Cox calling for more systematic research into the actual historical condition of tenancy (Brockington et al. 1985).

Slow to follow Cox's lead, historians did not fully address the tenancy issue until the 1970s. Armed with a variety of methodological tools, notably classical economic theory, various Marxist approaches, and cliometric analysis, historians of Southern agriculture since the 1970s have engaged in an often heated debate over the origins, nature, and historical impact of Southern tenancy. As Harold Woodman (1977) points out in his overview of part of this debate, all of these historians take the persistence of southern poverty as their point of departure. In one way or another, they attempt to explain why the emancipation of the slaves did not lead to the kind of yeoman farmer arrangements characteristic of areas outside the South and why the southern economy seemed to lag so far behind the rest of the nation.

From all of the studies it is evident that recently freed blacks did not receive land after the Civil War. Rather, planters attempted to renew the slave gang labor system of the antebellum plantations and to place individuals and groups of blacks under labor contracts. Blacks refused to accept labor contracts, choosing instead to flee to the North, to remain idle, or to insist upon some form of access to land. Within two or three years after the war various forms of tenancy had begun replacing labor contracts. The dominant form of tenancy was share-cropping, whereby the tenant received a part of the crop he produced in return for his labor. Some tenants paid fixed money rents, and a wide and complex variety of arrangements developed between the money rental and share-cropping systems. Historians studying tenancy and post-bellum agriculture are divided along lines too complex to be adequately addressed here. To generalize, the works of DeCanio (1975), Higgs (1977), Reid (1973)

and Shlomowitz (1979) tend to deny the impact of non-market forces, such as racism, on the development of post-bellum labor arrangements. Others, notably Mandle (1978), Ransom and Sutch (1977), Wiener (1978, 1979) and Woodman (1977) emphasize the role of non-market factors, pointing out that planters, the Freedman's Bureau, merchants, the Ku Klux Klan, and others obstructed, often with force, the operation of the "free market" in post-Civil War labor arrangements. Whatever the value of their conclusions, the works of the latter group of historians are much better grounded in empirical historical research. If nothing else, they ask the appropriate questions about the actual unfolding of events, rather than speculating upon what should have occurred. Wiener (1978), for example, examines the actual persistence of the antebellum planter elite in Alabama after the Civil War. Working from census and other data, he concludes that the Civil War destroyed neither the planter elite nor its landholding base, even if this group no longer owned slaves. Ransom and Sutch, and Mandle pay close attention to the relationship between market and non-market forces on labor systems. While Mandle offers a well-developed theoretical statement on the need to address non-market influences, Ransom and Sutch use classical economic theory to measure such non-market aspects of post-bellum economic life as the refusal of freed blacks to work as hard as under slavery and the impact of merchant and planter monopolistic control of credit.

The implications of these historical studies of post-Civil War agriculture for our understanding of Oxon Hill Manor derive more from the questions raised than the conclusions drawn. Given the time limitation for this report, moreover, it would not be possible to adequately research most of the issues raised. Although McCauley addresses some of these questions in his study of Prince Georges County, the key problem of determining precise patterns of the regional and subregional level remains. The analysis in this report of Maryland, Prince Georges County and of Spalding and Oxon Hill districts' agriculture in the nineteenth century, however, does attempt to evaluate and explain the effects of the Civil War and other nineteenth-century changes.

Most of the historical questions raised by historians of nineteenth-century agriculture and labor patterns in the south have not been explored by historians of Maryland. The most useful study, which deals only with antebellum agriculture, is an examination of St. Mary's County, Maryland, by Marks (1979). Like Kulikoff and other historians employing quantitative data, Marks analyzes the social evolution of the county by examining the actual distribution of wealth--land, slaves, housing, etc.--from 1790 to 1840. No other study of post-Revolutionary Maryland compares to Marks' level of analysis, placing it more comfortably within the recent histories of colonial Maryland. Two studies of nineteenth-century Virginia, however, offer information of comparative value: Schlotterbeck (1980) and Shifflett (1982). Both authors deal with Virginia counties in the nineteenth century, Schlotterbeck with Louisa County from 1860 to 1900. Both are useful as comparative studies, their value being limited to some extent by the fact that they treat Piedmont counties rather than the Tidewater counties which are more comparable to Oxon Hill Manor's historical environment.

## COLONIAL MARYLAND

### Settlement

When Colonel John Addison, the founder of what would come to be known as Oxon Hill Manor, stepped ashore in Maryland for the first time in 1674, he was not among the earliest arrivals in colonial Maryland. But he and his heirs would rise quickly in wealth, status, and political influence to join the ranks of Maryland's first families. Like most of these families, the Addisons would rise to prominence by virtue of their systematic acquisition of land and its effective exploitation by

growing tobacco with slave labor.

Maryland was settled after 1634 largely by indentured servants. Between 1634 and 1681, approximately seventy percent of all immigrants were servants, and almost all of them--as well as the free immigrants--were young, white males (Mitchell and Muller 1979:7). Maryland's seventeenth-century immigrants faced a difficult and hostile environment, due mainly to diseases such as malaria, dysentery, typhoid, pneumonia, and influenza. Few settlers reached the age of 50, and the shortage of females hindered the development of a native-born and more acclimatized population. The average age of marriage for seventeenth-century males was 30; the average age of women on the birth of their first child 25. One-quarter of the men never married (Main 1982:7-15).

Equipped with only a minimum of tools, but always carrying an ax and a hoe, the earliest immigrants advanced up the inlets, rivers, and creeks, "like figures in a frieze" (Gutheim 1949:45), staying close to the water's edge. Figure 15 (Glaser 1968:maps) is a general orientation map and Figure 16 (Mitchell and Muller 1979:8) shows this settlement pattern. The settlers occasionally encountered hostile Indians, but the dominant Piscataway groups tended to be more congenial than unfriendly. Combined with the devastating effects of European diseases, occasional warfare, and migration from the area, their receptive attitude eventually led to their effective demise in Maryland by the early eighteenth century (Gutheim 1949:24-28, 66-67). Historians estimate that Maryland contained about 11,000 native Americans in 1630 (Mitchell and Muller 1979:6).

Maryland in the seventeenth century was a land of opportunity for newly-arrived servants who were able to survive. Meticulous research on seventeenth-century servants reveals that most remained servants for less than five years, many becoming freehold farmers or planters and some moving into important positions in local government and society. The basis for their economic success was the "noxious weed," tobacco (Menard 1973:37-64).

## The Colonial Tobacco Economy

While opportunities to prosper with tobacco had two vital prerequisites, land and labor, the most successful immigrants were those already wealthy enough to bring servants along with them, for which they received grants of land, or successful enough to purchase servants once in the colony. Land along the rivers was gobbled up quickly in the seventeenth century, often patented in enormous tracts. Figure 17 shows the amount of land already patented by 1696 (Hienton 1972). John Addison had patented over 4,000 acres along the Potomac by 1700; Thomas Brooke owned over 11,000 acres (Land 1981:103).

The acquisition of land, however, was of little use without the labor to work that land. Moreover, tobacco's extremely labor-intensive cultivation made labor even more vital. In seventeenth-century Maryland, successful tobacco production depended heavily upon servant labor, and even freed servants had to use bonded labor because of the relatively small population of children and women who might have furnished labor on family-based farms. The colonial tobacco economy, however, experienced a complex series of changes in the latter seventeenth century which tended to push production more and more toward the use of slave labor. Price fluctuations, a decline in the availability of indentured servants, the slow growth of a native-born population, and the increasing availability of African slaves all contributed to this change (Main 1982: 16-27, 97-123).

Before discussing the far-reaching implications of the transition toward slave labor, a few comments on the general trends of the tobacco economy are in order. Like most staple-crop, export-oriented

economies, Maryland's tobacco economy experienced all the advantages and disadvantages of its heavy dependence on a single crop. Falling prices ruined planters or forced retrenchment into self-sufficiency, while rising prices made small and often large fortunes. Periods of warfare could be especially devastating. In the seventeenth century the secular economic trend of tobacco plantations in Maryland was downward, but frequent short-term rises allowed for considerable success. From 1680 to 1720, prices generally declined and the tobacco-oriented planters and farmers endured difficult times. After 1720, and especially after 1730, the economy grew slowly until 1750 when tobacco entered a boom period, called Maryland's "Golden Age" by Aubrey Land, which lasted until just before the Revolution (Land 1981:158). Kulikoff's detailed research on the eighteenth-century economy points to the expansion of British demand for tobacco as well as grains, the secure and growing market offered by the French tobacco monopoly after 1738, and the surge in available credit from the newly-arrived Scottish merchants and other factors as the basis for rapid economic growth after 1730. The Scottish factors were especially active along the Potomac, although large planters tended to favor consignment over direct sale to the factors. Also important was the establishment of tobacco inspection warehouses and public landings in Maryland after 1747. Finally, historians point to the increasing productivity of slave labor as a significant cause of tobacco expansion. As more and more slaves were born in the Chesapeake area, planters had less and less need to buy slaves. Moreover, native-born slaves tended to be healthier and to live longer. All of these changes lowered planter costs and helped to boost productivity. Tobacco exports from the Chesapeake grew from 40,606,000 pounds in 1730 to 53,206,000 in 1742 and to about 100,000,000 pounds by the 1770s. (Kulikoff 1976:100-120, 1979b:275-288; Land 1981:157, 1969:69-80; Price 1980:passim; Brune 1979:71-84; Thompson 1978:15-25; Papenfuse 1975:passim; Clemens 1980:113-119; Earle 1978:51-65; Earle and Hoffman 1976:21-28; Wyckoff 1936:passim; Tyler 1978:247-248). Maryland produced 33,495,000 pounds or 34.6 percent of the 96,767,000 American total in 1772; Virginia produced most of the remainder (Papenfuse 1975:222; Price 1980:162). Earle (1975:17-18) notes that the price of tobacco in 1769 was four times greater than in 1747, although the severity of price fluctuation was greater than before 1747.

While the general eighteenth-century trend in economic growth was upward, not all planters experienced the same good fortune. Frequent and often drastic short-term price declines generated an uneven pattern of growth, generally favoring the larger, wealthier, and therefore more flexible planters (Clemens 1980:113-119). Although biased toward wealthier households, eighteenth-century estate inventories clearly indicate rising living standards after 1720 within this pattern. They show the growing presence of such amenities as earthenware, linens, forks, and spices in many homes for the first time. Especially after 1755, growing income was often applied toward better homes, barns, tobacco houses, and other structures. Throughout the period planters spent excess income or utilized British credit to purchase slaves (Kulikoff 1979b:275-288).

Despite the general growth in prosperity from the tobacco-based economy of the eighteenth century, there is evidence to suggest that tobacco planters were not in as secure a position as might be expected. The evidence of the long-term viability of tobacco at the end of the colonial period is inconclusive, complex, and often contradictory. Historians debate the issue by analyzing such factors as planter indebtedness, soil exhaustion, stagnant technology, changing markets, and competition from newly-settled areas. Distilling some of this literature, it appears that the most successful planters were often the most diversified, as farmers and as capitalists. The ability to retreat

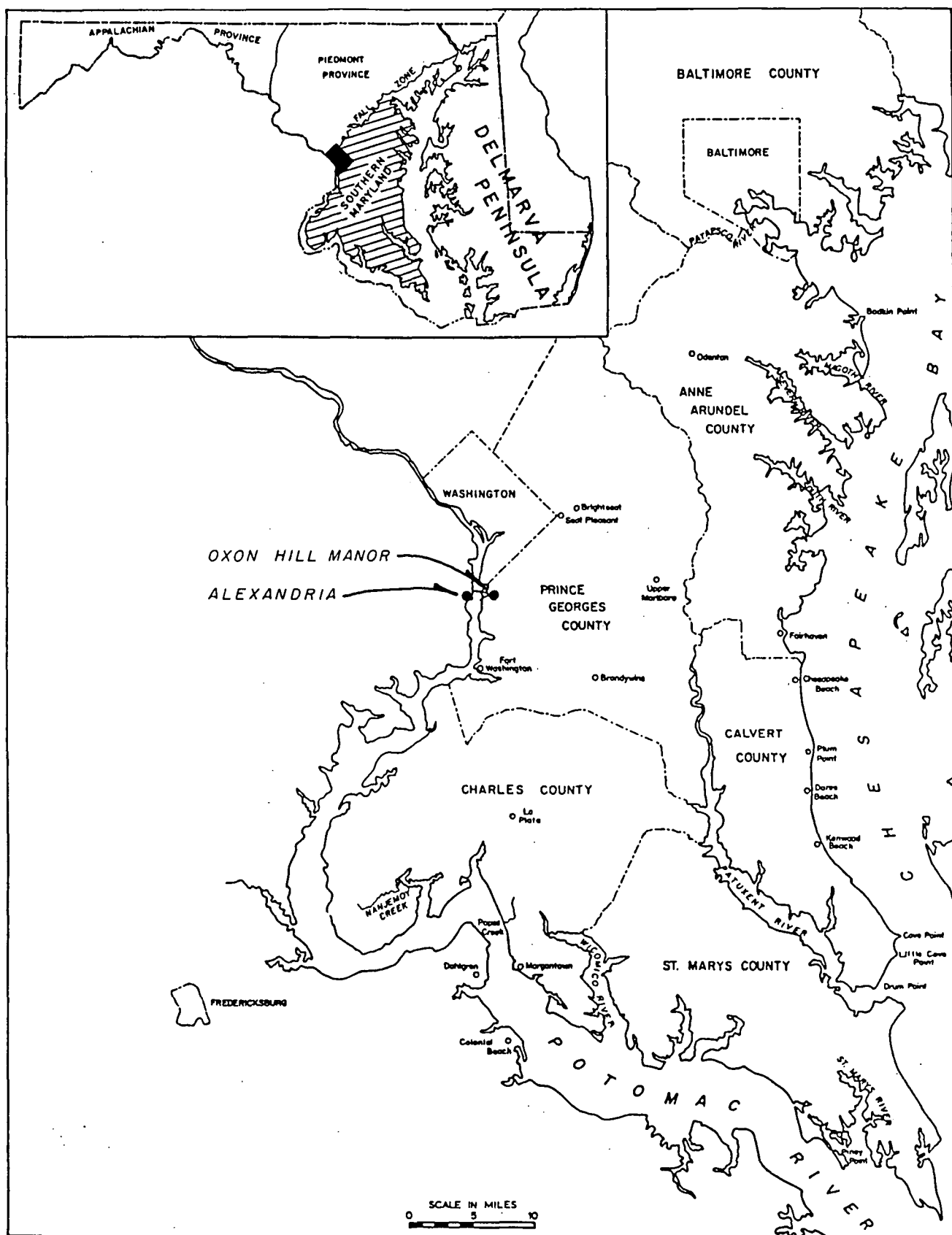


FIGURE 15. Southern Maryland, with Oxon Hill Manor.

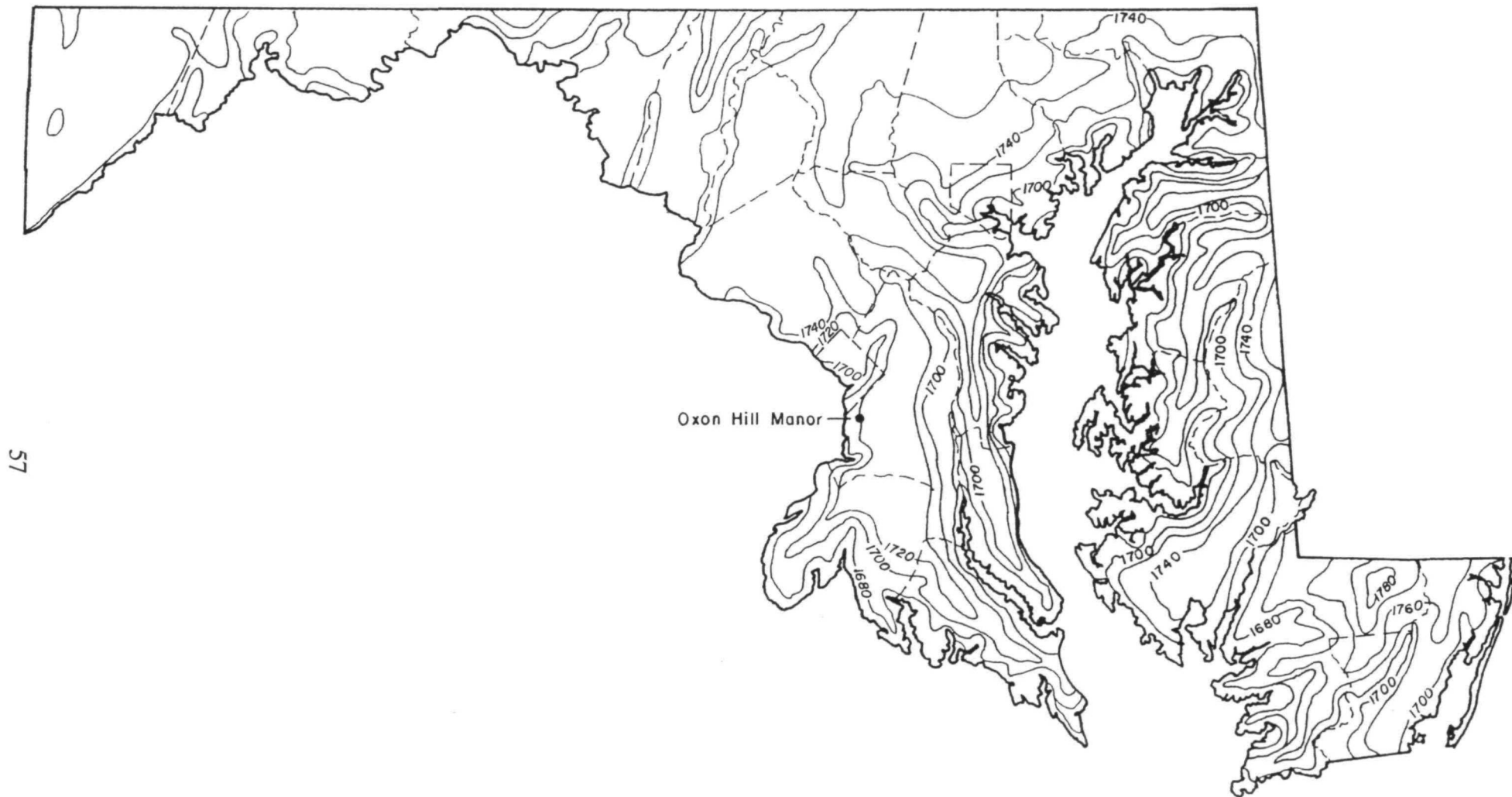


FIGURE 16. Maryland Settlement Expansion, 1640 - 1800.

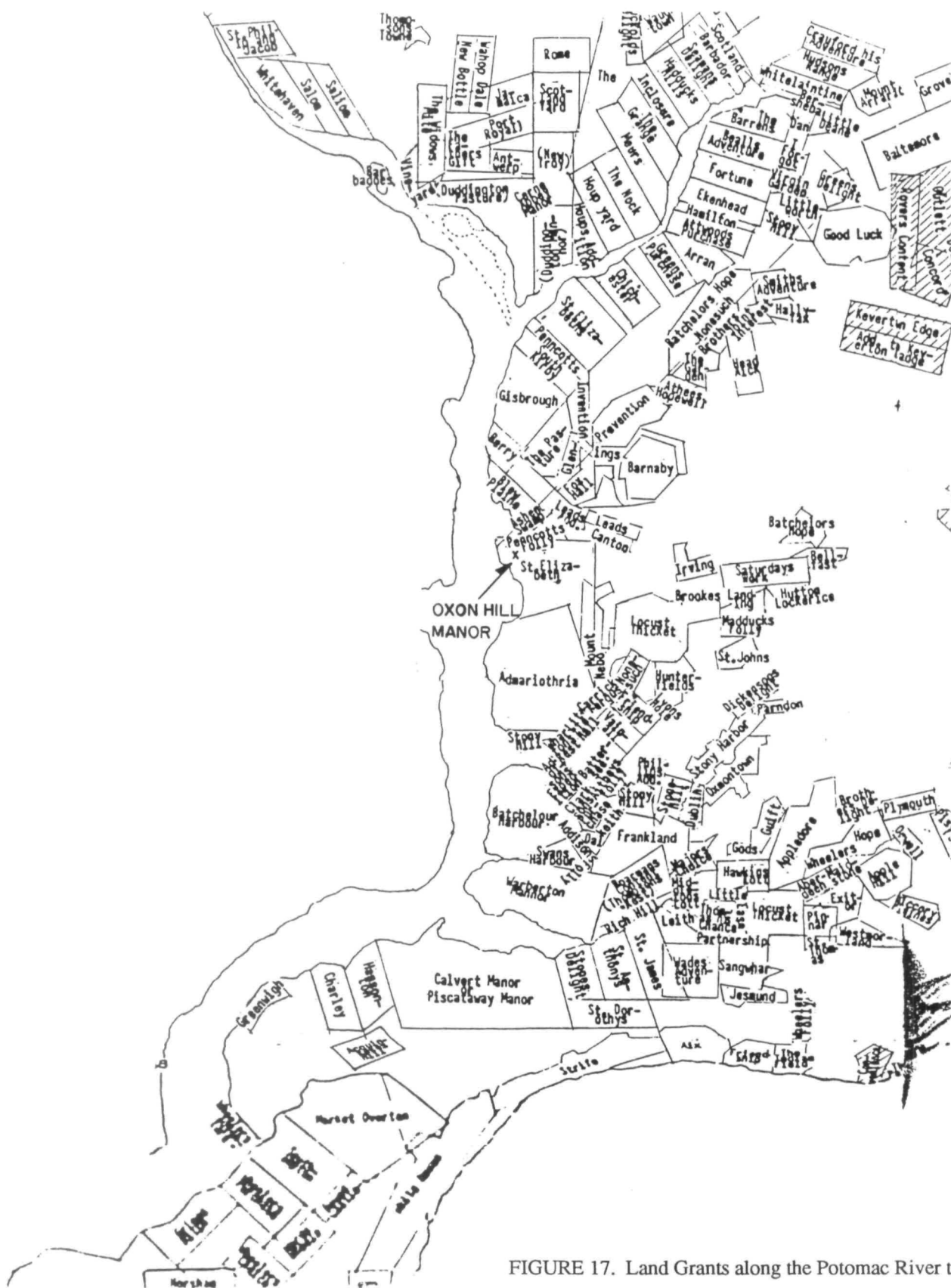


FIGURE 17. Land Grants along the Potomac River to 1696.

into self-sufficiency in hard times was another advantage for the more adept planters. Some farmers shifted away from tobacco toward wheat and other grains. This occurred on a massive scale on Maryland's Eastern Shore from the 1720s onward, and wheat became the dominant crop of the fastest-growing areas of both Maryland and Virginia after 1750. Tobacco, however, continued to rule on the Western Shore where the soils were more suited to tobacco production. Earle and Hoffman have analyzed the greater profitability of tobacco production on the Western Shore as based primarily on the fact that the cost of slaves in a labor-intensive crop was lower than the cost of free wage labor in wheat on the Eastern Shore. Combined with other price and cost factors, tobacco production on the Western Shore continued to make economic sense (Earle and Hoffman 1976:30-39, 68-73; Kulikoff 1976:105, 1979b:281-282; Barker 1940:66; Earle 1978:51-65; Craven 1965:59-62; Walsh and Fox 1974:81-84). Trends in tobacco production after the American Revolution will be discussed in-depth later.

## **The Colonial Social Order**

### **Demographic Trends**

Dominated by indentured servant immigrants in its earliest decades, Maryland society by the late seventeenth century had begun to make the transition toward the more familiar plantation pattern based on African slave labor. By the 1690s slave imports exceeded servant arrivals, and by 1697 slaves made up about ten percent of Maryland's approximately 30,000 total population. By 1710 the slave population reached nearly 20 percent (18.6), or about 8,000 of Maryland's 43,000 total population. Both slave and white populations continued to grow rapidly, and by 1762 slaves numbered about 48,600, or approximately 30 percent of Maryland's 162,000 total population (Land 1981:274).

The transition from servants to slaves was due mainly to availability and therefore to cost. Servants cost from £10 to £20 and generally served for four years before becoming free. Owners also had to pay freedom dues, usually an extra suit of clothing, a hoe, and some corn. Slaves cost more than servants, from £5 to £35, but their services were purchased for life and their children became part of the owner's property. By 1720 approximately one-quarter of Maryland's planters held slaves, although most owned only from one to four. Only six percent of the planters held more than ten slaves and only two percent over 20. Small planters, those with estates valued at less than £100, owned no slaves but made up over two-thirds of all Maryland households in 1720. As the slave population grew in the eighteenth century, the percentage of slave holders also increased. By 1760 nearly half (46 percent) of Maryland's planters owned slaves, although over half of these held five or fewer. A few planters held 20 to 50 slaves in 1760, and a very few owned a hundred or more distributed among several quarters (Land 1981:162-167).

### **The Colonial Social Structure**

Historians have been careful in recent years to avoid the stereotyped "moonlight-and-magnolias" image of colonial Southern society derived from the lives of the Revolutionary leaders or from *Gone With the Wind* (Land 1965:653). While long aware of the truly historical nature of colonial society, only in the past few decades have historians systematically applied quantitative methods to colonial social analysis. Influenced by such historians as Aubrey Land and Jackson Turner Main (1965), several historians of colonial Maryland have employed such materials as estate inventories, census



data, and tax records to enhance and build upon earlier, more qualitative studies. The works of Gloria Main (1982), Menard (1973, 1975, 1977, 1980), Earle (1975) and Kulikoff (1976) are particularly important, and an effort will be made here to highlight some of their principal findings.

Although a highly-visible planter-merchant elite dominated economic, social, and political life in colonial Maryland, small producers dominated numerically. Table 3 shows that households valued at less than £100 made up at least half of all households in eighteenth-century Maryland, even during the expansive years after 1750. Rich planters such as the Addisons were never more than a small minority.

The material conditions of life for Maryland's various planter families have been examined in great detail by Maryland's colonial historians. Planters at the bottom of the social scale lived modestly, most of their possessions being livestock, tools, bedding, and a few household utensils. Livestock might include a saddle horse, a few hogs and cows, and probably some poultry. Most plantation complexes were unpretentious and unattractive, even ramshackle, since tobacco producers did not typically remain in any single location for more than a few years. Because tobacco exhausted the soil, and because most planters did not manure or otherwise fertilize the soil, the common practice was to abandon the land and associated houses, tobacco barns, and out-buildings every few years.

Even the homes of most planters tended to be rudimentary affairs of one, two, or perhaps three rooms; furnished with benches rather than chairs, without curtains or windows and heated by a brick fireplace at one end. Only the wealthiest planters built the large, two-story brick mansions with lawns, gardens, orchards, outbuildings, and separate slave quarters (Main 1982:239; Land 1981:162-167; Earle 1975:101-140).

As Table 3 indicates, poor planters persisted as the numerical majority of all households in the eighteenth century before the Revolution. Almost none of these planters owned slaves or servants, while most estates valued above £2,100 showed one or more slaves. By the 1750s, economic growth had reduced the percentage of small planters, but not their numbers, and expanded the percentage of middling planters, those whose estates were valued at £101 to £1000 (Land 1981:278-281).

Table 3. Percentage/Distribution of Gross Estates in Maryland.

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Size of Estate	1690-1699	1710-1719	1730-1739	1750-1759
0-100 pounds	72.5	69.4	59.9	50.8
100-1,000 pounds	25.7	28.2	36.7	41.9
1,001 and above pounds	1.7	2.1	3.4	7.2

---

Source: Land 1981:162

Aubrey Land suggests that most colonial planters were poor by modern standards, although almost all entered the market economy with their tobacco crops. To support his statement he calculated tobacco production levels for the four lower Western Shore counties--Prince Georges, Charles, Calvert, St. Mary's--between 1750 and 1759, when the slave population was about two-fifths (38 percent in 1755) of the total (Kulikoff 1976:93-94). Land determined that 40 percent of all producers

grew between 1,000 and 2,000 pounds of tobacco annually, another 40 percent produced 2,001 to 5,000 pounds, 18 percent harvested 5,001 to 10,000 pounds, and only 2 percent produced over 10,000 pounds each year. The low levels of the bottom 40 percent of tobacco planters reflect the fact that no producer at such levels enjoyed the benefit of a single slave, since 1,000 to 2,000 pounds was the average for one laborer. Higher levels of production suggest the presence of slave labor (Land 1967:471-475).

Great wealth in colonial Maryland depended upon more than tobacco planting. Maryland's richest men gained their wealth by diversifying their interests into commerce, banking, manufacturing, land speculation, political office-holding for fees, and other activities; most also planted tobacco. By the 1770s Maryland's elite families had developed a strong sense of identity "strengthened by common interests and reinforced by intermarriage within the charmed circle" (Land 1981:774). Land offers examples of such kinship networks: the Eastern Shore Lloyds married into the Tilghmans, Chews, and Pacas; the four daughters of Benjamin Tasker married, respectively, Governor Samuel Ogle, Daniel Dulany The Younger, Christopher Lowndes of Bladensburg and Robert Carter of Nomini Hall in Virginia. Kinship charts of the first families became, Land adds, "a tangled net, with filiations that baffle the eye" (Land 1981:276). The extreme case occurred within the Addison family of Oxon Hill Manor, when Colonel Thomas Addison (1679-1727) became by marriage both brother-in-law and father-in-law to Richard Smith. He accomplished this by marrying Richard's sister, Eleanor Smith, and also by marrying Smith's daughter by an earlier marriage. Intermarriage among the Brice, Beale, and Worthington families resulted in the remarkably named descendant, Brice Thomas Beale Worthington (Land 1981:276; Land 1967:476-482; Johnson 1908:69-71).

### Colonial Prince Georges County

The area of Maryland which became Prince Georges County in 1695 was settled well after the arrival of the first immigrants in the 1630s. Until late in the seventeenth century, fear of Indian hostility along the Potomac and the superior tobacco lands along the Patuxent River directed settlers northward along the Patuxent River and westward into the river's watershed. As the Indian danger subsided and as available land along the Patuxent divided up, new arrivals began to patent lands and establish plantations along the Potomac. Settled somewhat later, Prince Georges County did not pass through a period in which servant labor dominated the economy. Slave labor came with the turn-of-the-century settlers, and by 1705 slaves made up about one-third of the county's population. Their numbers would reach about one-half of the county's population in 1769 (Kulikoff 1976:15, 112-120, 319).

One of the best means to understand the social order which developed in eighteenth-century Prince Georges County is to examine the patterns of wealth distribution. Table 4 shows the percentage of slaves on plantations of various sizes between 1658 and 1790.

The figures to 1730 include neighboring Charles County. The 1776 data underestimates the percentage of slaves on large plantations, because the 1776 census did not include the eastern or Patuxent River side of the county where most of the wealthiest planters lived.

Although Table 4 demonstrates that slaveholding became concentrated during the eighteenth century, the properties of households owning slaves also increased from 25-30 percent in 1706-1710 to 52 percent by 1776. Many of the slaveowners in 1776, however, were not landowners, but tenants. Fully 60 percent of all county householders in 1776 were tenants, and 40 percent of the tenants (17 percent of all householders) owned slaves (Kulikoff 1976:185-186, 123-124).

Table 4. Percentage of Slaves on Plantations of Various Sizes

<u>Period</u>	<u>1-2 Slaves</u>	<u>3-5 Slaves</u>	<u>6-10 Slaves</u>	<u>11-20 Slaves</u>	<u>21+ Slaves</u>
1658-1710	12	17	22	21	28
1721-1730	6	11	19	20	44
1731-1740	6	11	26	34	24
1741-1750	5	9	18	22	48
1751-1760	3	8	17	28	44
1761-1770	4	9	22	31	35
1771-1779	2	8	17	18	55
1776	7	13	24	25	32
1790	3	8	13	23	52

Source: Kulikoff 1976:185-186

The expansion of slavery in Prince Georges County was very rapid in the eighteenth century. By 1755 the slave population of the county, along with those of Calvert and Anne Arundel counties, was 40 percent. In 1776, 39.1 percent of the population of the Potomac side of Prince Georges County--the poorer side--was slave (Papenfuse 1972:300).

By 1783 the county contained 8,919 slaves, or 48 percent of the total county population of 18,527. Only Anne Arundel County had a larger black population (9,277), although blacks made up 47 percent of that county's total population of 19,851. In fact, no Maryland county surpassed Prince Georges percentage of blacks (Kulikoff 1976:431-33).

Within Prince Georges County itself, slaveholding patterns by the 1780s varied somewhat among the administrative units called Hundreds. Slave percentages along the Potomac River were lower than along the more tobacco-oriented Patuxent River. The Potomac Hundreds held slave populations ranging from 30 to 40 percent of the total, while the Upper Marlboro area near the Patuxent contained 60 percent slaves. Oxon Hundred, the administrative unit in which Oxon Hill Manor was located in 1783, contained only 30 percent slaves, due mainly to the high proportion of tenant households (66 percent) in that hundred (Kulikoff 1976:204-206, 373, 532).

As plantations grew larger, slaves tended to be moved onto quarters located away from the owner's house. In mid eighteenth-century Prince Georges County a quarter might be one of the outbuildings, a separate small structure, or part of a collection of dwellings. Slave cabins ranged from 12 by 12 feet to 16 by 20 feet and were cheaply furnished with straw bedding, empty barrels for chairs, a few cooking utensils, and a grindstone or handmill for grinding corn. Most quarters also had livestock and vegetable gardens nearby. They were usually placed close to the plantation owners' tobacco, corn, or other fields (Kulikoff 1976:204-206). The distribution of slave ownership among slaveowners was very unequal, as Table 4 shows. By 1776, 52 percent of all households owned slaves, but most owned only a small number while a few held dozens or even hundreds. Most slaveowners were also landowners, although 17 percent of the county's households were slaveowning tenants. Some landowners and tenants also rented slaves (Kulikoff 1976:125).

Land and slave ownership varied considerably within Prince Georges County in the latter eighteenth century. The 1776 Census of the Potomac River Hundreds shows a range of non-slaveowning tenants from 32 percent to 66 percent of all households, indicating that even land ownership had become virtually impossible for a substantial proportion of county residents. The figure of 66 percent was for Oxon Hundred, the location of Oxon Hill Manor in 1776. Large landowners like the Addisons and Roziers and the merchant-planter Christopher Lowndes retained thousands of acres of land and rented parcels to the numerous tenants (Kulikoff 1981:122, 146).

While a complete understanding of the distribution of wealth in eighteenth-century Prince Georges County is not yet possible, considerable evidence on the structure of landholding and the excellent studies of Papenfuse (1972), Earle (1972) and Kulikoff (1976) strongly argue that by 1776, before the opening of the West, Maryland society in general and Prince Georges County society in particular, had become somewhat ossified and closed. The data presented by Land (1965, 1967, 1968, 1981) support these assertions, although Land does not address the issue directly. While the classic study by Craven (1965) came to the same conclusion, the newer studies use different arguments and reject Craven's assertion that soil exhaustion was the basic cause of social inequality by the late colonial period. Craven argued that destructive agricultural practices had exhausted the soils of Maryland and Virginia by 1776 and that the resulting lower agricultural production with population pressure was forcing the tenants to migrate to new lands (Craven 1965:59-62). In a direct assault on the Craven thesis, Papenfuse argues convincingly that the soil was not exhausted and that average yields had not declined, but agrees that population pressure was creating a crowded situation. Papenfuse's study is based on trends within Prince Georges County (1972:passim).

Papenfuse calculated the size of average land holdings and pointed out that both landowners and leaseholders, who made up over half of all planters, suffered no shortage of available land for planting tobacco. Average holdings in 1776 were about 168 acres, or 154 acres when discounting the statistically biasing reports of land holders over 500 acres. He also challenges Craven's notions about soil exhaustion, asserting that planters exhausted portions of their landholdings very consciously. Once the soil was exhausted by tobacco in three or four years, planters simply moved to fresh lands. Given the distribution of available labor in Prince Georges County leaseholds in 1776, the average size of land holdings was more than adequate to provide planters with new land when needed (Papenfuse 1972:297-310).

Rejecting inadequate land and poor agricultural methods as the basis of economic difficulties by 1776, Papenfuse's and the other newer studies direct their attention to the distribution of labor and to the growing presence of tenancy. Almost all landowners owned slaves while most tenants did not. Although 40 percent of Prince Georges County tenants owned slaves in 1776, most of these owned only one or two at most. The 1776 census indicates that 71.0 percent of all tenants had one or fewer slaves (Papenfuse 1972:304; Kulikoff 1976:185-186). Papenfuse profiles the typical landholder and tenant in 1776 Prince Georges County by calculating that the average landowner owned slaves and farmed about 150 acres of land while the average tenant owned no slaves and farmed about 100 acres. He concludes that by 1776 "the limit of opportunity in a staple economy" had been reached in Prince Georges County. Although soil exhaustion was not the principal cause, many residents were migrating from the county while others remained and struggled with difficult economic conditions (Papenfuse 1972:300,310). Kulikoff's study of Prince Georges County draws the same conclusions for more or less the same reasons (Kulikoff 1976:407-419).

Skaggs (1973) presents additional data on landholding in Prince Georges County in the eighteenth century. Economic growth in Maryland after 1720, he observes, pushed land values ever higher and increasingly reduced the ability of the less wealthy to purchase land. While rates varied, the pattern

of increasing tenancy was the same in the four counties he studied: Baltimore, Prince Georges, Queen Annes, and Talbot. Overall, land ownership in the four counties declined from 44.0 percent in 1756 to 37.0 by 1771. In Prince Georges County the decline was from 38.9 to 31.6 percent, so that by 1771 less than one-third of all Prince Georges County householders owned land. Median land ownership was 157-209 acres, not unlike figures given by other researchers (Skaggs 1973:39-49). Skaggs also offers details on the distribution of land ownership, as shown in Table 5 (Skaggs 1973:43).

Table 5. Distribution of Landownership in Prince Georges County, 1756 and 1771

<u>No. Acres</u>	<u>% Landowners 1756</u>	<u>% Landowners 1771</u>
1 - 49	5.5	5.8
50 - 99	11.5	9.4
100 - 149	20.1	20.5
150 - 199	10.4	10.6
200 - 249	11.1	11.8
250 - 299	7.5	5.2
300 - 399	9.3	10.1
400 - 499	5.7	5.8
500 - 599	5.1	6.2
600 - 699	6.9	7.1
1000 - 1499	3.2	3.1
1500 and over	3.8	4.5
	100.1	100.1

Source: Kulikoff 1976:201-202

While the pattern of land ownership between 1756 and 1771 did not alter significantly among landowners, the table underscores the unequal distribution of land among county landholders. In 1756 almost half (47.5 percent) of all landowners held less than 200 acres; in 1771 the distribution was similar, with 46.3 percent under 200 acres.

Studies of tenancy in eighteenth-century Maryland by Stiverson (1977b) and in All Hallow's Parish, Anne Arundel County by Earle (1972) make similar arguments to Stiverson's analysis. Stiverson's analysis focuses on the structure of tenancy on Lord Baltimore's proprietary manors, where tenants paid lower rents and held longer-term leases than on private estates. His research, however, also incorporates data on private tenant arrangements. Tenancy increased in eighteenth-century Maryland, just as it expanded in Prince Georges County, from one-third of all landholdings in 1700 to over one-half by the 1770s (Papenfuse 1972:301-302). By the 1760s the average proprietary leasehold was about 140 acres, similar to Papenfuse's 154 for Prince Georges County, although the land tended to be of poor quality (Stiverson 1977b:xiii-55).

The tenants were generally poor, owned no slaves, and lived in small houses without flooring and without brick chimneys. The 13 tenements of George Nater, a wealthy planter in St. Mary's County, averaged 16 feet by 28 feet in 1802. Only three had brick chimneys, the rest being wattle and daub or

wood lined with brick, clay, or stone. In the lower Western Shore the average proprietary tenant house was 16-17 feet by 24-25 feet, two or three rooms, with a wood frame covered in clapboard. Most had dirt floors with occasional planking away from the fireplace, made of wood and clay and a loft for storage or sleeping. The common storage buildings on tenant lands were tobacco houses, usually 500 to 650 square feet in size. Few had corncribs or livestock shelter, although almost all tenants owned livestock. Over half of all tenements had orchards, with apples predominating over peaches. Orchards may not have been as typical of private tenements, however, since proprietary tenants were required to plant 100 fruit trees. Average tenant households included six children, which undoubtedly made living very crowded. Pointing out that very little literary evidence is available on poor whites in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake, Stiverson supports the observations of the Marquise de Chastell, a French traveler in 1780-1782 who referred to the "miserable huts inhabited by whites, whose wane (sic) looks and ragged garments bespeak poverty" (Stiverson 1977b:56-84).

Stiverson asserts that unlike other parts of Maryland in the latter eighteenth century, the lower Western Shore made little progress toward agricultural diversification. Tobacco, he explains, continued to dominate for several reasons. First, its labor-intensive nature kept slaves fully employed in an economy where few alternative opportunities were available. Second, methods of cultivation and an efficient marketing system were well established. The presence of Scottish and English factors offering credit was especially important to the tenants, even if they tended to lock tenants--and larger planters--into tobacco production. Third, and this was again important to tenants, tobacco production required few tools. Finally, tobacco required much less land than alternative crops (Stiverson 1977b:92-93).

Like Papenfuse, Stiverson rejects Craven's argument that soil exhaustion was a significant factor at this time. He points out that most tenant farms produced only about 1,000 pounds of tobacco annually, on one to three acre tracts. Corn typically took up 15 acres and may have been even more destructive to the soil than tobacco. Most corn was consumed by the residents or their livestock, along with any vegetables or fruit grown on the tenement. Stiverson concludes that land shortages and soil exhaustion do not explain growing poverty in late colonial Maryland. Rather, the explanation lies in the low returns of small-scale agriculture, an agriculture usually without slave labor, without new and more valuable crops, and with large families consuming most of the surplus (Stiverson 1977b:85-142).

Writing of eighteenth-century All Hallow's Parish, located in Anne Arundel County across the Patuxent River from Prince Georges County, Carville Earle also assesses the growth of tenancy. In that parish, he notes, the number of households grew by 73 percent from 1707 to 1783 while the number of landowners grew by only 12.7 percent. This led to an increase of tenancy from about one-fifth of all households in 1670 to one-third in 1699 to about one-half by 1783. Growing populations and the associated rise in land values was at the root of increased landlessness, and by the latter eighteenth century most tenants in the parish farmed about 100 acres (Earle 1972:203-212; Giddens 1933:158-159). Earle and Stiverson observe that "developmental leasing," or leases by which tenants were required to improve the leasehold, were very common by the late eighteenth century on both private and proprietary estates. Capital improvements typically included the planting of fruit trees, clearing land, building and maintaining a dwelling house, fencing, and restrictions on cutting wood. Other requirements varied according to the situation, although the overwhelming tendency for leases to be oral rather than written agreements severely limits our full understanding of the phenomenon. Like Papenfuse, Stiverson, Craven and Earle believe that population pressure in All Hallow's Parish was reaching a critical point by 1776 (Earle 1972:212-213; Stiverson 1977b:8-11).

In his analysis of All Hallow's Parish, Earle offers an assessment of social and economic patterns

which may have been repeated, at least to some extent, in Prince Georges County. He stresses the pervasiveness of tobacco, reflected in such visual features as tobacco barns, abandoned fields, the absence of substantial urban centers, the scattered distribution of rural plantations, and gangs of black slaves. He points out that comparative data on the American Colonies in the 1770s, compiled in an extraordinary study by Alice Hansen Jones (1980), shows the average Chesapeake planter of 1770 to be wealthier than all other individuals along the Atlantic seaboard, "with the single exception of Charleston, South Carolina and its environs (Earle 1975:3)." Despite growing poverty in the county, it appears that the economic position of Prince Georges County planters may have been quite sound at that time.

Earle also examines the organization and development of plantation agriculture in eighteenth-century All Hallow's Parish. He differs with Craven's emphasis on soil exhaustion as a factor which seriously undermined the economy during the century. While he agrees that tobacco exhausted the soil in three or four years, he explains that planters generally followed with corn for one or two years, then shifted to fresh lands. In seven years the "old field" could produce firewood and in 20 years board lumber--and tobacco again. Earle sees no long-term decline in tobacco yields in this era, and calculates that a laborer could produce about 1,800-1,900 pounds of tobacco a year with 10,000 plants on two to three acres. He adds that continued clearing did lead to a depletion of the woodlands in the parish as early as 1730 (Earle 1975:18-29).

All Hallow's Parish planters did not use manure on tobacco, Earle asserts, because it kept tobacco green and growing too long. Corn, however, was manured, and some tenants penned tobacco fields to collect manure. Fertilizers such as lime, marl, or plaster of paris were not used, and only the exceptional planter adopted crop rotations with legumes, grasses, or turnips. Although planters did not attempt to improve previously cultivated soils by crop rotation, they were not entirely dependent on tobacco. As early as 1710, 10 percent of the parish plantations grew wheat, a figure which reached almost 50 percent by 1750 as markets opened in Southern Europe and the West Indies. Planters also grew peas, beans, oats, rye, barley and flax, developed orchards for cider and brandy, and diversified their livestock. Draft oxen were rare, since most planters used horses, not steers, for pulling plows. Earle stresses the fact that such diversification represented a sensible response to the exigencies of the fluctuating tobacco market; that is, a defensive ability to become self-sufficient when tobacco prices were low (Earle 1975:101-140).

The eighteenth-century social and economic structure of Talbot County, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, has been analyzed in some depth by Paul Clemens (1975, 1980). Clemens observes that by the 1730s, 53.3 percent of all householders were tenants and that 78.0 percent of all householders owned no slaves. Moreover, among the 22 percent of households owning slaves, 81.2 percent (or 17.5 percent of all householders) owned from one to five slaves. Tenants in 1730s Talbot County rented only about 50 acres of land and lived a typically primitive lifestyle. Tenants, however, lived considerably better than agricultural laborers. Among the landowners, only nine percent owned over 1,000 acres, while 38 percent owned from 200 to 1,000 acres and 53 percent under 200 acres. The same 53 percent figure held for landowners under 200 acres in 1756. Landed planters without slaves, Clemens notes, owned about double the personal property of tenants but lived in quite similar fashion.

The real change in material conditions occurred among the slaveholding landowners. Typically they lived in spacious brick homes with separate kitchens, and with pewterware and silver plate in addition to earthenware. Most had large gardens and orchards and most planted several market crops. Although generally twice as wealthy as other landowners (excluding the value of slaves), about half of all slaveholders owned less than 200 acres of land. Most leased some land to tenants. Perhaps

more dramatic was the distribution of total wealth in 1730s Talbot County. The 30 men who dominated Talbot County, a group of lawyers, merchants, agricultural entrepreneurs, and provincial officeholders, owned an average of £2,700 each. They made up only two percent of the county's non-dependent population but controlled 45 percent of its property. The bottom third of society, the sharecroppers, laborers, and tradesmen, owned just 2 percent of the wealth (Clemens 1980:144-161).

The implications of the foregoing analysis of colonial Maryland, Prince Georges County, and other regions will be more fully addressed in the site-specific section which follows. By way of summary, however, a few general observations will be useful. First, tobacco was the driving force of the colonial economy, even before slaves replaced indentured servants in the eighteenth century. As in most staple-based colonial economies, Maryland suffered the short-term drastic swings in prices and the limitations of dependence on foreign markets. Second, the eighteenth-century secular economic trend was one of improvement, especially after 1750. Within the trend toward expansion, however, lesser planters fell increasingly into tenancy. Tenancy appears to have been greatest along the poorer Potomac side of Prince Georges County, although the rate was over 50 percent of all county householders by 1776. Third, slavery became entrenched as the basic labor system in tobacco. Those planters owning slaves tended to become increasingly wealthy as the century progressed, owing in part to the natural growth of their slave population. Fourth, the most economically diversified planters tended to be the most economically successful--and the most politically powerful--because of greater flexibility. Maryland's richest and most powerful families were usually tobacco planters, but they were also active in political officeholding for fees, manufacturing, commerce, and land speculation. Fifth, diversification away from tobacco toward wheat, other crops, and livestock was occurring in some regions of Maryland. The movements toward wheat on the Eastern Shore is well known; the degree of diversification among planters in All Hallow's Parish, Anne Arundel County, less so. The precise pattern of agricultural production in Prince Georges County before the Revolution is not clearly understood.

## **Oxon Hill Manor in Colonial Maryland**

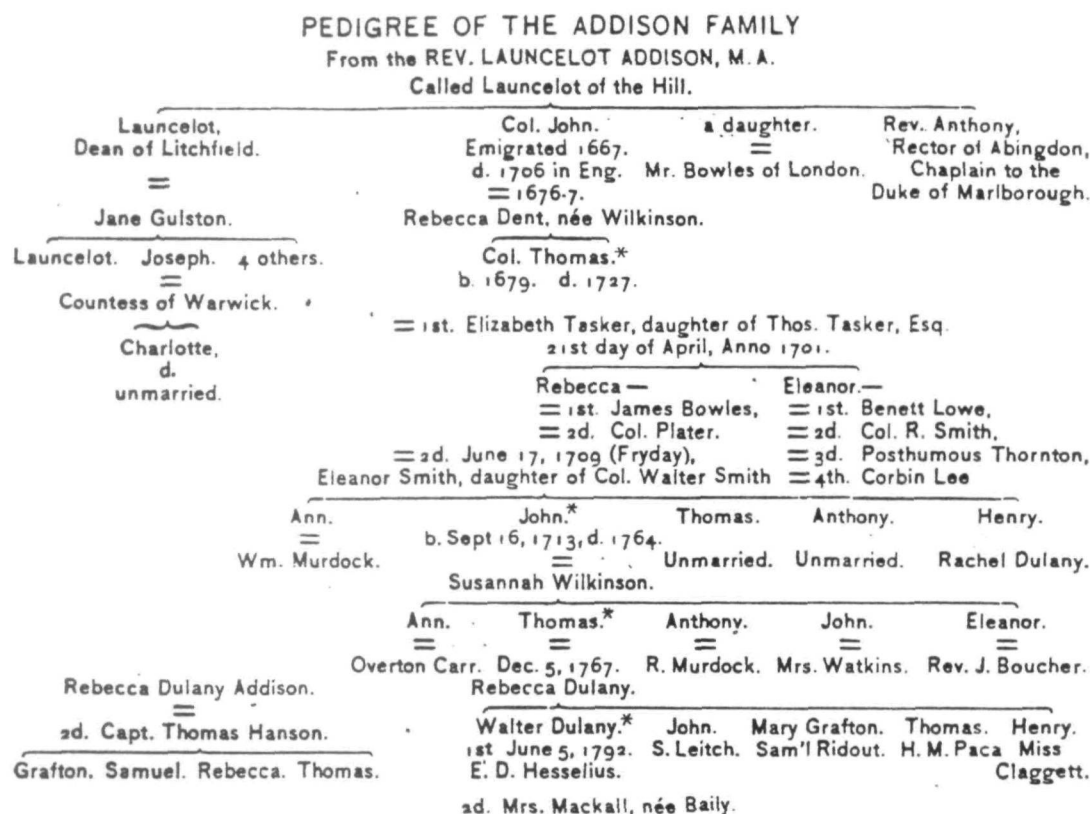
The purpose of this chapter is to examine the themes of ownership, land use, and labor patterns as they relate to the actual Oxon Hill Manor site. The intention is not only to present factual details on the site but also to analyze changes at the estate within the context of the local, regional, and national trends discussed in the historical overview. This section also includes available cartographic information.

### **Ownership and Status, 1674-1774**

Figure 18 is a genealogical chart of the Addison family, owners of Oxon Hill Manor until 1810. Led by Colonel John Addison (d. 1705-1706), the Addisons quickly built one of Maryland's largest and most valuable estates. From the time of his arrival in Maryland in 1674 until his death in 1705 or 1706, John Addison acquired 6,478.5 acres of land. The acreage of the Oxon Hill Manor site itself, acquired in 1687 (Mackintosh 1974:75), is not known. The fact that his son, Thomas, elected to build an elaborate mansion at the site in 1710 or 1711 (Castle 1957) strongly suggests that John Addison had developed his principal plantation there (Carr and Jordan 1974:232-234)

By the time of his death in 1727, Thomas Addison owned 14,281 acres of land in Maryland. The exact acreage at Oxon Hill was not indicated in the 1727 inventory, but the estate included seven quarters, the Great House tract, a mill, and a "store" at the Potomac River landing. The house itself





\* denotes owner-occupant of Oxon Hill Manor

FIGURE 18. Genealogical Table of the Addison Family.

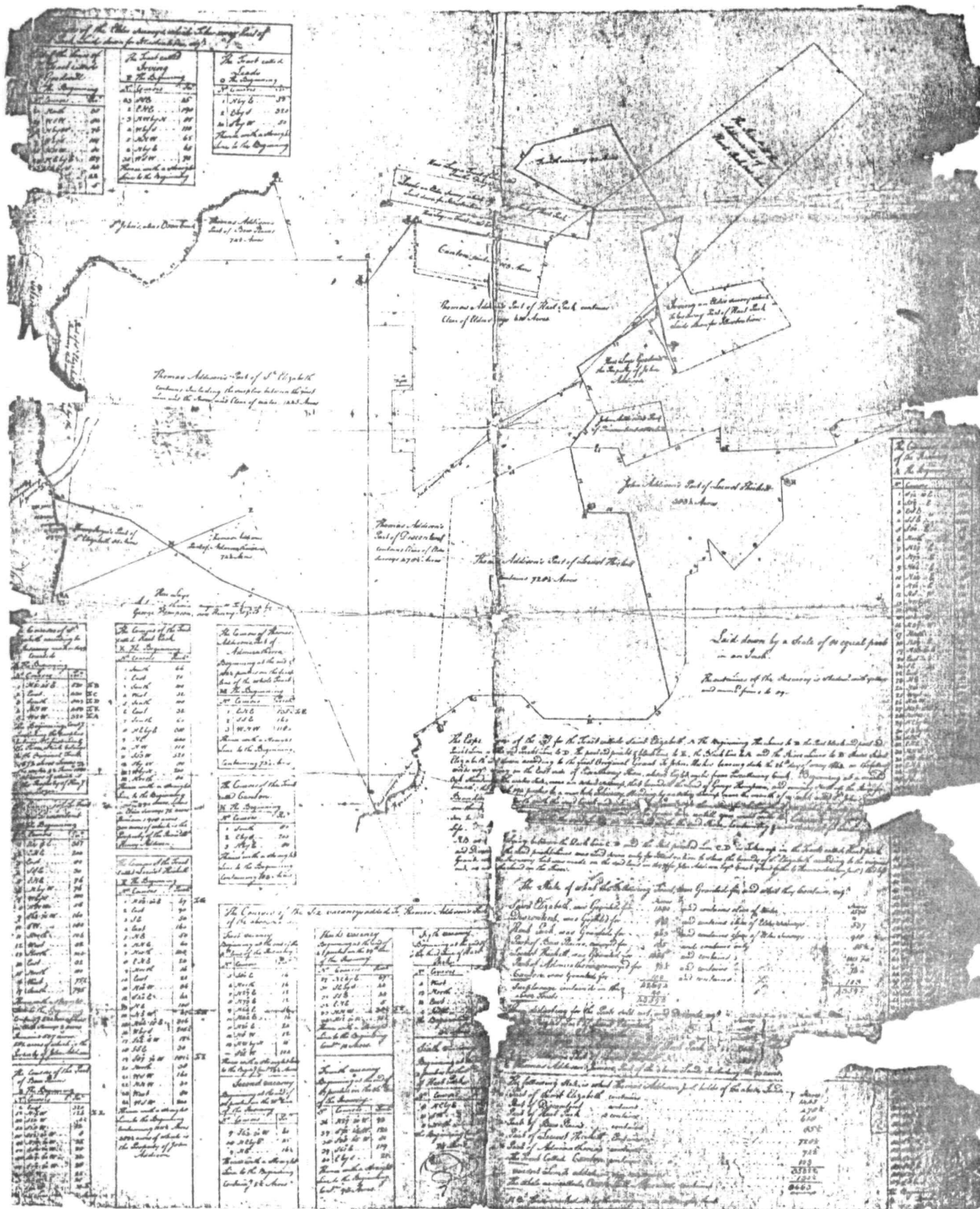
had eight rooms, two "closets" or upstairs rooms without windows (Main 1982:295), a passage, cellar kitchen, and garret (attic space). The "cellar kitchen" appeared to be detached from the house since it followed the "passage" in the inventory and since it had a little "shad" (shed) room connected to it. The "shed" appeared to have been divided into three separate rooms, one of which was a "negroe's room." The inventory lists these three rooms as "in the shade" (Maryland Hall of Records (MHR), Annapolis, Inventories 1727).

The estate in 1727 listed 75 slaves, with 23 at the Great House (see Table 4 for comparison). It also listed three indentured servants, one of whom was a gardener. Two of the slaves were mulattoes and both were listed as "carpenter and cooper." No indication was given as to housing for the slaves and servants except for the "negroe's room in the shade." To house such a large number of slaves and servants undoubtedly required quarters beyond the mansion house itself. The Great House also required some kind of fencing or housing for 63 cattle, 13 horses (two coach horses), and 48 sheep. Another 226 cattle and one horse were scattered among the seven quarters (MHR, Inventories 1727).

Thomas Addison left an estate of 3,863 acres to his eldest son, John Addison (1712-1764). John's inheritance included parts of what would later be surveyed by his son, Thomas (c.1740-1774) as the 3,663 acre Oxon Hill Manor. Thomas Addison also left another son, Thomas (1714-1770), his "Gisborough" estate and three other tracts totalling 1,746 acres, plus half of five small tracts along Oxon Branch (half of 1,264 acres). Another son, the Reverend Henry Addison (1717-1789), received the other half of the five tracts plus 1,517 acres, some of which was located to the north on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River and at the Falls of the Potomac. A fourth son, Anthony Addison, inherited 2,000 acres, all to the north of Oxon Hill. An additional 2,300 acres was divided among Thomas, Henry, and Anthony (Maryland Historical Society (MHS), Baltimore, Manuscript Collection, Addison Family Papers).

John Addison's 3,863 acres were probably the same acres from which the 3,663-acre Oxon Hill Manor estate was surveyed by his son, Thomas (c.1740-1794), in 1767. Figure 19 is a plat of the manor in 1767 (MHR, Patented Survey No. 1590, 1767). Perhaps a note should be added here to explain the poor quality of several of the historic maps reproduced in this chapter. The originals of these maps (Figures 19, 20, 26, and 27) were not in good condition. This poor quality was not helped by being photostated or in some cases xeroxed. Since we feel it is important for the reader to examine the original of such documents as much as possible without interpretation, these maps are reproduced here without embellishment. The originals can be viewed by the serious student at the repositories noted. When John Addison died in 1764, his estate was divided into three quarters, rather than the seven in 1727. The room designation is unclear in his 1765 inventory, although the configuration is similar to 1727. The 1765 inventory listed three, not two closets, a "chamber" and a "spinning room." It also separated the cellar and kitchen from the "cellar kitchen" designation of 1727. Two possibly new structures, a milk house and a meat house, appear in 1765. The estate listed only 41 slaves, down from 75 in 1727. The main house, however, had 24 slaves, almost identical to the 23 listed in 1727 (MHR, Inventories 1765).

Thomas Addison inherited Oxon Hill Manor in 1764, but did not live long enough to watch his children grow to adulthood. He died in 1774, leaving the estate to his oldest son, Walter Dulany Addison (1769-1848), then only five years of age. Thomas Addison had "resurveyed" the estate in 1767 (see Figure 19) and it is from this survey that we have a precise layout of the property. By 1774 he also owned various other properties, including the 1,613-acre "Gisborough Manor" left him by his uncle, another Thomas, in 1770. Addison left Gisborough to his second son, John, when he left the Oxon Hill estate to Walter Dulany (Maryland Historical Society, Name file, Laurel News Leader, January 26, 1976). He left John an additional 1,270 acres and his third son, Thomas



Grafton Addison (b. circa 1774), 1,200 acres. He also arranged for the lease of a house and land at Hart Park, part of Oxon Hill Manor, to his brother John. In all, Thomas Addison owned 5,133 acres at his death in 1774. He made no provision for a fourth son, Henry, who was born after his death (Maryland Historical Society, Addison Family Papers).

The inventory of Oxon Hill Manor in 1775 listed only two quarters in addition to the manor house tract. The configuration of the rooms was similar to the earlier inventories, but the 1775 document included a "porch closet", a "back porch" probably attached to the kitchen, and an "overseer's house" between the house and kitchen. No separate outbuildings were listed, as in 1765, although they were certainly present. Addison had expanded his slave holdings to 109 slaves, 60 of whom were at the manor house. The estate was probably even more potentially self-sufficient than previously, since the slaves at the main house included a shoemaker, a carter, a gardener, a midwife, three carpenters, a coachman, and a "joiner." A slave carpenter was also listed at "Clarkson's Quarter." Animals at the house included 64 of 69 cattle, 4 oxen, 20 of 28 horses, 4 coach horses, 120 sheep, and 49 of 101 total hogs. Addison apparently lived very ostentatiously, traveling about in a "London coach and four" with matched bay horses with outriders (Castle 1957). The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, husband of Addison's sister Eleanor, was very impressed with Oxon Hill Manor. Married there in 1772, Boucher described the estate as "the most pleasantly situated and circumstanced, and in all respects the most desireable of any I have ever seen in any part of the world" (Boucher 1925:51).

Table 6 compares the estates of the Oxon Hill Manor owners in 1727, 1765, and 1775. The decline in the overall value of personal property, including slaves, from 1727 to 1765 probably reflects the dispersal of Thomas Addison's 1727 estate among several sons. Since economic conditions after 1727 were generally much better than before that date, the fact that the number of slaves at the manor house did not increase suggests that John Addison may have been less economically active than his father. The drastic decline in the number of cattle could indicate either dispersal or diversification. The lower value of John Addison's slaves can be misleading in interpreting the importance of slavery to Oxon Hill Manor in 1765. More informative is the fact that slaves were 58 percent of the value of personal property of Oxon Hill, compared to 51 percent in 1727. Moreover, average slave value in 1765 was £33, compared to £25 in 1727. This higher value could represent higher average age of the slaves, although that is unlikely in view of the increase in slave workers through domestic population growth rather than immigration.

Table 6. Comparison of Inventories of Thomas Addison (1727), John Addison (1765), and Thomas Addison (1775), Oxon Hill Manor.

Category	1727	1765	1775
# Quarters	7	3	2
Total Slaves	75	41	109
Slaves at Manor House	23	24	60
Value of Personal Property	£3,657	£2,363	£5,275
Value of Slaves	£1,867	£1,362	£2,905
Slaves as % of Personal Property	51	58	55

Table 6. Continued.

Cattle	289	56	98
Horses	14	20	28
Sheep	48	66	120
Hogs	0	98	101

Source: Maryland Hall of Records, Inventories 1727; 1765; 1775

Economically, socially, and politically, the Addisons were among Maryland's most prominent families in the eighteenth century. Probably at its highest at the time of Thomas Addison's death in 1774, their status faded after the American Revolution for reasons to be discussed later. Comparing Table 3 and Table 6 reveals that in 1727, 1765, and 1775, Oxon Hill Manor was among the top few percent of all Maryland estates and that Thomas Addison's £5,275 estate value in 1775 may have placed him among the top few families. The same holds true in regard to landholding. Oxon Hill Manor's 3,663 acres also placed the estate within Prince Georges County's and Maryland's top few percent of all landed units, as can be seen from Table 5 and from the earlier discussion of landholding. Comparing Table 4 and Table 6 illustrates that Oxon Hill Manor was among the largest slave plantations as well. The eighteenth-century trend toward increased concentration of slaveowning was well represented at Oxon Hill Manor. Moreover, the number of slaves at the estate was much higher than the average number of slaves per household of two in 1710 and five in 1782 (Kulikoff 1976:112-120). The Addison's prominence as slaveowners appears even more impressive in view of their location on the relatively poorer, Potomac side of Prince Georges County.

The high social and political status of the eighteenth-century Addisons is best illustrated by a brief history of the owners of Oxon Hill Manor and of some key relatives. Colonel John Addison (d.1705-1706) was a member of a prominent family of merchants and clergymen in England. He was the brother of Launcelot Addison, Dean of Litchfield and chaplain to Charles II, of Anthony Addison, Chaplain to the Duke of Marlborough, and of Thomas and Henry Addison, merchants of Whitehaven. His uncle was the celebrated author, Joseph Addison. Arriving in Maryland in 1674, John Addison married Rebecca Dent, widow of a wealthy planter, Thomas Dent, and daughter of the Reverend William Williamson, the first Protestant clergyman in Maryland.

Addison was an active merchant, Indian trader, and planter in Charles County. He was a partner with several English merchants, and in the early 1680s one of his ships was seized for violation of the Navigation Acts. He was also transporting indentured servants into Maryland at this time. By 1687 he owned 1,500 acres of land and had received his first political appointment--justice of Charles County. Afterward, he received numerous commissions and rose to political prominence as a member of the Council of Maryland (1691), a justice of the Provincial Court (1692), a colonel of Charles and of Prince Georges County (1695), a trustee of King William's School (now St. John's College) in Annapolis, and a Commissary General or Justice for Probate of Wills (1699). By the time of his death in 1705 or 1706 he had a considerable estate, which he left to his only son, Thomas (Murray 1895:13; Carr and Jordan 1974:232-234; Richardson 1913:1; Howard 1919:387-394).

Colonel Thomas Addison (1669-1727) married twice, both times into wealthy Maryland families. His first wife, Elizabeth Tasker (1701), was the daughter of Thomas Tasker, a rich planter, member of the Council of Maryland, justice of the High Provincial Court, and Treasurer of Maryland. Their daughter, Rebecca (b. 1703), would later marry Colonel George Plater, owner of Sotterley on the Patuxent River and one of Maryland's most powerful men. This marriage also connected the

Addisons to Virginia's aristocracy. The Plater's son, George Plater (1753-1792), would become Governor of Maryland in 1791. Thomas Addison's second wife, Eleanor Smith (1709), was the daughter of Colonel Walter Smith. Eleanor's sister, Rebecca Smith, married Daniel Dulany the Elder (1685-1753), one of Maryland's richest and most powerful men. Dulany held such offices as Receiver-General of Revenues, Attorney-General, Commissary General, Chief Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, and member of Lord Baltimore's Council of State. The Dulanys became connected to the Addisons via another route when Rachel Dulany, daughter of Rebecca Smith Dulany and Daniel Dulany the Elder, married the Reverend Henry Addison (1717-1789) in 1751. The Reverend Henry Addison was Thomas Addison's youngest son.

Like his father, Colonel Thomas Addison held numerous political offices. He became Surveyor of Prince Georges County (1696), Deputy to the Potomac District Naval Officer (1697), an Indian commissioner, member of the Council of Maryland (1710), Colonel and head of Prince Georges County Militia (1714), Sheriff of Prince Georges County, Justice of the Provincial Court, a land commissioner, Surveyor of the Western Shore (1718), and Commissary General (1721). He had developed a large estate by his death in 1727, which he dispersed among his wife, Eleanor (1761), his daughter, Ann (b. 1711/12), and his sons John (1713-1764), Thomas (1714-1770), Henry (1717-1789) and Anthony (Van Horn 1976:112; Wilstach 1931:329; Stoeckel 1958:34; Howard 1919:394; Land 1953:192-193, 1968:40, 59; Hienton 1972:18, 21; Kellock 1962:22, 24; Richardson 1913:2-3; Bowie 1975:32-33).

About the next owner of Oxon Hill Manor, Captain John Addison (1713-1764), we know little. He married Susannah Wilkinson (d. 1773) and had several children, including Thomas (c. 1740-1775), John, Anthony, Ann, and Eleanor. The Reverend Jonathan Boucher, who married Eleanor at Oxon Hill Manor in 1772, described John Addison as "an irregular and intemperate man" who "of course, died young" (Boucher 1925:51-53). During his short life, however, Addison served as a Justice of the Provincial Court and as a delegate to the Provincial Assembly from 1745 to 1754 (Van Horn 1976:88, 99; Stoeckel 1958:35). The relatively lower value of his estate in 1765, compared to those of his father in 1727 and his son in 1775, suggests that he may have been less active than the others. John's younger brother, Major Thomas Addison (1714-1770), was treated very harshly in Boucher's *Reminiscences*. After a successful military career, Thomas retired to his 1,613 acre "Gisborough" estate around 1765. Boucher referred to the estate as Thomas's "little patrimony near Oxon Hill" and he chided Addison for becoming "moped [sic] and melancholy" and for giving himself up "to the habits of sottishness and vulgarity." Boucher reported that Thomas became alcoholic, "addicted not only to low company, but to the worst kind of liquor, intoxicating himself daily with a vile spiritous distillation from molasses, there called New England rum." Thomas died within five years of his retirement in 1770 (Boucher 1925:51-53; MHR, Debt Books, Prince Georges County 1766, Liber 35, fol. 1).

Boucher became a close friend of John Addison's younger brother, the Reverend Henry Addison (1717-1789), when Henry brought his two sons to Boucher's school in Caroline County, Virginia to be tutored. Boucher had developed a favorable reputation as a tutor in Virginia, which apparently influenced George Washington's decision to send his stepson, Jack Custis, to Boucher's school (Zimmer 1978:68-69). Henry Addison was rector of St. John's Church on the Potomac River south of Oxon Hill, a post he had held since 1742. His estate, 1,407 acres near Oxon Hill and including part of the "Hart Park" tract which was also part of Oxon Hill Manor, was called "Barnaby Manor" (MHS, Addison Family Papers). He was married to Rachel Dulany Knight, the widowed daughter of Daniel Dulany the Elder. Her brother, Daniel Dulany the younger, was Secretary-General of Maryland, a member of the Provincial Council, and a leader of the Maryland Bar. Another brother, Walter Dulany, was Mayor of Annapolis, Commissary General and a member of the Provincial

Council. Walter was also the father of Rebecca Dulany, the woman who would marry John Addison's son, Thomas, the heir to Oxon Hill Manor (Zimmer 1978:68-69; Land 1968:passim).

Thomas Addison (c. 1740-1774) did not live a long life, even by eighteenth-century standards, but he appears to have been a very active planter. He may have focused his energies on Oxon Hill Manor, since he does not show up in the records as being politically active in the same manner as his predecessors. He appears only as a justice of the county court (1761-1764, 1766-1769), and there is no mention of a military title. His relative youth may explain some of his lack of political visibility. When Addison married Rebecca Dulany (1747-1829) in 1767, he reinforced the close ties to the Dulanys initiated earlier. The Dulanys, however, and the Reverend Boucher became active Loyalists during the Revolutionary years and lost considerable property. Addison's death in 1774 may have saved Oxon Hill Manor from confiscation, although we have no evidence as to what his loyalties would have been. His brother, Colonel John ("Jack") Addison, apparently led Maryland troops during the Revolution and served as an aide to George Washington (Stoeckel 1958:35). Described, however, by Zimmer as "Eleanor's improvident brother" (1978:69), John lost his property called "The Lodge" near Oxon Hill to the Reverend Boucher in 1773. Forced to sell because of debts, he sold an estate of about 1,000 acres of land, some buildings, and 26 slaves. Boucher, who had used his Addison and Dulany connections to establish an excellent living in Annapolis, developed the Lodge estate by reclaiming land, planting timothy, and creating a "falling garden" on the sloping land along the Potomac River across from Alexandria. Because of their loyalist sympathies, Boucher, Henry Addison, and several other family members left Maryland in 1775. Boucher's estate, valued at £4,445, was confiscated during the Revolution. Henry Addison lost some property, but he was able to pass "Barnaby Manor" on to his son, Anthony, when he died in Maryland in 1789 (Zimmer 1978:342; Land 1968:318; McGrath 1950:362-370).

The foregoing examination of the Addisons from 1674 to roughly 1774 reveals the economic, social, and political prominence of the family in eighteenth-century Maryland. The Addisons and their wealthy associates were the families that built the large brick mansions overlooking waterways, surrounded by outbuildings, orchards, gardens and lawns, and worked by slave (and tenant) labor. As such an estate, Oxon Hill Manor appears to have reached an apogee around 1774. The early death of Thomas Addison disrupted the orderly transition from father to son and created legal confusion in the management of the estate. Following almost immediately upon Addison's death, the American Revolution also disrupted the family and may have had negative effects on the successful operation of the estate as a slave plantation. The following discussion of land use patterns and labor trends covers Oxon Hill Manor from its origins until 1793, the year in which Walter Dulany Addison moved onto the estate. While the colonial period ended, technically speaking, in 1783, it is historically sensible to treat the years from 1774 to 1793 as a transition phase at Oxon Hill Manor. As will be made clear later, in historical perspective this period established the preconditions for Walter Dulany Addison's eventual decision to sell Oxon Hill Manor.

### Land Use and Labor Patterns, 1674-1793

That Oxon Hill Manor was essentially a typically wealthy tobacco plantation in eighteenth-century Maryland seems evident. Tobacco was the key cash crop of the area and the movement toward diversification characteristic of the Eastern Shore and other areas did not take hold along the Potomac. Oxon Hill Manor demonstrated the typical eighteenth-century patterns of most tobacco areas in Maryland and Tidewater Virginia: a tendency toward greater dependence on tobacco and on slave labor. The slave population grew rapidly in Prince Georges County, making it the largest slaveholding county in Maryland before the Revolution. The Potomac half of the county, however,



held fewer slaves than the Patuxent side and relied more heavily on tenant labor. Tenants presumably grew tobacco, although no evidence is available to prove this assertion. By the time of the first inventory of Oxon Hill Manor, in 1727, slavery and tobacco were well established in Maryland. The inventory listed three indentured servants, whereas none appeared in the 1765 or 1775 documents. Combined with the growing number of slave children in the inventories, especially in 1775, the absence of servants after 1727 follows the pattern of decreasing servants and increasing native-born slaves as the eighteenth century progressed. The 1775 inventory also demonstrates a greater capacity for self-sufficiency at the estate. This can be seen in the expansion of specialized workers, from two carpenters and coopers and one gardener in 1727, to two carpenters in 1765, to a shoemaker, a carter, a gardener, a midwife, three carpenters, a coachman, and a "joiner" in 1775. Recalling the earlier discussions of eighteenth-century economic trends in Maryland, the ability to retrench during times of poor tobacco prices was a definite advantage of wealthier planters.

Precise land use patterns at Oxon Hill Manor cannot be determined from the documentation. Except for 1727, when no hogs were listed, the estate raised cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs. In 1765 none of the 66 sheep were kept at the Great House. The decline in total cattle from 289 in 1727 to 50 in 1765 and 94 in 1775 indicates a decline in their importance. It may also reveal greater diversification, since wheat appears in only the 1765 and 1775 inventories. With such large numbers of slaves listed at the manor house, 23 in 1727, 24 in 1765, and 60 in 1775, it can be assumed that quarters were located near the house. Typical slave quarters would have included garden patches and, possibly, animal compounds. The mansion itself would have had some kind of animal compounds and stables, especially for Thomas Addison's coach horses in 1775. Housing for the omnipresent poultry would also be necessary (MHR, Inventories, 1727, 1765, 1775).

The best indication of eighteenth-century land use and labor patterns derives from two court cases and an associated plat of Oxon Hill Manor from 1785. The following discussion of the court proceedings and the plat sheds light on occupancy patterns, leasing arrangements, estate management, land use, and slavery at Oxon Hill Manor from 1776 to 1793.

In 1775, one year after Oxon Hill Manor had been bequeathed by Thomas Addison to his five-year old son, Walter Dulany Addison, the estate leased approximately 100 acres to John Clifford. The trustees of the estate, Thomas's brother John Addison and Overton Carr, leased 39 acres of land at the ferry site along Oxon Creek and opposite Alexandria (See Figure 20), along with approximately 61 additional acres, for a total of about 100 acres. The entire 100-acre lease area contained a ferry house, a fishing house, and a fishery, although the documentation does not indicate their exact location. The 1775 deed refers to the leasehold, costing £120 annually, as a "plantation." The lease provided for some cutting of wood on the rented land and it was to run for a term of 11 years. The presence of John Clifford at the ferry site explains the subsequent references in other deeds to "Clifford's Ferry" on the Oxon Hill Manor property (MHR, Land Records, 662 P. 215, Dec. 26, 1775; MHR, Chancery Papers, 128, 1784-1785). In 1782 Monica Clifford, probably John's wife, received a license to operate a tavern at "Addison's Ferry." Gray Douglas was awarded the same license in 1788 (Van Horn 1976:184-185, 204-205).

In 1776 Rebecca Addison, Thomas's widow, granted power of attorney to her brother-in-law, John Addison, and to Overton Carr. In her arrangement with Addison and Carr she empowered them to collect all rents, to sell her livestock and crops at the appropriate times, and to contract for the crops to be grown on her "several plantations" in Prince Georges County (MHR, Land Records, CC2:268, Dec. 11, 1776). Also in 1776, John Addison leased "Hart Park," a 618 acre tract of Oxon Hill Manor, as his brother had requested in his 1774 will. John appears to have awaited the death of their mother, Susanna Addison, who had been living at Hart Park when Thomas died in 1774. John was



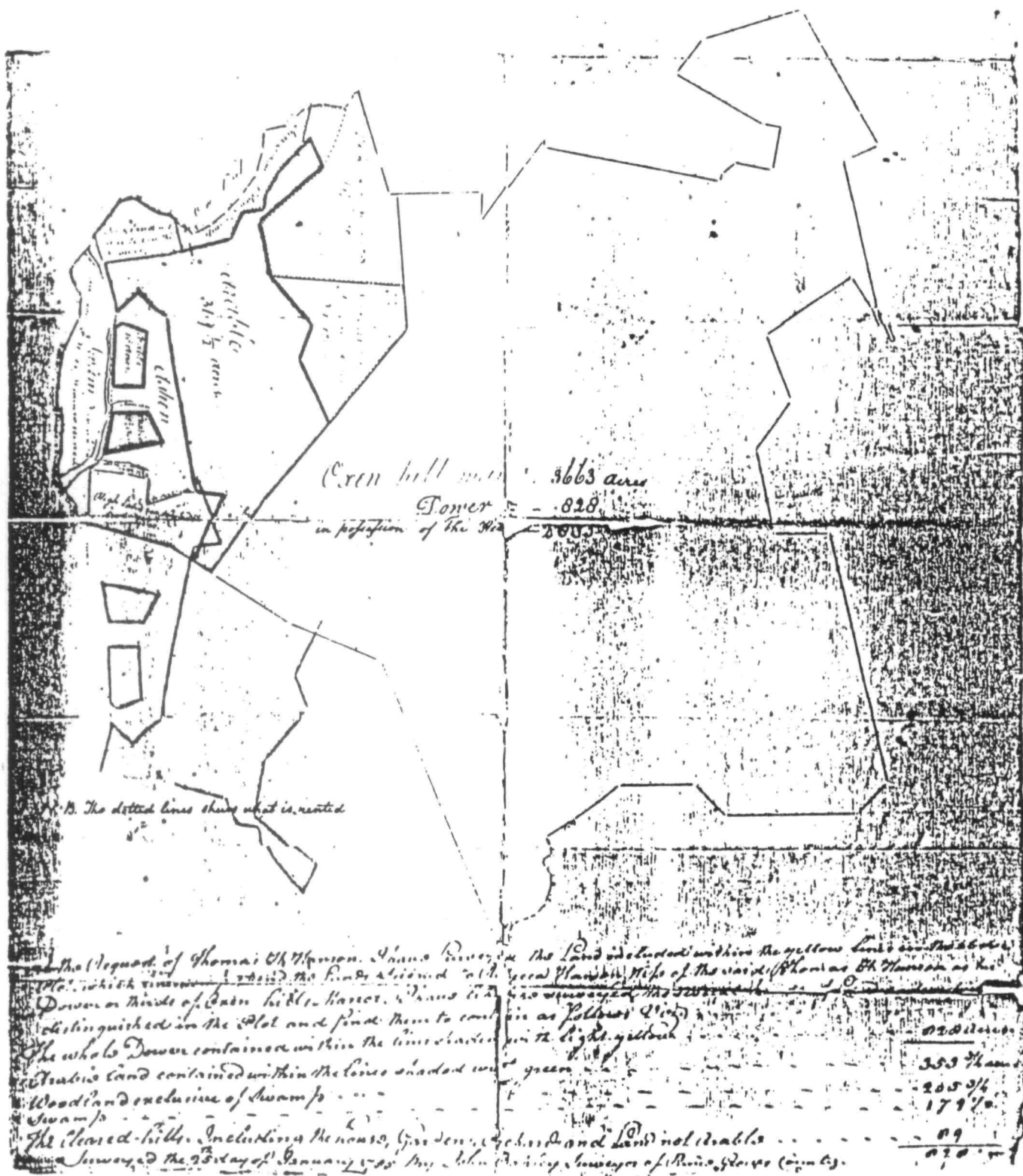


FIGURE 20. Oxon Hill Manor, 1785.

to pay only £40 per year for the lease, which was to run for 16 years (to 1792) (MHS, Land Records, CC2:302, Sept. 16, 1776).

Rebecca Addison owned a total of 96 slaves in Prince Georges County in 1776, 67 at the Oxon Hill Manor house and 29 at "Mrs. Addison's Quarter" (location unknown--next to her brother-in-law, Anthony Addison). She was one of the largest slaveholders on the Potomac River side of Prince Georges County, the area included in the 1776 census (the Patuxent River side of the county was not included) (Brumbaugh 1915: Vol. 1).

Shortly after Rebecca Addison's second marriage to Thomas Hawkins Hanson in 1778, she and her new husband initiated legal proceedings against the estate. The suit noted that Rebecca had never been assigned her dower, a one-third share of all personal and real property owned by her late husband, to which she was legally entitled. The proceedings indicated that her children were living with and being cared for by her and her husband, and that she was deriving some income from the Oxon Hill estate to cover these expenses. The court appointed John Addison to act as guardian for the children in this case, and in his testimony John declared that the estate was earning little or no profits. Rebecca and Thomas Hanson explained that the lack of profitability of the estate was, in fact, the main reason for their suit. John Addison raised no objection to the request for the formalized dower, and in 1783 Addison neighbors Henry Rozer and Leonard Marbury awarded Rebecca Hanson 828 acres of the estate, including the house (Figure 20) (MHR, Chancery Paper 128, 1784-85).

The estate which Rebecca's son, Walter Dulany Addison, had inherited in 1774, totaled 3,663 acres (Figure 19). At some point before 1782 John Addison was given 100.75 acres, thereby reducing Oxon Hill Manor to 3,562.25 acres. Walter had also received 54 acres of "Force," bringing his total estate to 3,616.25 acres. The 828 acre dower was considered by Rozer and Marbury to be one-third the value of Walter's 3,616.25 acres (MHR, Chancery Records 13:516, May 20, 1782; MHR, Chancery Paper, 128, 1784-1785). Rebecca also received one-third shares, by value, of the estates of two of her other sons--John and Thomas Addison--as well as £24 annually from the £120 per year lease to John Clifford. Since the 39-acre ferry site rented by Clifford was not included in the dower (Figure 20), Clifford's other 61 acres must have been in the dower area for the arbitrators to have granted Rebecca part of the annual rent.

In 1784-1785 the estate became embroiled in a more serious legal battle when Overton Carr, now Walter Dulany Addison's guardian, charged the Hansons and their tenants (Leonard Marbury and Nicholas Lowe) with "waste and destruction" of the wooded areas of Oxon Hill Manor. Figure 20 (dotted lines) indicates that the Hansons were leasing most of the 828-acre dower by this time. The leases included: 35 acres of cleared land and five acres of the 147.5 acre wooded unit (NW area) to Nicholas Lowe; an unspecified "small" acreage to a Mr. Edelen; about 61 acres to John Clifford (part of the 100 acres he leased in 1775); and 58.25 acres of woodland plus approximately 530 acres, including the 89-acre "cleared hills . . . house, garden, orchards and land not arable," to Leonard Marbury. The 58.25 acre figure written in the legal proceedings may be an incorrect figure which should have been 580 or 588.25 acres. This suggestion is based on the fact that the Hansons reserved only about 200 acres -- the "ashen swamp" areas -- of the 828-acre tract for their own use, leaving 628 acres leased. If the figure was 580.25 acres, the "small" part leased to Mr. Edelen may have been about eight acres. The leasing situation is made more complicated, however, by the fact that about 61 acres were rented to John Clifford (the 39-acre ferry site was not part of the dower).

To summarize, by 1785 the Hansons were leasing about 628 acres of the 828-acre dower to at least four persons: Leonard Marbury, Nicholas Lowe, Mr. Edelen, and John Clifford. Although the

acreages are not certain, Leonard Marbury was renting the manor house and possibly a total of over 500 acres. If not, then substantial acreage was being rented to unnamed tenants. Statements by Castle (1957) and Stoeckel (1958:21) that the Oxon Hill Manor house was rented to Nathaniel Washington, a relative of George Washington, from 1785 or 1787 to 1792, appear to be incorrect. The leasing situation on Walter Dulany Addison's lands, the remaining 2,734.25 acres (3,562.25 minus the 828 acre dower), is not known for this period. A careful examination of land records for Prince Georges County revealed no leasing information on Walter Dulany Addison for these years.

Marbury's principal use of the leased land was apparently to grow tobacco. He and Nicholas Lowe got into difficulty with Overton Carr because they were timbering their lands and selling the wood for income (Walter would inherit the land on the death of his mother). Marbury and Hanson defended this action as necessary to open up fresh ground for tobacco crops, owing to the fact that currently cleared land was "worn out" from previous tobacco crops. Marbury had cleared about eight acres of a 58.25 acre wooded tract adjoining the swamp along the Potomac River, and Hanson argued that Marbury would have to continue to clear 11 or 12 acres annually. If not, he asserted, profits on the dower land would be "exceedingly reduced." Lowe's lease allowed him to timber one-third of the five wooded acres he was renting in each of the first three years of his five year lease. He had cleared only 0.5 acre by early 1785.

Marbury and Hanson also justified clearing the land by pointing to the need for lumber on the estate. They indicated that a number of houses and buildings needed repair, including two tobacco houses, and that the estate needed a new tobacco house and a good deal of fencing. They also wanted wood for making hogsheads to transport the cured tobacco. Marbury's "overseer and manager," Lancelot Wade, testified that 23 walnuts and wild cherries had been cut recently on the estate, along with some firewood near the manor house. He also indicated that Marbury was employing 17 slaves on his leasehold, five of whom were rented, and that Marbury had planted corn and enough acreage to produce 140 bushels of wheat. Although agreeing with Marbury and Hanson that new land was needed for tobacco, he contradicted himself by asserting that the land already cleared would be adequate if it were properly manured.

Marbury's lease did not include the "ashen swamp" along the Potomac River. This area, and apparently the "ashen swamp" along Oxon Creek (Figure 20), was the approximately 200 acres reserved by Hanson for uses not specified in the documents. At least five acres of the land along the Potomac was meadow land, and Hanson was planning to fence the entire swamp area. The estate contained a second landing at the south end of this swamp, apparently in or near the wooded 50.25 acres adjoining Henry Rozer's lands (Figure 20). The landing may have been at or near the mouth of the Susquehanna Creek (Figures 19 and 20). Marbury's lease allowed him to build a ferry house, two ferry boats, and a granary, and to make other improvements at the landing. He paid £350 annually for the lease. Although it was dated September 10, 1784, the lease was to begin on January 1, 1785. Marbury was apparently timbering his lands before 1785, however, since testimony by Henry Rozer in early 1785 indicated that Marbury had cut 300 - 400 cords of poplar, white oak, and other trees by this time (MHR, Chancery Papers 128:1784-1785).

Specific uses of the dower land are not spelled out in the documents. The 1785 map suggests that the 89 acre unit around the manor house was used for gardens and orchards but not for crops: "the cleared hills, including the house, garden, orchards and land not arable." References to tobacco houses and to the need for an additional tobacco house suggest that tobacco production may have been expanding. This assertion is supported by the fact that the tenants wished to clear additional fresh land for tobacco. References to wheat acreage and to possibly building a new granary indicate some interest in wheat production. The "overseer and manager," Lancelot Wade, referred to the need

for additional fencing to enclose crops and pasture. The documents do not inform us of the extent of livestock holdings at Oxon Hill Manor at this time, but the fencing of pasture indicates that the estate did not completely follow the common practice of allowing livestock to forage for food. Presumably, the estate also had to have adequate housing for Marbury's 17 slaves and, possibly, for his overseer by this time. The fact that Walter Dulany Addison gradually reduced his slaveholdings in the 1790s suggests that the outbuildings listed in a 1798 Federal Tax Assessment had been built before Walter moved into the manor house in 1793.

Leonard "Luke" Marbury was an average slaveowner in 1776, owning 11 slaves. By 1785, at age 40, he owned 12 slaves but was able to rent five others. By 1793-94 he owned 28 slaves, although by this date he was no longer leasing the manor house at Oxon Hill (MHR, Prince Georges County, Assessment Records, 1793-94, hereafter cited as MHR, Assessments). Nicholas Lowe owned eight slaves in 1776, expanding this total to 18 by 1793-94. Marbury and Lowe owned £830 and £746 in personal property, respectively, in 1793-94, making both of them very well-to-do if not extremely wealthy men. Zachariah Berry, who would buy Oxon Hill Manor in 1810, owned 53 slaves and £1541 personal property at his estate in Collington Hundred in 1793-94. Thomas Hanson owned 15 slaves and £753 total personal property in Piscataway and Hynson Hundreds in 1793-94, although he may have held additional property elsewhere. The same can be said for the other property owners mentioned here (MHR, Assessment, 1793-94).

Before summarizing the discussion of land use and labor patterns at Oxon Hill Manor, a final word regarding occupancy at the estate after 1774 is in order. Available records suggest that Rebecca Addison operated the estate through her brother-in-law, John Addison, and Overton Carr until her marriage to Thomas Hawkins Hanson in 1778. Letters from "Oxon Hill" in 1781 and 1782 and the legal proceedings after 1778 confirm Rebecca's presence at the estate, although a 1788 letter from Rebecca to her brother, Walter Dulany, referring to the death of the old gardener, Mr. Oldney, would seem to contradict the data on leasing (Murray 1895:56, 72, MHR, Addison Family Papers). It seems certain that they occupied the estate until at least 1783, the year in which Hanson's uncle, John Hanson, president of the Continental Congress of the United States under the Articles of Confederation since 1781, died at Oxon Hill. Hanson had come to Oxon Hill for rest and seclusion, according to Newman (1940:256).

Members of the John Hanson Society have explored the possibility that Hanson was buried at Oxon Hill, either in the Addison cemetery or in a mausoleum near the house. This has not been determined, and interested readers can consult the society or the files of the Maryland Historical Trust in Annapolis for additional information (Oxon Hill Manor, Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis; Library of Congress, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection, Manuscript Division, 1892 Typescript on John Hanson by J. Thomas Scharf). A final sidelight on the John Hanson relationship to Oxon Hill Manor is the fact that his wife, Jane Contee Hanson, was the great granddaughter of Colonel John Addison, via a route begun by his marriage to Rebecca Dent in 1677 (Stoeckel 1958:24).

Available information on land use and labor at Oxon Hill Manor permits little more than a general understanding. Tobacco was the cash crop. Slaves were numerous at least until 1776, but their number at the manor house appears to have declined when Marbury rented the property in 1785. Whereas Thomas Addison had 60 slaves at the house in 1775 and Rebecca Addison 67 in 1776, Marbury owned only 12 and rented five in 1785. Since Thomas Hanson owned only 15 slaves in 1793, the fate of Rebecca Hanson's 16 slaves listed in the 1776 census is unclear. Tenants at the estate other than Marbury owned slaves, but it is improbable that they were housed near the site area. The 1790 census lists Walter Dulany Addison as the owner of 20 slaves, but the location of the slaves is not indicated. Since Addison was not living at Oxon Hill in 1790 it is again improbable that his

slaves would have been there (1790 Census, Maryland).

## MARYLAND SINCE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

### Introduction

In sharp contrast to the depth of research on colonial Maryland, the history of Maryland since the Revolution remains somewhat superficial. Historians must rely on general studies by Craven (1965), Gray (1941), Walsh and Fox (1974) and various others for an understanding of trends in social, economic, and political history. Apart from excellent studies of Baltimore, only the works of Marks (1979) on St. Mary's County and McCauley (1973; 1977) on Prince Georges County explore basic social and economic themes in any depth. Consequently, establishing a contextual framework for the evolution of Oxon Hill Manor after the Revolution has required a good deal of primary analysis of one of the more valuable and accessible sources: the census records. This chapter offers a general evaluation of social and economic trends in Maryland since the Revolution, followed by a more in-depth analysis of Prince Georges County and of the Oxon Hill Manor site and region. Census data on population, slavery, and agriculture have been used to examine demographic trends, slaveholding and other labor patterns, the economic and social consequences of emancipation, and changes in agricultural systems.

### Decline and Adjustment, 1783-1860

#### Agriculture

Agricultural trends in antebellum Maryland remain obscure, in part owing to the difficulty of measuring agricultural change before the 1840 federal census. The basic historical interpretation of the period from the Revolution until the Civil War follows Craven and Gray, although some of the more recent scholarship has begun to challenge their generalizations. Contemporary observers and the older historians described Maryland agriculture as declining, or at best stagnating, through most of the period from the Revolution to 1840. Problems created by the Revolution, Jefferson's embargo of 1807-1809, the War of 1812, the depression of 1819-1822, and the later Panic of 1837 all contributed to an unstable, uncertain producing and marketing environment. Poorly developed transportation, at least until the 1830s, isolated farmers in Piedmont and Western Maryland, the Hessian fly often devastated wheat crops, and poor farming methods exhausted the soil and lowered yields. Not until the 1830s and especially the 1840s did agricultural reform, improved transportation, and higher staple prices generate a revival of the agricultural economy. By 1860 Maryland farming was improving and growing rapidly (Craven 1965:32-120; Gray 1941:Vols. 1 and 2, passim; Gates 1960:1-5, 100-107; Mitchell and Muller 1979:23-25; DiLisio 1983:146-147; Gutheim 1949:104-159; Walsh and Fox 1974:176-209).

Perhaps none of the obstacles to agricultural growth has received the attention afforded soil exhaustion, the factor stressed most strongly in Craven's classic study, discussed previously. Unlike their European counterparts, American farmers failed to manure or otherwise fertilize the soil, to utilize deep or contour plowing, to follow crop rotation systems, or to establish hedgerows. Under frontier conditions such behavior made short-run economic sense, but population growth in the Tidewater area had drastically reduced available lands--even before the American Revolution. Not

until 1820, and especially after 1840, according to Craven, did American farmers adopt productive agricultural methods (Craven 1965:32-110).

As the obstacles to agricultural change listed earlier would indicate, soil exhaustion and population pressure were only part of the story. Tobacco prices, for example, tended to be chronically low before 1850, despite occasional short-term rises such as during the few years after the War of 1812 (Gray 1941:Vol. 2:765; Marks 1979:66). Fluctuations before 1776 tended to be extreme, but prices generally rose. The bottom fell out, however, in the early 1770s. Prices fell rapidly from 1771 to 1775, creating so much distress in the tobacco areas of Maryland and Virginia that Jacob Price believes low prices may have contributed to revolutionary discontent (Price 1980:128-137). According to Walsh and Fox, soil exhaustion, debts, and other problems were so severe for Maryland tobacco planters by 1776 that "...only a handful of planters made any money from tobacco." Late eighteenth-century planters began converting to wheat, although not in southern Maryland, and the larger planters turned increasingly to money-lending and leasing to tenants in order to maintain incomes (Walsh and Fox 1974:81; Gray 1941:407). One historian notes that the difficult times in the late eighteenth century enhanced the role of Potomac fisheries. They were becoming "of considerable commercial importance," he declared, "and an even more significant source of income to the waning tobacco plantations along the river" (Gutheim 1949:104-159).

The American Revolution disrupted Maryland's agricultural economy, but in a manner not well understood by historians. Planters lost slaves, loyalists lost their property, and all farmers endured inflation and wartime taxes. Wheat prices rose because of the greater demand for foodstuffs, encouraging many farmers to convert to wheat. Wheat production clearly expanded in Western Maryland, but the trend on the Western Shore is not clear. Joseph Scott, an observer in 1807, noticed some decline in tobacco production in favor of wheat on the Western Shore (Scott 1807:47-45), and Bayly Marks confirms this strong trend for St. Mary's County (1979).

The impact on Maryland's tobacco industry of the abolition of the French tobacco monopoly in 1792 is not yet understood, although the demand for American foodstuffs was expanded by the French Revolution (Gray 1941:Vol. 2:602, 605). Gray argues that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century witnessed a general trend away from staples toward more general farming. He notes that the abolition of primogeniture, entail, and quitrents served to commercialize land and to generate waves of speculation between 1783-1800, 1812-1819, and 1830-1837. Many planters sold their plantations, their slaves, or both, or simply pulled out and migrated west (Gray 1941:Vol. 2:613-647, 752-775, 908-918).

The tobacco staple clearly lost much of its colonial-period predominance after 1783, but its decline varied from region to region. In general, tobacco production moved away from the old Tidewater areas, of Maryland and Virginia toward Piedmont Virginia and North Carolina, and toward newly-opening states such as Kentucky. Planting on fresh lands produced yields too high for most of the older areas to compete against (Gray 1941:Vol. 2:108-118; Robert 1938:15-31).

Poor prices, Western competition, soil exhaustion, and the American Revolution were not the only factors disrupting Maryland's agricultural economy. During Jefferson's embargo of 1807-1809, Maryland exports fell from \$14 million annually to \$2 million, rising to only \$6 million from 1809-1812. The British blockade of the Chesapeake saw exports fall to \$3 million in 1813 and to \$200,000 in 1814. Any gains after the war were limited by the ravages of the Hessian fly and by the severe depression of 1819-1822. Inadequate transportation limited access to markets and lack of capital hindered reform (Walsh and Fox 1974:176-209).

Historians generally agree that Maryland's agricultural economy was "stagnant, if not regressive" at least into the 1820s. Travelers and other observers consistently reported on the dreary, depressed, desolate appearance of the rural Tidewater areas (Gates 1960:5; Mitchell and Muller 1979:23-24; Walsh and Fox 1974:185-186). Many of the rivers and creeks had silted up, forcing Maryland river towns like Piscataway and Bladensburg into severe decline (Scott 1807:127-128; Reps 1972:243). Most of the older areas of Maryland and Virginia witnessed serious emigration of white residents, and some lost slaves as well. Maryland's population grew by only 127,000 from 1790 to 1830, and Baltimore accounted for 53 percent of that. The population of Southern Maryland barely remained stable during those years, losing over 6,000 whites but gaining in slaves (Mitchell and Muller 1979:25; Netherton et al. 1978:161-165, 262-270; Low 1951:122-125; Strickland 1971:49).

Within this decline, however, arose a strong agricultural reform movement. Although this movement has been well studied by historians, the overwhelming orientation of research has been on the organization and intellectual aspects of reform, not on the practical impact of reform ideas. Rather than examining agriculture per se, these historians have traced the movement back to the founding fathers--Washington, Jefferson, and Madison especially--and have greatly praised their efforts and those of nineteenth-century reformers such as Edmund Ruffin, John Taylor, John Hartwell Cocke, and others (Craven 1965:passim; Gates 1960:107-110; Gray 1941:Vols. 1 and 2:passim; Herndon 1978:394-406; Robert 1938:15-31; Wiser 1963:passim; Wiser 1969:105-132).

While these works are informative and valuable, they do not provide much assistance in our efforts to understand how planters and farmers responded to the difficulties of the years before 1840. Which of the many obstacles may have been predominant is uncertain, as is the interaction among them over time. From colonial studies of the Eastern Shore and of All Hallows's Parish, it is evident that planters were flexible in substituting wheat for tobacco when prices declined. After the Revolution, tobacco appears to have lost its dominance, but years of high prices probably encouraged renewed planting. As will be seen later, we do have some data on trends in Prince Georges and St. Marys counties. In general, however, it is clear that the greater economic growth before 1840 occurred in the grain and livestock areas of Western Maryland and around Baltimore, where increased dairying, haying, and market gardening spurred agricultural expansion. Until 1830, however, the general agricultural economy remained stagnant (Mitchell and Muller 1979:24).

Just as most historians accept the notion of a general agricultural decline from 1783 to 1830-1840, they accept Craven's and others' assertions that Maryland experienced an economic renewal between 1830 and the Civil War. The agricultural reform movement launched by wealthy planters in the eighteenth century, the argument goes, slowly spread to smaller farmers and, combined with improved transportation, population growth, higher prices, industrial expansion, and new markets, regenerated Maryland's long-suffering agricultural economy. There seems little reason to dispute this interpretation. Table 7 reveals the rapid growth in agricultural production in Maryland after 1840, although the greatest gains occurred in the 1850s. The year 1850 marked the first comprehensive collection of agricultural statistics. More enlightening for this report, however, is to establish, first, the regional variations in agricultural growth in Maryland before the Civil War and, second, the form that growth took in Prince Georges County and in the Oxon Hill Manor area. This section examines the first topic. The second will be studied in a later section.

While accepting the long-standing general thesis of an agricultural revival after 1830 or 1840, historians more recently are modifying this interpretation by pointing to regional variations. By mid-century, the newer works argue, progress in Maryland economic life had had a clearly differential impact in the state and had produced four distinctive regions. Northwestern, or Western Maryland, had advanced most rapidly. Eight counties, including Baltimore County, produced half of



the state's wheat and one-third of its corn and oats. A typical Western Maryland farmer "was worth more, produced more, and used more agricultural machinery per acre" than his counterparts in other parts of the state (Baker 1973:8). Outside Baltimore, Western Maryland benefited most from transportation improvements. Most significant were the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, both of which began construction in 1828. By the 1840s Western Maryland was connected to Baltimore, thereby opening markets not only for its agricultural products, but also for coal and iron. By 1860, Western Maryland attracted 42 percent of the state's investment capital and produced one-third of Maryland's industrial output (Baker 1973:8; Friis 1968a:148-149; Evitts 1974:5-7; Walsh and Fox 1974:188-189, 212-218; Gates 1960:107-115).

Table 7. Agricultural Production in Maryland, 1840-1860

	1840	1850	% Change	1860	% Change
Farms	--	21,860	--	25,244	15.5
Improved Acres	--	2,797,905	--	3,002,267	7.3
Average Farm Acreage	--	212	--	192	-10.4
Value of Farms	--	87,178,545	--	145,973,677	67.4
Value of Farm Implements	--	2,463,443	--	4,010,529	62.9
Value of Livestock	--	7,997,634	--	14,667,853	83.4
Value of Orchard Products	114,339	164,051	43.5	252,196	53.7
Value of Market Gardens	133,197	200,869	50.8	530,221	164.0
Wheat (bushels)	3,511,433	4,494,680	28.0	6,103,480	35.8
Rye (bushels)	824,333	226,014	-72.6	518,901	129.6
Corn (bushels)	8,470,165	10,749,858	26.9	13,444,922	25.1
Oats (bushels)	3,579,950	2,242,151	-37.4	3,959,298	76.6
Tobacco (lbs)	18,916,012	21,407,497	13.2	38,410,965	79.4
Potatoes (bushels)	1,058,919	973,932	8.0	1,501,169	54.1
Butter (lbs)		3,806,160		5,265,295	38.3
Hay (tons)	110,836	157,956	42.5	191,744	21.4
Swine	421,520	352,941	-16.3	387,756	9.9
Sheep	262,909	177,902	-32.3	155,765	-12.4
Cattle	240,432	219,586	-8.7	253,241	15.3
Horses/Mules	93,954	81,328	-13.4	103,829	27.7

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D.C., (1840); 1850a:225-228; 1860a:72-73

Superseding the growth of Western Maryland was the city of Baltimore. From a small but growing town of 7,000 in 1776, Baltimore had expanded to 15,000 by 1795, making it the nation's fifth largest city, to 31,500 by 1800, and to 170,000 by 1850 (Reps 1972:281-195; DiLisio 1979:147). Tobacco exports spurred Baltimore's growth in the 1790s, but wheat and flour came to dominate in the nineteenth century. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, along with additional transportation links to Washington, D. C., Delaware, and the northeastern cities, made Baltimore one of the nation's predominant ports by 1860. Industrial growth matched agricultural improvement. By 1860 Baltimore had over 1,100 industrial establishments employing over 20,000 workers, many of them the new European immigrants. The new population in the city



also generated a heavy demand for foodstuffs, and dairying, orchard production and truck farming sprang up around the city after 1830 (Baker 1973:11-12; DiLisio 1983:146-151; Mitchell and Muller 1979:25-38; Friis 1968a:17-23; Reps 1972:148-149; Evitts 1974: 5-7; Browne 1980:passim; Walsh and Fox 1974:188-189, 212-218).

A third region, the Eastern Shore, experienced significantly less economic change. Population grew little or not at all in the area, and by 1850 no town exceeded 2,000 persons. The home of Maryland's least prosperous farmers, the Eastern Shore produced vegetables, fruits, and grains for export, but tended toward a self-conscious isolationism which gave way to occasional threats to secede from the state. Neither commerce nor industry experienced significant growth on the Eastern Shore before the Civil War (Baker 1973:9-10).

Occupying an intermediary position between the stagnant Eastern Shore and the dynamic areas of Baltimore and Western Maryland, Southern Maryland experienced some agricultural revival within the traditional tobacco-dominated economy. The area maintained a slaveholding and rural orientation, although tobacco appears to have yielded some ground to wheat and other crops within certain subregions. The changes within Prince Georges and St. Mary's counties will be examined later. In general, however, the old plantation stereotype of "extensive fields worked by slaves, scattered stately homes, and the dominance of the land by one family..." was prevalent enough to allow parts of Southern Maryland to "be mistaken for the deep South black belt" (Evitts 1974:9). Tables 8 and 9 reveal the extent to which slavery persisted in Southern Maryland by comparing Maryland, the South and regions of the South, South Carolina, and the five counties of Southern Maryland between 1790 and 1860.

Slaveholding in Southern Maryland was stable or increased among the counties, while falling precipitously in the state as a whole. Slavery as a percentage of total population was almost as high in Prince Georges County as in South Carolina. Slaveholding in Charles County was higher than in South Carolina, although the data does not measure county-level differentials in South Carolina. In 1860, Southern Maryland held only seven percent of Maryland's white population and almost half of its slaves. Most slaves produced tobacco, although some were engaged in raising wheat, corn, oats, and other crops (Baker 1973:11). While economic growth may have lifted some regions out of their doldrums, the area as a whole apparently presented the image of "a colonial world grown old and beginning to decay." Referring to Annapolis, a town of only 3,011 persons in 1850, a Maryland editor wrote in 1854 that the city, "which was in by-gone days the seat of fashion of the Union, has degenerated into one of the most dreary, dull, and monotonous places on earth" (Evitts 1974:9-10).

## Slavery

As Table 8 indicates, slavery declined in Maryland, as in the Border States or Upper South generally, while it rose in the Lower South. This can be explained in part by the general trend in the Upper South toward more mixed farming, as a combination of tobacco, wheat, corn, grains, hay, hemp, and livestock replaced tobacco alone as the dominant crop. Farms tended to shrink in size and free wage labor increasingly replaced slave labor. By contrast, the Lower South tended to emphasize staple-crop production for export, usually cotton, rice, or sugar. Crops were raised by large gangs of slaves on large plantations (Mitchell 1972:740-742).

Table 8. Slaves as a Percentage of Total Population in Maryland, South Carolina, and the South, 1790-1860

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<u>Year</u>	<u>South Maryland</u>	<u>Southern Carolina</u>	<u>Border States</u>	<u>Lower States*</u>	<u>States</u>
1790	32.2	43.0	33.5	32.0	41.1
1800	30.9	42.3	32.7	30.8	40.3
1810	29.3	47.3	33.4	30.1	44.7
1820	36.4	51.4	34.0	29.6	45.6
1830	23.0	54.3	34.0	29.0	46.0
1840	19.1	55.0	34.0	26.7	46.0
1850	15.5	57.6	33.3	24.7	45.4
1860	12.7	57.2	32.3	22.3	44.8

\* Includes Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, and Tennessee; remaining states in Lower South.

Source: Gray 1941, Vol. 2:656

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The association between mixed farming, small farms, and free, usually white, wage labor, and between staple-crop production, plantations and slave labor is an essentially accurate generalization on the basic characteristics of antebellum agriculture in the South. Recent research, however, cautions against overly-simplified application of this generalization. In an excellent study of agriculture in St. Mary's County, Southern Maryland, Bayly Marks points out that tobacco began to give way to wheat as the county's cash crop immediately following the American Revolution. By 1790, wheat was already seen as "an alternative or supplemental crop to tobacco" (Marks 1979). Owing to relatively better wheat prices than tobacco prices and to the all-important growing Baltimore market, St. Mary's County was able to convert much of its tobacco production to wheat. The expansion of wheat, however, did not occur evenly throughout the county. Rather, wheat was grown where soils were appropriate. By 1840 the county demonstrated substantial regional variations in the dominance of tobacco or wheat, although tobacco still predominated over wheat in the county as a whole.

Equally important to our understanding of antebellum agriculture was the fact that the increased emphasis on wheat did not diminish the importance of slavery in St. Mary's County. In the First District of the county, where wheat production was highest, 88 percent of all farmers owned slaves. The district average slaveholding was six slaves, the same as in the tobacco-dominant Fourth and Fifth districts (Marks 1979:153). Tobacco planters held the largest numbers of slaves, although slave ownership tended to decline more rapidly among small tobacco producers than among small wheat producers. In fact, among tenants, tobacco producers rarely owned or hired slaves while wheat producers commonly owned or hired slave labor. By 1840 fewer tobacco farmers than wheat farmers owned slaves. The conversion to wheat, Marks asserts, aided the perpetuation of slavery in the county (Marks 1979:249-250, 419).

Marks also helps to clarify the impact of migration on the agricultural economy and on the racial distribution of population. The emigration of whites, dominated by poor tenants, outpaced the emigration of slaves. Although slaves as a percentage of total population remained roughly stable,

the proportion of households owning slaves increased to 60 percent by 1840. Slaves, land, and other forms of wealth, however, became increasingly concentrated over time. By 1840, for example, 66 percent of all householders were tenants. Most were concentrated in the tobacco areas, although tenancy was common throughout the county. Landowners were pushing up rents, slaves were becoming increasingly expensive, and tobacco area tenants were experiencing serious downward mobility (Marks 1979:257-273, 355-357).

In a comparable study of Orange and Greene counties in Piedmont, Virginia, John Schlotterbeck finds trends similar to St. Mary's County. He indicates that these counties had begun to diversify toward wheat as early as the 1720s, and that by 1760 wheat had become an important secondary staple. While suffering most of the difficulties of post-Revolutionary agriculture, the two counties adapted to economic recession by diversifying even further and by focusing on the local exchange of surplus rather than on export to urban or foreign markets. By 1815, the author continues, "mixed farming, characterized by a wide variety of crops and marketable products, self-sufficiency in food production," and some home manufacturing was the dominant agricultural system in the counties (Schlotterbeck 1980:4, 38-62, 160-168).

As in St. Mary's County, moreover, agricultural diversification did not preclude the perpetuation of slavery. In Orange County, for example, the percentage of households owning slaves increased so that by 1850 70 percent of all households owned slaves. While tenancy was less common here than along the Virginia Tidewater--17 percent of households--about 40 percent of tenants owned slaves. The farm workforce was approximately 75 percent slave (Schlotterbeck 1980:63-65, 185-188). As in St. Mary's County, the perpetuation of slavery within a more diversified agriculture depended greatly on the hiring out of slaves during low-activity periods. Farmers hired slaves by exchanging them during harvest and other active periods, and slaveowners frequently hired slaves to nearby industrial or transportation operations. Slavery, Schlotterbeck concludes, adapted to the new agricultural economy of the region during a period of general stagnation. Although not providing details, he does suggest that slavery declined after 1850 when transportation and other improvements began to alter the localized economy of the 1790-1850 period (Schlotterbeck 1980:189-198, 301-312).

Both Marks and Schlotterbeck offer well-researched case studies of regional agricultural change from the Revolution until the years before the Civil War. Marks does not take her study beyond 1840, so the impact of agricultural reform in St. Mary's County is not addressed. Both studies, however, demonstrate that the general interpretation of antebellum Southern agricultural trends, while emphasizing decline and renewal, the close association between staple crops for export and slavery, and the marriage of free labor and mixed farming, must be approached with caution. The implications of these observations for Prince Georges County and the Oxon Hill Manor region will be discussed in the appropriate sections of this report.

### Free Blacks

One of the principal effects of agricultural decline or stagnation after the Revolution was a surplus of slaves. Coupled with the decline in tobacco production, the shift toward greater diversification reduced the size of slaveholdings or encouraged slaveowners either to sell slaves or to carry their slaves with them to new lands to the West. While slavery adapted to mixed farming, the number of slaves tended to decline in many, but not all areas, or to decline until the agricultural revival after 1840 permitted slave growth again. In Southern Maryland the white and slave populations declined and increased at varying rates after 1860. By 1860 Prince Georges, Anne Arundel, and Calvert

counties showed small increases in the white population; Charles and St. Mary's showed declines. The slave population rose slightly in Calvert and Prince Georges counties, but declined in Anne Arundel, Charles, and St. Mary's counties. Table 9 indicates the net results of these changes over the period from 1790 to 1860.

Table 9. Slave Population as a Percentage of Total Population in the Five Counties of Southern Maryland, 1790-1860.

Year	Anne Arundel	Calvert	Charles	Prince Georges	St. Mary's	Maryland
1790	44.8	49.8	48.9	52.4	44.9	32.2
1800	43.1	49.4	49.9	57.5	46.7	30.9
1810	43.8	49.2	61.4	44.6	46.9	29.3
1820	37.9	45.4	57.1	55.3	46.6	26.4
1830	36.6	43.8	57.0	56.6	45.9	23.0
1840	33.2	45.2	57.3	54.4	43.6	19.1
1850	34.7	46.5	59.3	53.4	42.6	15.5
1860	30.7	44.1	58.4	53.5	43.0	12.7

Source: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1870c:36-37

While Maryland's white population grew by 114.9 percent and its slave population declined by 15.4 percent from 1790 to 1860, the population of free blacks grew dramatically. Table 10 reveals that the free black population of Maryland rose from 1,817 in 1755 to 83,942 by 1860, the latter figure almost equaling the slave population, 87,189, by 1860. In Southern Maryland the free black population grew from 1,851 in 1790 to 10,837 by 1860, an increase of 485.5 percent. For the state as a whole the increase from 1790 to 1860 was 943.7 percent, from 8,043 to 83,942. By 1860 free blacks made up 12.1 percent of the population of Southern Maryland and 12.2 percent of population of the state. Clearly, the state as a whole had caught up to southern Maryland over the years. Most of the growth occurred in Baltimore, where the free black population grew from 927 in 1790 to 29,911 by 1860, an increase of over 3,000 percent. In fact, Baltimore housed 35.6 percent of the entire free black population in 1860 (Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1870c:36-37; Wright 1921:88).

Table 10. Racial Distribution of Population in Maryland, 1748-1860

Year	Total	Whites	Total	% Blacks	Free Total	% Slaves	Total	%
1748	130,000	94,000	72.3	--	--	36,000	27.7	
1755	150,168	107,208		71.4	1,817	1.2	41,143	27.4
1760	166,523	116,759		70.1	--	--	49,764	29.9
1770	199,827	140,110		70.1	--	--	59,717	29.9
1782	254,050	170,688		67.2	--	--	83,362	32.8
1790	319,728	208,649		65.3	8,043	2.5	103,036	32.2
1800	341,548	216,326		63.3	19,587	5.7	105,635	30.9

Table 10. Continued.

1810	380,546	235,117	61.8	33,927	8.9	111,502	29.3
1820	407,350	260,223	63.9	39,730	9.8	107,397	26.4
1830	447,040	291,108	65.1	52,938	11.8	102,994	23.0
1840	470,019	318,204	67.7	62,078	13.2	89,737	19.1
1850	583,034	417,943	71.7	74,723	12.8	90,368	15.5
1860	687,049	515,918	75.1	83,942	12.2	87,189	12.7

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, 1870c:36-37; Fisher 1852:25; Papenfuse and Coale 1982:37

The phenomenal growth of the free black population in Maryland has not been adequately explained by historians, nor do we have any understanding of the social, economic, or political implications of this phenomenon. For example, the sheer number of free blacks in Maryland outstripped its nearest rival, Virginia, by 83,942 to 58,042. In Virginia, however, only 10.6 percent of all blacks were free, compared to 49.1 percent in Maryland. In North Carolina, which followed Virginia with 30,463 free blacks, the percentage was only 8.6 percent. While Maryland topped all states in total free blacks, the proportion of free blacks among all blacks was actually greater in Delaware, with 77.8 percent, and in the District of Columbia, with 91.7 percent (Berlin 1974:136-137).

The essential characteristics of free black life have been well researched by historians such as Berlin (1974), for the South generally, Franklin (1943), for North Carolina, and Jackson (1942), for Virginia. Various studies of slavery treat free blacks to some extent (Genovese 1974:398-405). Marks (1979) discusses free blacks in St. Mary's County, Maryland before 1840, but our understanding of the growth and characteristics of free blacks in Maryland remains obscure. Studies of slavery and free blacks in Maryland by Wright (1921) and Brackett (1889) and on the District of Columbia by Brown (1972) are unsophisticated and superficial compared to the works of Berlin and others. The poorer studies tend to explain its growth as the result of the popularity of liberal political philosophy and religious conscience following the American Revolution. Better studies expand on these factors to include the fact that the stagnant or declining economy after 1790 created a surplus of slaves which owners chose to get rid of by sale or manumission. The rate of growth was much greater between 1790 and 1830 than afterward, a fact explained by the increasing severity of both slavery and restrictions on free blacks after 1830. Most researchers note that individual slaveowners freed slaves within a generally hostile popular climate, even before 1830. Perhaps the most famous example was Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Virginia. Carter decided to free 509 slaves, beginning in 1791 and continuing to 1812. His decision was very unpopular and severe criticism eventually influenced his decision to retire to Baltimore (Phillips 1929:226, Gutheim 1949:91).

Undoubtedly some combination of moral and economic factors caused the general expansion of the free black population after 1790. Only systematic and focused research will uncover dominant influences and reveal regional variations. Walsh and Fox, for example, point to three factors influencing Maryland's peculiar dominance: (1) the less severe manumission regulations in practice in the state; (2) the rapid growth of demand for free labor in Baltimore; and, (3) the well-developed self-help agencies, such as social clubs, benevolent societies, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in Maryland (Walsh and Fox 1974:231-235). Berlin's fine study makes the same point about the phenomenon generally, but it also stresses the importance of both moral concerns and the economic need to get rid of surplus slaves (Berlin 1974:30-31, 51-88). The economic argument is strongly reinforced by the fact that the free black population contained disproportionate numbers of older adults, especially women. Marks found this to be true in St. Mary's County in 1840 (Marks

1979:439). The economic argument is also bolstered by the fact that free blacks were disproportionately represented in the areas of Virginia and Maryland, where economic difficulties were most pronounced (Berlin 1974:passim; Genovese 1974:398-405; Wright 1921:passim; Morris 1948:385-387; Franklin 1943:passim; Brackett 1889:passim; Brown 1972:42-77; Jackson 1942:ix-70; Gray 1941:Vol. 2:616; Papenfuse 1972:306-307; Mitchell and Muller 1979:25; Walsh and Fox 1974:219-220).

## Antebellum Prince Georges County

### Agriculture

Writing for the American Farmer in 1819, the anonymous "Agricola" described the impact of tobacco on the lower counties of the Western Shore:

Dreary and uncultivated waste, a barren and exhausted soil, halfclothed negroes, lean and hungry stock, a puny race of horses, a scarcity of provender, houses falling to decay, and fences windshaken and dilapidated...The cultivation of tobacco as a sole and entire crop has brought this scene to pass (American Farmer, Vol 1, 1819:98-99).

Tobacco, he continued, "starves the earth by producing but little litter, and it starves its cultivators by producing nothing to eat." The soil becomes "cadaverous" and the cultivators "squalid," Agricola moaned, all because the local farmers were too "unreflecting, unenterprising" to adopt sensible agricultural practices. Farmers should rotate crops, diversify away from tobacco, reduce slaveholdings, and become more like the model New England farmers. The Baltimore market for a variety of crops, he concluded, was ripe for the plucking (American Farmer, Vol. 1, 1819:98-99, 264-265).

Such was the opening shot of the American Farmer's first issue, published in Baltimore in 1819. It represented the views of the expanding agricultural reform movement in the Upper South, as yet unrepresentative of the overwhelming majority of Southern Maryland farmers. The basic characteristics of agriculture in Prince Georges County before 1840 are not clearly understood. Available research strongly suggests, however, that the county did not move toward greater diversification, as in St. Mary's County, but continued its traditional reliance on tobacco. Without information on production levels and local marketing patterns, it is impossible to determine whether or not tobacco's continued dominance may have operated within a diversifying pattern. The county probably retrenched into self-sufficiency and local exchange, perhaps along the lines of Orange and Greene counties in Virginia during this period, but researchers must expect that the growth of Washington, D.C. and Baltimore affected the county as they clearly would later. Still, the American Farmer of 1840 continued to complain about "the lethargy and supineness which overwhelm the agriculturalists of old Prince Georges"(McCauley 1973:20-21).

Donald McCauley, in the only available in-depth examination of Prince Georges County between the Revolution and the Civil War, calculated that agriculture in the county did not begin to decline seriously until about 1790. By that time population pressure and destructive agricultural practices caused considerable soil deterioration. By 1807, many creeks and navigable rivers, such as the Anacostia, were silting up and forcing commercial towns such as Piscataway and Bladensburg into decline (Papenfuse 1972:269; Scott 1807:128-129; McCauley 1973:38-43). Amid constant complaints of soil exhaustion and agricultural poverty, migration from the county became massive. Prince Georges lost 12,299 white residents between 1790 and 1840, and the white population in

1840 was 2,181 lower than in 1790. In 1840 the county had only 78 males aged 16-25 per 100 females in the same age group (McCauley 1973:46-52).

Within the county, the Potomac River side was more adversely affected than the Patuxent River side. Perhaps soil erosion and exhaustion was greater along the Potomac, causing a more rapid decline in yields. The Patuxent soils were not only the county's best tobacco soils, but the state's best tobacco soils, and yields may have held up better. Also, Scott points out, Potomac soils were ill-suited to wheat, making diversification less feasible. The most economically stable region of the county was in the Western Branch and Collington Hundreds (Election Districts 2 and 3, including 7 later), known at the time as "the rich forest lands of Prince Georges County" (Scott 1807:122; McCauley 1973:53-55). Western Branch and Collington Hundreds were the location of the estates of Zachariah Berry, owner of Oxon Hill Manor in 1840, and of Thomas E. Berry, his grandson and future owner of the manor. In 1840 Thomas E. Berry, "apparently prospering and optimistic about the future," paid \$60.25 per acre for 416 acres in Collington Hundred. The figure was one of the highest per acre prices in the state. From 1820 to 1840, Election District 3 (Queen Anne's, later Marlborough), lost only three percent of its white population; District 6 (Spaldings), where Oxon Hill Manor was located, lost 19.3 percent (McCauley 1973:64-67) (Figure 21: No available map shows the districts before District 3 was divided into Districts 2, 3, and 7).

Agricultural production data--and therefore information on crop or livestock distribution--is not available for Prince Georges County before the 1840 agricultural census. The county's commitment to tobacco is demonstrated by its production of 9,259,423 pounds in 1839, a figure which was 48.9 percent of the state's total and almost three times the 3,265,271 pounds harvested by its nearest rival, Charles County. Production declined to 8,380,851 pounds in 1850, perhaps reflecting the fact that 1839 was an exceptional year. By 1859 production reached 13,446,550 pounds, although this was only 35.0 percent of the state's total (Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers, 1840: Maryland, National Archives; 1850a Census:225-228; 1860a Census:72-73).

Table 11 shows agricultural production levels of key crops and livestock, as well as the value of market gardening, orchard products, and dairy products. Most notable is the dominance of tobacco.

Table 11. Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County and in Maryland, 1840

Category	<u>Maryland</u>	<u>Prince Georges County</u>	<u>% of State</u>
Tobacco (lbs)	18,916,012	9,259,423	48.9
Hay (tons)	110,836	2,618	2.4
Potatoes (bushels)	1,058,919	21,570	2.0
Corn (bushels)	8,470,165	507,266	6.0
Rye (bushels)	824,333	38,211	4.6
Oats (bushels)	3,579,950	107,070	3.0
Wheat (bushels)	3,511,433	80,147	2.3
Swine	421,520	24,210	5.7
Sheep	262,909	13,833	5.3
Cattle	240,432	10,482	4.4
Horses and Mules	93,954	4,648	4.9
Market Gardens (\$)	133,197	3,480	2.6
Orchard Products (\$)	114,339	1,777	1.6

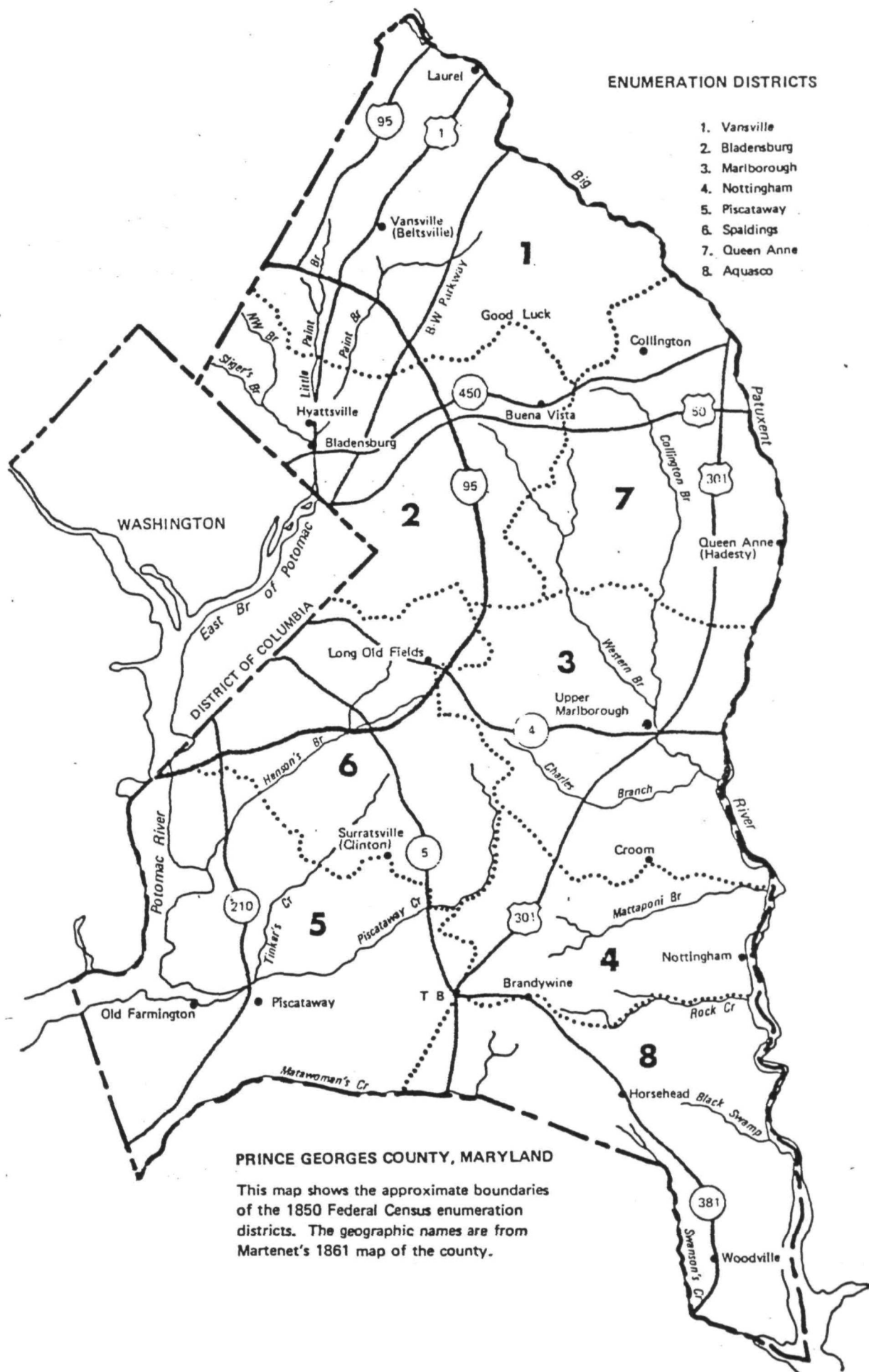




Table 11. Continued.

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Dairy Products (\$)	466,558	7,710	1.7
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Source: Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers, 1840: Maryland, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

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Table 12 compares those categories which could be compared between 1840 and 1860. In 1860 Prince Georges County was producing 34.8 percent of Maryland's tobacco, much more than any other county. The county produced only 5.3 percent of the corn and wheat in the state. While the significance of changes in all agricultural categories is impossible to determine, it appears that corn, hay, wheat, market gardening, and, to a lesser extent, orchard production, all increased substantially after 1840. This suggests some diversification, but only within the continued domination of tobacco.

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Table 12. Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County, 1840-1860

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Category	1840	1850	1860
Tobacco (lbs)	9,259,423	8,380,851	13,446,550
Hay (tons)	2,618	5,557	6,328
Potatoes <sup>1</sup> (bushels)	21,570	51,503	30,936
Corn (bushels)	507,266	693,020	699,144
Rye (bushels)	38,211	18,491	24,234
Oats (bushels)	107,070	67,286	98,073
Wheat (bushels)	80,147	231,687	312,796
Swine	24,201	20,193	25,927
Sheep	13,833	11,650	8,828
Cattle	10,482	11,101	12,183
Horses and Mules	4,648	4,812	6,065
Market Gardens (\$)	3,480	13,281	30,483
Orchard Products (\$)	1,777	8,202	5,370

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<sup>1</sup>Includes Irish and Sweet Potatoes

Source: Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures 1840: Maryland, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1850a:225-228; 1860a:72-73, 203, 231.

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Table 13 reveals production levels within Prince Georges County election districts in 1840. Oxon Hill Manor was located in District 6, Spaldings, as can be seen in Figure 21. Most striking is the low level of tobacco production compared to any of the other districts. The 91,198 pounds of tobacco was only 1.0 percent of county production, although District 6 contained 6.7 percent of the county's population. District 3 produced 44.4 percent of the county's tobacco while containing only 26.8 percent of the county population. In fact, the proportion of agricultural production in District 6 was below its proportion of county population in every category. Such consistent levels suggest that the district was agriculturally depressed. Tobacco, which dominated the county, showed the lowest

percentage of any category. (Assuming the zero values for market gardens, orchards, and dairy derive from an incomplete census).

Table 13. Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County, by Districts, 1840.

Category	Districts				
	1 and 2	3	4	5	6
Tobacco (lbs)	1,433,250	4,113,363	2,411,512	1,210,100	91,198
Hay (tons)	522	1,108	226	357	406
Potatoes (bushels)	5,012	9,026	4,074	2,214	1,244
Corn (bushels)	60,438	246,177	94,258	87,620	18,733
Rye (bushels)	5,954	18,597	4,796	6,665	2,197
Oats (bushels)	16,884	55,444	18,693	12,819	3,230
Wheat (bushels)	10,415	32,178	16,414	17,378	3,762
Swine	4,092	9,484	5,082	4,471	1,072
Sheep	2,677	5,611	3,052	2,039	454
Cattle	2,117	2,345	2,794	2,660	566
Horses and Mules	1,040	1,185	1,132	1,034	257
Market Gardens (\$)	0	0	490	2,990	0
Orchard Products (\$)	1,242	120	0	415	0
Dairy Products (\$)	4,590	1,920	1,055	145	0

Source: Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures 1840: Maryland, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

By 1850, tobacco production in Spaldings, or District 6, had reached only 1.3 percent of the county total, although Prince Georges was producing 39.1 percent of the state's total. Table 14 shows production levels for Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings District in 1850. It lists more agricultural categories than previous tables because more information was taken by the censuses of 1850 to 1880. Most striking in 1850 is the high level for market gardening--21.5 percent of the county value. Given the low level for the county in relation to the state--6.6 percent--Spalding's market gardening clearly reflects the impact of its proximity to Washington, D. C. Hay, suggesting dairying and livestock increased, and Irish potatoes also showed relatively high levels. The county as a whole did not demonstrate high production levels outside of tobacco. The 39.1 percent of the state total was much higher than the county's 3.7 percent of state population.

Table 14. Agricultural Production in 1850 Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings District

Category	Maryland	Prince Georges County	% State	Spaldings	% County
Improved Acres	2,797,905	191,553	6.8	11,199	5.8
Value of Farms	87,178,545	5,565,751	6.4	263,829	4.7
Value of Farm Implements	2,463,443	125,656	5.1	4,831	3.8
Value of Livestock	7,997,634	492,650	6.2	25,390	5.2

Table 14. Continued.

Value of Animals					
Slaughtered	1,954,800	103,351	5.3	5,048	4.9
Value of Orchard Products	164,051	8,202	5.0	622	7.6
Value of Market Gardens	200,869	13,281	6.6	2,861	21.5
Wheat (bushels)	4,494,680	231,687	5.2	7,863	3.4
Rye (bushels)	226,014	18,491	8.2	1,185	6.4
Corn (bushels)	10,749,858	693,020	6.4	28,975	4.2
Oats (bushels)	2,242,151	67,286	3.0	2,510	3.7
Tobacco (lbs)	21,407,497	8,380,851	39.1	109,000	1.3
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	764,939	47,458	6.2	4,646	9.8
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	208,993	4,045	1.9	101	2.5
Butter (lbs)	3,806,160	100,947	2.7	4,835	4.8
Hay (tons)	157,956	5,557	3.5	692	12.5

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D. C. 1850b:225-228; 1850: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agriculture Census.

Table 15 shows the same data as Table 14 for the year 1860. The relative importance of tobacco in the county had declined, but only slightly, and the same occurred in Spaldings District. The most dramatic change developed in orchard production, increasing from 7.6 percent of county production to 56.1 percent. The county's absolute value of orchard production actually decreased, as did its proportion of state production. Spaldings also showed a substantial rise in market gardening, even though the county lost ground. Given the fact that the county contained 3.4 percent of the state's population but produced 35.0 percent of its tobacco, the dominance of tobacco in the county as a whole is very evident.

Table 15. Agricultural Production in 1860 Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings District

Category	Maryland	Prince Georges County	% State	Spaldings	% County
Improved Acres	3,002,267	182,468	6.1	10,274	5.6
Value of Farms	145,973,677	10,421,108	7.1	607,600	5.8
Value of Farm Implements	4,010,529	211,971	5.3	11,057	5.2
Value of Livestock	14,667,853	875,317	6.0	46,275	5.3
Value of Animals					
Slaughtered	2,801,510	90,603	3.2	1,557	1.7
Value of Orchard Products	252,196	5,370	2.1	3,010	56.1
Value of Market Gardens	530,221	30,483	5.7	9,290	30.5
Wheat (bushels)	6,103,480	312,796	5.1	7,032	2.2
Rye (bushels)	518,901	24,234	4.6	1,861	7.7
Corn (bushels)	13,444,922	699,144	5.2	28,750	4.1
Oats (bushels)	3,959,298	98,073	2.5	4,584	4.7
Tobacco (lbs)	38,410,965	13,446,550	35.0	152,200	1.1
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	1,264,429	29,974	2.4	2,083	6.9

Table 15. Continued.

Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	236,740	962	0.4	0	0.0
Butter (lbs)	5,265,295	78,629	1.5	2,898	3.7
Hay (tons)	191,744	6,328	3.3	824	13.0

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D. C. 1860b:72-72, 203, 231; 1860: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agriculture Census.

A final point regarding agricultural production is that the period from 1840 to 1860 witnessed substantial county-wide growth in some categories, notably tobacco, wheat, hay, corn, and market gardens. Comparing the more detailed 1850 and 1860 censuses (Tables 14 and 15), we see significant increases in the values of farms, farm implements, and livestock. This pattern suggests greater attention to wheat as a cash crop, requiring greater investments in implements and draft animals, but also continued emphasis on tobacco.

Within Spalding's we see significant increases from 1840 to 1860 in tobacco, hay, potatoes, wheat, market gardens, and orchard production. The relative importance of tobacco, however, did not increase, suggesting an even more dramatic increase in the relative importance of market gardening and orchard production. Comparing the 1850 and 1860 censuses (Tables 14 and 15), we see substantial increases in the values of farms, farm implements, orchard products, and market gardening. Hay increased little, while butter, the value of animals slaughtered, and the value of livestock declined. Wheat, rye, and corn changed little, although oats increased. The pattern of change from 1850 to 1860 is one showing increased emphasis on cash crops -- tobacco, orchard products, market gardening, and potatoes. Oats gained importance while wheat production remained close to 1850 levels. Declines in livestock slaughtered and in butter production suggest less emphasis on dairying. Overall, the growth from 1840 to 1860 clearly supports Craven's assertion that Maryland's agricultural economy revived after 1840.

Donald McCauley's analysis of agricultural trends in Prince Georges County from 1840 to 1860 led to his establishing three economic regions which he termed commercial, transitional, and tobacco zones. He found Election Districts 1 and 2, most accessible to Washington and Baltimore because of proximity or transportation facilities, to be most commercially oriented in that the two districts were both market oriented and less reliant on tobacco as a sole cash crop. District 6, among others, was transitional, while District 3 and several others continued their heavy reliance on tobacco (McCauley 1973:138-140). Additional analysis of agricultural trends in Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings District (Oxon Hill District in 1880) will be provided in a later section which compares antebellum and post-Civil War patterns.

Continued reliance on tobacco is also revealed in land distribution in Prince Georges County. Although average farm size declined as in Maryland generally after 1850--and probably earlier--the average size in Prince Georges was much higher than in the mixed farming areas. In 1860 the county's 263-acre average farm was 37.0 percent higher than the state's 192 acres, 52.0 percent higher than Northern and Western Maryland's 173 acres and 9.6 percent higher than Southern Maryland's 240 acres. Within the county the tobacco areas averaged 303 acres per farm, versus the commercial zone's average of 258 acres, a difference of 17.4 percent. The transitional zone averaged only 212 acres. It also showed significantly lower average land values and average value of farm implements - both below county-wide averages (McCauley 1973:148; 1850 Census:225-228; 1860

Census:72-73, 203, 231). This data reinforces the notion that District 6, Spaldings, as part of the transitional zone was less prosperous than other parts of the county.

### Slavery, Wealthholding and Free Blacks

Previous analysis has shown that slavery persisted in Southern Maryland to a much higher degree than in other parts of the state, and that the proportion of slaves within the population was more comparable to the Lower South than to the state itself. Table 16 reveals this pattern, and it also demonstrates that slaves as a percentage of total population did not actually change significantly after 1790. In fact, the number of slaves in 1860, 12,479, was only 1,303 greater than the 11,176 in 1790. The proportion was similar in both years because the white population actually decreased by 354 persons, from 10,004 in 1790 to 9,650 in 1860. Free black growth accounted for the difference, increasing from 164 in 1790 to 1,198 in 1860 (1870 Census:336-37). Despite apparently low growth rates, Prince Georges County slaves increased from 10,636 in 1840 to 12,479 by 1860, a change of 17.3 percent. An 8.2 percent growth rate in the 1850s was higher than some slave regions of South Carolina and Georgia. Within the county, slave rates varied tremendously. By 1860, District 6, Spaldings, had only 59 slaves per 100 whites, compared to 281 in District 3, Marlborough, and 304 in District 7, Queen Anne's. In fact, only District 1, Vansville, had a lower ratio than Spaldings in 1860 at 37 slaves per 100 whites. This was a pattern which had held true since at least 1820 (1820 Census:22; 1830 Census:80-81; Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures 1840, Maryland), and probably even earlier. It is also probable, however, that slavery had declined in the District 6 area relative to patterns in the more tobacco-oriented districts along the Patuxent River (McCauley 1973:157-162).

Table 16. Percentage Slave and Free Black or Black Population of Maryland and Prince Georges County, 1790-1890.

Year	MARYLAND			PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY		
	Slave	Free Black	Total	Slave	Free Black	Total
1790	32.2	2.5	34.7	52.4	7.7	60.1
1800	30.9	5.7	36.6	57.5	3.1	60.6
1810	29.3	8.9	38.2	44.6	23.9	68.5
1820	26.4	9.8	36.2	55.3	5.4	60.7
1830	23.0	11.8	34.8	56.5	5.9	62.5
1840	19.1	13.2	32.3	54.4	5.5	59.9
1850	15.5	12.8	28.3	53.4	5.3	58.7
1860	12.7	12.2	24.9	53.5	5.1	58.6
1870	--	--	22.5	--	--	46.3
1880	--	--	22.5	--	--	47.2
1890	--	--	20.7	--	--	43.0

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1870c:36-37; 1890a:415.

Slaveholding in Prince Georges County became increasingly concentrated after 1790, as did wealth generally. In 1800, 53.5 percent of households owned slaves; by 1860 only 35.1 percent owned slaves. Average slaveholdings per household did not change much, rising from 13.3 in 1800 to 14.7

in 1860. The state average was 6.3 slaves. The median slaveholding in 1860 Prince Georges County was 25.0 slaves (1860f Census:231). In 1860, however, the top 10 percent of all slaveholders owned nearly two-thirds (66.7 percent) of all slaves, versus 41.2 percent for the top 9.5 percent in 1800 (1800 Census; McCauley 1973:210-216).

Available documentation points to a similar concentration of land and wealth after 1790, although the trend is only certain from 1840 to 1860. By 1860, nearly two-thirds of all assessed acreage was owned by the top 10 percent of all landowners. Almost three-quarters of total assessed wealth (slaves, other personal property) was owned by the top 10 percent. Fully 60.7 percent of all households showed no assessed real estate, however, a figure which suggests a similar percentage of tenancy. Over half of all households, 51.2 percent, listed no assessed personal property. All of these figures indicate that the concentration of wealth increased after 1840, the period in which the county's economy was clearly growing. Average family assessments increased from \$3,668 to \$4,429 between 1840 and 1860, a change of 20.7 percent. District 3 (in 1860 Districts 3, 7, and part of 2), grew by 47.0 percent; District 6, Spaldings, by 9.8 percent, less than half the county average. Moreover, the acreage assessments per family in District 6 in 1860 was \$2,062, only 21.2 percent of District 3's \$9,707 (McCauley 1973:212-217). Such figures strongly reinforce earlier statements that the Spaldings area was considerably less prosperous, despite some growth, than some other parts of the county by 1860. The average assessment in 1860 (\$2,062) was lower than any other district, and only 46.6 percent of the county average (\$4,429).

The somewhat unique expansion of the free black population in Maryland after 1790 has been commented upon already. Table 17 shows that Prince Georges County experienced the same trend, with an extremely rapid surge between 1800 and 1810. This jump has not been explained by historians; it suggests massive manumissions by a few large slaveholders in the manner of Robert Carter of Virginia. If the figure for 1810, 4,979, is valid, most of the newly-freed slaves must have left the county. By 1820 the county showed only 1,096 free blacks. Available data suggests that District 6 may have freed more of its slaves than any other district, at least by 1840. In that year, 13.3 percent of the district population was free black, versus 4.5 percent in District 3 and 5.5 percent for the county as a whole. By 1860 free blacks made up 5.1 percent of the county population, a figure which contrasts sharply with the 12.2 percent total for the state in 1860. Combined with Prince Georges high population of slaves in 1860--53.5 percent--the relatively low free black proportion strongly reinforces evidence regarding the county's strong commitment to slavery before the Civil War.

Table 17. Free Black Population of Maryland and Prince Georges County, 1790-1860.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Maryland</u>	<u>Prince Georges County</u>	<u>% State</u>
1790	8,043	164	2.0
1800	19,587	648	3.3
1810	33,927	4,929	14.5
1820	39,730	1,096	2.8
1830	52,938	1,209	2.3
1840	62,078	1,080	1.7
1850	74,723	1,138	1.5

Table 17. Continued

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1860	83,942	1,198	1.4
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Source: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1870c:36-37.

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## Summary

Summarizing trends in agriculture, slavery, and wealthholding in Maryland and Prince Georges County from 1790 to 1860, it is evident that both experienced a period of decline or stagnation followed by a revival after 1830 or 1840. The impact of both decline and renewal varied significantly within the state and within the county. Western Maryland and Baltimore grew much more rapidly than Southern Maryland or the Eastern Shore. Better transportation, greater economic diversification, and earlier application of agricultural reform were some of the factors contributing to their more rapid development. Southern Maryland and Prince Georges County remained wedded to the traditional tobacco staple, but less so in some regions. St. Mary's County added wheat as an important cash crop, and it did so without reducing the role of slave labor. Slave labor was also adapted to the mixed farming economy of Orange and Greene Counties, Virginia, during this period. This evidence suggests caution in associating tobacco and slavery too closely; that is, researchers should not assume that large numbers of slaves automatically indicates tobacco production in the Upper South.

Within Prince Georges County the relative importance of slavery and tobacco, and the distribution of wealth, varied considerably. While data are incomplete, it appears that Spaldings District, the location of Oxon Hill Manor, never emphasized slavery to the same extent as other areas. In 1783, for example, New Scotland, Oxon, and Bladensburg Hundreds contained only 34.9 percent slaves. Oxon Hundred was the administrative unit for Oxon Hill Manor in 1783. By contrast, Western Branch and Collington Hundreds (later District 3, then Districts 3, 7 and part of 2), showed 64.2 percent of its population as slaves in 1783. The county average was 48.1 percent slaves (Kulikoff 1976:532-533). In 1840 District 6 contained 32.9 percent slaves, versus 66.9 percent in District 3 and 54.4 percent for the county (1840 Population Census, Maryland). Figures for 1860 are not available, but the lack of importance given tobacco suggests that slavery had not increased relative to other districts. High rates of tenancy, known to exist in the later eighteenth century, appear to have continued in both District 6 and the county as a whole. Documentation consulted offers almost no data on tenancy before 1860. Lack of private papers and the tendency to arrange tenant agreements orally greatly limit potential research.

## **Agricultural Diversification and Farm Tenancy, 1860-1900**

As for most areas of the South, our knowledge of social and economic trends in Maryland after the Civil War is extremely underdeveloped. According to one source, social and economic history of Maryland's post Civil War non-urban areas is the most-neglected aspect of Maryland's history (Mitchell and Muller 1979:41). Lack of regional research notwithstanding, the expansion of statistical data collection permits very precise delineation of agricultural, demographic, and industrial trends after 1850. Tax assessment data can be used to supplement the censuses. The assessments are particularly valuable for showing individual holdings of real and personal property, including slaves until 1860. Tax assessment records for Prince Georges County are excellent until 1850, at which date they become very incomplete until the 1890s.

Already in motion before the Civil War, the general trend in agriculture in the Upper South after the war was toward greater diversification. King Cotton took the Lower South toward greater than ever dependence upon a single staple; rice and sugar had a similar effect in certain areas. Another clear trend was the expansion of tenant farming arrangements, usually in the form of sharecropping or cash renting. Variations in tenant systems between and within regions of the South were considerable, but the general trend was unmistakable. Evidence on Oxon Hill Manor after the Civil War points to its eventual organization as some type of plantation employing tenants. Since information is not abundant, and since there is some uncertainty as to precise occupancy and land-use patterns on the estate, parts of the analysis must be considered speculation. Examining trends in agricultural production and tenancy, however, is the best means to establish a comparative context for Oxon Hill Manor's development after 1860. The detailed 1850 agricultural census, along with tax assessments and other documentation, allows evaluation of some trends from before the Civil War. Since Oxon Hill Manor began to break up in the 1880s, and since the manor house burned in 1895, analysis of the estate after 1860 focuses on the years before 1895. Some comments on developments after that date are included, however.

### General Trends in Maryland and the South

Table 18 shows the changes in agricultural production levels from 1860 to 1880, along with percentage changes between the censuses. It is striking to note that many items, such as the value of farms, farm implements, livestock, animals slaughtered, orchard products, and market gardens did not decline--despite the Civil War. Historians point out that the war affected the state adversely only temporarily. Once the Union effectively occupied Maryland, agriculture actually received a boost in some areas due to federal demand for food. Emancipation certainly disrupted labor arrangements, however, as former slaves began flocking to Baltimore, Washington or other larger towns (Mitchell and Muller 1979:38-40; Brackett 1890:25; Walsh and Fox 1974:397). Improved acreage declined after 1860, but not dramatically. The greatest single decline was in tobacco production, which fell 59.0 percent during the decade. The most impressive growth was in orchard products and market gardening. Despite the war, this was a perpetuation of antebellum trends.

Table 18. Agricultural Production in Maryland, 1860-1880.

Category	1860	% Change	1870	% Change	1880	% Change
Farms	25,244	15.5	27,000	7.0	40,517	50.1
Improved Acres	3,002,267	7.3	2,914,007	-2.9	3,342,700	14.7
Average Farm Acreage	192	-10.4	167	-13.0	126	-24.6
Value of Farms	145,973,677	67.4	170,369,684	16.7	165,503,341	-2.9
Value of Farm Implements	4,010,529	62.9	5,268,676	31.4	5,788,197	9.9
Value of Livestock	14,667,853	83.4	18,433,698	25.7	15,865,728	-13.9
Value of Animals Slaughtered	2,801,510	43.3	4,621,418	64.9	--	--
Value of Orchard Products	252,196	53.7	1,319,405	423.4	1,563,188	18.5
Value of Market Gardens	530,221	164.0	1,309,782	147.2	873,968	-33.3



Table 18. Continued.

Wheat (bushels)	6,103,480	35.8	5,773,408	-5.4	8,004,864	38.7
Rye (bushels)	518,901	129.6	307,089	-40.8	288,067	-6.2
Corn (bushels)	13,444,922	25.1	11,701,817	-13.0	15,968,533	36.5
Oats (bushels)	3,959,298	76.6	3,221,643	-18.6	1,794,872	-44.3
Tobacco (lbs)	38,410,965	79.4	15,785,339	-59.0	26,082,147	65.2
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	1,264,429	65.2	1,632,205	29.1	1,497,017	-8.3
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	236,740	13.4	218,706	-7.6	329,590	50.7
Butter (lbs)	5,265,295	38.3	5,014,729	-4.7	7,485,871	49.3
Hay (tons)	191,744	21.4	223,119	16.4	264,567	18.6
Swine	387,756	9.9	257,893	-33.5	335,408	30.1
Sheep	155,765	-12.4	129,697	-16.7	171,184	32.0
Cattle	253,241	15.3	215,359	-15.0	262,540	21.9
Horses and Mules	103,829	27.7	99,526	-3.8	130,352	31.0

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D. C. 1860a:72-73; 1870d:172-183, 354; 1880a:60-61, 119, 141, 156-157, 177, 192, 212, 228, 250-251, 283-284.

By 1880, most items had recovered to at least pre-Civil War levels. Tobacco, sweet potatoes, corn, and butter gained considerably, although the value of market gardens fell. The decline in market gardening, however, was temporary; by 1890 it had risen to \$1,057,116, a 21 percent increase but still below 1870 levels (Table 18; 1890b Census:514). Average farm acreage continued the downward trend begun before the Civil War. Between 1850 and 1880 average total acres per farm fell from 212 to 126; average improved acres declined from 128 to 83 (1850a Census:225-228; 1860a Census:72-73; 1870d Census:172-173; 1880a Census:119).

The census figures reflect a general reorientation of Maryland's agricultural economy after the Civil War. The four basic changes were: reduced farm sizes, less reliance on traditional staples, increased investment in farm implements and machinery, and extended diversification into perishable products. Tobacco production was seriously hindered by labor-supply disruptions and wheat production by competition from the West. Perishable fruits, vegetables, and dairy products became more economically feasible for those areas either close to urban markets or located near good transportation facilities. Fruit and vegetable production grew mostly in Prince Georges and Anne Arundel Counties and on the Eastern Shore (Mitchell and Muller 1979:41-42).

While information about agricultural trends in rural Maryland after the Civil War is available, it is superficial. The precise regional impact of the aforementioned changes is yet to be carefully studied. Industrial growth accelerated in parts of Western Maryland, especially in the coal-producing areas, and some processing of fruits, vegetables, and seafood developed around the Chesapeake. Most dramatic, however, was the continued growth and dominance of Baltimore. By 1900 the city contained two-fifths of the state's total population and one-third of the black population. Two-thirds of Maryland's industrial workers lived in Baltimore and three-fifths of all industrial production came from its industries. Moreover, most remaining industry was located in adjacent areas of Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties. The Baltimore metropolitan area contained over half of the state's population in 1900. Maryland's black population declined steadily in rural areas after 1860. By

1910 blacks made up about 20 percent of rural populations, although Southern Maryland counties contained from 40 to 50 percent blacks (Mitchell and Muller 1979:40-49).

Since the separation of owners and tenants in the census did not occur before 1880, development of tenant arrangements during and immediately after the Civil War is difficult to address statistically. Histories of the South, however, universally agree that tenancy tended to increase in most areas from the late 1860s into the current century. Newly-freed blacks strongly resisted efforts immediately after the war to replace antebellum slave gangs with black wage-labor gangs. Their opposition to such disguised slavery was effective, and landowners were forced to make land available to black farmers. Whites refused to sell land to blacks in most areas, and blacks lacked the resources for purchase in any event. Since confiscation of land was ruled out, blacks intending to stay on the farms had to become tenants, sharecroppers, or wage laborers--or some combination of these (Fite 1984:2-15).

Historical literature on Southern tenancy and post-Civil War landholding is widely available, although many of the long-standing generalizations are being modified by regional studies. Moreover, there exists a clear-cut split between historians or historical economists who apply neo-classical models to post-Civil War agriculture and historians who proceed more empirically. The former camp is dominated by Higgs (1977), Reid (1973), DeCanio (1975), and Shlomowitz (1979); the latter looks to Mandle (1978), Ransom and Sutch (1977), Woodman (1977), and Wiener (1978, 1979). Whatever the merit of their conclusions, the questions raised and the research conducted far exceed any comparable work done on post-Civil War Maryland. Most research on tenancy, it should be noted, has focused on the cotton-producing areas of the South.

Compared to landowning farmers, tenants tended to be relatively poorer, whether black or white. Images of total degradation derived from 1930s photographs and from such sources as H. L. Mencken, who described tenants as "perambulating test tubes for the culture of hookworms," should be approached with caution (Mendenhall 1937:127). As will be seen in the section on Prince Georges County, not all tenants were poor. Such reservations should not detract from the general veracity of the image, however. Tangled in a web of debts which often approached peonage, and locked into single-crop production on often inferior and inadequate lands, tenants found themselves constantly skirting the edges of poverty. Farmers, too, struggled with debts, the ups and downs of international markets, periodic depressions, and inadequate transportation facilities. For complex reasons too detailed to be pursued here, Southern farmers and tenants fell far behind their Northern and Western counterparts. Agricultural methods changed little between 1870 and 1930, exemplified in the fact that only 2 percent of Georgia and South Carolina farmers owned tractors in 1930 compared to 25 percent in Minnesota and 35 percent in Kansas (Fite 1979:3-5, 15). By 1900, Gilbert Fite comments, "the South had become a land of predominantly small farms populated by poor people" (Fite 1984:15).

Rates of tenancy varied greatly among regions of the United States. Between 1880 and 1920, tenancy increased in the North from 19.2 percent of all farms to 28.2 percent. In the West the change was from 14.0 percent to 17.7 percent. With by far the most tenant farms, the South increased from 36.2 percent tenancy in 1880 to 49.6 percent in 1920. In Maryland, tenancy rates were between Southern and Northern patterns. In 1880, 30.9 percent of all farmers were tenants. The rate peaked in 1900, at 33.6 percent, but declined to 28.9 percent by 1920. Most tenants, usually about two-thirds, operated on a share basis rather than on cash rent. This was the pattern for most areas and for the nation as a whole (Goldenweiser and Truesdell 1924:23, 24, 145, 147).

## Trends in Prince Georges County and in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850 - 1890

### Prince Georges County

After the Civil War, agriculture in Prince Georges County diverged increasingly from its antebellum pattern and from the plantation counties of the Lower South. In 1860 tobacco had continued its domination within a plantation system of expanding slavery, although some farmers had turned to market gardening and dairying in the 1850s. Still, in 1860 Prince Georges County was the number one tobacco producing county in the nation, and the census listed two farms over 1,000 acres and 61 over 500 acres. The Civil War had a similar impact on the county as in other parts of the South. It lost population and capital during the war, and the slave plantation system was left disorganized after the war as newly-freed slaves sought new labor arrangements or left the area. In 1870, the values of farm lands, farm implements and machinery, and livestock were 45 to 50 percent below 1860 levels in the South; in Prince Georges County values were down less, about 25 to 30 percent (McCauley 1977:228-229; 1870d Census:172-73, 354, 526-528, 672-74).

Prince Georges began to establish a more balanced farm economy after the Civil War years, more along the lines called for by the antebellum agricultural reformers. The key to this development was the economic advantage of proximity to important urban centers, notably Baltimore and Washington. More specifically, the combination of available credit and expanding, accessible urban markets produced a potent formula which county farmers could utilize to their economic advantage. Unlike the Lower South, Prince Georges County farmers were more able to avoid the debt traps and single-crop dependency so common in the Lower South. The mortgage, rather than the crop-lien with its control over crop selection, was the financial arrangement which ruled Maryland farming. Maryland had 14 savings banks with over \$24 million in deposits; the entire Lower South had only five savings banks and less than \$1.5 million in deposits. Over two-thirds (67.3 percent) of Prince Georges County farms held mortgages by 1890, compared to 51.8 percent in Maryland and 22.8 percent in the South (McCauley 1977:231-233).

The lesser dependence on crop-liens gave county farmers greater flexibility in market opportunities than in the South generally. In almost all areas of production, the county recovered much more rapidly than the South. Significantly, this was not the case in the production of the county's traditional staple: tobacco. Table 19 shows agricultural production levels for Prince Georges County from 1850 to 1880, and Table 20 offers average production levels per farmer for the same period. While not evident in the tables themselves, food production in the county after the Civil War was more than adequate to feed the appropriate population. McCauley determined that the county produced a lesser food surplus in 1880 than in 1860, but the surplus was still substantial. More importantly, this contrasted sharply with the notorious food-importing characteristics of most staple-crop dependent areas of the Lower South at this time.

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Table 19. Agricultural Production in Prince Georges County 1850-1880.

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<u>Category</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>	<u>1870</u>	<u>1880</u>
Farms	885	1,070	835	1,689
Improved Acres	191,553	182,045	125,045	164,289
Value of Farms	5,565,751	10,421,108	7,358,111	6,849,702

Table 19. Continued.

Value of Farm Implements	125,656	211,971	159,659	199,475
Value of Livestock	492,650	875,317	659,620	597,890
Value of Animals				
Slaughtered	103,351	90,603	120,597	--
Value of Orchard Products	8,202	5,370	15,346	49,258
Value of Market Gardens	13,281	30,483	52,429	136,077
Value of Forest Products	--	--	25,189	75,990
Value of All Farm Products	--	--	1,340,947	1,252,617
Value of Fences	--	--	--	84,141
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	48,701
Wheat (bushels)	231,687	312,796	79,181	129,946
Rye (bushels)	18,491	24,234	23,849	17,041
Corn (bushels)	693,020	699,144	518,131	656,888
Oats (bushels)	67,286	98,073	57,411	37,395
Tobacco (lbs)	8,380,851	13,446,550	3,665,004	6,575,246
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	47,458	29,974	60,179	50,721
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	4,045	962	8,099	40,977
Butter (lbs)	100,947	78,629	69,658	126,358
Hay (tons)	5,557	6,328	6,536	5,269
Milk (gallons)	--	--	21,190	147,192

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D. C. 1850a:225-228; 1860a:72-73, 203, 231; 1870d:172-173, 354, 526-528, 672-674; 1880a:60-61, 119, 141, 156-157, 177, 192, 212, 228, 250-251, 283-284.

Table 20. Average Agricultural Production Per Farmer in Prince Georges County, 1850-1880.

Category	1850	1860	1870	1880
Farms	885	1,070	835	1,689
Improved Acres	216	171	150	97
Value of Farms <sup>1</sup>	6,431	9,739	8,812	4,055
Value of Farm Implements	--	198	191	118
Value of Livestock	--	818	790	354
Value of Animals Slaughtered	81	85	144	--
Value of Orchard Products	1	5	18	29
Value of Market Gardens	1	28	63	81
Value of Wages	--	--	591	--
Value of Forest Products	--	--	30	45
Value of All Farm Products	--	--	1,606	742
Value of Fences	--	--	--	50
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	29
Wheat (bushels)	262	292	95	77
Rye (bushels) <sup>2</sup>	97	23	29	10
Corn (bushels)	783	653	621	389



Table 20. Continued.

Oats (bushels)	--	92	69	22
Tobacco (lbs)	9,470	12,567	4,389	3,893
Irish Potatoes (bushels) <sup>3</sup>	58	28	72	30
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	--	1	10	24
Butter (lbs)	114	73	83	75
Hay (tons)	6	6	8	3
Milk (gallons)	--	--	25	87

<sup>1</sup>combines value of farms and farm implements in 1850

<sup>2</sup>combines quantity of rye and oats in 1850

<sup>3</sup>combines quantity of Irish and sweet potatoes in 1850

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D. C. 1850a:225-228; 1860a:72-73, 203, 231; 1870d:172-173, 354; 1880a:60-61, 119, 141, 156-157, 177, 192, 212, 228, 250-251, 283-284.

Corn, wheat, and butter lost ground, but potatoes (Irish and sweet), milk, market gardens, and orchard produce expanded dramatically. The effect was to create greater balance in production. Potatoes, dairying, and truck farming in the county took advantage of both the Baltimore and Washington markets, although Washington provided the closest urban market. All points within the county were also within 20 miles of the District of Columbia line; southernmost points in the county were 60 miles from Baltimore. Transportation improvements after the war greatly increased access to the railroads. By 1880 over three-quarters of the county was within ten miles of the Baltimore and Washington Branch of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, or the Pope's Creek Branch of the Baltimore and Potomac. Market gardening, dairying, and orchard production tended to cluster in the election districts around the capital. Oxon Hill Manor's Spaldings District (#6) and, after 1874, Oxon Hill District (#12), led the way in emphasizing market gardening and orchard produce after the war. For a map of the election district after 1860, see Figure 21. In 1870, District 2 (Bladensburg), joined Spaldings, and in 1880, Districts 1 (Vansville), 13 (Kent) and 9 (Surrats), were important producers as well. The Spaldings and Oxon Hill districts showed the highest value of market gardens and orchard produce per acre during this period (McCauley 1977:238-240).

Milk production and dairying in general were also focused on the districts around Washington. By 1880, Oxon Hill was a relatively unimportant dairying district compared to Districts 6, 13, 2, and 1. Dairying and truck farming altered grain production in Prince Georges County, shifting its concentration from the Washington boundary area toward the Patuxent side of the county. Livestock followed a similar pattern, gravitating eastward and southward. The value and quantity of livestock tended to fall throughout the county (McCauley 1977:240-243).

Long the dominant staple of the county, tobacco production dropped drastically after 1860 from 13,446,550 to 3,665,054 pounds. Although it recovered to 6,575,246 pounds in 1880, it fell again, to 3,209,896 pounds in 1890. Within these swings was a general reduction in the importance of tobacco to the county economy. While Prince Georges had produced 48.9 percent of Maryland's tobacco in 1840, by 1890 it harvested only 26.0 percent (Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacturers, Maryland 1840; 1850 Census:225-228; 1860 Census:72-73, 209, 231; 1870

Census:172-173, 354; 1880 Census:119; 1890 Census:436). By 1880, tobacco was no longer important in the election districts closest to Washington. While the crop had always been dominant in the Patuxent side of the county, post-Civil War developments reinforced that pattern, although at a lower level of total production. Better soils, access to the key Baltimore market, and good railroad transportation gave the Patuxent a distinct advantage. Patuxent area land, however, lost value after 1860, while land values in the truck farming and dairying districts remained stable or rose. Clearly, the long-standing economic domination of the Patuxent area over the Potomac area was being eroded by the trend toward greater diversification and urbanization in or around Prince Georges County (McCauley 1977:239-244).

Before evaluating agricultural trends in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, demographic trends should be examined briefly. As noted earlier, the population of Prince Georges County stagnated through most of the antebellum period. In 1850 the total population of the county was 21,549, 205 fewer than in 1790. An increase in the 1850s was interrupted by the Civil War, but only because of enormous losses of black, rather than white, residents. Table 21 indicates that the county lost 3,897 black residents in the 1860s, even while it was gaining 1,708 whites. With a loss of 28.5 percent of its black population, one need not wonder at the drastic drop in tobacco production during the decade. After 1860, blacks made up less than half of the county total, compared to about 60 percent before the Civil War. Between 1870 and 1890 the county gained 4,942 residents, an increase of 23.4 percent over the two decades.

Table 21. Population of Prince Georges County By Race, 1790-1890.

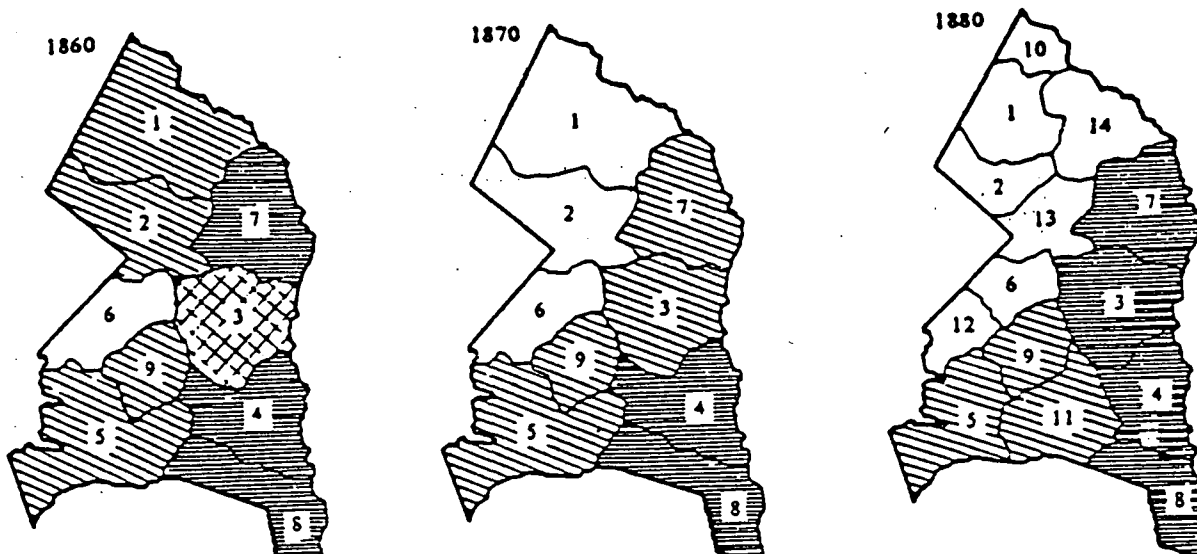
<u>Year</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Slave</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Free Black</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>
1790	10,004	46.9	11,176	52.4	164	7.7	21,344
1800	8,346	39.4	12,191	57.5	648	3.1	21,185
1810	6,471	31.4	9,189	44.6	4,929	23.9	20,589
1820	7,935	39.3	11,185	55.3	1,096	5.4	20,216
1830	7,687	37.5	11,585	56.6	1,209	5.9	20,481
1840	7,823	40.0	10,636	54.4	1,080	5.5	19,539
1850	8,901	41.3	11,510	53.4	1,138	5.3	21,549
1860	9,650	41.4	12,479	53.5	1,198	5.1	23,327
1870	11,358	53.7	--	--	9,780	46.3	21,138
1880	13,965	52.8	--	--	12,486	47.2	26,451
1890	14,867	57.0	--	--	11,210	43.0	26,080

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1870c:36-37; 1890a:415.

### Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts

The numerous tables to be presented in this section are designed to portray an accurate and in-depth image of basic social and economic trends in the latter nineteenth century. The two districts are included because Oxon Hill Manor was located in Spaldings in the 1850 through 1870 census, and in Oxon Hill in the 1880 census (Figure 22).

In addition, the tables include both Spaldings and Oxon Hill in 1880, and sometimes combine them, because in 1874 Spaldings (#6) was divided into Spaldings (#6) and Oxon Hill (#12) Districts.



#### ELECTION DISTRICTS

1. Vansville
2. Bladensburg
3. Marlboro
4. Nottingham
5. Piscataway
6. Spaldings
7. Queen Anne
8. Agiasco
9. Surrats
10. Laurel
11. Brandywine
12. Oxon Hill
13. Kent
14. Bowie

FIGURE 22. Prince George's County, 1860 - 1880.

Unfortunately, combining both Spaldings and Oxon Hill in 1880 does not geographically recreate the Spaldings of 1870 perfectly. The new Oxon Hill District included a small section of Piscataway (#5) in its geographical boundaries. Figures which combine Spaldings and Oxon Hill totals in 1880 for comparison with 1870 can be considered as slight overestimates.

Table 22 shows agricultural production levels in Spaldings and Oxon Hill from 1850 to 1880. The most notable increases are in the number of farms, in the values of farm implements, orchard produce, and market gardens, and in the quantities of corn, potatoes (especially sweet potatoes), butter, and milk. Significant declines occurred in wheat, rye, and oats. Clear trends are not discernible in all categories; tobacco increased over the low 1870 figure, but was significantly lower than 1860. The two districts follow county-wide trends toward increased truck farming and dairying near the capital, with grain and tobacco shifting toward the Patuxent. Livestock value, however, appears quite stable. Comparisons between Oxon Hill and Spaldings in 1880 reveal the higher average value of Spaldings' 128 farms (\$3,673) over Oxon Hill's 138 farms (\$2,294) and the greater importance of market gardening in Oxon Hill relative to orchard produce (the reverse is true for Spaldings). Oxon Hill shows higher values in fences and fertilizer and higher quantities of wheat, corn, tobacco, hay, Irish potatoes, and especially sweet potatoes.

Table 23 shows the same figures as percentages of Prince Georges County total production. The percentage of farms increased substantially, as did farm values, farm implements, livestock, orchard produce, market gardens, Irish and sweet potatoes, butter, and milk. Perhaps most revealing from percentage figures is the relative importance of orchard products, market gardens, butter, hay, milk, Irish potatoes, and especially sweet potatoes. Sweet potatoes and market gardening clearly dominate Oxon Hill agriculture, although orchard products, Irish potatoes, and hay show percentages higher than Oxon Hill's 8.2 percent of county farms. The value of all county farms, 4.6 percent, is disproportionately low.

Table 22. Agricultural Production in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850-1880.

Category	Spaldings 1850	Spaldings 1860	Spaldings 1870	Oxon Hill 1880	Spaldings 1880
Farms	77	134	88	138	128
Improved Acres	11,199	10,274	8,270	6,531	5,263
Value of Farms	263,829	607,600	747,570	316,570	470,080
Value of Farm Implements	4,831	11,057	19,925	15,267	12,049
Value of Livestock	25,390	46,275	53,211	30,432	26,678
Value of Animals Slaughtered	5,048	1,557	7,746	--	--
Value of Orchard Products	622	3,010	3,003	4,220	11,173
Value of Market Gardens	2,861	9,290	14,363	36,475	15,986
Value of Wages	--	--	40,005	13,286	15,459
Value of Forest Products	--	--	9,179	2,325	3,281
Value of All Farm Products	--	--	100,498	41,890	67,178
Value of Fences	--	--	--	2,211	1,616
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	3,211	758
Wheat (bushels)	7,863	7,032	2,197	2,382	667



Table 22. Continued.

Rye (bushels)	1,185	1,861	2,638	369	1,134
Corn (bushels)	28,975	28,750	23,715	24,631	16,620
Oats (bushels)	2,510	4,584	3,830	1,199	1,145
Tobacco (lbs)	109,000	152,000	29,900	49,930	33,850
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	4,646	2,083	4,987	4,196	3,500
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	101	0	2,685	18,396	2,577
Butter (lbs)	4,835	2,898	7,310	10,116	10,591
Hay (tons)	692	824	1,060	533	385
Milk (gallons)	--	--	5,920	--	28,740

Sources: 1850-1880 Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Censuses

Table 23. Agricultural Production in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts as a Percentage of Production in Prince Georges County, 1850-1880.

Category	Spaldings 1850	Spaldings 1860	Spaldings 1870	Oxon Hill 1880	Spaldings 1880	Combined 1880
Farms	8.7	12.5	10.5	8.2	7.6	15.8
Improved Acres	5.8	5.6	6.6	4.0	3.2	7.2
Value of Farms	4.7	5.8	10.2	4.6	6.9	11.5
Value of Farm Implements	3.8	5.2	12.5	7.7	6.0	13.7
Value of Livestock	5.2	5.3	8.1	5.1	4.5	9.6
Value of Animals Slaughtered	4.9	1.7	6.4	--	--	--
Value of Orchard Products	7.6	56.1	19.6	8.6	22.7	31.3
Value of Market Gardens	21.5	30.5	27.4	26.8	11.7	38.5
Value of Wages	--	--	8.1	--	--	--
Value of Forest Products	--	--	36.4	3.1	4.7	7.8
Value of All Farm Products	--	--	7.5	3.3	5.4	8.7
Value of Fences	--	--	--	2.6	1.9	4.5
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	6.6	1.6	8.2
Wheat (bushels)	3.4	2.2	2.8	1.8	0.5	2.3
Rye (bushels)	6.4	7.7	11.1	2.1	6.7	8.8
Corn (bushels)	4.2	4.1	4.6	3.7	2.5	6.2
Oats (bushels)	3.7	4.7	6.7	3.2	3.1	6.3
Tobacco (lbs)	1.3	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.5	1.3
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	9.8	6.9	8.3	8.3	6.9	15.2
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	2.5	0.0	33.2	44.9	6.3	51.2

Table 23. Continued.

Butter (lbs)	4.8	3.7	10.5	8.0	8.4	16.4
Hay (tons)	12.5	13.0	16.2	10.0	7.3	17.3
Milk (gallons)	--	--	27.9	0.0	19.5	19.5

Sources: 1850-1880 Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Censuses

Table 24 shows the number and percentage of all farmers in Spaldings and Oxon Hill who actually produced in the various agricultural categories between 1850 and 1880. Most farmers owned some livestock, although over one-fifth of Spaldings farmers (20.9 percent) in 1860, listed no livestock. Orchard production involved more and more farmers over the period, especially in Spaldings by 1880. Market gardening was taken up by an even higher percentage of farmers, reaching over three-quarters (78.3 percent) of farmers in Oxon Hill by 1880. The decline of the proportion paying wages between 1870 and 1880 may signify an increase in the number of small, more subsistence or family operated farms. The higher values for fences and fertilizer in Oxon Hill in 1880, compared to Spaldings, suggests fencing animals out of the truck gardens to which farmers were adding more fertilizer. Still, relatively few farmers listed fencing or fertilizer values. Most farmers grew some corn--over three-quarters in Oxon Hill. Few grew other grains, although one in four Oxon Hill farmers grew wheat. By 1880, tobacco was grown by only one in ten Oxon Hill farmers. Irish potatoes were grown by almost half of Oxon Hill farmers (42.8) and about the same number grew sweet potatoes. By 1880, however, sweet potatoes had increased their importance in both Oxon Hill and Spaldings at a much faster rate than the Irish variety. Except for 1860, about half of all farmers produced butter during these decades. Hay became a less common crop among farmers, with about two in five listing themselves as producers in 1880. No milk was produced in Oxon Hill District in 1880; only five farmers (3.9 percent) showed milk among their products in Spaldings in 1880.

Table 24. Number and Percent of All Farmers Who Indicate Values in Production Categories, Spaldings and Oxon Hill District, 1850-1880.

Category	Spaldings 1850 77 Farms		Spaldings 1860 134 Farms		Spaldings 1870 88 Farms	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Improved Acres	77	100.0	133	99.3	88	100.0
Value of Farms	77	100.0	134	100.0	88	100.0
Value of Farm Implements	77	100.0	103	76.9	88	100.0
Value of Livestock	73	94.8	106	79.1	88	100.0
Value of Animals						
Slaughtered	72	93.5	15	11.2	60	68.2
Value of Orchard Products	12	15.6	7	5.2	23	26.1
Value of Market Gardens	15	19.5	20	14.9	44	50.0
Value of Wages	--	--	--	--	72	81.8
Value of Forest Products	--	--	--	--	27	30.7
Value of All Farm Products	--	--	--	--	83	94.3
Value of Fences	--	--	--	--	--	--
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	--	--	--

Table 24. Continued.

Wheat (bushels)	44	57.1	36	26.9	18	20.5
Rye (bushels)	35	45.5	33	24.6	33	37.5
Corn (bushels)	71	92.2	99	73.9	69	78.4
Oats (bushels)	28	36.4	37	27.6	37	42.0
Tobacco (lbs)	16	20.8	22	16.4	9	10.2
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	55	71.4	24	17.9	40	45.5
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	9	11.7	0	0.0	22	25.0
Butter (lbs)	38	49.4	13	9.7	44	50.0
Hay (tons)	51	66.2	37	27.6	63	71.6
Milk (gallons)	--	--	--	--	3	3.4

Category	Oxon Hill 1880 138 Farms		Spaldings 1880 128 Farms		Spaldings 1880 266 Farms	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Improved Acres	138	100.0	128	100.0	266	100.0
Value of Farms	138	100.0	128	100.0	266	100.0
Value of Farm Implements	132	95.7	115	89.8	247	92.9
Value of Livestock	135	97.8	124	96.9	259	97.4
Value of Animals						
Slaughtered	--	--	--	--	--	--
Value of Orchard Products	42	30.4	78	60.9	120	45.1
Value of Market Gardens	108	78.3	58	45.3	166	62.4
Value of Wages	72	50.7	62	48.4	134	50.4
Value of Forest Products	64	46.4	48	37.5	112	42.1
Value of All Farm Products	124	89.9	112	87.5	236	88.7
Value of Fences	36	26.1	9	7.0	45	16.9
Value of Fertilizer	55	39.9	14	10.9	69	25.9
Wheat (bushels)	32	23.2	7	5.5	39	14.7
Rye (bushels)	11	8.0	28	21.9	39	14.7
Corn (bushels)	106	76.8	80	62.5	186	69.9
Oats (bushels)	9	6.5	24	18.8	33	12.4
Tobacco (lbs)	19	13.8	13	10.2	32	12.0
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	59	42.8	62	48.4	121	45.5
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	58	42.0	35	27.3	93	35.0
Butter (lbs)	76	55.1	53	41.4	129	48.5
Hay (tons)	49	35.5	49	38.3	98	36.8
Milk (gallons)	0	0.0	5	3.9	5	1.9

Sources: 1850-1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Censuses.

Table 25 reduces gross production figures to averages per farmer (including tenant farmers) from 1850 to 1880. As the number of farms increased, their average value decreased. Oxon Hill farms were considerably less valuable than Spaldings farms, and both had declined dramatically after 1870. Similar trends occurred between 1870 and 1880 in the values of farm implements, livestock, wages, forest products and all farm products, and in the quantities of wheat, rye, corn, oats, tobacco, Irish

potatoes, butter, and hay. Only sweet potatoes and milk showed increases between 1870 and 1880. Comparisons between 1850, 1860, and 1880 suggest that 1870 was not representative of Spaldings' true production levels. It is difficult to account for the increase in improved acres, the near doubling of average farm values and livestock, and huge increases in farm implements and animals slaughtered. The number of farms, 88, seems too low, given the fact that the number of farms in the state (Table 18) actually increased between 1860 and 1870. The issue is too complex to be resolved here, but comparisons between 1860 and 1880 indicate more numerous and smaller farms of less average value, more farm implements, less livestock, greater orchard and market garden production, less grain and tobacco, more potatoes, butter, and milk, and less hay. Both districts followed this pattern, with Oxon Hill farmers emphasizing market gardens over orchards and producing more wheat, corn, tobacco, and especially sweet potatoes than the average Spaldings farmer. Milk was an exception to the pattern since Oxon Hill farmers listed no milk in 1880.

Table 25. Average Agricultural Production by All Farmers, Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850-1880.

Category	Spaldings 1850	Spaldings 1860	Spaldings 1870	Oxon Hill 1880	Spaldings 1880	Combined 1880
Farms	77	134	88	138	128	266
Improved Acres	145	77	94	47	41	44
Value of Farms	3,489	4,534	8,495	2,294	3,673	2,957
Value of Farm Implements	63	83	226	111	94	103
Value of Livestock	--	345	605	221	208	215
Value of Animals Slaughtered	66	12	88	--	--	--
Value of Orchard Products	8	22	34	31	87	58
Value of Market Gardens	37	69	163	264	125	197
Value of Wages	--	--	455	96	121	108
Value of Forest Products	--	--	104	17	28	22
Value of All Farm Products	--	--	1,142	304	525	410
Value of Fences	--	--	--	16	13	14
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	23	6	15
Wheat (bushels)	102	52	25	17	5	11
Rye (bushels) <sup>1</sup>	48	14	30	3	9	6
Corn (bushels)	376	215	269	178	130	155
Oats (bushels)	--	34	44	9	9	9
Tobacco (lbs)	1,416	1,135	340	362	264	315
Irish Potatoes (bushels) <sup>2</sup>	61	16	57	30	27	29
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	--	0	31	133	20	79
Butter (lbs)	63	22	83	73	83	78
Hay (tons)	9	6	12	4	3	3

Table 25. Continued.

Milk (gallons)	--	--	67	0	225	108
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<sup>1</sup>combines quantity of rye and oats in 1850

<sup>2</sup>combines quantity of Irish and sweet potatoes in 1850

Sources: 1850-1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Censuses.

Table 26 shows average and median production levels per farmer in Oxon Hill and Spaldings from 1850 to 1880. Juxtaposing the two measures demonstrates the degree to which farmers may have specialized in the production of certain items. In 1880, for example, the widest variations in production levels per farmer in Oxon Hill District were in farm implements, orchard products, fences, hay, and sweet potatoes. The most dramatic differential between average and median values was in Spaldings orchard production in 1880 where half of all producers earned \$25 or less, yet the average per producing farmer was \$143, over five times greater. In general the differentials between average and median production levels were substantial in most categories, indicating considerable specialization and inequality. Over half of Oxon Hill's 1880 farmers worked 30 acres or less, owned \$50 or less in implements, and \$150 or less in livestock. Half of all farms were valued at \$1,500 or less.

Without additional research it is difficult to determine the general economic vitality of Prince Georges agricultural economy after the Civil War. McCauley found that insofar as certain areas diversified, they tended to grow economically; the truck farming and dairying areas of the county appeared to be most successful in terms of land values. Table 27 looks at production levels in the county and in Oxon Hill and Spaldings Districts by comparing percentages of total production to percentage of population within their larger geographical units. The table also shows Prince Georges rank for each category among Maryland's 20 counties. Although ranked tenth in population (2.8 percent), the county was ranked first in tobacco and sweet potato production and second in market gardening. It was also ahead of its population ranking in total acres in farms, improved acres, farm value, forest products, fences, rye, and milk. Oxon Hill, which contained 4.9 percent of the county's population, showed values higher than that proportion in farm implements, livestock, orchard products, market gardens, fertilizer, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, butter, and hay. Particularly high were market gardens (26.8 percent) and sweet potatoes (44.9 percent). The value of Oxon Hill farms, however, fell below the population proportion, as did improved acres. If the economic picture was brightening, it was probably doing so mostly for the market gardeners and orchard producers.

Table 26. Average and Median Agricultural Production Per Producing Farmer (Owners and Tenants) in Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts, 1850-1880.

Category	Spaldings 1850		Spaldings 1860		Spaldings 1870		Oxon Hill 1880		Spaldings 1880	
	Avg	Med	Avg	Med	Avg	Med	Avg	Med	Avg	Med
Improved Acres	149	(115)	77	(40)	94	(70)	47	(30)	48	(30)
Value of Farms	3471	(1900)	4534	(2000)	9000	(5000)	2294	(1500)	3673	(2000)
Value of Farm Implements	65	(40)	107	(50)	229	(150)	116	(50)	94	(75)

Table 26. Continued.

Value of Livestock	348	(260)	437	(275)	605	(375)	225	(150)	215	(125)
Value of Animals										
Slaughtered	70	(46)	104	(100)	129	(70)	--	--	--	--
Value of Orchard										
Products	34	(30)	430	(100)	131	(50)	100	(50)	143	(25)
Value of Market										
Gardens	191	(100)	465	(100)	326	(250)	338	(200)	276	(200)
Value of Wages	--	--	--	--	556	(300)	185	(150)	249	(180)
Value of Forest										
Products	--	--	--	--	340	(150)	36	(20)	75	(30)
Value of All Farm										
Products	--	--	--	--	1211	(868)	338	(200)	600	(500)
Value of Fences	--	--	--	--	--	--	61	(30)	180	(50)
Value of Fertilizer	--	--	--	--	--	--	58	(50)	54	(30)
Wheat (bushels)	179	(57)	195	(83)	122	(100)	74	(60)	95	(55)
Rye (bushels)	34	(30)	56	(30)	80	(40)	34	(28)	41	(40)
Corn (bushels)	408	(350)	290	(200)	344	(180)	232	(150)	208	(125)
Oats (bushels)	90	(55)	124	(75)	104	(75)	133	(75)	48	(30)
Tobacco (lbs)	6813	(4000)	6918	(5000)	3322	(2400)	2628	(2200)	2604	(2000)
Irish Potatoes										
(bushels)	84	(40)	87	(50)	125	(75)	71	(50)	56	(39)
Sweet Potatoes										
(bushels)	11	(7)	0	(0)	122	(50)	317	(150)	58	(40)
Butter (lbs)	127	(100)	223	(100)	166	(150)	133	(100)	200	(104)
Hay (tons)	14	(8)	22	(10)	17	(7)	11	(5)	8	(4)
Milk (gallons)	--	--	--	--	1973	(1200)	0	(0)	5748	(5475)

Sources: 1850-1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Censuses.

Table 27. Percentage of State or County Agricultural Production Compared to Percentage of State or County Population: Prince Georges County, Spaldings District, and Oxon Hill District, 1880.

Category	P. Georges Co. pop. 26,451	Rank in State	Oxon Hill pop. 1,289	Spaldings pop. 1,671	Combined pop. 2,960
Population	2.8	10	4.9	6.3	11.2
Total Acres	5.3	5	3.8	4.3	8.1
Improved Acres	4.9	7	4.0	3.2	7.2
Value of Farms	4.1	8	4.6	6.9	11.5
Value of Farm Implements	3.4	13	7.7	6.0	13.7
Value of Livestock	3.8	12	5.1	4.5	9.6
Value of Orchard Products	3.2	10	8.6	22.7	31.3
Value of Market Gardens	15.6	2	26.8	11.7	38.5
Value of Forest Products	6.2	6	3.1	4.7	7.8
Value of All Farm Products	4.3	11	3.3	5.4	8.7
Value of Fences	7.2	3	2.6	1.9	4.5

Table 27. Continued.

Value of Fertilizer	1.7	17	6.6	1.6	8.2
Wheat (bushels)	1.6	15	1.8	0.5	2.3
Rye (bushels)	5.9	7	2.1	6.7	8.8
Corn (bushels)	4.1	12	3.7	2.5	6.2
Oats (bushels)	2.1	14	3.2	3.1	6.3
Tobacco (lbs)	25.2	1	0.8	0.5	1.3
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	3.4	12	8.3	6.9	15.2
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	12.4	1	44.9	6.3	51.2
Butter (lbs)	1.7	14	8.0	8.4	16.4
Hay (tons)	2.0	12	10.1	7.3	17.4
Milk (gallons)	3.1	6	0.0	19.5	14.5

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, 1880a:60-61, 119, 141, 156-157, 177, 192, 212, 228, 250-251, 283-284; 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

The average size of farms declined rapidly after 1850, and the number of farms increased. Most new farms in the South after the Civil War were created out of the old plantations as they were forced into various tenant and sharecropping arrangements. Table 28 shows the decline in average total and improved acreage per farm in Maryland, Prince Georges County, Spaldings District and Oxon Hill District from 1850 to 1880. It also shows the variations between these geographical units. Since average Spaldings and Oxon Hill farms were consistently smaller than average county farms, to maintain economic equality with larger farms would have required more intensive exploitation. The growth of market gardening was both a cause and a reflection of the trend toward smaller farms closer to the Washington boundary.

Landholding and production characteristics among tenants in Maryland has received virtually no attention among researchers, despite the fact that in 1880--the first separate census recording of tenants--30.9 percent of Maryland's farmers were tenants. Both Oxon Hill and Spaldings District farmers included substantial percentages of tenants, 29.7 percent in the former and 24.2 percent in the latter. Most tenants in Maryland, in the South, and in the nation generally in 1880 were sharecroppers rather than cash tenants; that is, farmers who paid rent as a percentage of the crop rather than in money. Sharecroppers usually received tools, seed, or money loans from the landowner or a local merchant, and it was this procedure which gave landowners and merchants effective control over the sharecroppers' agricultural choices. Maryland followed Southern and national patterns in the distribution of sharecroppers and tenants. Over two-thirds of tenants, 69.1 percent, were croppers--21.4 percent of all farmers. The remaining 30.9 percent of tenants were cash tenants--9.6 percent of all Maryland farmers (1880b Census:28-29, 60-61, 119).

Table 28. Average Farm Size by Total and by Improved Acreage, 1850-1880: Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Spaldings and Oxon Hill Districts.

Area	1850		1860		1870		1880	
	Total	Imprvd	Total	Imprvd	Total	Imprvd	Total	Imprvd
Maryland	212 (21,860 farms)	128	192 (25,244 farms)	119	167 (27,000 farms)	108	126 (40,517 farms)	83

Table 28. Continued.

Prince Georges County	321 (885 farms)	216	263 (1,071 farms)	171	243 (835 farms)	150	159 (1,689 farms)	97
Spaldings	237 (77 farms)	145	133 (134 farms)	77	173 (88 farms)	94	90 (128 farms)	41
Oxon Hill	--	--	--	--	--	--	74 (138 farms)	47

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce 1850a:225-228; 1860a:72-73, 203, 231; 1870d:172-173, 354; 1880a:119; 1850-1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Censuses.

Table 29 summarizes the distribution of owners and tenants in Maryland, Prince Georges County, Oxon Hill District and Spaldings District in 1880. Immediately noticeable is the divergence of the county and, to an even greater extent, of the two districts, from Maryland and national patterns. In Prince Georges, for example, only 56.6 percent of all tenants were sharecroppers, as opposed to 69.1 percent in Maryland. Also, almost half of all tenants were cash-based, versus less than one-third (30.9 percent) for the state. Even more striking, however, was the complete reversal of the distribution of cash tenants and sharecroppers in the two districts. The overwhelming majority of tenants, 87.8 percent in Oxon Hill and 93.5 percent in Spaldings, were cash tenants. Sharecroppers were a distinct minority. Researchers have not addressed this anomaly but the explanation may lie in McCauley's emphasis on the greater availability of institutional credit in Maryland than in the South generally. It seems very probable that the proximity of urban resources and markets to some districts in the county was influential in facilitating this divergent pattern. Only further research will clarify the issue. Among the known and possible tenants at Oxon Hill Manor in the 1870s (to be discussed later), all paid their rents in cash.

Table 29. Average Farm Size for Owners and Tenants, 1880, Prince Georges County, Oxon Hill, and Spaldings Districts (percentages of next highest category in parentheses).

Category	Maryland	County	Oxon Hill	Spaldings
Farms	40,517	1,689 (4.2)	138 (8.2)	128 (7.6)
Average Total Acres	126	159	74	90
Average Improved Acres	72	97	47	48
Owners	27,978 (69.1)	1,203 (71.2)	97 (70.3)	97 (75.8)
Average Total Acres	--	--	76	90
Average Improved Acres	--	--	49	41
Tenants	12,539 (30.9)	486 (28.8)	41 (29.7)	31 (24.2)
Average Total Acres	--	--	68	89
Average Improved Acres	--	--	44	42
Rental Tenants	3,878 (30.9)	211 (43.4)	36 (87.8)	29 (93.5)
Average Total Acres	--	--	73	93
Average Improved Acres	--	--	47	43
Share Tenants	8,661 (69.1)	275 (56.6)	5 (12.2)	2 (6.5)



Table 29. Continued.

Average Total Acres	--	--	31	29
Average Improved Acres	--	--	29	25

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, 1880a:28-29, 60-61, 119; 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

Table 29 also offers data on the distribution of total and improved acreage among owners, cash tenants, and sharecroppers. The most striking statistic is the fact that the average total and the average improved acres held by tenants in both Oxon Hill and Spaldings was nearly equal to those held by owners. When the cash rental tenants are separated, their totals are even closer to owners in Oxon Hill and actually exceed the averages for Spaldings owners. Again, this points to greater financial resources available to tenants in the county than in other parts of Maryland and the South. The position of the sharecroppers was significantly inferior to that of the cash tenants and owners. While a majority, they held much less total acreage and considerably less improved acreage than the owners and cash tenants.

Table 30 shows average agricultural production levels by all farmers in Maryland and Prince Georges County and by both farmers and tenants in Oxon Hill District in 1880. County farmers held considerably more total and improved acreage than state farmers generally, although average farm values were only slightly higher. District differences were evident in the higher production levels of market gardens, tobacco, and sweet potatoes, and in the lower levels of fertilizer, wheat, oats, butter, and hay. Oxon Hill farmers held significantly less total and improved acreage than county farmers, and farm values were only 56.6 percent of the county average. District farmers showed distinctly higher than county average levels only in market gardening and sweet potatoes. Lower levels were significant in livestock, forest products, all farm products, fences, wheat, rye, corn, oats, tobacco, and milk. There is a clear impression of a good deal of reliance on market gardening among Oxon Hill farmers.

Among Oxon Hill tenants, values tended to be lower than farmer averages in most, but not all, categories. Although tenants held almost as much total and improved acreage as farmers generally, the average of their farms was only 81.4 percent of district averages. Their farms were only worth 46.1 percent of county farms generally. District farmers showed values which were only 56.8 percent of county averages. Neither Oxon Hill District farmers nor tenants, then, represented the top county farmers, at least on an average basis. Although the tenants produced less than the farmers in most categories, they outproduced farmers in several: market gardens, corn, oats, and sweet potatoes. Overall, the figures suggest that tenants occupied lands of lesser quality than farmers and were geared more intensively to the urban market.

Table 30. Average Agricultural Production by All Farmers and Tenants, Maryland, Prince Georges County, and Oxon Hill District, 1880.

Category	Prince Georges Maryland (40,517 farms)	Oxon Hill County (1,689 farms)	Oxon Hill	
			Farmers (138 farms)	Tenants (41 farms)
Total Acres	126	159	74	68

Table 30. Continued.

Improved Acres	83	97	47	44
Value of Farms	4,037	4,055	2,294	1,868
Value of Farm Implements	143	118	111	75
Value of Livestock	392	354	221	174
Value of Orchard Products	39	29	31	15
Value of Market Gardens	22	81	264	318
Value of Wages	--	--	96	71
Value of Forest Products	30	45	17	8
Value of All Farm Products	712	742	304	256
Value of Fences	29	50	16	5
Value of Fertilizer	70	29	23	19
Wheat (bushels)	198	77	17	8
Rye (bushels)	7	10	3	4
Corn (bushels)	394	389	178	189
Oats (bushels)	44	22	9	19
Tobacco (lbs)	644	3,893	362	295
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	37	30	30	35
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	8	24	133	210
Butter (lbs)	185	75	73	37
Hay (tons)	7	3	4	3
Milk (gallons)	117	87	0	0

Sources: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufacturers (Maryland), National Archives, Washington, D.C. 1880a:28-29, 60-61, 119; 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

Tables 31 and 32 show average agricultural production by farmers and tenants in Oxon Hill and Spaldings Districts, respectively, in 1880, but each table also indicates the differences in average production between all farmers and tenants and actual producers of the various items. While the general production for owner and tenants at Oxon Hill holds true when examining actual producers, producing tenants actually outpaced producing farmers in tobacco as well as market gardens, corn, oats, and sweet potatoes. Spaldings District tenant producers showed higher values than producing farmers in farm implements, wages, all farm products, fertilizer, Irish and sweet potatoes, hay, and especially market gardens and milk. The Spaldings tenants, in fact, produced all of the district's milk.

Table 31. Average Agricultural Production by Oxon Hill Farmers and Tenants, 1880.

Category	Farmers (138)		Tenants (41)	
	Avg/Farmer	Avg/Producer	Avg/Tenant	Avg/Producer
Total Acres	74	74	67	67
Improved Acres	47	47	44	41
Value of Farms	2,294	2,294	1,868	1,868
Value of Farm Implements	111	116	75	79
Value of Livestock	221	225	174	183
Value of Orchard Products	31	100	15	76

Table 31. Continued.

Value of Market Gardens	264	338	318	408
Value of Wages	96	185	71	162
Value of Forest Products	17	36	8	20
Value of All Farm Products	304	338	256	276
Value of Fences	16	61	5	24
Value of Fertilizer	23	58	19	49
Wheat (bushels)	17	74	5	31
Rye (bushels)	3	34	4	48
Corn (bushels)	178	232	189	248
Oats (bushels)	9	133	19	159
Tobacco (lbs)	362	2,628	295	3,025
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	30	71	35	89
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	133	317	210	479
Butter (lbs)	73	133	37	89
Hay (tons)	4	11	3	17
Milk (gallons)	0	0	0	0

Source: 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

Table 32. Average Agricultural Production by Spaldings Farmers and Tenants, 1880.

Category	Farmers (128)		Tenants (31)	
	Avg/Farmer	Avg/Producer	Avg/Tenant	Avg/Producer
Total Acres	90	90	89	89
Improved Acres	41	41	42	43
Value of Farms	3,673	3,673	3,290	3,290
Value of Farm Implements	94	94	91	108
Value of Livestock	208	215	195	209
Value of Orchard Products	87	143	56	97
Value of Market Gardens	125	276	170	528
Value of Wages	121	249	117	278
Value of Forest Products	28	75	9	56
Value of All Farm Products	525	600	633	755
Value of Fences	13	180	9	90
Value of Fertilizer	6	54	11	69
Wheat (bushels)	5	95	1	21
Rye (bushels)	9	41	7	36
Corn (bushels)	130	208	127	197
Oats (bushels)	9	48	13	45
Tobacco (lbs)	264	2,604	8	250
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	27	56	38	73
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	20	58	40	155
Butter (lbs)	83	200	41	143
Hay (tons)	3	8	3	10

Table 32. Continued.

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Milk (gallons)	0	0	927	5,748
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Source: 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

A Final table on owner and tenant agricultural production in Oxon Hill and Spaldings districts in 1880, Table 33, separates farm owners from all farmers (which includes tenants) for purposes of comparing farm owners and farm tenants more accurately. The patterns do not change drastically, but some differentials expanded. Average total and improved acreage held by owners was slightly higher than averages which included tenants in their calculations. Farm values, however, were much higher, rising from \$2,294 to \$2,474. Average tenant farms, then, were only 75.5 percent of the value of average owner farms. In most categories the differential between farm owners and tenants leaned in favor of the owners when compared to the differential between all farmers and tenants. In market gardening, rye, corn, oats, tobacco, Irish and sweet potatoes, and hay, however, the differential widened in favor of the tenants. As indicated earlier, this suggests that average tenants were more market-oriented than average farmers. In Spaldings the same pattern is evident, although the change in the differential was less, generally, than in Oxon Hill. In average farm values, for example, Spalding tenants fell from 89.5 percent of all farmers to 86.7 percent. The lesser differential in Spaldings indicates that the tenants in the district tended to be more economically equal to farm owners than in Oxon Hill.

Table 33. Average Agricultural Production by Farm Owners and Tenants and by Producing Farmers and Tenants, Oxon Hill and Spalding Districts, 1880.

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Category	Oxon Hill (97)		Oxon Hill (41)		Spaldings (97)		Spaldings (31)	
	Owner	Prod.	Tenant	Prod.	Owner	Prod.	Tenant	Prod.
Total Acres	77	77	67	67	90	90	89	89
Improved Acres	48	48	44	44	41	41	42	42
Value of Farms	2,474	2,474	1,868	1,868	3,794	3,794	3,290	3,290
Value of Farm Implements	126	131	75	79	95	104	91	108
Value of Livestock	240	243	174	183	213	217	195	209
Value of Orchard Products	37	106	15	76	97	157	56	97
Value of Market Gardens	241	308	318	408	110	223	170	528
Value of Wages	107	192	71	162	122	243	117	278
Value of Forest Products	21	84	5	24	14	224	9	90
Value of All Farm Products	324	365	256	276	490	553	633	755
Value of Fences	21	84	5	24	14	224	9	90
Value of Fertilizer	25	62	19	49	4	46	11	69
Wheat (bushels)	23	84	4	48	9	42	7	36

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Table 33. Continued.

Rye (bushels)	2	28	4	48	9	42	7	36
Corn (bushels)	174	228	189	248	131	211	127	197
Oats (bushels)	4	101	19	159	8	49	13	45
Tobacco (lbs)	390	2,522	295	3,025	346	2,800	8	250
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	29	64	35	89	24	51	38	73
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	101	244	210	479	14	50	40	155
Butter (lbs)	89	146	37	89	96	222	41	143
Hay (tons)	4	10	3	17	3	7	3	10
Milk (gallons)	0	0	0	0	0	0	927	5,748

Source: 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

The higher values in Spaldings District when compared to Oxon Hill may reflect the different racial characteristics of the two regions. Fully 100 percent of Spaldings tenants were white, compared to only 73.0 percent in Oxon Hill. Among Oxon Hill's 27.0 percent blacks, 16.2 percent were listed on the 1880 census as black and 10.8 percent as mulatto. It should be noted that three of the 31 Spaldings tenants and four of the 41 Oxon Hill tenants listed on the agricultural census could not be found on the population census, perhaps because they did not reside on the land being farmed. The percentage of black and mulatto tenants, 27.0, was an under-representation of the Oxon Hill population, where 34.4 percent was black and 6.3 percent mulatto (1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses).

Table 34 demonstrates the manner in which blacks were under-represented among Oxon Hill farmers (which includes tenants) and over-represented among farm laborers. Mulattoes were slightly over-represented among farmers. In Spaldings, where none of the tenants were black, under-representation among farmers was even greater than in Oxon Hill, with farm laborer representation about the same. Mulattoes were under-represented among farmers and, like blacks, over-represented among farm laborers. Table 35 summarizes the patterns.

Table 34. Racial Distribution of Farmers and Farm Laborers in Oxon Hill District, 1880.

<u>Race</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Farm Laborers</u>	<u>%</u>
White	104	73.8	75	47.8
Black	28	19.9	68	43.3
Mulatto	9	6.4	14	8.9
Total	141	100.1	157	100.0

Source: 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses.

Table 35. Racial Distribution of Farmers and Farm Laborers in Spaldings District, 1880.

<u>Race</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Farm Laborers</u>	<u>%</u>
White	111	95.7	143	56.3

Table 35. Continued.

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Black	2	1.7	86	33.9
Mulatto	<u>3</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>9.8</u>
Total	116	100.0	254	100.0

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Source: 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses.

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### Summary

The dominant trend in Maryland agriculture after the Civil War was toward greater diversification. Our knowledge of state-wide trends is incomplete, but the pattern in Prince Georges County was unmistakable. Research here has pointed to the variations within the county, as areas more accessible to urban markets shifted even more rapidly from traditional reliance on the tobacco staple toward market gardening, orchard production, and dairying. In Prince Georges' Oxon Hill District, dairying was less important than in other districts close to the District of Columbia. Livestock and grain tended to shift away from the D. C. area toward the Patuxent River regions.

As in the South generally, the number of farms rose rapidly. Tenants may have farmed a much higher percentage of all farms than before the Civil War, although the lack of data for the period before 1880 makes such statements impossible to verify. Clearly, more black tenants appeared after 1860. The impact of Maryland's large free black population on tenant patterns and on agriculture generally is unclear. Nor do we know the degree to which white tenancy prevailed before 1880. The total white dominance of tenancy in Spaldings District in 1880, moreover, suggests a somewhat different agricultural pattern in that district when compared to Oxon Hill, where 27.0 percent of tenants were black or mulatto in 1880.

Prince Georges County endured declining land values after the Civil War, but not all regions of the county saw this decline. McCauley calculates that the districts closest to the D. C. boundary experienced gains, owing to the advantage of accessible markets for truck, orchard, and dairy products. Despite proximity to D. C., however, Oxon Hill District farmers did not appear to prosper in relation to some of the other districts. Still, both Oxon Hill and the county were growing in absolute terms, albeit at an uneven rate within the various categories of production. Despite the Civil War, the agricultural economy was in much better condition than in 1840.

## **Oxon Hill Manor Since the American Revolution.**

### Introduction

This section of the report examines specific developments at the Oxon Hill Manor site since the American Revolution and, wherever possible, attempts to relate changes to regional and statewide trends. It is divided into four distinct chronological periods. The Walter Dulany Addison period witnessed the decline of the estate and its eventual sale to the Berry family in 1810. The Thomas Berry period coincides roughly with the antebellum years between 1810 and 1860. The 1850 census provides the first comprehensive data on Oxon Hill Manor as an agricultural estate, while tax assessment and other records round out Berry's overall social and economic position. The section on

Thomas E. Berry, 1860 to 1888, begins with Berry's possible occupancy of the estate before the Civil War and examines his relationship to the manor until its sale in 1888. Although Berry died in 1879, the estate was held in trusteeship until its sale in 1888. The last sub-section deals with the break-up of the estate into smaller farm units, a process which had begun in the late 1870s. Because the manor house burned in 1895 and because the property lost its integrity as a "plantation" unit, the latter period receives only minimal attention and closes with a brief discussion of Sumner Welles's new Oxon Hill Manor, located on a section of the old Oxon Hill Manor property.

### The Walter Dulany Addison Years, 1793-1810

Despite litigation carried on in his name in the 1770s and 1780s, Walter Dulany Addison apparently had little involvement with Oxon Hill Manor until he and his new wife, Elizabeth Dulany Hesselius, moved from Harmony Hall in 1793 (Murray 1895:136). His presence in the 1790 census as the unmarried owner of 20 slaves indicates that he had returned to Maryland from England, where he had been attending school (1790 Census:92). From the outset, Addison seemed disinterested in managing the estate, at least along the lines of his father. Murray (1895) points out that Addison was an especially pious individual who was impatient of the social activities and obligations of his rank. He refused to attend the theater or balls, and found the expense of Oxon Hill an increasingly annoying burden. The house, Murray explains, "was generally full of guests" (Murray 1895:136).

Addison also began to rid himself of some of his property. Sometime soon after he moved into Oxon Hill in 1793, perhaps in 1794 or even later, he gave approximately 400 acres of Oxon Hill (part of his 618-acre Hart Park tract--see Figure 19) to his mother. Murray claims that his mother's estate "had become seriously embarrassed...owing to the mismanagement of his step-father," Thomas Hanson (Murray 1895:89-90). She and her husband sold the tract in 1797 to Nathaniel Washington (MHR, Land Record, JRM 6:80, October 3, 1797), but Washington sold the property back to Walter Addison in 1803 (MHR, Land Records, JRM 10:16, 145, Jan. 18, 1803 and March 12, 1803).

In 1797 Walter Addison also sold two other parts of Oxon Hill Manor. He sold 500 acres of the Locust Thicket and Discontent tracts (see Figure 19) to his brother, Henry Addison, and a total of 269.75 acres (parts of Oxon Hill Manor and Force) to Nicholas Lingan. Murray (1895) states that Walter "gave" the 500 acres to Henry because his younger brother had not been provided for in his father's will. Her statement is true in spirit, since Walter made the transaction out of "love and affection"; but he did ask a relatively nominal 300 pounds for the land (MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:173, Oct. 6, 1797; Murray 1895:90). The part of the acreage sold to Nicholas Lingan and taken from Oxon Hill Manor was not specified, but it can be approximated by noting that Force had only a total of 54 acres. Addison must have sold at least 215.75 acres (269.75 minus 54 acres) of the Oxon Hill Manor acreage although the actual acreage was larger because he sold only part of Force (MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:86, Oct. 27, 1797).

By 1797, Addison had sold or given away almost 1,300 of the non-dower lands of Oxon Hill Manor. Sometime before 1782 his uncle, John Addison, had received 100.75 acres, thereby reducing Walter's holdings to 3,562.25 of the original 3,663 acres. Not counting his mother's dower, Walter owned 2,734.75 acres. In 1790 he sold 65.88 acres to Peter Savary for £308. This tract came from the original Locust Thicket grant to the south of the manor house. Savary had already purchased the "Lodge", a house and lands owned originally by John Addison and purchased by the Reverend Jonathan Boucher. As a Loyalist, Boucher had had his property confiscated during the Revolution. Dr. William Baker purchased the estate then sold it to Savary (MHR, Land Records, JRM 4:84, Nov. 2, 1795; JRM 6:173, Oct. 6, 1797).



Subtracting the nearly 1,200 acres which Addison had sold to Savary (65.88), his brother Henry (500), and Nicholas Lingan (approximately 215.75) or had given to his mother (400) from his original 2,734.75 non-dower lands, Addison was left with about 1,500 acres (1,552.38) in 1797. He was in control of the dower, however, as indicated by his making various leasing arrangements (to be discussed later) and by his occupying the manor house. The documents offer no indication of any formal arrangement with his mother or stepfather, and he did not obtain legal control of the dower until he purchased it in 1807.

While the foregoing deed research indicates that Addison was not averse to dismantling his father's estate, it does not accurately represent his actual landholdings. The 1798 Federal Tax Assessment listed the manor as 2,522 acres. Since the assessment included the manor house, and thus the 828-acre dower lands, it can be presumed that Addison had sold or given away only 1,040.25 acres of his 3,562.25 acres (3,663 minus 100.75 given his uncle, John Addison). The approximately 1,300 acres derived from the deeds is evidently incorrect (MHS, Ms. 1999, 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, Prince Georges County).

The tax assessment of 1800 showed Walter Dulany Addison as the owner of 2,625.5 acres at Oxon Hill Manor, separated into 1,805.5 acres valued at 18 shillings and five pence per acre and 820 acres, clearly the dower, valued at 36 shillings and 10 pence per acre (MHR, Tax Assessments, Prince Georges County, 1800; hereafter cited as MHR, Assessments). Since no deed transactions had occurred by 1800, there is no explanation for the increase over the 1798 figure. In 1803 Addison recovered the 400-acre Hart Park tract originally given to his mother and later sold to Nathaniel Washington. In 1805 he sold 15 acres of Oxon Hill Manor to Francis Edward Hall Rozer (MHR, Land Records, JRM 11:238, Dec. 5, 1805). In the 1806 tax assessment he is listed as owning 2,812.25 acres, 1942.25 acres plus the 820-acre dower (MHR, Assessments 1806).

By 1806, Addison was no longer living at the Oxon Hill Manor house. When he reacquired the Hart Park tract in 1803 he also decided to move to the residence there. Murray explains his action as based on three factors: (1) his dislike for the humid climate at Oxon Hill because of its proximity to the Potomac; (2) his discomfort with the expense and social whirl around the house; and, (3) his desire to open a school at the Hart Park location. The Hart Park residence was being altered, Murray explains, to make it similar in size to Oxon Hill. Addison opened the school in 1804 (Murray 1895:119-120).

In 1807 Addison purchased the dower from his mother, Rebecca Hanson, and his stepfather, Thomas Hawkins Hanson, for £2,200. The dower was listed as approximately 820 acres, the same as in the tax assessments (MHR, Land Records, JRM 12:205, March 12, 1807). In 1808 the 500 acres sold to his brother, Henry, in 1797 was sold by Henry's estate to Captain William Marbury for £2,500. Henry had died recently and his property was being sold to cover debts (MHR, Land Records, JRM 12:462, Jan. 25, 1808). The 1809 tax assessment showed Walter Dulany Addison as owning 2,802.25 acres—1,982 acres plus the 820-acre dower. This was only 10 acres less than the 1806 assessment listing (MHR, Assessments 1809).

By the close of 1810 Walter Dulany Addison had lost all of the 2,802.25 acres except for 786.25 acres. The sale of 1,328 acres, including the Oxon Hill Manor house, to Zachariah Berry in 1810 accounted for the bulk of the 1,474 lost, but the deeds do not indicate the manner in which Addison sold the other 146 acres. The 1810 assessment, however, names the tracts of land held by the listed landowners, and from these records we can determine, more or less accurately, the dispersal of the original Oxon Hill Manor as of 1810. Following the sale of the manor house to Zachariah Berry the distribution of the Oxon Hill Manor tracts was:



	<u>Acres</u>
Walter Dulany Addison	786.25
Zachariah Berry	1,328.00
John Bayne	215.00
Charles Beall ("colored")	75.00
Dr. Samuel DeButts	257.25
Francis Kirby	532.00 (Hart Park)
Daniel Moseley	10.00
Capt. William Marbury	500.00
Samuel Ridout	81.00
Joseph Thomas	<u>12.25</u>
Total	3,796.75

At present it is not possible to account for the 3,796.75-acre figure's being higher than the original 3,663 acres. It is possible that Kirby's 532 acres included part of the "Hart Park" grant which was not in the original Oxon Hill Manor. Also, the 1810 assessment was not necessarily accurate in all details (MHR, Assessments 1810; MHR, Land Records, JRM 13:625, 627, March 16 and 17, 1810).

By 1810 Addison was living in Georgetown, although he still owned the 786.25 acres of Oxon Hill Manor. He sold 328 of those acres to Ebsworth Bayne in 1817, thereby reducing his holdings to 458.25 acres (MHR, Land Records, JRM 17:146, 242, Jan. 1, 1817). Bayne built a home at this location, about one-half mile southeast of the manor house, and named the estate "Mount Salubria". It became the residence of his son, Dr. John Bayne, in 1841 when Bayne moved into the home with his new wife, Harriet Addison, the niece of Walter Dulany Addison (Clapp et al. 1938:6).

Between 1818 and 1820 Walter Dulany Addison sold his remaining 458.25 acres of the original Oxon Hill Manor. The 1822 tax assessment lists nine and possibly omits a tenth individual who collectively owned approximately 2,113 acres of Oxon Hill. Adding Zachariah Berry's 1,328 acres brings the total to 3,441 acres. Again there is no accounting for the missing 222 acres. It is sufficient, however, to note that the Addison family, some of whom still lived near the Oxon Hill Manor estate, had given up one of Maryland's largest slave plantations in the 30 years between 1793, when Walter Dulany Addison took over the estate, and 1820 (MHR, Assessments 1818-1822).

Although Addison slowly divested himself of his Oxon Hill Manor estate, he remained an exceptionally wealthy individual. Tax assessments and other records provide some indication of his absolute wealth as well as his relative economic standing within the county. In 1790 Addison owned 20 slaves, but we have no comparative data to place that number in perspective. In 1796 he owned only seven slaves, valued at £214, and an additional £245 personal property, for a total of £459 personal property. Within Piscataway and Hynson Hundreds, Oxon Hill Manor's administrative unit, average slave ownership was 8.5 per assessed individual. In the county the average was 6.2. Average total personal wealth in Piscataway and Hynson was £146, about one-third of Addison's total. The county average was £175. The wealthiest area of the county in 1796 was the Collington/Western Branch Hundreds unit where Zachariah Berry resided. Average slaveholdings were 10.8 and average total personal wealth £315 (MHR, Assessments 1796).

Because of his enormous estate, Addison far outstripped average property owners in Prince Georges.

His 3,550 acres in 1796 was valued at £10,051, almost twenty times the district (Piscataway/Hynson) average of £510 and the county average of £519. The acreage was only about ten times the district 378-acre average and ten times the county 351-acre average, indicating that his land was considerably more valuable than most. Since he was a relatively small slaveholder, Addison was not among the wealthiest county residents in personal wealth. Henry Rozer, his neighbor to the south, owned £3,542 personal property. Hannah West, in King George/Grubb Hundreds, owned £4,259, including 113 slaves. Zachariah Berry owned £1,673 personal property, with 58 slaves. Addison's real estate, however, made him the wealthiest landowner in the county, followed by Thomas Snowden at £8,373. Several individuals owned larger acreages than Addison, yet none had lands worth as much as the Oxon Hill Manor estate (MHR, Assessments 1796).

Our best physical picture of the estate after the 1775 inventory comes from the 1798 Federal Tax Assessment. It described the house as two stories, 66 by 36 feet in size, with 45 windows. Near the house was a 21 by 30 foot kitchen and two stables each 21 by 30 feet. All of these structures stood on a 1.5-acre plot. The house and the three "outhouses" were valued at \$2,000. The estate also included 20 "dwelling houses", presumably slave quarters or tenant houses or both. Valued at less than \$100 total, they could not have been very attractive buildings. The estate listed 14 slaves, seven more than in the 1796 tax assessment. Half of the slaves were under 12 years of age (MHS, Ms. 1999, 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, Prince Georges County).

In 1800 Addison owned 12 slaves according to the tax assessment, only seven according to the 1800 Census (1800 Census:320; MHR, Assessments 1800). The county average in 1800 was 13.3 slaves per owner and the median 6.0, so Addison was still among the top half of all slaveowners. Almost half of all county householders, 46.5 percent, owned no slaves, and slave ownership was extremely concentrated. Less than 10 percent (9.5 percent) of all slaveholders owned 41.2 percent of all slaves; the bottom 48.8 percent held only 11.7 percent. The wide gap between the median and the average for the county points to the fact that several individuals owned large numbers of slaves. Hannah West owned 155 slaves, John Waring 105. Zachariah Berry owned 88 slaves in 1800, making him the seventh largest slaveowner in the county. Despite these slave numbers, it is sobering to note that Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, Virginia, owned 509 slaves when he began freeing them in 1791 (1800 Census:198-210, 224).

By 1806 Addison had lost some of his real estate, but continued to rank first in the county because of the high value of Oxon Hill Manor. He had also increased the value of his personal property to £780, although he owned only 10 slaves. While many other planters ranked well above him in personal property and slaves, he was still well above the county averages of £243 personal property and 6.5 slaves (MHR, Assessments 1806). By 1810, the year he sold the Oxon Hill Manor house, Addison was no longer listed in the tax assessments or the census. In 1809, however, his 2,802.25 acres at Oxon Hill continued to rank him first in real estate value. Personal property calculations suggest some deterioration of the county economy, perhaps reflective of the general malaise in agriculture. Average personal property had declined from £243 in 1806 to £201 in 1809, although Addison's personal property had risen from £780 to £800. The number of slaves in Piscataway/Hynson Hundreds had fallen from 1,566 to 1,488, but the average per owner had increased from 4.2 to 4.5 slaves. On the verge of selling his valuable Oxon Hill Manor property, Walter Dulany Addison remained one of the wealthiest men in the county in 1809 (MHR, Assessments 1806, 1809).

The relatively small number of slaves at Oxon Hill Manor during Walter Dulany Addison's tenure supports the notion that he was less active and less interested as a manager of his plantation than his father. While the documentation is not conclusive, it appears that he may have relied more on tenant arrangements than on direct slave management to produce an income from the estate. Previous

commentary has indicated that Walter's father and perhaps the earlier manor owners commonly leased lands to tenants. Murray (1895) reports the presence of "many tenants" at Oxon Hill in the 1790s, one of whom, Joseph Thomas, was the operator of the Oxon Hill Ferry, called "Thomas' Ferry." Figure 19 refers to the "Berry Land," and Figure 23 shows the location of the ferry in 1798 (map from Friis 1968a). A 1797 deed also refers to the site as "Thomas' Ferry," although deeds from 1801 and 1806 use simply "The Ferry" to describe the leased area. Thomas appears to have rented the ferry site plus 20 adjoining acres, although he also leased land and possibly operated a second ferry at the south end of the "ashen swamp" which appears on the map in Figure 19. The earlier lease of Oxon Hill Manor to Leonard Marbury refers to a landing at this point at the mouth of Susquehanna Creek on dower land. No acreages in Thomas' leases were specified in the deeds (MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:86, Oct. 27, 1797; JRM 8:520, July 7, 1801; JRM 11:374, Jan. 4, 1806).

Addison also leased a large section of Oxon Hill Manor--800 acres--to John and Ebsworth Bayne in 1798. Referred to as the "plantation on which John Bayne now lives," which suggests a previous lease, the land was rented for £500 and for the lifetime of the longer-lived of the two lessees. Restrictions included keeping the houses, buildings, fences, and improvements in "tenantable repair" (MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:351, May 9, 1798; JRM 16:90, Feb. 1, 1814).

Another Addison lease was to John Davies in 1801. Davies rented "the marsh land of Oxon Hill Manor lying immediately on the [Potomac River] bounded on the one side by the said river and on the other by the fields of [Susquehanna Creek] and Douglass." Douglass was probably another tenant. The Davies's lease had a clear developmental orientation, calling for him to reclaim part of the marsh land by building a bank from the southwest corner of the estate at "Mr. Rozer's fence" to the mouth of Susquehanna Creek by 1805. The lease was to run for 21 years, and it stipulated that Davies was to grow timothy, ryegrass, and clover only after the lease had run 10 years. The intention of this requirement regarding green manures is unclear, as are the exact boundaries and monetary terms of the agreement. No monetary terms were mentioned, although Davies was to receive title to two acres of land near Mr. Rozer's fence as long as he upheld the terms. The lease also referred to the renting of an unspecified acreage to Francis Kirby near the mouth of Susquehanna Creek and to his road rights to a demised "Wood Landing" in the area. References to several fishing houses and fishing landings did not elaborate (MHR, Land Records, JRM 8:520, July 7, 1801).

No other leases by Walter Dulany Addison appear among the land records or in other sources. Since Murray believed that the estate had "many tenants," it seems probable that Addison made oral arrangements with a number of other individuals. Thomas, Kirby, and John Bayne, also purchased parts of the estate at some unspecified time. In 1808 Captain William Marbury, perhaps a relative of a former manor tenant, Leonard Marbury, bought the 500 acres which Addison had sold to his brother, Henry Addison, in 1797; Elsworth Bayne bought 328 acres in 1817 when he terminated the 1798 lease. If Walter Addison earned substantial income from his leases, the records do not show it. Evidence suggests the contrary, since his personal property did not increase very rapidly and since he gradually sold his real property. In her 1895 book, Murray reported that Addison decided to free his slaves in 1798, as indicated in a 1798 will in her possession in 1895. Women were to be freed at age 20 and men at age 25. She also informs us that his decision was very unpopular and very damaging to the agricultural success of his estate. The best workers were lost, she said, leaving only the "old, helpless, and young slaves" (Murray 1895:125-133, 192).

Although Addison owned 20 slaves in 1790, he still owned 14 in 1798 and 10 in 1809. The records indicate that he did free two slaves in 1801, one of whom was rented to Frederick Kooness, a tavern keeper at Piscataway (MHR, Land Records, JRM 8:476, April 9, 1801). The decline from 14 to 10

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Tiber of Washington —  
The Straits of Horn & Water is not Washington, I remember  
as all the rest are not —  
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East of the Strait, the Straits between Horn & Water, Strait  
which is 300 feet and West of the Straits  
The Channel at Alexandria is 1000 feet to 2  
Miles of the Water.

2 *Laurencia*, *Mud.*

S. H. L. L. L. L. L.

1. The *Harvard University* is a *private* institution.

*Vibrio cholerae*, one of the bacteria which causes cholera.

to the Eastern Mountain Union

*Journal of Management Inquiry* 16(4)

of the *TOWN* of

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Five days to an. Yards

Magnetic Variation 0, 15 East



slaves, however, does not indicate that he moved quickly to free his slaves, if at all, although his slaves may not yet have reached the requisite ages by 1809.

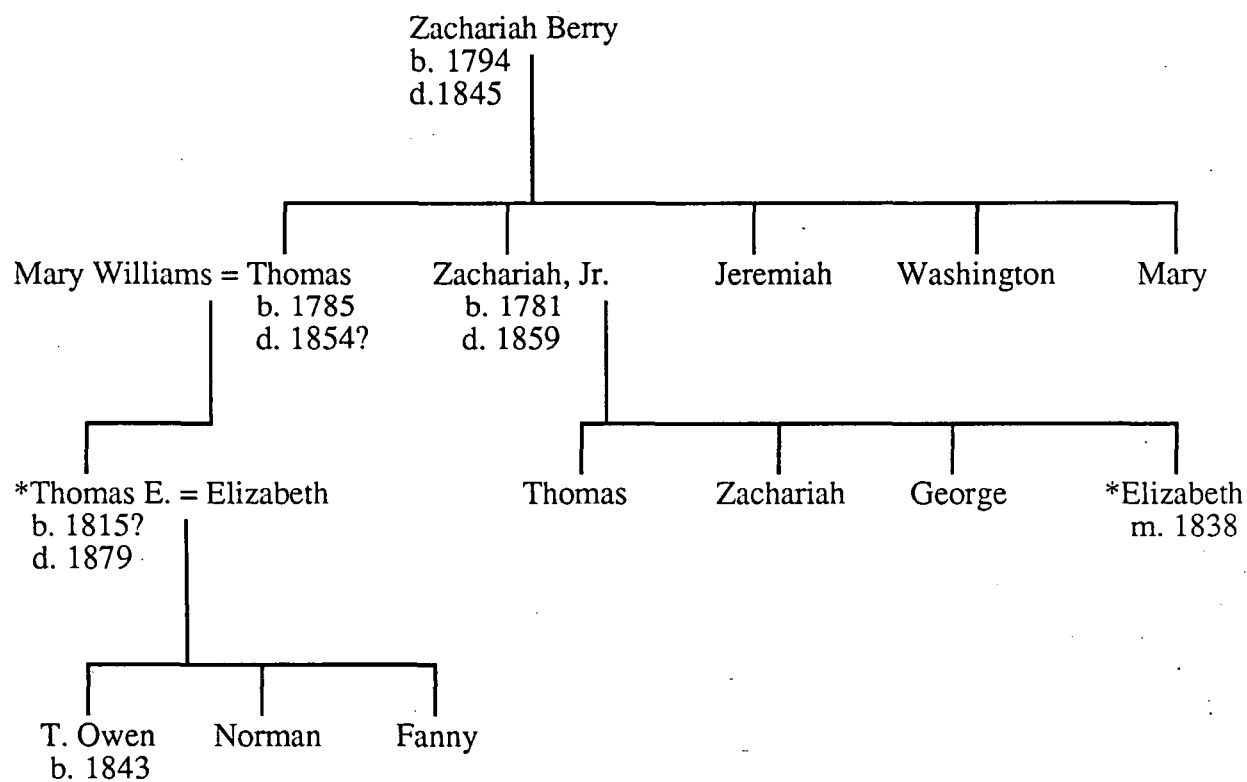
Manumission was clearly in the air during these years. In Prince Georges County the number of free blacks rose between 1800 and 1810 from only 648 to 4,929 (Table 17). Still, the general picture which emerges from Addison's years at Oxon Hill Manor is one of disinterest. He did not hold large numbers of slaves relative to his potential. He slowly sold parts of the estate, even while he was arranging for land reclamation. He left the manor house in 1803 or 1804 to start a school at another residence on the estate, perhaps leaving the manor house vacant. Murray (1895) also points out that Addison was not a good manager of his money. He made a number of poor investments, she notes, and would not use the proceeds from the sale of the estate in 1810 wisely. Addison's attitude toward Oxon Hill Manor must have been ambivalent. Although quoted as saying "Rejoice with me, I am relieved of a great burden" when the house was sold in 1810, his wife Elizabeth had been buried at the Oxon Hill cemetery in 1808 and Addison himself asked to be buried at Oxon Hill when he died in 1848 (Murray 1895:125-133, 157, 191).

Although the documentation is not adequate to present a complete picture of Oxon Hill Manor during Addison's tenure, certain conclusions seem justified. Direct management of a large slave population was not his approach, unlike previous owners. Numerous tenants lived on the estate, some of whom, like the Baynes, were moderate slave owners. In 1798 John Bayne owned 15 slaves, Elsworth Bayne seven (MHR, MS. 1999, 1798 Federal Tax Assessment, Prince Georges County). Addison displayed some interest in improving the estate, indicated by his "developmental" lease to John Davies in 1801. Yet he slowly sold the lands and chose not to live at the manor house after 1803. Addison's financial difficulties may have reflected the general agricultural problems of the period. The decline in tobacco's success, owing in part to soil exhaustion, may have damaged local agriculture. The number of slaves declined in the Piscataway/Hynson Hundreds from 2,961 in 1796 to 1,566, a 47.1 percent decline which was far greater than the 11.6 percent for the county (MHR, Assessments 1796, 1806). It is possible that the manor and its immediate region suffered even more than other parts of the county, but without agricultural production data or private papers that is impossible to determine. Whatever his motivations or difficulties, Walter Dulany Addison had sold most of the original 3,663 acre estate by 1810 and would sell the remainder by 1820.

### The Thomas and Zachariah Berry Years, 1810-1860.

Evaluation of the Oxon Hill Manor site during the nineteenth-century antebellum years is complicated by the fact that the owner of the estate until 1845, Zachariah Berry (1749-1845), did not reside at the manor; rather, his youngest son, Thomas Berry (1781-1854), lived at Oxon Hill from 1812 until his death in 1854. Thomas inherited the property from Zachariah on his father's death in 1845. He apparently bequeathed it to his son, Thomas E. Berry (1815-1879), although the details on transmission are uncertain since he died intestate (Figure 24). To examine ownership patterns, then, involves some awareness of the difference between ownership and occupancy. While we can determine a good deal about the social and economic status of Zachariah and Thomas Berry in this period, we know relatively little about land use and labor patterns. The analysis must rest heavily on data on slave owners at the estate and on Berry's agricultural production in 1850.

When Zachariah Berry purchased Oxon Hill Manor in 1810, he was already a well-to-do planter in the Western Branch /Collington Hundred Unit, Prince Georges County, where he owned 2,295.25 acres of land valued at £5,181. This amount of real property made him the second wealthiest landowner in the Collington/Western Branch Hundreds, where average real property was £993. Berry also owned land (242 acres) in New Scotland/Oxon/Bladensburg Hundreds (not separated) in



\*Thomas E. Berry married his cousin, Elizabeth Berry, in 1838.

FIGURE 24. Genealogical Table of the Berry Family.

1810. His personal property at his home plantation in Western Branch Hundred, called "Concord and Outlet Enlarged," included 57 slaves (£1,375) and other property (livestock, securities, plate, gold and silver watches, household furniture) valued altogether at £2,519. This total made him the wealthiest householder, in terms of personal property, in Collington/Western Branch Hundreds. The £2,519 was over six times the £391 average for the two Hundreds, and his 57 slaves were about five times the 11.6 average. Taken together, his real and personal property made him the second wealthiest individual in Collington/Western Branch Hundreds (MHR, Assessments 1810).

The 1811 tax assessment separated Berry's 1,328 acres at Oxon Hill Manor into two units, 449 acres valued at 46 shillings per acre and 879 acres valued at 96 shillings per acre, for a total value of £4,076. The larger units undoubtedly included the manor house, and Berry apparently had added 59 acres to the 820-acre former dower land. Only Edward Henry Calvert owned property valued higher than Oxon Hill Manor in 1811. The average real property value per assessed owner in Piscataway/Hynson Hundreds in 1811 was £454, less than 10 percent of Oxon Hill Manor's value. Berry listed no personal property at Oxon Hill in 1811, suggesting that the house may have been vacant (MHR, Assessments 1811). Most of the individuals who had purchased parts of Oxon Hill Manor by 1811 were small or moderate slave owners. John Bayne owned five slaves and £258 of personal property and Joseph Thomas held eight slaves and £456 of personal property. Dr. Samuel DeButts had 13 slaves and £856 property, Francis Kirby owned 15 slaves and £768 property, William Marbury 23 slaves and £670 property, and Samuel Ridout 11 slaves and £456 of property. Charles Beall, a black or mulatto, owned no slaves and £149 property. Average slave holding in the district in 1809, two years earlier, had been 4.5 slaves and £201 personal property, indicating that most of the purchasers were economically better off than the average householder (MHR, Assessments 1809, 1811).

In 1812 Thomas Berry, Zachariah's 31-year old son, took up residence at Oxon Hill Manor. Although Zachariah continued to be listed as the owner, Thomas had brought nine slaves and £519 total personal property to Oxon Hill. Thomas does not appear in Prince Georges County census or tax assessments before 1812, so it is probable that he had been residing outside the county (MHR, Assessments 1812). By 1815 Berry owned 12 slaves and personal property worth \$1,597. In the same year, Berry married Mary Williams, daughter of a wealthy planter, Thomas O. Williams. When her father died in 1819, she and Thomas Berry inherited four separate properties totaling 776.75 acres in New Scotland/Oxon/Bladensburg Hundreds (north of Piscataway/Hynson Hundreds in Prince Georges County). They probably inherited the property in 1820, the same year Berry's personal property mushroomed to 43 slaves and \$4,161. The real property assessment for 1820 has been lost, but the 776.75 acres appear in the 1821 real property assessment. By 1828

Berry had reduced the four properties to one 650-acre estate called "Seat Pleasant," presumably the former site of Thomas O. Williams's home plantation (MHR, Assessments 1815-1828; Land Records, JBB 5:102, Nov. 10, 1847).

In 1825 the tax assessments began to list Oxon Hill Manor under Thomas Berry, rather than under Zachariah. Since Zachariah bequeathed Oxon Hill to Thomas in his will in 1845, we know that Thomas had not become the owner in 1825 (Prince Georges County Courthouse (PGCC), Wills, P.C. 1, 1845:284-289). By 1825, moreover, Zachariah had accumulated 1,665 additional acres in Piscataway/Hynson Hundreds, had expanded his holdings in Collington/Western Branch Hundreds, and had added over 1,400 acres in Mattapony/Washington/Prince Frederick Hundreds. Another change in 1825 was Thomas Berry's listing of slaves and other personal property at both Oxon Hill and Seat Pleasant, the latter being his property in New Scotland/Oxon/Bladensburg Hundreds. His 49 slaves were divided between the two areas, 21 at Oxon Hill and 28 at Seat Pleasant. The fact that he listed "plate" only at Oxon Hill indicates that he continued to reside there (MHR, Assessments

1823-1825).

Thomas Berry was a successful planter in the 1812 to 1842 period. By the latter date he had added 131.25 acres to his Oxon Hill property, although the new properties were much less valuable per acre. The Oxon Hill acreage had been divided into an 865-acre tract valued at \$40 per acre and a 443-acre tract valued at \$12 per acre. He had apparently sold 20 of the 1,328 original acres. Berry now owned 32 slaves at Oxon Hill, along with 17 at Seat Pleasant. Average slaveholding in the Oxon Hill district, now called Spaldings Election District (#6 - Figure 21), was only 3.0 per assessed owner. This low average, and the small number of slaves in the district strongly suggests that the region had suffered considerable decline, even if Berry himself had not. Berry's total personal wealth, including \$40,743 in lands and his wealth in slaves, private securities, livestock, household furniture, plate, and gold and silver watches, was valued at \$55,424. This was over 17 times the average \$3,171 value of personal wealth in Spaldings District (MHR, Assessments 1842).

At Seat Pleasant in the Bladensburg Election District (#2), Berry held 553 acres, 17 slaves and \$16,165 total personal wealth. Average slaveholding in Bladensburg was 5.9 slaves; average personal wealth \$6,026. Berry's father, Zachariah, also in Bladensburg, owned 4,862 acres, 55 slaves, and \$65,510 total personal wealth. Only two men, Otho B. Beall and Thomas B. Crawford, owned more total wealth in the district. Immediately behind Zachariah came his eldest son, Zachariah Berry, Jr. (1781-1859), with 1,029 acres, 29 slaves, and \$48,440 total personal wealth. Only four men, including his father, were wealthier in Bladensburg District. Over in District 7, Queen Anne's, the future heir of Oxon Hill Manor, Thomas E. Berry (1815-1879), had already built a sizeable estate. Berry owned 434 acres at "Partnership," 19 slaves, and \$24,708 total personal wealth. Although wealthy by county-wide standards, he was living in a district where average slaveholding was 12.6 slaves and average personal wealth \$14,063 (MHR, Assessments 1842).

When Zachariah Berry died in 1845, he left parts of his estate to his sons Thomas, Zachariah Jr., and Washington (Jeremiah had apparently died), to his daughter Mary Beall, and to various grandchildren and relatives. Zachariah, Jr. received the Concord and Outlet Enlarged homeplace, Thomas the Oxon Hill lands, and Thomas E. Berry, Zachariah, Sr.'s grandson, \$3,000. At this time Thomas Berry had 11 slaves, 553 acres and a total wealth of \$14,540 at Seat Pleasant and 21 slaves, 1,576.25 acres and \$51,004 total personal wealth at the Oxon Hill and other District 6 properties. He had household furniture in both the Seat Pleasant and Oxon Hill areas (\$150 at Seat Pleasant and \$350 at Oxon Hill). Thomas E. Berry's Partnership estate in Queen Anne's showed 19 slaves and total wealth of \$25,393, only a slight change from 1842 (MHR, Assessments 1845; PGCC, Wills, P.C. 1, 1845:284-289).

In 1847 Thomas Berry's Seat Pleasant estate showed considerable increase over 1845. He had added 658.5 acres (Sewalls Enlarged) inherited from Zachariah Berry, Sr. and had increased his slaveholdings from 11 to 24. Most of the increase in slaves probably came from the 15 slaves he received from Zachariah's estate. Thomas Berry's total wealth at Seat Pleasant and Sewalls Enlarged was \$25,611, up over \$10,000 from the \$14,540 in Bladensburg District in 1845, and total personal wealth of \$50,954, down slightly from the \$51,004 in 1845. He continued to be the wealthiest householder in the Spaldings District. Thomas E. Berry's Partnership estate in Queen Anne's was identical to the 1845 estate (MHR, Assessments 1847).

The year 1847 was also the year in which Thomas Berry separated from his wife, Mary Williams Berry. Because of "unhappy differences," the couple signed a formal separation and agreed "to live separate and apart from each other during the remainder of their lives." Berry's son and heir, Thomas E. Berry, would sign a similar agreement with his wife, Elizabeth Berry, in 1874. The 1847 settlement arranged for Mary to take full possession of the Seat Pleasant property, "for the most part"



the same land she had inherited from her father in 1820. She also received 23 slaves, 40 hogs, 30 sheep, 8 oxen, 10 cows, 3 horses, 3 carts, 30 hogsheads of tobacco, 100 barrels of corn, 200 bushels of wheat, a carriage and horses, some "plows and gears," and the oat and rye currently planted. She was residing at Seat Pleasant at the time (MHR, Land Records, JBB 5:102, Nov. 10, 1847).

The items listed in the settlement between Thomas and Mary Berry in 1847 indicates that they practiced somewhat diversified farming at Seat Pleasant, rather than relying entirely on tobacco. The 1850 agricultural census provides our first good outline of Berry's agricultural activities at Oxon Hill Manor, and allows comparisons between his production and average and median levels in his district. Table 36 lists Berry's totals against average and median values. Immediately apparent is Berry's enormous wealth in land, farm value, and livestock. Also evident is the fact that he was not a tobacco planter. Rather than turning to market gardening as a substitute, Berry appears to have emphasized livestock, corn, and wheat, and, to a lesser extent, orchard products. His relatively high value of farm implements and the large number of oxen probably reflect his high levels of grain production. Insofar as the Spaldings District was moving toward market gardening, dairying, and increased tobacco production and away from livestock--trends just beginning by 1850 according to the earlier analysis of district and county trends--Berry was not a participant. The shift of grain and livestock toward the Patuxent, generally, was not apparent at Oxon Hill Manor. There is little indication of the district's--and the manor's--later interest in Irish and especially sweet potatoes.

Table 36. Agricultural Production by Thomas Berry Compared to Average and Median Production by All Producing Farmers (Owners and Tenants), Spaldings District, 1850.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Berry</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Median</u>
Total Acres	887	244	--
Improved Acres	587	149	115
Value of Farms	40,000	3,471	1,900
Value of Farm Implements	300	65	40
Value of Livestock	1,729	348	260
Value of Animals Slaughtered	45	70	46
Value of Orchard Products	75	34	30
Value of Market Gardens	10	191	100
Wheat (bushels)	1,300	179	57
Rye (bushels)	0	34	30
Corn (bushels)	3,000	408	350
Oats (bushels)	0	90	55
Tobacco (lbs)	0	6,813	4,000
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	50	84	40
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	0	11	7
Butter (lbs)	0	127	100
Hay (tons)	1	14	8
Horses	3	4	--
Mules/Asses	8	2	--
Oxen	8	4	--
Milch Cows	10	4	--
Other Cattle	0	5	--
Sheep	0	20	--

Table 36. Continued.

Swine	100	14	--
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Source: 1850: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

As Table 36 shows, the 1850 census lists Berry as the owner of 887 total acres rather than the 1,308 acres recorded by the 1850 tax assessment. There is no immediate explanation for the discrepancy, except to note that the 887 acres roughly coincide with the 865-acre Oxon Hill Manor tract valued at \$40 per acre. The other 443 acres were listed separately and valued at \$12 per acre. Berry may have been leasing the 443 acres, although no leases by him are recorded in the county land records. Berry was working 24 slaves at the estate in 1850 and his total personal wealth was \$50,954. District averages were 2.3 slaves per assessed owner and \$2,579 personal wealth. Based on his personal wealth, Berry was the richest man in the district in 1850. He also owned 658.5 acres (Sewall's Enlarged) in Bladensburg District, but he had given up Seat Pleasant, the 24 slaves and other personal property in the settlement with his wife in 1847. Berry's older brother, Zachariah Berry, Jr. (Sr. since 1845), was the wealthiest individual in Bladensburg District, where he owned 47 slaves, 3,725 acres of land, and \$78,621 total personal property (MHR, Assessments 1847, 1850).

Berry's separation from his wife did not appear to reduce his social and economic status to any significant degree. Not only did he retain the valuable Oxon Hill estate, but he had also been elected as a magistrate of the Magistrate's Court for Spaldings Election District in 1845 (MHR, Land Records, JBB 4:218, July 12, 1845). Curiously, however, when he died intestate in 1854 or 1855 his estate was inventoried at only \$1,510; the figure included two female slaves valued at \$1,400, a carriage worth \$50, and two gray horses worth \$60 (MHR, Inventories, WAJ 1:189, January 17, 1855). It is possible that Berry divested himself of most of his property before his death, although the records do not indicate any such transactions. Nor can the tax assessments shed any light on the distribution of his property at his death; all assessments from 1851 through 1860 have been lost. When they reappear, in 1861, the owner of Oxon Hill Manor was Berry's son, Thomas E. Berry.

### The Thomas E. Berry Years, 1860-1888

The 1861 tax assessment indicates that Oxon Hill Manor had passed into the hands of Thomas E. Berry (1815-1879) by that date. He probably inherited the estate on his father's death in 1854 or 1855. Berry also owned a 600-acre tract, "Thomas and Mary," and a 211-acre tract, "Pleasant Hill," in Spaldings District, and he had inherited 658.5 acres (Sewalls Enlarged) in Bladensburg District. He continued to hold his Partnership estate in Queen Anne's, now listed as 432 acres rather than 434 as previously noted (MHR, Assessments 1861).

Determining where Thomas E. Berry was living in 1861 from the tax assessment records is difficult, since both his Spaldings and Queen Anne's properties showed personal property. A listing of Berry's property in 1861 may be helpful (MHR, Assessments 1861):

2nd District (Bladensburg)	<u>Acres</u>		<u>Total</u>
Sewells Enlarged	658.5	\$6,585.00	
No personal property		Total for Bladensburg	<u>\$6,585.00</u>
6th District (Spaldings)			
Oxon Hill Manor	865.0	\$34,600.00	

Oxon Hill Manor	443.0	5,316.00	
Thomas and Mary	600.0	6,000.00	
Pleasant Hill	211.0	2,110.00	
	<u>2,119.0</u>	<u>\$48,026.00</u>	\$48,026.00
Slaves (55)		\$8,420.00	
Railroad stock		8,000.00	
Livestock		1,844.00	
Household furniture		400.00	
Gold and silver watches		25.00	
Other property		<u>500.00</u>	
		\$19,189.00	<u>\$19,189.00</u>
		Total for Spaldings	<u>\$67,215.00</u>
7th District (Queen Anne's)			
Partnership	432.0		\$17,280.00
Slaves (46)		\$8,655.00	
Private securities		690.00	
Livestock		1,250.00	
Household furniture		500.00	
Plate		200.00	
Gold and silver watches		100.00	
Other property		<u>500.00</u>	
		\$11,895.00	<u>\$11,895.00</u>
		Total for 7th District	<u>\$29,175.00</u>
		Total value all property	\$102,975.00

The tremendous increase in Thomas E. Berry's wealth since the 1850 tax assessment was the result of his having inherited property from his father, Thomas Berry, and from his uncle and father-in-law, Zachariah Berry, Jr. (Sr. since 1845; eldest son of Zachariah Berry, Sr.) in 1859. Although the exact inheritance pattern from his father is unclear, we know from the records that he inherited 8 slaves and \$33,426 in property (one-fifth of the estate) from Zachariah Berry, Jr. Zachariah, Jr. left property to Thomas E. Berry and to Thomas' wife and Zachariah's daughter, Elizabeth Berry, which would later be divided up at the time of their separation agreement in 1874. The bulk of Thomas E. Berry's property, \$67,215, was in Spaldings District. This value made him by far the wealthiest householder in the district. The 1860 census indicates that he owned 55 slaves in the district, almost eight times the average of 7.0. His 46 slaves in Queen Anne's District was only about double the average of 24 in that wealthier area. Berry's \$67,215 personal wealth in Spaldings was over 28 times the average of \$2,382; his \$29,175 in Queen Anne's was about double the average of \$12,090 (MHR, Wills, WAJ 1:133; Bowie 1975:61; MHR, Assessment 1861; 1850 Census).

Thomas E. Berry resided at his estate in Queen Anne's District, not at Oxon Hill in Spaldings. Since the listing of his property in the tax assessments indicates that he owned personal property in both districts, this would be a difficult conclusion to arrive at from only the assessments. The only possible clue might lie in the absence of plate at the Spaldings properties, since both districts list household furniture and gold and silver watches.

The 1860 population census, however, does not include Thomas E. Berry in the Spaldings enumeration. He appears only in the population census of Queen Anne's. Both the agricultural and

slave censuses list him in Spaldings. Other evidence that Berry did not live at Oxon Hill in the 1850s or later comes from the Chancery Court 1208 insanity case and from the 1871 tax assessment. In the insanity hearings Berry's "homeplace" is referred to as "Ellersbie", located in Queen Anne's District. That this is the same property as "Partnership" is indicated by both the insanity case and by the listing in 1871 of Berry's 432-acre estate in Queen Anne's as "Ellersbie". This is the same tract which had been referred to as "part of Partnership" from 1841 onward (1860b Census (Agriculture); 1860f Census (Population); 1860d Census (Slave); PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208; MHR, Assessment 1841-1850, 1861, 1871).

The 1860 agricultural census provides data on Berry's agricultural practices at Oxon Hill as well as at Ellersbie in Queen Anne's District. Table 37 shows his production levels in the two districts and compares Oxon Hill production to the average and median for all producing farmers (owners and tenants) in Spaldings District. Comparing Thomas E. Berry's activities to those of his father in 1850 (Table 36), it appears that by 1860 Berry had almost doubled the total acreage from 887 to 1,600 and had increased improved acreage from 587 to 700. Also, the value of the farm in 1860 was \$60,000, compared to \$40,000 in 1850. The differences in total acreage cannot be explained at this time. It is possible that census-takers included different lands or that neither census included only the Oxon Hill Manor property. In any case, Berry by 1860 showed considerably more livestock, and farm implements, and he was producing tobacco, unlike his father. The manor showed no values under orchard products, market gardening, or Irish potatoes, although it grew some oats. Both censuses showed similar levels of wheat and corn. Regarding diversification, Thomas E. Berry grew tobacco and oats at the expense of orchards and market gardening. Thomas Berry had produced no tobacco, but had shown values in orchards and market gardening. Thomas E. Berry also produced eight times as much hay as his father. Berry's Queen Anne's estate, Ellersbie, was smaller and less valuable than Oxon Hill Manor. The striking differences at this property were the enormous levels of tobacco production and the presence of values under animals slaughtered, Irish potatoes, butter, and sheep. Since the 1859 census year may not have been typical, the most reliable statistic is undoubtedly the strong orientation toward tobacco. Table 38 shows Berry's activities in Queen Anne's in 1850. In that year he was more diversified than in 1850, producing more corn, oats, potatoes, and hay, less tobacco and livestock. He had owned swine in 1850, but did not in 1860.

Table 37. Agricultural Production by Thomas Berry at Oxon Hill Manor, Spaldings District, and at Ellersbie, Queen Anne's District, 1860.

Category	Berry Oxon Hill	Average Oxon Hill	Median Oxon Hill	Berry Queen Anne's
Total Acres	1,600	133	0	400
Improved Acres	700	77	40	350
Value of Farms	60,000	4,534	2,000	28,000
Value of Farm Implements	1,000	107	50	600
Value of Livestock	3,000	437	275	2,200
Value of Animals Slaughtered	0	104	100	0
Value of Orchard Products	0	430	100	0
Value of Market Gardens	0	465	100	0
Wheat (bushels)	1,400	195	83	600
Rye (bushels)	0	56	30	0
Corn (bushels)	2,500	290	200	2,000

Table 37. Continued.

Oats (bushels)	300	124	75	0
Tobacco (lbs)	4,000	6,918	5,000	60,000
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	0	87	50	100
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	0	0	0	0
Butter (lbs)	0	223	100	175
Hay (tons)	8	22	10	0
Horses	8	3	2	16
Mules/Asses	7	3	2	0
Oxen	8	3	2	8
Milch Cows	7	3	2	8
Other Cattle	14	4	3	4
Sheep	0	19	19	53
Swine	100	12	9	0

Source: 1860: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

Table 38. Agricultural Production by Thomas E. Berry at Ellersbie, Queen Anne's District, 1850.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Production Levels</u>
Total Acres	432
Improved Acres	350
Value of Farms	17,280
Value of Farm Implements	500
Value of Livestock	1,886
Value of Animals Slaughtered	416
Value of Orchard Products	0
Value of Market Gardens	0
Wheat (bushels)	1,000
Rye (bushels)	50
Corn (bushels)	3,650
Oats (bushels)	100
Tobacco (lbs)	50,000
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	50
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	10
Butter (lbs)	400
Hay (tons)	5
Horses	8
Mules/Asses	9
Oxen	12
Milch Cows	8
Other Cattle	2
Sheep	30
Swine	60

Source: 1850: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

Summarizing the agricultural data from 1850 and 1860, it is clear that livestock, grain, and to a lesser extent tobacco, dominated production at Oxon Hill. There is no discernible trend toward orchard production or market gardening, except in Thomas Berry's relatively high market gardening value in 1850. His son, however, showed no market gardening in 1860, despite impressive growth within Spaldings as a whole (Table 22). Moreover, Berry was less diversified in Queen Anne's in 1860 than in 1850, although tobacco was the dominant crop in both censuses.

Since Berry was producing only 4,000 pounds of tobacco in Spaldings in 1860, his laborers clearly were not much involved in the crop. Since he owned 55 slaves in the district, most of his slaves were working in grain or livestock activities. This pattern strongly supports the evidence presented earlier regarding agricultural diversification in St. Mary's County and in Green and Orange counties, Virginia within a more or less stable or growing slave population. Berry's 55 slaves in Spaldings worked within an agricultural system that produced only 4,000 pounds of tobacco while his 46 slaves in Queen Anne's were involved in 60,000 pounds harvested. Of course Berry may have hired out some of his Spaldings slaves, a likely possibility for a slaveowner close to a major urban center. Still, hiring the slaves merely supports the aforementioned research which emphasizes the flexibility of slavery within a diversified agriculture (1860c Census (Population); 1860d Census (slave); MHR, Assessments 1861).

Figures 25 (Martenet 1861b) and 26 (Friis 1968a, Figure 27) show the location of Thomas E. Berry's estate in 1861 and 1862, respectively. The manor house was located on a bluff above the Potomac, about a mile from the river. The Alexandria Ferry, formerly Clifford's (1775-88), Douglas's (1788-95), and Thomas's (1795-7) Ferry, and called Fox's Ferry during the nineteenth century, was the estate and local community landing. It had also been the site of an "ordinary" since at least 1782, and a hotel operated there in the 1860s (Van Horn 1976:184-85, 204--5, 221). Figure 26 reveals the extent to which the original manor property was still forested. For purposes of comparison with Figure 20 (1785) it should be recalled that the Berry property (1,328 acres) contained all of the original 828-acre dower.

Figure 27 (U. S. Coast Survey 1863) is the only map from before the 1895 fire which indicates the physical layout of the estate, it dates from 1863. Given the large number of slaves and livestock at the estate, the outbuildings are probably slave quarters, barns, and stables. The lack of tobacco production reduces the probability that they included tobacco barns. The small structure close and to the north of the manor house may have been a detached kitchen. The larger, more distant buildings were probably barns or stables for the 8 horses, 7 mules and asses, 8 oxen, 7 milch cows, 14 "other cattle", and 100 hogs on the estate in 1860.

Thomas E. Berry's social and economic status in the 1860s can be determined from the 1861 tax assessment. In Spaldings District he owned 1,308 acres at Oxon Hill, a 600-acre tract, "Thomas and Mary", and a 211-acre tract, "part of Pleasant Hill", all valued at \$48,026. Oxon Hill Manor made up \$39,916 of that total. He also owned 55 slaves, with \$8,420, and \$10,769 additional personal property. His total real and personal estate came to \$67,215, by far the richest in Spaldings. The next closest total was only \$13,275. Berry's 55 slaves were almost eight times the average 7 slaves for Spaldings slaveowners in 1860, while his \$67,215 total wealth was nearly thirty times the \$2,382 average for the district (MHR, Assessment 1861).

At his Ellersbie home plantation (Figure 28), Berry was comparably less wealthy, although only because he owned only 432 acres of land, valued at \$17,280. He also owned 46 slaves worth \$8,655, and \$3,240 additional personal property. His total real and personal estate was \$29,175, ranking him only sixteenth in Queen Anne's. His 46 slaves were about double the 24 slave average

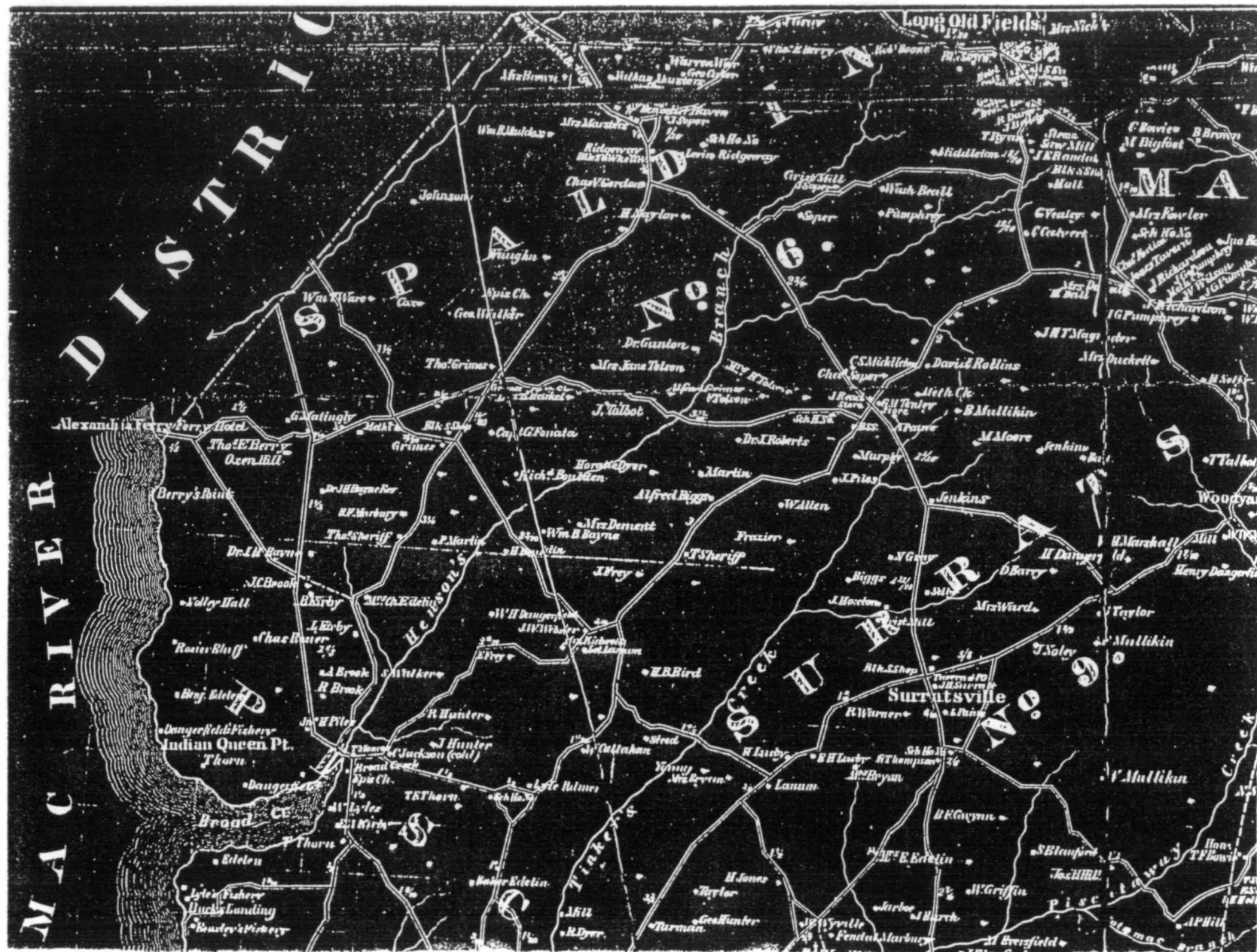


FIGURE 25. Oxon Hill Manor, 1861.



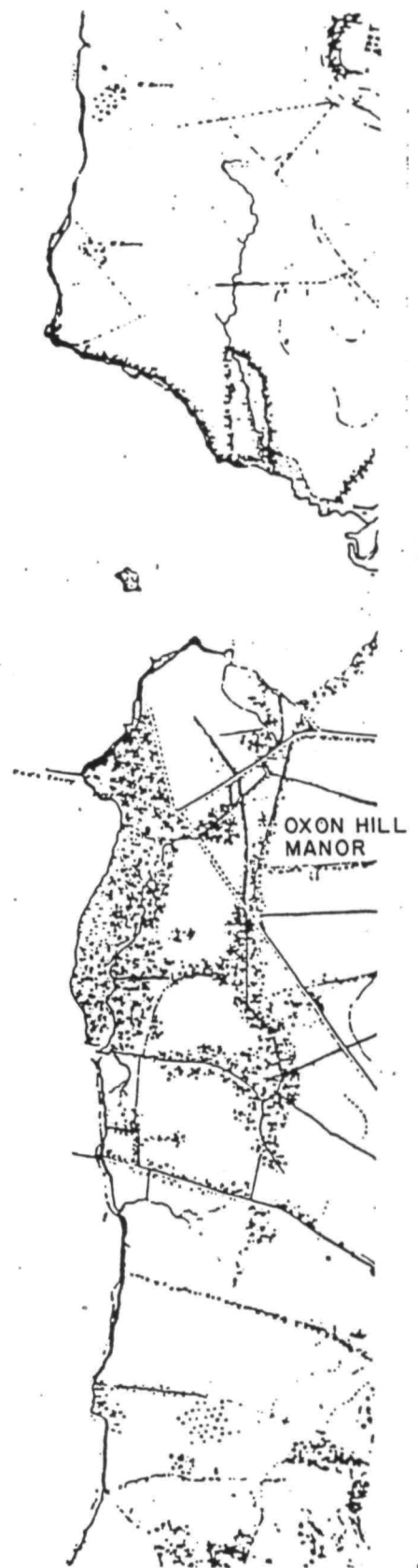


FIGURE 26. Oxon Hill Manor, 1862.



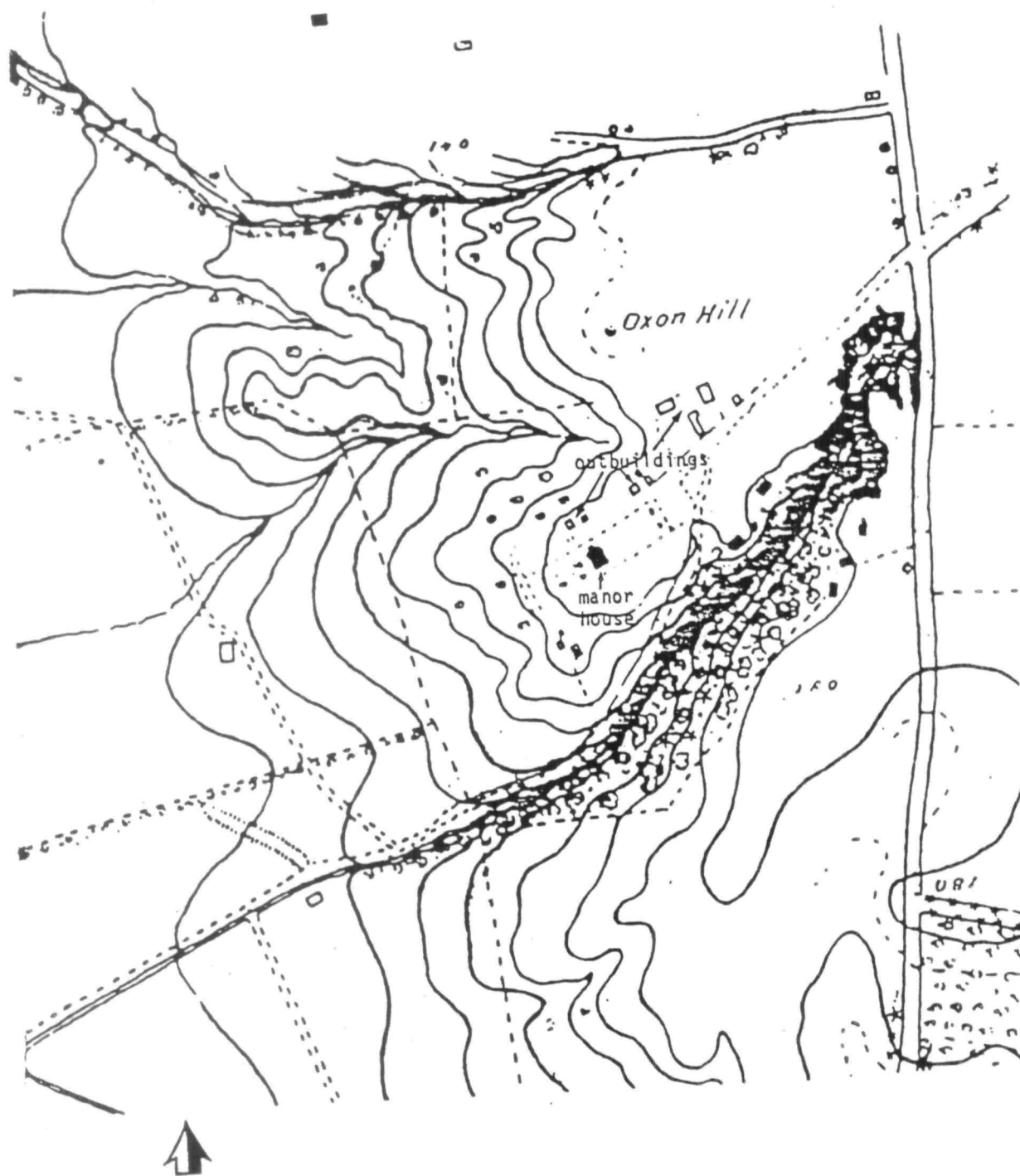


FIGURE 27. Oxon Hill Manor, 1863.

for the district, and his \$29,175 total wealth was only a little more than double the \$12,090 average for Queen Anne's. Clearly, Thomas E. Berry must have struck a more imposing figure at Oxon Hill than at Ellersbie. This probably explains the reference to him as "Thomas E. Berry of Oxon Hill" in the best genealogy of the Berry family (Bowie 1975:61), rather than as "Thomas E. Berry of Ellersbie".

Until 1867, Oxon Hill Manor continued to be listed under Thomas E. Berry as 1,308 acres divided into 865 and 443-acre units. Valued at \$40 and \$12 per acre, respectively, the two units total value was \$39,916. In 1868, however, Oxon Hill Manor lands totaled 1,800 acres, all valued at \$30 per acre, for a total of \$54,000. Berry's total wealth in the Spaldings District, including \$10,000 for the 500-acre Thomas and Mary tract, was \$64,000, by far the richest in the district. No personal property, however, was listed in Spaldings in 1868. There is no explanation for the change, although the fact that Berry's eldest son, T. Owen Berry (1843-?) appears in Spaldings for the first time with \$1,445 livestock is suggestive that his son may have begun occupying the Oxon Hill property. This possibility is enhanced by T. Owen's appearing in the 1870 Spaldings agricultural census as the "owner" of a \$100,000 farm. At age 26, it is unlikely that T. Owen Berry was the "owner" of an estate of 2,150 acres with such an enormous value. It seems clear that he, like his uncle, Thomas Berry, was residing at his father's estate (MHR, Assessments 1861-1868; 1870, Prince Georges Manuscript Agriculture and Population Census).

Table 39 shows T. Owen Berry's agricultural production at Oxon Hill Manor in 1870 compared to average and median value for all producing farmers (owners and tenants) in Spaldings. The enormous differences between Berry's and the averages and medians is immediately impressive. The sum paid for wages, \$3,500, and the value of all farm products, \$9,500, present the impression of a large corporate farm. Berry was married, had male children aged 5 and 2, and had two domestic servants and two farm laborers in his household. Since tenant farms were not separated in the census until 1880, it is possible that some of the values included tenant production; that is, production from which Berry drew a share or derived an income in cash rent. There is no way to verify this possibility. Unlike his father in 1860 (Table 37), T. Owen was involved heavily in market gardening. Sweet and Irish potatoes were probably the basis of his market gardening. He also showed 100 additional improved acres and 550 additional total acres, a large value for animals slaughtered, much more hay, and 150 sheep. He produced less wheat than his father and no tobacco. Unlike the district, but like his father, he earned no income from orchard products. The estate had 242 total livestock, compared to 144 in 1860. T. Owen had no oxen and fewer hogs (1870, Prince Georges Manuscript Agriculture and Population Census). Oxon Hill in 1870 appears more in tune with the general trend in Spaldings than in 1860, although the estate produced disproportionately in livestock, animals slaughtered, corn, and sweet potatoes. It was under-represented in orchard products, tobacco, and milk. The estate also showed \$3,000 "improvements" between the 1868 and 1871 tax assessments. The exact date of these additions is not certain, since tax assessments for 1869 and 1870 have been lost (MHR, Assessments 1868, 1871).

Table 39. Agricultural Production by T. Owen Berry at Oxon Hill Manor, Spaldings District, 1870.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Berry</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Median</u>
Total Acres	2,150	173	--
Improved Acres	800	94	70
Value of Farms	100,000	9,000	5,000
Value of Farm Implements	700	229	150
Value of Livestock	3,000	605	375

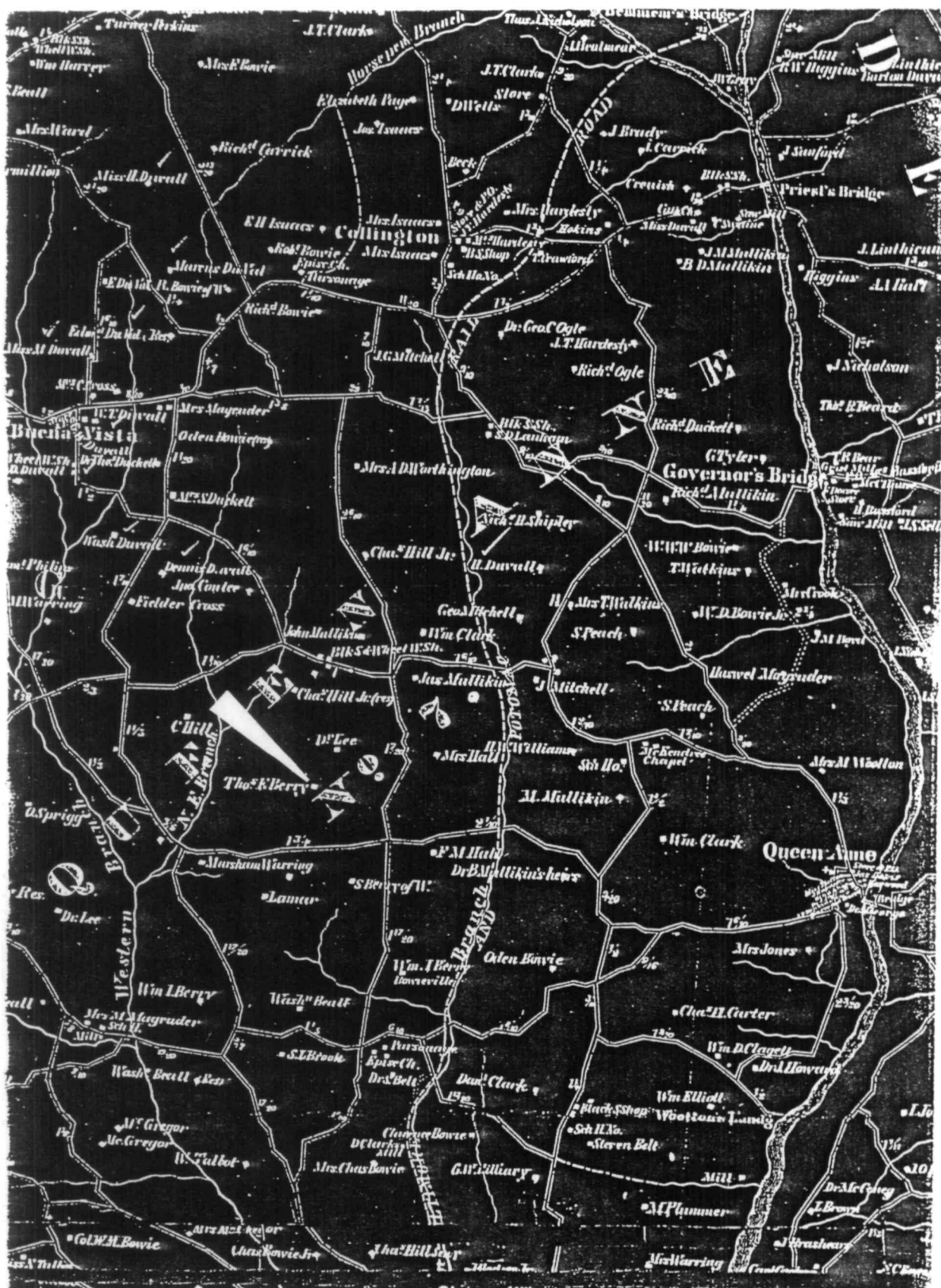


FIGURE 28. The Ellersbie Plantation of Thomas E. Berry, 1861.

Table 39. Continued.

Value of Animals Slaughtered	2,000	129	70
Value of Orchard Products	0	131	50
Value of Market Gardens	1,000	326	250
Value of Wages	3,500	556	300
Value of Forest Products	600	340	150
Value of All Farm Products	9,500	1,211	868
Wheat (bushels)	500	122	100
Rye (bushels)	100	80	40
Corn (bushels)	2,500	344	180
Oats (bushels)	500	104	75
Tobacco (lbs.)	0	3,322	2,400
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	300	166	150
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	1,000	122	50
Butter (lbs.)	300	166	150
Hay (tons)	30	17	7
Milk (gallons)	0	1,973	1,200
Horses	18	3	--
Mules/Asses	6	3	--
Milch Cows	6	3	--
Other Cattle	12	3	--
Sheep	150	37	--
Swine	50	8	--

Source: 1870: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census

By 1870 Thomas E. Berry had acquired and sold property in Bladensburg District, leaving him in possession of only "The Manor", a 700-acre tract. The 1870 census valued his 432-acre Ellersbie plantation in Queen Anne's at \$108,960 real property and \$2,000 personal, figures which appear to be in serious error. The scattered tax assessments from 1861 to 1871 consistently value Ellersbie at from \$29,175 to \$36,430. At current land values (\$40 per acre maximum), Ellersbie could not possibly have been worth \$108,960. By 1871, however, the value of Berry's estate placed him third among all district householders, behind Oden Bowie and Charles H. Carter and up from sixteenth in 1861. Average wealth per householder in Queen Anne's was \$7,791 (MHR, Assessments 1861-1871; 1870, Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses).

From George M. Hopkins's map of Prince Georges County in 1878 we know that Oxon Hill Manor was being leased in that year to James E. Bowie. Figure 29 (Hopkins 1878) reproduces the 1878 map. The map also associates "T. O. Berry", T. Owen Berry, with the property, a confirmation that Berry had been residing at or managing Oxon Hill. It is possible that T. Owen's association with Oxon Hill began in 1868, the year in which he appeared in the Spaldings tax assessments as the owner of \$1,445 livestock and the year in which Thomas E. Berry no longer showed any personal property at the estate. Documentation from the 1870s and 1880s, moreover, reveals that Thomas E. Berry suffered from both financial difficulties and mental instability beginning in the early 1860s. The records also indicate that, in addition to Bowie, a number of other tenants had rented parts of Oxon Hill Manor. While no actual leases have survived, and while the documentation lists cash rental payments only for the 1880s, Bowie's presence as a tenant in 1878 suggests the possible presence of other tenants before the 1880s.

T. Owen Berry's activities at Oxon Hill are not altogether clear, although he was considered to be the manager of Oxon Hill by the tenants even before Thomas E. Berry's death in 1879. The absence of tax assessments between 1871 and 1888 prevents determination of his exact economic status. Moreover, he does not appear in the 1880 agricultural or population censuses for Prince Georges County, even though he is recorded on the 1878 map (Figure 29) at Oxon Hill and at a residence southwest of the manor house and closer to the Alexandria Ferry. He also appears as a "farmer" under the town of Oxon Hill in the 1878 Maryland Directory, although not in subsequent directories of 1880, 1882, and 1887 (MHR, Assessments 1871:188; The Maryland Directory 1878:414, 1880, 1882; The Maryland Directory and State Gazetteer 1887; 1880, Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses).

Before examining the occupancy and agricultural activities at Oxon Hill Manor in more depth, the decline and death of Thomas E. Berry should be explained. In 1874 Berry and his wife, Elizabeth Berry, who was also his cousin (daughter of his uncle, Zachariah Berry--see Figure 24), signed a formal agreement to separate permanently. Berry's wife petitioned the court for protection against her husband who, she claimed, had been threatening violence against her and himself. She reported that her husband in the past seven or eight years had stopped treating her with the "kindness and confidence" of their earlier married years and she actually feared for her own and his life. She claimed his actions not on malice but on "mental derangement", and noted that for several years he had been displaying "fits of mental depression amounting almost to absolute insanity". He was both "violent and dangerous", she concluded.

Berry had already spent several months in an asylum by 1874, and he returned for a time in 1876. In 1876, however, his sons T. Owen and Norman petitioned the court for a writ of De Lunatic Inquiriendo because he had not improved. After medical examination and a jury hearing, Thomas E. Berry was declared legally insane (*non compos mentis*), and his estate entered into trusteeship in 1878. One of the trustees, Joseph K. Roberts, reported that in January of 1878, three months before the insanity declaration, Thomas E. Berry had come to his office in Upper Marlboro and had told him "that he was largely indebted, that he was making little or no money on his property, and that taxes, interest and expenses were consuming it all." Thomas E. Berry had come to Roberts to arrange to sell parts of his property to cover his own expenses and to properly arrange for his children's inheritances. He informed Roberts that he had already given "a great sum of money" to T. Owen, that he wished Norman to be on an equal footing with his brother after Thomas E. died, and that he wished Norman to have the Ellersbie homeplace. Roberts refused to make these arrangements because Berry was "incoherent" and his mind "so weak as to render him incapable of making a valid deed".

Both Elizabeth Berry and the two sons believed that Berry was incapable of taking care of either himself or his property. They declared that he had been mismanaging his properties since 1859, in part by timbering certain lands and selling the wood at "grossly inadequate" prices. Elizabeth complained that his actions often left the lands wasted and useless. The family feared that Berry's debts, amounting to over \$20,000, would lead his creditors to force sale of his property at considerable disadvantage to its actual value. The estate, they said, could easily cover the debts if handled properly. Once in trusteeship, the estate was subdivided into smaller parcels and sold piecemeal after 1879. The manor house and some of the lands around it were sold in 1888. Thomas E. Berry entered Mount Hope Retreat in Baltimore, where he died in 1879 (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891).

At the time of Thomas E. Berry's insanity hearings, he continued to reside at Ellersbie in Queen Anne's District. The occupant of Oxon Hill Manor, according to the 1878 Hopkins map (Figure 29) was James E. Bowie. Documentation from the hearings indicate for certain that the estate leased

estate tracts from 1878 to 1888; no earlier leases are actually recorded in the records. In addition to Bowie, tenants named were Richard W. Streeks, his son David Streeks, his wife Eliza Streeks, John Lanham and his wife Amelia Lanham, and George W. Lanham. From 1882 through 1886 Richard Streeks paid \$1,470 in rent, George Lanham paid \$1,630 from 1882 through 1888, and Amelia Lanham paid \$895 from 1882 through 1888. No other information was given in the records. Richard Streeks, George Lanham, and James E. Bowie appear as tenants in the 1880 agricultural tax assessment for Spaldings District. Moreover, they are listed sequentially in the census with seven other tenants. An eighth possible Oxon Hill Manor tenant appears in the hearing records. Since census-takers enumerated by location, it can be speculated that this collection of eleven tenants were all at Oxon Hill Manor after 1878, and perhaps earlier. The discussion of tenancy at Oxon Hill Manor which follows operates on the certainty that Richard Streeks, George Lanham, and James E. Bowie were tenants and on the possibility that the eight others were at the manor (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891; 1880, Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses).

Table 40 lists the agricultural production levels for the known tenants--Richard Streeks, George Lanham, and James E. Bowie--and compares their values to the average for the eight possible tenants and to the average and median for all producing farmers (owners and tenants) in Oxon Hill District in 1880. As in the analysis of tenant agriculture in a previous section (Tables 29 to 33), it is immediately evident that Streeks and Lanham were relatively well-to-do farmers. Bowie, however, was not. Despite apparently having the resources to rent the manor, his production values almost all fall below median levels. The fact that he produced above both the average and median tobacco levels, did not seem to advance his prosperity. Streeks and Lanham show very high values in land farmed, farm value, livestock, market gardening, all farm products, corn, Irish potatoes (Streeks), and sweet potatoes. Bowie was also a large producer of sweet potatoes, one of the principal crops of Oxon Hill District by the 1870s. Apart from corn and some oats (Lanham), grains were not important to these three tenants. The averages for the other eight tenants are consistently lower than the averages and medians for the district, with the telling exception of market gardening. One of the tenants, George Streeks, showed high values similar to Richard Streeks and George Lanham, thereby pulling up the average for the eight tenants. Five of the eight, however, showed market garden levels above the district average. It is also notable that they produced relatively high levels of sweet potatoes. As in the earlier censuses, orchard products were not important at Oxon Hill Manor.

Some additional information about the known tenants is available in the records. James E. Bowie was listed as a "farmer", as were all tenants, in the 1880 population census, age 43, and married since 1860 to the former Frances Whitmore (Brown 1973:25). Frances kept a house filled with seven children, aged one month to 18 years. The 18-year old son, James, was a farm laborer. Like all of the other tenants at Oxon Hill, Bowie was white. His production levels and the low value of his 50-acre farm suggest considerable economic difficulty for such a large family. Although his Irish potato and sweet potato levels were high, and though he was one of only 19 tobacco producers among 138 farmers in Oxon Hill District, he was unable to pay any wages for assistance. His four acres of tobacco must have taken up almost all of the labor of himself and his son (1880, P. G. County Manuscript Agricultural and Population Censuses). Bowie may have given up farming as in 1887 he appeared in the Maryland Directory and State Gazetteer as a butcher in Oxon Hill (p. 447).

Table 40. Agricultural Production by Oxon Hill Manor Tenants and Possible Tenants (average)\*, with Oxon Hill District Average and Median, 1880.

Category	Streeks	Oxon Hill District			Average	Median
		Bowie	Lanham	Tenants		
Total Acres	160	50	225	37	74	48
Improved Acres	160	35	150	30	47	30
Value of Farms	3,500	1,000	8,000	1,063	2,294	1,500
Value of Farm Implements	200	50	300	81	116	50
Value of Livestock	800	100	300	81	116	50
Value of Orchard Products	0	0	0	6	100	50
Value of Market Gardens	1,000	100	2,000	531	338	200
Value of Wages	600	0	400	46	185	150
Value of Forest Products	0	10	24	4	36	20
Value of All Farm Products	700	250	400	122	338	200
Value of Fences	0	0	0	0	61	30
Value of Fertilizer	50	15	60	14	58	50
Wheat (bushels)	0	0	0	0	74	60
Rye (bushels)	0	0	0	0	34	28
Corn (bushels)	900	125	705	129	232	150
Oats (bushels)	0	0	600	22	133	75
Tobacco (lbs)	0	2,800	0	0	2,628	2,200
Irish Potatoes (bushels)	300	60	0	20	71	50
Sweet Potatoes (bushels)	1,200	1,200	1,200	285	317	150
Butter (lbs)	50	50	100	61	133	100
Hay (tons)	0	0	0	0	11	5
Milk (gallons)	0	0	0	0	0	0

\*Averages for Nalley, George Streeks, Pane, Mallor, Monroe, Butler, Silas Tolbert, and Sydney Tolbert

Source: 1880: Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census.

Richard Streeks, another tenant, paid him \$60 to \$400 annually between 1882 and 1887 to rent Oxon Hill lands. His 1880 production levels indicate reasonable prosperity derived from livestock, market gardening, and potatoes. He was married and had two children, one a farm laborers' son, and seven black farm laborers in his household. The blacks were probably boarders and the recipients of most of the \$600 Streeks paid in wages in 1880. In 1884 Streeks was renting about 400 acres and specializing in sweet potatoes. In 1880 he had rented only 160 acres, with 100 in corn and 25 in potatoes. In 1884 his old potato house had "fallen down", and T. Owen and Norman Berry anxiously petitioned the court to free money for a new one. The court awarded the \$200 requested. No location was indicated in the records. Despite Streeks's apparent economic success, the trustee of the estate foreclosed on him in 1887 for failure to pay \$965 back rent. Streeks was forced to sell his personal property for \$510.50 (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891). Although the



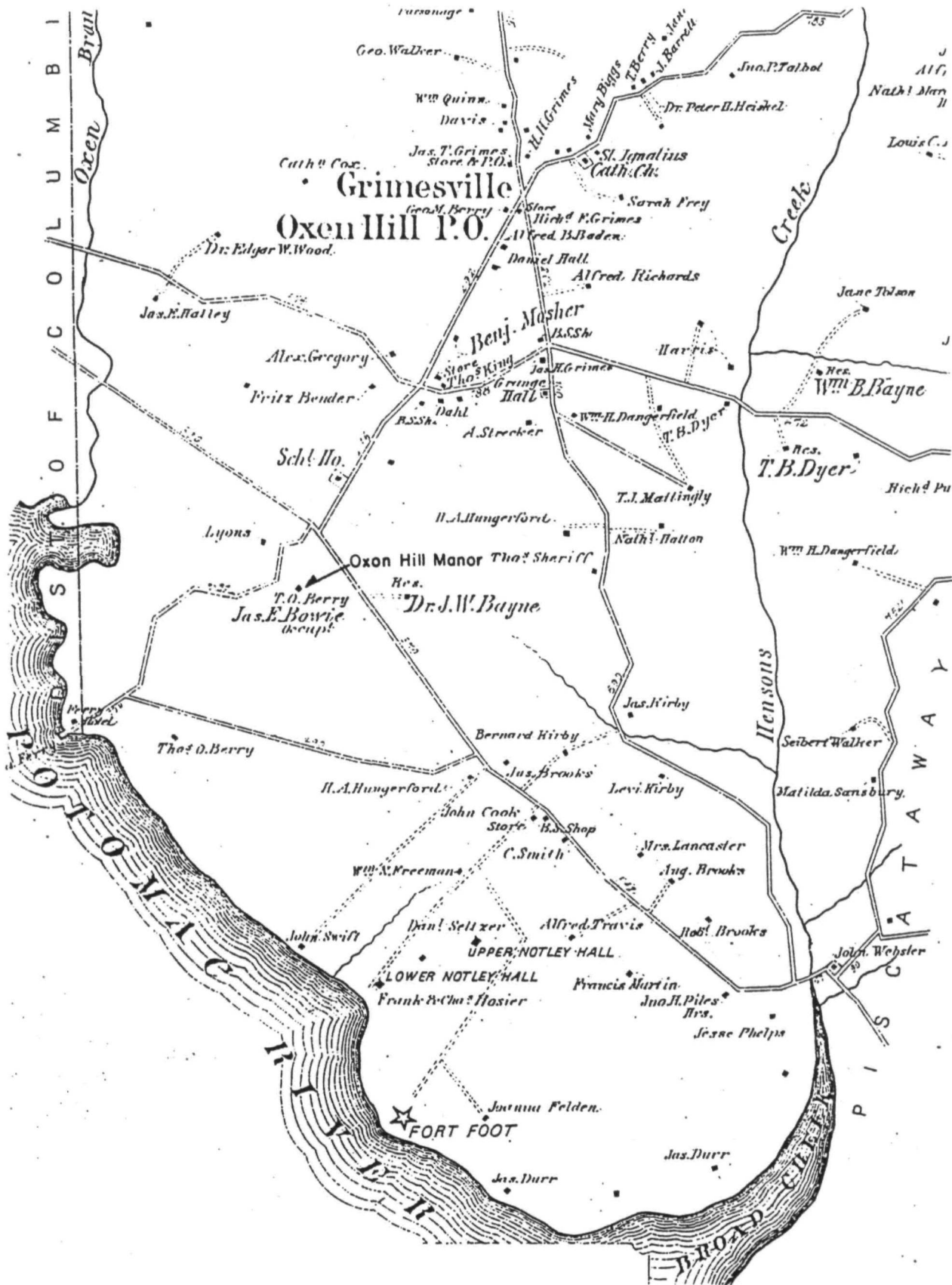


FIGURE 29. Oxon Hill Manor, 1878.



sixth largest of 108 market gardeners in Oxon Hill District in 1880, Richard Streeks was bankrupt by 1887.

George Lanham, the third known tenant, was one of Oxon Hill District's most prosperous farmers. Renting 225 acres of land, he operated a farm worth \$8,000, eight times that of James E. Bowie and almost triple that of the average district farmer--including farm owners. His farm was among the top six percent in the district, ranking fourth among 138 farms by value. The highest valued farm was only worth \$11,245 in 1880. Married with only two children, a white servant, and a mail carrier (?) in his household, Lanham earned his income from corn, oats (a rare producer in the district), livestock, sweet potatoes and market gardening. Only one other farmer earned as much income as Lanham from market gardening, a landowner who also produced \$2,000 (1880, Prince Georges Manuscript Agricultural and Population Census; PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891).

Two of the known tenants at Oxon Hill Manor and one possible tenant were economically much better off than the average or median farmers in Oxon Hill District in 1880 and significantly better off than the average tenant. As illustrated by the fate of Richard Streeks, their positions may have been tenuous at times. Yet they were not unique, as previous analysis of Oxon Hill and Spaldings District for 1880 has shown (See Tables 29 to 33). Assuming that all eleven tenants included in Table 40 were at Oxon Hill, the absence of T. Owen Berry can be explained by the fact that collectively they were renting 585 of Oxon Hill Manor's 800 improved acres (1870 census) and 731 of 2,150 total acres. It seems probable that the 800 improved acres represented the original 828 acres of dower lands or the 879 acres purchased by Zachariah Berry in 1810; the additional 1,350 acres have included lands not part of the 449 acres which Berry purchased that year.

The absence of tax assessments from 1871 to 1888 makes tracing the changes at Oxon Hill Manor during these years quite difficult. The 1888 assessment, still listing Thomas E. Berry as owner, included \$5,000 in "improvements." The estate totaled 1,620.75 acres valued at \$25 per acre for a total of \$38,088. The improvements are not specified, although some of the expenditures were included among various receipts in the insanity hearings documentation. Some refer to "Oxon Hill farm," others to unspecified properties which may have been Oxon Hill. In 1875 Thomas E. Berry paid \$73.60 for "getting out" the sills and putting in 184 feet of new sills under a barn. In 1876 he paid \$150 to Davy Miles for a new stable and an additional sum for "shingling and boarding a barn." In 1879 the estate paid William J. Latimer to survey Berry's properties. This survey is referred to in various deed transactions and was supposed to be with the Chancery Case #1208 papers, but research has not located the survey. In 1880 and 1881 the estate paid sums for "Oxon Hill farm" and in 1881 for windows, well repairs, and cleaning, "Virginia" flooring, well buckets, and shingles. Also, in 1881, money was advanced for nails and lumber for a stable.

In 1884 the court awarded \$200 for Richard Streeks' new potato house and T. Owen Berry paid \$22.84 "for raising and repairing" a barn on "Oxon Hill farm." In 1885 the court granted permission to dig a new well closer to the house than the old one. The "old pump" was described as being "some distance from the house and very much out of repair." Water was apparently collected from a cistern, also decayed, somewhere near the house. It was described as "the cistern at the house and heretofore used," but "out of repair and now useless." Money was also awarded for a number of repairs in the house to correct leaking. Also in 1885, the estate paid sums to George W. Lanham, a tenant, for hauling brick. The brick may have been used to line the well authorized the same year (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891).

The sums included in the insanity hearings documentation do not remotely approach the \$5,000 total for improvements in the 1888 assessment. Of course the records are not necessarily complete. The changes recorded, however, suggest that both Berry himself and his sons and the trustees were

interested in at least maintaining and probably improving the property. They were probably not successful, however, since the estate was valued at only \$25 per acre in 1888, down from \$30 in 1868.

While these changes were occurring the estate was also beginning to sell parcels of land laid out by the 1879 Latimer survey. In 1880 the entire estate was put up for sale as a 1,420-acre property. It was made up of an 820-acre section called "Oxon Hill" (the original dower) and divided into eight lots, and a 600-acre unit called the "Woodland" and divided into 41 lots. By this date, however, Dr. John W. Bayne, the neighbor at nearly "Salubria," had already purchased Lot 5 (42 acres), although the land records show this purchase as 42.67 acres acquired in 1881 (MHR, Land Records, WAJ 1:650, May 11, 1881). In addition, the land records indicate that Berry had sold 12 acres to Charles Williams Cox and 22 acres, called "Drovers Rose" to Wilhelmina Bender, both in 1877. The latter property was along the road from the Alexandria Ferry to Upper Marlboro (MHR, Land Records, HB 12:175, March 21, 1877 and HB 12:393, April 25, 1877).

During the 1880s and preceding the sale of the manor house to Samuel Taylor Suit in 1888, the estate sold several parcels. In 1881 Samuel A. Pitts bought Lot 26 (20.88 acres) along the road from Alexandria to Upper Marlboro (MHR, Land Records, WAJ 2:22, Sept. 6, 1881); in 1886 William P. Jackson bought 97.5 acres (no lot number indicated); in 1887 John Warren Cox purchased Lot 17 (11.16 acres), and Lot 10 (15 acres), Charles W. Cox Lot 16 (9.55 acres), and Lot 38 (17.1 acres); and in 1888 William S. Talbert acquired Lot 19 (19 acres) and Lot 20 (15 acres) and James A. Gregory Lot 22 (15 acres). The total sold after the 1879 survey was approximately 262.5 acres. Subtracting this sum from the 1,422 acres listed in 1880 left an estate of 1,159.5 acres (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891). This is an incomplete procedure, however, since the estate purchased on May 23, 1888, was 1,280.16 acres. In 1891 the estate was advertised for sale as 1,222 acres, although the deed for sale when it was sold showed 1,233.71 acres (MHR, Land Records, JWB 18:359-370). Part of Lot 3 within the 8-lot manor house unit had been sold to B.L. Jackson and brother between 1888 and 1891.

The sale of the manor in 1888 ended the Berry family era at Oxon Hill Manor. By this date Thomas E. Berry had died and his property had been sold or dispersed. His hope that his son, Norman, would have his Ellersbie plantation was fulfilled. Norman purchased it in 1880, although it had been reduced from its long-standing 432 acres to 312 acres by 1888. Norman also owned "Marietta," a 222-acre tract in Vansville District which his father had given him in 1876 (MHR, Land Records, HB 12:278, March 31, 1877; Assessments 1888). This research has been unable to determine the whereabouts of Berry's wife, Elizabeth, or of his eldest son, T. Owen Berry.

### Speculation and the New Oxon Hill Manor, 1888-1970.

The division of Oxon Hill Manor into units of eight and 41 lots in 1879 initiated an era of rapid turnover of the lands once collected as a 3,663-acre and a 1,328-acre estate. By 1888 at least 9 lots had been sold. When Colonel Samuel Taylor Suit purchased the bulk of the remaining estate, over 1,280 acres, in that year, his acquisition did not include an additional 13 lots unaccounted for in the deed records or the insanity hearings records. Colonel Suit resided in Spaldings District near the present town of Suitland, presumably named after him. Born in Bladensburg in the 1830s, he had made his fortune--and acquired his honorary "colonel"--in Louisville, Kentucky, where he operated a distillery. He returned to Prince Georges County in 1867, purchased, resold, and repurchased Thomas E. Berry's "Thomas and Mary" property in Spaldings, and opened a distillery in Suitland. In 1880 he owned a 375-acre farm in Suitland valued at \$75,000. His operation was an enormous orchard with 2,000 apple trees producing 5,000 bushels on 50 acres and 20,000 peach trees

producing 6,500 bushels on 150 acres. He paid \$1,224 in wages in the 1879 census year and was by far the wealthiest farmer in Spaldings District (1880, Prince Georges County Manuscript Agricultural Census; Norton 1976:5-7).

Suit purchased Oxon Hill Manor in 1888 for purposes not revealed in the documentation. Given the consistent lack of orchard production at Oxon Hill, he certainly was not acquiring orchards for his distillery. In her history of Suitland, Darlie Norton claims that Suit moved the staircase from the manor to the castle he had built for his new wife, Rosa Pelham, in Berkeley Springs, West Virginia (Norton 1976:7). This is not correct, and the staircase probably came from Suit's residence in Suitland. Shortly after purchasing Oxon Hill, Suit died. His wife did not meet the payments on the house and in 1891 the estate sued. Rosa P. Suit was made legally responsible for the payments in 1891, and on the same day, May 14, she sold the property to John C. Heald for \$30,000. The 1891 newspaper advertisement had described the property as 1,222 acres (calculations from the deeds total 1,233.07 acres), divided into a 725-acre unit with the house and a 500-acre section of "Woodland." According to the ad, the house acreage was "one of the most fertile, eligibly located and valuable tracts of land in Prince Georges County." The Woodland was described as 500 acres divided into 20 to 30-acre lots "lying on the roads to the Navy Yard bridge and to Silver Hill" and "covered with white oak, chestnut, and pine woods" (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891).

For reasons which this research has been unable to determine, the tax assessments continued to list Thomas E. Berry as the owner of approximately 1,500 acres at "Oxon Hill" until 1894. The 1890 assessment showed numerous owners of small acreages valued at \$15-30 per acre at "Oxon Hill" and "Hart Park." Few of these 24 landowners had any livestock and most showed improvements. John Bayne's "Salubria" was listed as 256 acres valued at \$20 per acre. Real and personal property in Oxon Hill District totaled \$362,619, the fourth lowest value of Prince Georges County's fourteen districts and only 31.2 percent of the total value for Bladensburg (MHR, Assessments 1888-1894).

John C. Heald and his wife, Emma B. Heald, sold Oxon Hill in 1892 to Reuben C. Coleman, Charlie M. Swift, and Charles T. Havener. They excluded a tract of 142 acres to the north of the manor house and 12.35 acres inside the District of Columbia boundary north of the Alexandria Ferry (Fox Ferry). The road to the ferry was still referred to as the "road to Thomas' Ferry." In all, the three men bought 1,077.38 acres (MHR, Land Records, JWB 21:55, July 31, 1891; JWB 20:412, Feb. 10, 1892). Swift and his wife sold out to Coleman and Havener in 1893 (MHR, Land Records, JWB 25:606, Aug. 2, 1893). According to an 1894 map, Figure 30, "Oxon Hill Manor" was 1,548 acres. The map also shows the land purchased by the government, and indicates that the 12.35 acres were purchased by Coleman, Swift, and Havener. The residence and 256 acres of Dr. John Bayne, and possibly the residence occupied by T. Owen Berry on the 1878 Hopkins map (Figure 29), can also be seen. The manor house appears at the end of a roadway leading in from the current Oxon Hill Road and another structure sits along the roadway to the north. There is a third structure across the ravine and next to Oxon Hill Road, and a fourth to the northwest and down the hillside. Although the map shows Havener and Coleman as the owners, Havener sold out his interest to Coleman on May 17, 1894 (MHR, Land Records, JWB 29:430, May 17, 1894).

Reuben L. Coleman was the sole owner of Oxon Hill Manor when the house burned down in 1895, leaving only "the walls and the four chimneys". The fire could be seen easily from the west side of the Potomac, "the flames leaping high" and smoke settling "over the adjoining hills". The 1895 reports could not determine the origin of the fire, although rumours at the time apparently blamed "the caretaker's lonely wife." This rumor was recorded among the notes of Gay Castle, an Addison heir, which were examined during a personal interview with his daughter, Harriet "Quinta" Castle at Oxon Hill, Maryland (May 2, 1985). The presence of a caretaker, of course, suggests that the house was vacant at the time.



FIGURE 30. Oxon Hill Manor, 1894.

Apart from the eighteenth-century probate inventories we have few descriptions of the house or grounds. The 1891 advertisement for the sale of the estate described the house as "an elegant brick mansion covered with slate and paneled with cherry, with commodious barns and stables and six tenant houses." Whether the outbuildings were located within the 1.5 acres in the same manner as in 1798 is not known. A 1903 United States Coast and Geodetic Survey map, Figure 31, shows various structures around the ruins of the house. The 1891 ad also noted the presence of a wharf "constructed of [torn] limestone" at the Alexander Ferry site. It billed the manor lands as best suited to market gardening, fruit culture, and stock raising (PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891).

Figure 32 (Hurry 1984:14) reproduces two views of the manor house. The top figure shows the eastern facade with boats on the Potomac in the background. The bottom view shows the western facade, which overlooked the river. The top view is also the older of the two figures, since Murray indicates that the north and south wings were no longer present in 1895. Both views show "fully-developed Georgian architecture", with "complete bilateral symmetry." Hurry reports that having two formal facades was unusual in such early structures (Hurry 1984:9-16). Another view of the house, a photograph, apparently shows one facade of the house and eight persons standing in front. The John Hanson Society has a copy of this photograph, according to its past president Reverend Alan C. Freed, and its current president, Robert Zehner. Mr. Zehner noted that a written request for a copy of the photo would be considered. A request of August 15, 1985, however, has received no reply (Telephone interviews with Reverend Freed, New York City, July 9, 1985 and with Robert Zehner, Baltimore, Maryland, August 14, 1985).

Although Reuben L. Coleman held on to the Oxon Hill Manor land he purchased between 1892 and 1894, the 1900 tax assessment listed him as the owner of only 673 acres with a total value of \$19,110. The acreages were given no names. In 1905, however, he sold the estate to William H. Miller and John C. Heald of the Rock Creek Land Company. They, in turn, resold the estate in 1907 to Coleman's wife, Emma P. Coleman. Emma P. Coleman died sometime later, leaving the property to Mary V. Parran. Parran released the estate to R. Lindsay Coleman, the only child of Reuben L. and Emma P. Coleman, in 1913. When R. Lindsay Coleman died intestate in 1914 he had sold parts of the estate. His heirs appointed two trustees to determine the distribution of the remaining property (See Chain of Title at end of chapter for details and documentation).

In 1927 the trustees sold four parcels of Oxon Hill Manor, totaling 245 acres, to Sumner and Mathilde T. Welles. Welles bought two parts of Lot 1, all of Lot 2, and part of Lot 3 of the subdivision established by the 1879 survey. In 1929 Welles, who would serve as Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Undersecretary of State, had a mansion built by the French-born architect, Jules Henri de Sibour (1872-1938). The new house, dubbed Oxon Hill Manor, was located about one-third of a mile from the ruins of the old mansion, along Oxon Hill Road, and quite close to John Bayne's "Salubria". Figure 33 shows the property purchased by Welles and the location of the new Oxon Hill Manor (MacKintosh 1974). Figure 34 shows the area in relation to the I-95 Capital Beltway in 1981 (Maryland Department of Transportation 1981).

Sumner Welles (1891-1961) lived at Oxon Hill Manor during the period in which he served as Assistant Secretary of State, Ambassador to Cuba, and Under Secretary of State to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He was a close and younger friend of Roosevelt and his family, having attended the same schools. Welles also served as a page at Roosevelt's marriage to Eleanor, and had entered the Foreign Service in 1915 on the advice of Roosevelt when he was Under Secretary of the Navy. In 1928 he attracted Roosevelt's interest with his book, *Naboth's Vineyard: The Dominican Republic, 1844-1924* in which he called for a more considerate and co-operative policy toward Latin America. Although he would make the traditional call for American marines to overthrow the



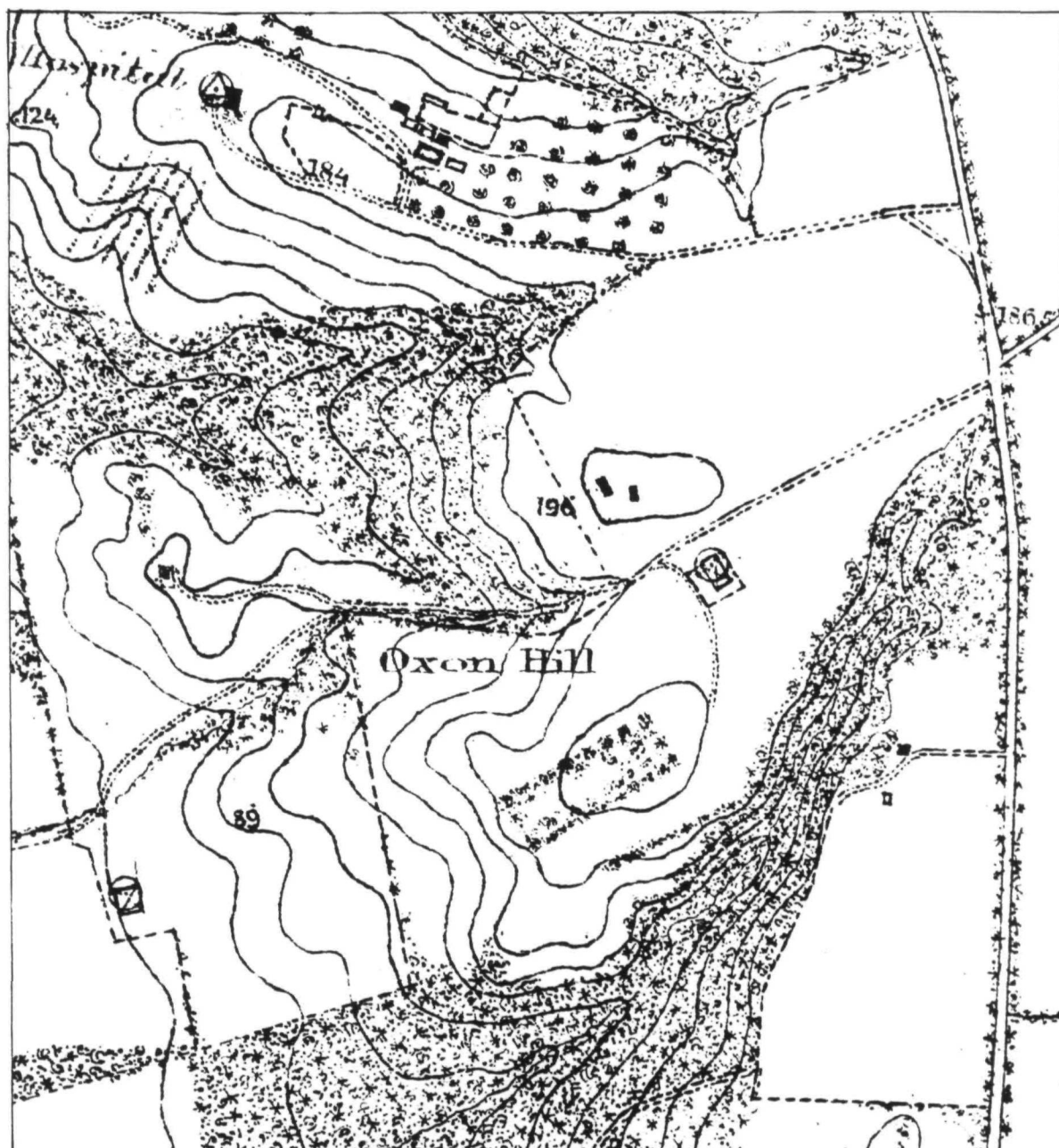


FIGURE 31. Oxon Hill Manor, 1903.



Eastern Facade of Oxon Hill Manor from Murray, 1895.



Western Facade of Oxon Hill Manor from dePach Hopper, and Price, 1979.

FIGURE 32. Two Views of the Oxon Hill Manor House.

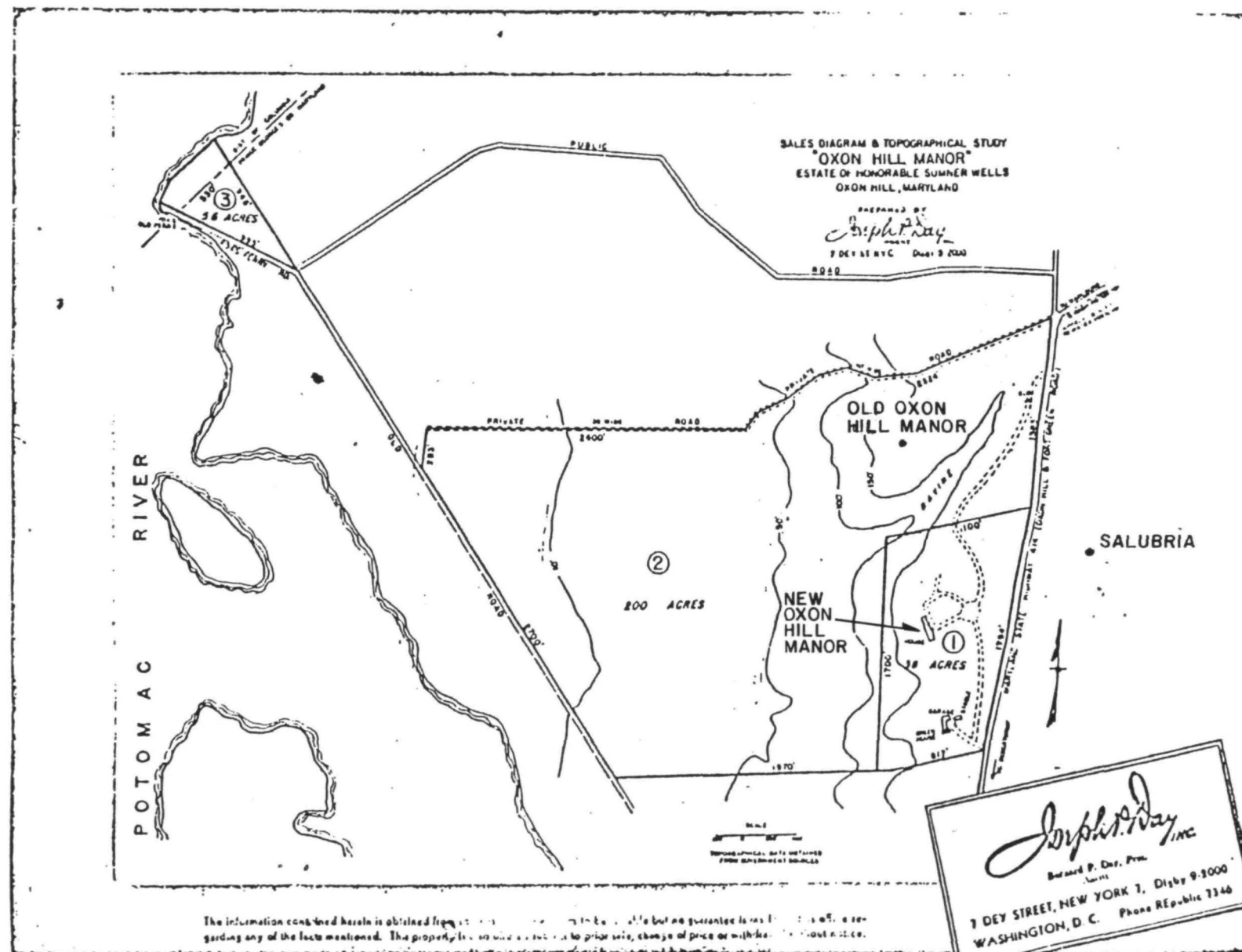


FIGURE 33. The New Oxon Hill Manor House, 1952.



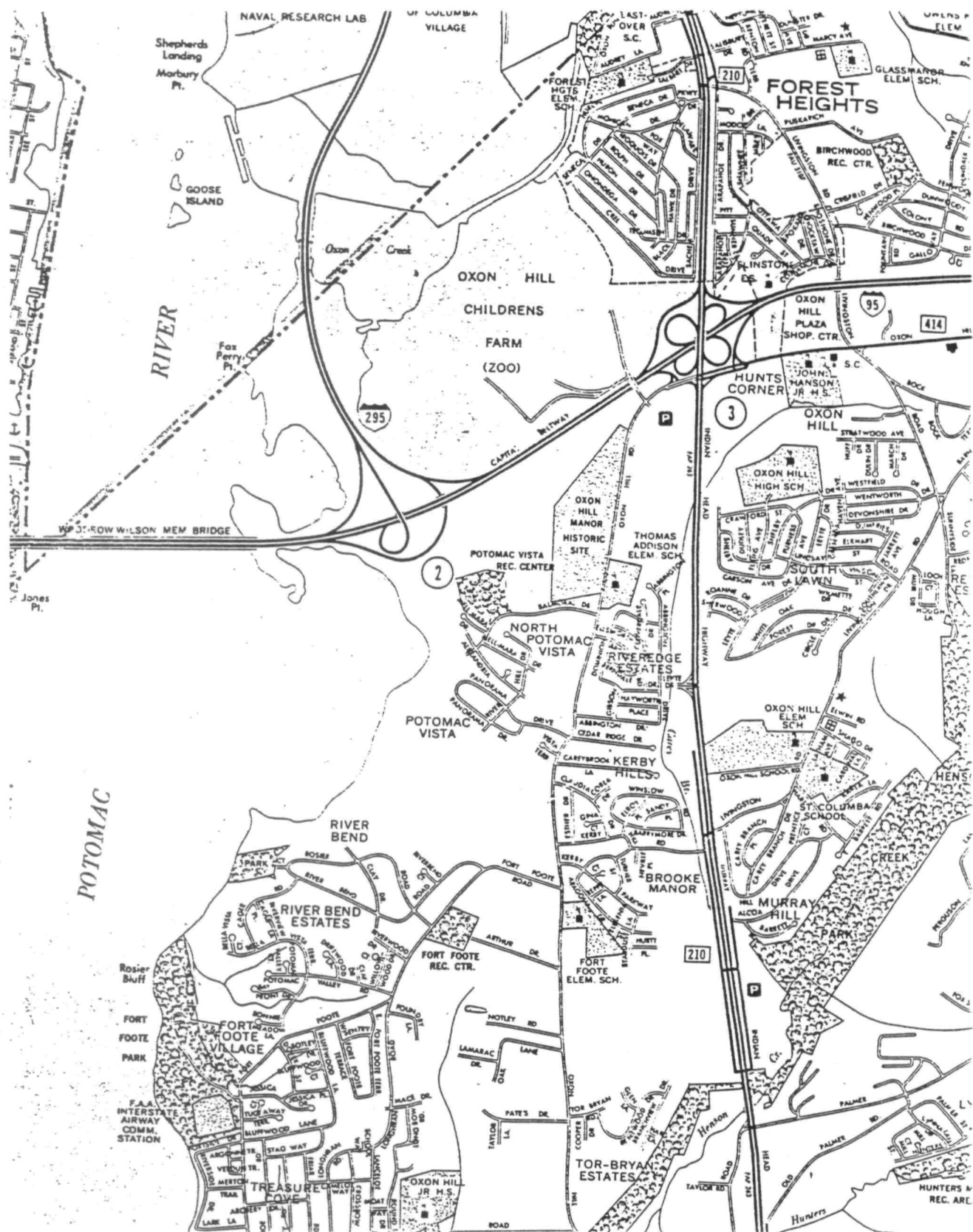


FIGURE 34. Oxon Hill Manor, 1981.

government of Dr. Carlos Manuel de Cespedes y Quesada in Cuba in 1933, Welles is credited with strongly influencing Roosevelt's "Good Neighbour" policy in the 1930s (Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 7 1961-1965:776-78). Welles is also applauded for important diplomatic successes during his service and for encouraging the formation of the United Nations. He frequently served as Acting Secretary of State during Cordell Hull's illness between 1937 and 1943, but eventually resigned in a 1943 showdown with Hull and Roosevelt (Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement 7 1961-1965, 1981:776-78; MacKintosh 1974:71-72; Time, October 6, 1961: 78, 86; Obituaries from the Times, 1961-1970, 1975:827-28).

Oxon Hill Manor has frequently been reported as the site of a meeting between Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in June, 1942 to discuss plans for the invasion of North Africa. After careful research, MacKintosh (1974:72) determined that all evidence denied the existence of any such meeting.

Another claim which has not been supported is the idea that John Hanson is buried in a mausoleum on the hillside near the old manor or in the Addison cemetery. Garrow & Associates investigated the hillside mausoleum as a separate study from the Oxon Hill archaeological project (Garrow & Espenshade 1985). Although the mausoleum had been recorded during previous investigations of the Oxon Hill site (Hurry 1984; Epperson 1980) and assigned a separate site number (18PR177), no intensive study involving field excavations had been made. Garrow and Espenshade (1985:3) cleared and cleaned the mausoleum and excavated one quadrant of the interior. Very few artifacts were recovered which could date the structure; construction techniques were similarly not helpful in establishing a date. In fact, there was little evidence that the mausoleum was ever used. One rusted nail found by Garrow & Espenshade (1985) and a "mound of rotted wood" reported during a 1971 John Hanson Society amateur study (see Epperson 1980) were the only indications that coffins had ever been present. The mausoleum could date as early as the 1700s, and Garrow and Espenshade (1985) conclude that it could have been used by the Hansons, the Addisons, or the Berrys, as all were reported to have been wealthy and eccentric.

Sumner Welles apparently spent much of his time at Oxon Hill gardening and riding horseback. Always described in words such as "formal," "austere," "taciturn," or "elegant and forbidding to all but his closest friends," he was considered an "immaculate equestrian" and "an enthusiastic amateur gardener" (Current Biography, 1940:851; Life, Feb. 19, 1940, 8:22; Newsweek, June 6, 1938, 11:12 and Feb. 19, 1940, 15:15-16; Saturday Review of Literature, June 12, 1948, 31:8). Another of his retirement activities was to write on foreign affairs and to edit Howard's American Foreign Policy Library from 1949 to 1953. Welles died in 1961 (MacKintosh 1974:72-73).

In 1952 Welles sold about 55 acres of his approximately 243-acre estate to Fred N. Maloof. The 55 acres included the new, but not the old, manor site, nor the Addison cemetery. The remaining approximately 187 acres were sold in 1952 to Kenneth (sic) Frank. Maloof sold his 55 acres in 1967 to the Burpac Corporation, although he continued to occupy the house and to operate it as the "John Hanson Museum." Frank sold his acreage, which included the old manor site, to Roberto Motta in 1953; Motta sold the 187 acres to Oxon Hill Estates, Inc. in 1954. In 1969 this corporation sold 149.8 of the 187 acres, including the old manor site, to Oxon Hill Estates Straw Corporations. (See tract P3 of Figure 35.) Burpac sold 8 of its 55 acres, including the new manor, to International Capital Corporation in 1970 (P80 of Figure 35); the remaining 47 acres (P4 of Figure 35) were sold to Financial Realty Corporation the same year (for details and documentation, see Chain of Title at end of chapter).



## Summary

Throughout most of its history, Oxon Hill Manor appears to have been one of Maryland's most impressive and valuable agricultural estates. Originating in the seventeenth century, by the time of the American Revolution it featured an enormous mansion, dozens of slaves, a carriage and horses with liveried outriders, and a level of wealth and prominence which placed its owners among Maryland and Virginia's most powerful families. While we have no evidence that George Washington slept there, it is likely that he visited the estate since he was personally familiar with the owners and their families. He is known to have attended St. John's Church on Broad Creek from Mt. Vernon, where the Reverend Henry Addison served as minister from 1742 to 1789. The Reverend Walter Dulany Addison, the last Addison owner of Oxon Hill Manor, was one of the attending ministers at Washington's 1799 funeral. Moreover, the nation's "first" president, John Hanson, died in the house in 1783 while visiting his nephew, Thomas Hawkins Hanson.

From extreme wealth and prominence, the estate slipped into relative decline from its illustrious pre-Revolutionary heights. The Revolution, divided management and litigation, and perhaps economic difficulties saw the estate's slave plantation character give way to a more tenant-oriented operation. When Walter Dulany Addison took over in 1793 he had only a fraction of his father's slaves. Moreover, he immediately began to sell parts of the estate and, possibly, to free his slaves. Disposal of the estate took some time, but the sale of 1,328 acres and the manor house to Zachariah Berry was the key transaction. By 1820 Addison had rid himself of all of the manor.

Zachariah Berry was a very wealthy tobacco planter from a more tobacco-oriented part of Prince Georges County. We know little about him except that, unlike Walter Dulany Addison, he was active in the pursuit of wealth. He turned Oxon Hill Manor over to his son, Thomas Berry, in 1812, and the son maintained the estate at roughly the same size (1,308 acres) until his death in 1854 or 1855. Although he did not own the property until Zachariah's death in 1845, it is unlikely that he felt limited as an active planter. The estate grew in value, although it never possessed the number of slaves present in the 1770s. The fact that it was 1,308 acres, not 3,663, may account in part for the smaller slave population. Probably of equal importance, however, was the fact that the agricultural economy of the area suffered decline or stagnation during most of the period after 1790. The poor conditions may have ruined Walter Dulany Addison, and probably established limits on Thomas Berry.

Not until 1850 do we have a detailed outline of agricultural activities at Oxon Hill Manor for the nineteenth century. The estate practiced a more diversified agriculture in 1850 than might be expected, relying more heavily on livestock, grain, and to a lesser extent, orchard products, than on the traditional tobacco. Research on colonial Maryland and comparative studies on nineteenth-century agriculture suggest that such diversification was not unusual within the areas historians traditionally associate with tobacco. Moreover, research on Oxon Hill Manor has not shown clearly the nature of agricultural activities before 1850. Eighteenth-century inventories show considerable livestock and the presence of wheat, but little else. Data from the 1880s refer to clearing land for tobacco.

Under the ownership of Thomas E. Berry after 1854 or 1855, the estate moved steadily toward diversification. Berry restored tobacco in 1860, but none was produced in 1870. A tenant, James E. Bowie, grew tobacco in 1880. More dominant, however, was the growth of market gardening, a trend which anticipated the fragmenting of the estate in the 1880s. Even without Berry's insanity, it is doubtful that the plantation would have maintained its size within the general trend toward smaller, more intensively cultivated farms after 1850. While the estate under Thomas E. Berry (1860), his son, T. Owen Berry (1870), and various tenants (1880) moved toward market gardening (especially sweet potatoes), it continued to produce a great deal of corn and to own considerable livestock. The 1870 production levels were high in wheat, butter, and hay, unlike 1880. The 1870 estate paid

\$3,500 in wages, suggesting a type of corporate operation. By 1880 the property appears to have been turned over largely to tenants. The continued importance of livestock, corn, and perhaps, dairying and wheat, ran counter to county and district trends. In the county, livestock and grain drifted away from the D. C. area and toward the Patuxent River. Another counter-trend was the lack of attention to orchard products at the manor. Whatever the mix of production, the lands lost value after 1868, declining from \$30 per acre in that year to \$25 in 1888. The dower area had been assessed at \$40 per acre until 1867.

While the estate and its owner, Thomas E. Berry, went into economic decline after 1870, such was not the case before that date. In the nineteenth century those associated with the manor--Zachariah, Thomas, Thomas E. and related Berrys--consistently appeared among the richest men in Prince Georges County, a county which had produced six governors by 1878. Oxon Hill Manor and its unsung slaves, laborers, and tenants were a part of that wealth; but these Berrys also derived their wealth from other properties. Given their economic pre-eminence, it is striking that they appear so rarely in the political documentation of the nineteenth century. This is a dramatic contrast with the Addisons of the pre-Revolutionary years.

Research for this report was only minimal on the years following the destruction of the manor house in 1895. This approach seems justified in view of the effective demise of the plantation as an economic unit by the late nineteenth century and because the archaeological site under investigation was never occupied after 1895.

The historical research returned ample evidence of the upper class and Georgian nature of the eighteenth-century inhabitants with which to test Hypothesis 1 concerning the world view of the inhabitants (also see Chapter II). This research was not so successful in establishing the location of identifiable structures and functional areas within the site (Hypothesis 2), as no appropriate maps or personal papers were located. Similarly the presence of lower status groups (Hypothesis 3) within the plantation was noted but where they were located or whether they were to be found in the present project area is unknown. The historical research also failed to develop site specific data for the inhabitants' marketing choices (Hypothesis 4), beyond that found in the inventories and discussed in Chapter VI. Testing of Hypothesis 5 did not involve any historic research. It is evident that the original set of questions asked of the history were not entirely appropriate based on what was available archivally. This is somewhat akin to what often happens in archaeology when questions are asked of a site and which subsequent excavation cannot answer since the types of data needed and expected just are not there.

## CHAIN OF TITLE

Grantor:	Royal Government
Grantee:	John Addison
Date:	1687
Property:	not indicated
Terms:	not indicated
Source:	Mackintosh 1974:75, Maryland Historical Trust, Annapolis
Comments:	Mackintosh does not indicate the source of his information. No original royal grant to John Addison could be found in the Land Records, although it is known that the 1,430 acre St. Elizabeth tract, the heart of Oxon Hill Manor in the eighteenth century, was originally granted to John Chapman in 1662 (Kellock 1962:58-59).

Grantor: Colonel John Addison  
Grantee: Colonel Thomas Addison  
Date: 1705 or 1706  
Property: not specified  
Terms: will  
Source: Carr and Jordan 1974:232-234 MHR, Inventories and Accounts, 29, pp 193-198, 229-230; and Lois Green Carr, County government in Maryland, 1689-1709, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968, appendix:275-281.

Comments: Colonel John Addison owned 6,478.5 acres of land at his death; the acreage in the future Oxon Hill Manor is not indicated.

Grantor: Colonel Thomas Addison  
Grantee: Captain John Addison  
Date: April 9, 1722 and June 28, 1727  
Property: 3,863 acres  
Terms: will  
Source: MHS, Manuscript Collection, Addison Family Papers  
Comments: The property bequeathed to John Addison was made up of 8 original land grants, totalling 3,863 acres. The largest, St. Elizabeth, was 1,430 acres.

Grantor: Captain John Addison  
Grantee: Thomas Addison  
Date: 1764  
Property: 3,663 acres  
Terms: will  
Source: Bowie 1975:33; MHR, Patented Certificate #1590 1767  
Comments: The 1767 "resurvey" gave the property its name, "Oxon Hill Manor".

Grantor: Thomas Addison  
Grantee: Walter Dulany Addison  
Date: June 22, 1771 and March 14, 1775  
Property: 3,663 acres  
Terms: will  
Source: Bowie 1975:37-38; MHR, Chancery Papers 128 1784-1785  
Comments: Walter Dulany Addison was a minor (b.1769) when his father died in 1774.

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison estate  
Grantee: Rebecca Addison Hanson and Thomas Hawkins Hanson  
Date: May 20, 1782  
Property: 828 acres, including manor house  
Terms: court award of dower  
Source: MHR, Chancery Records 13:156; Chancery Papers 128, 1784-1785; Magruder 1967:11.  
Comments: Hansons sued estate for award of dower; the court granted 828 acres, including the house, considered to be one third of Thomas Addison's estate by value. John Addison, Thomas' brother, had received 100.75 acres of the estate at an unspecified date before 1782.

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Peter Savary

Date: 1790  
Property: 65.88 acres  
Terms: £308  
Source: MHR, Land Records, II2:369, 1790  
Comments: part of Oxon Hill Manor (Lowest Thicket)

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Rebecca Hanson  
Date: 1793-1797 - not specified  
Property: 400 acres (approximate)  
Terms: gift  
Source: Murray 1895:89-90  
Comments: part of Hart Park tract

Grantor: Thomas and Rebecca Hanson  
Grantee: Nathaniel Washington  
Date: October 3, 1797  
Property: 400 acres (approximately)  
Terms: not specified  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:80  
Comments: part of Hart Park

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Henry Addison  
Date: October 6, 1797  
Property: 500 acres  
Terms: £300  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:173  
Comments: sold at low price out of "love and affection" to his brother

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Nicholas Lingan  
Date: October 27, 1797  
Property: part of Oxon Hill, acreage unspecified  
Terms: £2,280  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 6:86  
Comments: sold 269.75 acres, part from Oxon Hill Manor and part from "Force," a separate tract.

Grantor: Nathaniel Washington  
Grantee: Walter Dulany Addison  
Date: March 12, 1803  
Property: 400 acres (approximately)  
Terms: not specified  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 10:145  
Comments: part of Hart Park

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Francis Edward Hall Rozer  
Date: December 5, 1805  
Property: 15 acres

Terms: not specified  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 11:238  
Comments: part of Oxon Hill Manor

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Thomas Hawkins Hanson and Rebecca Hanson  
Date: March 12, 1807  
Property: 820 acres (approximately)  
Terms: £2,200 Maryland currency  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM, 12:205  
Comments: this property was the dower, surveyed as 828 acres in 1785 and indicated as approximately 820 acres here.

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Zachariah Berry  
Date: March 16, 1810  
Property: 449 acres  
Terms: unspecified  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM, 13:625  
Comments: reference in deed to another part of Oxon Hill Manor sold to Dr. DeButts and to a recent survey by George Fenwick.

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Zachariah Berry  
Date: March 17, 1810  
Property: 879 acres  
Terms: L-16 per acre, current Maryland money  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 13:627  
Comments: this acreage included the manor house, although it is not mentioned in the deed; associated with the 449 acres sold March 16, 1810; excluded the "burying ground" and two acres to be transferred to John [Davies].

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Henry Bryan  
Date: May 13, 1815  
Property: one-half acre  
Terms: \$60  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 16:670  
Comments: east of main road leading from the "Lodge" by Philip Spaldings

Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Elsworth Bayne  
Date: January 1, 1817  
Property: 326 or 328 acres  
Terms: \$4,911  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JRM 17:145, 242; Assessments 1817  
Comments: land sold in two parcels, 261 acres and 65 acres (326); 1817 assessment shows 328 acres; sale terminates 1798 lease to Ebsworth and John Bayn site of "Salubria".



Grantor: Walter Dulany Addison  
Grantee: Unknown  
Date: 1818-1820  
Property: 458.25 acres  
Terms: unknown  
Source: MHR, Assessments 1818-1820  
Comments: between 1818 and 1820, Addison lost possession of 458.25 acres listed in 1818; 1819 assessment showed 128.25 acres; no transactions in county deeds.

Grantor: Zachariah Berry  
Grantee: Thomas Berry  
Date: 1845  
Property: 1,308 acres  
Terms: will  
Source: MHR, Wills, PC 1:284-289  
Comments: since 1810, 20 of the 1,328 acres had been sold; no recorded transactions.

Grantor: Thomas Berry  
Grantee: Thomas E. Berry  
Date: 1854 or 1855  
Property: 1,308 acres  
Terms: unknown  
Source: MHR, Inventories, WAJ 1:189, January 17, 1855; Bowie 1975:60; MHR, Assessments 1861.  
Comments: Thomas Berry died intestate; the Oxon Hill Manor estate appeared as Thomas E. Berry's property in the 1861 assessment; no assessments available 1851-1860.

Grantor: Thomas E. Berry  
Grantee: Charles William Cox  
Date: March 21, 1877  
Property: 12 acres  
Terms: not specified  
Source: MHR, Land Records, HB 12:175  
Comments: probably part of Oxon Hill Manor

Grantor: Thomas E. Berry  
Grantee: Wilhelmina Bender  
Date: April 25, 1877  
Property: 22 acres  
Terms: \$800  
Source: MHR, Land Records, HB 12:393  
Comments: along road from Alexandria Ferry to Upper Marlboro

Grantor: Thomas E. Berry estate  
Grantee: John W. Bayne  
Date: May 11, 1881  
Property: 42.67 acres, Lot 5  
Terms: \$1,282.41  
Source: MHR, Land Records, WAJ 1:650; PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208,

Case #1208, 1874-1891

Comments: Case #1208 shows purchase as 42 acres, Lot 5, 1879

Grantor: Thomas E. Berry estate  
Grantee: Samuel A. Pitts  
Date: September 6, 1881  
Property: 20.88 acres, Lot 26  
Terms: \$313.05  
Source: MHR, Land Records, WAJ 2:22

Grantor: Thomas E. Berry estate  
Grantee: William P. Jackson, John Warren Cox, Charles W. Cox, William S. Talbert, James A. Gregory  
Date: 1888-1889  
Property: 97.5 acres (no lot given), 11.16 acres (Lot 17) and 15 acres (Lot 10), 9.55 acres (Lot 16) and 17.1 acres (Lot 38), 19 acres (Lot 19), 15 acres (Lot 22)  
Source: PGCC, Chancery Papers, Case #1208 1874-1891  
Comments: sales of lots from the subdivision established by the 1879 William J. Latimer Survey; no details included.

Grantor: Thomas E. Berry estate  
Grantee: Samuel Taylor Suit  
Date: May 23, 1888  
Property: 1,280.16 acres  
Terms: unknown  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JWB 18:359-370, May 14, 1891  
Comments: no recorded deed for 1888

Grantor: Rosa P. Suit  
Grantee: John C. Heald  
Date: May 14, 1891  
Property: 1,233.71 acres  
Terms: \$30,000  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JWB 18:359-370  
Comments: Thomas E. Berry estate sued Rosa P. Suit, widow of Samuel Taylor Suit, for non payment; on May 14, 1891 she was made legally responsible for the debt and she sold to Heald the same day; 1,280.16 acres reduced to 1,233.71 because B. L. Jackson and Brother purchased 46.45 acres (no deed) of Lot 3.

Grantor: John C. and Emma B. Heald  
Grantee: United States Government  
Date: July 31, 1891  
Property: 143.98 acres  
Terms: \$12,109.07  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JWB 21:55  
Comments: part in Prince Georges County and part in District of Columbia; south of road from Upper Marlboro to the Alexandria Ferry; reference to sale of land called "Gregory's Discovery", close to Oxon Hill Manor and to Joseph Thomas' former lands (see February 10, 1892 deed).

Grantor: John C. and Emma B. Heald  
Grantee: Reuben L. Coleman, Charles M. Swift, Charles T. Havener  
Date: February 10, 1892  
Property: 1,077.38 acres  
Terms: \$5  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JWB 20:412  
Comments: reference to possible previous sale of 12.35 acres along Oxon Creek and Potomac River and inside D.C. boundary (See Figure IV-16)

Grantor: Charles M. and Clara B. Swift  
Grantee: Reuben L. Coleman, Charles T. Havener  
Date: August 2, 1893  
Property: 773.71 acres  
Terms: \$5  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JWB 25:606  
Comments: Lot 1, 486.67 acres, does not account for July 31, 1891 sale to U.S. government.

Grantor: Charles T. and Helen M. Havener  
Grantee: Reuben L. Coleman  
Date: May 17, 1894  
Property: 773.71  
Terms: \$5  
Source: MHR, Land Records, JWB 29:430  
Comments: sale of half interest in property purchased February 10, 1892

Grantor: Reuben L. and Emma P. Coleman  
Grantee: Rock Creek Land Company (William H. Miller, John C. Heald)  
Date: January 21, 1905  
Property: 773.71 acres  
Terms: \$10  
Source: MHR, Land Records, 21:359  
Comments: none

Grantor: Rock Creek Land Company (William H. Miller, John C. Heald)  
Grantee: Emma P. Coleman  
Date: January 29, 1907  
Property: 773.71 acres  
Terms: \$18,000  
Source: MHR, Land Records, 38, p. 447  
Comments: none

Grantor: R. Lindsay Coleman  
Grantee: Charles A. Rhodes  
Date: February 10, 1913  
Property: 215.6 acres  
Terms: \$10  
Source: MHR, Land Records, 87:231  
Comments: all of lot 7 and part of lot 1

Grantor: R. Lindsay Coleman  
Grantee: Charles A. Rhodes  
Date: February 10, 1913  
Property: 94.77 acres  
Terms: \$10  
Source: MHR, Land Records, 87:231  
Comments: part of lot 1

Grantor: Mary V. Parran  
Grantee: R. Lindsay Coleman  
Date: February 16, 1913  
Property: all "Oxon Hill" property  
Terms: \$10  
Source: MHR, Land Records, 84:477  
Comments: Parran is heir to estate of Emma P. Coleman

Grantor: John Craigan Parran, et al.  
Grantee: William K. Quinter, Thomas C. Coleman  
Date: June 12, 1917  
Property: 356.37 acres  
Terms: unknown  
Source: MHR, Land Records, 128:1  
Comments: Parran, et al. empowered Quinter and Coleman to be trustees for estate of R. Lindsay Coleman, who died intestate in July, 1914; property in dispute.

Grantor: William K. Quinter and Thomas C. Coleman  
Grantee: Sumner and Mathilde T. Welles  
Date: July 20, 1927  
Property: 245.17 acres  
Terms: \$110 per acre  
Source: PGCC, Land Records, 293:122  
Comments: two parts of lot 1, all of lot 2, part of lot 3 (See Figure IV-19)

Grantor: Sumner and Harriet Post Welles  
Grantee: Fred N. Maloof  
Date: October 15 and 28, 1952  
Property: 55.4 acres plus 68/100 acres  
Terms: \$175,000  
Source: PGCC, Land Records, 1554:360, 365; MacKintosh 1974:68.  
Comments: the 0.68 acres had been added in 1944; Mathilde Welles had died; acreage included New Oxon Hill Manor.

Grantor: Sumner and Harriet Post Welles  
Grantee: Kenneth [sic] Frank  
Date: December 13, 1952  
Property: 187.3 acres  
Terms: none  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:68; PGCC, Land Records, 1567:329  
Comments: none

Grantor: Fred N. Maloof  
Grantee: Burpac Corporation  
Date: August 28, 1967  
Property: 55.4 acres  
Terms: \$1.2 million  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:68; PGCC, Land Records, 3506:193  
Comments: included new Oxon Hill Manor

Grantor: Kenneth Frank  
Grantee: Roberto Motta  
Date: January, March 1953  
Property: 187.3 acres  
Terms: -  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:69; PGCC, Land Records, 1569:293 and 1586:100.  
Comments: included old Oxon Hill Manor site

Grantor: Roberto Motta  
Grantee: Oxon Hill Estates, Inc.  
Date: September 13, 1954  
Property: 187.3 acres  
Terms: -  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:69; PGCC, Land Records, 1773:578  
Comments: -

Grantor: Oxon Hill Estates, Inc.  
Grantee: Oxon Hill Estates Straw Corporation  
Date: October 6, 1969  
Property: 149.8 acres  
Terms: -  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:69; PGCC, Land Records, 3775:289  
Comments: included old Oxon Hill Manor Site on 92.7 (See Figure 35, tract P3)

Grantor: Burpac Corporation  
Grantee: International Capital Corporation  
Date: August 3, 1970  
Property: 8 acres  
Terms: -  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:69-70, 77; PGCC, Land Records, 3856:402  
Comments: included the new Oxon Hill Manor (See Figure 35, tract P 80)

Grantor: Burpac Corporation  
Grantee: Financial Realty Corporation  
Date: August 3, 1970  
Property: 47.4 acres  
Terms: -  
Source: MacKintosh 1974:69-70, 77; PGCC, Land Records, 3856:406  
Comments: tract surrounding new Oxon Hill Manor (See Figure 35, tract P4)

Other Properties (MacKintosh 1974:22; See Figure 35):

P5	-	10.65 acres	John W. Miller
P7	-	27.48 acres	J. Breckenridge Bayne
P8	-	7.25 acres	J. B. Castle
P9	-	196.23 acres	Smoot Sand and Gravel Company
P11	-	0.85 acres	Fred N. Maloof
P17	-	9.17 acres	Board of Education
P18	-	22.50 acres	J. Breckenridge Bayne
A	-	North Potomac View subdivison	
B	-	River Ridge Estates subdivision	
R/W	-	State and Interstate Rights of Way, present and proposed	



## CHAPTER V. FIELD AND LABORATORY METHODS

### INTRODUCTION

This project was conducted under the guidance of a series of research questions that could be directly addressed through the analysis of the excavated artifacts from the site. These questions included: (1) study of the world view of the inhabitants of the site, and how that world view was reflected through the spatial organization of the site; (2) how the use of space and nature of the items used and discarded within the site reflected their socioeconomic statuses; (3) how the different levels of socioeconomic position within the site were affected by the high socioeconomic status of the preeminent family through time; and (4) how the high socioeconomic statuses of at least the eighteenth-century preeminent families were reflected in their consumer choices and the breadth of the market choices they found to be available. A fifth primary research question proposed for the project dealt with the prehistoric components believed to be present on site, and was intended to place those occupations within the settlement subsistence system of the area.

The research questions prepared for this project assumed that certain conditions could be met during the field and analysis phases of this project. A key assumption was that the site would prove to contain contexts with primary and/or secondary artifact deposits that would be amenable to a coherent analysis. As examples, it was assumed that it would be possible to date those deposits to specific periods of use within the property, and that the artifact samples extracted would be large enough to serve as representative collections that could be used to explicate at least portions of the research questions. The nature and extent of ceramic, glass, and faunal collections from discrete deposits were believed to be particularly critical variables, as those classes of artifacts are--at the present level of knowledge within the field--the most easily quantifiable indicators of socioeconomic variables both within and among historic period sites.

### FIELD METHODS

The Oxon Hill archaeological project involved a complex set of fieldwork activities. Field investigation methods were developed to approach most efficiently a number of different archaeological features anticipated by earlier testing phase work (Dent 1983; Hurry 1984; and Hurry and Kavanagh 1985) and encountered during the course of the data recovery phase work. Survey and testing phase work identified six major areas within the portion of the site affected by highway construction (Figure 3). These areas were defined on the basis of tentative functional interpretations of their place within the Oxon Hill plantation complex. Investigation of each area thus had distinct, specific goals and required specific field methods to approach these goals.

The field crew varied in size from about 25 to as many as 60. This fluctuation was caused by the differential need for personnel in the field laboratory, normal attrition, and finally by new hires as the project reached the last two months in the field. The available personnel were divided into seven crews, each with an experienced crew chief. The crew chiefs reported directly to the field director, or in his absence to the assistant field director. Each crew chief was responsible for job assignments within his crew, maintaining a field notebook, filling out unit level and feature forms, notifying the photographer when photographs were required, obtaining bag, unit, and feature numbers from lists maintained by the assistant field director, and maintaining equipment. Tasks were apportioned to the crew chiefs each morning during a meeting with the field director and the assistant field director. These meetings were also joined by the mapper/draftsman and photographer as required. One task which rotated periodically among the crews was soil screening. The crew chief with the responsibility of running the centralized screens (later the water screens) was responsible for maintaining a two part



form on which was kept the proveniences of all bags screened each day, along with the total field weights of cobbles, roofing slate, glazed and unglazed brick, mortar, and oyster shells (from non-feature contexts). These were weighed and discarded in the field. This was done, rather than throwing the material away directly, since it was felt that some kind of quantification was required, although the vast amount of such material argued against keeping it all for the lab. One copy of the form was kept with the material through the time when the material was checked into the field laboratory. The second copy of the form was kept in the field in case there was a discrepancy about proveniences or bag numbers in the laboratory. In such cases the assistant field director and field laboratory director discussed the problem by telephone with the appropriate copy before them. Another task of the screening crew chief, after flotation began, was to oversee the person or persons assigned to flotation.

A professional photographer was on site at all times. His duties included taking all photographs, and maintaining a notebook containing information on each frame of film shot. All color slide photos were backed up with black and white prints. This was a full-time job and occasionally required additionally staffing. The person most often pressed into assisting was the mapper/draftsman. She was responsible for maintaining the map files and surveying notebook, surveying and drawing all topographic maps, surveying in the features and grid, checking all profiles and drawings on the unit level and feature forms, and correlating the historic maps and the archaeological remains.

The assistant field director was responsible for advising the crew chiefs, maintaining schedules, checking the written data on the unit level and feature forms for accuracy, consistency and completeness, for maintaining notebooks of the artifact bag numbers and proveniences, and feature numbers. All of the above mentioned notebooks have been retained for the project archives. The assistant field director was also assigned additional miscellaneous tasks by the field director as required.

The field laboratory director was responsible for receiving the artifacts from the field, maintaining a computerized list of bags and proveniences received, washing, labeling, and preliminarily cataloging the artifacts, and for directing the laboratory crew and conservator. During the first four months of the project, a core lab crew of five was augmented by field crew members who were periodically rotated in from the field. This was done to maintain continuity between the field and lab work, and to allow the field personnel to have a better overall grasp of the project and a better understanding of what was required of them in the field. As the last two months in the field approached, experienced field crew members were urgently needed in the field and approximately 10 local helpers were hired to replace them in the laboratory.

The field director was responsible for organizing the above noted persons and tasks. The crew chiefs, photographer, mapper/draftsman, assistant field director, and field laboratory director reported directly to him.

There was also a separate administrative staff, consisting of a project manager and his assistant. These persons were responsible for finding lodging for the crew, maintaining a fully equipped office, leasing and maintaining vehicles, purchasing materials and equipment, placing advertisements for new hires, (and in conjunction with the field director and principal investigator, hiring personnel), maintaining contact with the State Highway Administration, preparing invoices, preparing the payroll, and for a myriad of other essential tasks.

The principal investigator was responsible for policy decisions in the laboratory, the field, and in the administration of the project. He was ultimately responsible for hiring and firing personnel and for the overall quality of the results of the project. Generally the principal investigator tried to spend two or three days a week on site. The remaining personnel were committed full time to the project.

General field methods involved hand excavation of 1 x 1 m units in Areas I, II, IV, and V and 2 x 2 m units in Area VI. These units were placed on a grid established by Hurry (1984) for the site and which was tied into his two benchmarks at S200,E200 and S200,E300 on the grid. Unit excavation was supplemented by backhoe trenching and mechanical stripping in Areas III, IV, and VI; in addition, specialized features, such as the wells and cellars, required special treatment. The wells were excavated in 20 cm levels after the initial layers of testing backfill and loose sticks and debris were removed. The cellars were excavated in 1 x 1 m units aligned with the cellar. After testing the upper levels of fill in the cellars were removed by a backhoe to expose the earlier, lower deposits. These lower deposits were then excavated entirely by hand.

Before excavating the units in an area the mapper/draftsman laid out the units on the ground. Each unit was then given a sequential number. These unit numbers ran in blocks beginning with Area I, from 0 to 1999; Area II had numbers 2000 to 2999; Area IV had 4000 to 4999; Area V had 5000-5999; Area VIa had 6000 to 6999; Area VIb, VIc, and VId had 7000 to 9999. Features in an area also received the same blocks of numbers (Area I, 0 to 1999; Area II, 2000 to 2999; etc.).

The 1 x 1 and 2 x 2 m units were in natural layers, which were given arabic numbers. If a given natural layer exceeded ten cm in depth, it was divided into arbitrary ten cm sublevels, which were given the letters A to M. Natural lenses within a numbered layer were given the letters L to W to differentiate them from the ten cm arbitrary levels. The letters X, Y, and Z were reserved. Occasionally, it became necessary to excavate an entire unit to subsoil as one level regardless of its depth in order to expose features which otherwise would not have been found. Soil from these units was not screened. This strategy was used only after the stratigraphy of an area was known, and when time restrictions were severe, and was considered preferable to the alternative--mechanical stripping. Such unscreened units were placed primarily in Areas I and VIa, and to a lesser extent in Areas V and VIb.

Once each level of a unit was completed, it was mapped and photographed. If a level contained a feature, excavation in that unit stopped until the feature had been excavated separately from the level. One by one meter units were also considered part of a larger 2 x 2 meter block. Once a 2 x 2 m block was completed, the north profile of this area was drawn. This provided a continuing record of the stratigraphy of each area excavated.

Each provenience on the site had a unique 10 digit provenience number. This provenience number contained coded information that rapidly allowed the reader, and more importantly the computer, to know where the provenience was located, for example provenience "F101001A01". In this example one can see how feature provenience numbers were built. This provenience number begins with F, so it is a feature. The second digit is 1, meaning Area I. The third slot is 0, so there was no subarea designation (there were no subareas in Area I, as there were in Area VI). The fourth through seventh digits give the feature number, in this case 1001. The eighth slot is A which tells what type of feature it was, in this case A is a posthole. The ninth and tenth slots, 01, tell which part of the posthole was excavated or in this case the north half of the posthole. Screened and unscreened units, backhoe trenches, and special features (cellars and wells) were given provenience numbers in much the same way.

The first slot of the provenience number always gives the type of provenience. The letter F, as noted above indicated that the following number was a feature. The letter K indicated a special feature; the letter T indicated a backhoe trench; C indicated an unscreened unit; and U indicated a screened unit.

The second slot of the provenience number contained the numbers 1 to 6, indicating one of the six areas. The third digit contained 0 if no subarea were intended, or the letter corresponding to the

subarea, the "a" in Area VIa, for example.

The fourth through seventh slots contained a four digit feature, unit, or trench number, as noted in the discussion of unit and feature numbers above.

The eighth through tenth slots caused the most difficulty for the field crew, and ultimately in the laboratory. If the first digit of the provenience number was a U or C (units) then the eighth and ninth slots indicated the level, and the tenth slot indicated the lens or 10 cm sublevel, with arabic numbers and letters as noted above. If the first digit was an F (feature) then the eighth slot indicated the type of feature (A = posthole, B = postmold, C = planting hole, etc.(see Table 41)); and the last two digits indicated the portion or part of the feature excavated (1 = north half, 2 = south half, 3 = east half, etc.(see Table 42)). If the first slot of the provenience number had a K (special feature) then the eighth through tenth slots meant whatever the crew chief and field director designated them to mean. For the cellars this meant that the eighth digit was a letter designating the vertical level in the cellar; and the ninth and tenth digits were one of up to 99 separate 1 x 1 m units within the cellar. For the wells the last three digits were numbered from 1 to 999 indicating a provenience within the well. In any case, the proveniences within special features required consulting field notes or maps to locate precisely. If the first digit of a provenience number was a T (backhoe trench) then the eighth through ninth digits were used in the same way as with wells, in that each number had an internal provenience which required consulting a map or the field notes.

Table 41. Codes for Feature Functions.

<u>Slot Eight Code</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Slot Eight Code</u>	<u>Function</u>
A	Posthole	K	Chimney base (not used)
B	Postmold	L	Dripline (not used)
C	Planting hole	M	Cistern (not sued)
D	Planting ditch	N	Walkway/path
E	Well (not used)	O	(not used)
F	Privy (not used)	P	Shell midden
G	Unidentified pit	Q	(not used)
H	Building foundation (not used)	R	Cellar (not used)
I	(not used)	S	Root cellar
J	Builder's trench (not used)	T	Dump (not used)
		Z	Unknown function

Table 42. Codes for Internal Feature Provenience.

<u>Slot Nine-Ten Code</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>Slot Nine-Ten Code</u>	<u>Function</u>
1	North half of feature	6	Southeast quad of feature
2	South half of feature	7	Northwest quad of feature
3	East half of feature	8	Southwest quad of feature
4	West half of feature	9	(not used)
5	Northeast quad of feature	10	(not used)
11 - 99	Designated individually according to situation (see feature form)		

The soil was dry-screened through 0.25 inch mesh hardware cloth until March 28, 1985 when drilling of a well on-site was completed. This well was drilled for the purpose of providing a water source for wet-screening through 0.25 inch mesh and for flotation of soil samples. However, only five water screens could be kept in operation at a time because of the low water yield of the well, and the amount of soil being recovered usually required all of the 10 or more screens, so some of the material was dry screened even after the well was installed. The only excavation operation which was entirely water screened was the material from the two wells. Since the artifact and faunal preservation in the wells was so exceptional it seemed more important that this material be water screened than other less well preserved proveniences.

Backhoe trenching was utilized in Areas III and IV to expose sections of areas that were expected to contain buried deposits. Area IV did indeed have a deeply buried A horizon below an artificial terrace, while Area III proved to be a turn around area for heavy equipment during construction of I-95 in the 1960s.

In Area VIb, once units were excavated in specific areas of high artifact or feature concentration as indicated by Hurry and Kavanagh's (1985) testing, mechanical stripping was employed to expose the entire area and its features. Exposure of these features could not have been accomplished with hand excavations in the time available. Area VIb was stripped with a grader to remove the topsoil from the area. Once exposed in this fashion, features were flagged, mapped, and excavated separately.

Features in the project area included two wells, two cellars, one foundation, one possible barn defined by drip lines and a pad, three potential structures defined by post hole and mold patterns, post holes, trenches, drainage features, planting holes, and planting trenches. Features were photographed before excavation, and then most were bisected and removed in halves. In the case of post holes and molds, the molds were removed first. Once bisected, the feature's stratigraphy was recorded from the exposed half and photographed. A final plan was drawn and more photographs were taken once the feature was completed. Historic trench features, however, were excavated in sections. These sections varied from one area to the next as the situation demanded. Once a section was removed, the excavated area was mapped and photographed.

Soil samples for flotation analysis were taken from the southeast corner of every 2 x 2 m block at each level. Within features, the number of soil samples taken varied with the type of feature involved. Samples were placed in zip-lock plastic storage bags and the proveniences recorded on the bag and in a notebook, as well as on the appropriate unit-level and feature form. A separate set of soil samples was taken by Dr. John Foss for pedological study of the site, the results of which are discussed in Chapter III.

The archaeological soil samples were later floated at the site. This was accomplished using a modification of the method employed at the Mark Clark Expressway project in Charleston, South Carolina (Brockington et al. 1985). This involved cutting a square of bridal veil (holes approximately 0.3 inch) of sufficient size for a sample. The sample and a plastic tag with the provenience number was then placed on the veil. The bridal veil was then tied up around the soil to prevent any soil from escaping. This bundle was then suspended by hand in a bucket of water which had a PVC pipe running along its bottom. The pipe had small holes drilled in it, and when attached to a water hose, it acted as a sprinkler, and once the bucket was full of water this "sprinkler" caused a gentle churning action from below. While the soil was being floated the original plastic bag was rinsed and dried. Once the soil had been washed away from inside the bridal veil, the sample was taken to a temporary plastic covered shelter and placed on a rack to dry. The shelter prevented the samples from being blown around by the wind and from being dampened again by rain. Once dry, the samples were recorded in the flotation notebook, rebagged in the bridal veil and newly cleaned plastic bags, and sent to the field lab for storage until they could be sent to Cheryl Holt for analysis. This method

prevented obtaining separation of a light and heavy fraction, although it was faster and more efficient than most flotation methods. However, as pointed out by Cheryl Holt (personal communication) her analysis would be made without regard for the light and heavy fractions, since it made no difference to her analysis whether a carbonized piece was light or heavy since it was still carbonized.

For the sake of future researchers, who may either work on this site or with the material recovered by this project, and for future researchers who may work on similarly large projects in the Potomac tidewater area, it is important to note some of the major problems encountered by the project and how these problems were approached.

The first involved clearing the six site areas in preparation for excavation. All areas of the site were more or less heavily covered with stands of hardwoods and thick undergrowth (Figure 36). It had been anticipated that this would be cleared by the State of Maryland using prison labor during the preceding December. However, this was not done, and over one and a half weeks (approximately 2500 person hours) were spent either clearing areas or waiting for areas to be cleared (Figure 37). Clearly, budgets should include this as a major item in future large projects.

A second problem was that the project began in January, and the winter of 1984-1985 was more severe than anticipated. Portable shelters were built to provide protection from wind chill that often went below -45 degree F (Figure 38), but these were cramped (Figure 39) and led to inefficient use of manpower. More importantly, the shelters could not prevent the soil from freezing to depths from four to over six inches during most of the months of January and February. Straw and plastic were used as insulation on units that had been excavated to thawed soil, but the following morning the soil would be frozen again. Digging frozen soil has three results which are not beneficial to archaeological sites and projects. First, the digging efficiency of crew members is much lower than normal. Second, maintaining good vertical control of excavation is difficult within the frozen layer. Third, screening of frozen soil without water to thaw it out is much less efficient than normal dry-screening. It usually took three or four people on the screens to keep up with one person excavating frozen soil. All of these factors caused the project to run behind schedule for the first two months. In retrospect, it would have been much more efficient to have started the project in March with an expanded crew. While only one crew day was entirely lost to weather (January 21), the extreme cold, wind, snow, and freezing rain had much more impact on the project than anticipated.

A third problem was a failure to anticipate the amount of time required to obtain necessary permits before labor saving devices could be installed. In order to speed up the screening and flotation of the vast quantity of dirt excavated, a well was drilled on site. Obtaining the permits for drilling the well and installation of electricity to run the pump caused a delay of over two months in getting water on the site. Ironically, installation of the well coincided with thawing of the frozen soil which made the most important reason for having water (melting frozen soil) moot.

A fourth problem involved the rental of heavy equipment. While obtaining small pieces of equipment like a backhoe was a relatively easy process, obtaining larger equipment for earthmoving projects such as building an access road was difficult and time consuming (Figure 40). The delay in obtaining equipment to clear and scrape Area VIb resulted in part of that area being too wet to scrape properly. While it is felt that no significant data was lost as a consequence, major problems could have resulted.

In summary, while there were a few major problems encountered during the fieldwork these problems mainly affected the schedule and budget and not the archaeology. The excavation methods followed standard archaeological practices in techniques and recording; while variations in methods were necessary to approach specific research problems, site areas, and features most efficiently.



FIGURE 36. Area I Looking South After Clearing Undergrowth.



FIGURE 37. Area I Looking North-Northwest, Clearing.





FIGURE 38. Area I Excavation Shelters.



FIGURE 39. Area I Inside Shelter.

## LABORATORY METHODS

The artifacts extracted from the Oxon Hill site were all cleaned, accessioned, and catalogued. Much of this stage of the project was conducted in the project field laboratory, although it was necessary to complete the process once the project materials were shipped to the Garrow & Associates, Inc.'s Atlanta facility. Artifact conservation was an on-going process throughout the field and post-field laboratory stages. Emergency conservation was conducted during the field phase by a conservation consultant, Kate Singley, and that consultant's report is included as Appendix 1. The conservation of artifacts that could be approached in a more leisurely manner or required a long period of time to complete was conducted or continued in the Atlanta facility.

The system used to accession the project artifacts was devised in consultation with staff of the Maryland Geological Survey. The initial system employed the use of unique Maryland geological Survey (MGS) numbers (in conjunction with the site number) assigned by Garrow & Associates' staff under guidance from Maryland Geological Survey staff. That system was used for Area I, but was modified for the remainder of the collections. The system employed for the remainder of the site was use of the site number in conjunction with the area designation and field bag number. That system proved to be easier to administer, as the number on the artifact could be directly related to all other records for a particular provenience without tedious and error prone cross-referencing.

Artifact cataloguing was done following an artifact code book that was specifically devised for the project. That code book, enclosed in this report as Appendix 2, was set up to facilitate computerization of the site catalogue, to allow manipulation of parts or all of the artifact data sets. There were four hierarchical levels of codes for each artifact category. The first and major level was the Group, based on the artifact groups required for use of the South (1977) artifact pattern method. The second level was the Class, based on the raw material of the artifact. The third level was the Type, which was an attempt to make meaningful groupings within the Groups and Classes that would facilitate comparison with South's model. The last and lowest level was the Subtype, which when combined with a Group, Class, and Type code provided a unique code at the most detailed level of pattern analysis. The code book was designed to offer maximum analytical flexibility and included other data on each artifact category such as whether the category should be counted or weighed, used in South's artifact patterning, and beginning, ending, and mean ceramic dates. The system even allowed computer generation of pipestem and mean ceramic dates. All artifacts were entered in the site catalogue in reference to a location code, which insured vertical and horizontal control over the collections. The project electronic catalog was manipulated using custom programming devised by Garrow & Associates staff with dBase-II software.

Upon completion of the cataloguing process, each area and context within each area was studied to determine the nature of its artifact content, and its suitability for more sophisticated analysis. The criteria used to separate areas and contexts were: (1) the ability to date each area and context based on its artifact content; (2) whether or not the area could be considered as a discrete primary or secondary depositional context in its own right, or contained specific contexts that met that criteria; and (3) whether or not the area and/or context contained a sufficiently large and discrete artifact collection to support analysis beyond simple dating and artifact patterning. It became evident that Areas II, III, and IV could not meet at least two of the three criteria, and that one (Area III) was totally lacking in either cultural features or artifacts.

The areas and contexts that were determined to have value for analysis beyond simple dating and artifact pattern studies included an eighteenth-century well in Area I, all of Area V, a deep cellar in Area VIa, the remaining features of Area VIa, and a well with twentieth-century fill in Area VIb. Areas VIb, VIc, and VIc yielded insufficient artifact samples to support sophisticated artifact analysis.





FIGURE 40. Area VIb Shovel Shaving and Scraping.

The areas and contexts suitable for more sophisticated artifact analysis ranged in date from the mid eighteenth to the mid twentieth century. Nineteenth-century contexts were poorly represented within the sample, although artifacts dating to that century were recovered from all but Area III. The largest artifact samples recovered from sealed contexts came from a well in Area I that was filled in the eighteenth century, the ruin of what appears to have been an eighteenth-century meathouse in Area V, and a cellar in Area VIa and a well in Area VIb that had both been filled with twentieth-century trash. Somewhat less informative artifact collections were recovered from the units and small features of Area I, the cellar in Area I, and the units and features exclusive of the cellar in Area VIa.

The variability in the types and intensities of contexts encountered in the various areas meant that it was impossible to consistently apply the same analytical steps in all cases. All areas and contexts were analyzed to the level required for dating purposes, and the artifact content of each area was at least minimally expressed in terms of artifact pattern studies. It was possible to determine minimum ceramic vessels by ceramic type and form in some areas, and ceramic analysis was carried to the set level (Garrow 1982) in the case of the two twentieth-century contexts. Minimum vessel counts and form and function analyses were conducted for glass containers and table glass in some instances, with the most meaningful results achieved from the contents of the eighteenth-century well in Area I. Faunal analysis was conducted for the eighteenth-century well in Area I, and for the contents of the assumed meathouse in Area V. No other areas yielded sufficient faunal remains to support a faunal analysis.

The analysis methods used to study the various areas and contexts within the site are discussed in detail in the following sections.

### Dating Methods

The primary dating tools employed during this analysis were pipestem dating (Harrington 1954), mean ceramic dating (South 1977), and manufacturer's marks on ceramics and glass. It was possible to date some contexts through the study of the techniques of manufacture of the glass containers within those contexts. Product brand name date ranges, as determined through correspondence with manufacturers, proved to be a valuable tool in determining the deposition dates of the artifacts in the two twentieth-century contexts.

Pipestem dating is based on the fact that the bore diameters of ball clay pipes tended to become smaller as time passed (at least until the 1760s). The idea of using pipestems to date archaeological contexts and the bore diameter groupings by dates were first published by Harrington (1954), and were later developed into a mathematical formula by Binford (1961). Binford's formula was used for pipestem dating in this report, as the formula lent itself to computerization more easily than a series of charts. Pipestem calculations were not run for contexts that post-dated the 1760s, as this dating method yields spurious dates for post-1760 pipestems.

Mean ceramic dating was an extremely important dating tool employed during this analysis. The concept of mean ceramic dating was developed by South (1977), and was based on the use of manufacturing date ranges for specific ceramic types that yielded a mean date for the use of each type. South's manufacturing date ranges were drawn primarily from the work of Noel Hume (1969), and offer excellent accuracy for eighteenth-century ceramic types. It has been recognized, however, that the South manufacturing date ranges do not yield accurate mean ceramic dates for nineteenth-century contexts (Lofstrom 1976), and the South ranges were not employed on this project for contexts that post-dated the 1820s. An alternative set of ceramic date ranges devised by Garrow (1982) were employed for these late contexts. The Garrow date ranges are based on the observed popularity date ranges of decorative/ware types, and offer good dating accuracy for the period from 1830-60 (Klein

and Garrow 1984). Mean ceramic dating was not attempted for contexts that definitely post-dated 1860, as no tested set of manufacturing or popularity date ranges for that later time period is currently available.

Maker's marks found on ceramics and glass provided critical dating information in a number of instances on this project. A number of sources were utilized to research ceramic maker's marks, but Godden (1964) and Gates and Omerod (1982) proved to be the primary sources. Ceramic maker's marks constitute one of the major means of dating post-1860 contexts within historical archaeology, and in some cases were the only available dating sources for specific contexts.

The technique of manufacture, as well as maker's marks and embossments on glass bottles, also provided dating information on this project. Noel Hume (1976) was a valuable information source on eighteenth-century glass bottle technology, but the most valuable information on that subject came from Olive Jones of Parks Canada. Ms. Jones visited the Garrow & Associates laboratory during the analysis, and shared her considerable expertise on eighteenth-century bottle glass technology with the analysis staff. That allowed the staff to refine the manufacturing date ranges of certain types of bottles, and form a more detailed understanding of the depositional factors operative within specific contexts, especially the well in Area I. Additional sources used to date bottle technology, maker's marks, and embossments included McKearin and McKearin (1941, 1950), Wilson (1972), Lorrain (1968), Munsey (1970), Switzer (1974), Baugher-Perlin (1982), and Toulouse (1971).

A major contribution of this report was the establishment and use of product brand name date ranges for certain twentieth-century items. These items, primarily packaged in glass containers, were recovered from two contexts with anticipated date ranges of 1927 to 1952. Product brand name date ranges were determined through correspondence with the manufacturers, and enough product names were researched to allow application of the regression formula used in South's (1977) mean ceramic dating to the mean product name dates. This technique will be more fully discussed in the description of Area VI.

Further dating information was gained from study of minor constituents of the artifact collections. Coins were rarely encountered in the excavations, but coin dates were taken into account where present. Buttons and beads occasionally proved to be temporally diagnostic, as did pipe bowl forms. It is correct to state that every item that was temporally diagnostic was taken into account during the analysis, but the bulk of the artifact dating was derived from the ceramic and glass collections.

### **Artifact Pattern Analysis Methods**

Artifact pattern analysis used on this project was defined to meet three primary project needs. The first need was to provide a quantified summary of the artifact content of the various site areas and contexts. The second need was for a mechanism whereby sections of the site within which different types of functions had been carried out could be identified through the compilation and study of the artifact content of that section. The third need filled by artifact pattern studies was to render the artifact content of the site areas and contexts comparable to artifact collections derived from other historic sites within the region and the country at large. Artifact pattern studies thus became mechanisms whereby the site artifact content could be organized, interpreted, and compared.

The concept of artifact pattern analysis can be attributed to South (1977). South devised artifact pattern analysis to fill the need for replicable quantification studies of artifact collections, and offered two artifact pattern models--the "Carolina Artifact Pattern" and the "Frontier Artifact Pattern"--that supposedly characterized British-American domestic sites and sites situated on the "frontier" respectively. The Carolina Artifact Pattern model was subsequently revised by Garrow (1982) by

realigning certain artifact classes into more defensible, functionally aligned groups. Table 43 presents the "Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern" model as devised by Garrow (1982:58), which will be used in this report for comparative purposes. Garrow (1982) also revised the "Frontier Artifact Pattern" model following the observation that the sites used by South (1977) for the original model were basically nondomestic in nature. Garrow deleted some of South's original sites used in his Frontier Artifact Pattern, and functionally realigned the artifact classes following the premises used to devise the "Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern". He also added sites that shared a public access usage to the pattern model, and devised the "Public Interaction Pattern" model as a result of those revisions. The "Public Interaction Pattern" model is presented in Table 44. A detailed discussion of the constituents of the "Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern" and "Public Interaction Pattern" models is presented in Klein and Garrow (1984:176-185), and need not be repeated in this report.

Additional artifact pattern models that have been devised and will be used for comparative purposes in this report are the "Urban Artifact Pattern" and the "Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern". The "Urban Artifact Pattern" model was devised by Garrow (1982), and has been subsequently tested on a series of urban projects (Cheek et al. 1982; Henry and Garrow 1982; Klein and Garrow 1984). That model, presented in Table 45, appears to characterize the artifact content of backyard middens on domestic sites in urban contexts. The "Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern", presented in Table 46, was developed by Wheaton et al. (1983) on sites occupied by Afro-American slaves on the South Carolina coast. That pattern, which is superficially similar to the "Urban Artifact Pattern" model, offers insights into partially acculturated Afro-American slaves (see Wheaton and Garrow 1985) in at least a portion of the eighteenth-century south.

Table 43. The Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern.

<u>Artifact Group</u>	<u>Brunswick S25</u> <u>(1732-1776)</u>		<u>Brunswick S10</u> <u>(1728-1830)</u>		<u>Cambridge 96</u> <u>(1783-1820)</u>	
Kitchen	22710	61.77%	6795	51.80%	12916	64.97%
Architecture	9620	26.17%	4116	31.38%	5006	25.18%
Furniture	83	0.23%	82	0.63%	35	0.18%
Arms	34	0.09%	45	0.34%	27	0.14%
Clothing	1070	2.91%	72	0.55%	1069	5.38%
Personal	71	0.19%	20	0.15%	108	0.54%
Tobacco Pipes	2830	7.70%	1829	13.94%	379	1.91%
Activities	<u>347</u>	<u>0.94%</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>1.21%</u>	<u>340</u>	<u>1.71%</u>
Totals	36765	100.00%	13118	100.00%	19880	100.01%†

Source: Klein and Garrow 1984:177

† Error due to rounding.

Table 44. The Public Interaction Pattern.

<u>Artifact Group</u>	<u>Camden Toft 8</u>		<u>Hepburn-Reonalds</u> <u>House</u>		<u>Delaware State</u> <u>House (1742-1788)</u>	
Kitchen	966	52.37%	3714	45.39%	2041	50.50%
Architecture	824	44.59%	3953	48.31%	1757	43.47%

Table 44. Continued.

Furniture	0	0.00	18	0.22%	4	0.10%
Arms	1	0.05%	12	0.15%	7	0.17%
Clothing	0	0.00%	24	0.29%	102	2.52%
Personal	0	0.00%	4	0.05%	4	0.10%
Tobacco Pipes	16	0.87%	374	4.57%	92	2.28%
Activities	<u>41</u>	<u>2.22%</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>1.03%</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>0.87%</u>
Totals	1848	100.00%	8183	100.01%†	4042	100.01%†

<u>Artifact Group</u>	<u>Fort Prince George (Revised)</u>		<u>Fort Watson</u>		<u>Spaldings Lower Store (Revised)</u>	
Kitchen	4262	42.7%	627	43.8%	5956	35.5%
Architecture	4252	42.6%	595	41.6%	7222	43.0%
Furniture	6	0.1%	19	1.3%	51	0.3%
Arms	471	4.7%	128	8.9%	227	1.4%
Clothing	70	0.7%	23	1.6%	51	0.3%
Personal	9	0.1%	2	1.0%	10	0.1%
Tobacco Pipes	851	8.5%	18	1.3%	2344	14.0%
Activities	<u>50</u>	<u>0.5%</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>1.4%</u>	<u>909</u>	<u>5.4%</u>
Totals	9971	99.99%†	1432	100.0%	16770	100.0%

Source: Klein and Garrow 1984:178

† Error due to rounding.

Table 45. Observed Percentage Ranges of Selected Urban Artifact Patterns.

<u>Artifact Group</u>	<u>Phoenix, Arizona (Six Contexts)</u>	<u>Washington, D.C.</u>	<u>Wilmington, Delaware</u>
Kitchen	58.8 - 85.4%	69.2 - 74.5%	73.7 - 90.2%
Architecture	2.3 - 33.1%	22.8 - 19.4%	5.4 - 23.2%
Furniture	0.0%	0.1 - 0.9%	0.0 - 0.7%
Arms	0.0 - 0.9%	0.0%	0.0 - 3.9%
Clothing	1.0 - 3.6%	0.9 - 1.0%	0.2 - 3.6%
Personal	0.0 - 0.8%	0.1 - 0.1%	0.0 - 0.4%
Tobacco Pipes	0.0%	0.2 - 0.7%	0.0 - 2.4%
Activities	0.9 - 12.6%	0.3 - 1.0%	0.0 - 3.6%

Source: Henry and Garrow 1982: 290.

Table 46. The Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern.

<u>Artifact Group</u>	<u>Yaughan (1745-1795)</u>	<u>Curriboo (1745-1800)</u>	<u>Yaughan (1784-1826)</u>	<u>Spiers Landing (1790-1830)</u>
Kitchen	18800 84.20%	4420 79.77%	4439 70.73%	2275 74.84%



Table 46. Continued.

Architecture	2640	11.82%	757	13.66%	1569	25.00%	631	20.76%
Furniture	12	0.05%	4	0.07%	5	0.08%	2	0.07%
Arms	5	0.02%	15	0.27%	11	0.18%	6	0.20%
Clothing	66	0.30%	20	0.36%	32	0.51%	24	0.79%
Personal	6	0.03%	2	0.04%	4	0.06%	2	0.07%
Tobacco Pipes	752	3.37%	300	5.41%	182	2.90%	74	2.43%
Activities	46	0.21%	23	0.42%	34	0.54%	25	0.86%
Totals	22327	100.0%	5541	100.00%	6276	100.00%	3040	100.02%

Note: The Spiers Landing percentage total was an error due to rounding.

The assignment of artifact classes to specific artifact groups within the artifact pattern analysis followed the criteria established by Klein and Garrow (1984:180-185). That approach requires that each class be assigned to the functional group that most clearly approximates the original function of that class. That is, if it can be established that an artifact was used in the cooking or serving of food, it was placed under the general heading of the Kitchen Group. Further, if an artifact was incorporated as a fixed or permanent component within the fabric of a structure it was placed under the Architecture Group heading. Some exceptions to that functional alignment were allowed. As an example, it is not possible in all cases to sort out all of the sherds of a chamber pot from the sherds of food service vessels. Chamber pots are thus retained within the Kitchen Group, although they doubtless did not serve a kitchen related function. This means that while every reasonable attempt was made to insure that artifact assignments were defensible in functional terms, the assignments were made under the knowledge that that would be impossible in some cases.

### Ceramic and Glass Vessel Analysis

Ceramic and glass vessels are particularly informative artifact categories on historic period sites. These artifacts were frequently handled objects that were easily broken, and entered the archaeological record in fairly large numbers on most sites. Further, a great deal of research attention has been devoted to ceramics and vessel glass in the archaeological literature, and both can be used as the basis of fairly sophisticated artifact manipulations.

Ceramics and vessel glass were used at the sherd level on this project to generate context dates, and as constituents of artifact pattern studies. This use of ceramic and glass fragments is appropriate in historical archaeology, and does yield valuable information. Ceramic and vessel glass sherds were not, however, utilized as sherds by the inhabitants of the site under study. These items were constituents of vessels that were bought and used as vessels, and were discarded when they became sherds. It is then necessary to study ceramic and vessel glass sherds as components of their larger vessels to understand the role of those items within the material culture of the site's inhabitants.

Following the accessioning and cataloguing process, ceramic sherds from areas and contexts chosen for additional analyses were sorted by decorative/ware types. This initial sorting process was accomplished within the individual vertical and horizontal units that comprised the larger context under study. Sherds that mended at that point were taped together. Following the sorting of cross-mends within units and levels, ceramics of the same decorative/ware type from the same units and levels were combined, and cross-mends were identified and taped together. This process continued in stages until all of the ceramics from a total area or context had been sorted and

cross-mended. Once all possible cross-mends had been determined, the tape on the cross-mends was replaced by glue. An exception to that last step was the twentieth-century ceramics from Area VI. In that case, representative vessels were glued, and the other vessels were simply disassembled after study and individually bagged for curation storage.

Three primary analytical steps were applied to the ceramics upon completion of the cross-mend process. The first step was to determine the minimum number of vessels present by decorative/ware type and form. This was accomplished by studying each decorative/ware and form type, and using all available clues to determine defensible numbers of vessel occurrences. It was relatively simple to determine the number of vessels present in instances where large proportions of the vessels had been reconstructed during the cross-mend process, but that circumstance was rare in all but the twentieth-century proveniences within the site. In most cases it was necessary to study the proportions of rims and bases present by decorative/ware and form varieties, as well as nonrepetitive decorative elements on the vessels (when they were present) in order to determine the vessel count. The determination of minimum numbers of vessels present in a collection is an imprecise process, and in many cases yields no more than an approximation of the actual numbers present. That situation certainly prevailed in many instances in this study, but consistent with the methodology of this type of study (c.f. Garrow 1982; Klein and Garrow 1984), every effort was made to insure that the vessel count underestimated rather than overestimated the actual number of vessels present in the collections.

Following the completion of the minimum vessel count process, each vessel was catalogued on a coded computer form. Data entered on the form included the decorative/ware type of the vessel, the vessel form, the percentage of completeness of the vessel, and the proveniences of the cross-mended sherds that comprised the vessels. The use of the computer form facilitated compilation of the total vessel content of each study unit by decoration/ware type and form, determined the strength of cross-mends in various proveniences, and also made it possible to track the components of each vessel within the various levels and/or units of the area or context under study. The analysis and use of the computer form thus made it possible to view the ceramic collection at a level that would have been familiar to the people who purchased, used, and discarded the ceramics, but also made it possible to study the structure of the trash discard process within the site. Further, study of the percentages of completion of the vessels within each study provenience provided valuable insights into how the proveniences under study had been formed.

Vessel glass sherds were treated in a similar manner to that described for the ceramics. Sorting criteria used for vessel glass depended most heavily on glass color and observable form. Cross-mends were carried out on most of the study units, and the cross-mends were quantified in a manner similar to that described for ceramics. Vessel glass cross-mends were not attempted for the bottle glass in the twentieth-century contexts in Area VI. The bottle glass sample analyzed for those deposits was restricted to a single 1 X 1 m column sample excavated through the deepest observed portion of the trash deposit in the Area VI cellar, and the vessel glass sample from even that restricted context was too large to treat in the same manner as the samples drawn from older contexts. In that case the recovered glass finishes and bases were compared to an extensive type collection of whole bottles recovered from the cellar, and minimum vessel counts by form were approximated without the use of cross-mends.

### Ceramic Set Analysis Methods

It was assumed when the research on this site began that it would be possible to make extensive use of ceramic set analysis for at least some of the nineteenth-century contexts within the site. That assumption was not borne out, as no large, discrete collections of nineteenth-century artifacts were

found that could be carried to this level. Ceramic set analysis did prove to be a valuable tool for analysis of the twentieth-century deposits within Area VI, and was used with good effect on those collections.

Ceramic set analysis was employed by Garrow (1982) on the Civic Center Site in Washington, D. C. to reinforce interpretations of the socioeconomic status of the household that had discarded the study ceramics, and also to better understand the nature of the excavated deposits. The ceramic set analysis employed on the twentieth-century deposits on this project addressed both goals.

Ceramic set analysis is based on and is an extension of the minimum vessel count analysis. Under this technique, vessels of the same decorative/ware type that contain precisely the same decoration are termed "ceramic sets". Ceramic set analysis as employed on the twentieth-century deposits included both tea or coffee and full table sets, although the term is normally reserved for table sets in nineteenth-century proveniences. This technique will be more fully described under the discussion of the twentieth-century ceramic collection.

### Methods of Measuring Economic Level of Ceramic Assemblages

Study of socioeconomic levels within the site and among sections of the site was a primary component of the project research design. Two primary quantitative methods were discussed in the project research design that could be used to explore this research domain. The first method was termed the "Wise Analysis". The Wise Analysis was devised by Cara Wise (1976) to study ceramic collections from the Delaware State House in Dover, Delaware. That technique utilizes ceramic types at the sherd level, and is based on the idea that low cost, utilitarian ceramics will be found in higher percentages on sites occupied by families of lower socioeconomic status. Under this approach, the higher the percentage of finer, more costly ceramics within a site the higher the socioeconomic statuses of the inhabitants.

The Wise Analysis divided the ceramic content of a site into coarse wares, refined wares, and porcelain. Redwares and heavy stonewares are placed in the coarse ware category under this scheme, while refined wares include virtually all table wares exclusive of porcelains. Both European and Chinese porcelains are placed under the porcelain category.

Two indices are used to determine the relative socioeconomic statuses of site residents. The formulas for these indices are:

$$\frac{\text{\# of refined ware sherds}}{\text{\# of coarse ware sherds}} = \text{Status Index I}$$

$$\frac{\text{\# of porcelain sherds}}{\text{\# of refined sherds}} = \text{Status Index II}$$

In simple terms, the higher the number achieved for each Status Index, the higher the supposed socioeconomic status of the site inhabitants.

This technique was extensively employed on the Wilmington Boulevard Project (Klein and Garrow 1984), and the results could not be correlated with any of the other status measurements that were used. In that case it was suggested that the failure of the technique was due to the fact that all of the contexts measured dated to the nineteenth century. The decision was made to attempt the analysis on this project, but limit its application to eighteenth-century contexts. Further, it was intended that this



analytical technique be used to measure socioeconomic status differences between different types of residents within the site. Unfortunately, only a single context, the well in Area I, proved to be suitable for application of this technique, and the results are presented in the Area I well discussion.

The second analytical method planned for use on this project as a quantitative measure of socioeconomic status was the Miller (1980) economic scaling technique. That technique employs relative price indices derived for nineteenth-century ceramic decorative/ware types to derive indices for cups, bowls, and plates. The Miller (1980) technique has proven to be extremely useful on nineteenth-century sites (c.f. Garrow 1982 and Klein and Garrow 1984), but could not be used on this project because of the lack of suitable nineteenth-century contexts.

### **Estate Inventory Analysis Methods**

The historical research conducted for this project (see Chapter IV) revealed three eighteenth-century estate inventories for the Oxon Hill site. The inventories provided detailed accountings of the material culture content of the property for the years 1727, 1765, and 1775, and serve as excellent statements within which to assess the results of the archaeological research for the first 65 years of the occupation of the site. All three inventories were transcribed, and are attached to the report as Appendix 3. Analysis of the inventories provided analytical data critical to understanding Areas I and VIa, and particularly to understanding the contents of the well in Area I.

### **Marketing Analysis Methods**

A marketing analysis requires two types of information. The first is that artifacts which are clearly attributable to particular occupants be found in sufficient quantities to characterize the household which discarded the material. If a deposit comes only from the barn or only from the mill, it is not representative of the entire range of objects used by the occupants of a site. In other words the collection to be useful must be representative of the occupants range of material goods. The second type of information required from a site is that enough of the artifacts must have identifiable points of origin to quantify the proportion of artifacts coming from different places. One artifact each from England, France, Brazil and Japan, would probably not give a true picture of the marketing choices made by the inhabitants of a site. Enough artifacts with definable origins must be present to gauge the relative importance of different source areas and to insure that all major sources are represented. As was noted in Chapter II, only the Addison and Sumner Welles periods had both directly attributable collections, and collections which could be satisfactorily attributed as to origin. A discussion of the results of the examination of marketing choices is given in Chapter VII.

## CHAPTER VI. FIELD RESULTS

### INTRODUCTION

The portion of the Oxon Hill Manor site to be mitigated had been divided into six major functional areas (Figure 41). Field work began in Area I and continued sequentially to Area VI. The following discussion follows the same sequence. Each area is presented with (1) a brief description of the area, (2) a discussion of the data that was expected to be found, (3) a narrative of when and how the excavations were conducted, (4) a brief discussion of the soil stratigraphy, (5) a discussion of the features found, and finally (6) with conclusions on the features and how they help interpret the function of the area and therefore the site. This chapter lays the ground work for the analysis of the artifacts which follows in Chapter VII.

All six areas were connected by a modern dirt and gravel access road probably built during the 1960s for the construction of I-95 (Figure 41). It should be pointed out here that this road closely paralleled dirt roads in Areas VIc and VIId and may have been close to the location of access roads in existence during the occupation of the site. Where the road left Area VIb on the western side there was an old access road, and for this reason it is felt that the modern access road closely paralleled the older access roads in Area VIb, as well as in Areas VIc and VIId. In the following discussions of Areas VIb, VIc, and VIId the fact that these older roads may have been paralleled or even crossed by the modern access road means that archaeological deposits near the modern road may be the result not only of construction of the modern road (bulldozing, etc.) but also of occupant discard behaviour alongside the older roads. Since dirt roads tend to migrate from side to side over time, the area of roadside discard could be very wide indeed.

Work at the site involved a total of 1,219 square meters of hand excavated soil, uncovering a total of 324 features, including two wells and two cellars. Twenty-one other features were exposed by mechanical stripping in Area VIb. The total number of features exposed was therefore 345. The total number of artifacts from screened units was 65,907. Table 47 gives the densities of the features (based on total area opened by hand) and of artifacts (based on screened units) in the separate areas.

Table 47. Densities of Features and Artifacts in the Areas

<u>Area</u>	<u>Screened Units</u>	<u>Total Artifacts</u>	<u>Artifacts/ Units</u>	<u>Total Units</u>	<u>Total Features</u>	<u>Features/ Unit</u>	<u>Machine Stripping</u>
I	223	18,052	80.95	408	210	.51	
II	52	10,377	199.56	52	6	.12	
IV	72	2,548	35.39	85	15	.18	
V	11	754	68.55	21	21	1.00	
VIa	126	9,001	71.44	346	31	.09	
VIb	288	24,852	86.29	288	40	.14	
VIc	14	323	23.07	14	1	.07	21
VIId	5	11	2.20	5	0	N/A	
Totals	791	65,907		1219	324		345*

\*Total features including machine stripped area

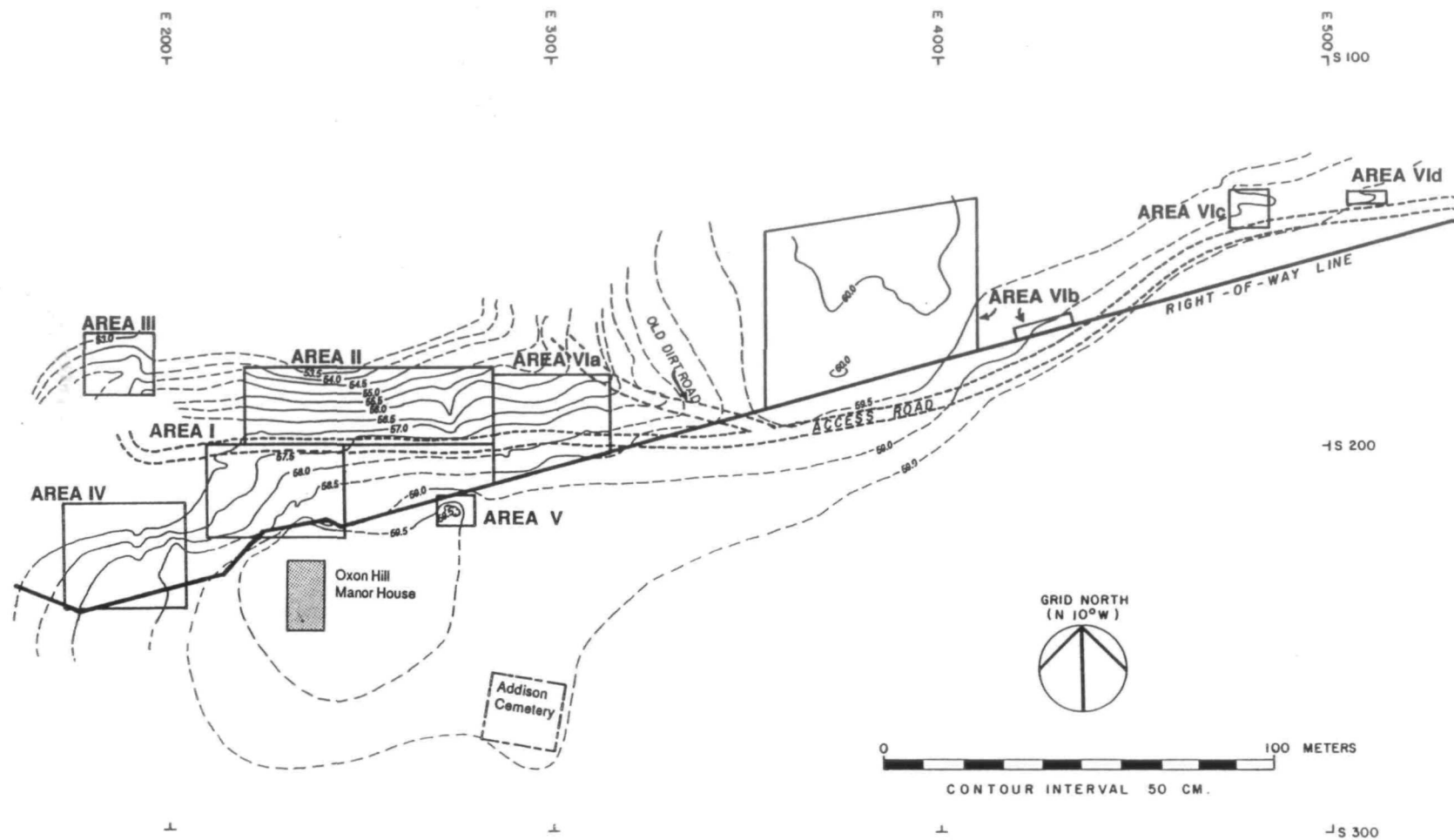


FIGURE 41. Oxon Hill Archaeological Site.

From the figures it is clear that Area II had the highest concentration of artifacts and that Area V had the highest concentration of Features. Area VI<sub>d</sub>, with only five square meters opened, had no features. Area VI<sub>d</sub> also had the lowest density of artifacts, although VI<sub>b</sub> and IV had about half or less than the remaining areas. In the following discussions of the individual areas these numbers will be used to aid in the interpretation of the functions of the areas.

## AREA I

### Description

Area I, located directly north of the main house foundation, was a side yard for that house (Figure 41). The area was a large, flat expanse, sloping gently toward the north (Figures 42, 43, and 44). Prior to excavation, Area I was covered in hardwood trees, predominantly locust; undergrowth was dormant as excavations began in January. A brick rubble pile in the south of the area, discarded brick from the ruin of the main house structure, and the test excavation of a well by Silas Hurry (1984) in the southeast corner of the area were visible prior to excavation. There was also a shallow depression in the center of western half of the area, which upon excavation proved to be a shallow treefall.

Selection of this area for excavation was based on the 1981 preliminary field reconnaissance by Richard J. Dent of the University of Maryland and by the 1984 intensive field testing by Silas D. Hurry. It was anticipated that excavation of Area I would provide artifact assemblages and features related to:

1. an eighteenth-century upper class household, owned and inhabited by the Addison family; and
2. a nineteenth-century lower socioeconomic status household, owned by the Berry family, but inhabited throughout the nineteenth century by tenants.

Historical data concerning Area I confirmed the first assumption, but not the second. Apparently members of the Berry family inhabited the house for much of the nineteenth century, and it was primarily in the latter part of the century that the house was rented out to tenants.

Field investigations in Area I began on January 14, 1985 and were completed by the middle of March with the exception of the well and a cellar. The well and cellar excavations began in March and were completed in June. The excavation strategy for Area I called for 100 percent coverage of the area with hand excavated 1 x 1 m units. Due to the poor weather conditions and six inches or more of frozen soil during January and February, screened units were later alternated with unscreened units to expose features in the time allotted to Area I (Figure 42). Even so, Area I took ten weeks to excavate; none of the other areas took as long or were excavated under such difficult conditions.

Intensive excavation began in the southeast corner of Area I and continued to the north and west. A total of 223 screened units and 185 unscreened units were opened in Area I revealing 210 features (Figures 42 and 44). These features included (1) an unlined well, (2) an unlined cellar, (3) at least one structure defined by postholes, (4) numerous unrelated postholes, and (5) many planting trenches and holes. The overall mean ceramic date for the area is 1809.16, or slightly more recent than the

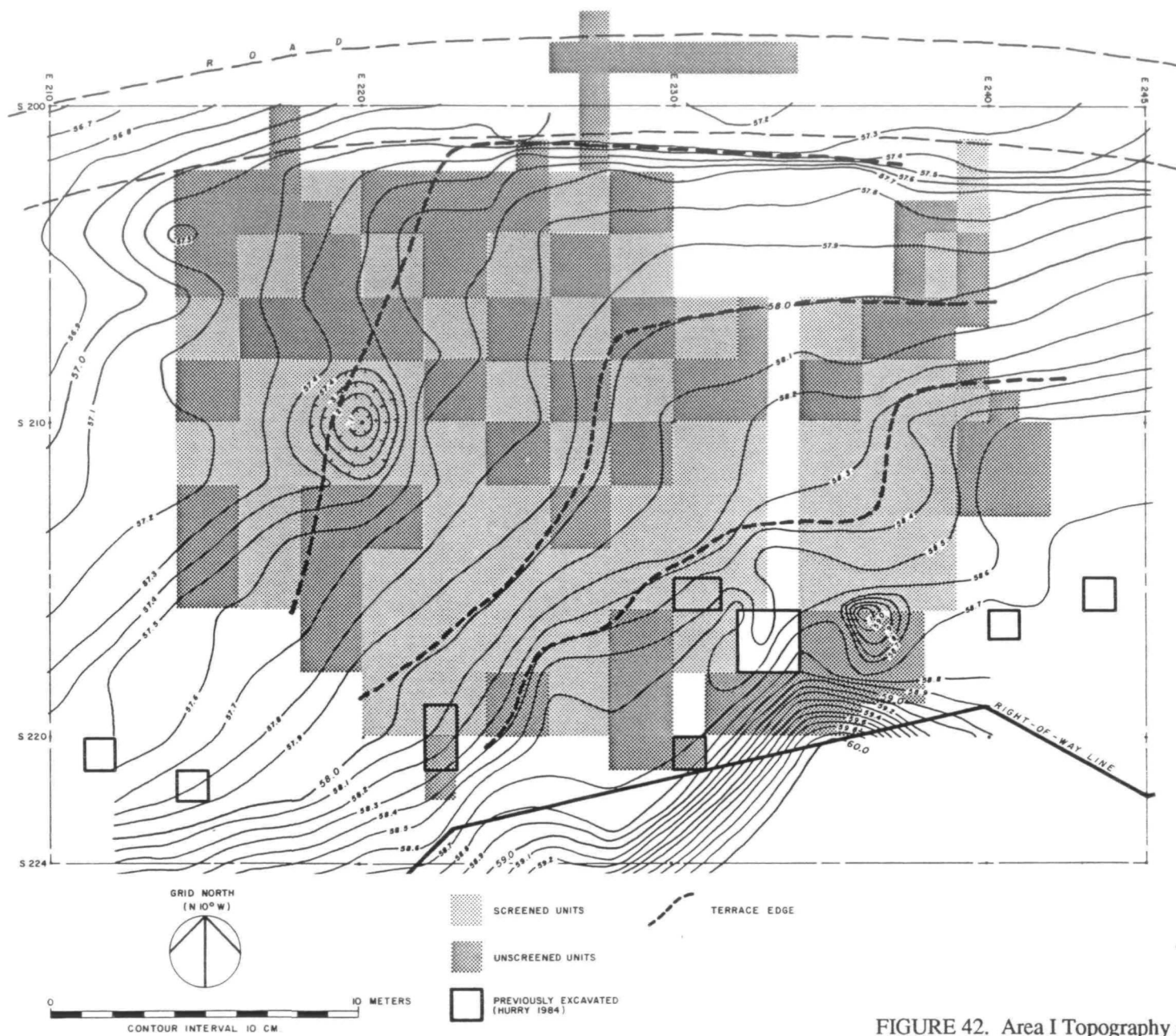


FIGURE 42. Area I Topography and Excavation.

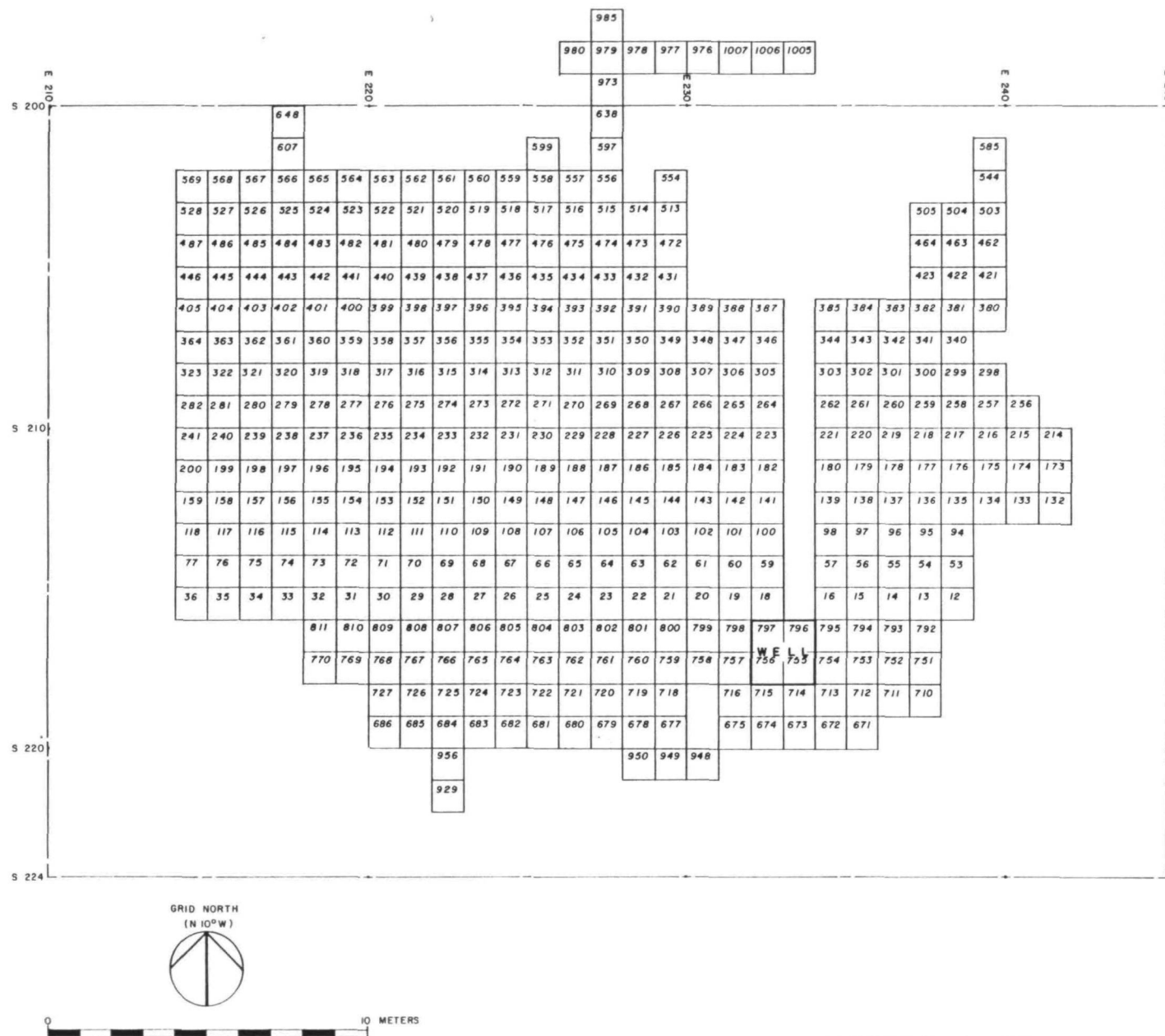


FIGURE 43. Area I Excavation Units Numbered.

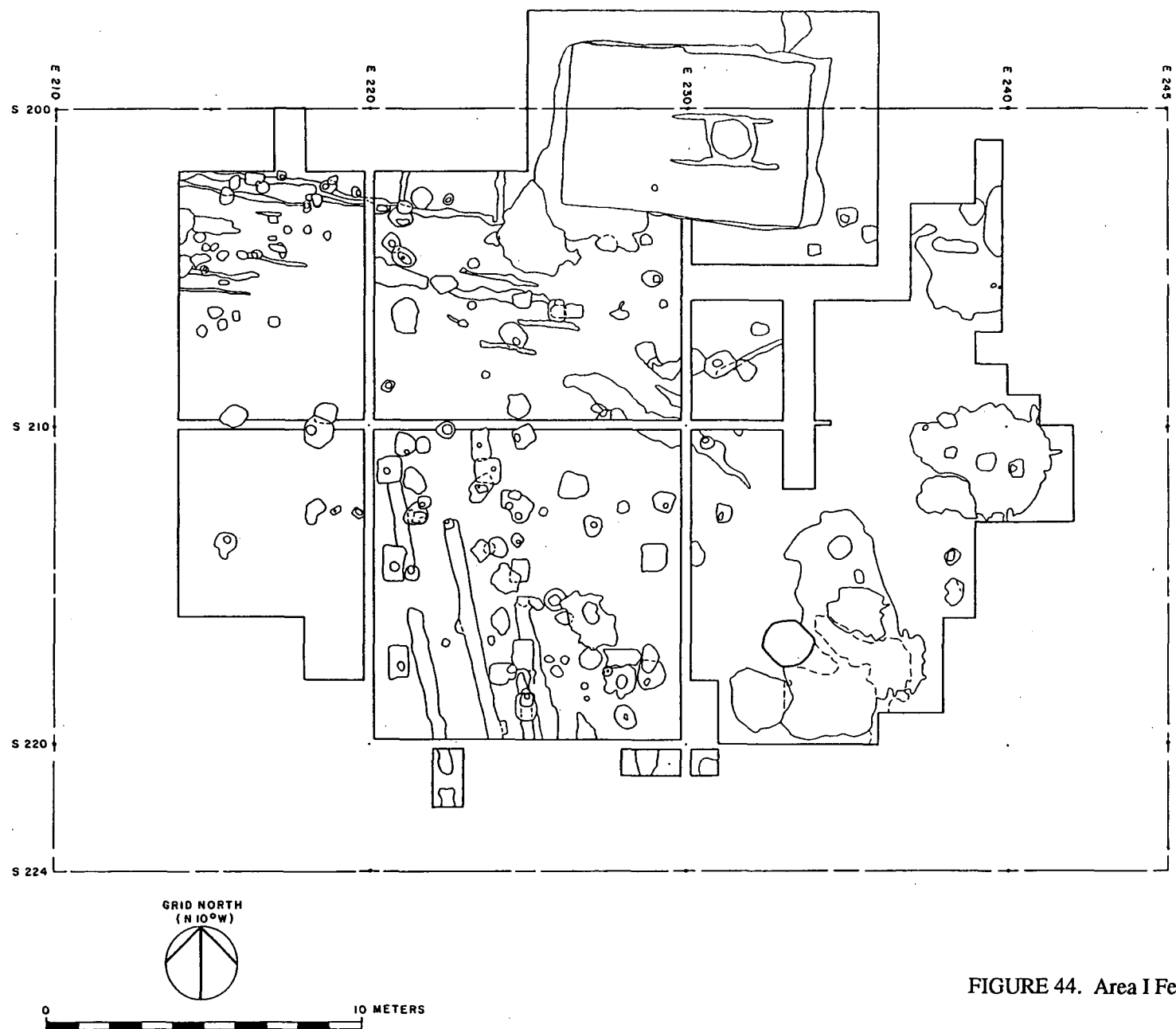


FIGURE 44. Area I Features.

mean date for the site of 1802.50. Dateable ceramics from the screened units yielded a mean ceramic date of 1812.87. The 1,385 dateable ceramic artifacts recovered from the features provided a mean ceramic date of 1802.35.

The soil in Area I was shallow (Figure 45). The basic stratigraphy consisted of a topsoil layer (Layer I) of a dark brown clay loam which measured from 0 - 18 cm deep. Beneath this was a mottled strong brown clay layer (Layer II) extending from 18 - 30 cm deep and occasionally as deep as 46 cm in the southern part of the area. Below the mottled clay was a very hard and gravel filled brown fragipan layer measuring from 46 - 71 cm deep followed by the lower clay subsoil.

## The Terraces

An explanation of the shallowness of the Area I stratigraphy is necessary to understand and interpret the artifacts and features found there. Figure 42 shows various small terraces that indicate that the side yard from the house to at least as far as Area II had been landscaped. This landscaping was probably accomplished by scraping down the area with mule or horse drawn scrapers. Further evidence of landscaping is the presence of eroded or low areas that have been filled in with shell (Features 2, 250, 53, 131, 56, and 89) or with trash and transported soil (Features 112, 213, 198, and 228).

The question arises as to when this landscaping, and specifically the terracing, took place, and what was the effect of the terracing on the features in Area I. In order to present our conclusions on what is potentially a confusing subject, Figure 46 is presented here.

On the left side of Figure 46 there are four possible hypothetical situations represented, with the results they would have on structural postholes found represented on the right side of the figure. In the first situation (postholes dug after terracing was already completed), the postholes in each terrace would have the same depth, although the bottom elevations would be progressively lower on the lower terraces. In the next three situations there is a before terracing model and a corresponding after terracing model.

In the "before" model of Situation 2, postholes were dug in flat ground and had postholes which were the same depth (as in Situation 1) and therefore have the same bottom elevation (unlike Situation 1). After such a model is terraced (Figure 46) the depths of postholes in each lower terrace is progressively less, while the bottom elevations remain the same. This result is totally unlike Situation 1, which has postholes of the same depth, but the average bottom elevations becoming progressively lower.

In the "before" model of Situation 3, postholes were excavated to the same depth on a gentle slope. As pointed out by Carson et al. (1981:148, 150, 153) digging postholes to uniform depths was necessary, or at least advisable, when constructing preassembled earthfast structures as often found in the tidewater areas of Maryland and Virginia. The result of such a model, besides postholes of a uniform bottom elevation, is that the postholes are progressively shallower as one goes downhill. After such a model is terraced (Figure 46) the final result is the same as that produced by the model in Situation 2, uniform bottom elevations and progressively shallower postholes.

Situation 4 presents postholes dug at the same depth from the surface on a gentle slope, resulting in progressively lower bottom elevations as one progresses downhill. This is different from Situation 1, in that there is variation of the bottom elevation within each level rather than uniformity as in Situation 1; although the average elevation within each terrace gives overall results similar to Situation



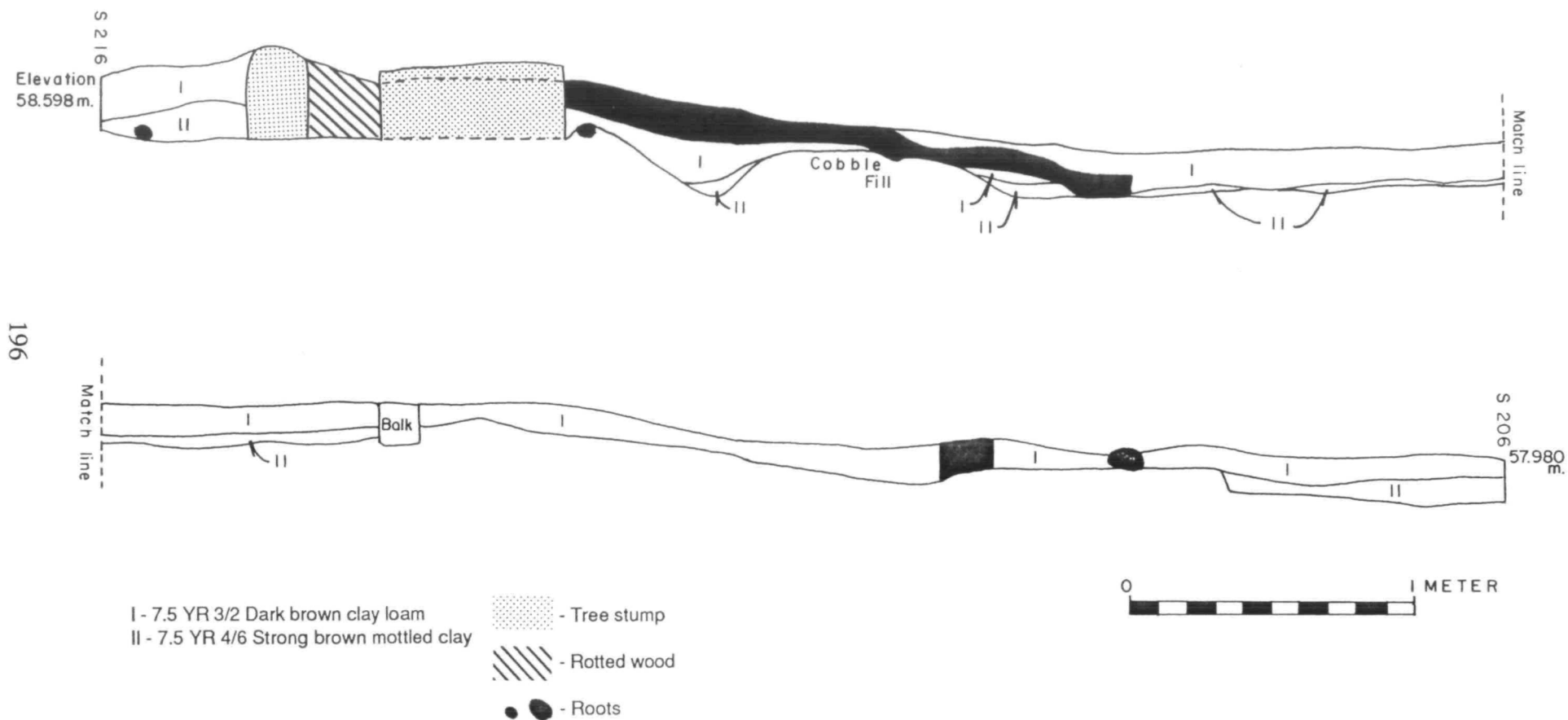


FIGURE 45. Area I - West Profile at E 234 Line.

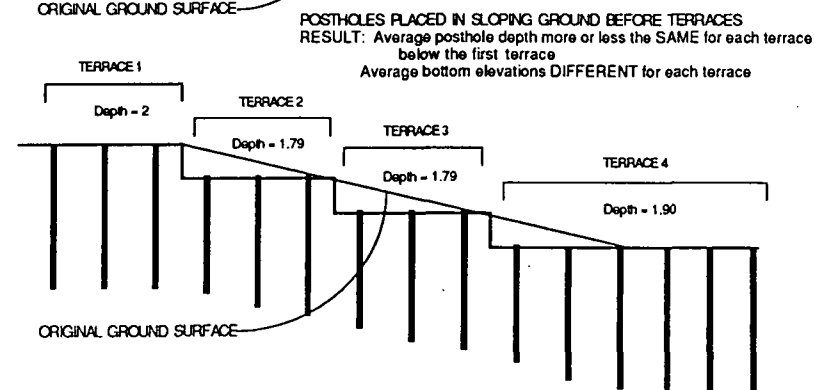
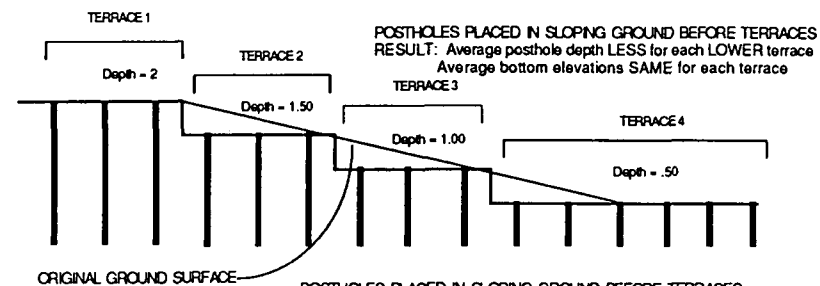
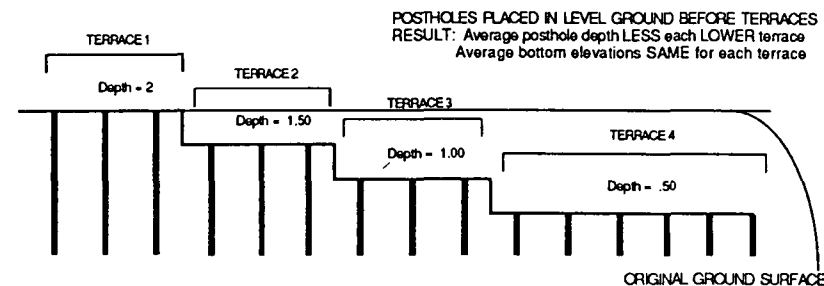
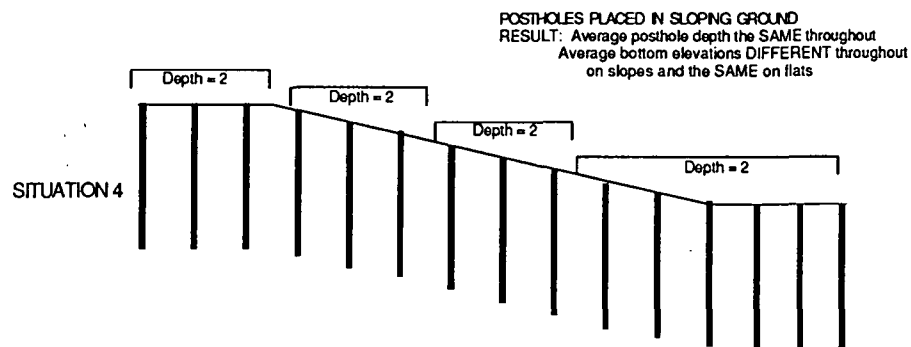
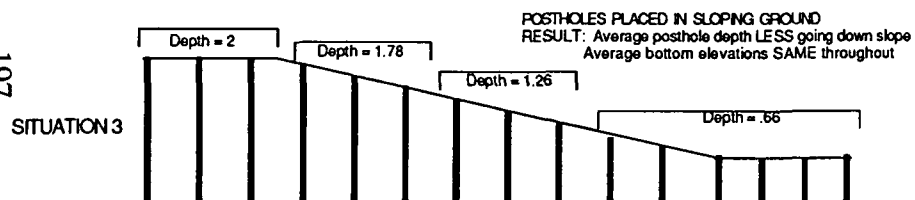
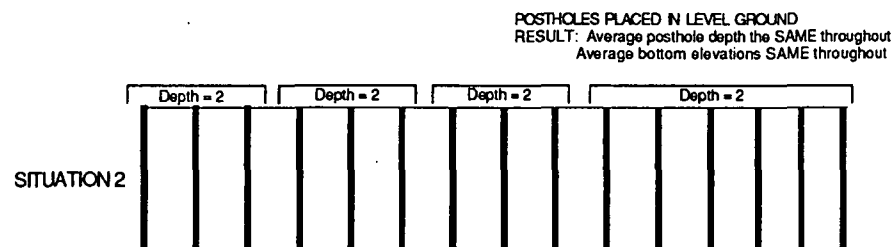
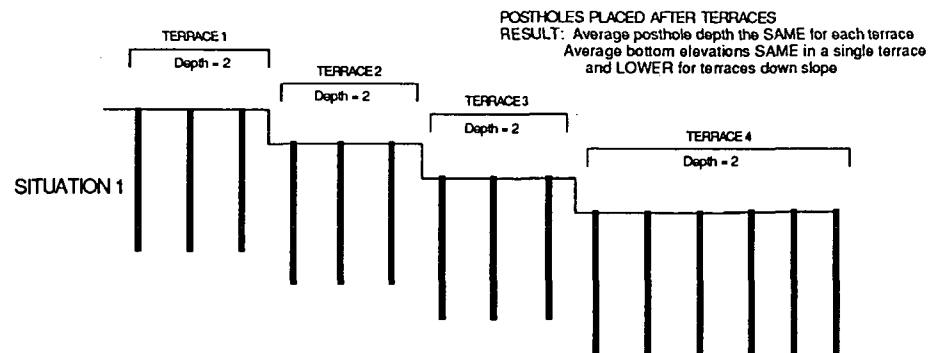


FIGURE 46. Hypothetical Terrace Sequencing.

1. After terracing in Situation 4 the result is progressively lower bottom elevations (like Situation 1, and unlike the other two situations) and shallower postholes (unlike Situation 1, but like the other two situations).

All of the terraces in all of the models have the same vertical and horizontal dimensions. However, something interesting happens to Terrace 4 in Situation 4, which does not happen in the other situations. The average posthole depth of Terrace 4 in Situation 4 actually increases slightly over the depths in Terraces 2 and 3. The depths of the postholes is the same for Terraces 2 and 3, and of course since Terrace 1 was not excavated it has postholes at or close to their original depth. This equality of depth in Terraces 2 and 3 and a slight increase of depth in Terrace 4 is unlike any of the other models, and is important to our interpretation of the terraces in Area I.

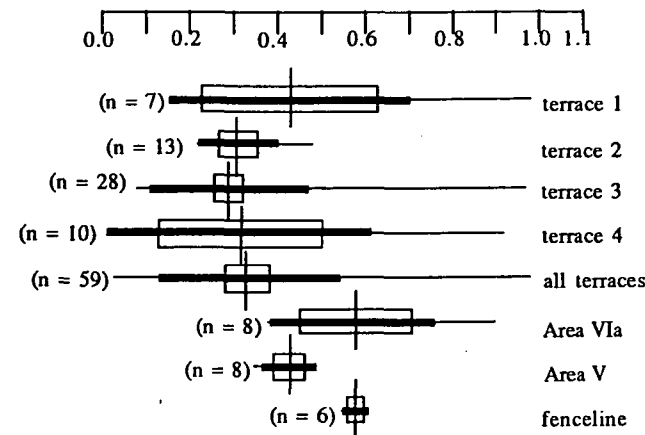
In the following paragraphs the terraces in Area I will be examined and compared to the models. The conclusions reached as a result will be used to examine the function of the main house side yard. First it should be noted that the land at the site which has not been affected by landscaping (Area II, the buried horizon A in Area IV, Area VIa, and the area south of the project area) is not flat. Only the area east of the main house extending to the cemetery is flat, and in subsequent work at the cemetery it has been shown that even the cemetery was landscaped and flattened (Garrow 1985). Because the general terrain around the crest of the site is sloping, it is concluded that Area I originally sloped from the relatively flat area around the main house down to the steeply sloping terrain in Area II. For these reasons Situation 2, which hypothesized an originally flat terrain before terracing, can be ruled out as a possible model for the terraces in Area I.

In order to test the remaining models the depths and bottom elevations of the various postholes were grouped by terrace (holes determined to be planting holes or fence postholes, were not included in the study). Table 48 is a summary of the top and bottom elevations and depths of the structural postholes. The bottom of Figure 47 presents the bottom elevation data in graphic form and includes statistical ranges to see how much overlap between the terraces can be explained by normal variation. A similar graph of the depths is presented in at the top of Figure 47. Two standard errors around the mean are used in the ranges as recommended by Hubbs and Hubbs (1953) to determine the significance of overlap.

Table 48. Elevations and Depths of Structural Postholes (in meters).

Terrace	Measurement	Mean	Observed Values		Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Cases
			min.-max.	range			
1	Top	58.294	58.126-58.562	.436	.163	.062	7
1	Bottom	57.865	57.152-58.292	1.140	.369	.139	7
1	Depth	.429	.210-.974	.764	.268	.101	7
2	Top	57.950	57.854-58.062	.208	.067	.019	13
2	Bottom	57.648	57.514-57.842	.328	.095	.026	13
2	Depth	.303	.205-.470	.265	.082	.023	13
3	Top	57.632	57.381-57.832	.451	.118	.022	28
3	Bottom	57.339	56.769-57.702	.933	.193	.036	28
3	Depth	.292	.080-.975	.895	.171	.032	28

# DEPTHS OF STRUCTURAL POSTHOLES



# BOTTOM ELEVATIONS OF STRUCTURAL POSTHOLES

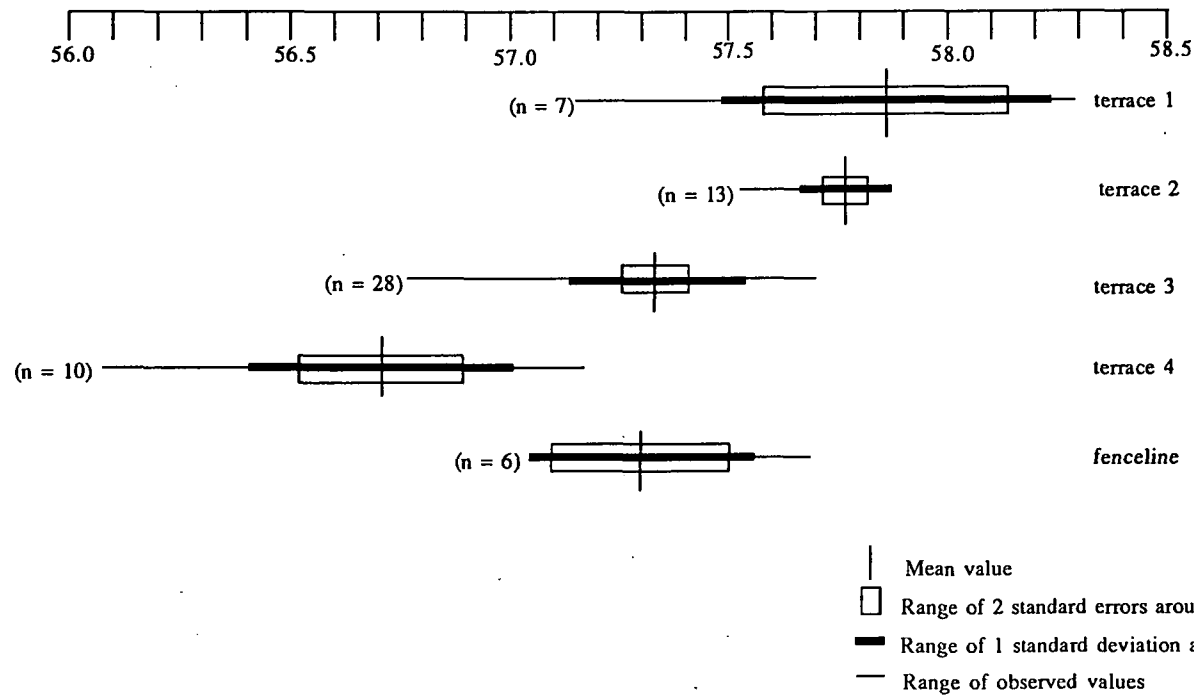


FIGURE 47. Structural Posthole Depths and Elevations.

Table 48. Continued.

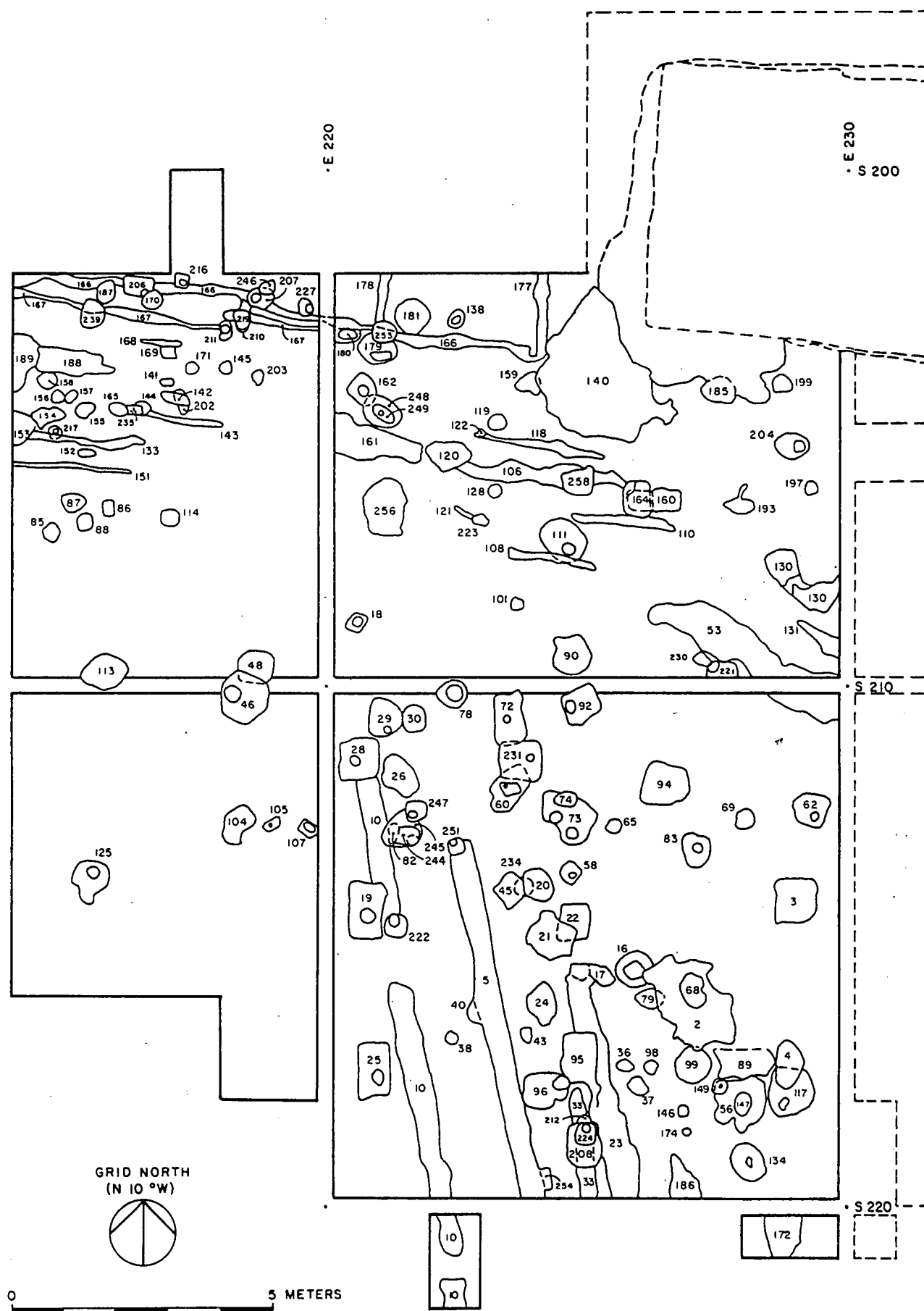
4	Top	57.118	56.818-57.290	.472	.147	.046	10
4	Bottom	56.713	56.083-57.177	1.094	.294	.093	10
4	Depth	.405	.040-.925	.885	.284	.090	10
All	Top	57.695	56.818-58.562	1.744	.365	.048	58
All	Bottom	57.364	56.083-58.292	2.209	.414	.054	58
All	Depth	.331	.040-.975	.935	.196	.026	58
Area V	Top	59.033	58.976-59.086	.110	.035	.012	8
Area V	Bottom	58.602	58.520-58.674	.154	.051	.018	8
Area V	Depth	.431	.350-.490	.140	.055	.019	8
Area VIa	Top	57.877	57.638-58.277	.639	.255	.104	6
Area VIa	Bottom	57.305	57.068-57.689	.621	.250	.102	6
Area VIa	Depth	.575	.540-.602	.062	.021	.009	6

As can be seen in the figure, the bottoms of the Terrace 4 postholes are significantly lower than the other terraces, with Terraces 3 and 2 being mutually exclusive and progressively higher as well. However, the range of bottom elevations in Terrace 1 overlaps Terrace 2. Except for the overlap of Terraces 1 and 2, this is what we would expect from Situation 1 and 4 as noted above, but it is the opposite of what one should expect from Situation 3. For this reason Situation 3, postholes placed to the same bottom elevation down the slope before terracing, is rejected as an explanation of the terracing in Area I. This leaves Situations 1 and 4 as possible explanations for the terracing sequence.

Examination of Figure 47 indicates that Terrace 1 has the deepest postholes, while Terraces 2, 3, and 4 have much shallower postholes. Also Terrace 4 has a slight increase in depth over Terraces 2 and 3. These facts fit the before and after models in Situation 4 so much better than Situation 1 that it seems clear that the majority of the postholes were excavated before the terracing. It is possible, of course, that some of the postholes were excavated after the terracing, but the variation in posthole depth within a single terrace (and as will be seen below, within a single structure) is so great that it is impossible to determine pre- and post-terracing postholes solely on the basis of depth.

Further support for the conclusion that the top terrace was not significantly modified by terrace construction is seen in a comparison of Terrace 1 and the structural postholes in Area V (Figure 47). The average depth of the postholes in Area V was 43.1 cm, and in Terrace 1 it was 42.9 cm, or virtually the same. Since Area V showed no evidence of erosion or terracing it may be assumed that the postholes in the area were at or near their original depth, and therefore, those in Terrace were also at or near their original depth. The postholes from the structure in Area VIa are considerably deeper than those in Area V or Terrace 1. However, their sizes make them unlike any posthole in Area I, except Feature 117 in Terrace 1 (see Figures 48 and 49) which was 53.7 cm deep or very close to the average in Area VIa of 58.2 cm.

Results of the cross-mend analysis of Area I ceramics indicates a wide scattering of materials. Figures 50 and 51 illustrate the ceramic cross-mends between screened units and between features in Area I. Both figures indicate that fairly massive movement of artifacts across the area has occurred. Since there is no evidence of plowing this probably is the result of landscaping. Especially interesting in these figures is the concentration of cross-mends in the southern units in an area of posthole concentration, and the number of feature crossmends between the general area and the



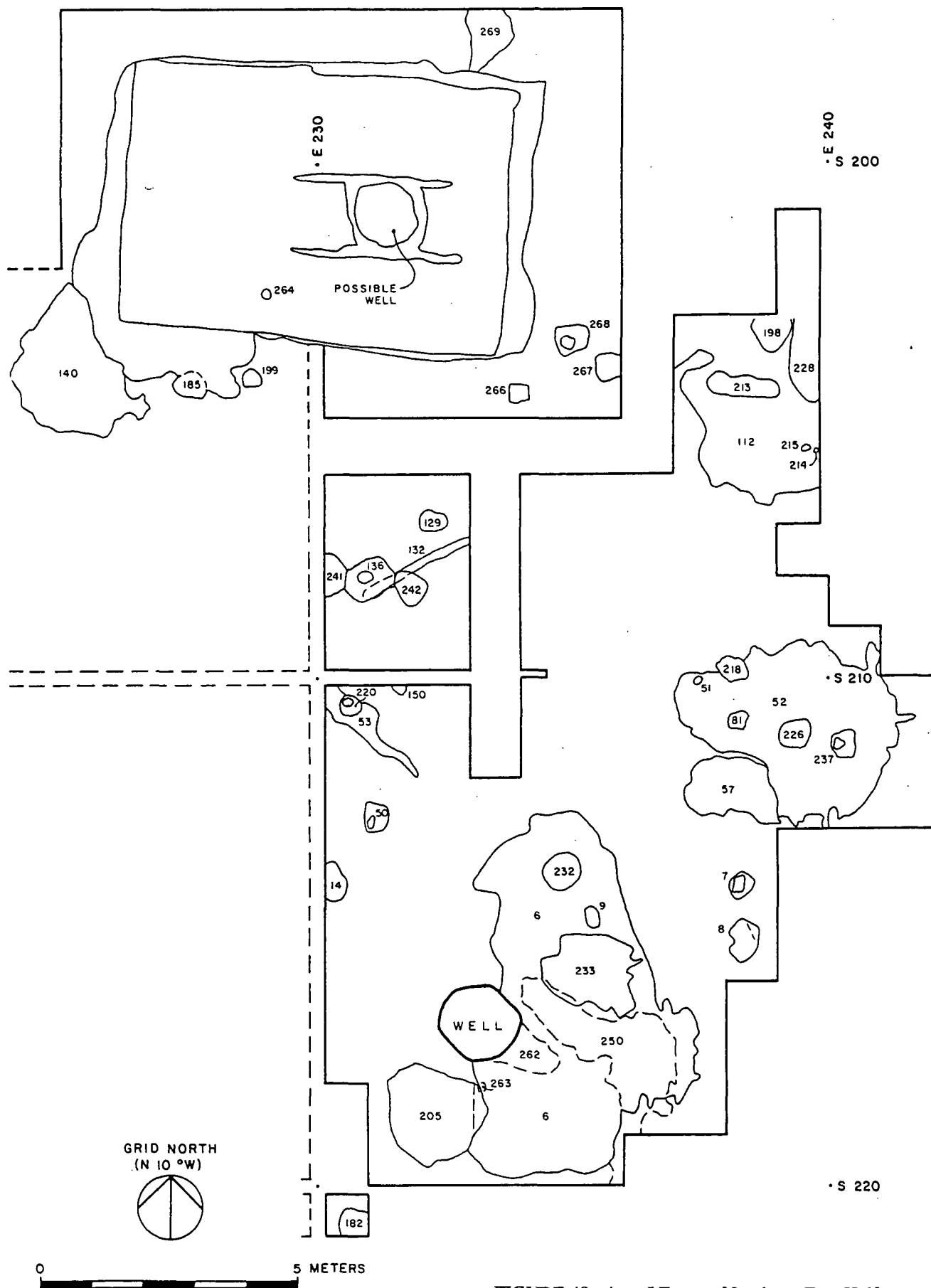


FIGURE 49. Area I Feature Numbers, East Half.

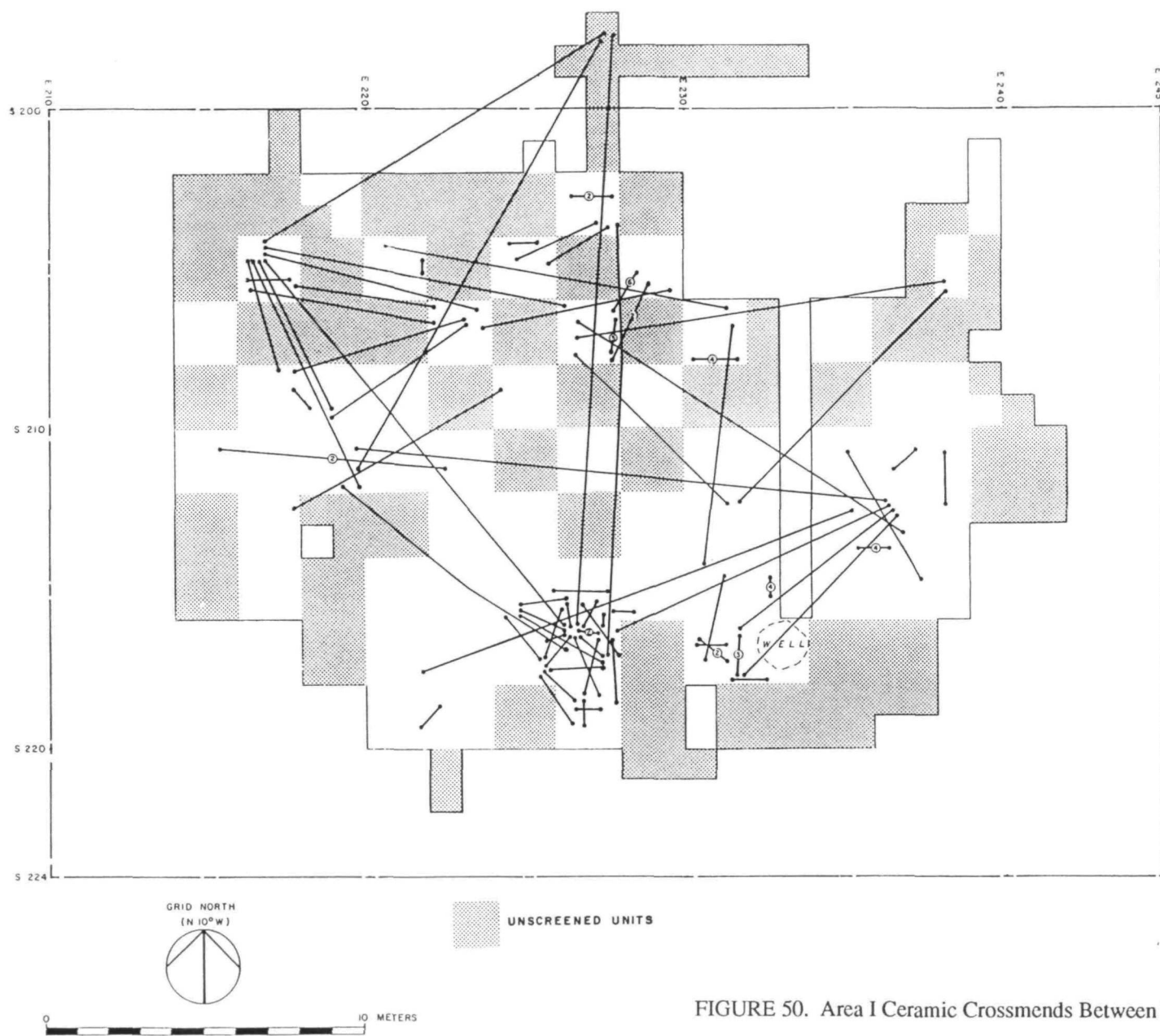


FIGURE 50. Area I Ceramic Crossmends Between Excavation Units.



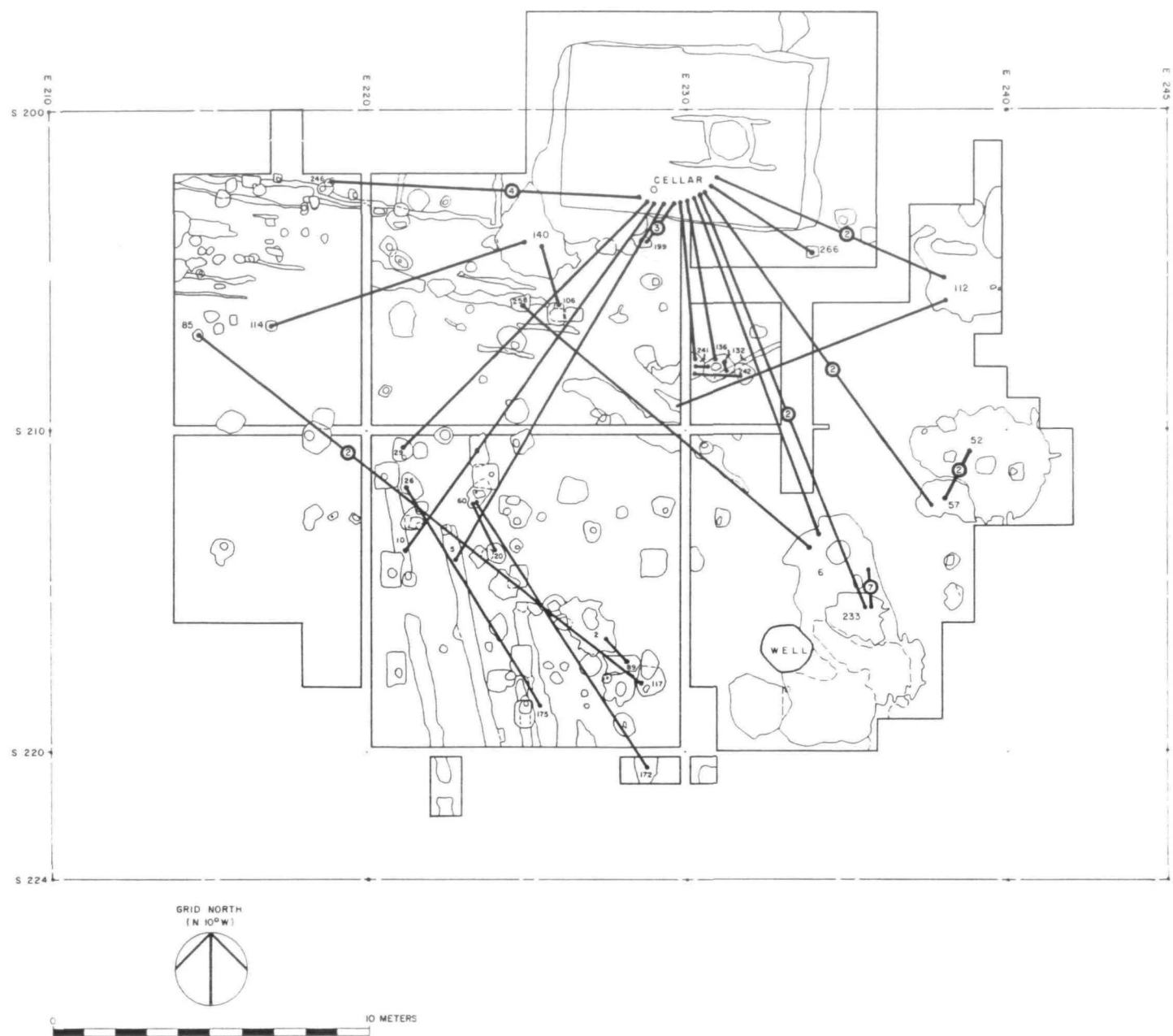


FIGURE 51. Area I Ceramic Crossmends Between Features.

cellar. The southern concentration may indicate a dumping area or structure in the vicinity, (see below); and the cellar cross-mends may indicate that the base of the cellar was filled with material from the side yard, possibly during landscaping. The cellar artifacts are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

If it can be concluded that terracing in the side yard took place after the majority of structural postholes were dug, (although some of the small shallow planting features may postdate terracing) the question arises as to when this terracing happened. Is the terracing part of the original layout of the plantation as envisaged by the original owner, or was it an attempt to improve the property before resale, or was it the result of a new owner putting his personal stamp on the property? These and many other reasons for the building of the terraces can be hypothesized, but they cannot be so easily tested. It is, however, of importance to the goals of this project to determine if the plantation, as originally laid out, or within a short period after building the main house, followed a formal Georgian pattern, in which the owner imposed his will and a rational order on the physical environment.

Figure 52 shows the concentrations of two artifact groups, the Kitchen and Architecture artifacts, by unit in Area 1. These and similar diagrams in the other areas are not to exact scale and do not show individual features. Their purpose is to show the general distribution and concentration of artifacts across the area. These two artifact groups were chosen to examine the terracing since they are the most numerous, nearly every unit had at least one artifact from each group, and because it was desired to show how artifacts with different functions were distributed in relation to the area and to the terraces. As can be seen, the artifact groups have the same distribution pattern. The heaviest concentration of artifacts is in the northwestern corner of the area with a strong secondary concentration in the southeastern corner of the area around the well. The concentration in the northeast corner is the result of an excavation strategy error. This area was a large trash/erosion feature and was excavated as units rather than as a feature, and could not be satisfactorily separated out in the lab.

We feel it is significant that the concentration around the well closely coincides with the edge of Terrace 1. It may also be significant that the heaviest concentration of artifacts is located in an area which contained many planting features and which is hypothesized to have been a garden area.

Figure 53 plots the *termini post quem* (TPQs) and mean ceramic dates (MCDs) by unit and level in Area I. The diagrams show the major areas of feature concentration and the major features (the cellar, well, etc.) as points of reference, and to tie this discussion in with the detailed discussion of the features which follows. Since the artifacts upon which the TPQs and MCDs in Figure 53 are based are often very few in number, only general trends can be examined with any reliability. It should be noted that when levels 1 and 2 are compared the presumably earlier level 2 often has a TPQ or MCD later than the presumably later level 1, indicating a great deal of mixing in the stratigraphy. Therefore, in order to show trends, the figure shows the TPQs and MCDs grouped by the two major periods of occupation, pre-1810 (Addison Period) and post-1810 (Berry Period).

In Figure 53 the later or post-1810 TPQs of level 2 tend to be spread across the area (when there is any TPQ at all). The later MCDs in level 2 tend to be located in the southeastern half of the area centered around the well. Again, there are many units which did not have MCDs. The reason for this lack of dateable artifacts is the thinness of level 2, which was the interface between the topsoil (level 1) and the steril subsoil. This pattern of the later TPQs being found throughout the area, while the later MCDs were found in the southeastern part of the area around the well is more clearly evident in level 1. Perhaps because there are more units with dateable artifacts in level 1, the pattern of later TPQs being spread throughout the area is very evident in that level. Figure 53 clearly shows a concentration of later material in the southern and especially the southeastern part of the area around

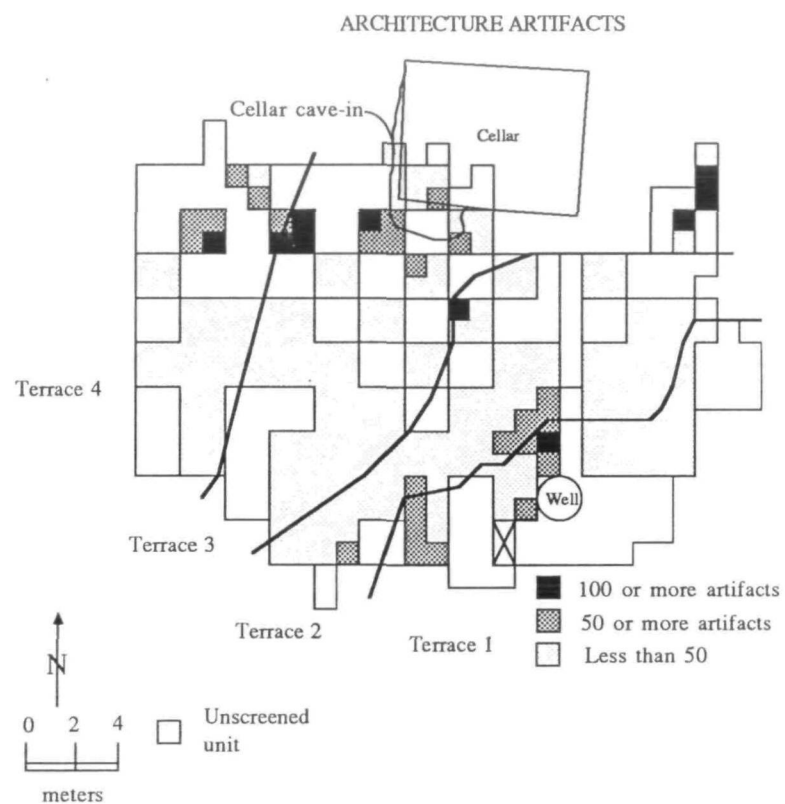
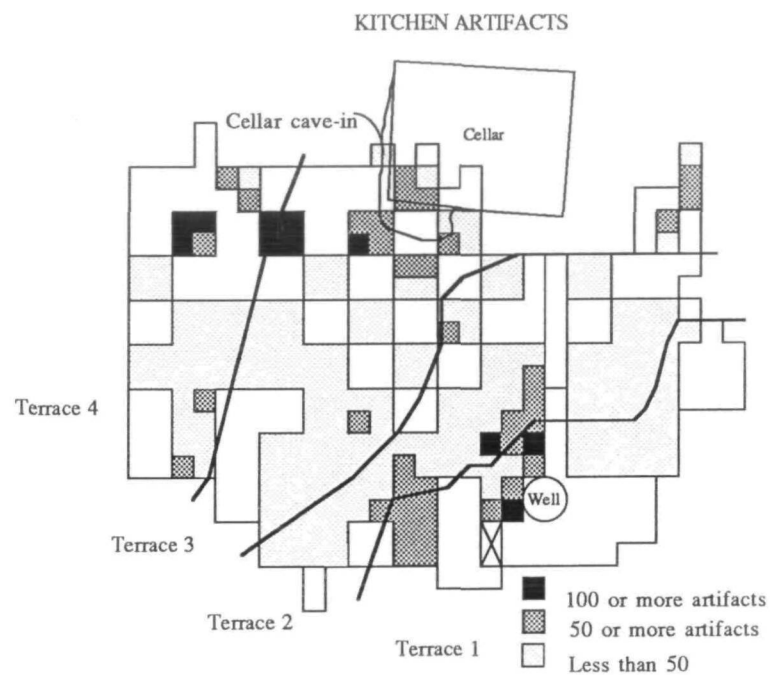


FIGURE 52. Kitchen and Architecture Group Artifacts on Terraces in Area I Units.

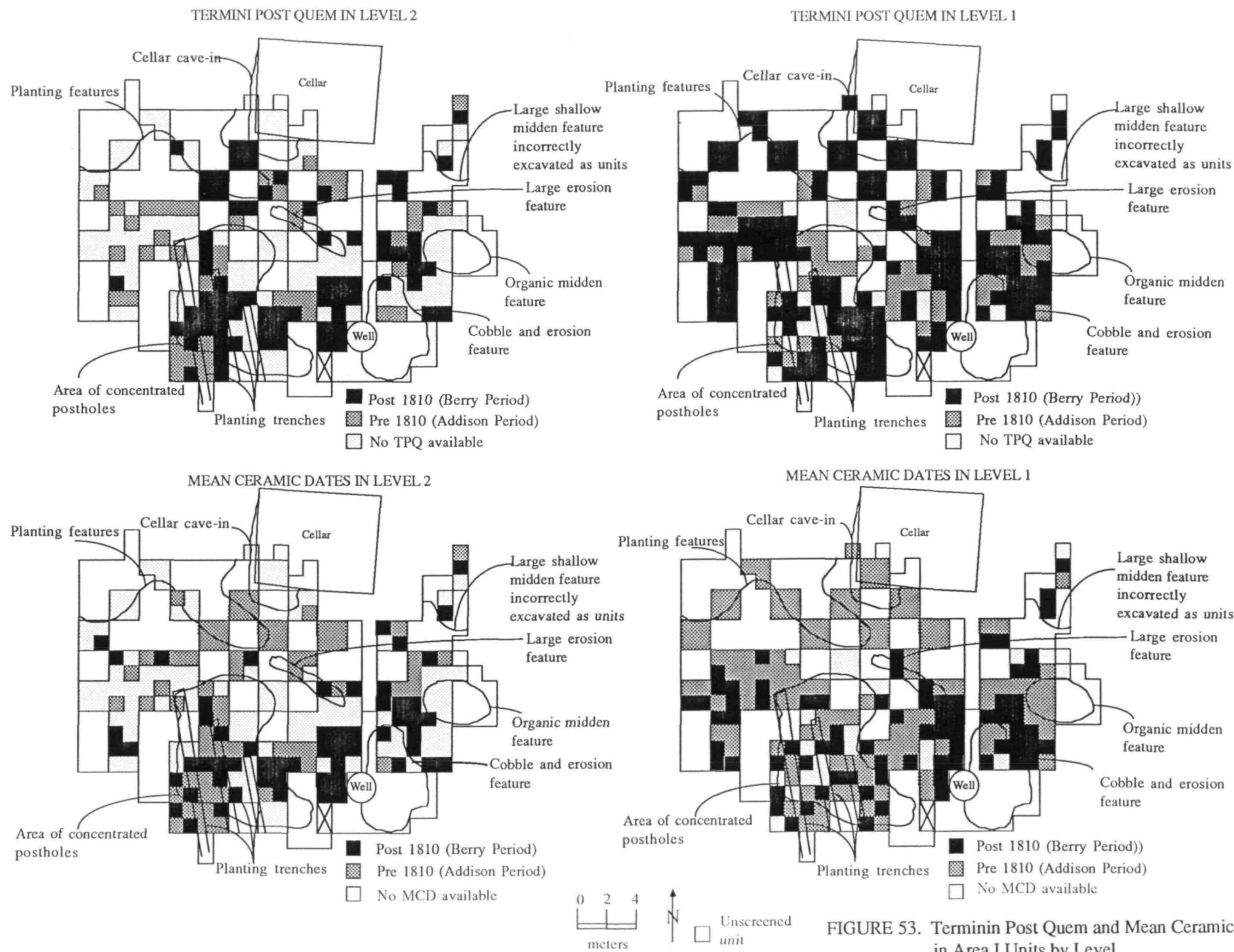


FIGURE 53. Termini Post Quem and Mean Ceramic Dates in Area I Units by Level.

the well in level 1. These patterns indicate that later artifacts are found throughout the area (since the TPQs are predominantly late and spread across the area), but that earlier artifacts are missing in any quantity in the southeastern part of the area (since MCDs, which average the dates of all ceramics, are later around the well and earlier in the northwestern quadrant).

What do the artifact concentrations and dating patterns tell us about the terracing and function of the side yard? First, the evidence suggests that the area around the well was used for dumping trash primarily during the Berry Period. It might be expected that terracing would have removed the earlier material on the terraces, given that the artifacts were originally evenly distributed across the site, thus leaving only the later material, which was deposited after the terracing. If this was the case, then one should expect Terrace 1 to have the earliest material since it was the least affected by the terracing, but this is not the case. Terrace 1 has the highest concentration of later material, and Terraces 4 and 3 have the highest concentration of early material. The reason for this has less to do with terracing than with the occurrence of features in the area and perhaps provides a clue to when the terracing was accomplished and how the Addisons and Berrys viewed their position in the world.

Figure 54 shows all of the features in Area I grouped by TPQs before 1810 and after 1810. The earlier features are located mainly in the northwest portion of the area while the later features are located in the southeastern portion of the area around the well. These correspond very closely to the MCD patterns for the units in Figures 53. The simplest explanation of this distribution in the features and units is that the northwestern portion of the area was used for trash disposal during the earlier Addison period and that features and any structures were generally kept well away from the main house to the south. The northwestern part of the area was also used primarily for a garden as the high concentration of planting ditches and holes in that part of the area attests (see the gardening discussion below and Figure 54). It seems apparent that that part of the area received trash and garbage precisely because it was a garden. During the Addison period the remainder of the area was probably not used as intensively as it was later and may have been lawn. However, any shallow early features may also have been destroyed by subsequent terracing.

The concentration of the later or post-1810 feature and unit material in the southeastern part of the area around the well tends to indicate that that area was used heavily during the Berry period. The fact that many late features were cut by the terracing, especially the late features cut by Terraces 2 and 3, indicates that terracing probably occurred relatively late in the Berry period. However, evidence of terrace repair (Figure 55), and especially Feature 53 with a TPQ of 1889, indicates that the terracing was perhaps in place just long enough to make repairing the terraces a worthwhile endeavor, i.e. before the site was abandoned in 1895. The distribution of late artifacts also indicates that during the Berry period usable areas were probably brought closer to the main house and the idea of a house with extensive lawns and gardens may have been abandoned. While at first glance this seems to indicate that there was an abandonment of the Georgian mind set and the upper class nature of the Addison period Oxon Hill by the Berry period occupants, it must be kept in mind that the terracing was accomplished late in the Berry period, and that in fact such landscaping is an important expression of man controlling nature, a Victorian as well as a Georgian characteristic.

The following series of schematic diagrams illustrates the distribution of material in the units across Area I (Figures 56 to 58). Included on the diagrams are the locations of major features and groups of features. The individual features are discussed in more detail below. The Kitchen and Architecture distributions are shown again (the same as Figure 52), but include the features rather than the terraces in order to provide comparative information with the other artifact distribution diagrams. Figures 56 and 57 indicate that Kitchen, Architecture and Furniture group artifacts are associated with both the earlier and the later artifact concentrations. The Clothing group artifacts may also follow this pattern (Figure 57). The remaining artifact groups do not follow the pattern, however (Figures 57 and

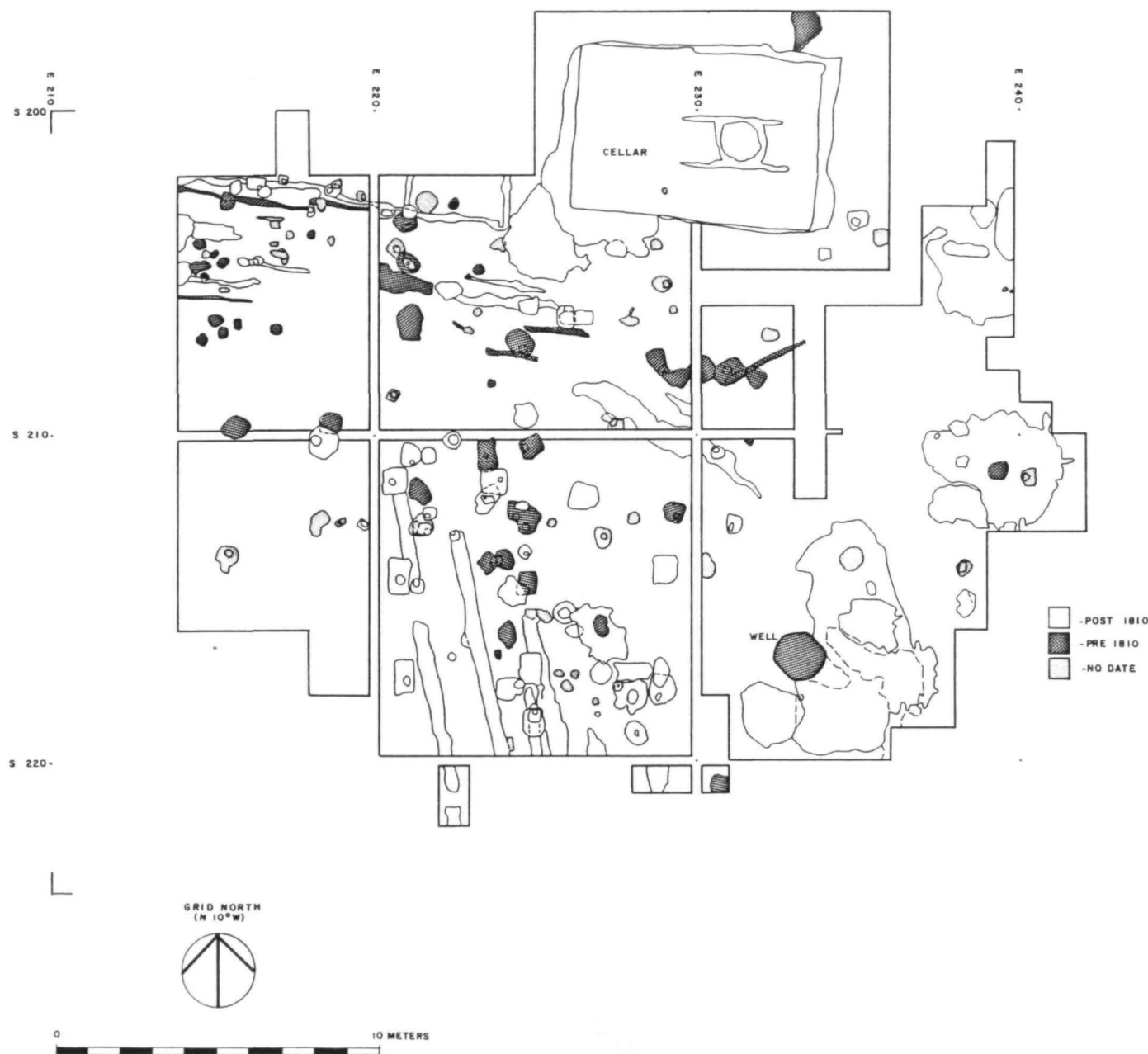


FIGURE 54. Area I Features by Occupation Period.

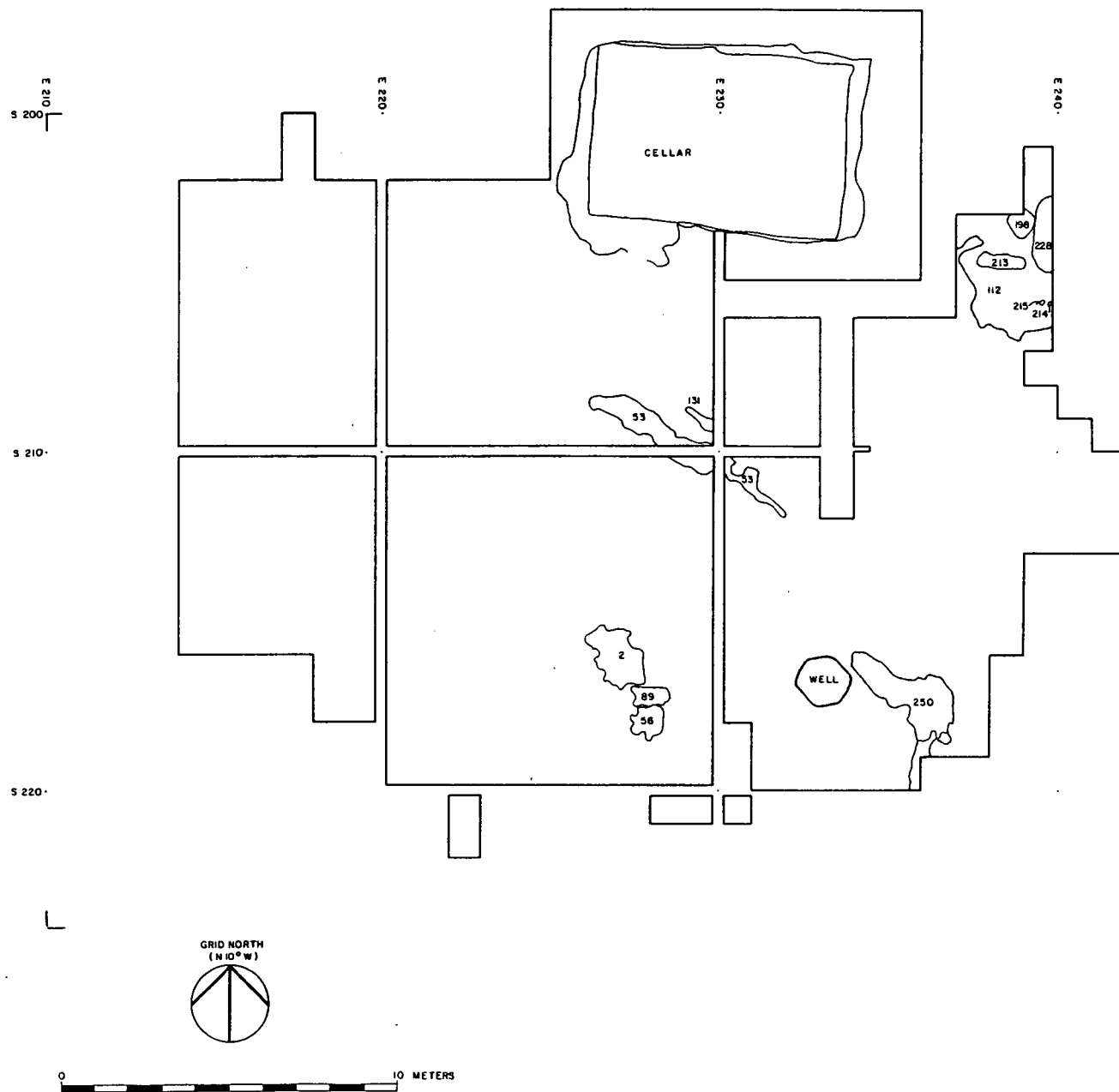


FIGURE 55. Area I Erosional Features.

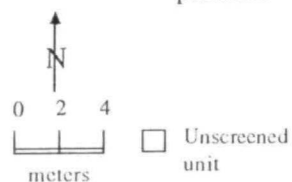
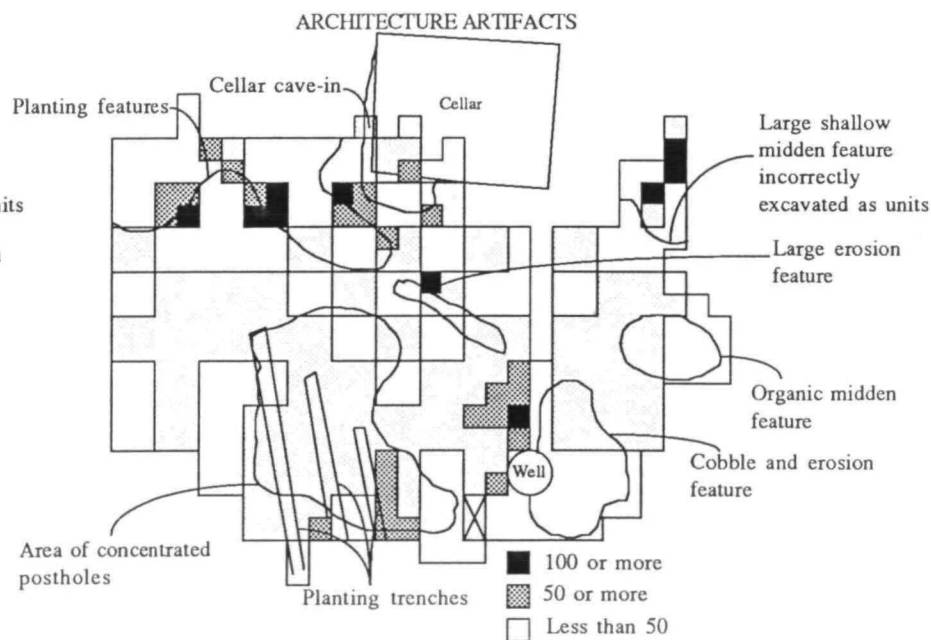
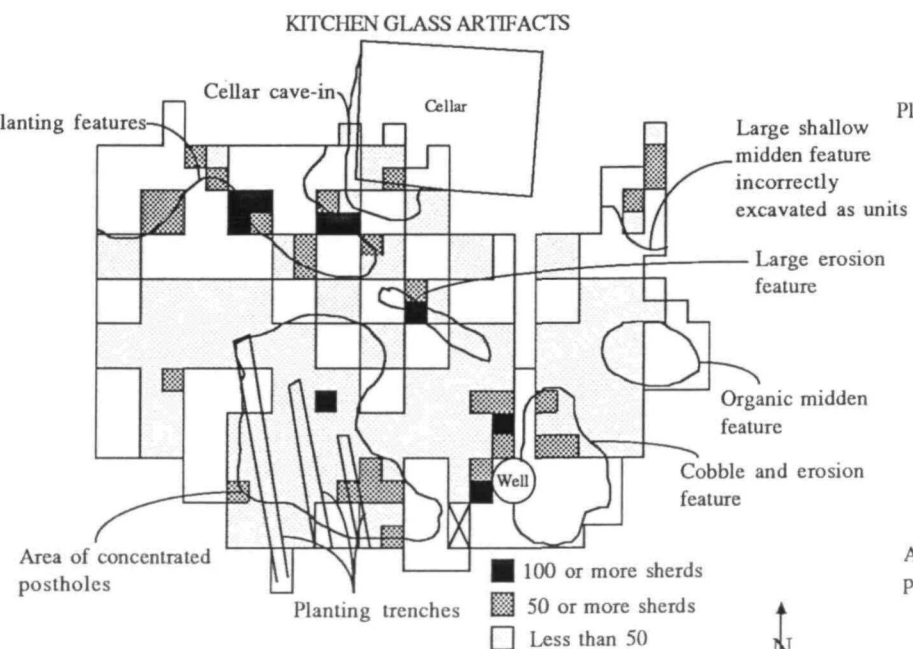
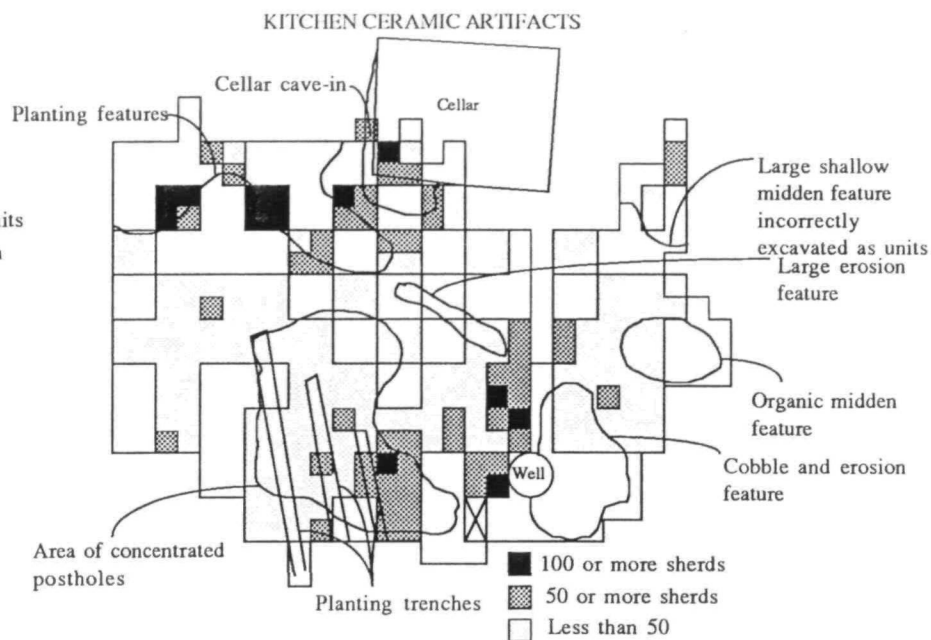
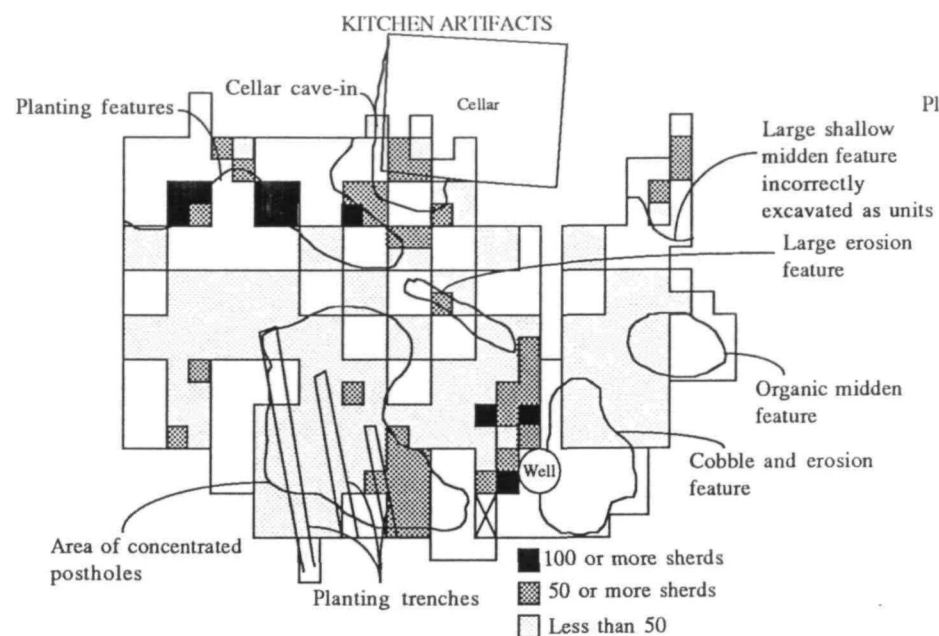


FIGURE 56. Kitchen and Architecture Group Artifacts in Area I by Units.



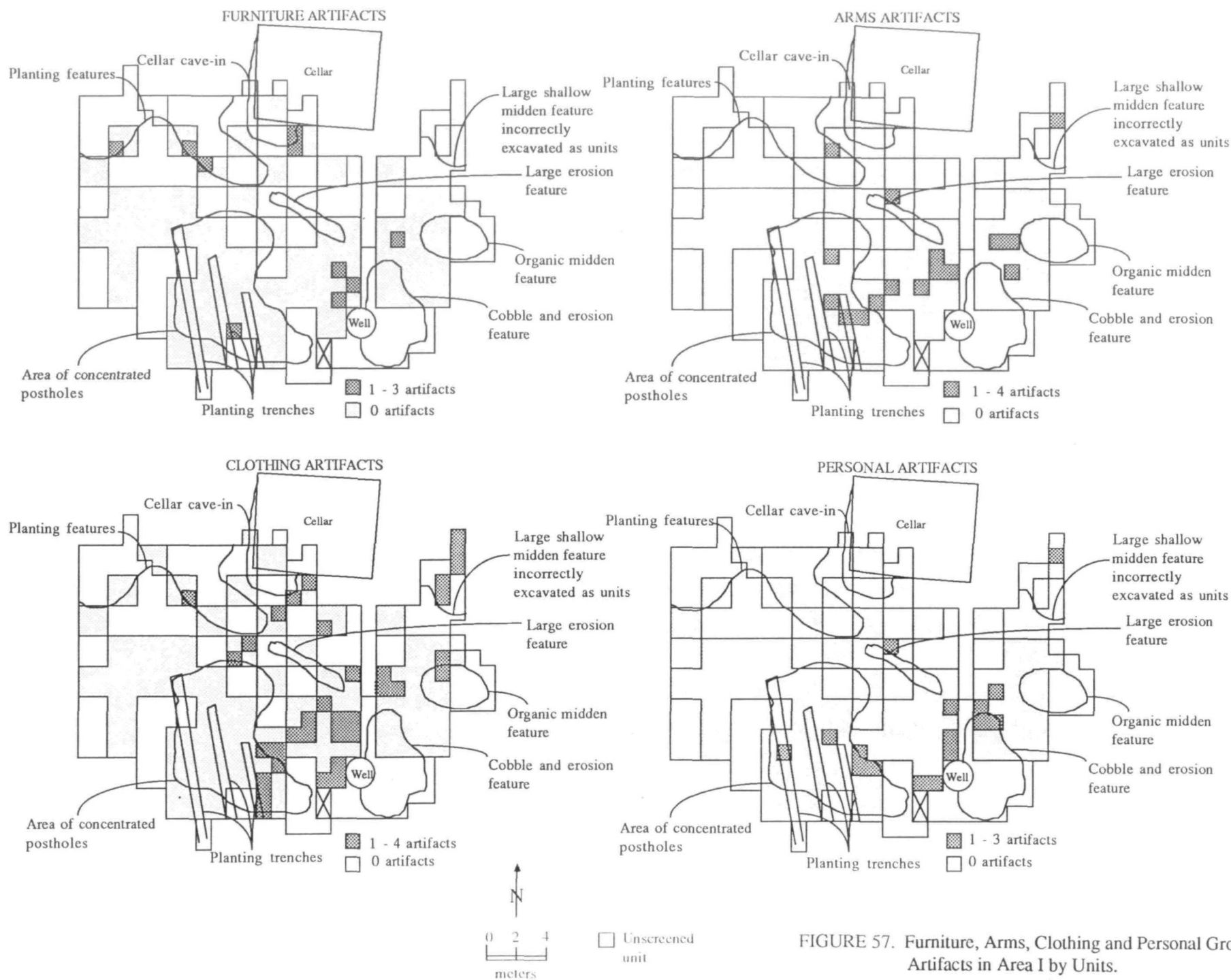
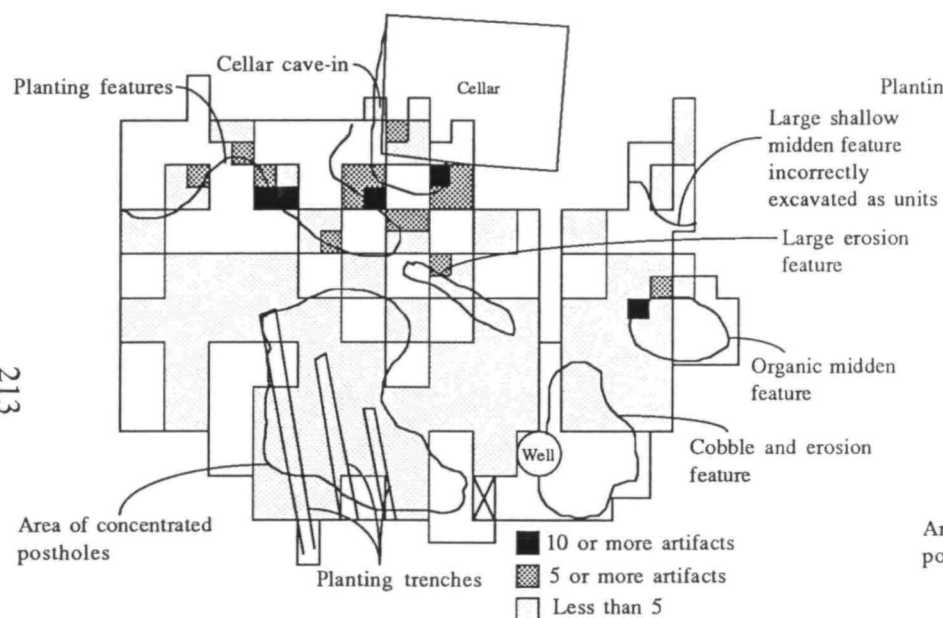


FIGURE 57. Furniture, Arms, Clothing and Personal Group Artifacts in Area I by Units.

## TOBACCO ARTIFACTS



## ACTIVITIES ARTIFACTS

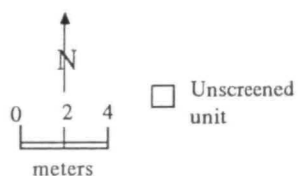
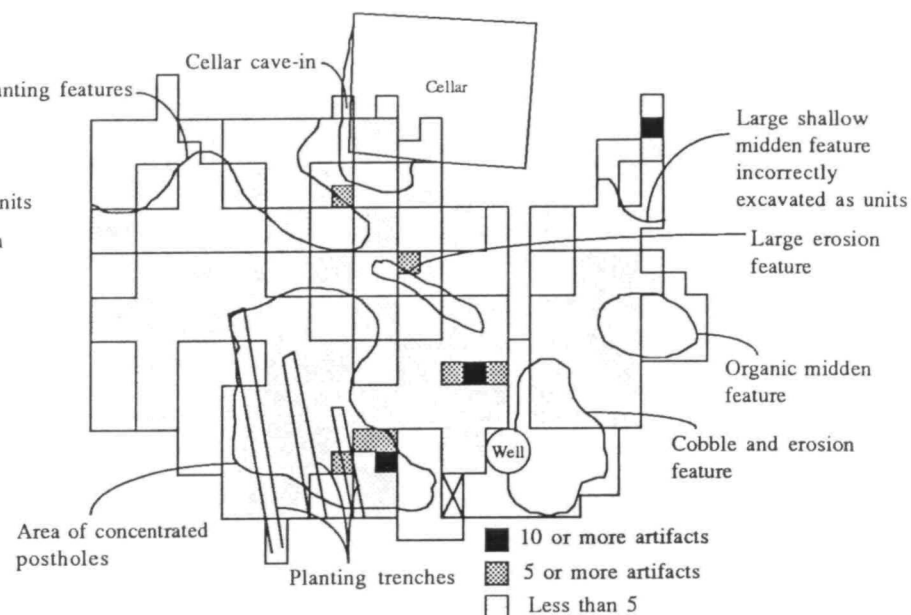


FIGURE 58. Tobacco and Activity Group Artifacts in Area I by Units.

58). The Arms, Personal and Activites groups artifacts concentrate in the later area around the well and may reflect the increased use of this part of the area during the Berry period. The Tobacco group artifacts concentrate in the earlier area near the garden features and may simply reflect the fact that ball clay pipes were produced and used primarily during the eighteenth century, and that these tobacco pipe artifacts may have originated from the same place as the other early trash thrown into the garden.

In summary, the side yard was terraced late in its history as shown by the depths and bottom elevations of structural postholes, and by the distribution of early and late features across the area. Artifacts are distributed across the area reflecting subsurface features as well as subsequent terracing. During the Addison period (pre-1810) the northwestern protion of the area was perhaps used most extensively, with the remainder of the yard in lawn or having shallow ephemeral features subsequently destroyed by terracing. During the Berry period (post-1810) there was general use of the entire area for trash disposal and for substantial construction, as well as for terracing.

### The Features

The features of all areas are listed in Appendix 7 and feature elevations, depths, sizes, mean ceramic dates, *termini post quem*, bracket dates, and a brief functional description are given for each feature. In the following discussions of the features in each area only those features which have materially aided in the analysis of particular questions about the site are individually described. Complete lists of all artifacts, sorted by provenience and also by accession number, have been provided to the Maryland Geological Survey. These lists were much too long to be included in this report. The artifacts themselves are also curated with the Maryland Geological Survey along with detailed lists indicating what is contained in each of the over 300 lot boxes.

### The Well

An unlined well was located in the southeast corner of Area I, and just north of the side of the main house (Figure 41). Nearly buried by brick rubble from the manor house to the south, the well had been previously tested by Hurry (1984:60) and was recommended by him for complete excavation. It was probably in use during the early years of the Addison occupation. The well is located to the north of the manor house very close to where a nineteenth-century wing of the house once stood. The artifacts which filled the well indicated that it became useless as a water source during the early eighteenth century and was used thereafter for trash disposal. The mean ceramic date for the entire well was 1753.75.

The well was approximately 1.10 m in diameter and at least 13 m deep. The bottom of the well was not reached because of safety problems that developed late in the excavation. Excavation of the well was planned very carefully because of the potential safety problems involved. Consultations were carried out with construction engineers and with professional well diggers to help design the excavation program. First, a wooden working platform was constructed around the well shaft, and a metal support scaffolding was placed on this platform. This scaffolding supported an "I" beam from which pulleys were suspended. A cable was run through one pulley to a hand operated winch which was anchored to the platform. This cable was used to lower archaeologists and reinforced concrete well rings (pipe sections) into the well. The base of the "I" beam also acted as a vertical datum during excavation. This datum was 2.052 m above the main datum at S-216/E-232.63 on the ground surface. Concrete well rings were used to ensure the safety of the excavators from the hazards of collapsing side walls (Figure 6).

The well was excavated in 76 levels (Figure 59). The first 15 levels were removed in quadrants and occasionally in even smaller groupings depending on soil inclusions. This was not continued when it became apparent that the soil inclusions were primarily the random rubble from the main house fire. At level 16 each half of each ten cm level was dug separately and received a number. Below this, beginning with level 24, levels were removed in 20 cm increments with the exception of level 57 which was approximately 2 m deep as noted below. From level 61 to 76 the material was kept separate by level and by whether the deposit was inside or outside of a preserved wooden well liner. Practically no artifacts were found outside the liner.

The top 35 levels (Figure 59) have been designated as Section A and were characterized by a high concentration of brick, mortar, roofing slate, and blackened soil indicating rubble from the burning of the main house; upper levels showed higher frequency of this burning. Towards the bottom of Section A there was more soil mixed in, and the brick and mortar occurred in pockets. The artifacts appeared to be mostly nineteenth-century, but there were fewer artifacts in Section A than in succeeding levels.

At level 36 preserved wood fragments were encountered, along with increased quantities of artifacts and bone, and a continuation of some brick fragments. This general pattern ended at about level 49, and levels 36 through 49 have been designated Section B. These patterns noted in the field correlate very closely with various artifact concentrations discussed in the following chapter.

At about level 50 the soil in the well tended to become more organic, and wood fragments decreased in frequency as the amount of artifacts and bone increased dramatically. This pattern continued until level 58, when artifacts and bone decreased in number and the soil matrix was not really soil at all, but a mixture of pine straw, horse manure, straw, and grass clippings (still a pale green when rinsed at the water screens). Levels 50 through 57 were designated well Section C and levels 58 through 76 were designated well Section D.

Level 57 presented special problems. This level coincided with the water table. Fortunately, water entered the well at a relatively slow rate and could be kept under control by bailing with a bucket every 30 to 60 minutes. As a result of the water table, material began to slump down outside the concrete rings, mixing with the material actually coming from the bottom of the excavation. Good stratigraphic control could not be maintained again for approximately 2 m. Material from this level may have come from as far up the well shaft as level 51 or 52.

Vertical planks were encountered near the base of level 57 (Figure 59). These formed a cylindrical structure extending 3.1 m down the well shaft. This structure appeared to be a large sump to keep the water from becoming silty when it was agitated by a lowered bucket. At lower levels the cylindrical structure was filled with sand and gravel which would have acted as a filter to keep the water in the well clean. These planks were 14.61 cm wide and 1.27 m high, and were shaped in cross section very much like clapboards. The trimmed edge measured 1.27 cm, and the thicker edge measured 2.54 cm. They were also stacked on top of each other to form a cylinder over 3.1 m high. When these planks were discovered it also became apparent that the well rings had not come down exactly centered over the well shaft. The wood planks extended under the northern half of the well rings. They had to be removed so the well rings could continue to slide down. This was difficult as the preservation of the wood beneath the ground water level was excellent. Once the interior planking was found, material inside and outside of the planks was kept separated. The planks were removed, measured, photographed, and taken to the laboratory.

At 12.90 m in depth (level 76) the concrete well rings became stuck on a portion of the vertical planking and began to slide unevenly. This left a gap in the rings on the northern sides and created an

S216 E232.63  
Elevation - 57.961 m.

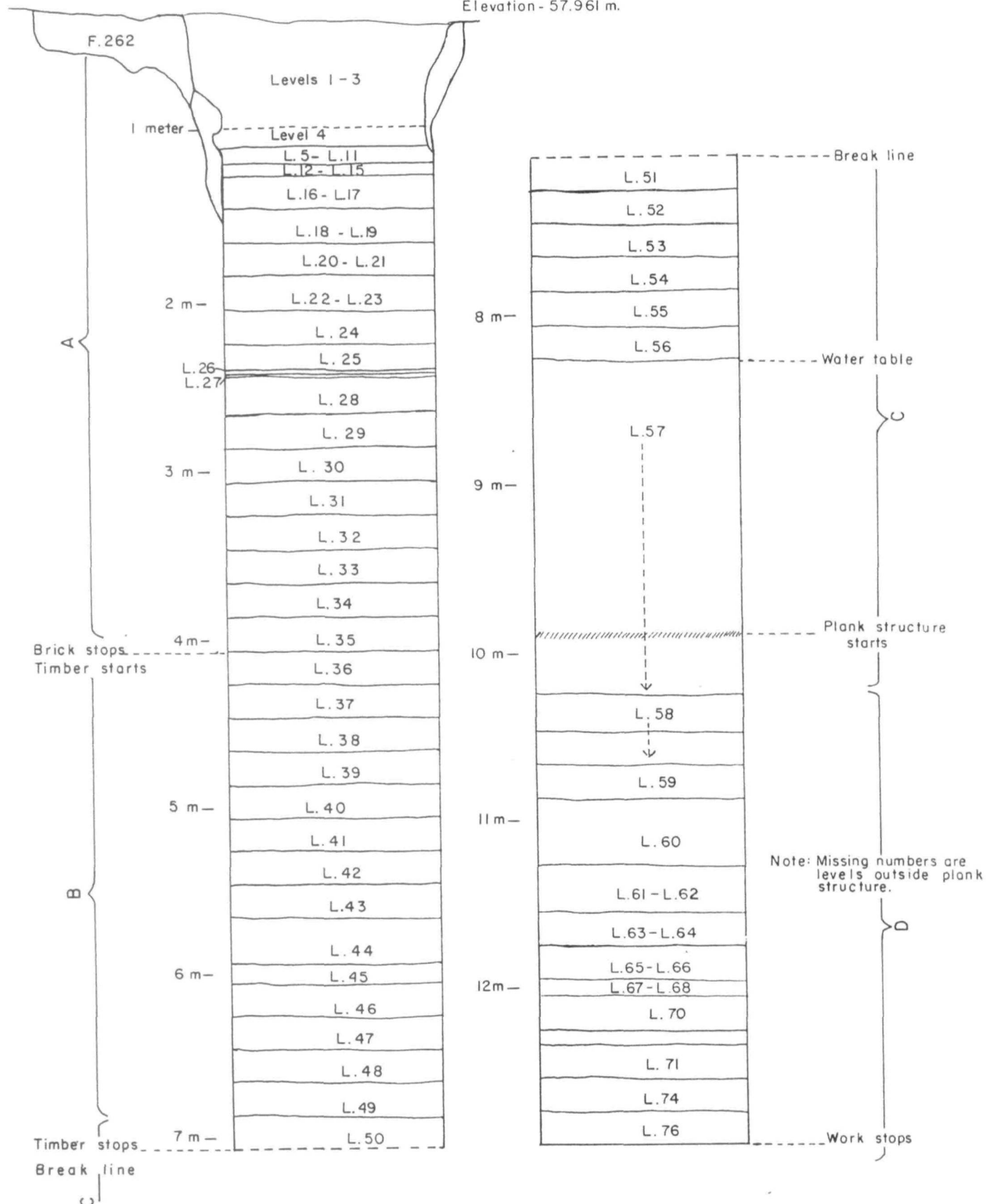


FIGURE 59. Area I Well Profile.

unacceptable safety risk to the archaeologists. Excavations were discontinued after attempts made to correct the situation failed. The depth at abandonment was 12.94 m below surface. The well extended another 60 or 70 cm below this point based on probing.

An erosional feature, Feature 262, was found along the southeastern edge of the well in the upper levels (Figure 59). Since the fill of this feature was indistinguishable from the well fill it is included in later artifact totals and discussion of the well.

## The Cellar

An unlined cellar was excavated in the northern edge of Area I (Figure 44 and 60). The cellar was cut at the surface by a dirt road and terrace running along the north edge of the site. The cellar measured approximately 8 m east-west, 5 m north-south and 1.4 m in depth and was divided into two primary levels. The upper level consisted of red gravelly earth fill, and the lower level of a dark yellowish brown clay loam lying directly on the original floor of the cellar. This cellar may be one of the two structures to the north of the main house noted on the 1863 map of Oxon Hill Manor, and because of the similarities in orientation, probably represents the westernmost of these two structures (Figure 27). The easternmost of the two structures shown on the 1863 map was not found archaeologically; if it did not have a cellar, evidence of this structure was probably destroyed by the more recent dirt access road at the site.

The cellar was trenched north-south and east-west to the floor level to determine its exact size and depth and the nature of the fill (Figure 61). The cellar floor measured approximately 7.5 by 5.25 m (24' 5" by 17') and therefore does not correspond in size to a kitchen noted in the 1798 tax inventory (see Chapter IV) which measured 30 by 21 feet.

It appears that after the structure had fallen into disuse and had been removed, the cellar hole was filled in level with the side yard. This filling of the cellar hole fits well with the side yard landscaping patterns hypothesized above. Relatively few artifacts were recovered from the red clay upper portion of the fill. Once these trenches were excavated, the remainder of the red clay fill was removed by a backhoe, leaving enough of the red clay fill in place to protect the brown loam level and the cellar walls from damage. Below this organic fill layer there was a brown clayey floor deposit (Level VIII in Figure 58).

A single row of bricks and brick fragments was uncovered on the cellar floor (Figure 60) and the bricks were placed end to end along the western half of the north and south walls. These bricks were a single course wide. The bricks were hand made and typical of the bricks found scattered throughout the site. Fragments of wood planking were also revealed along the west wall (Figure 60). It is possible these were the remnants of a floor covering the western half of the cellar and resting on the bricks.

Two features were uncovered in the floor of the cellar, Features 1002 and 1003 (Figure 60). Feature 1002 was a circular posthole found near the southern edge of the cellar. This posthole measured 15 cm in diameter. The second feature (Feature 1003) was a large, roughly circular depression measuring approximately 1.5 by 1.75 m and 2.16 m deep from the floor of the cellar (Figures 60 and 62). This pit, roughly rectangular on the surface and circular beneath was originally thought to have been a well which preceded the cellar. However, the feature ended at 2.16 m, making it too shallow to have been a well. The pit was examined by Dr. John Foss, who noted that a sand and cobble layer in the base of the pit would have provided drainage from the cellar. He also noted that the loose cobbles and sand at the bottom of this feature would have prevented completing a well, if that was indeed the original purpose for the shaft. It is hypothesized that this feature may have been a sump to

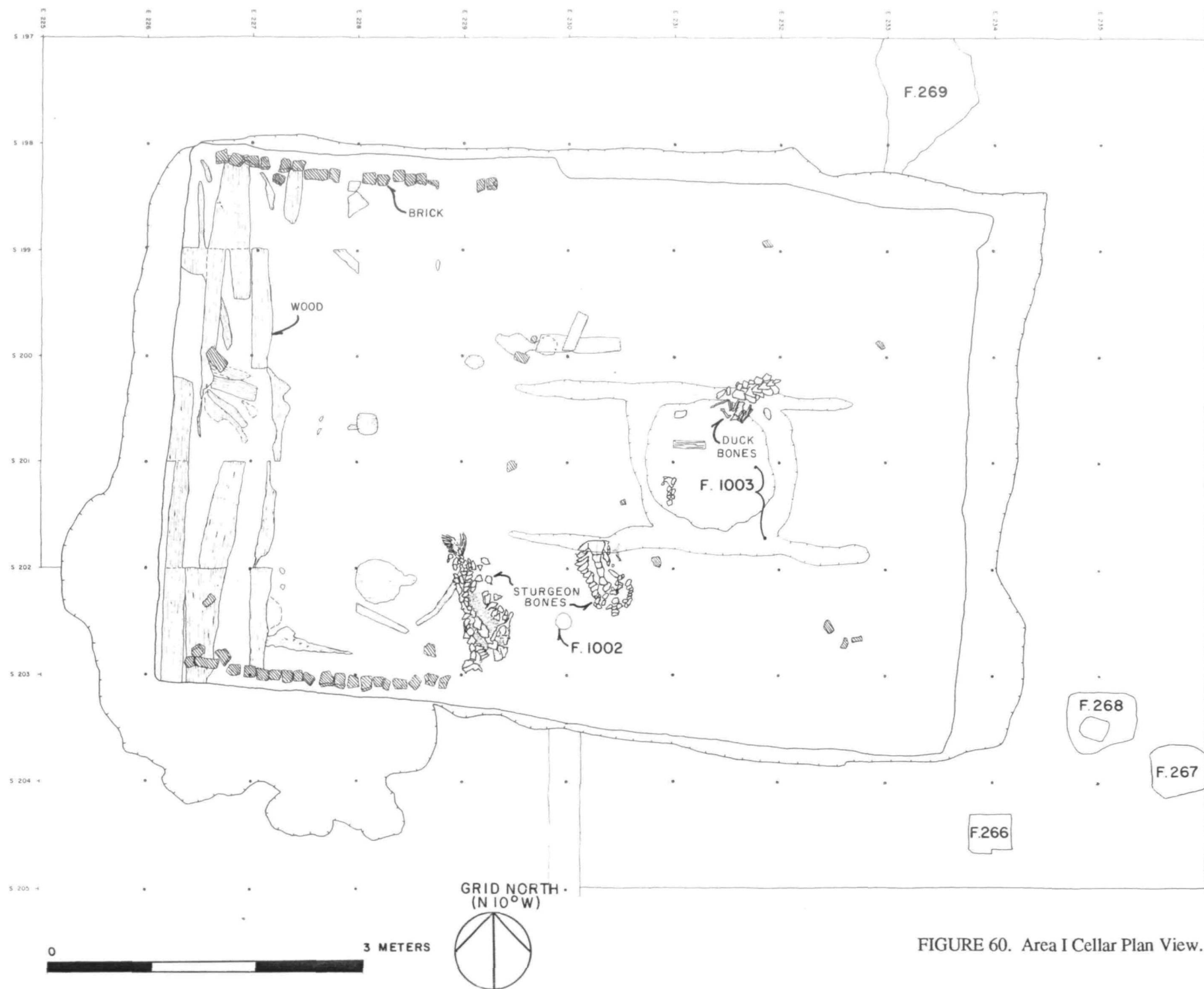


FIGURE 60. Area I Cellar Plan View.

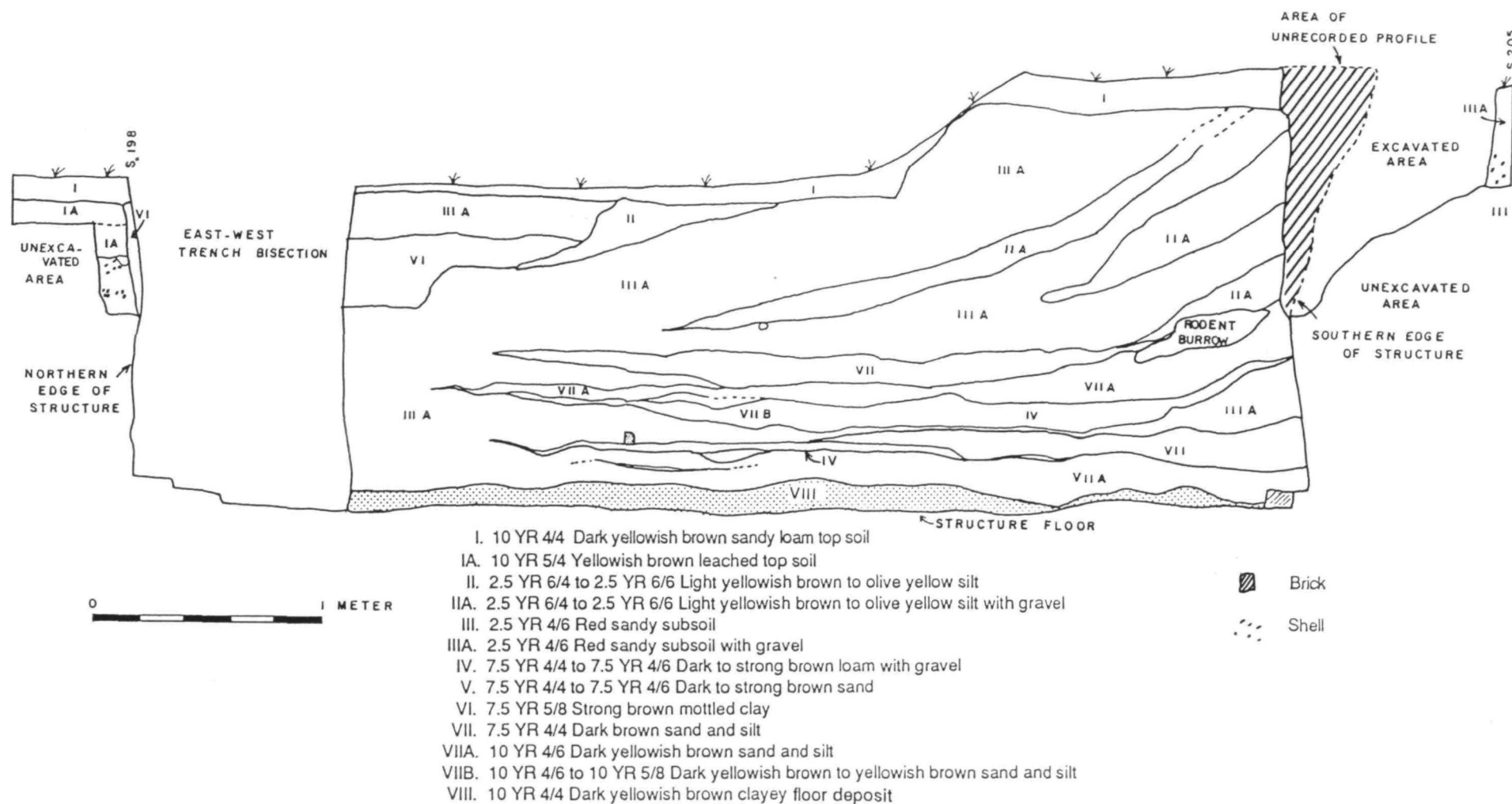
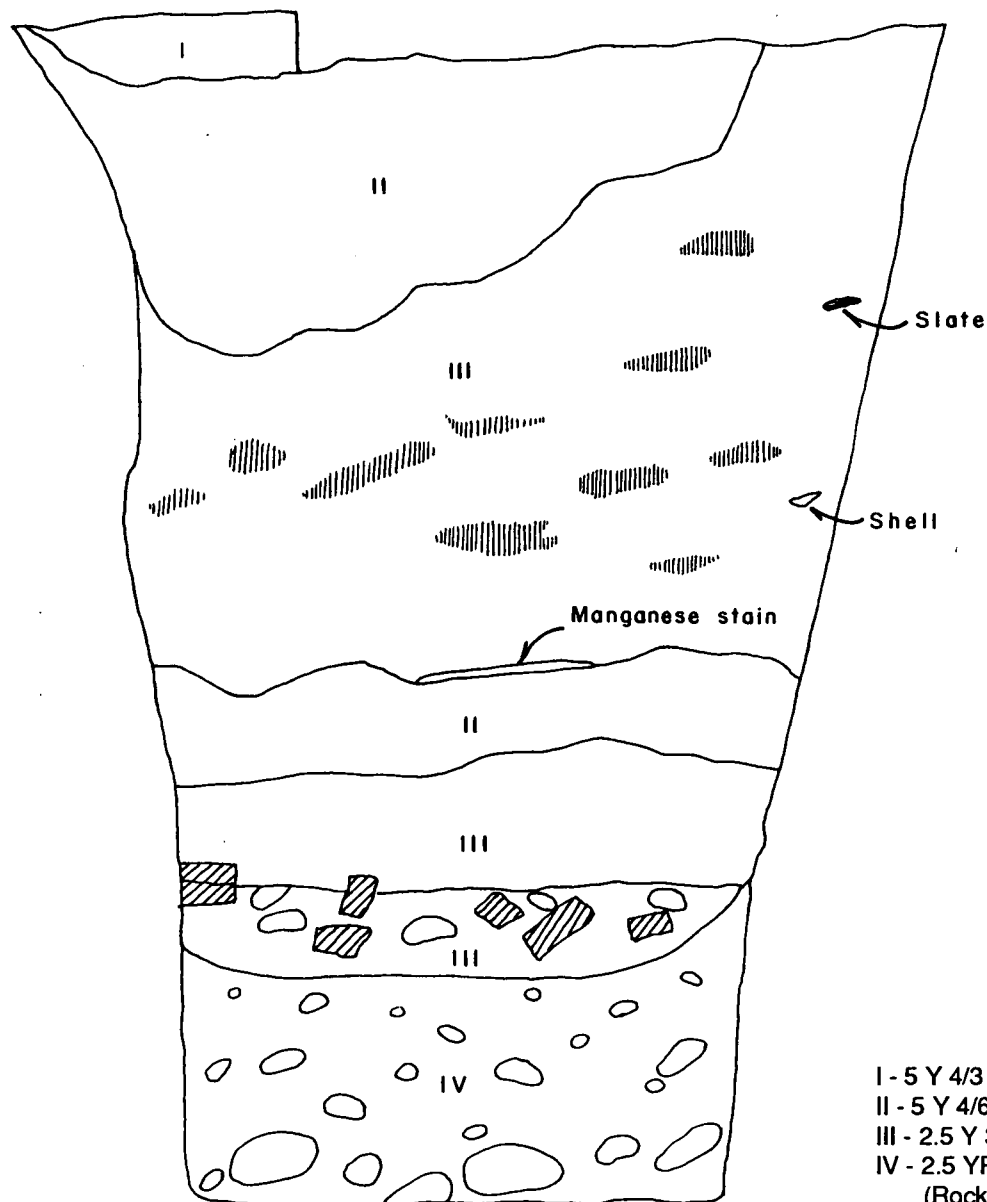


FIGURE 61. Area I Cellar, East Profile at E 228 Line.



# NORTH PROFILE

# PLAN VIEW



GRID NORTH  
(N 10° W)



0 50 CM.

- I - 5 Y 4/3 Olive loamy clay
- II - 5 Y 4/6 Yellowish red sandy clay
- III - 2.5 Y 3/6 Dark red sandy clay
- IV - 2.5 YR 4/6 Red gravelly clay subsoil  
(Rock size increases with depth)

- ||||| - 10 YR 3/3 Dark brown sandy clay
- ▨ - Brick
- - Rock

FIGURE 62. Area I - Feature 1003.

keep the cellar dry. The feature also had four shallow extensions along its east and west edges (Figure 60); these may represent cover supports. The feature may also have functioned as a cool, damp storage area within the original cellar.

Few artifacts were recovered from the cellar floor. The nearly complete skeletons of three sturgeons and one duck were found in the organic fill level just above the cellar floor. Besides the board stains and the brick, no architectural remains were recovered which were clearly associated with the superstructure.

It was hypothesized in the field that the cellar had been partially filled by the soil removed during the terracing. If this was the case, then one should expect crossmends between the cellar and the material left on the terraces and in the features which had been cut during terracing. This was indeed the case (see Figure 48 and 49).

One should also expect to find topsoil fill in the cellar which came from the relatively shallow scrapping off of Area I. There was indeed topsoil found in the bottom of the cellar, from layer VII to the cellar floor deposit, for a depth of approximately 75 cm (Figure 61). This soil was interleaved with lenses of red gravelly subsoil (layer IIIA). The interleaved subsoil seems to have either washed into the cellar, in which case it came from Area I, or it was intentionally transported from elsewhere to fill the cellar. Since red subsoil fills the entire cellar in the upper levels and was clearly deposited during a relatively short period (no identifiable lensing) it seems apparent that the red subsoil fill was intentionally transported to the cellar. Another argument for the subsoil fill being transported from some other area while the topsoil fill came from the terracing is that the topsoil was introduced to the cellar from the southern or terrace side of the cellar while the subsoil fill was introduced from the northern side.

If the cellar was filled in part by soil removed during terracing then the amount of soil removed from the terraces should be equal to the amount deposited in the cellar. An attempt to determine the amount of material removed by terracing was carried out using the surfaces of the terraces times the amount of cutting to determine volume (Table 49). For this calculation it was assumed that Terrace 1 was not significantly cut and therefore contributed nothing to the total. For the remaining terraces the amount of cutting was determined to be the difference between the average posthole depth in each terrace and the presumably uncut postholes in Terrace 1. In order to determine the amount of soil placed in the cellar from terracing (and not from the transported red subsoil) the material from layer VII (Figure 61) and below was used (the depth actually varied across the cellar). The resulting totals (Table 49) are admittedly very approximate; however, it is very interesting to note that the amount of material estimated to have been removed from the terraces, 22.156 cubic meters, is close to that for the topsoil cellar fill total of 29.53 cubic meters and not even of the same magnitude as the total for the entire cellar. Even if twice as much material had been removed from the terraces it would not have approached the cellar total. On the other hand it is possible that the estimate for the material removed from the terraces is high, and that the estimate of topsoil fill is also high (there was substantial interleaving of transported subsoil). However, reducing the totals from the terraces and from the cellar by similar amounts would still support the hypothesis that the topsoil fill came from the terracing.

This situation provides further dating clues for when the terracing took place. As noted in Table 49 the *terminus post quem* for all levels of the cellar, based on the presence of ironstone ceramics, is 1840. The 1863 topographic map shows a structure in this location in 1863. Since there is no archaeological evidence for other structures in this area it is probable that the cellar represents the structure extant in 1863. It seems extremely likely, therefore, that the terracing and cellar fill took place sometime between 1863 and some years before 1895 (it must be remembered that the terraces had been repaired), or sometime between 1863 and perhaps 1885.

Table 49. Terrace and Cellar Soil Quantities in Meters.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Area</u>	<u>Depth (amount cut)</u>	<u>Total Soil</u>	<u>TPO</u>
Terrace 1	155.0m <sup>2</sup>	0.000m	0.00m <sup>3</sup>	
Terrace 2	128.0m <sup>2</sup>	0.126m	8.06m <sup>3</sup>	
Terrace 3	173.0m <sup>2</sup>	0.139m	12.02m <sup>3</sup>	
Terrace 4	173.0m <sup>2</sup>	0.024m	2.08m <sup>3</sup>	
Total Terraces			22.16m <sup>3</sup>	
Total Topsoil Fill	39.375m <sup>2</sup>	.750m	29.53m <sup>3</sup>	1840
Total Subsoil Fill	39.375m <sup>2</sup>	1.100m	43.31m <sup>3</sup>	1840
Total Cellar	39.375m <sup>2</sup>	1.850m	72.84m <sup>3</sup>	1840
Cellar Floor				1840

### The Possible Structure

The only other features possibly associated with structures in Area I were located in the south central portion of the area (Figure 44). These consisted of a number of postholes. The only postholes in the area that are clearly identifiable as to function are the line of deep postholes noted in Figure 63 and summarized in Table 50. Their depths (54.0 cm to 60.2 cm) indicate that they post-date any major landscaping in the area, unlike most of the remaining postholes. A preserved post in Feature 134, and the fact that the holes are in a single line indicate that these features are probably the remains of a fence line. The preserved post was squared, but was not aligned with the line of postholes; it was in fact turned about 45 degrees off the line. If the line of postholes had been part of a structure this post would almost certainly have been aligned with the rest of the structure. While these postholes average approximately the same depth as the structural postholes in Area VIa (Figure 47), they are much narrower and otherwise do not resemble those in Area VIa.

Table 50. Fenceline Posthole Elevation Data In Area I.

<u>Measurement</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Observed Values</u> <u>min.-max.</u>	<u>range</u>	<u>Standard</u> <u>Deviation</u>	<u>Standard</u> <u>Error</u>	<u>Cases</u>
Top	57.877	57.638 -58.277	.639	.255	.104	6
Bottom	57.305	57.068 -57.689	.621	.250	.102	6
Depth	.575	.540- 00.602	.062	.021	.009	6

As mentioned above in the discussion of the terraces, Carson et al. (1981) have presented extensive data on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century earthfast or post in the ground architecture from the Maryland and Virginia tidewater area. They note that often the bases of the postholes are within inches or even fractions of an inch of being at the same elevation, although this is by no means always the case (Carson et al. 1981:148). The reason for this seems to have been that pairs of posts with a cross tie between them or the entire side of a building was built above ground before being put into the ground. These prefabricated sets of posts were already cut to a predetermined length, and it

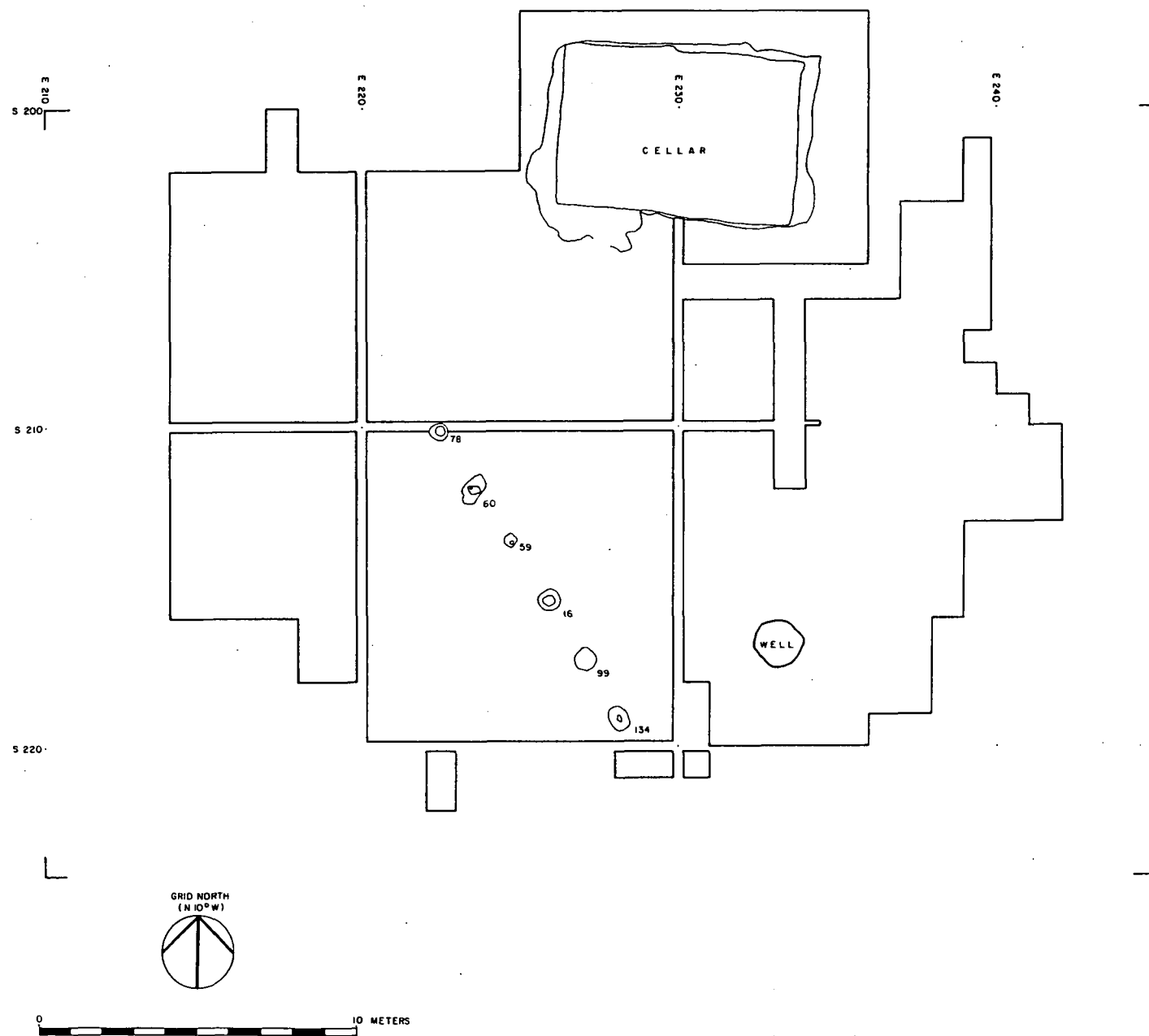


FIGURE 63. Area I - Fence Line.

was presumably easier to dig the holes all to the same depth than to cut the posts to a series of arbitrarily different lengths. Unfortunately, Carson et al. (1981) do not give detailed information on whether it was presumably easier to dig the holes all to the same depth than to cut the posts to a series of arbitrarily different lengths.

Because of the emphasis of Carson et al. (1981) on the regularity of bottom elevations, it has often been assumed that all one needs to do to identify a separate structure in a series of postholes is to identify all the postholes with the same or nearly the same bottom elevations. The bottom elevations of all features, including all structural postholes, are given in Appendix 7. Rarely are more than three postholes within an inch of each other. Postholes, which on the basis of alignment, size, shape, and fill, were probably part of the same structure vary as much as a foot or more. Simply identifying structures by the postholes with the same bottom elevations does not work at Oxon Hill.

In order to see what the normal variation in posthole bottom elevations was at Oxon Hill, one needs to examine the only clearly defined posthole structure at the site, the posthole structure in Area VIa. This data was presented above in Table 48 and Figure 47. The range in bottom elevations in this structure was 54.4 cm or over a foot and a half. One might suppose that since the structure was built on a gentle slope that at least the depths would be nearly the same, but here again the depths varied as much as 52.0 cm or over a foot and a half. If pairs of posts with tie beams were used then one might expect that pairs of postholes would have the same bottom elevations for the reasons given by Carson et al. (1981). In this case there does seem to be closer agreement in basal elevations. One pair varied by 6 cm (three and three quarters inches), another varied by 18 cm (eleven and one quarter inches), another at 15 cm and another at 10 cm. Variation of a little less than one foot is better than over a foot and a half, but the range is still very wide. In comparison the structural postholes in Area V, which make up at least 4 different structures (see below), have a range of only 15.4 cm or less than the maximum range within post pairs in a single structure in Area VIa.

Obviously, Carson et al. (1981) and Areas VIa and V cannot act as definitive guides on the variation in posthole bottom elevations. For this reason it was decided to use a combination of data to identify a structure or structures in the south central part of Area I. From field observations it was clear that Features 28, 19, and 25 formed part of the same structure, and that such a structure was oriented closely to the grid and therefore to the main house. These features' postmolds were aligned, their fill was the same dark organic soil, their shapes and sizes were virtually identical. Further, it was apparent that Features 231 and 95 formed 90 degree angles with the end of the Feature 28-19-25 line and that these features had similar fill, sizes and shapes (Figure 64). It seemed highly likely that these features formed part of the same structure, but the remaining portions of the structures could not be clearly determined. Using the bottom elevations of these 5 features as the range within which the remainder of the structure's postholes could be expected to fall, the remaining structural postholes were examined. The lowest of the five features was Feature 28 at 57.170 m above sea level, and the highest was Feature 95 at 57.631 m above sea level. The range in elevations was 46.1 cm or ten centimeters closer together than the structure in Area VIa (Table 48). When the features with bottom elevations in this range are shown on a map of Area I, Figure 65 is the result.

There has been a suggestion that there may be a structure including the five original features plus Features 22, 94, 3, and perhaps 73, and if Feature 3 is part of the structure then its southeastern corner may be defined by Feature 117 (Figure 44). However Feature 117, at 57.693 m, is outside the range of the original 5 features. Including Feature 117 in the possible structure, increases the range of bottom variation to 52.3 cm, or virtually the same amount of variation as found in the depths of the postholes in Area VIa. So, including Feature 117 in the range of features can be justified on the basis of bottom elevations. The addition of the features in the new range from Feature 28 to 117 causes the addition of Feature 96 in the vicinity of the possible structure (Figure 66).

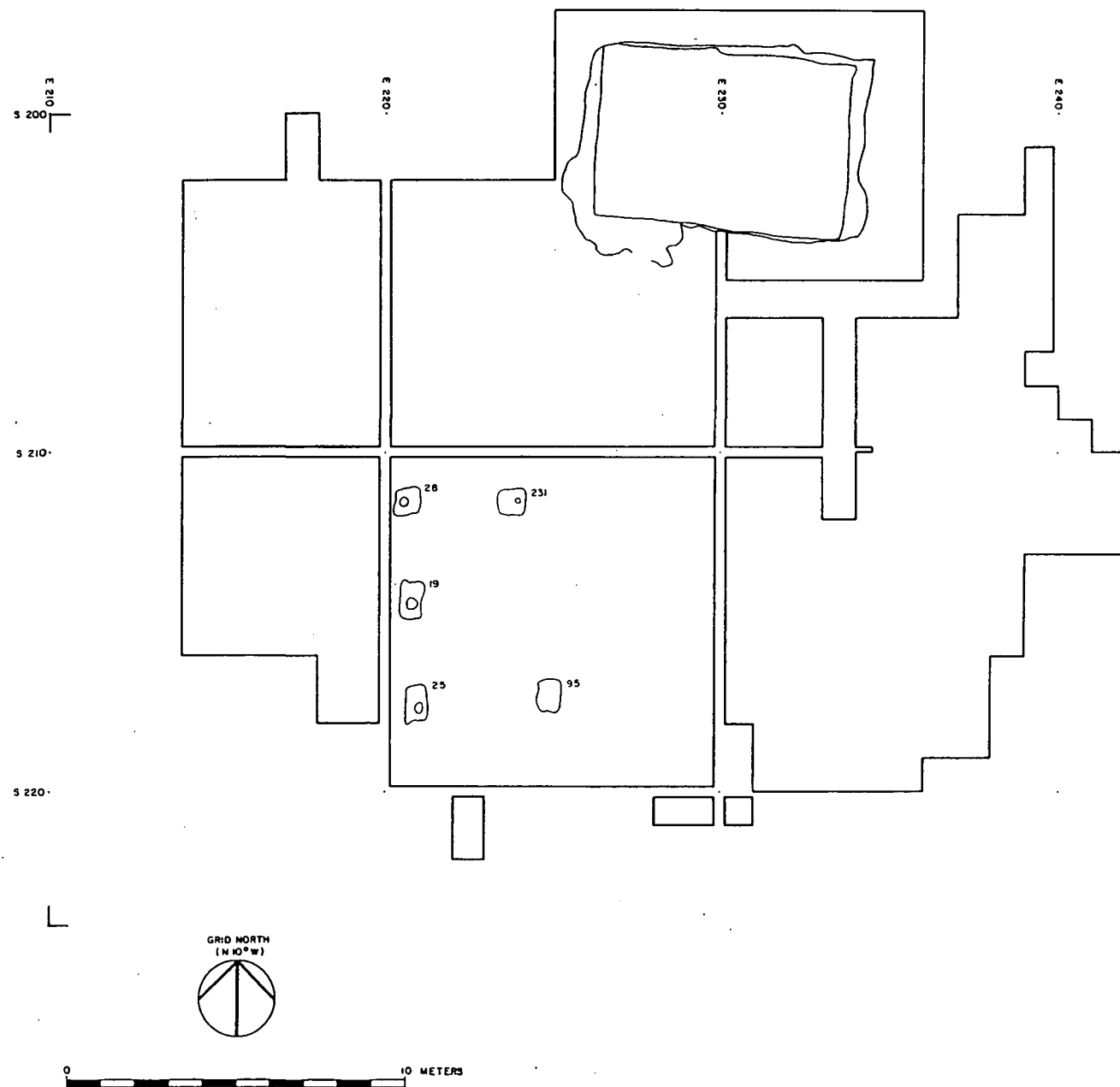


FIGURE 64. Area I - First Series of Post Holes.

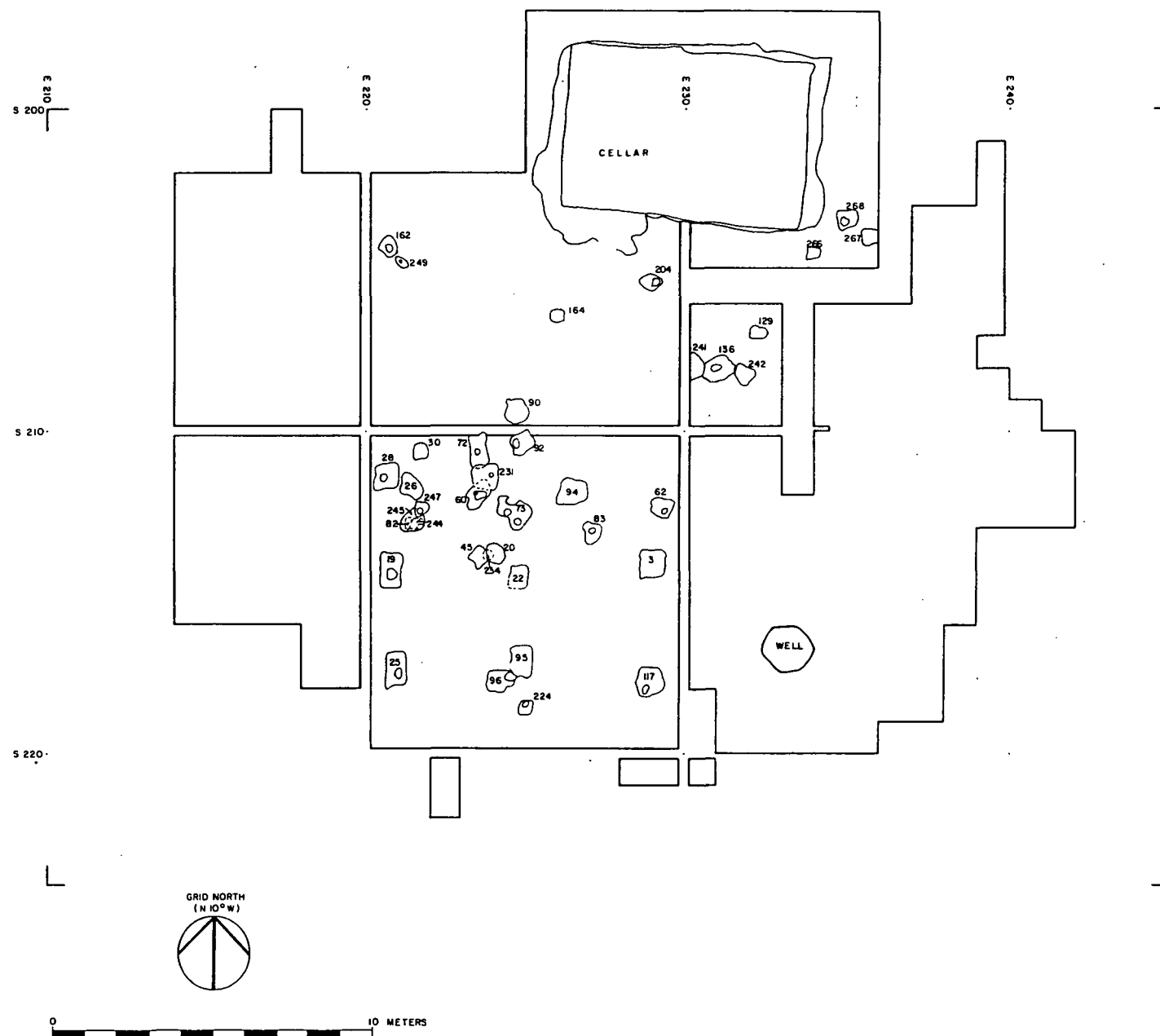


FIGURE 65. Area I - Post Holes with Elevations Between Features 28 &amp; 117.

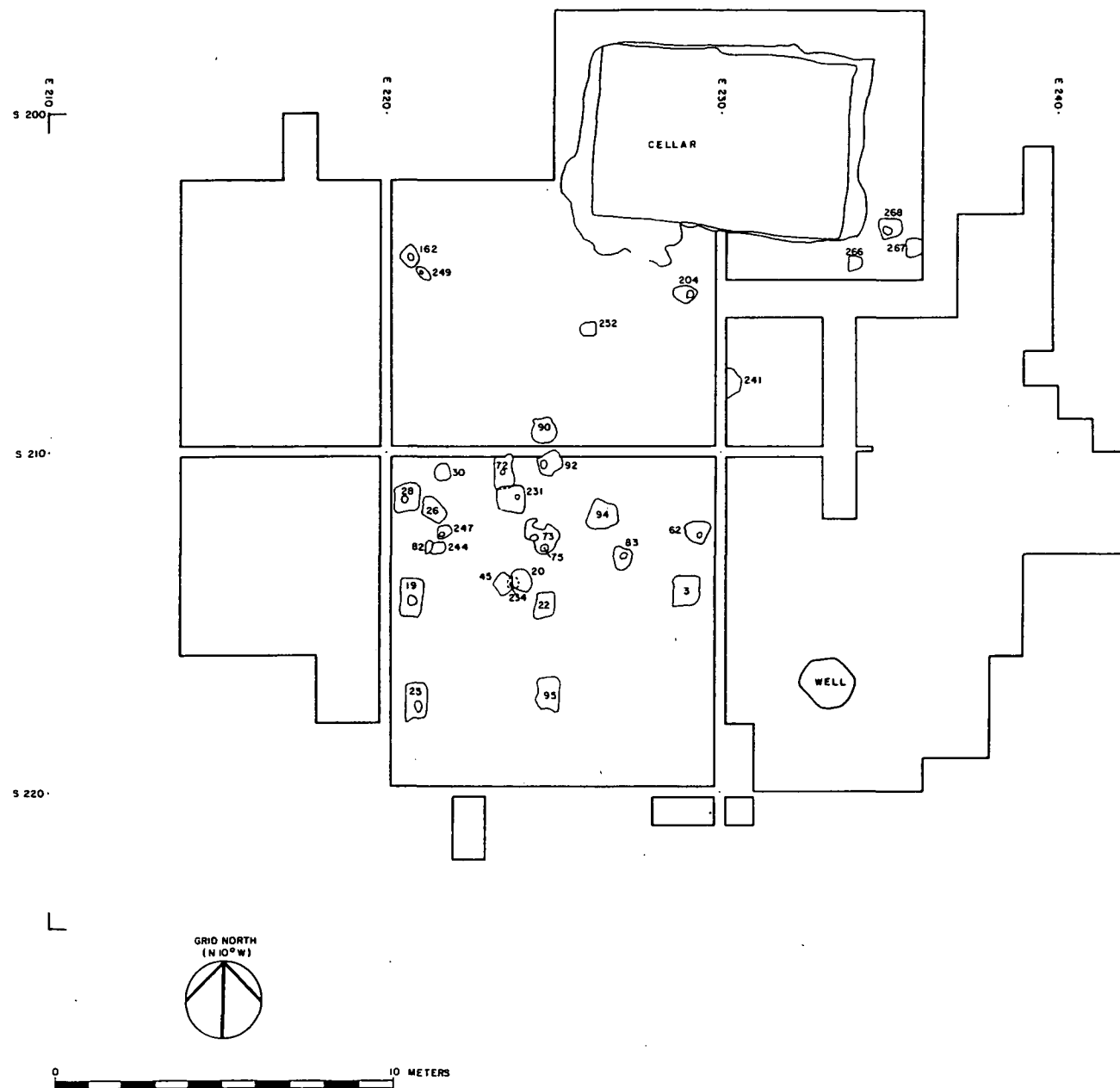


FIGURE 66. Area I - Post Holes with Irregulars Removed.



Features 26, 94, and 62 are less regular than most of the other features and are more or less aligned with each other. Unfortunately, they do not seem to be aligned with any lines of postholes perpendicular to them. The features in the northern part of the area are obviously not associated with any structures in the south central part of the area. Also some of the features are very small and probably do not represent postholes used for the same purpose as the larger postholes. These features are 30, 247, 244, 82, 83, and 224. Removing these features from the map results in Figure 67. This figure seems to show an L-shaped structure with a few extraneous or possibly repair postholes, for example Features 72 and 92 appear to be extraneous and 45 and 20 appear to be possible repair postholes within the structure. This structure would have maximum measurements east-west of 7.25 m (23' 6") and north-south of 6.25 m (20' 4") based on the distances between molds. In the 1798 tax inventory (see Chapter IV) there is mention of a kitchen in the vicinity of the house which measured 30 by 21 feet, or about the same width but over six feet longer than this possible structure. The alignment of these postholes is still somewhat uneven and the process for eliminating the other postholes to arrive at this point is not entirely consistent or satisfactory.

It has been suggested that examination of the TPQs in the postholes and postmolds of the structural posthole features would help determine which holes went together and thereby delineate a structure. The following table (Table 51) lists all of the structural postholes in Area I that had both a posthole and an identifiable postmold. This includes 39 out of the original 58 structural postholes. Of these 39 features only 18 had a TPQ for both the hole and the mold, and therefore only these features could be examined to see if the expected posthole-postmold sequence (postholes should date before postmolds) held true for these features in Area I and therefore whether the TPQs could be used with confidence to group similar postholes. Of these final 18 postholes 8 or 44 percent followed the correct sequence, 6 or 33 percent had a reverse sequence, and 4 or 22 percent had the same date for both the hole and mold. Clearly TPQs are not a reliable indicator of when the postholes and molds were filled. This is probably due to two factors: small sample size (often only one or two sherds); and the ease of contamination from the mold to the hole when the postmold is left open after pulling the post or after the post has rotted. This contamination may be caused through bioturbation or because the post had to be wiggled from side to side when it was pulled thereby affecting the side of the postmold. At Oxon Hill these usual causes of contamination were often further affected by the difficulty in defining the postmold from the posthole during excavation possibly resulting in mixing between posthole and postmold fill.

Table 51 also has MCD data on the holes and molds. There are 17 features with MCDs in both the hole and mold. Of these 11, or 65 percent, have the correct hole to mold sequence, and 6, or 35 percent, have a reversed sequence. The features with a reversed sequence are not all the same as those features with a reversed TPQ sequence, and in fact some features with an incorrect TPQ sequence have a correct MCD sequence and visa-versa. It is clear that MCDs cannot be used to group the features with any reliability.

Table 51. TPQs and MCDs of Features with Both Postholes and Postmolds.

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Terminus Post Quem</u>		<u>Mean Ceramic Date</u>	
	<u>Posthole</u>	<u>Postmold</u>	<u>Posthole</u>	<u>Postmold</u>
7	-	-	-	-
18	1820	-	1828.92	-
19	1840	1820	1796.70	1855.00
25	1805	-	1754.41	-
28	1805	1840	1750.50	1838.67

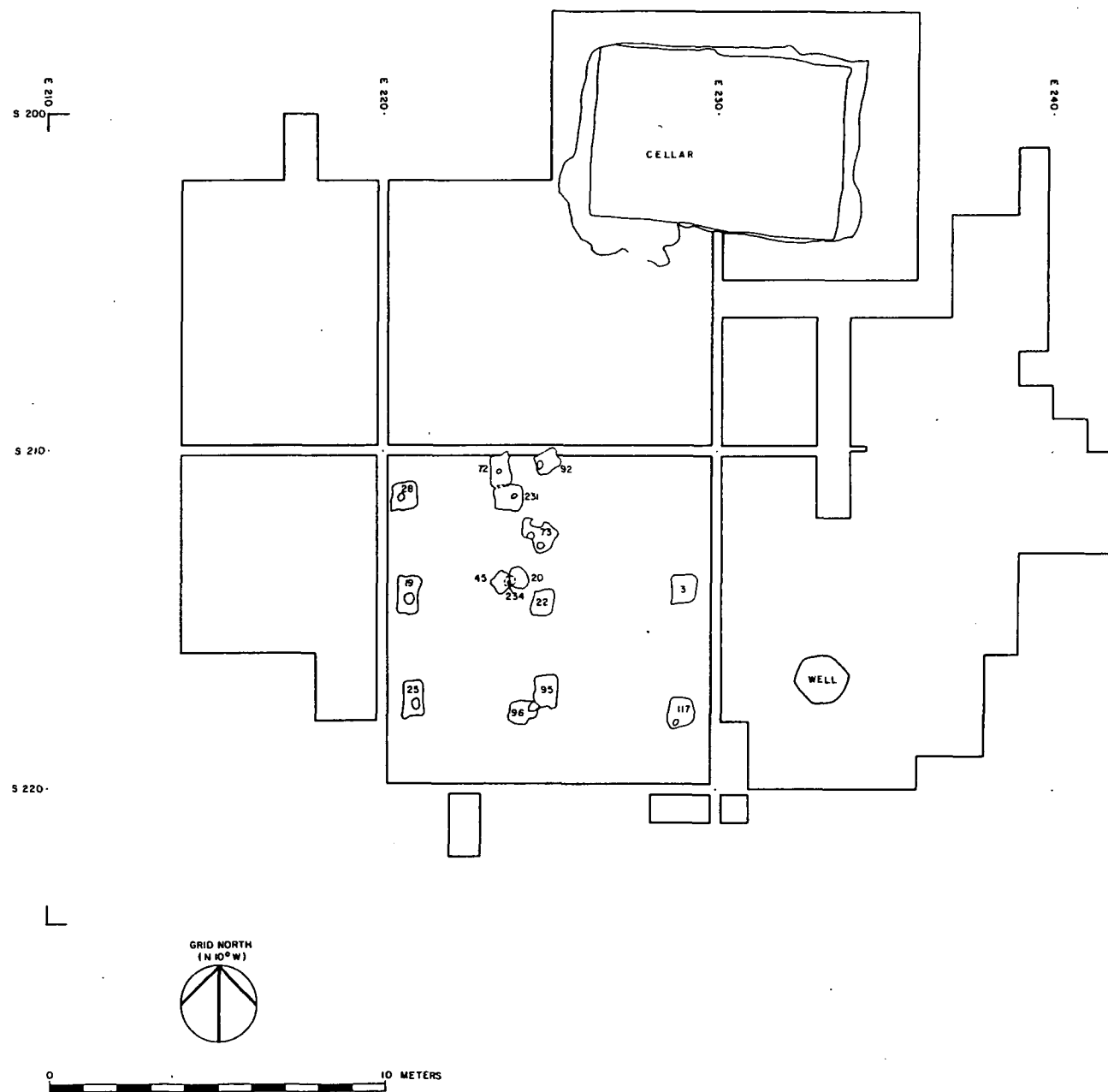


FIGURE 67. Area I - Best Estimate of Post Hole Structure.

Table 51. Continued.

29	1840	-	1782.42	-
46	1720	1820	1739.17	1785.50
50	1840	1780	1789.91	1770.20
62	1780	-	1781.84	-
72	1700	-	1750.00	-
73	1805	1805	1750.86	-
83	-	-	-	-
92	1780	-	1805.00	-
94	1820	-	1771.27	-
95	1740	-	1737.50	-
96	1820	1820	1800.25	1803.00
111	1715	1720	1745.00	1745.50
117	1790	1820	1792.69	1987.09
125	-	-	-	-
136	1762	1762	1749.10	1791.00
162	-	-	-	-
164	1830	1720	1760.47	1744.17
179	1670	1700	1732.50	1737.50
182	1795	1840	1795.36	1803.75
204	-	-	-	-
206	1780	1830	1780.20	1804.50
207	1780	-	1781.25	-
208	1740	-	1745.00	-
220	-	-	-	-
221	-	1780	-	1792.50
222	1840	1830	1828.50	1835.00
224	1820	-	1855	-
231	1762	1820	1791.00	1823.00
237	-	-	-	-
239	1762	-	1791.00	-
244	1820	1805	1834.64	1805.00
247	1820	1840	1833.20	1831.42
249	-	-	-	-
268	1820	1820	1855.00	1833.75

It is evidently impossible with the data at hand to define precisely one or more structures in the side yard. Neither the alignment, size, shape, fill, bottom elevations, nor artifact dating satisfactorily define a structure. However, the number and partial alignments of the postholes do indicate at least one structure in the area. It is possible that any structure extends to the south outside of the project boundaries and under the main front terrace. Such a structure would almost certainly predate landscaping of the side yard since posthole depth is shallow throughout this portion of the area. Such a structure would also post-date the planting trenches in this part of the site, as many of the most clearly aligned postholes intrude on the trenches.

### The Gardening Features

Features 5, 10, and 23 were long, narrow, and shallow, with an even spacing between them of 125 cm (Figure 68). Because of their dark loamy fill, their shallowness, and their lack of postmolds and

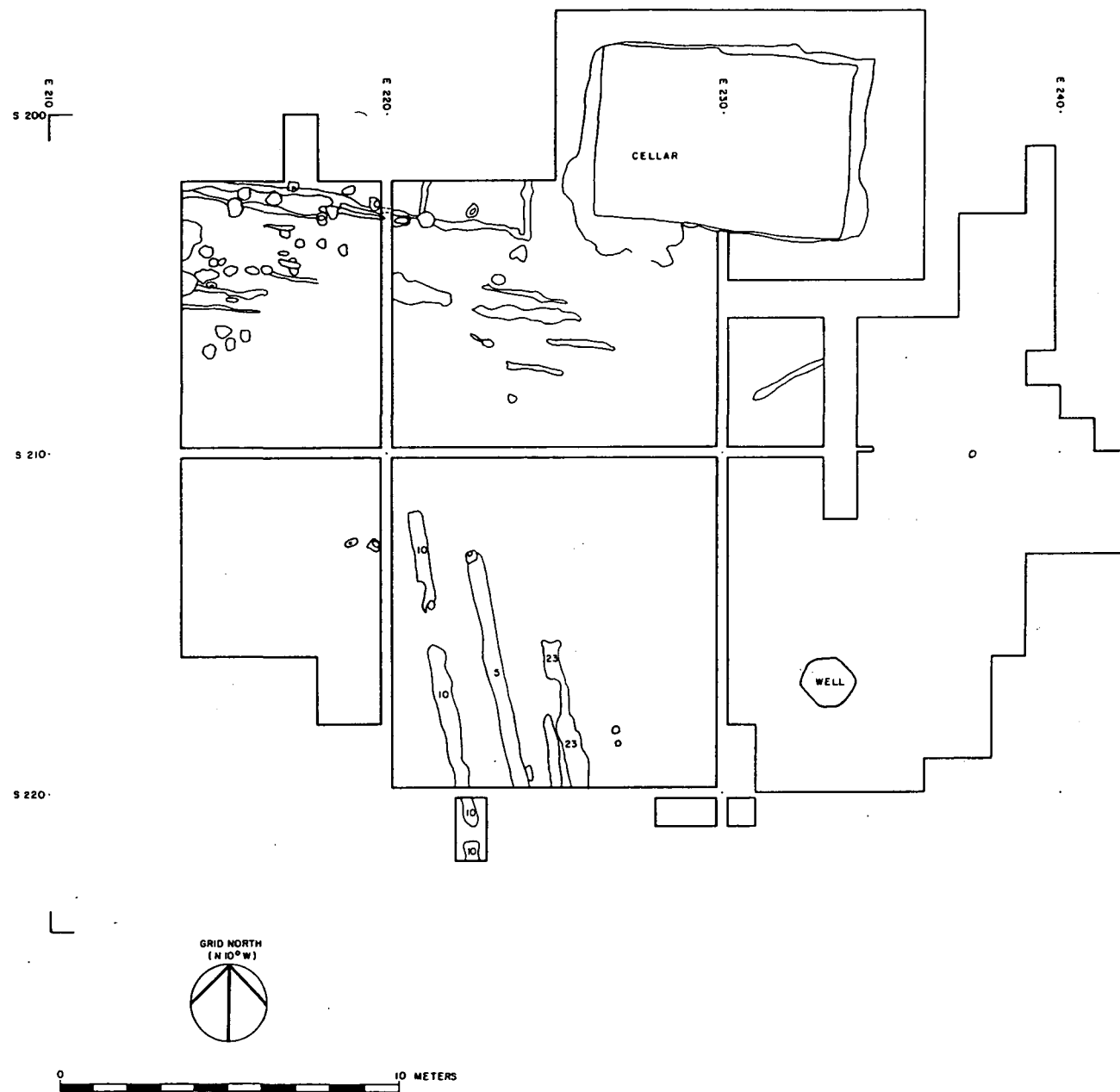


FIGURE 68. Area I - Gardening Features.

construction debris, it is hypothesized that these features represent planting trenches. Except for the southern end of trench Feature 23, which was 43 cm deep, the trenches ranged from 4 to 18 cm deep, which is much shallower than the structural posthole features discussed in the preceding section. If the side yard was later landscaped then it is natural to assume that the landscaped portion of the trenches (their northern ends) would be shallower than their non-landscaped portions. The northern ends of these trenches are staggered rather than squared off. This staggering suggests formal hedge rows flanking the manor house rather than a structure. If these features do represent formal gardening, then similar trenches should be found on the south side of the house as well.

Other planting features were exposed in the northwestern corner of Area I. These narrow trenches and holes extend almost to the southwest corner of the cellar (Figure 68). They were very shallow, usually 2 to 10 cm in depth. Planting holes in this area varied in size; although a few were larger, most planting holes were no more than 50 cm in diameter and usually did not exceed 20 cm in depth. Both the planting trenches and the planting holes were filled with a dark, mottled loam and occasionally contained moderate amounts of crushed shell. The shell in the trench fill seems to indicate that the trenches may have been used to plant bulbs (tulips or daffodils perhaps), as lime is often used to sweeten the soil. These planting features are not oriented with the large planting trenches to the south, and may represent the remains of a flower garden rather than an extension of the presumed hedges nearer the house.

### The Trash Features

Features 52 and 57 were two large, irregularly shaped pits abutting each other and located along the eastern edge of Area I (Figure 69). The fill and depth of these features tends to indicate that they were low areas filled with garbage sometime in the mid nineteenth century, both had TPQs of 1840.

Six additional features were uncovered at the base of Feature 52 (Features 51, 81, 218, 226, 237, and 240). Most of these were small depressions, varying from circular to round, and contained a variety of fills from a silty clay in Feature 226 to a gravel fill in Features 237 and 240. Features 51 and 218 were the exceptions; they were postholes without molds. The purposes of these features are unknown.

### The Cobble Feature

Feature 6 was a cobble feature located in the southeastern corner of Area I, surrounding the eastern half of the well (Figures 69 and 70). This feature was approximately oval and measured roughly 5 m north-south and 2.5 m east-west. In most places the cobbles were only one layer thick, and artifacts were recovered from the sparse soil between the cobbles. Feature 6 yielded a mean ceramic date of 1837.23 and a TPQ of 1840. Such a late date means that the cobbles were not associated with the well while it was in use as a water source. As discussed below in the following chapter, the cobbles may have been part of the floor of a carriage house in the side yard area. Feature 6 contained a small circular concretion, Feature 9, in its northern end (Figure 44). The cobbles seem to intentionally ring this pad which had a square opening in its center. The pad may have provided a base for a supporting post of the possible carriage house.

Once the cobbles had been mapped and photographed, they were removed, exposing several features beneath Feature 6. One was the erosional Feature 250, which was filled with shell and was mentioned above in the discussion of landscaping. Two similar features of a type found only in Area I were also located below Feature 6. These were Features 233 and 205. These features were large,

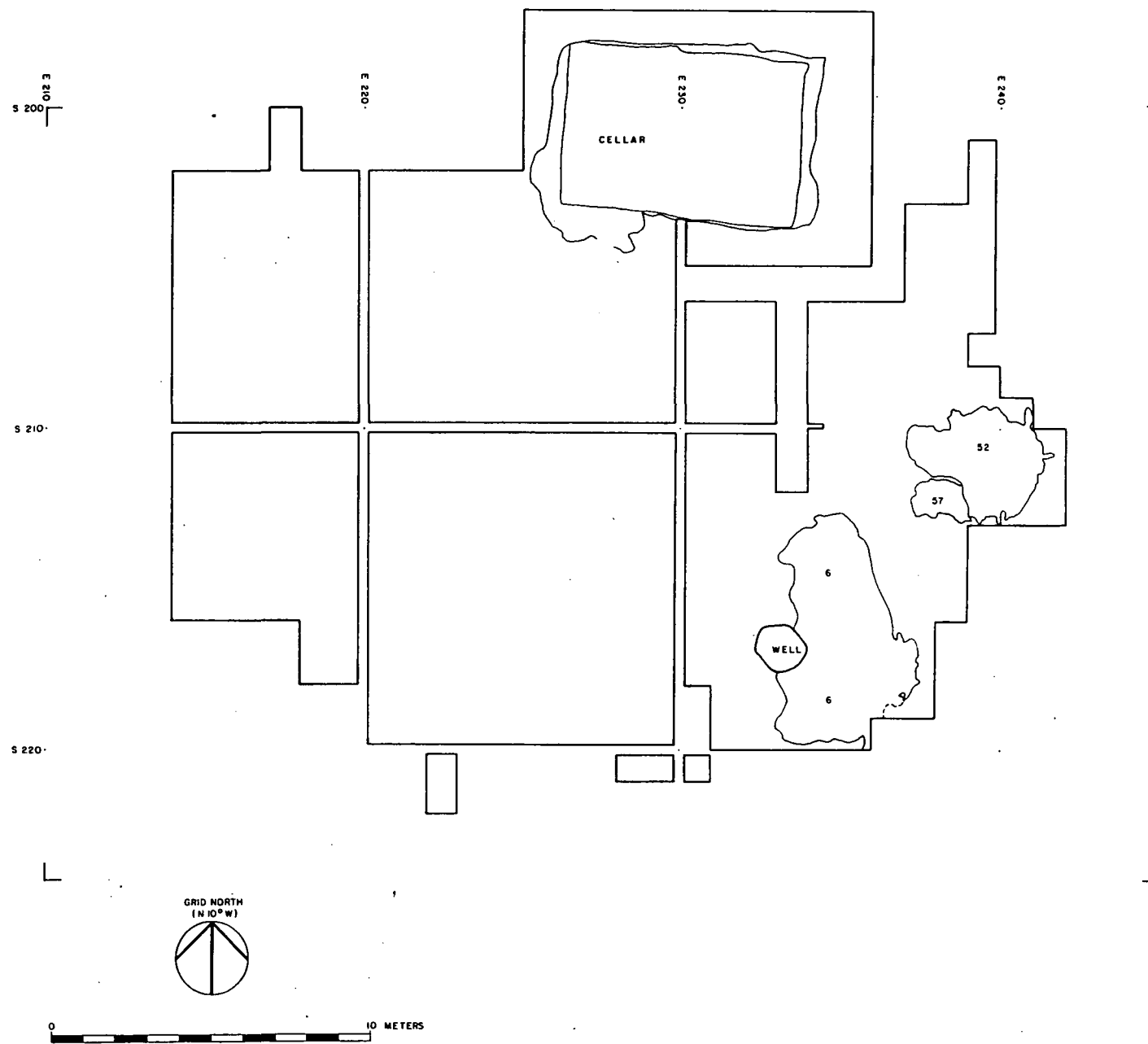


FIGURE 69. Area I - Trash and Cobble Features.



FIGURE 70. Area I Well and Associated Features.

roughly oval depressions, filled with fire-cracked cobbles and a few brick fragments. They were originally thought to have been scalding pits used to clean and prepare butchered pigs. That interpretation is speculative, however; such scalding pits are normally several feet deep, and these features were less than a foot deep.

## Summary

Area I contained 210 features within the excavated 408 meter squares or 0.51 features per square meter. This is a very high concentration of features, even for many urban sites. The proximity of Area I to the main house, its density of features, and the evidence of landscaping indicate that it was intensively used throughout the occupation of the site. The total number of artifacts from the 223 screened units was 18,052 for a density of 80.95 artifacts per unit, and the great majority of glass and ceramic artifacts were smaller than thumbnail size. The small size of artifacts in the overburden could indicate that the area was heavily used and was kept relatively clear of debris. The relatively high density of artifacts in Area I (in third place behind Areas II and VIb) and the high density of features (second only to Area V) indicates that the area had more artifacts than other areas because of its proximity to the main house plus a heavy concentration of activities in the area. Despite its high density of artifacts Area I was still kept cleaner than Area II, which was further from the main house but had a higher density of artifacts. As will be seen below, Area II had relatively few features, indicating that the artifacts deposited there probably reflect dumping rather than primary discard.

The terracing evident in Area I was completed in the late nineteenth century and postdates most of the features and structures in the area. Soil removed from the terracing was probably used to fill the cellar on the north edge of the area.

The distribution of artifacts tends to indicate that the northwest part of the area was used in the Addison period for trash disposal, and that the Berry period occupants probably used the entire area for trash disposal. The general distribution of features indicates that the Addisons kept the area relatively clear of structures and features (thereby implying permanent activities), while during the Berry period the occupants used the area nearer the main house for more permanent activities.

An unlined well produced evidence of at least 4 major filling episodes, which when taken into consideration with the artifacts discussed in the following chapter, provided valuable data on how the well was filled and by whom. The preservation of the artifacts and faunal material in the well has provided the most extensive data on the Addison inhabitants.

The orientation of the cellar structure and many of the postholes in the southwestern portion of the area to the grid, and thus to the main house, is evidence that there was some formal organization for the structures near the main house. It seems evident that these structures and the landscaping do not reflect a Georgian mind on the part of the Addisons as had been hypothesized, since they are Berry-period features. However, the maintenance of a relatively clean side yard (from artifacts and features) during the Addison period reflects conspicuous consumption, in this case of land, which is a Georgian trait.

## AREA II

### Description

Area II was located directly north of Area I on steeply sloping terrain (Figures 3, 71, and 72) and



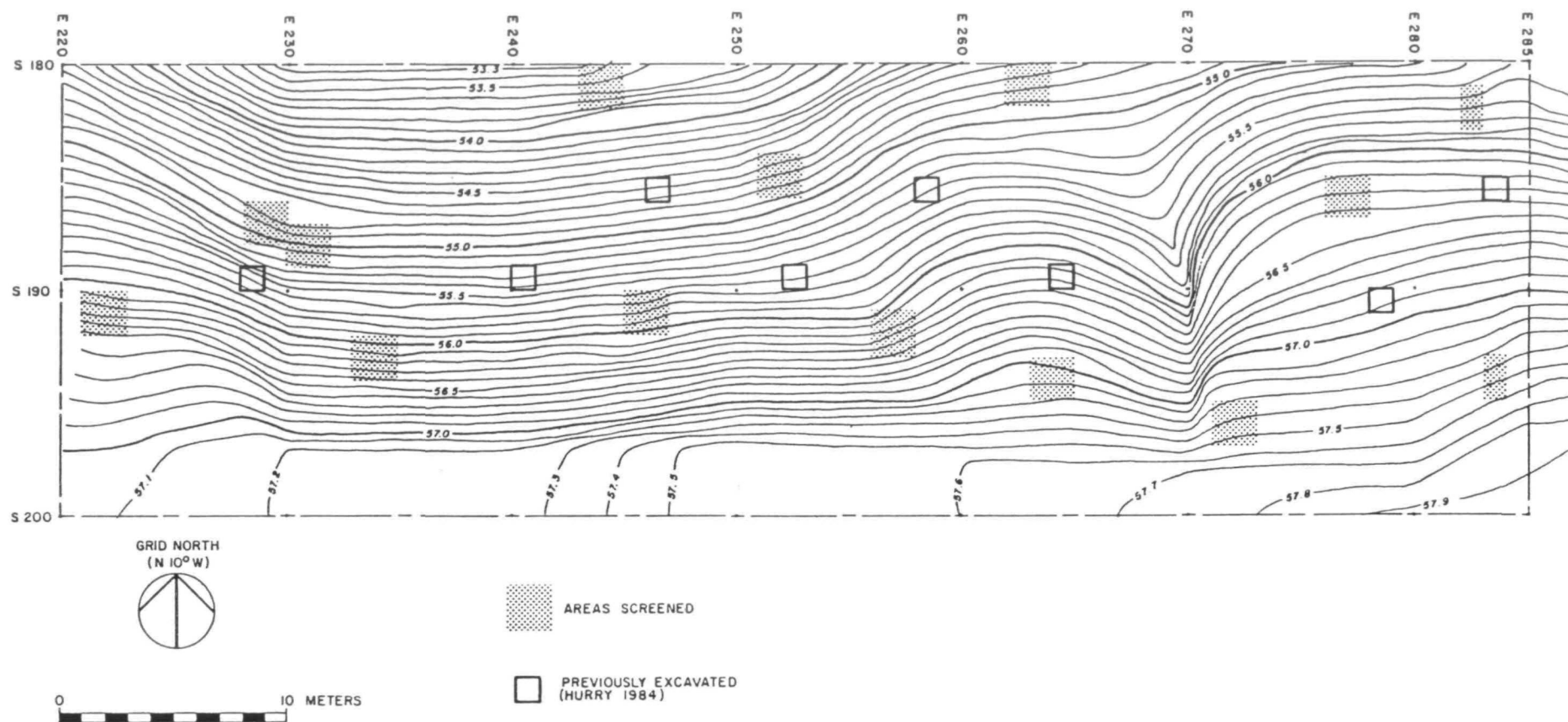
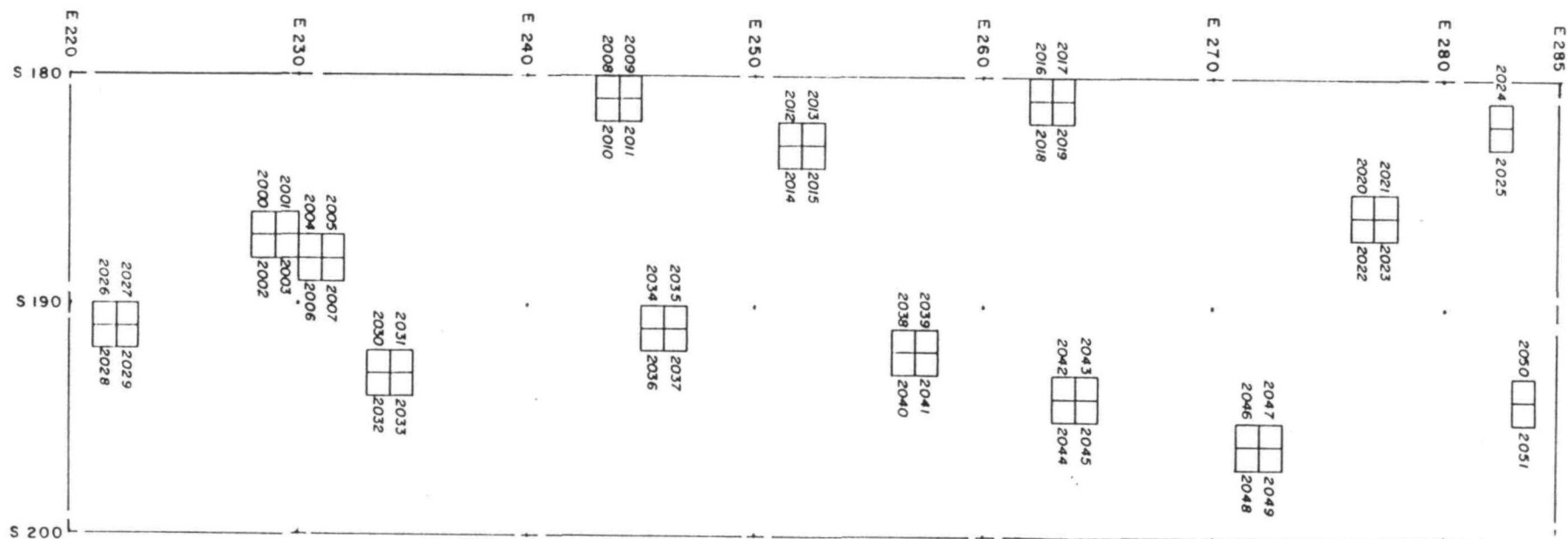


FIGURE 71. Area II Topography and Excavation.



GRID NORTH  
(N 10° W)



0 10 METERS

FIGURE 72. Area II Excavation Units Numbered.

measured 65 m east-west and 20 m north-south. The area was in hardwood forest; understory growth was not a problem as this area was excavated in early spring before much growth had occurred.

Area II was considered as a possible trash disposal area during both the Addison and Berry occupations as it was on a steep slope beyond the side yard area, where trash could be dumped out of sight and out of the way without traveling a great distance. Few or no features were expected, and it was anticipated that excavations in Area II would provide artifact assemblages related to:

1. refuse disposal of a high socioeconomic level household of the eighteenth century; and
2. refuse disposal of a low socioeconomic tenant household of the nineteenth century.

Erosional ditches were the most frequently encountered of the very few features found. The total number of artifacts recovered from the units in Area II (all were screened) was 10,377. With 52 units in the area, artifact density was 199.56 artifacts per unit. In Area I the artifact density was 80.9 per unit. Density is much higher in Area II, indicating that either intentionally or unintentionally the slope in Area II was the final repository for many more artifacts than the side yard in Area I. In the following discussion of features it seems possible that Area II may have been used as an extension of the side yard gardens during part of its history, while some of the erosional features may have been deliberately filled with trash. Because of the nature of the soils--heavily eroded and mixed--and the small sizes of the recovered artifacts, it was not productive to study the artifacts beyond a very simplistic and preliminary level.

Excavations in Area II began March 21, 1985 and were completed on April 12, 1985. Area II was divided into twelve 10 x 10 m blocks and two 5 x 10 m blocks on the eastern end of the area (Figure 72). A 2 x 2 m unit was randomly placed within each 10 x 10 block and a 1 x 2 m unit was placed in the 5 x 10 m blocks. Each 2 x 2 m unit was subdivided into four 1 x 1 m squares, each dug separately in natural levels. A total of 52 square meters was thus opened, exposing six features.

The soils in the steeply sloping Area II were heavily eroded (Figure 73). The topsoil in the area was a thin layer of dark brown clayey loam, and averaged approximately 7 cm in thickness. The second layer was a mottled yellow brown clay loam, measuring a maximum of 11 cm in thickness. The third was a gravel filled dark yellow brown clay and measured at most 16 cm thick. Beneath this, the subsoil was a yellow brown clay. Four of the six features recovered were erosional features evidencing the heavy erosion which took place on this slope.

### The Excavation

The overall mean ceramic date (MCD) for Area II was 1816.66. The earliest MCD was 1791.50, and the latest was 1845.94 (Table 52). The ten earliest units and ten latest units were spread across the entire area with no apparent pattern. This probably indicates that the location of dumping over the edge of the hill was fairly random. The earliest *terminus post quem* (TPQ) in the units was 1820 and the latest was 1885, with a mode of 1840 (three mid twentieth-century artifacts were discounted as contamination from the construction of the freeway). These figures (Table 52) further support the randomness of the trash deposits since there were no discrete eighteenth-century deposits with early TPQs.

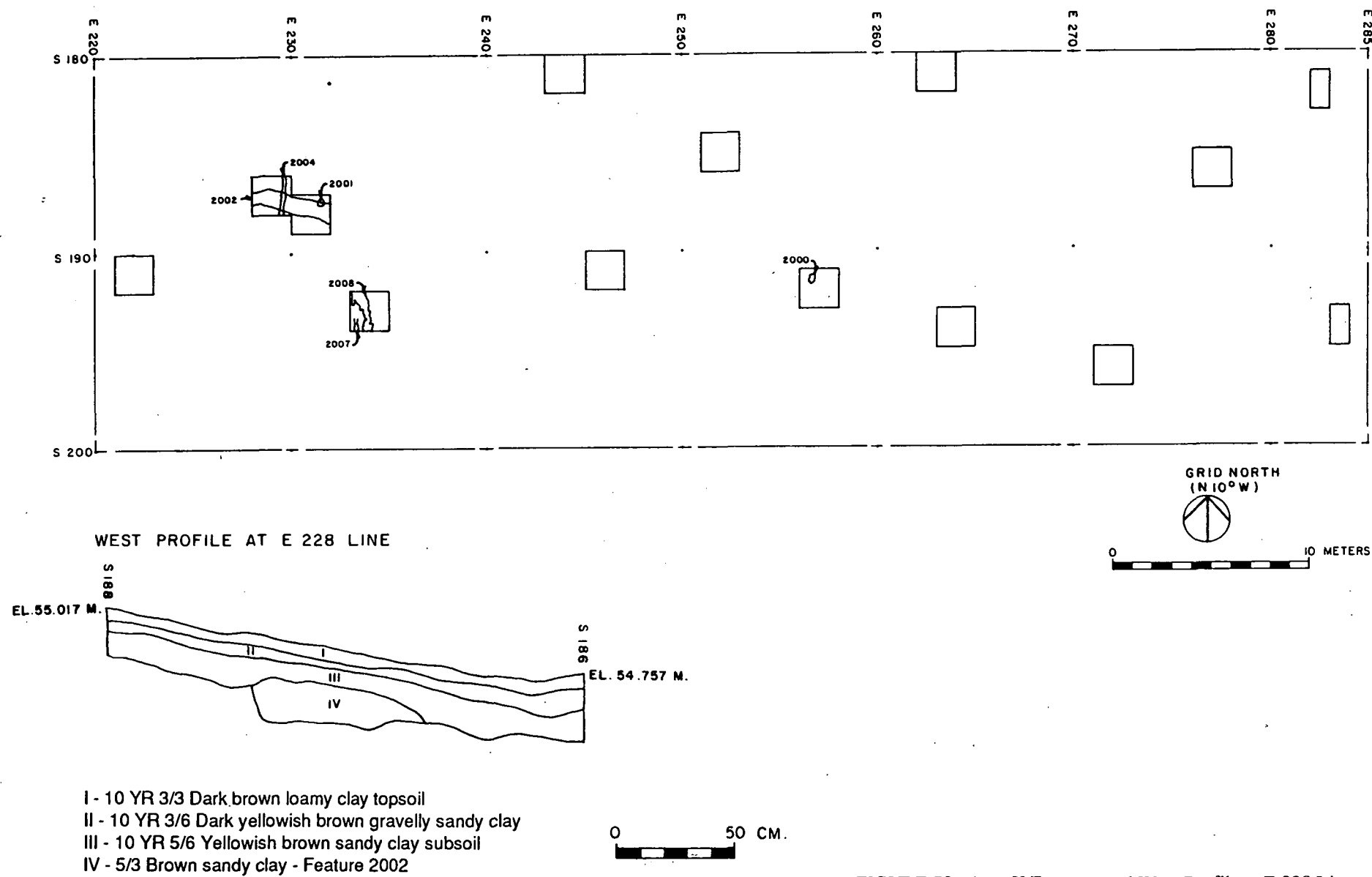


FIGURE 73. Area II Features and West Profile at E 228 Line.

Table 52. Mean Ceramic Dates and *Termini Post Quem* of Area II Trash Deposits.

Unit #	MCD	TPQ	Unit #	MCD	TPQ
2000	1821.63	1900 (1840)	2001	1821.35	1840
2002	1823.53	1844	2003	1815.21	1844
2004	1820.47	1840	2005	1805.31	1840
2006	1812.51	1840	2007	1824.94	1885
2008	1820.98	1830	2009	1819.83	1840
2010	1826.90	1844	2011	1825.74	1840
2012	1809.66	1840	2013	1799.04	1840
2014	1791.50	1840	2015	1804.14	1840
2016	1799.41	1840	2017	1814.43	1840
2018	1805.56	1830	2019	1796.02	1820
2020	1811.17	1830	2021	1797.79	1840
2022	1794.71	1840	2023	1808.68	1840
2024	1845.94	1840	2025	1825.83	1840
2026	1836.60	1900 (1885)	2027	1828.14	1851
2028	1834.55	1900 (1840)	2029	1837.87	1840
2030	1803.33	1830	2031	1820.91	1840
2032	1807.85	1840	2033	1802.46	1840
2034	1831.49	1840	2035	1832.71	1840
2036	1840.71	1840	2037	1816.53	1840
2038	1807.68	1840	2039	1825.07	1840
2040	1816.04	1840	2041	1806.87	1844
2042	1821.04	1840	2043	1817.77	1840
2044	1832.75	1840	2045	1815.27	1830
2046	1808.16	1840	2047	1805.65	1840
2048	1802.84	1840	2049	1802.99	1840
2050	1834.19	1840	2051	1843.09	1840

Note: Dates in parentheses indicate the next earliest TPQ before 1900.

A total of 10,677 artifacts were recovered across the area, but no evidence of major trash concentrations was found in the features. An overall mean ceramic date of 1817.00 was generated from the Area II unit ceramics; a date of 1766.38 was calculated from feature ceramics. This may indicate that features were filled earlier, as would be expected if Area II was continually used as a secondary trash disposal area.

Figure 74 illustrates schematic diagrams of the distribution of Kitchen and Architecture Group artifacts in the units in Area II. There generally appears to be more material in the western end of the area for both artifact groups. Since the cellar in Area I is directly south of this end of Area II, these remains may be due in part to the inhabitants or users of the structure represented by the cellar.

However, as was discussed above with the data in Table 52 the material has a wide range of dates and is mixed from erosion and being thrown down a relatively steep slope. It was impossible to determine which portion of the trash deposits came from the structure and which came from earlier and later non-structure related dumping.

# KITCHEN ARTIFACTS

# ARCHITECTURE ARTIFACTS

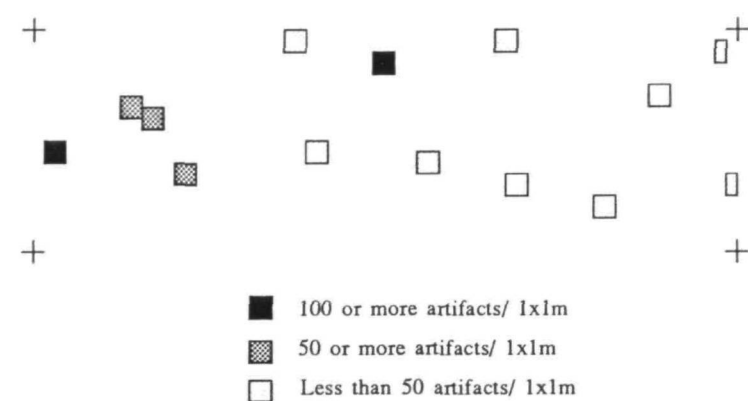
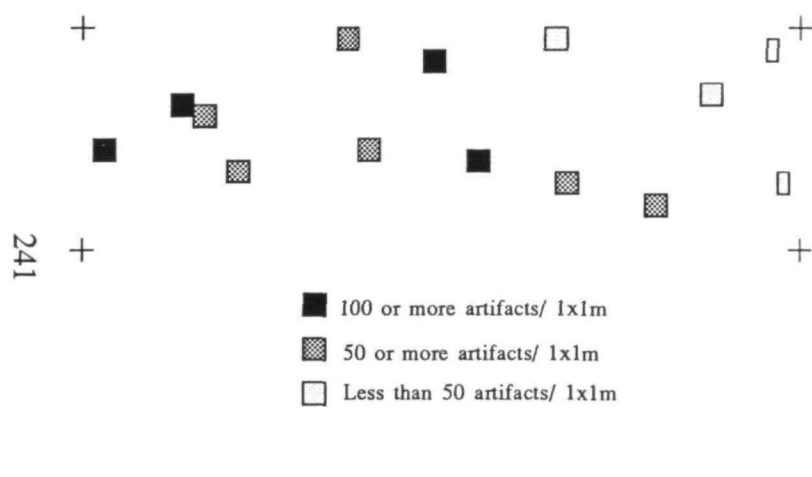


FIGURE 74. Area II Schematic Diagrams of Kitchen and Architecture Artifact Distributions.

Five of the six features found were located in the western half of Area II. Feature 2000 was the only feature located in the center of Area II (Figure 73). It was a shallow, roughly circular stain, and contained a number of artifacts. It is hypothesized that this feature was a planting hole since it is too shallow (15 cm) to have been a posthole, and contained no postmold. Feature 2000 yielded a mean ceramic date of 1780.16. This is, however, a date derived from only six dateable sherds.

Three of the five western features were shallow erosional gulleys running downslope to the north. These were Features 2004, 2007, and 2008 (Figure 73). The sparse material in Features 2004 and 2007 probably naturally washed down from above since the features were most likely too shallow (4 to 5 cm deep) and too narrow (15 to 25 cm wide) to even have been noticed by the inhabitants. Feature 2008 was deeper (56 cm) and larger (100 by 30 cm) than the other erosional features and contained more artifacts. This feature with a TPQ of 1762 and an MCD of 1751.45 may have been intentionally filled with garbage, although the artifact count is only 119 for a feature that measured 1 m by 30 cm and was 56 cm deep.

Feature 2002 was a shallow linear feature which ran east to west. This was the only trench that was so oriented, and it was speculated that this may possibly have been part of a walkway, an informal path along the hillside, or even a cowpath. Feature 2001 was located on the north side and down slope from, and intruded into, the linear feature. Feature 2004 also intruded into Feature 2002. The symmetrical outline and flat level bottom of Feature 2001 indicated that it was intentionally dug, perhaps as a planting hole.

### Summary

There were no concentrations of artifacts in features in Area II, with the possible exception of Feature 2008, although there did appear to be more artifacts in the units down slope from the cellar structure in Area I. While overall artifact density in Area II was the greatest of any area of the site, small artifact size and the disturbed nature of the deposit precluded clear definition of the two primary occupations of the site or of the artifacts and artifacts patterns. With six features found in 52 square meters the concentration of features was only 0.12 features per unit, or much lower than the nearby side yard. This, in combination with the high density of artifacts, tends to indicate that the area was used for secondary trash disposal, possibly from the side yard (Area I) or the cellar structure.

### AREA III

Area III was located to the northwest of the manor house on a small knoll which sloped at its northwest edge toward the Potomac River floodplain (Figures 41 and 75). The area was covered with hardwood trees and underlying scrub which had to be removed before the area was excavated.

Testing by Hurry in 1984 indicated that Area III contained "a large, rectangular, flat-topped mound of fill" (1984:60). Hurry hypothesized that this mound was constructed to create a level area upon which a structure could have been erected during the mid nineteenth century. It was anticipated that excavation would provide data on:

1. features representing a plantation outbuilding of the nineteenth century; and
2. artifactual evidence to indicate the structure's age and function.

Work began in Area III on March 12, 1985 and was completed by March 14, 1985. The excavation strategy for this area called for backhoe testing followed by hand excavated units. The backhoe

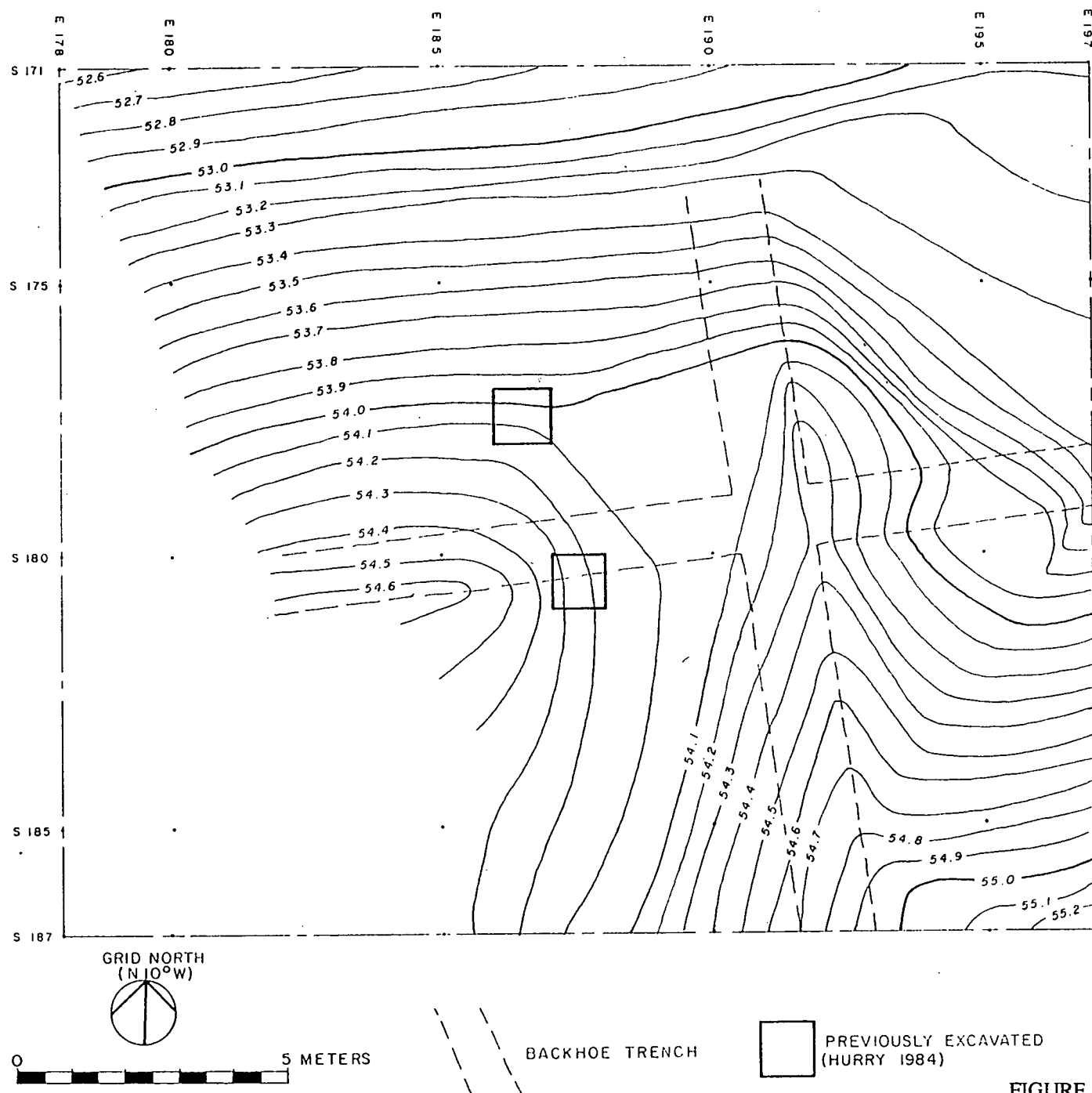


FIGURE 75. Area III Topography.



opened two trenches across the area to subsoil, one trench running approximately north to south and the second approximately east to west. The two trenches intersected in the center of the area.

The stratigraphy of the area consisted primarily of two layers (Figure 76). Along the north-south trench, the A horizon was a very thin layer extending over the top of most of the area. It was thickest on the north part of the area just at the edge of the knoll. Beneath this obviously scraped down level was the typical B horizon of gravelly red clay.

It was immediately obvious that Area III represented a very recent scraping of the area into the subsoil by heavy equipment. Since the only known twentieth-century major construction project completed in the area was the I-95 highway, it was assumed that the leveling of the area was done in conjunction with that project. It was also obvious that no features would be encountered in the area, and indeed no pre-1960s artifacts were found in the trenches. Once the backhoe trenches were completed, profiles were drawn, photographs were taken, and Area III was closed.

## AREA IV

### Description

Area IV was a large terrace overlooking the Potomac River, and was located directly west of the manor house (Figure 41). A bluff edge sloped down steeply on the west to the Potomac River floodplain. The artificially built-up edge of the terrace also dropped off rather steeply to the north (Figures 77 and 78). The manor house was located to the east while to the south the terrace continued outside of Area IV until it ended abruptly in a deep gulley. Area IV was heavily overgrown with hardwood forest and undergrowth which had to be removed prior to excavation. Only Hurry's (1984) previous test excavations were visible on the surface.

Area IV had been tested prior to the present project by both Dent in 1981 and Hurry in 1984. Dent placed two test units in the area which revealed a range of historic artifacts, but no outbuildings (1983:74). Hurry's testing discovered the terrace and the original ground surface beneath it. Hurry recovered prehistoric artifacts from the western edge of the terrace (1984:74), and it appeared there was a chance for preservation of a low density, single component prehistoric occupation in this buried A horizon.

Excavations were undertaken in Area IV to examine:

1. an artificial terrace forming a formal front yard for the manor house;
2. formal gardening features; and
3. a possibly intact Late Woodland prehistoric component below the artificial terrace.

Historical and archaeological data confirmed that this area was an artificial terrace with extensive gardening features. However, no large prehistoric component was buried beneath the artificial terrace.

Field investigations in Area IV began on March 12, 1985 and were completed during April, 1985. The excavation strategy for this area called for combined backhoe testing and intensive excavations (Figure 78). Five backhoe trenches extending through the artificial terrace fill and the buried A horizon spanned the area. Trenches 1, 2, and 3 ran north-south while Trenches 4 and 5 ran east-west. Intensive excavations were tailored to the results of the backhoe testing and to Hurry's

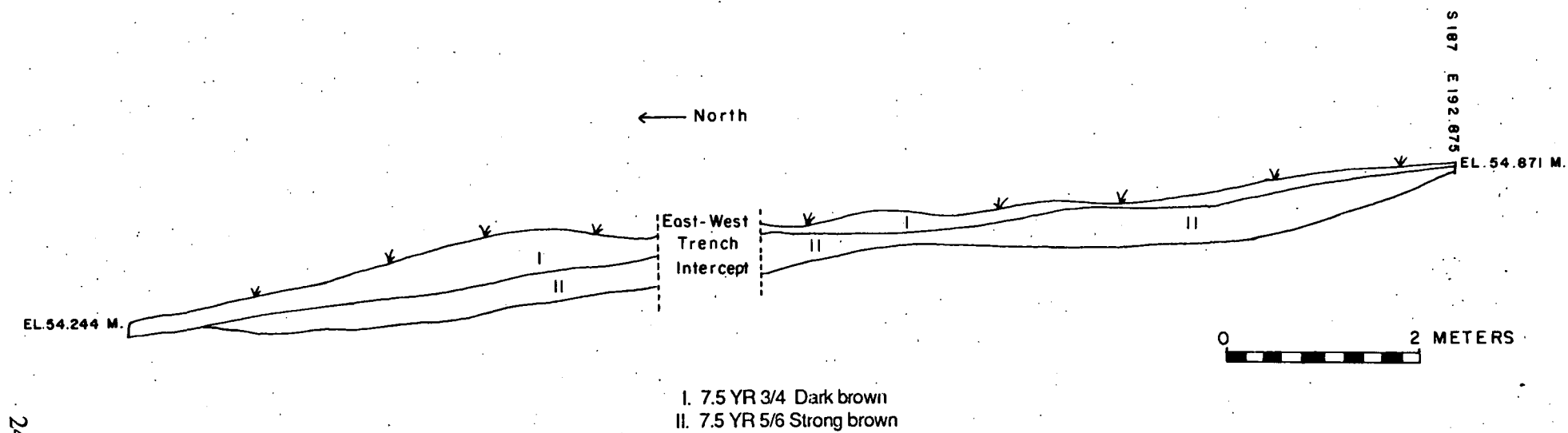


FIGURE 76. Area III Backhoe Trench East Profile.

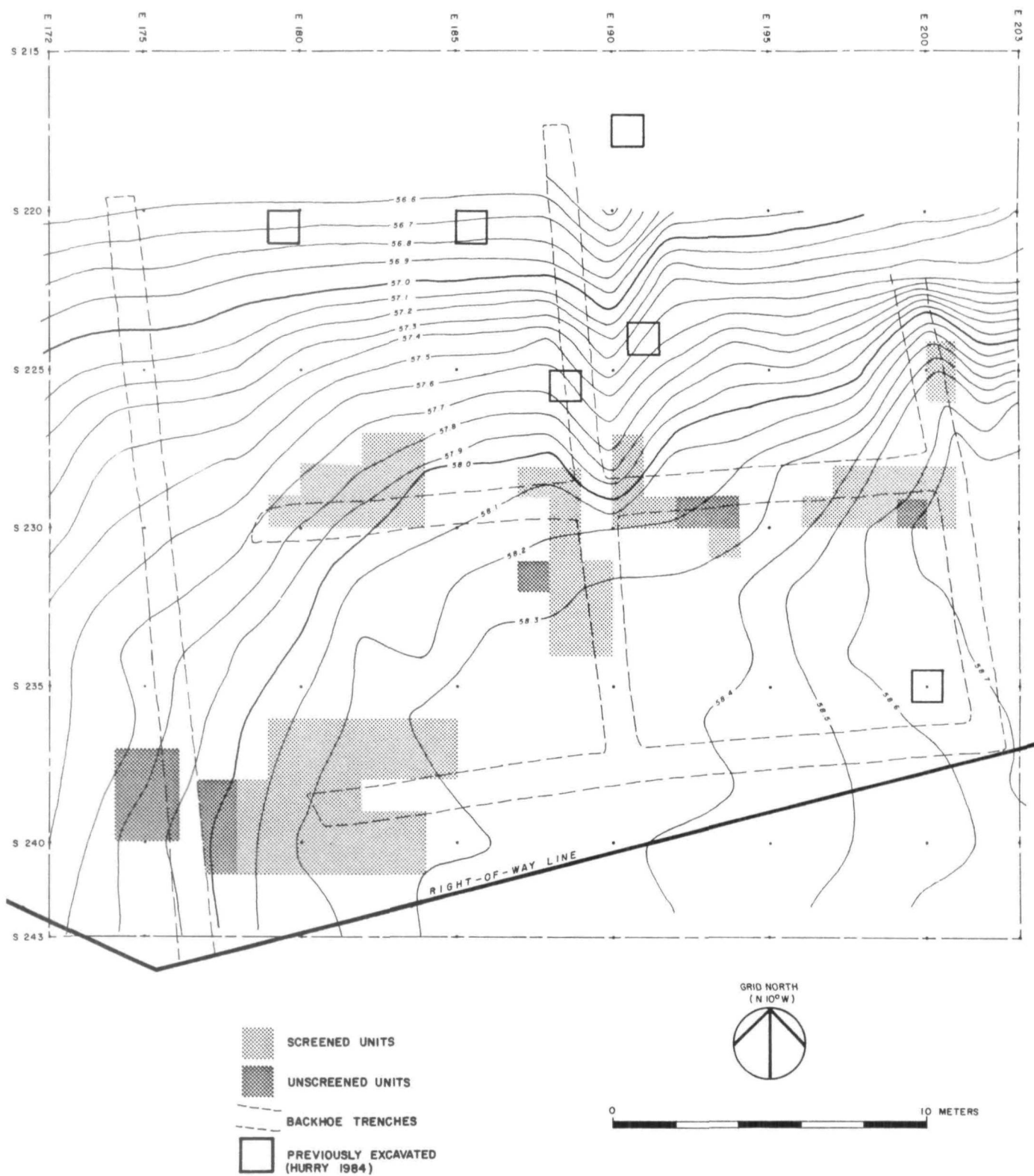


FIGURE 77. Area IV Topography and Excavation.

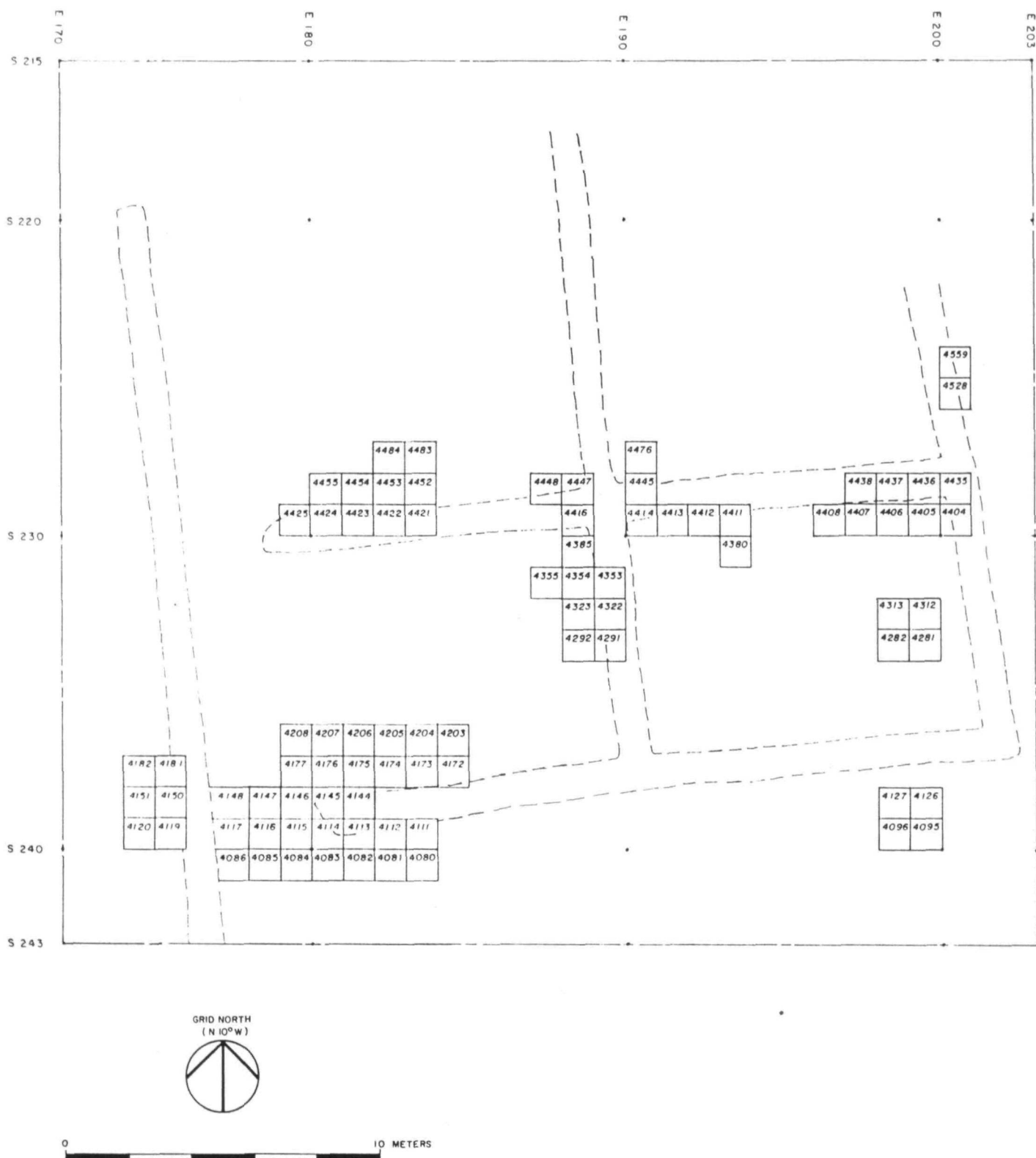


FIGURE 78. Area IV Excavation Units Numbered.

(1984) testing results. The exceptions were the units south of Trench 4, which were excavated to insure that no major features would be missed in that part of the site. A total of 72 screened units and 13 unscreened units revealed 15 features. The overall mean ceramic date for Area IV was 1789.78.

From the trench profiles (Figures 79 and 80) it can be seen that most of the buried A horizon was located in the northeastern part of the area. Filling of the terrace had leveled a lower area between the main house and the bluff edge to the east. In the remainder of the area and especially to the south and west the terrace had been formed by scraping rather than filling. The fill may actually have been removed from the surface of the southern and western half of Area IV and redeposited in the northern and eastern half, covering the original ground surface. The original topsoil (A horizon) was buried under as many as three layers of fill. This fill material was a friable, predominantly gravelly clay mixed with infrequent brick fragments.

On the northeast corner of Area IV and on the edge of the terrace was a large pear tree over 3 feet in diameter. This tree is probably one of three large trees noted on the edges of the main house compound on the 1863 map, and must be at least 150 years old, although no boring was made.

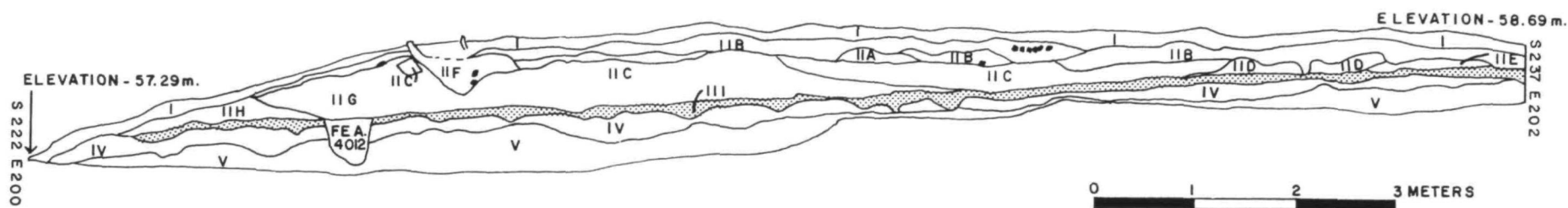
## The Excavation

### The Drains

Intensive excavations in Area IV uncovered two (perhaps three) subsurface brick drainage systems, a concentration of broken flat glass clustered in the southeastern corner of the area (Figure 81, 82, and 83), a small concentration of kitchen artifacts in the southwestern corner with a TPQ of 1866 based on a rimfire cartridge, and a sparse scattering of historic artifacts (35.39 artifacts per unit). The investigations exposed 15 features in all. Ceramics collected from the units provided a mean ceramic date of 1788.60 from 90 dateable sherds. The features produced very few artifacts, and the three ceramic sherds recovered from features were inadequate for a mean ceramic date. Only one feature (Feature 4016) produced dateable material with a mean ceramic date of 1825. Unfortunately the system of drains produced virtually no artifacts and certainly no dateable ones.

Drainage systems were exposed first by the backhoe and later by hand excavation in the southwestern and southeastern corners of the area (Figures 83). Drains were located very near the ground surface, covered by only 4 to 8 cm of dark yellowish brown topsoil. They were made of dry laid brick in trenches dug into the subsoil only slightly wider than the drains themselves. The trench fill around the drains was a dark yellowish brown clay.

There were two systems of drains in the southwestern corner of Area IV. The first set of drains consisted of Features 4000, 4014, and 4015. These features were well-constructed of complete brick, similar to that found throughout the site. The sides of these drains were built on a bottom course of brick which spanned the width of the drains. The walls of Feature 4000 were bricks set on edge, making this feature higher than the other two where the wall bricks were lying flat. The space between the walls was capped by another course of brick lying perpendicular to the walls. Where the three drains met and at the exposed eastern end of Feature 4014 there were miniature "manholes" made of four bricks in a square. The four bricks left a small square hole between them about one brick width to a side. These access points would have made it possible to unclog the drains with a flexible switch, but they were too small to allow a man's arm to enter very far. It is clear that the drains emptied through Feature 4000 to the bluff edge. Although time did not permit excavation all the way to the bluff edge, a probe indicated that the feature continued to the bluff before terminating. The fill in the drains was generally a clayey or sandy loam with occasional gravel.



- I. TOPSOIL - A HORIZON  
10 YR 3/3 Dark brown sandy loam
- II. FILL LAYERS
  - IIA. 7.5 YR 5/6 to 7.5 YR 4/6 Strong brown cultural fill, mottled matrix with large gravel and brick fragments
  - IIB. 10 YR 4/4 Dark yellowish brown subsoil interface
  - IIC. 7.5 YR 4/6 Strong brown mottled with 10 YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown subsoil
  - IID. 10 YR 3/3, 10 YR 4/4 and 10 YR 5/4 Mottled dark brown to yellowish brown matrix with some brick
  - IIE. 2.5 YR 4/8 Red, fired and crushed brick
  - IIF. 10 YR 3/3 Dark brown sandy loam with shell-tempered mortar and brick
  - IIG. 7.5 YR 5/6 to 10 YR 5/8 Strong brown to yellowish brown sandy clay, friable matrix of gravel and some brick
  - IIH. 5 YR 4/6 Yellowish brown sandy clay with gravel matrix
- III. BURIED A HORIZON  
10 YR 4/4 Dark yellowish brown silty loam
- IV. BURIED SUBSOIL INTERFACE  
10 YR 5/4 to 7.5 YR 5/8 Yellowish brown to strong brown
- V. BURIED SUBSOIL  
10 YR 5/6 to 7.5 YR 5/8 Yellowish brown to strong brown clay

FIGURE 79. Area IV - Trench 1 East Profile.

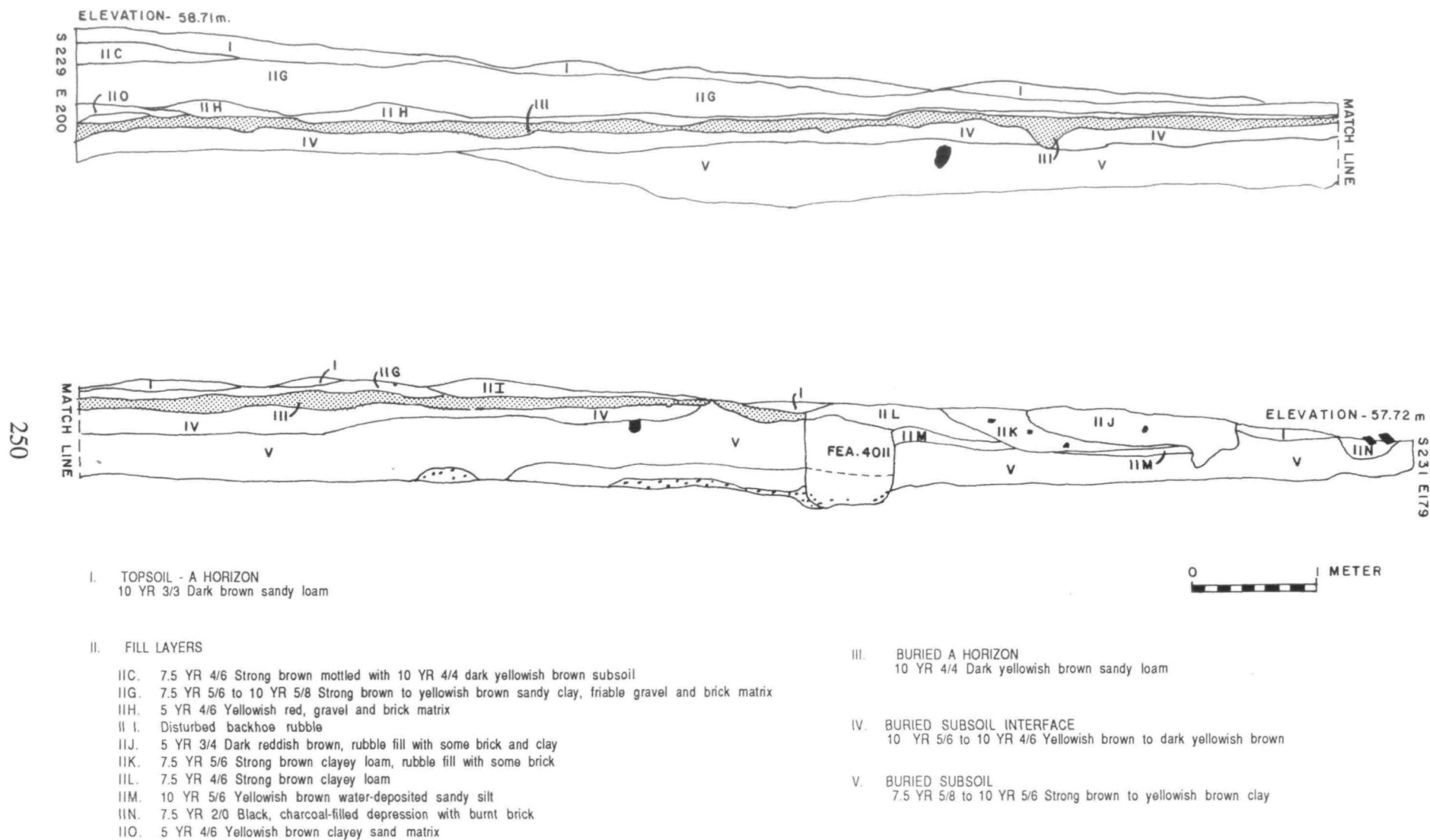
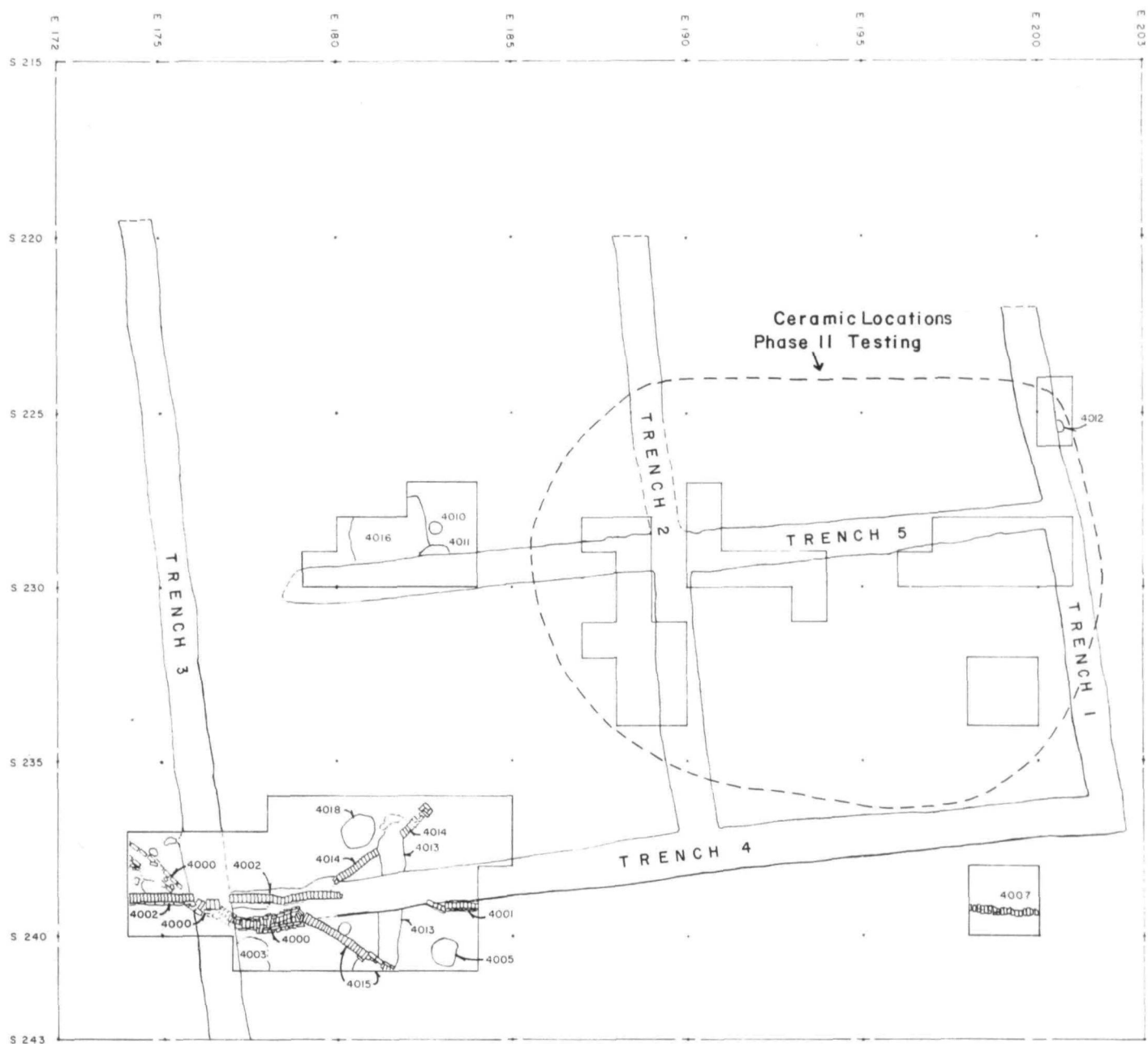


FIGURE 80. Area IV - Trench 5 South Profile.



GRID NORTH  
(N 10° W)



0 10 METERS

FIGURE 81. Area IV Features.



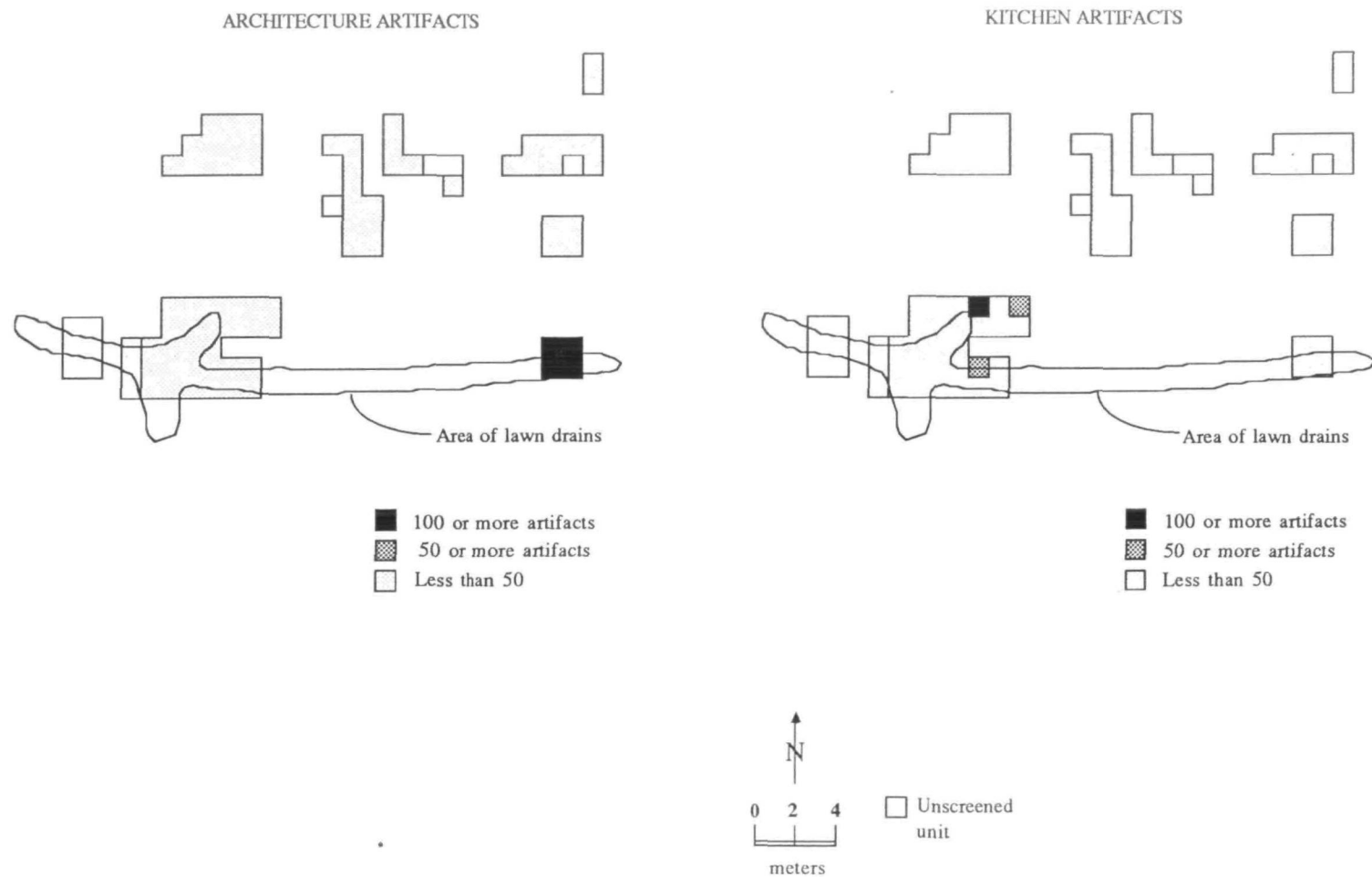


FIGURE 82. Area IV Schematic Diagram of Architecture and Kitchen Artifact Distributions.

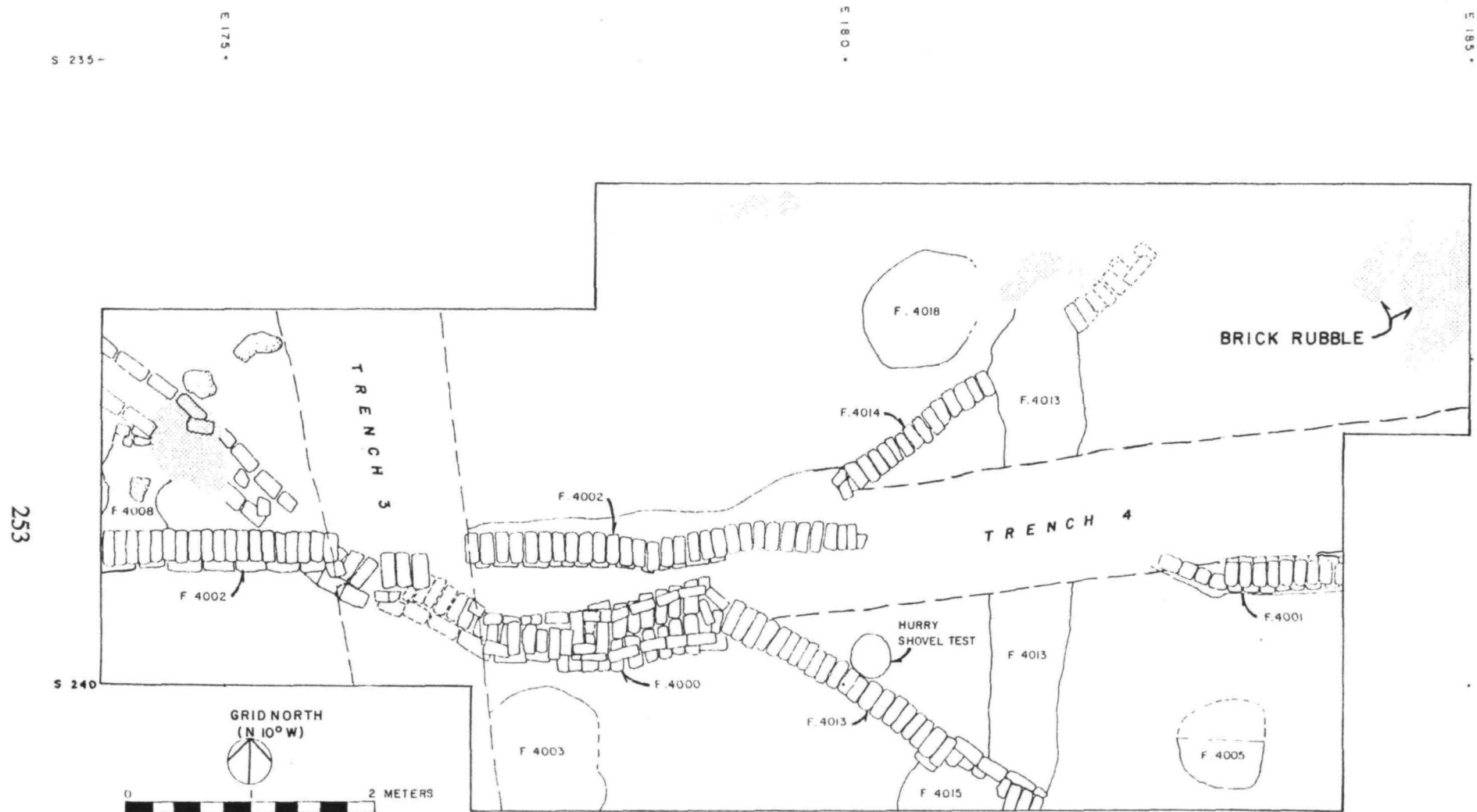


FIGURE 83. Area IV Drainage Features - Plan View.

A second drainage system consisted of Features 4001 and 4002. These features were almost certainly part of the same drain, but had been cut by the backhoe. Feature 4002 cut the first drainage system in two places, at the base of Feature 4014 and again through the tail of the Y in Feature 4000. This system was of a much simpler design and much more poorly made than the first system. There was no bottom course spanning the distance between the walls, and the bricks used to make the walls were, with few exceptions, broken. This drain had walls made of bricks lying flat, and emptied straight to the bluff edge rather than following a graceful curve as the first drain did.

To the east of these features there was a third drain which seems to have been aligned with and may have been part of the second drainage system. This drain, Feature 4007, is also poorly made of broken brick with no bottom layer, and probing indicated that the Features 4001, 4002, and 4007 may be connected. However, the wall brick are set on edge like those in Feature 4000. It is unclear how far this drain extends to the east, but it may extend to the main house.

The purpose of these systems does not seem to have been primarily for drainage around structures, as the drain terminations found during excavation are not related to structures. The soils on the terrace are such that water tends to stay on the surface until it evaporates. Given this situation it is hypothesized that the systems were used to drain a bowling green or garden(s). Several of the remaining features in the southwestern corner of the area may support this hypothesis.

Feature 4013 was a brick rubble-filled trench in the southwestern quarter of Area IV which cut through Feature 4014 to the north, was cut by a backhoe trench, and abutted Feature 4015 to the south (Figure 83). This feature was covered by a thin layer of topsoil; it varied in depth from 10 to 20 cm, was approximately 64 cm wide, and about 4 m in length. The brick rubble fill suggests intentionally crushed brick that might have been used to keep the surface of the ground dry, rather than the remains of a robbed builder's trench. In any case, it is very shallow, probably too shallow to have been a foundation trench.

Features 4005 and 4018 were circular features filled with brick rubble much like Feature 4013. The larger of these, Feature 4018, was not excavated, but appeared on the surface to be identical to Feature 4005. Feature 4005 was 50 cm deep and produced no postmold or other attributes to suggest its function.

Feature 4003 was not excavated due to time limitations and because its profile exposed in the backhoe trench showed that it was very shallow and filled with organic soil. It may have been a planting hole.

### The Northwest Quadrant

Feature 4011 was cut by backhoe trench 3 (Figure 81). The discovery of this feature led to the units being opened in the northwest part of Area IV. The portion of the feature not cut by the backhoe measured 34 cm east-west, 30 cm north-south, and 73 cm in depth. It was filled with a strong brown clay (7.5YR5/6) mixed with gravel and a few brick fragments but very few other artifacts. This may indicate that the feature dates early in the occupation of the site, before debris had built up. Since most of it was cut by the backhoe it is impossible to determine its function, although it has the shape and depth of a structural posthole.

Feature 4016 was located in the northwestern quarter of Area IV adjacent to Feature 4011. It was a broad shallow pit filled with brick and mortar rubble and a vague line (perhaps accidental) of brick bats within the rubble. This feature was very similar to the rubble filled features to the south, and like

them its function may have been drainage. Another feature in this part of Area IV is one small irregular stain (Feature 4010). This feature produced brick flecks and shell mortar and may have been a root stain.

### The Buried A Horizon

In the northeast corner of the area the backhoe exposed the only feature associated with the buried A horizon (Level IV in Figure 79 and 80). This was Feature 4012 (Figure 81), half of a circular pit. The top of the feature began at the surface of the buried A horizon and was 37 cm deep. Its shape, size, dark mottled fill, and the presence of one piece of fire cracked quartzite indicated that it may have been prehistoric, but no diagnostic artifacts of any type were recovered.

The remainder of the units in Area IV did not produce features, or for that matter many artifacts. Units along trench 5 between trenches 1 and 2 were excavated through the buried A horizon in hopes of finding prehistoric remains. This attempt was largely unsuccessful as only an occasional flake and no prehistoric features were found (Table 53). Some of the units showed considerable mixing of the historic period in the buried A horizon, e.g. Units 4405, 4406, 4407, 4408, and 4445. While Unit 4445 was located in an area where the buried A was shallow, the other units were located where the buried A was the deepest and still there was considerable mixing.

Table 53. Material From the Buried A Horizon.

---

Unit	Historic	Prehistoric
4380	1 clear glass bottle frag.	none
4385	brick frag.	none
4404	none	1 quartz bipolar flake
4405	brick frag., 1 buff stoneware	1 Accokeek Fabric Impressed
4406	brick frag., 1 pipe	2 quartz flakes
4407	brick frag., 1 delft	none
4408	brick frag., 1 green glass bottle frag.	1 grit tempered sherd, 1 quartz flake
4411	none	none
4412	none	none
4413	none	none
4414	brick frag.	1 possible hammerstone
4416	none	1 grit tempered sherd
4435	brick frag.	1 fire cracked rock
4436	none	none
4437	brick frag.	none
4438	none	none
4445	1 flat glass, brick frag.	2 grit tempered sherds
4447	brick frag.	1 quartz flake
4448	brick frag.	1 quartz flake, 1 fire cracked rock
4476	none	none
4528	none	none
4559	none	1 quartz flake

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## The Remaining Features and Units

The units in the southwest corner formed by trenches 4 and 1 were opened to investigate a disturbance exposed by the backhoe. The disturbance turned out to be an erosional feature predating the historic and any prehistoric occupation, according to Dr. John Foss. The units in the area enclosed by trenches 1, 2, 4, and 5 were opened to investigate a lens of brick dust first noted by Hurry (1984). This turned out to be simply another fill lens laid down during construction of the terrace.

## **Summary**

The terrace was probably built in the eighteenth century. Fill from the terrace had an MCD of 1789.78. However, this may actually be the mean date of the use of the terrace rather than the terrace fill, since nearly all of these sherds came from the topsoil on the terrace. There were no prehistoric features originating in the original A horizon, and indeed when the artifacts from the buried A and associated levels are examined very few prehistoric or historic artifacts are found (Table 53). Once completed the terrace was supplied with drains. The earliest set of drains was made with many whole brick, such as one would find around a recently constructed brick house. Later drains were built exclusively of brick bats. A layer of brick dust in the eastern part of the area resting on the buried A horizon, appears not to have been disturbed very much before it was covered by terrace fill. If this lens represents construction debris from the house (and there were no other structures in the A horizon) then it would appear that the fill was placed over the brick dust soon after construction of the house. As a result, it is felt that the terrace was probably built fairly early in the occupation of the structure, perhaps even by mid century.

Excavation of Area IV answered the questions posed for the historic period use of this area. The terrace was clearly artificial, and it did contain features that could be associated with extensive gardening. Unfortunately, the buried A horizon did not contain a concentration of prehistoric remains. There were 35.39 artifacts per screened unit, the lowest density of any area except Areas VIc and VIId. There were also 0.18 features per square meter, a relatively low percentage. This further supports the hypothesis that Area IV was not a dumping area, but rather an area kept relatively free of debris.

## **AREA V**

### **Description**

Area V was located northeast of the main house structure and the Addison family cemetery, directly north of a large depression noted by Dent (1983:72) and Hurry (1984:62), and to the east of Area I (Figures 41, 84, 85, and 86). Only the large depression and the mound ringing it were visible on the surface. This depression itself was located outside of the project right-of-way and was not investigated. Prior to excavation several trees had to be removed from the excavation area; the entire area was heavily wooded in hardwood forest. Area V was on the same terracing system as Area I to the west, and sloped down to the north and east.

It was anticipated that excavation of the portion of Area V within the right-of-way would provide:

1. artifacts related to an hypothesized icehouse or well structure; and
2. foundation features related to the structure covering the depression.

Excavation of the area produced one clearly defined structure (Feature 5000) unrelated to the depression, parts of at least three other structures, and various other features with no clear associations. No evidence was encountered to support or negate the hypothesized icehouse or well structure. Excavation began in Area V on March 22, 1985 and was completed by April 22, 1985. A total of 11 square meters of screened and 14 square meters of unscreened soil revealed 21 features. The overall mean ceramic date for Area V was 1783.56.

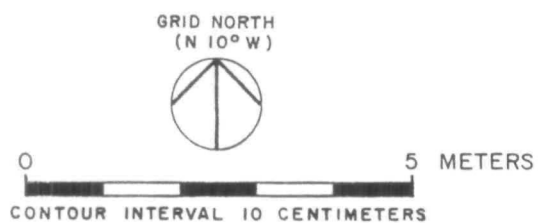
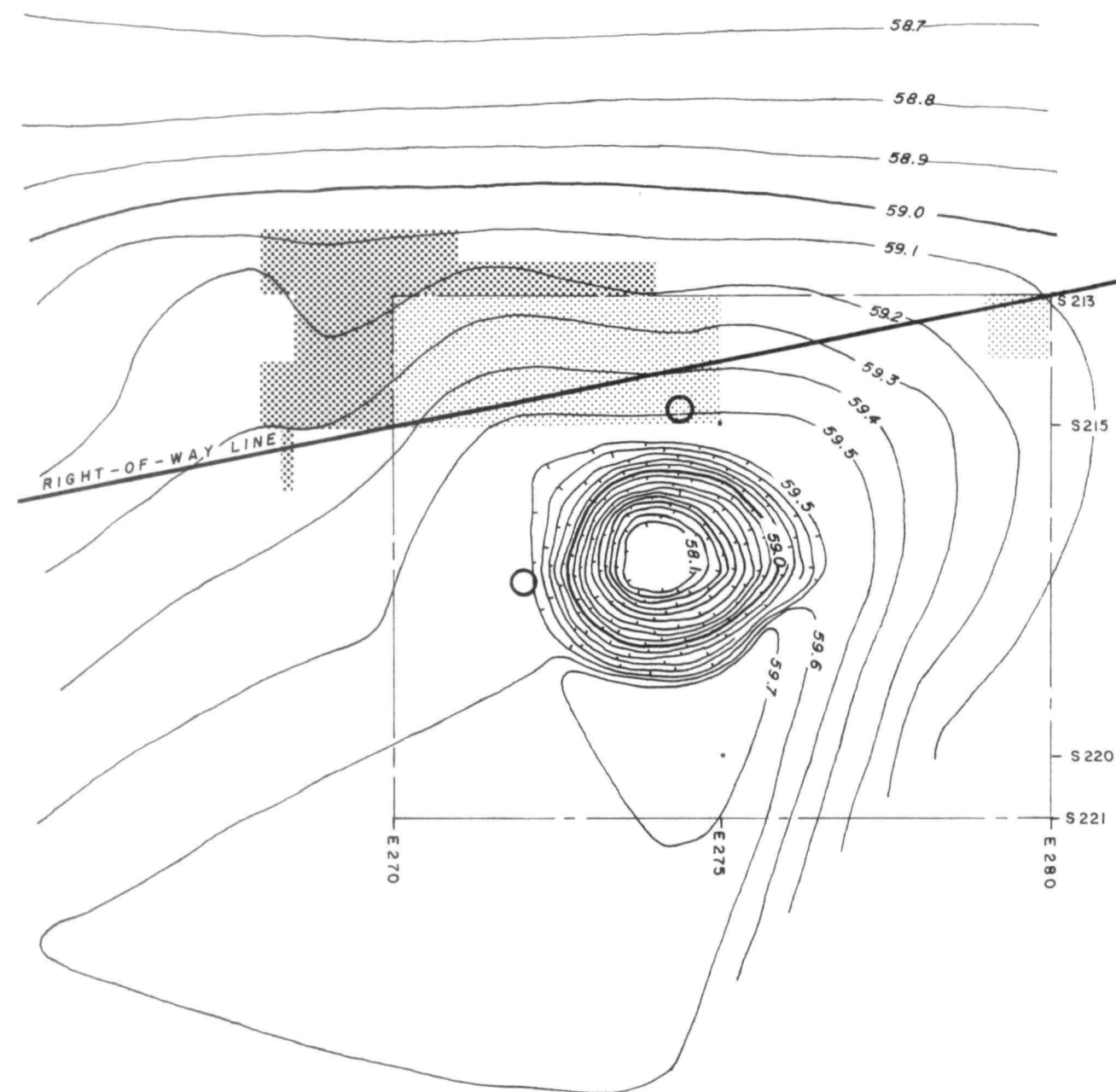
### The Excavation

The stratigraphy of Area V (Figure 87) began with a dark gray brown silty loam topsoil which varied in thickness. There was a second level of dark gray ashy silt outside of and extending over the eastern third of the structure. Beneath this was a red and brown clay layer extending over the eastern wall of brick. These two levels represent the mound surrounding the depression and appear to be backfill from excavation of the depression. Beneath the two previous fill levels was an E horizon of yellow brown silty clay ending abruptly outside the eastern and western brick walls, and beneath the E horizon was a hard, brittle fragipan subsoil into which a structure and other features had originally been excavated. The stratigraphy shows that the backfill from the depression overlies and postdates the destruction and filling in of the brick structure.

It was primarily because of the depression in the south of Area V that Hurry and Kavanagh (1985) recommended further work there. The backfill from this depression generally postdates the structural fill (see MCDs in Table 54), while the TPQs are reversed. Sample size is very small for the back fill (only 3 sherds compared to 59 for the structure) which might have caused sampling error for the earlier TPQ of the backfill. However, it is also possible that the structure was filled over an extended period of time (see discussion of the structure below) and that some of the structural fill actually does postdate the depression backfill. It should also be noted in Table 54 that the topsoil was contaminated with two pieces of twentieth century decal polychrome (not included in the table), probably from the Sumner Welles' deposits in Area VIa, and that the MCD and ceramic TPQ are based on one sherd of cream-colored ware. All of the non-ceramic TPQs are based on cut nails, and the ceramic TPQs are based on 1 or two sherds of pearlware or cream-colored ware.

Table 54. Various MCDs and TPQs in Area V.

Context	MCD	Ceramic TPQ	Non-Ceramic TPQ
Topsoil (Layer I)	1855.00	1820	1805
Backfill (Layers II, III, IV, & VI)	1763.33	1780	1805
Old Surface (Layer VII)	1809.30	1820	none
Structure (Layers V, & VII-XIII)	1750.63	1820	1805






-  SCREENED UNITS
-  UNSCREENED UNITS
-  PREVIOUSLY EXCAVATED  
(HURRY 1984)

FIGURE 84. Area V Topography and Excavation.

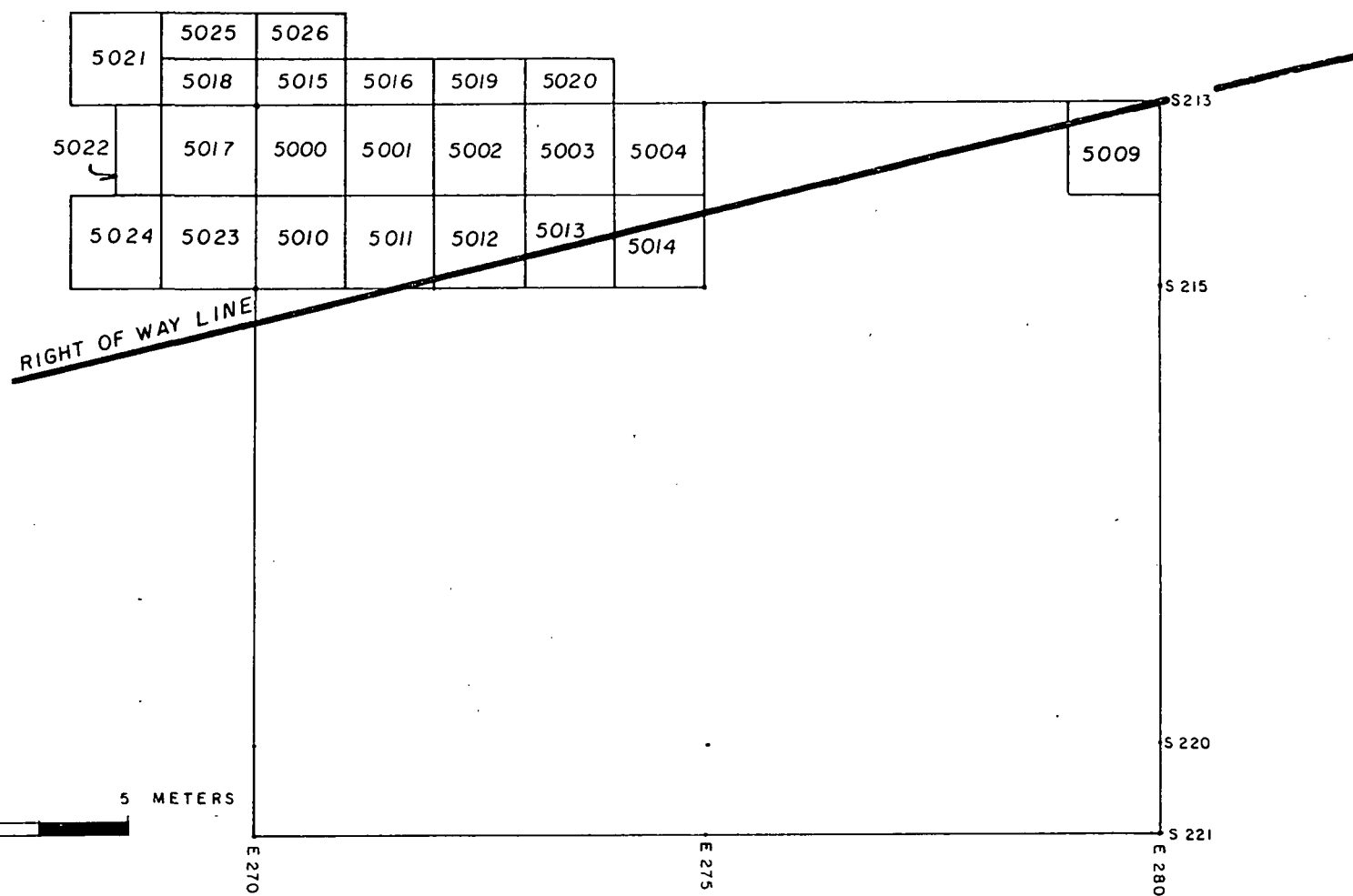


FIGURE 85. Area V Excavation Units Numbered.



260

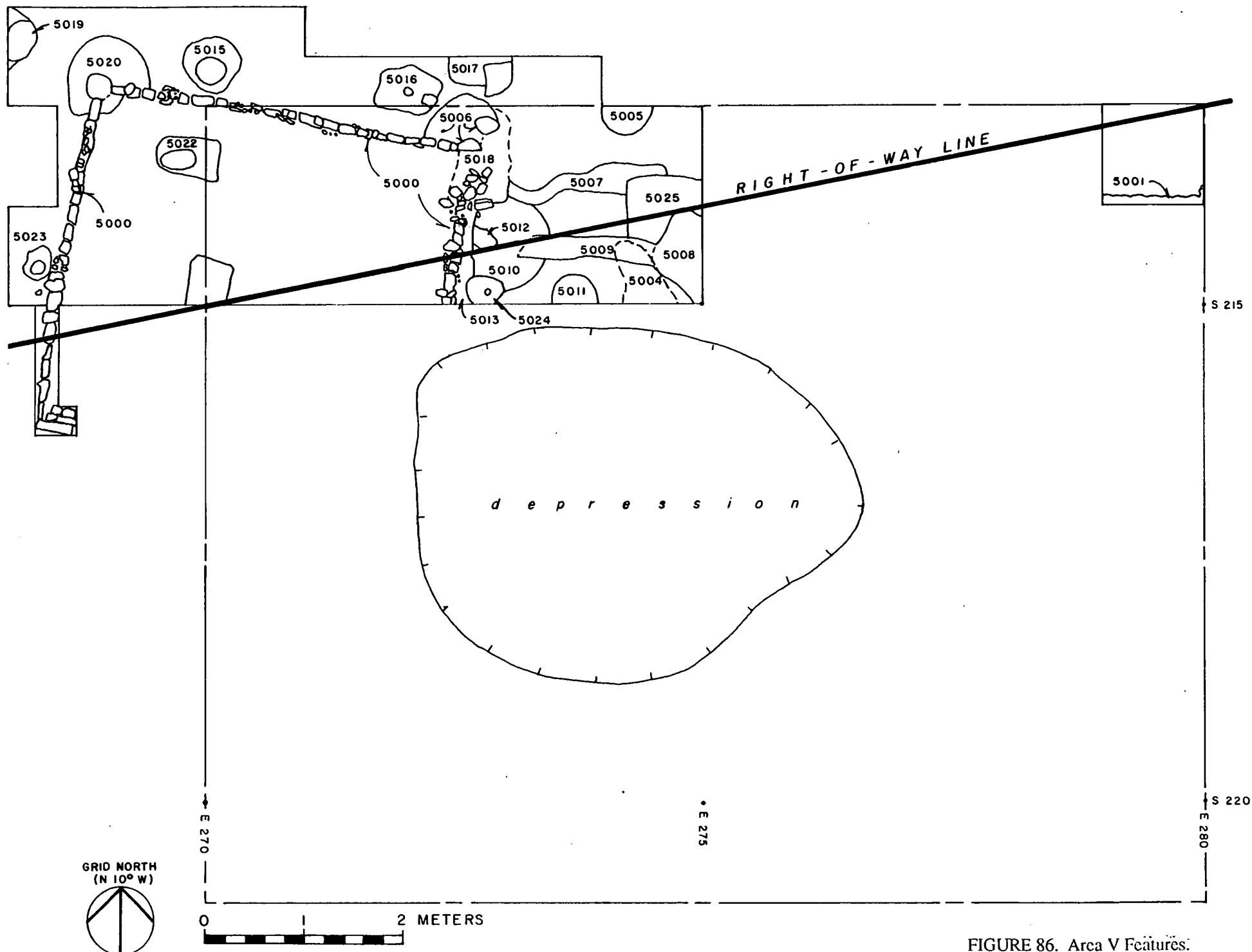
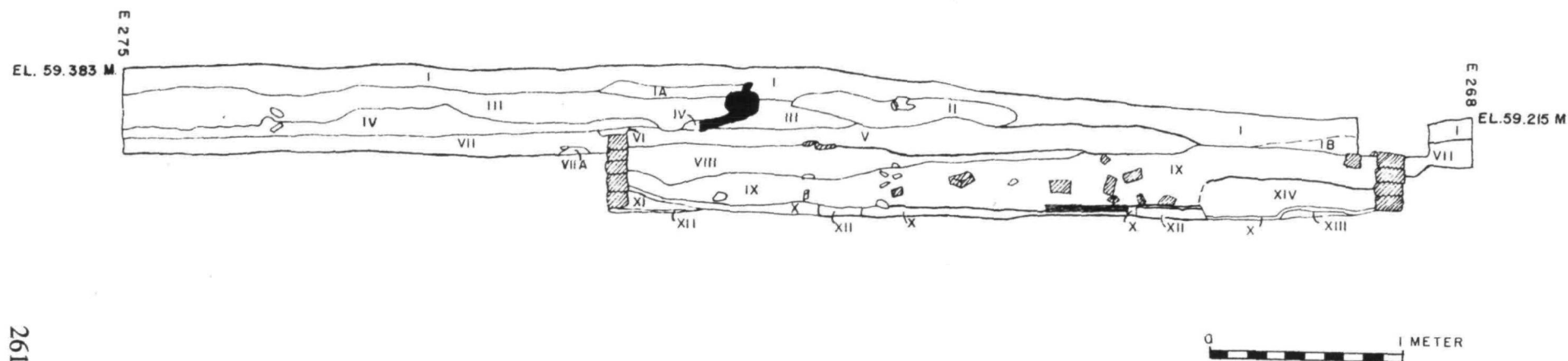


FIGURE 86. Area V Features.



- I. 10 YR 3/2 Very dark greyish brown silty loam
- IA. 10 YR 3/2 Very dark greyish brown silt.
- IB. 10 YR 3/4 Dark yellowish silty loam.
- II. 2.5 YR 4/6 Red sandy clay.
- III. 10 YR 4/1 Dark grey ashy silt with mottles of 2.5 YR 3/6 dark red and 10 YR 4/6 dark yellowish brown.
- IV. 2.5 YR 3/6 Dark red with 7.5 YR 4/6 strong brown clay.
- V. 7.5 YR 4/4 Brown-dark brown silty loam.
- VI. 7.5 YR 4/4 Brown-dark brown silty loam with 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown silty clay.
- VII. 10 YR 5/4 Yellowish brown silty clay.
- VIIA. 10 YR 5/6 Yellowish brown silty clay.
- VIII. 2.5 YR 4/8 Red compacted brick dust.
- IX. 10 YR 4/3 Brown-dark brown mottled with 10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown silty loam with flecks of brick, charcoal, and mortar.
- X. 10 YR 6/4 Light yellowish brown ashy sand.
- XI. 10 YR 6/4 Light yellowish brown ashy sand with 7.5 YR 5/6 strong brown clay.
- XII. 10 YR 5/6 Yellowish brown silty clay.
- XIII. 7.5 YR 5/6 Strong brown clay.
- XIV. 10 YR 4/4 Dark yellowish brown sandy, silty loam with heavy concentration of charcoal flecks and some flecks of bricks and mortar.

FIGURE 87. Area V South Profile at S 215 Line.

## The Structure

Within the structure there were several mixed and unconsolidated fill levels lying on a thin yellow brown greasy-ashy sand layer (Level X in Figure 87). The upper layers (Levels VIII and IX in Figure 87) had a high concentration of mammal bone, which probably came from nearby, since hauling bone from long distances to fill a hole would be a very inefficient exercise when abundant soil and trash are nearby. The great amounts of bone probably represent secondary refuse from nearby butchering just before or just after abandonment of the structure and the first filling in of the structure within a relatively short time after abandonment. The MCD of the fill (Layers VIII and IX; Layer V was considered potentially contaminated by later fill) was 1757.52, and the TPQ was 1820 based on a single sherd of cream-colored ware. The earliest bracket date (South 1977:214-215) was 1740, so it would appear that the majority of the deposit dates between 1740 and 1780 (beginning date of Pearlware, 3 sherds) and that the hole remained partially open as a trash area until at least 1820. It was probably during the period 1780 to 1820 that the depression to the south was excavated and its backfill mixed with the upper levels of the structural fill.

The greasy-ashy floor layer was undoubtedly the last occupation floor deposit of the building. Along the brick walls and beneath this ashy floor deposit were various lenses representing areas which were not as accessible and therefore not cleaned as often as the central part of the structure. The mean ceramic date of the floor layer was 1750.00 (based on only 9 sherds of blue and white delft) with a TPQ of 1700.

The construction of the structure was unusual (Figure 88). First, an approximately square hole was excavated nearly a foot into subsoil. This hole was then lined on the east, north, and west sides with four single courses of mortared brick capped with a course of dry laid brick bats. Obviously, these walls could not have been used as foundations or have served a structural function. They may have been used to keep the dirt walls from slumping into the hole or perhaps to provide a barrier to keep out burrowing animals. Such a preventive measure would not have been needed unless there was something in the structure which would have attracted animals, such as meat or foodstuffs. Postholes were placed in the northern corners (Features 5020 and 5006), providing frame walls on the east, west, and north. The south wall was outside the project area, but was investigated with a test trench (Figures 88 and 89). This wall was two courses wide and did not have a posthole in the southwest corner. This may indicate that the south wall was a brick wall, or at least a wall built on a brick foundation. This presumed brick wall would have also faced the main house compound and driveway, while the frame walls would have been on the sides and back of the structure. Whether or not the south wall was brick, it is apparent that it was more sturdy than the rear and side walls. Since no doors were found in the excavated portions of the east, north, or west walls (Feature 5018 is collapsed debris from subsequent posthole construction), and the south wall was probably considered to be the front wall as well as the most substantial wall, it is possible that the south wall also contained the door. Since no similar buildings were found in the literature, these assumptions can only be clearly ascertained after more work on the south half of the structure, but it is interesting to note that a structure very similar to the one just described, complete with the sunken floor, is present at Mount Vernon and described as a meathouse (Editor, personal observation, 1985). If this structure was a meathouse, as its form and greasy-ashy floor tend to indicate, then perhaps it was constructed with a stronger front wall and heavy door to make forced entry more difficult and thereby protect the meat within against theft. A door frame could not be as well secured in the more lightly built walls to the east, west, or north.

It has been suggested that the structure may have been a smokehouse, rather than simply a meathouse. Two facts argue against this suggestion. First, over half of the feature was excavated, and no hearth or hearth foundation was found for smoking meat. Second, smokehouses often were used until they burnt down, and there is no evidence of a fire destroying the structure as none of the

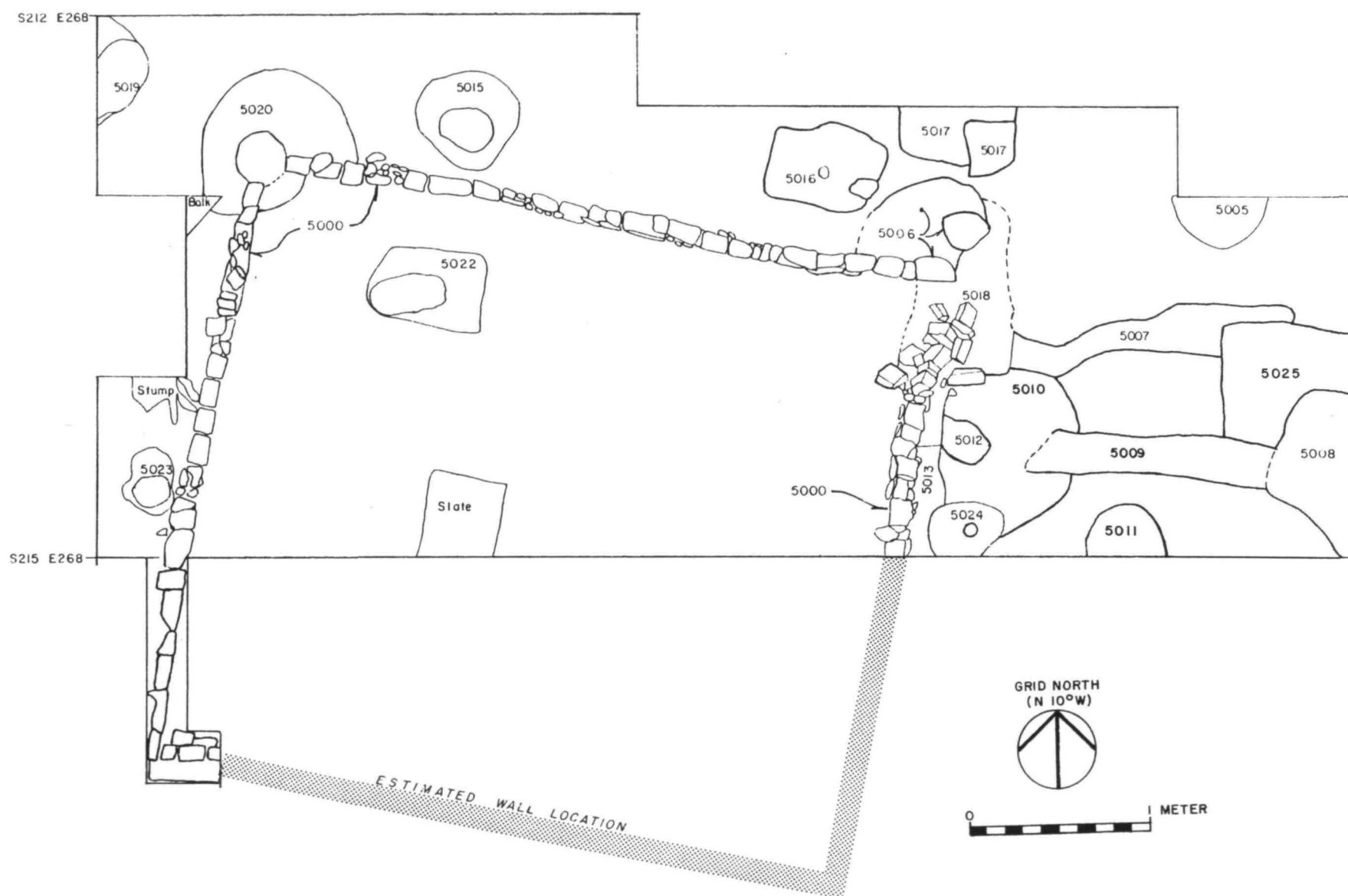


FIGURE 88. Area V - Feature 5000 and Related Features.



FIGURE 89. Area V Dating of Structures.

1,162 nails found in the structure were burnt. The approximately 33 percent of the bone which was burnt (see Chapter VIII) probably was burned nearby and subsequently deposited here.

It has also been suggested that the structure represented a milkhouse. There was no indication of a concentration of dairy related artifacts (milk pans, bucket parts, churns, etc.) and the ashy nature of the floor more nearly suggests ash brought in with meat from a nearby smokehouse. However, a milkhouse interpretation should not be ruled out.

### The Remaining Features

There were at least nine postholes (Features 5005, 5015, 5016, 5017, 5018, 5019, 5022, 5023, and 5024) not directly related to the structure in Area V (Figure 88). It could not be clearly determined whether a tenth feature, Feature 5012, was a postmold or a root stain. Feature 5011 may have been a posthole, but was not excavated because of time constraints and emphasis on the most important feature in Area V, the structure.

Feature 5022 was intrusive into and postdates the occupation of the structure (Figure 89). A mean ceramic date of 1780.56 from 9 dateable sherds supports this interpretation. The posthole of Feature 5022 has an MCD of 1750 and a TPQ of 1780, while its postmold has an MCD of 1818.12 and a TPQ of 1762. This lends further support to a cut off date around 1780 for occupation or use of the hypothesized meathouse structure.

These remaining features represent at least three different structures (Figure 89). Features 5019, 5015, and 5016 were apparently associated with each other since they were of comparable size, were aligned and equally spaced, and their fills were similar in color and texture. These features are not aligned or apparently associated with any of the other features in Area V. Feature 5018 represents a structure postdating the hypothesized meathouse structure and Feature 5010, and which is not associated with Features 5019, 5015, or 5016. Feature 5010 (and possibly 5012, as its postmold) represents a structure predating Feature 5024 and the meathouse, as it was cut by the brick wall. This feature was not related to Features 5019, 5015, or 5016. The MCDs and TPQs (Table 55) for these features do not entirely support these statements, but this is undoubtedly due to small sample size, one sherd in Feature 5010, for example. Since the MCDs and two of the three TPQs of Features 5019, 5015, and 5016 are all later than those of the meathouse, it seems safe to assume that this structure also postdates the meathouse. The remaining posthole features are not clearly aligned or associated with any other features, and could easily represent other structures.

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Table 55. Mean Ceramic Dates and *Termini Post Quem* of Features in Area V.

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Feature #	MCD	TPQ
5000	1753.91	1820
5001	-	-
5004	1769	1820
5005 (posthole)	1741	1700
5005 (postmold)	-	-
5006 (posthole)	-	-
5006 (postmold)	1750	1743
5007	-	-

Table 55. Continued.

5008	-	-
5009	-	-
5010	1770	1745
5011	-	-
5012	-	-
5013	-	-
5015 (posthole)	1771.50	1780
5015 (postmold)	-	1837
5016 (posthole)	1823	1820
5016 (postmold)	1791	1762
5017 (posthole)	-	-
5017 (postmold)	-	-
5018	1805	1780
5019 (posthole)	1812	1795
5020 (posthole)	-	-
5020 (postmold)	-	-
5022 (posthole)	1754.38	1780
5022 (postmold)	1779.83	1762
5025	1769	1820

Of the remaining five features only one was excavated. Feature 5013 extended along the eastern exterior wall of the structure from the southern right-of-way to the northern disturbance in the wall. This feature was assumed to be a possible builder's trench. Between this feature and the area immediately against the wall of the meathouse is an approximately 4 cm thick area of decayed mortar from the brick wall. Only a sherd of unidentifiable glass and two pieces of unidentifiable metal were found in the feature.

There were five other features in Area V, Features 5004, 5025, 5008, 5009, and 5007. Features 5007 and 5009 were two linear stains, and Features 5025 and 5008 were two nearly rectangular features. All of these features were located along the eastern side of the possible meathouse structure (Figure 89). The two linear features may have been planting features. Both were parallel to each other and contained similar organic fill. Feature 5009 was excavated in order to excavate Feature 5010 below. Feature 5009 had no identifiable artifacts. None of the other four features were excavated since it was felt more important to examine the structure and the other structural features within the time available.

### Summary

Area V was located on the northern edge of the main house compound and contained at least four structures and various postholes and other features. A total of 754 artifacts were excavated from 11 square meters for an average of 68.55 per screened unit. This is very similar to the 71.44 per unit found in Area VIa just to the east. There were 21 features in a total of 21 total units for an average of 1.00 feature per square meter. The concentration of features is higher than that in Area I indicating that Area V may have been used more intensively than the side yard, but was further from the main house and therefore had fewer artifacts. The hypothesized meathouse structure appears to have had a more substantial facade than side or rear walls. The structure's location and close orientation to the

excavation grid and main house, as well as its construction, show that there was an overall organization of layout for more functional structures on the plantation. The other three structures in Area V may or may not have been closely oriented to the main house, but their presence shows that Area V was used intensively, over and over again. The function of at least one of the four structures in Area V tends to indicate that this area and perhaps all along the northern edge of the mainhouse compound was used for non-residential purposes.

## AREA VIa

### Description

Area VIa was located to the northeast of the manor house and east of Areas I through V, abutting the east edge of Area II (Figures 41, 90, and 91). The area was cut near its southern edge by the project access road. The area sloped down to the north and was forested with hardwood trees and an undergrowth of small weeds and poison ivy.

This area was selected for excavation following the recommendations of Hurry and Kavanagh (1985: 91-92). Study of the Hurry and Kavanagh report (1985:28-102) indicated that (1) structural postholes, (2) a large trash filled cellar, (3) an oyster shell deposit, (4) a possible small storage or root cellar, (5) three linear plow scars, and (6) one erosional gulley or drainage ditch were located within Area VIa (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985). The heaviest artifact concentration was located in the center of the area (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:54-69).

It was anticipated that excavation of the area would provide artifact assemblages and features related to:

1. lower socioeconomic occupation in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;
2. two or possibly three structures dating from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries; and
3. one cellar hole filled during the twentieth century by trash from the household of Sumner Welles.

Excavation produced evidence for two structures, including the cellar hole filled with trash from the twentieth-century Sumner Welles occupation, and various unrelated postholes and pits. Excavation also indicated that one of the structures and most of the other features were placed between two deep trenches which are hypothesized to have been palisade walls surrounding some kind of compound. The possibility that the trenches were used for drainage was examined and discarded in the field, since there was no evidence of water laid sand in the extensive excavated portions of either trench.

Fieldwork began in Area VIa on April 18, 1985 and was completed on June 28, 1985. Excavation in Area VIa was within 2 x 2 m units. Every fourth unit in a row was excavated; the units in every other row were staggered (unless a tree was located in a unit, in which case a nearby unit was opened) (Figure 90). After the stratigraphy was firmly established, and a satisfactory sample of artifacts from screened units was obtained, most of the southern portion of the area was hand stripped in unscreened 2 x 2 m units. This operation uncovered 31 features, including the cellar, from 126 square meters of screened and 220 square meters of unscreened soil. The overall mean ceramic date for Area VIa (excluding the cellar) is 1806.81.

The soil strata in Area VIa were thin due to the effects of erosion on the slope (Figure 92). The topsoil was a dark brown silty loam and measured a maximum of 20 to 21 cm deep. The second layer was a strong brown mottled clay measuring approximately 10 to 20 cm thick. Below this was an gravelly red clay fragipan subsoil. Generally, the soils in the northern half of Area VIa were



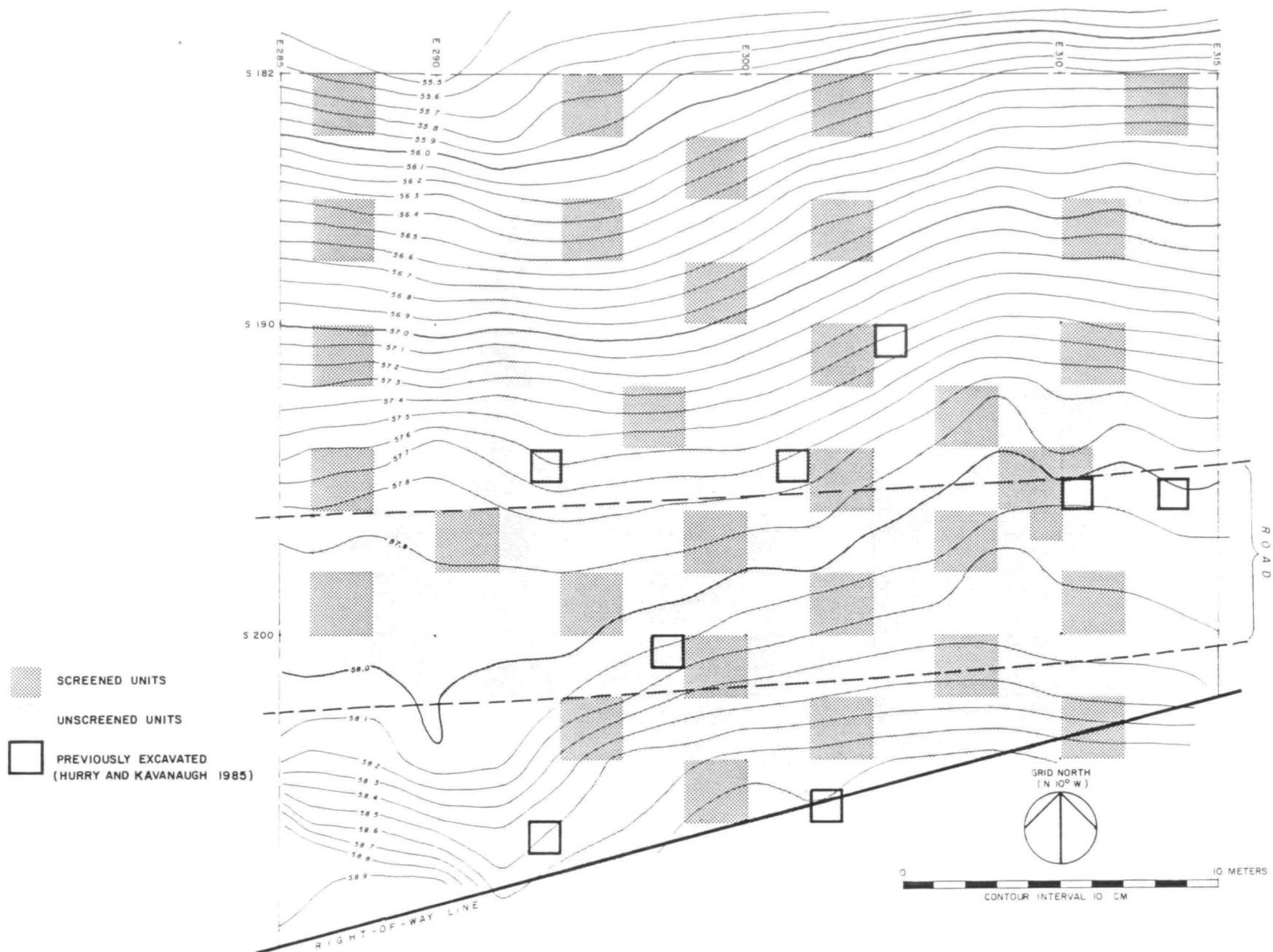


FIGURE 90. Area VIa Topography and Excavation.

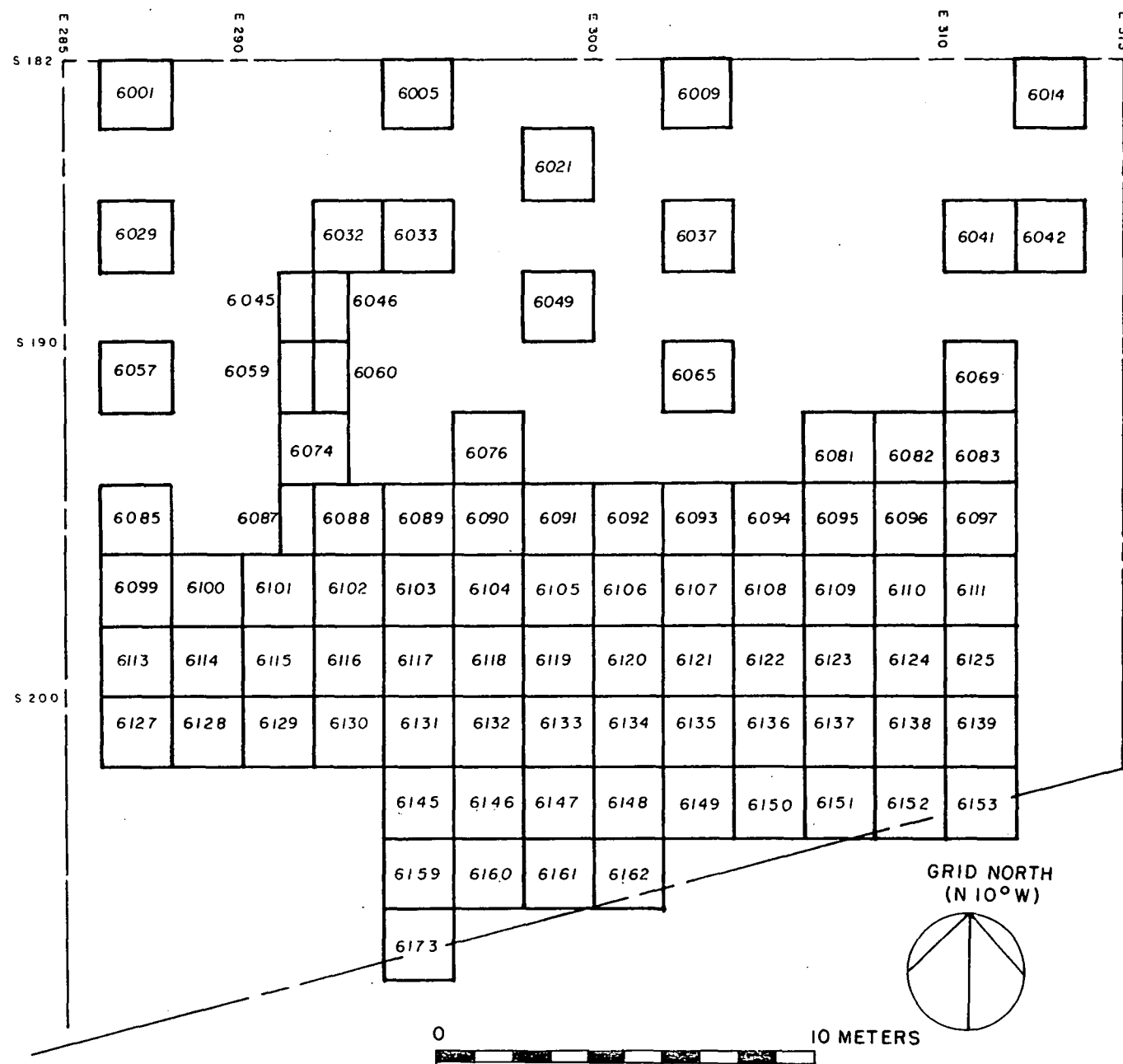
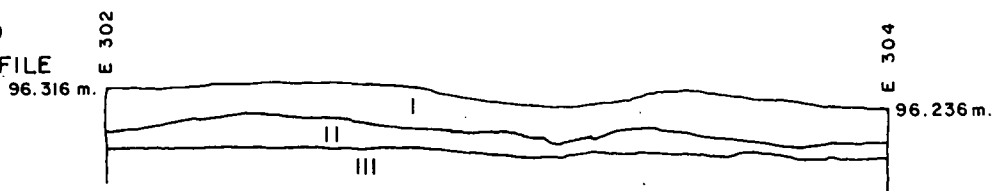
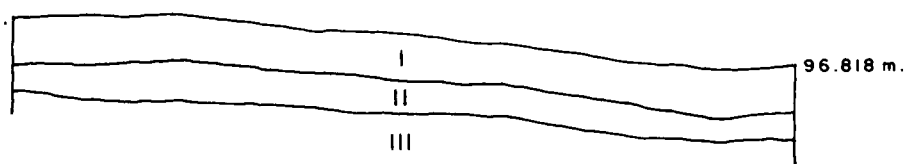


FIGURE 91. Area VIA Excavation Units Numbered.

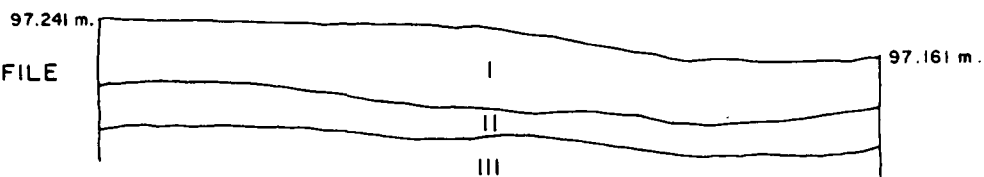
UNIT 6009  
SOUTH PROFILE



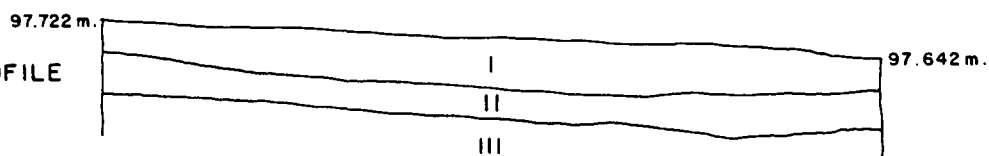
UNIT 6037 96.938 m.  
SOUTH PROFILE



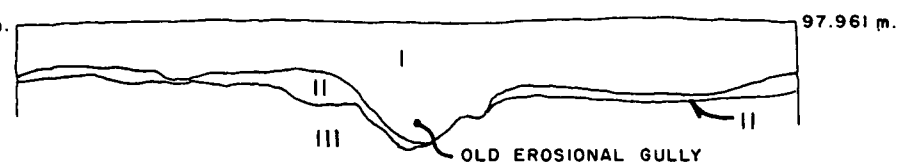
UNIT 6065  
SOUTH PROFILE



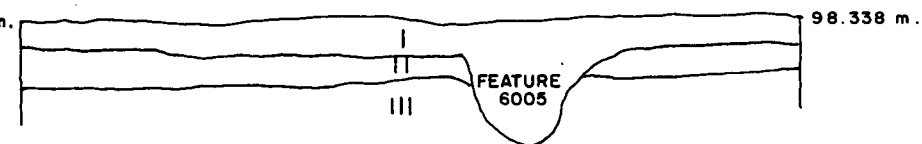
UNIT 6079  
SOUTH PROFILE  
(Reverse of  
Unit 6093  
North Profile)



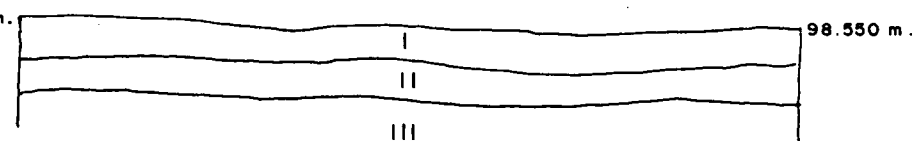
UNIT 6107 98.026 m.  
SOUTH PROFILE



UNIT 6135 98.338 m.  
SOUTH PROFILE



UNIT 6149 98.600 m.  
SOUTH PROFILE



I - 10 YR 3/3 Dark brown silty loam topsoil  
II - 5 YR 4/4 Reddish brown mottled clay subsoil interface  
III - Gravelly red clay subsoil

0 1 METER

FIGURE 92. Area VIa Stratigraphy.

badly eroded, which caused displacement and mixing of artifacts and destruction of features on the lower slope.

The TPQs and MCDs for the units in Area VIa are illustrated by level and period in Figure 93. The main conclusion which can be drawn from these diagrams is that the levels dated primarily from post 1810 period. Of the 27 units with TPQs in level 2, 20 (74.07%) were from the post 1810 period. In level 1, which should date later, 23 out of 31 units (74.19 %) had TPQs from the post 1810 period. There is virtually no change from level 2 to level 1. Examination of the MCDs in levels 2 and 1, gives similar results, although several units show reverse stratigraphy in that level 2 dates later than level 1. This can be explained as the result of erosion on the slope in the northern half of the area and is probably the result of building the dirt access road in the southern half of the area. Since there was no clear chronological order in the levels in Area VIa, the artifacts in the remaining discussions are grouped by unit with no distinction made by level. It is anticipated that the area south of Area VIa, which is above the road and on the same flat expanse as the cemetery and Area V, may have a more intact stratigraphy, but this area was outside the project bounds.

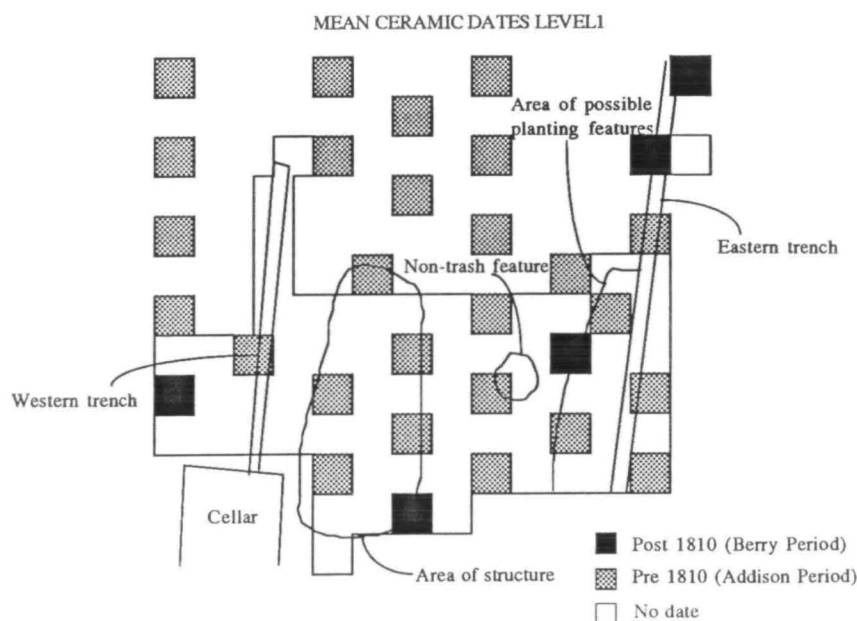
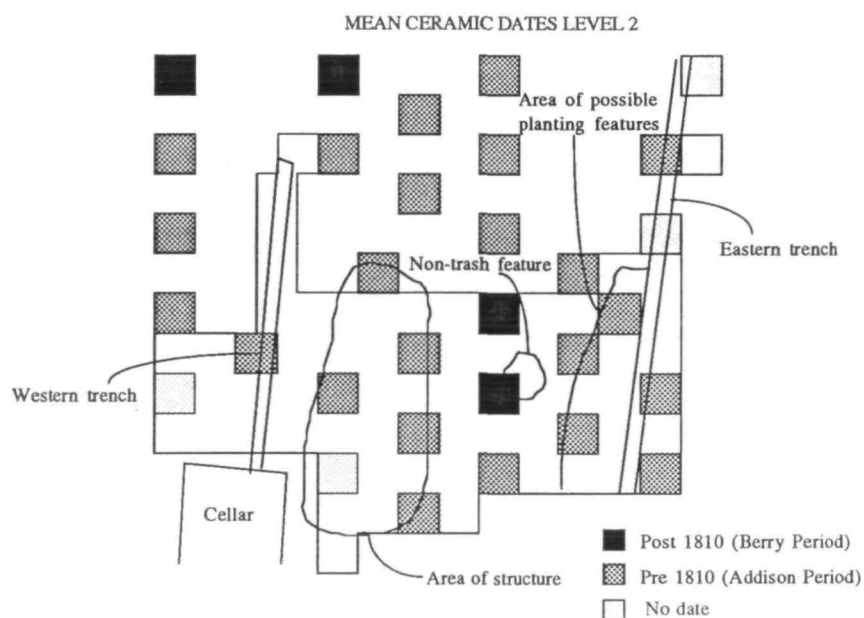
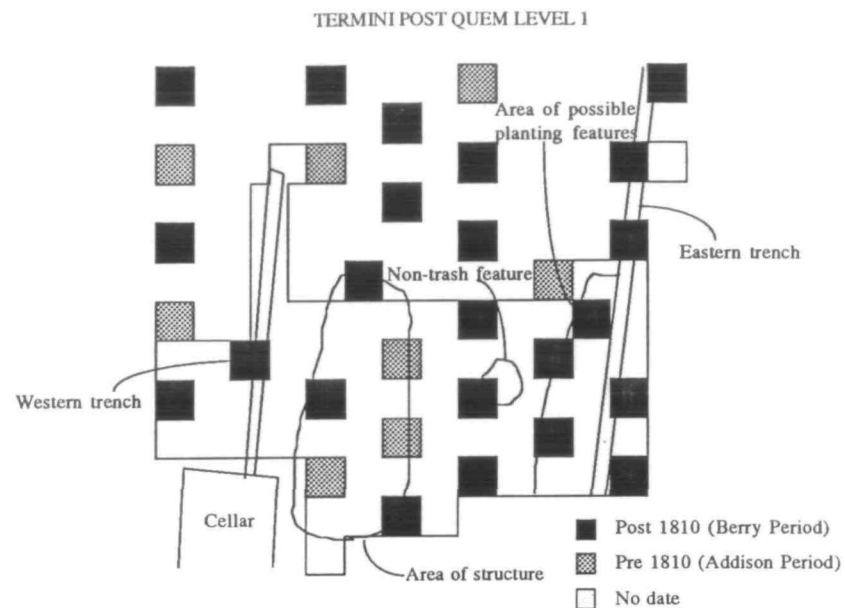
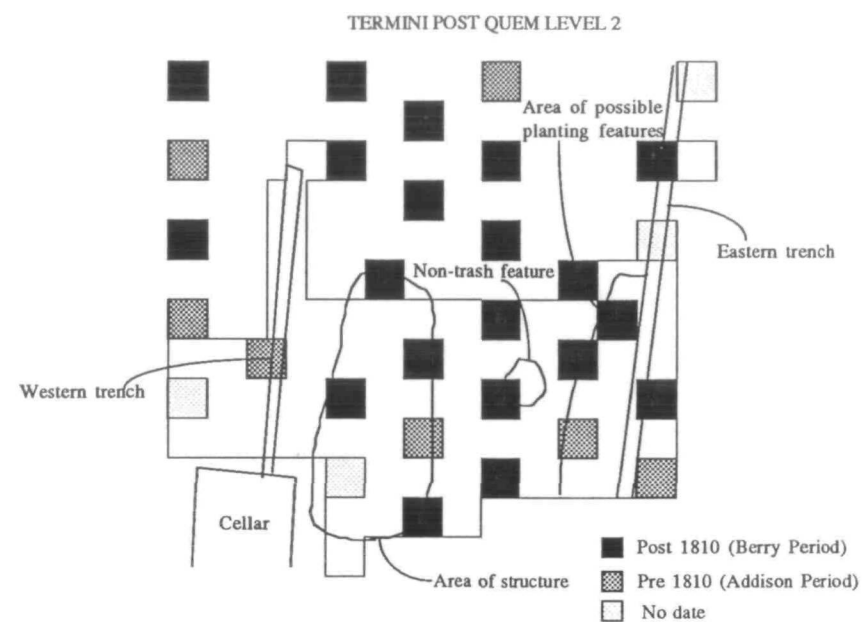
The features in Area VIa (Figure 94) are presented here in order to discuss the feature TPQs in Figure 95. While there does not appear to be any clear clustering of dates in the units, the features between the two long trenches appear to date earlier than the trenches and the cellar which intrudes on the western trench. The trenches and the area delimited by them will be discussed in more detail below.

## The Excavation

### The Cellar

The largest feature in Area VIa was a cellar dating from the late nineteenth century (Figure 94). This may be the remains of the potato house noted in the historical documents (see Chapter IV), although the artifactual data in the lower levels is scant, and accounts of potato houses in nineteenth-century Maryland (Ridout 1982; also Editor, personal observation of a nineteenth-century potato house in Alpharetta, Georgia) do not indicate such deep cellars. The cellar extended beyond the highway right of way to the south. Only the northern portion of the cellar was thus investigated; it measured approximately 7.5 m north-south (along its long axis) by approximately 7 m east-west, and had a maximum depth of 3.85 m. The cellar appeared to have been roughly rectangular in shape. The sides of the cellar had slumped, however, making the outline irregular.

Figure 96 illustrates the typical east-west stratigraphy within the cellar. Layer A was a topsoil overburden with a rather heavy mix of twentieth-century artifacts, especially glass fragments, which were easily visible on the surface in many places. Layer B was an encapsulated layer of early twentieth-century debris with virtually no soil. Hurry and Kavanagh (1985) found a bottle with a prescription made out for Mrs. Sumner Welles while testing this level, along with many other items undoubtedly related to the new Oxon Hill Manor, which was built in 1927 (Silas D. Hurry, personal communication 1984). Layer B was later divided into an upper and lower half in the laboratory based on artifactual evidence, specifically cross-mends. Beneath this artifact density level was a layer of dark burned soil (Layer I) with some twentieth-century artifacts. This dark, burned soil may have originated in the Sumner Welles incinerator at the new Oxon Hill Manor. Layer II, of dark brown clay, was the beginning of a transition to the nineteenth-century deposits. Beneath this was a distinctive water-laid layer of brown silty clay which was found throughout the remainder of the cellar. In the field this was felt to represent the dividing line between the upper (twentieth-century) and lower (nineteenth-century) deposits, and from this point on levels were excavated by natural stratigraphy. Later it was found that the transition between the two levels extended upward into



□ Unscreened unit

FIGURE 93. Area VIa Schematic Diagram of Termini Post Quem and Mean Ceramic Dates.

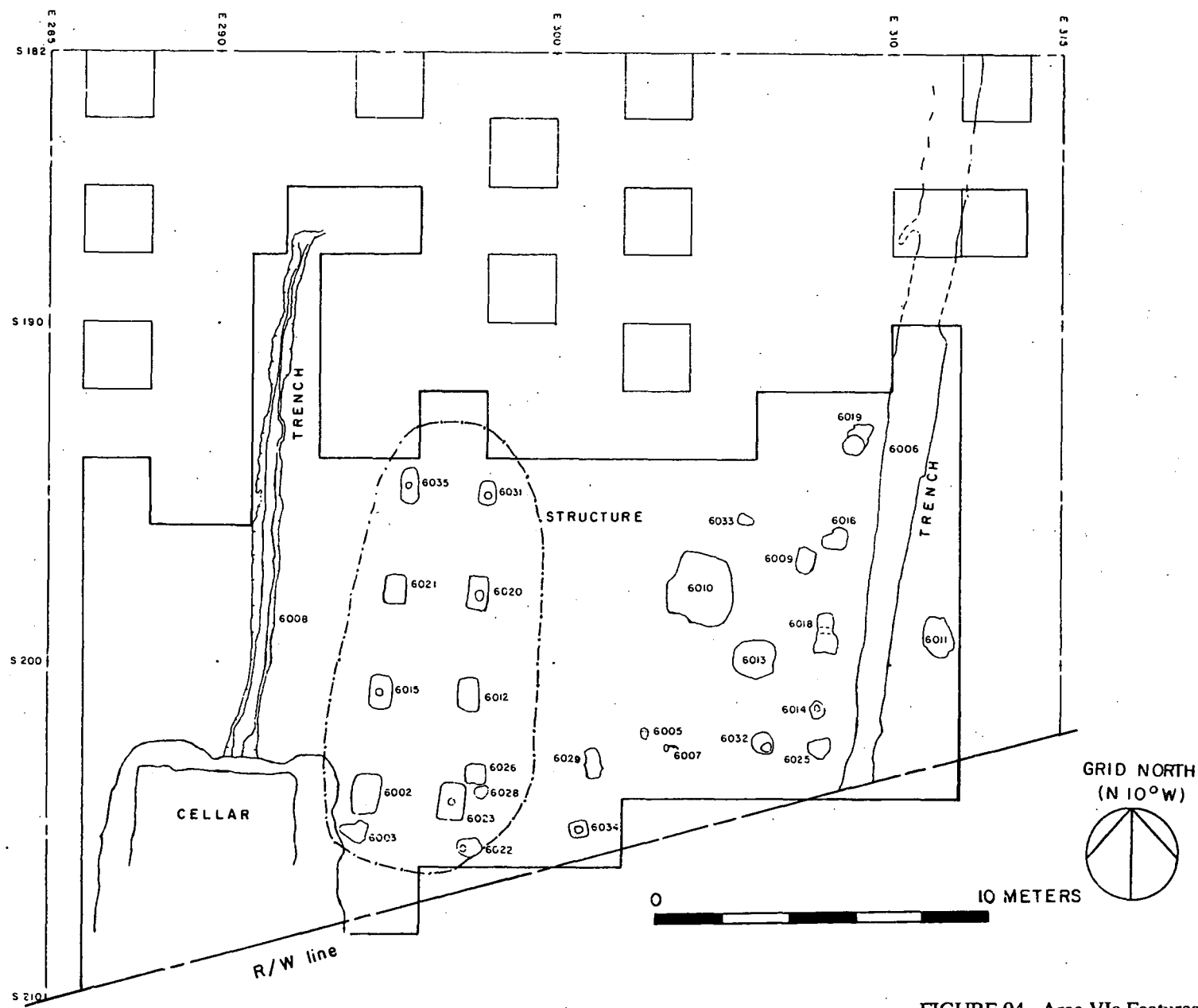


FIGURE 94. Area VIa Features.

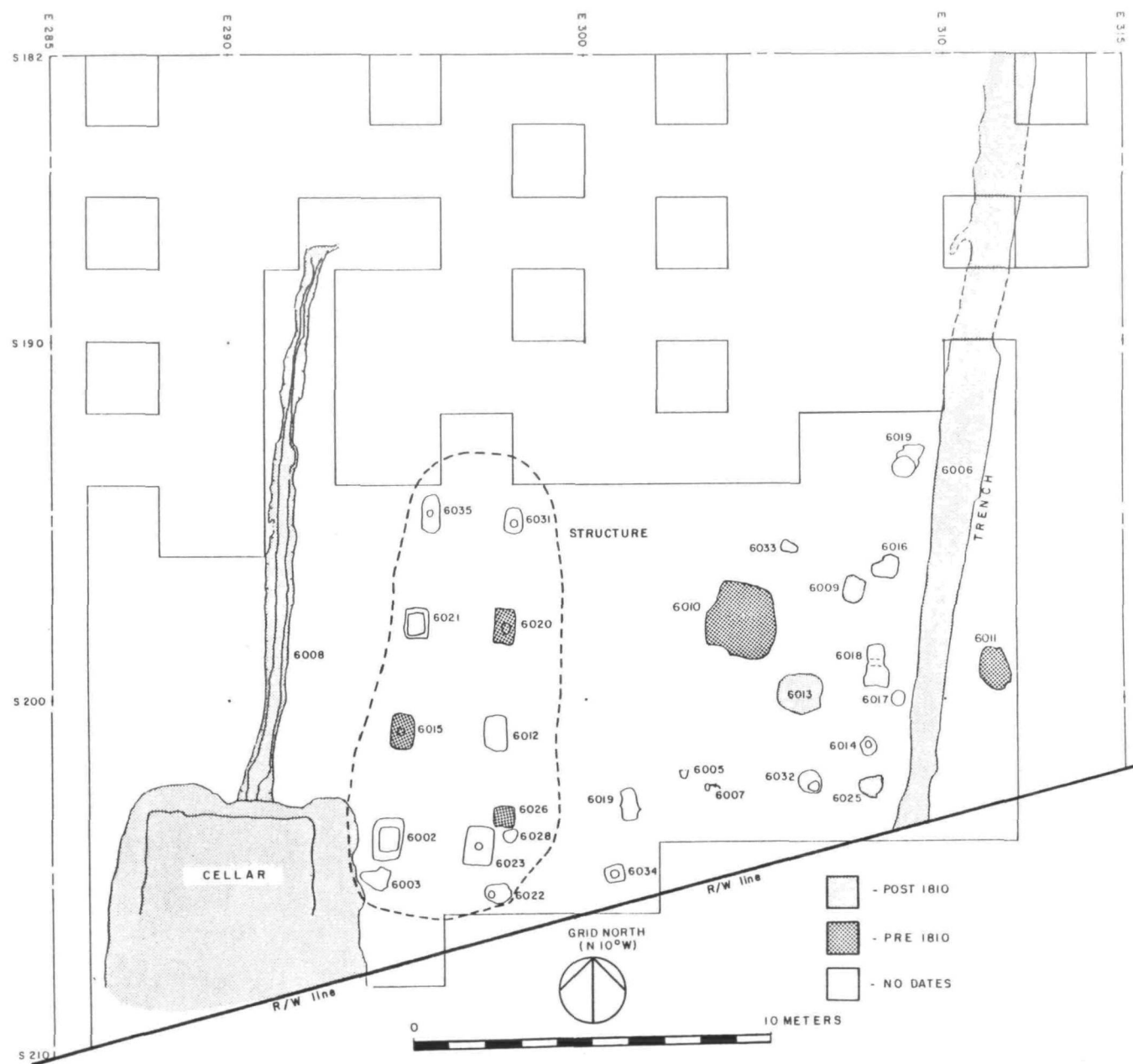


FIGURE 95. Area VIa Features by Period.

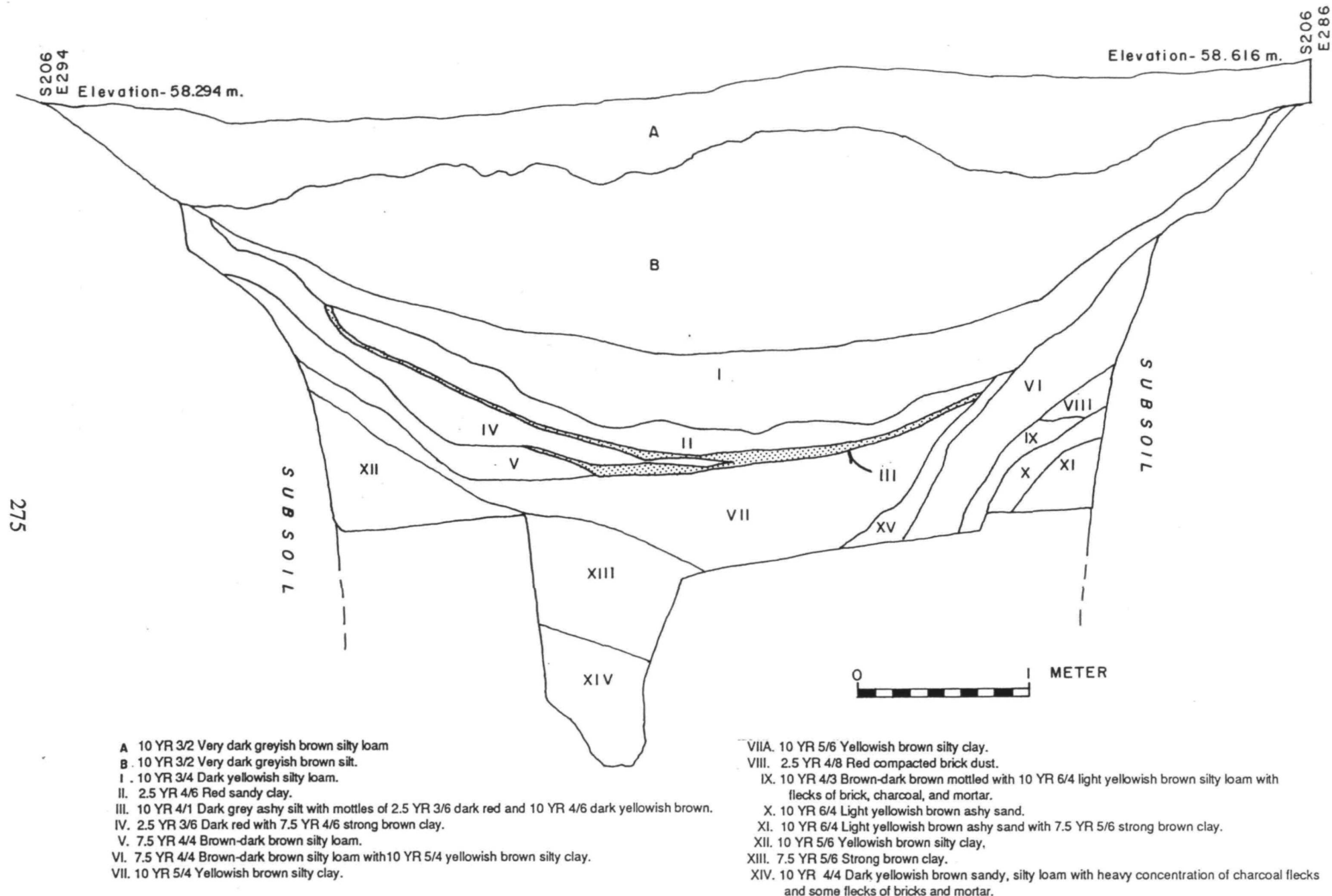


FIGURE 96. Area VIa Sumner Welles Cellar South Profile at S 206 Line.



Layers II and downward into Layers IV and V, and that there was some minor mixing even lower. In general, however, below Layer III the deposits were certainly as old as the nineteenth century. Only Layers A, B, and III were found throughout the cellar and could be readily used as dividing lines for differing deposits. The remaining layers were difficult to identify during excavation as they did not extend throughout the cellar and were made up of many thin, water-laid lenses of slightly varying color and texture. Layers I and below were excavated in 20 cm levels or natural stratigraphy.

Excavation in the cellar began with an east-west trench, dug in 1 x 1 m units and 10 cm levels along the right-of-way where Hurry had originally found the cellar in 1984 (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:56). This trench measured 10m east-west and reached a maximum depth of 1.6 m, all within Layers A and B. A very large number of artifacts, primarily glass bottles, was recovered. Once this trench was excavated and the artifacts removed, it became obvious that continuing excavation to the north to expose the rest of the cellar would be extremely time consuming and would present an unacceptable safety hazard to the archaeologists excavating in this feature. Figure 97A illustrates the danger posed by collapse of the trench wall. There was virtually no soil mixed with the artifacts. For these reasons a backhoe was brought in to remove the bulk of this twentieth-century fill. Complete bottles were recovered from the backhoe-removed fill for a type collection, and all ceramics noted were kept to augment the sample size for cross-mend and ceramic set analysis. Some material was left along the walls and at the beginning of the lower fill levels. This was removed by hand, in order to preserve the cellar walls and the lower deposits. Once this material was cleared, excavations began in 1 x 1 m units extending across the entire exposed northern half of the cellar.

Collecting all of the twentieth-century material in the Sumner Welles occupation levels could not be justified because of the vast quantity of the material and its recent date. As noted above, only complete bottles and ceramics were kept from the backhoe excavation. Only bottle rims, bases, and embossed sherds, all ceramics, and identifiable personal items were kept from the hand excavated portion of the Sumner Welles material. The only exception to this was a 1 x 1 m column of material from the original east-west trench in which all material was kept. It was anticipated that with this column of material, plus the bottle glass, ceramics, and personal items selectively retained from the remainder of the Welles occupation, valid statements could be made about the entire Welles deposit. This anticipation was met, and the recovered artifacts are dealt with in detail in Chapter VII. As a result of the decision to selectively retain certain categories of artifacts and discard others it is conservatively estimated that in excess of 500,000 twentieth-century glass and metal sherds were discarded, not including the material excavated by backhoe.

Horizontally laid boards (approximately equivalent to 1 x 6 lumber) were found in the western half of the cellar at the bottom of Layer VII. Excavation stopped at this point until the remaining units could be brought down to what was thought to be the floor. On the last day of excavation the boards were removed, and it was found that the boards were not an in situ floor, after all, as there was over a meter of fill below these boards. Excavation continued and exposed Layers XIII and XIV. Mid to late nineteenth-century bottle fragments were found in Layer XIV, but in general the artifact count dropped off to almost zero. No definitive cellar floor (brick or planks) was reached in the excavations, but work was discontinued because of water seepage and the nature of the fill. The fill became muddy, gravelly red clay similar to the known subsoils at the site.

It is apparent that this cellar feature was filled in during at least two distinctly different time periods. The mean ceramic date for the lower material is 1797.18 based on 73 dateable sherds. However, the latest start date among the ceramics is 1830 (Late Blue Handpainted Earthenware), indicating that the cellar was probably in use in the nineteenth century. Although the mean ceramic date is very early, and early nineteenth-century ceramic types are present as well, the date the cellar first began to be filled was probably the late nineteenth century. This conclusion is based on the presence of a nearly intact three-piece mold bottle in Layer XIV, which could not have been placed there by root or rodent

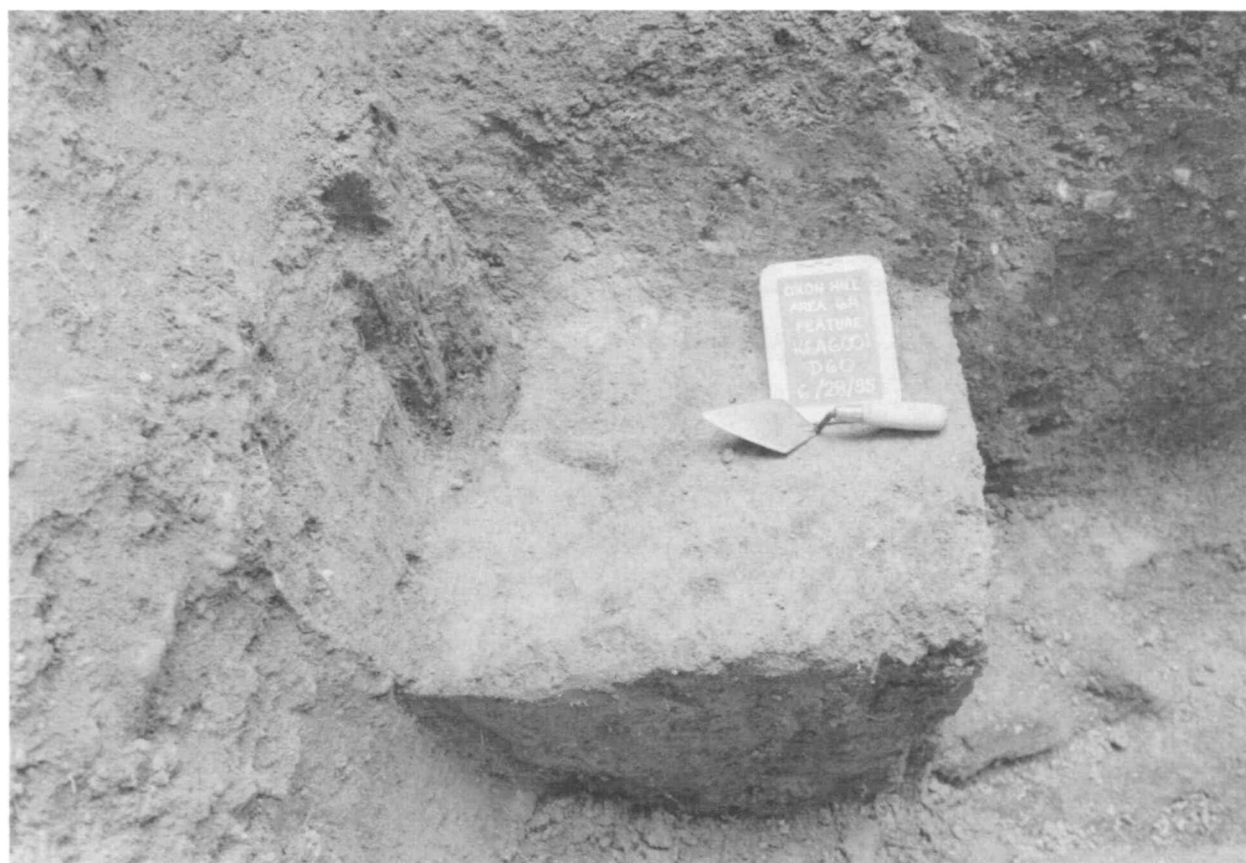


FIGURE 97. A - Area Via Sumner Welles Deposit.  
B - Post Mold in Northeast Corner of Cellar.

action. McKearin and Wilson date this bottle type from the late 18th century, although Munsey (1970:39) clearly indicates that this bottle type, although first made in the late eighteenth century, was used primarily from 1870 to 1910. Figure 98 illustrates the cross-mends in five major levels. The top three levels are twentieth-century (Layers A, B, and I). The fourth major level is transitional and includes Layers II and III. The fifth major level is nineteenth-century and is represented by Layers IV through XIV. Most of the cross-mends are within the twentieth-century levels or within the lower level, and only three cross-mends extend from the twentieth-century levels into the lower level (Figure 98). During the slow, nineteenth-century filling of the cellar the sides began to slump and fill in the base of the cellar as evidenced by many lenses of water laid soils. Later, the cellar was used as a refuse dump; these upper level deposits date to the early to mid twentieth century and were identified as belonging to Sumner Welles.

The original purpose of the cellar structure has not been determined. However, several features within the cellar fill may give some indication of what it was originally used for. In the northwestern and northeastern corners of the cellar, wooden corner post molds were discovered (Figures 99 and 97B). Along the north wall, impressions of vertical boards were found. These impressions extended from beneath Layer A down to the bottom level of Layer VII, a distance of approximately 102 cm. In the northeastern corner there was an indication that a horizontal board ran the length of the north wall connecting the vertical boards from behind. Figure 99 shows how water laid soil lenses filled in behind the vertical boards (Layers IV and V), and silt and clay spilled over the top of the boards and ran down the inside of the wood wall, collecting in the cellar. The upper parts of Layers IV and V are resting on a ledge left in the subsoil when the cellar was dug. This ledge is behind the wood wall and may have been left originally to allow air to circulate behind the wall or to allow any dirt falling into the cellar from above to be trapped before it reached the contents of the cellar. Figure 100 shows Layer VIII containing the boards originally thought to be a floor. These horizontal boards abut the vertical stains, and it is for this reason that these boards were hypothesized to be the floor. As excavation continued it became apparent that the horizontal boards were probably from an upper floor or wall that fell there upon collapse of the building.

Since the depth of the cellar is at least 3.85 m, and it appears to have been partially lined with boards, it may be hypothesized that the cellar was used for storage of items which needed to be kept cool and relatively clean, such as food stuffs. Since it is likely that air circulated only around the upper portions of the cellar, air circulation may not have been an important consideration in storage in this cellar, and since air circulation is an important consideration in storage of potatoes this may not be the potato cellar noted in the documents. Of course, it is possible that some other method of air circulation may have been employed, such as racks spaced across the cellar floor or perhaps the above ground portion of the structure was used for potato storage, if this was indeed a potato house.

### The Trenches

Two trench features flanked nearly all of the other features in Area VIa. Feature 6008 was located along the western side of Area VIa, and Feature 6006 was along the eastern side (Figure 94). The cellar intruded on Feature 6008. The northern end of Feature 6008 has been eroded away, thereby reducing its original length by an unknown amount. The feature measured approximately 13m in length north-south, a maximum of 80 cm in width and approximately 64 cm deep, and contained two layers of fill (Figure 101). Typically, the walls were vertical for approximately the bottom 24 cm and then slowly sloped outward toward the surface. The northern end of the trench was V-shaped. The uppermost layer of fill was a mixture of brown silty loam while the bottom layer was redder with more clay. Mixed in with the fill were brick fragments, occasionally nearly complete bricks, and other artifacts. Feature 6008 yielded a mean ceramic date of 1792.36.

LEVEL:

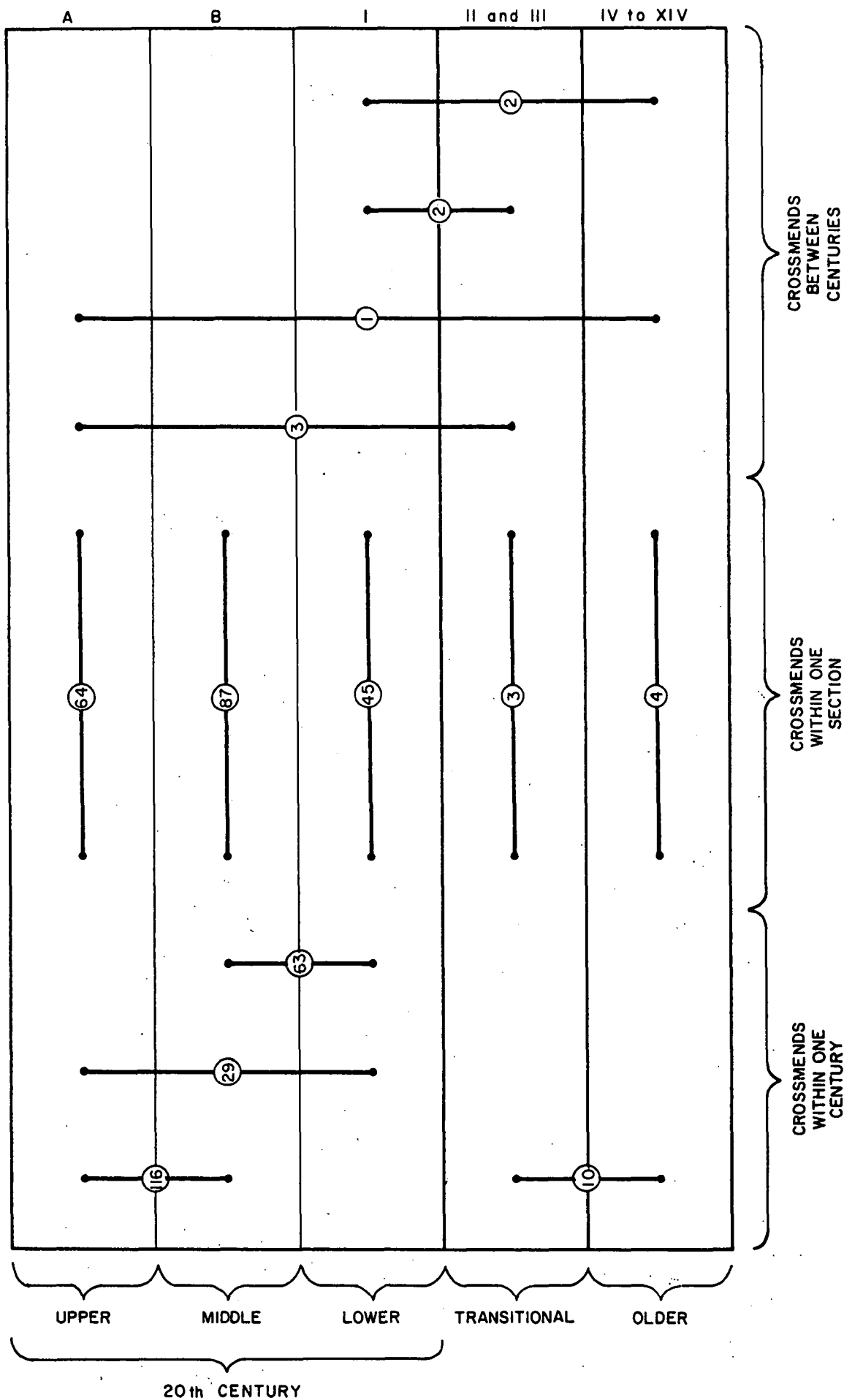
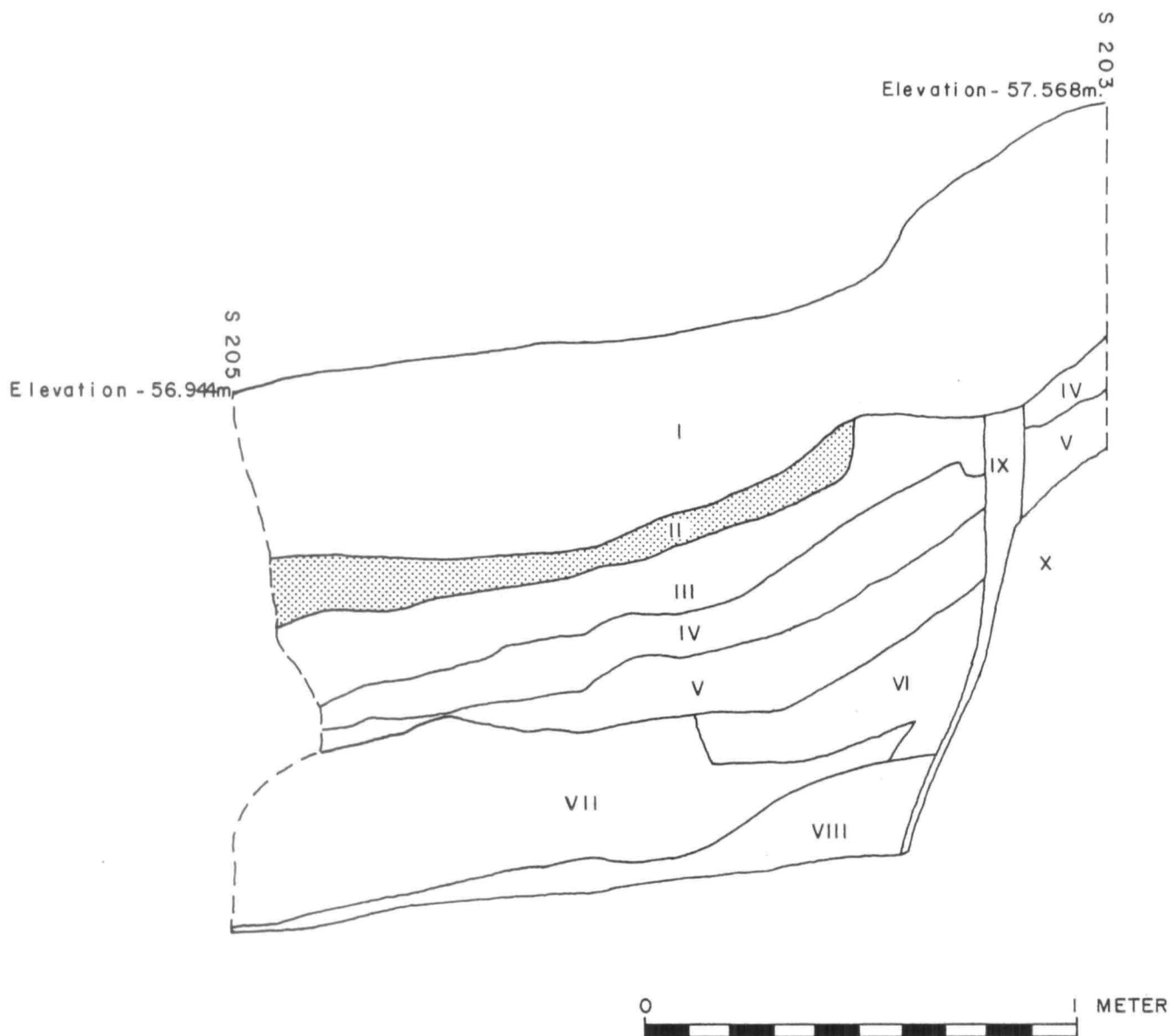


FIGURE 98. Area VIa Vertical and Horizontal Crossmends Within Cellar.



- I. 10 YR 4/4 Dark yellowish brown sandy clay
- II. 10 YR 4/3 Dark brown silty clay ("grey layer")
- III. 10 YR 4/4 to 10 YR 4/2 and 10 YR 5/4 Dark yellowish brown to dark greyish brown and yellowish brown clay with sand and silt
- IV. 10 YR 5/4 to 10 YR 4/4 and 10 YR 5/3 Yellowish brown to dark yellowish brown and brown clay with sand and silt
- V. 10 YR 5/4 to 10 YR 5/6 Yellowish brown silty sand
- VI. 7.5 YR 4/4 to 7.5 YR 4/6 Strong brown clay with sand and gravel, redeposited subsoil
- VII. 10 YR 4/4 Dark yellowish brown sandy clay
- VIII. 10 YR 3/3 Dark brown sandy humic clay with wood fragments
- IX. 10 YR 4/3 Dark brown humic sand; wood mold
- X. 2.5 YR 4/8 Red clay with sand and gravel

FIGURE 99. Area VIa Sumner Welles Cellar West Profile at E 289 Line.

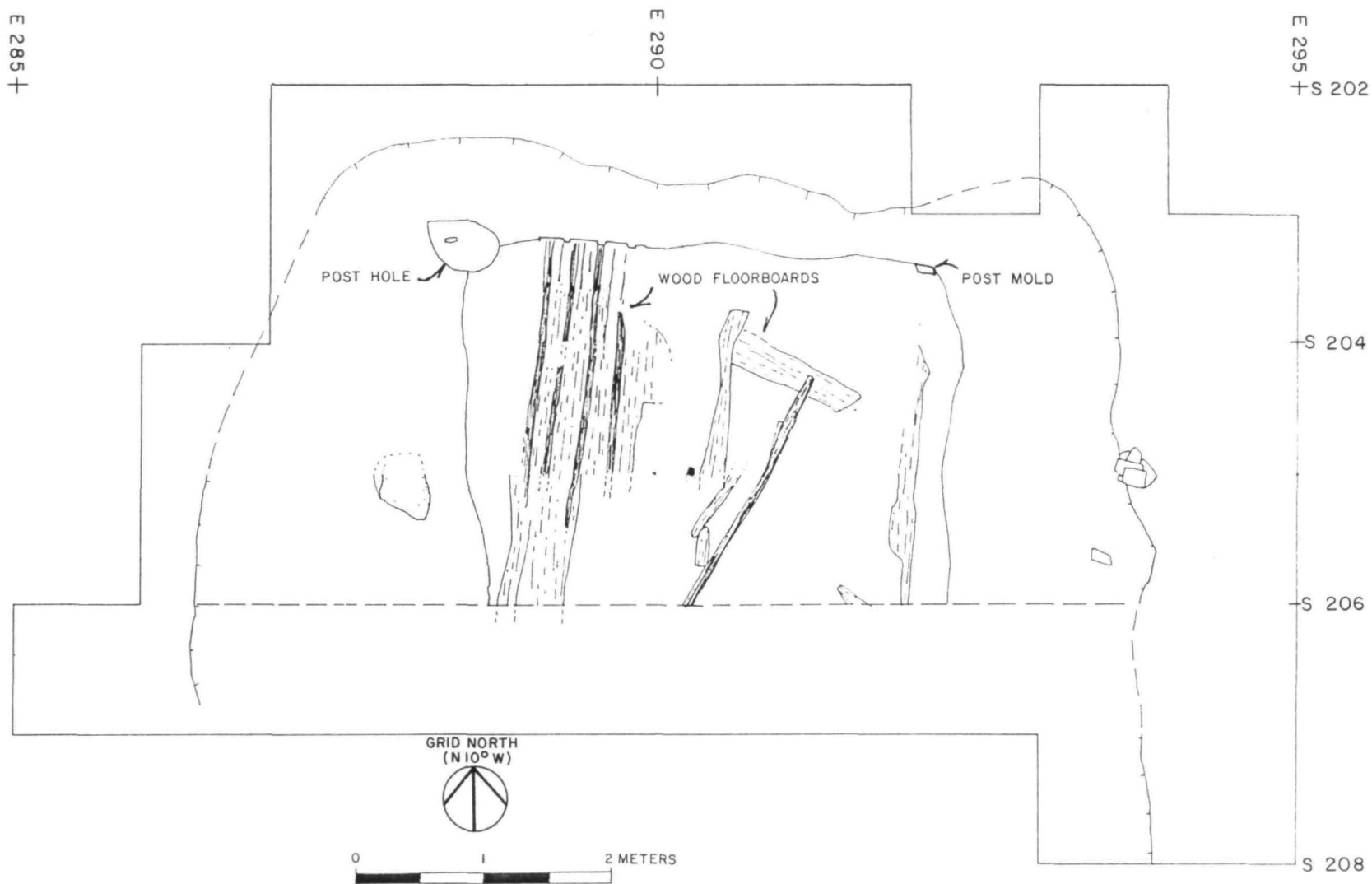


FIGURE 100. Area Via Cellar, Plan View (Also See Post Mold Photograph in Figure 97B).

The other trench, Feature 6006, was located near the eastern edge of the area (Figure 101). This feature had been found in a test unit by Hurry and Kavanagh (1984:61-66) and was hypothesized to have been a cellar. It measured approximately 12 m in length, 150 cm at its maximum width, and had a maximum depth of 40 cm. This trench extended beyond the excavation area to the north and south, and was shallower and longer than Feature 6008. It had a more U-shaped profile with sloping walls and a rounded floor. As with trench Feature 6008, there was no clear evidence for posts set into the trench. Trench Feature 6006 had two fill levels. The bottom level was a yellowish brown silty clay fill mottled with some dark gray-brown soil, there was a light artifact density in this level. The upper level of fill was a dark brown with a heavier artifact density. This trench became shallower and wider towards its northern end as it headed down the eroded slope. Dateable artifacts from this trench provided a mean ceramic date of 1779.17 or about 13 years earlier than the western trench.

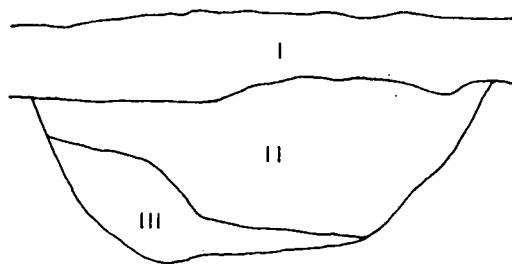
There was no evidence of water-laid deposits in either trench. This negated the preliminary interpretation of the trenches as drainage ditches. Neither were any postmolds noted and, although the bottom of the feature was uneven, the unevenness could not be attributed with any certainty to the placement of vertical posts or planks. However, postmolds would not necessarily be present especially if an hypothesized palisade or vertical plank had been intentionally dug up and the trenches refilled. In this case an uneven floor might be the only evidence remaining of vertical posts. There is also the possibility that each trench represents an open trench which cows and other livestock were afraid to cross. However, the trenches appear unnecessarily deep for such a function. The interpretation of these features and Area VIa in general will be discussed in more detail with the artifact patterns in Chapter VII. Despite the difficulty in defining the function of these two trench features, the orientation of the trenches and the concentration of features between them indicate that they may have been associated and may have defined a compound. The patterns of the artifacts found inside and outside this compound vary, and these are discussed in detail in Chapter VII. Here we shall present only the overall artifact distributions (Figures 102 and 103).

As can be seen in the first figure (Figure 102) the Kitchen Group artifacts are concentrated primarily between the trenches and to the west outside the trenches. This is mainly due to the glass bottles rather than the ceramics. In contrast, the architecture artifacts are located between the trenches and to the east outside the trenches. The Arms group artifacts also seem to follow this pattern (Figure 103). The Tobacco and Activities artifacts also appear to be concentrated between the trenches, while the clothing artifacts seem to be located more to the east (Figure 103). The other artifact groups had too few artifacts to be worth illustrating. The concentration of Kitchen artifacts to the west and Architecture and other artifacts to the east may mark Area VIa as a transition zone between the seemingly less domestic Area VIb to the east and the more domestic areas to the west of Area VIa. The overall functions of these areas is discussed in more detail with the artifact analysis in succeeding chapters.

### The Posthole Structure

The most clearly defined set of features in the compound were posthole Features 6002, 6015, 6021, 6035, 6031, 6020, 6012, and 6023 (Figure 94). These postholes defined a structure which measured roughly 9.3 m (30' 2.5") north-south by 2.5 m (8' 5.5") east-west. The posts ran parallel to the eastern trench feature and nearly parallel to the western trench. The structure's orientation with the trench features may indicate that the features were part of the same complex. Each post hole was large, with roughly rectangular sides, and varied in depth from a maximum of 110 cm for Feature 6023 to 42 cm for Feature 6015. All features except Feature 6012 contained postmolds; of these, all except Feature 6015 had round molds from 20 to 26 cm in diameter. Feature 6015 had a square postmold measuring 18 cm. The size of the molds and depths of the holes indicate that the structure

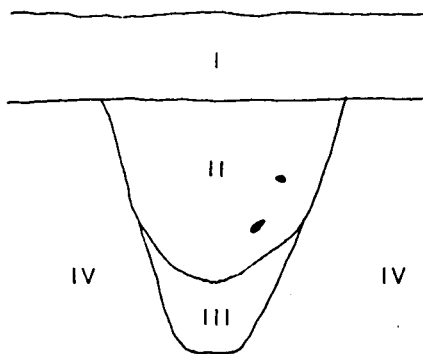
FEATURE 6006 PROFILE SOUTH WALL



- I - 10 YR 4/3 Dark brown sandy clay with brick flecks
- II - 10 YR 4/3 Dark brown sandy clay mottled with 10 YR 5/4 Yellowish brown silty clay with bricks and charcoal flecks
- III - 10 YR 5/4 Yellowish brown silty clay lightly mottled with 10 YR 4/3 Dark brown sandy clay (light artifact density)



FEATURE 6008 PROFILE NORTH WALL



- I - 10 YR 4/3 Dark brown silty humus
- II - 10 YR 4/6 Dark yellowish brown sandy clay
- III - 7.5 YR 5/6 Yellowish brown sandy clay
- IV - 7.5 YR 5/8 Strong brown clay subsoil
- Brick

FIGURE 101. Area VIa Feature 6006 South Profile at S 204 Line (top).  
Area VIa Feature 6008 North Profile at S 194 Line (bottom).



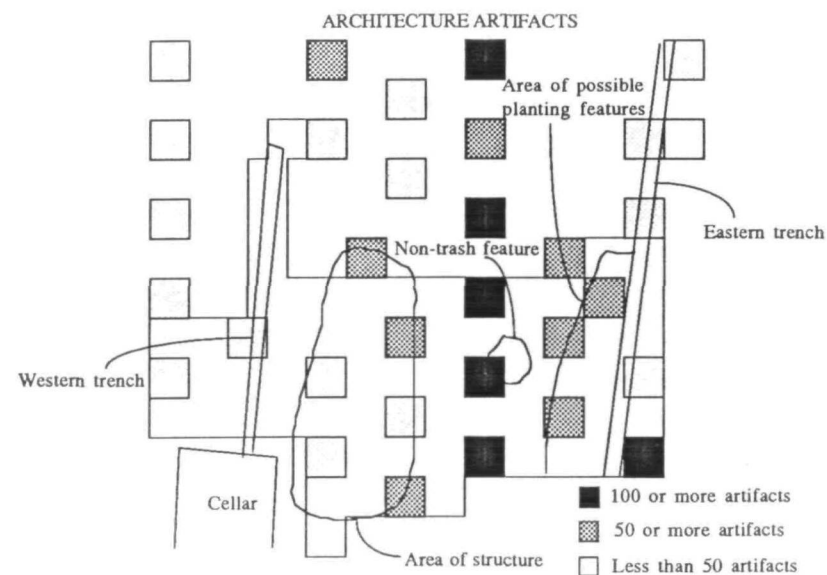
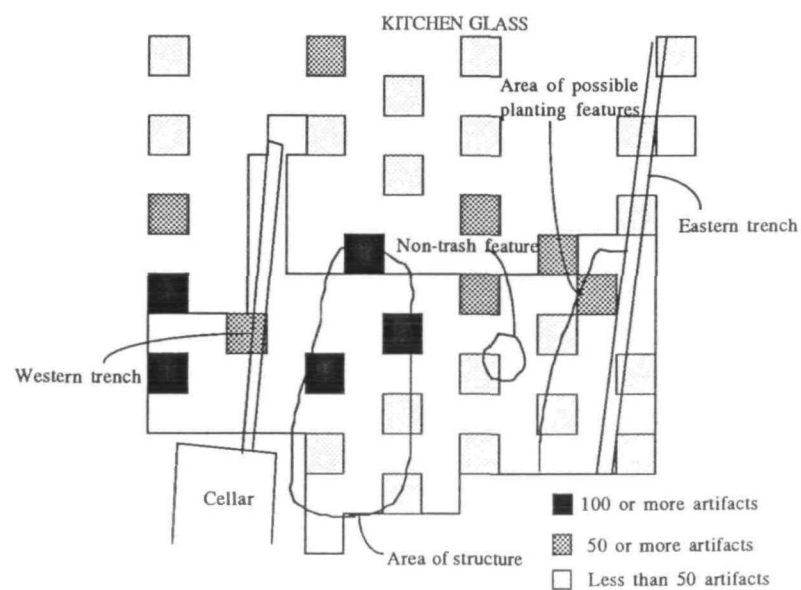
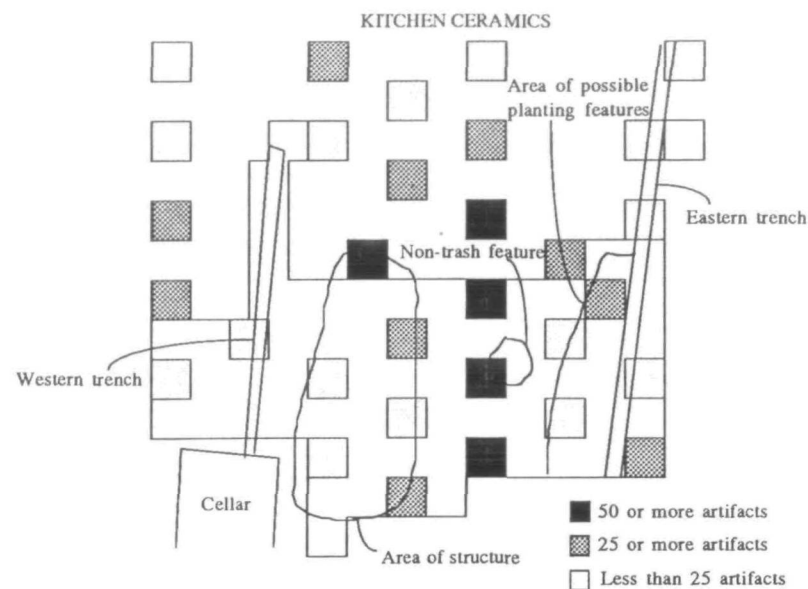
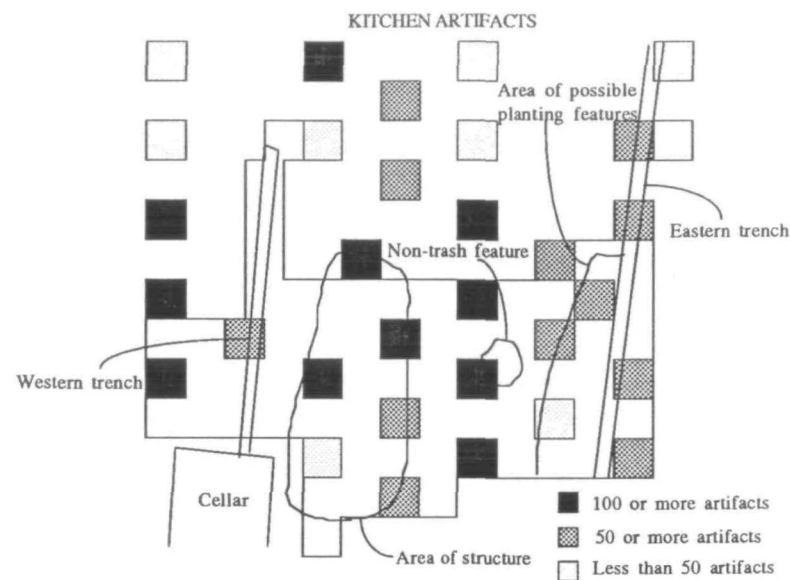


FIGURE 102. Area VIa Schematic Diagram of Kitchen and Architectural Artifact Distributions.

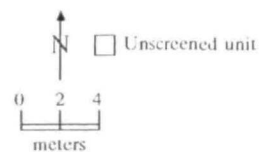
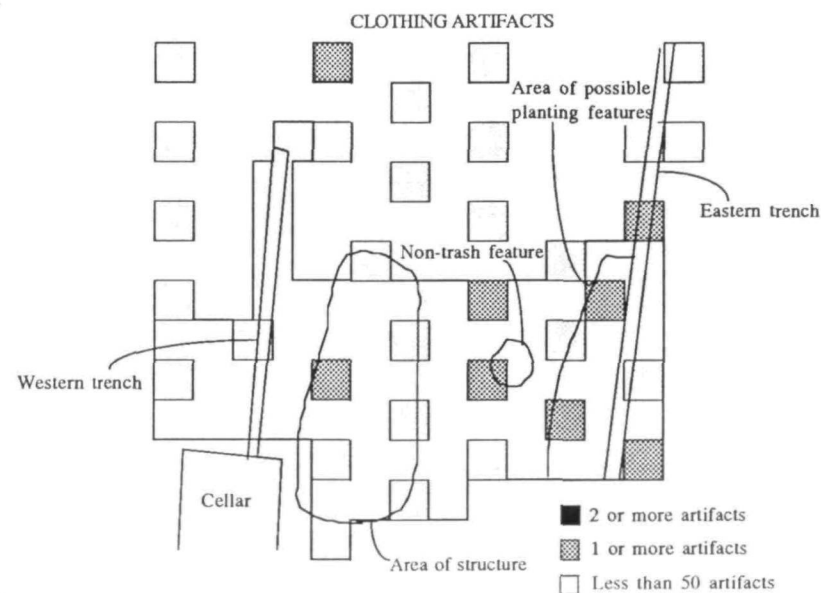
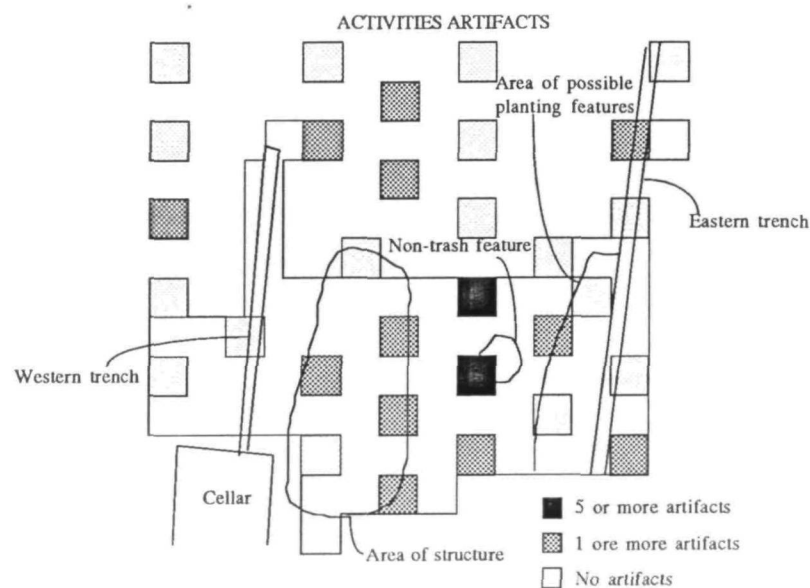
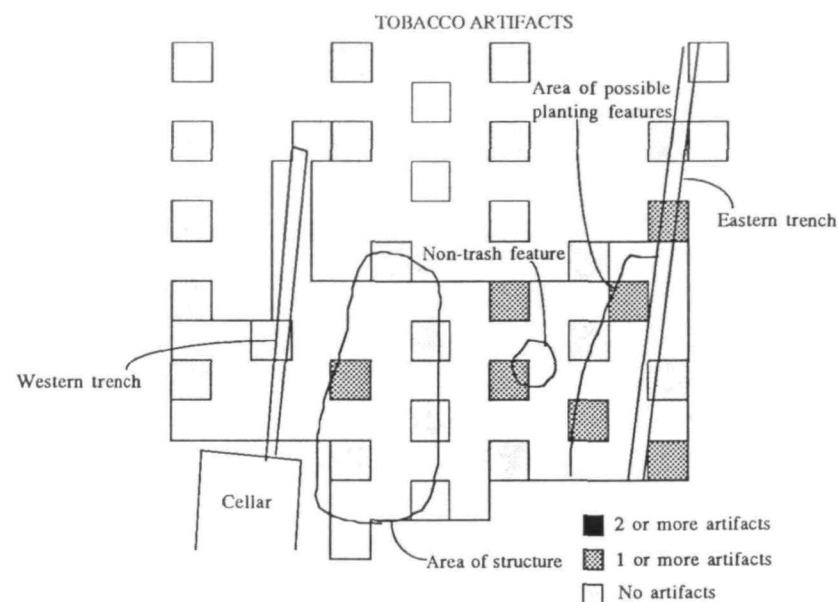
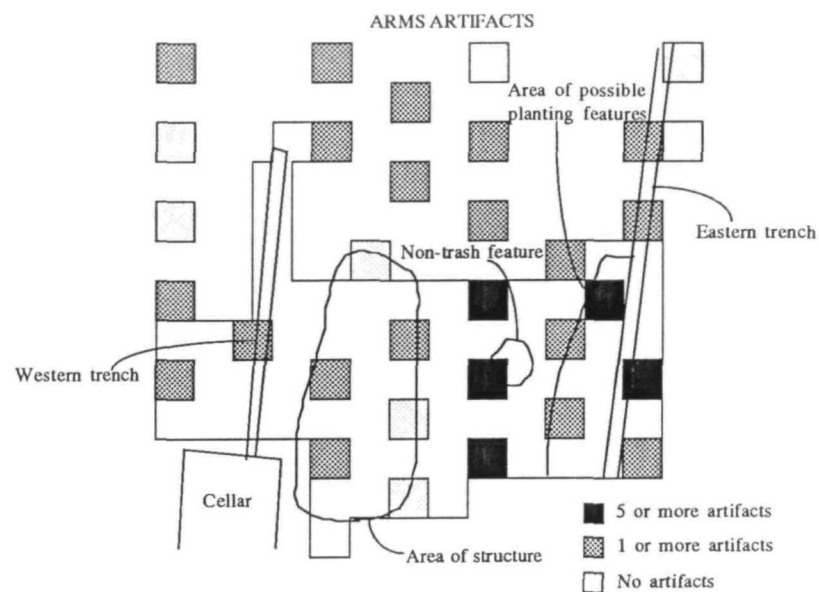


FIGURE 103. Area VIa Schematic Diagram of Arms, Tobacco, Activities and Clothing Artifact Distributions.

was sturdily built. For example, a barn at Curriboo Plantation in South Carolina was made of squared posts that measured 7.5 by 7.5 cm to 7.5 by 10 cm (3 by 3 to 3 by 4 inches) (Wheaton et al. 1982:171). The postmolds at Oxon Hill were at least twice that size, although this is undoubtedly partly a function of the distance between posts. The posts at Curriboo were approximately 0.6 m (2 feet) apart while those at Oxon Hill were approximately 2.2 m (7 feet) apart. Posthole fill varied in color but generally consisted of red clay with dark brown mottling.

Posthole Features 6022 and 6026 are clustered around the southern end of the structure and may be related to it as some kind of rack, porch, or chimney scaffolding support holes. These do not appear to be repair or replacement posts since they do not align well with the walls of the structure. Feature 6022 measured approximately 56 cm north-south by 78 cm east-west and was 45 cm in depth and was filled with a yellowish brown clay. The mold measured 23 cm, about the same size as those of the structure. Feature 6026 was a square pit measuring 55 by 54 cm and 20 cm in depth with a nearly level floor. This feature had three distinct silty clay soil levels and no postmold. The first 15 cm was a mottled orange, the second was approximately 9 cm thick and was a dark mottled gray, and the third was 7 cm of lighter mottled gray. Despite the lack of a mold the size and shape of Feature 6026 argue strongly for its being a posthole.

The TPQs of this structure and the trenches, and the intrusion of the cellar into the western trench suggests that there may have been three occupational episodes in Area VIa. The earliest would have been the structure, later surrounded by trenches forming a compound, which was later destroyed for construction of the cellar structure.

### The Remaining Features

The other features around the southern end of the structure do not appear to be postholes. Feature 6003 may have been a root stain as it is very irregularly shaped and contained few artifacts. Feature 6028 was a circular pit measuring 47 by 45 cm and 15 cm deep (Figure 94). This pit contained a dark brown clay fill containing more artifacts than Feature 6003. Except for its small size, it would seem to be a trash pit. Neither of these features can be clearly associated with the structure or any other features.

Between the structure and the features along the eastern trench there were a few unassociated features. Feature 6034 was a posthole measuring approximately 52 cm north-south by 59 cm east-west and 76 cm in depth; the hole and mold were roughly square in shape. The mold measured 24 cm north-south by 28 cm east-west, making it larger than those in the structure. It is possible that this feature is associated with Feature 6022 near the structure, since both holes were deep and contained large postmolds. Also, these postholes were 2.5 m apart east to west, which was the same distance as the width of the structure. Feature 6029 was a gravel filled trench-like feature measuring 90 cm north-south and 60 cm east-west and 35 cm deep. Since it contained no artifacts, and its fill was almost indistinguishable from gravelly subsoil, it may have been a tree fall. Further to the east were two small features. Feature 6005 was a possible posthole with no mold and Feature 6007 appears to have been a mold with no hole (amply described by Carson et al. (1981) as punchion postholes). The bottom of this mold was very hard packed subsoil as if a post had been forced into the ground and compressed the soil beneath it. The mold was round and between 16 and 19 cm in diameter and 24 cm deep into subsoil. Neither of these features could be associated with any other features.

All but one of the remaining features in Area VIa were located along the western side of the eastern trench (inside the "compound"). These included 2 large "trash" features (6010 and 6013), 2 postholes, and 6 possible planting holes; these had no mold and were very irregular in section.

Finding planting holes along the inside border of the compound should not be surprising, since various useful plants might be found there. It should be pointed out here that of the 27 floral samples in Area VIa (not including the cellar samples) eight had 22 grape seeds. In Area I, out of the 140 floral samples only two had a total of nine grape seeds, and eight of these came from one level of the well. There were only 34 grape seeds found on the site. It is highly likely that the planting holes in Area VIa represent some kind of decorative/edible planting, such as grape. Feature 6010 was filled with a distinctive and very compacted yellow clay and contained very few artifacts. It measured 210 cm north-south, 185 cm east-west and was 40 cm deep in the center, making it the largest feature in the area after the trenches and cellar. The yellow clay fill was very similar to a patch of yellow clay fill in the top of the cellar in Area I, which also contained few artifacts. If the fill in Area I and VIa was placed at about the same time, then filling took place in the late nineteenth century or later, even though the mean ceramic date for Feature 6010 is 1773.80 based on 5 dateable sherds. Feature 6013 was also relatively large and round. This feature measured 117 cm north-south, 139 cm east-west, and was 19 cm deep. It was fairly flat bottomed with straight nearly vertical sides. Its fill consisted of dark brown silty clays and contained nearly twice as many artifacts as Feature 6010 (140 in Feature 6010 and 334 in Feature 6013). Despite this, the mean ceramic date for Feature 6013 of 1818.36 is based on only three sherds, making it no more valid than the date for Feature 6010. Both features may represent activities carried on inside the compound; however, the function of the features could not be determined.

Features 6032 and 6014 were postholes next to the eastern trench. Feature 6032 was about 63 cm in diameter and 27 cm deep. Its postmold was 26 cm in diameter, making it one of the larger ones in Area VIa. Feature 6014 was smaller, 49 cm north-south, 45 cm east-west and 10 cm deep. The postmold was about 20 cm in diameter, although it is very shallow. However, there is ample evidence of erosion in the area, making it possible that its top half has eroded away. No function could be assigned to these features beyond the fact that they were postholes.

Features 6009, 6016, and 6033 were probable planting holes based on the root stains in their floors and the unevenness of their outlines. Additionally, Feature 6016 had a layer of coarse gravel beneath an organic layer. The organic layer seems to have been disturbed by root action. The gravel may have been used to provide drainage. Features 6025, 6018, and 6019 did not show as much root activity as the three probable planting features, and their identification as such is questionable. Features 6018 and 6019 may have been double features or planting holes that were replanted at a later time. This is especially noticeable in Feature 6018 (Figure 94). It should also be noted that all of these possible planting features are, with the exception of Feature 6033, located within a few feet of the eastern trench, as though shrubs or trees had been planted along a wall or fence line.

The last feature in Area VIa is located outside and east of the compound (Feature 6011). This feature was very similar to Feature 6013 in size, but contained only 92 artifacts. Because of its amorphous form and evidence of root stains the feature was probably a planting hole.

## Summary

A total of 9,001 artifacts was recovered in Area VIa from 132 screened units, giving a density of 68.19 artifacts per square meter. This compares favorably with Areas I, V, and VIb, and probably indicates that Area VIa was not primarily a dumping area. The density of features, 0.09 per square meter is the lowest of any area at the site. Areas IV, VIb (0.16/meter), and II (0.12/meter) have similar feature densities, however. The ceramic cross-mends noted in Figure 104 show mixing between the cellar fill and the rest of the area, but otherwise very little patterning. Most mends involve late nineteenth- or twentieth-century types, while very few eighteenth-century ceramics cross-mended. The distribution of TPQs and MCDs by levels indicates that vertical mixing may have

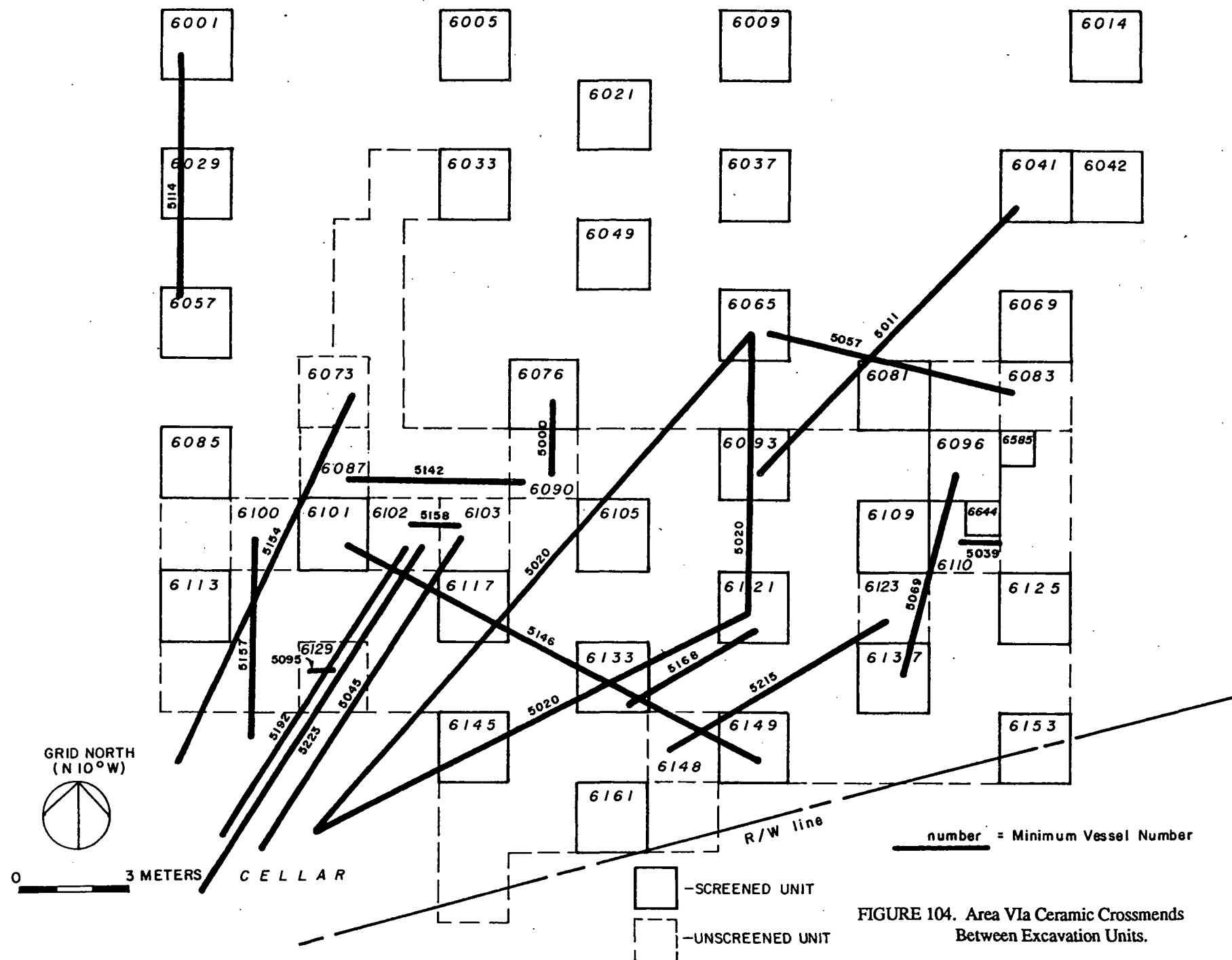


FIGURE 104. Area VIA Ceramic Crossmends  
Between Excavation Units.

occurred in Area VIa as the result of sheet erosion or the road, but the patterning in the horizontal distribution of artifact groups tends to indicate that there was little horizontal displacement.

Area VIa appears to have been a compound enclosed by a palisade, vertical plank wall, or a series of open trenches, later converted to use for a cellared structure. The compound contained a posthole structure (which may have predated the trenches), probably with a frame superstructure. Since this structure is long and narrow it seems unlikely that it was a residence; it was more likely a small work shed or storage shed. The structure's shape also leads to the conclusion that it was accessed from the long sides rather than the ends. It is even possible that one of the long sides was left open and the space was used as an open work area. Along the eastern side of the compound there may have been a row of shrubs or plants while the center of the compound was used for outdoor activities, as suggested by the large features in that area. These plants may have been part of a specialized garden consisting of grape vines among other things.

Since during the eighteenth century livestock were generally allowed to roam free, it seems unlikely that the compound would have been used to hold livestock in. It seems more likely that the compound was intended to keep livestock and perhaps people out, and the reason would appear to be that the compound contained attractive goods or foodstuffs not kept at the main house or meathouse. Area VIa may have been used to store grains for livestock, or drygoods. As will be seen in the following chapter, there were no stores of grain or fodder noted in the Addison inventories during the eighteenth century, but there was a large quantity of drygoods stored in Mrs. Addison's store and "the other" store (see Chapter VII). It is therefore hypothesized that during the eighteenth century Area VIa represented a storehouse compound with associated work areas.

After the compound was dismantled a cellared structure was built straddling the western trench in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. This cellar was very deep, and the lower portion of the walls were lined with vertical boards. This cellar may have been used to store foodstuffs during the nineteenth century. It may also have been the potato cellar noted in court records of the 1880s. The analysis of the artifacts from this area are discussed below in Chapter VII.

## AREA VIb

### Description

Area VIb was located to the northeast of the manor house and east of Area VIa (Figures 41, 105, and 106). An old road cut extends down slope from the southeast to the northwest between Area VIa and Area VIb. Area VIb was bordered to the south by the access road and to the north by the I-95 cut. The area was located on a relatively flat ridgetop sloping gently to the west with the old road cut. The soil in the area was heavily eroded. Area VIb was forested in hardwoods with a dense undergrowth of poison ivy. Only a brick lined well was visible on the surface prior to excavation, although there were some recent surface disturbances as noted by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985) in the area, probably dating from the construction of I-95 in the 1960s.

Excavation of Area VIb followed recommendations presented by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985:69-85, 92-93). It was anticipated that excavation of selected portions of the area would provide evidence related to:

1. two to four nineteenth-century structures shown in a cluster on the 1863 topographic map (Figure 107);
2. a concentration of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century domestic debris, representing trash

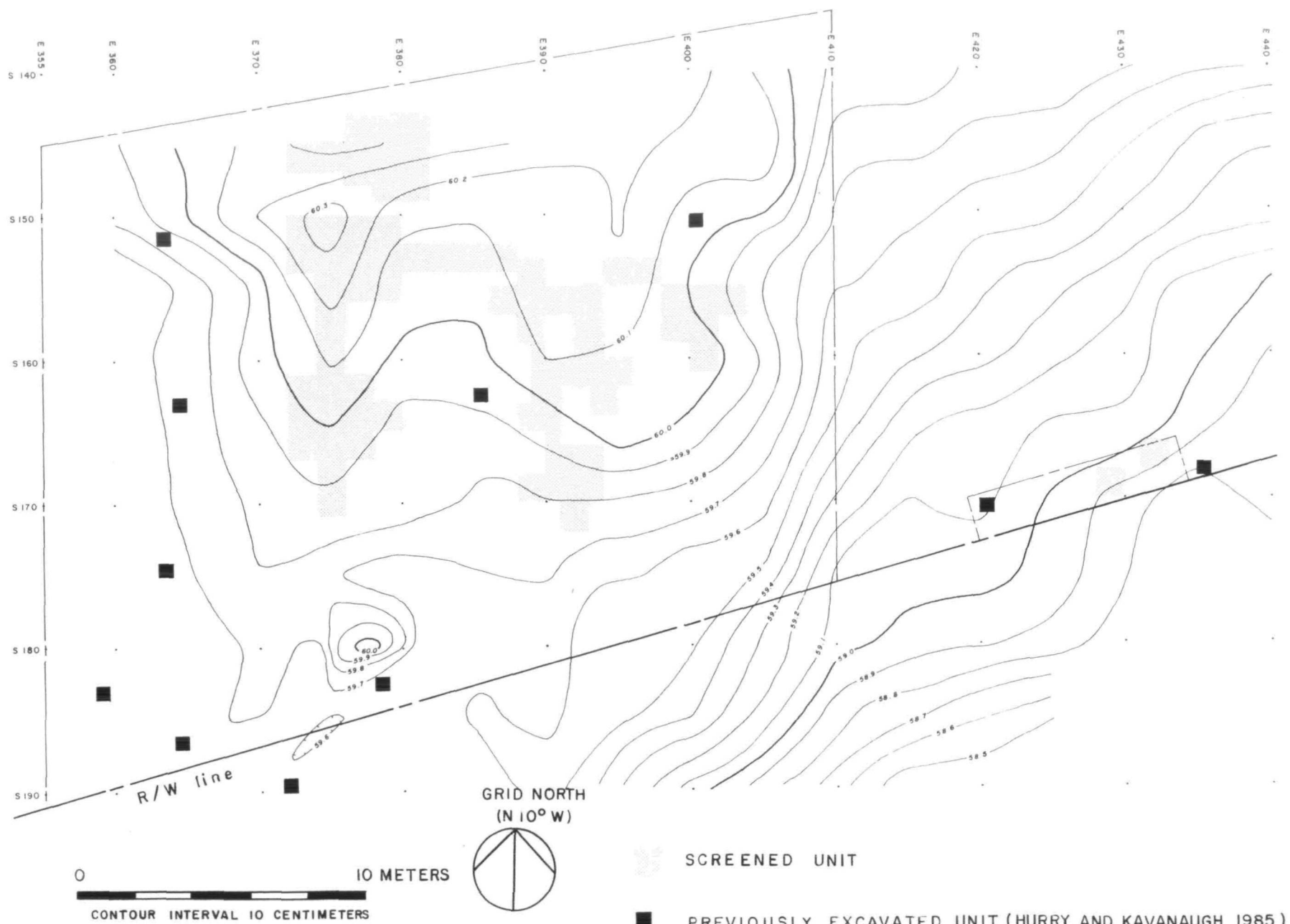


FIGURE 105. Area VIb Topography and Excavation.

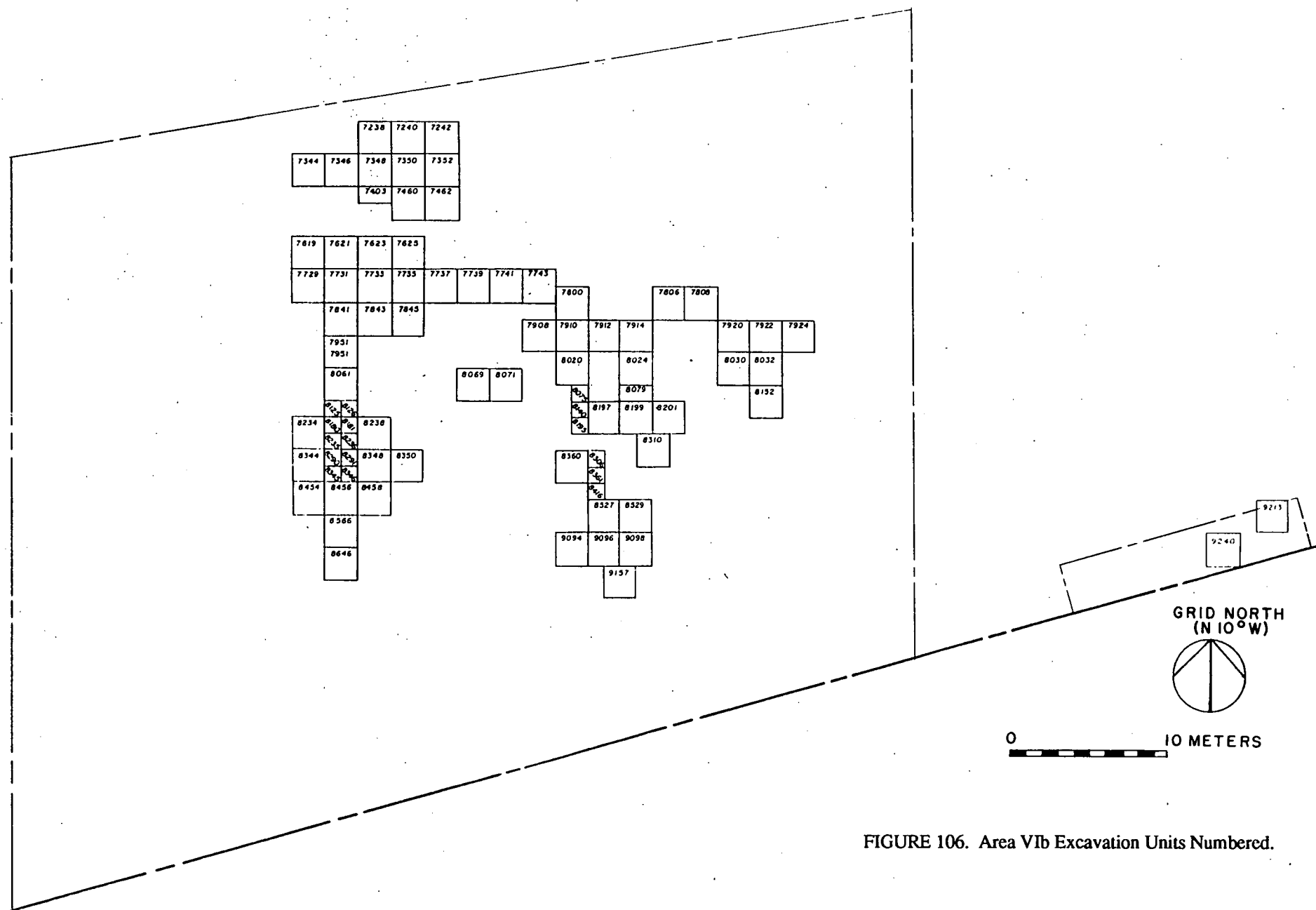


FIGURE 106. Area VIb Excavation Units Numbered.



- deposits of either tenants or slaves; and
3. a brick lined well, partially filled with twentieth-century and perhaps earlier domestic debris.

Inconclusive evidence of perhaps two structures was found. One was defined by a portion of a possible building pad and a surrounding trench. The other was located northeast of the first, but could only be tentatively defined from artifactual evidence. Figure 105 shows the very approximate location of the north gable of a barn noted on the 1863 map by longitude and latitude. The latitude and longitude were scaled from a USGS map and could easily be off by as much as 100 feet. Unfortunately, this structure and perhaps the other structures noted on the 1863 map in the vicinity of Area VIb may have been destroyed by the construction of I-95 just to the north.

## **The Historic Maps**

Since two historic maps were found which indicated the location of structures, it seemed reasonable to assume that one could simply tie in the historic maps to the current grid system and quickly locate the structures on the ground. This was felt to be a potentially important resource especially in Area VIb where as many as four structures were noted on the 1863 topographic map. Since it was felt that these maps held so much potential for this area, it seems appropriate to discuss them here in some detail, although they have been mentioned in the discussions of some of the other areas. In order to use the maps the project photographer visited the Hydrographic Survey offices near the University of Maryland before work began in Area VI. After photographing the two maps (1863 and 1903) we were able to develop slides with the black and white negatives based on Figures 107 and 108. Using these slides, a slide projector, and a carefully scaled map of the site (including the main house, the major features in Area I, and topographic data including the present-day Oxon Hill Road) attempts were made to superimpose the historic maps on the USGS map. This was accomplished by varying the scale and orientation of the historic maps until two or more features could be made to coincide with the present map. Major points of reference which seemed to be relatively accurate were the center line of the gulley to the north and another to the south of the main house, the main house itself, Oxon Hill Road, the rectangular park around the main house (coinciding with the terrace in Area IV and the area between the main house and the cemetery), and the cellar in Area I, if it indeed was represented on the 1863 map.

While it was sometimes possible to align three of these features at the same time, it was never possible to align all of the features at the same time. For example, Oxon Hill Road, the main house and the southern gulley can be made to align fairly well, but in that case the structure north of the main house, the northern gulley and the park around the main house do not align. When the main house, the park, and the structure north of the main house align the other features do not. In the process the structures in Area VIb move from south of the modern access road to north of the project boundary in the area cut by I-95. Since it was unclear which of the structures on the 1863 map was the barn (which had a latitude and longitude reading) this information could not be correlated with the other structures on the maps.

## **The Units**

Excavations began in Area VIb on April 25, 1985 and were completed on June 28, 1985. The excavation strategy for this area called for a combination of hand excavations in 2 x 2 m units, a well excavation, and stripping with a bottom-loading pan grader once the area had been adequately sampled and the stratigraphy was understood. A total of 288 square meters was hand excavated and screened; there were no unscreened units in this area. A total of 40 features were found in the units,



FIGURE 107. Tracing of 1863 Map.

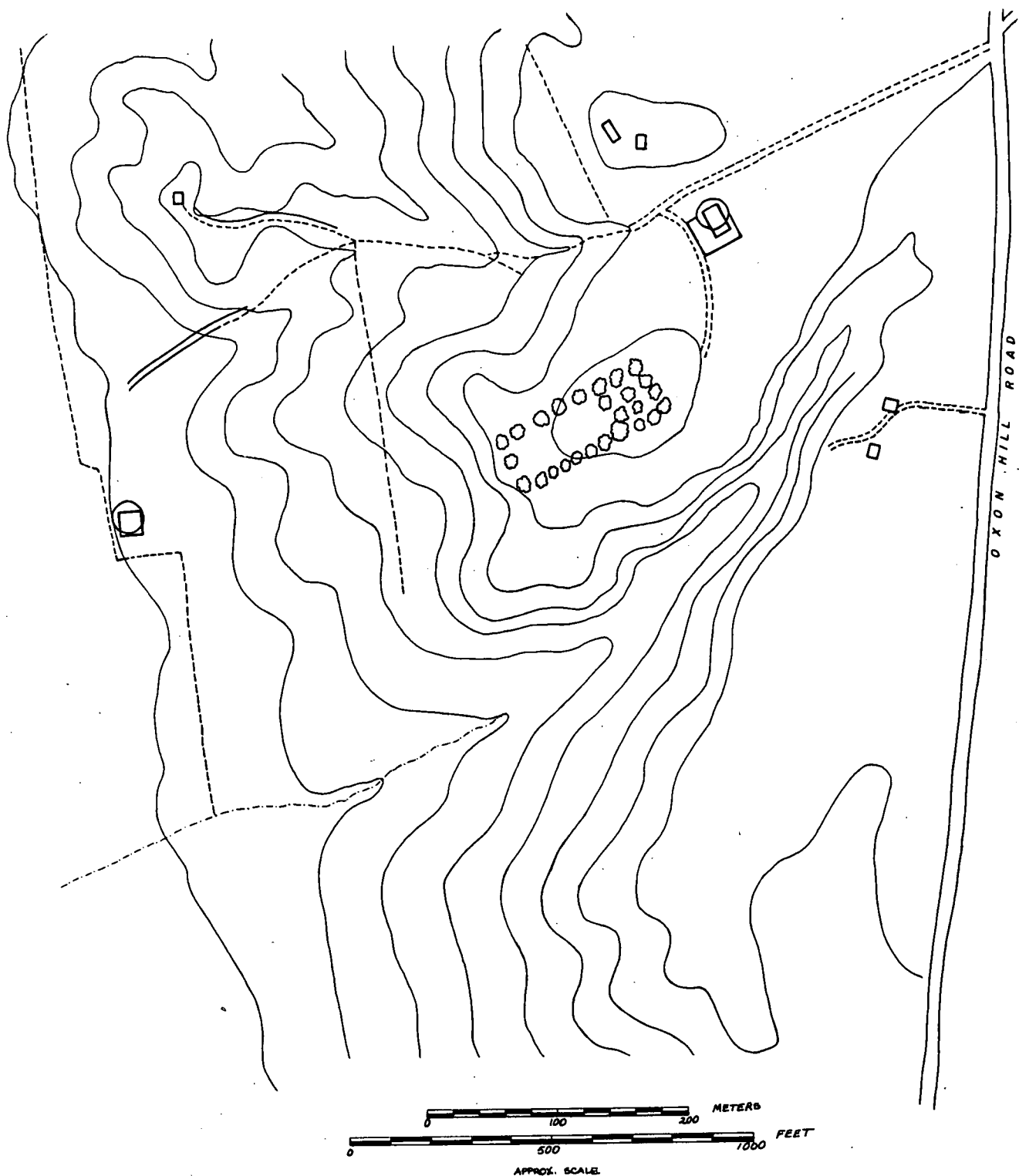


FIGURE 108. Tracing of 1903 Map.

and 21 in the machine stripped part of the area. The mean ceramic date for Area VIb was 1844.43, much later than for other areas of the site.

Study of Hurry and Kavanagh's 1985 report indicated that most of the features and historic deposits were located in the central portion of the area. Figure 109 outlines three zones defined by us from testing data. Two of these zones represent concentrations of 20 or more architectural artifacts in shovel test pits, and the other zone represents a concentration of 2 or more nineteenth-century domestic artifacts in shovel test pits. The figures of 20 and 2 were used since over 20 architectural artifacts seemed to define the heaviest concentration of such artifacts, and the overall number of nineteenth-century domestic artifacts was low, with most test pits having none at all. As excavation in Area VIb progressed, and especially after mechanical stripping of the area, it became apparent that the major areas of artifact and feature concentration were thoroughly sampled with hand excavated units based on our interpretation of the testing report. Definition of excavation blocks was further guided by the location of features identified by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985), which tended to be located in the areas of higher artifact concentration.

Figure 110 shows the concentrations of Kitchen and Architecture Group material in the mitigation phase units. It should be noted that there is general agreement between the testing phase data and that found during mitigation. Excavation during mitigation also showed additional concentrations of architectural material to the south of the testing concentrations. In nearly all areas the Architecture Group artifacts outnumber the Kitchen Group artifacts except around the brick-lined well. Near the well Kitchen Group artifacts are generally twice as frequent as Architecture Group artifacts. This may indicate that the well area was used more frequently for domestic functions, while other portions of the area were used primarily for non-domestic functions.

Figures 110 and 112 show the distributions of the other artifact groups across the area. The kitchen ceramics concentrate to the east of the well with a secondary concentration in the area denoted as a possible structure and discussed in more detail below. In contrast, the kitchen glass outnumbers the ceramics, and is found in the area of the possible barn and along the southern end of the fenceline as well as in the same locations as the ceramics. This may indicate that eating or trash disposal from eating was done in the space between the possible structure and the well, while use of liquids (in glass bottles and containers?) was conducted in more locations of Area VIb. The other artifact groups occurred in much lower frequencies in Area VIb. The Activity Group artifacts had a distribution pattern much like that of ceramics, between the well and the possible structure, with the addition of the fenceline (Figure 111). This is unusual if one realizes that the vicinity of the possible barn (discussed below) has very few Activities artifacts. The Clothing, Tobacco, Personal, and Furniture artifacts (Figures 111 and 112) occur in too low numbers and are too dispersed to show clear distributional patterning. The Arms Group is also low in number, but seems to be concentrated in the western portion of the area. This may be a reflection of the same distribution as the Activities artifacts. On the basis of artifact distributions it would appear that the area to the east of the well was a high activity area, either through direct use and discard or through secondary disposal of trash, perhaps from the possible structure on the east side of the area.

After mechanical stripping it became evident that the areas of highest feature density had been thoroughly sampled with hand excavated units. The two areas of high feature density tended to correspond to (1) the Kitchen Group artifact concentrations around the well, and (2) the Architecture Group artifacts near a possible north-south running builder's trench (Feature 7004).

Figure 113 shows the distribution of *termini post quem* (TPQs) and mean ceramic dates (MCDs) in the units in Area VIb. All but one of the early TPQs are based on cut nails. The early TPQ north of the well is based on a single sherd of Westerwald. The early MCDs are based on very few total ceramics, of which even fewer were dateable. The units in the southwest portion of the area (Units

# TESTING ARTIFACT CONCENTRATIONS

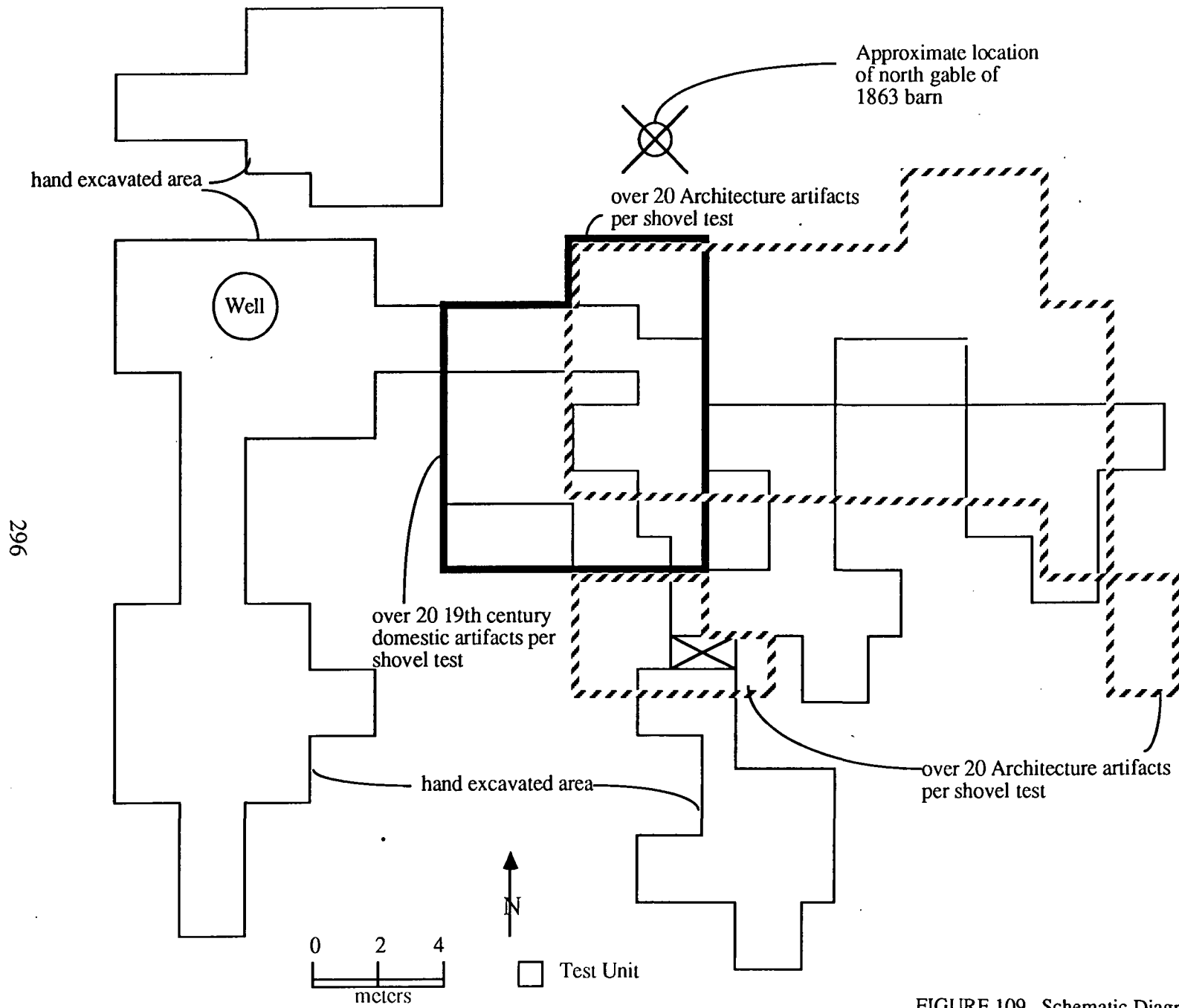


FIGURE 109. Schematic Diagram of Testing Phase Artifacts.

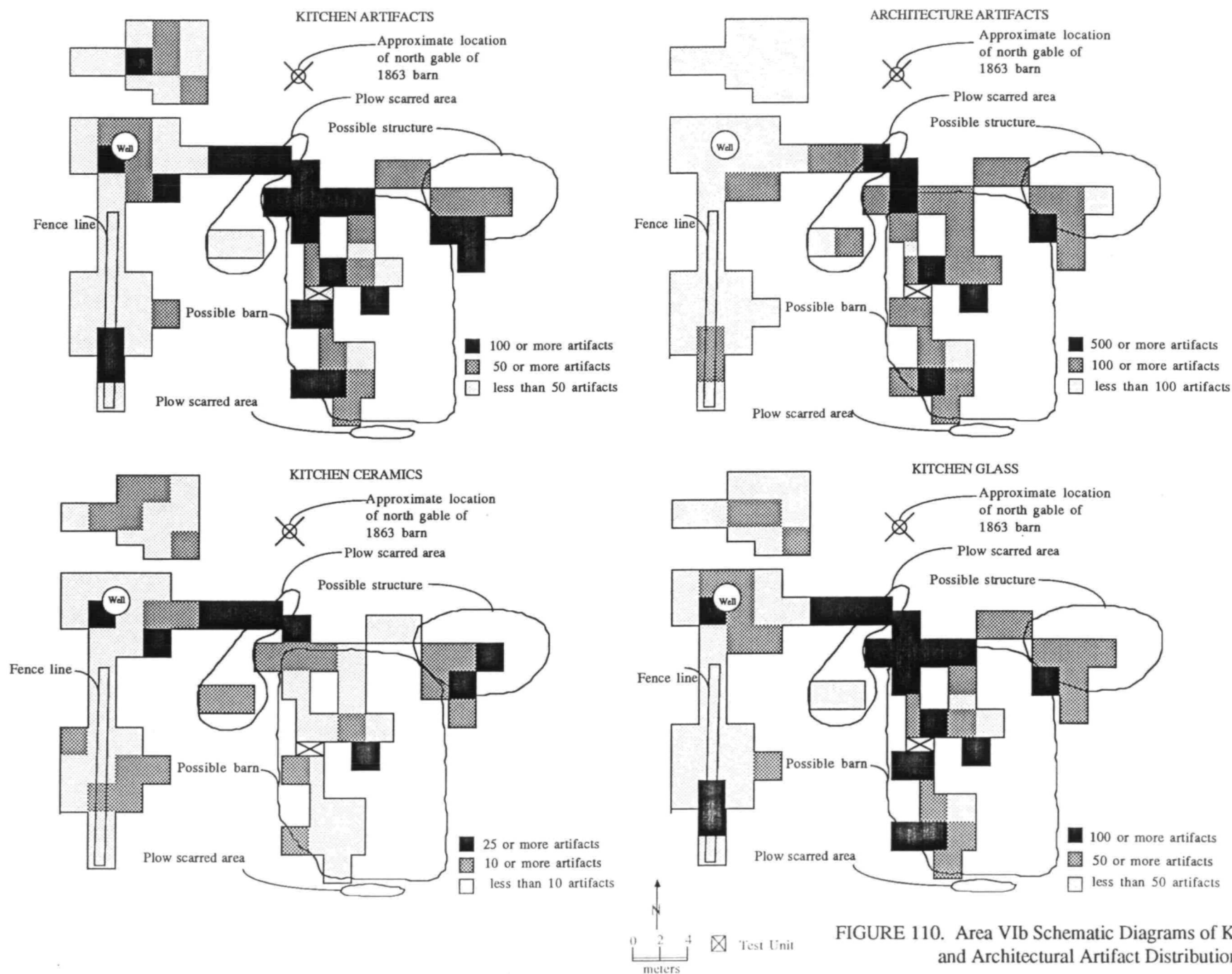


FIGURE 110. Area VIIb Schematic Diagrams of Kitchen and Architectural Artifact Distributions.

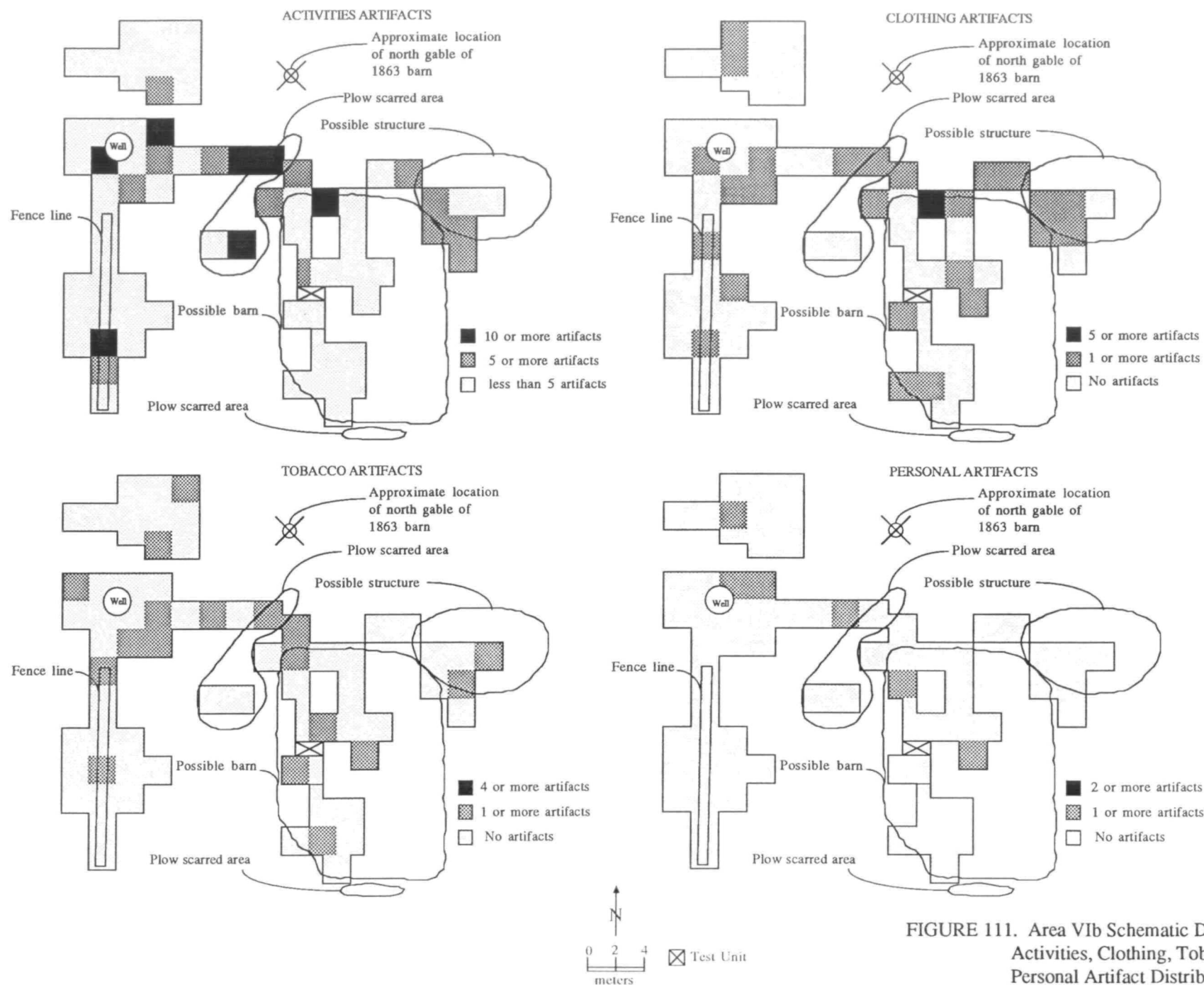


FIGURE 111. Area VIb Schematic Diagrams of Activities, Clothing, Tobacco and Personal Artifact Distributions.

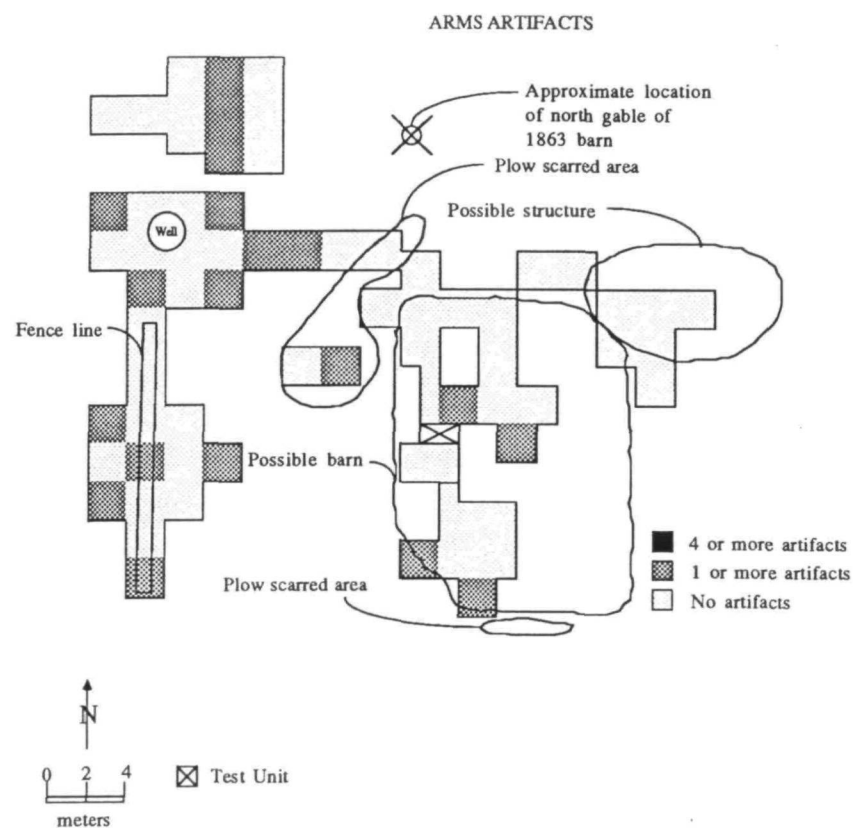
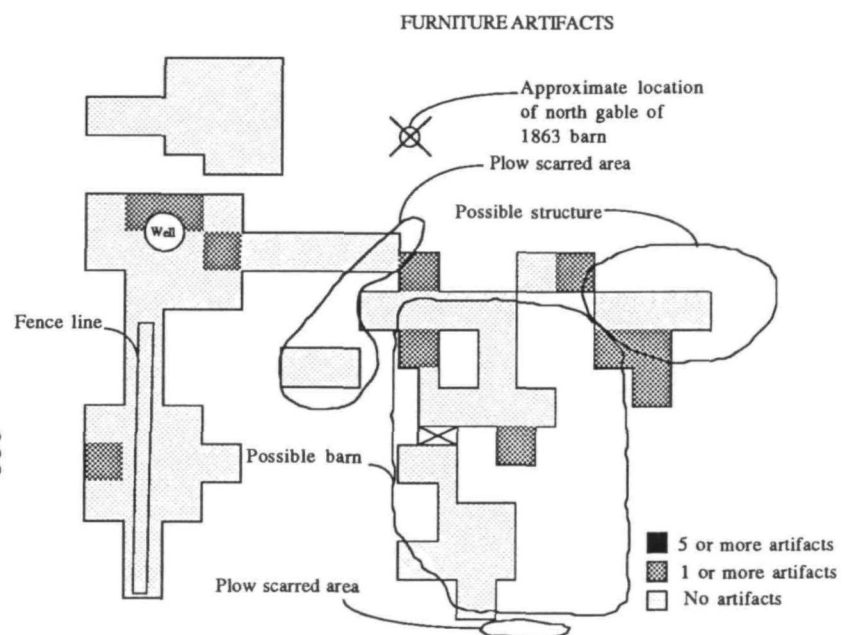
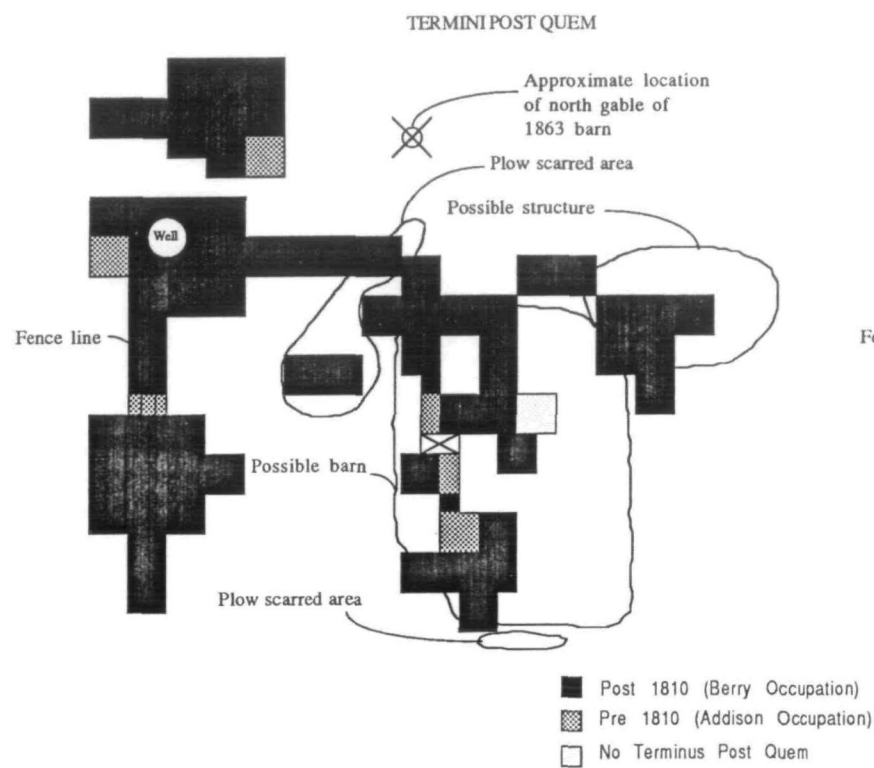


FIGURE 112. Area VIb Schematic Diagram of Furniture and Arms Artifact Distributions.





⊗ Test Unit

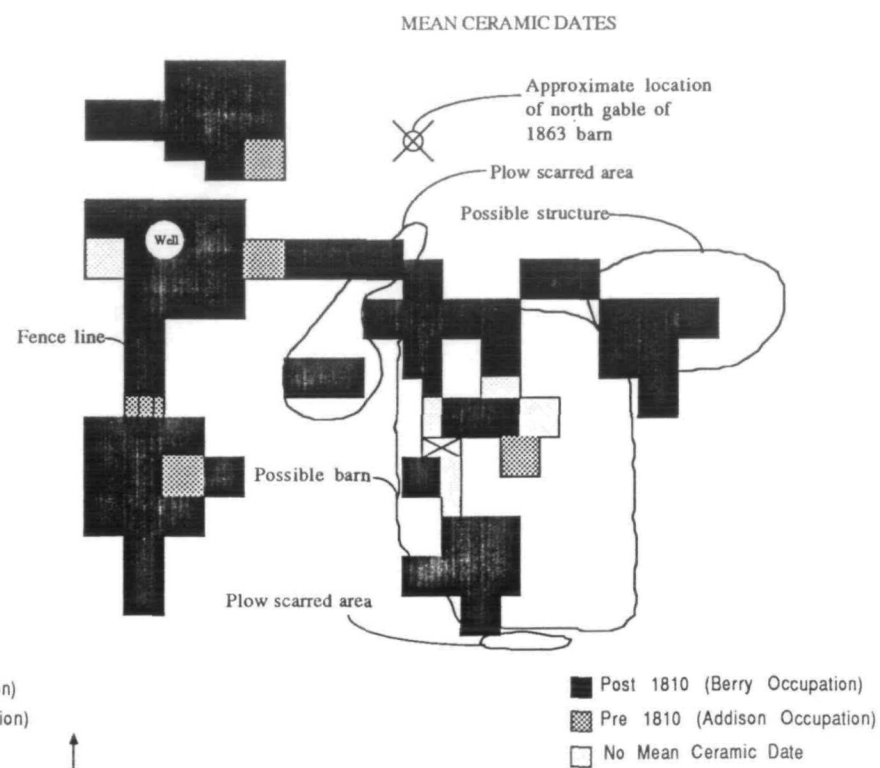


FIGURE 113. Area VIb Schematic Diagram of Termini Post Quem and Mean Ceramic Date Distributions.

8125/26 and 8348) were exceptions to this rule. These dates are based on 4 and 15 dateable sherds and may represent some ephemeral, early dumping activity. The overwhelming conclusion is that Area VIb was occupied almost entirely during the nineteenth century.

The soils in Area VIb were heavily eroded, providing several thin layers of loam and clay over a very hard fragipan subsoil (Figure 114). The topsoil was a dark brown loam with considerable organic material mixed in, measuring at most 23 cm in depth. The second layer was a yellowish brown clay which measured a maximum of 25 cm thick. Beneath this was a yellow brown clay fragipan subsoil. Within a day or two after the topsoil was removed, the exposed fragipan beneath dried out. This made it very difficult to shovel shave and locate features. There was also very little distinction between the color and texture of the feature fill and the surrounding fragipan making it difficult to distinguish features in Area VIb. This drew out the process of finding features and made for many false starts excavating non-features. Figure 111 shows two areas of mechanical stripping. The eastern area was relatively straightforward; trees less than 8 or 9 inches in diameter were removed by bulldozer, and the topsoil was removed without much damage to the subsoil. The western area also had the smaller trees removed by bulldozer, but because of equipment availability delays, this western area was wetter than the eastern area when it was stripped. This high moisture content caused the machine to dig into the subsoil; shovel shaving this area would thus have been difficult and was not performed. From the low artifact concentrations found during testing of the western area, it had a low potential of containing significant remains, and it is not felt that significant data was lost.

## The Features

Figures 115 and 116 show the features and the features with TPQs before 1810, or in other words TPQs from the Addison occupation, and those with TPQs from after 1810, or primarily from the Berry occupation. Only four features (7014, 7017, 7021, and 7042) have TPQs before 1810. The four TPQs predating 1810 range from 1720, a Buckleyware sherd in Feature 7042, to 1805 for cut common nails in the other three features. Except for Feature 7014 which had three nails, all of the other three dates are based on a single artifact, including the Buckley sherd in Feature 7042. Comparing this with the corresponding map in Area I indicates that Area VIb may never have been occupied during the Addison occupation. These and the remaining features will be discussed below.

## The Well

Of the features excavated in Area VIb the one most clearly defined with associated features was a well. The well was located near the northern edge of the area (Figures 115 and 117). The wooden working platform used in Area I was relocated and reused during excavation of the Area VIb well. Because the bricks of the Area VIb well were very loosely laid and threatened to collapse in several places, concrete well rings as used in the Area I well were also used here to ensure the safety of the excavators from the hazards of collapsing side walls.

The Area VIb well measured approximately 120 cm in diameter (Figure 118). The first 3.30 m of the well was empty shaft. Most of the well fill material was excavated in 20 cm levels; level 1, however, was a very shallow level made up of material collected from the top of the deposit as it was cleared of leaves, sticks, etc., prior to excavation. After level 2, attempts to take soil samples from each level were abandoned as there was simply not enough soil present among the artifacts. Materials recovered from the well were water screened where the ceramics, glass, and personal objects were sorted, packed, labeled, and sent to the lab. Large amounts of recent rusted tin can metal, wire, brick fragments, etc. were removed from the sample and discarded as they were of little analytical value.

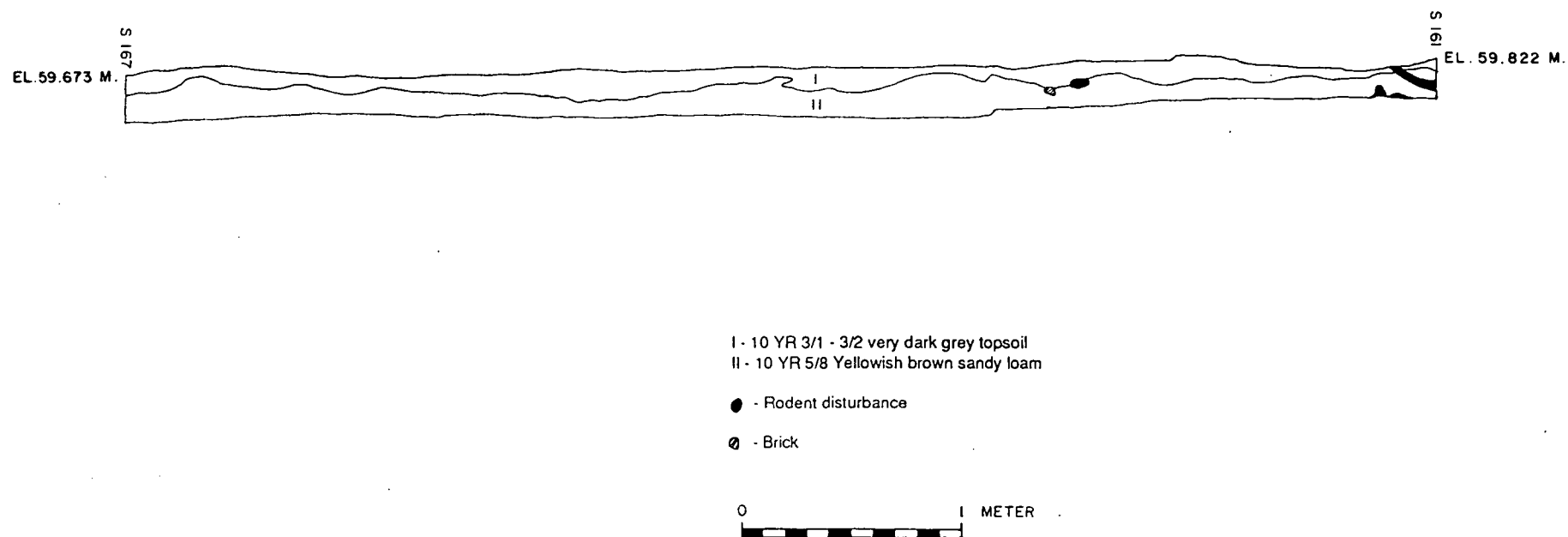


FIGURE 114. Area VIb West Profile at E 372 Line.

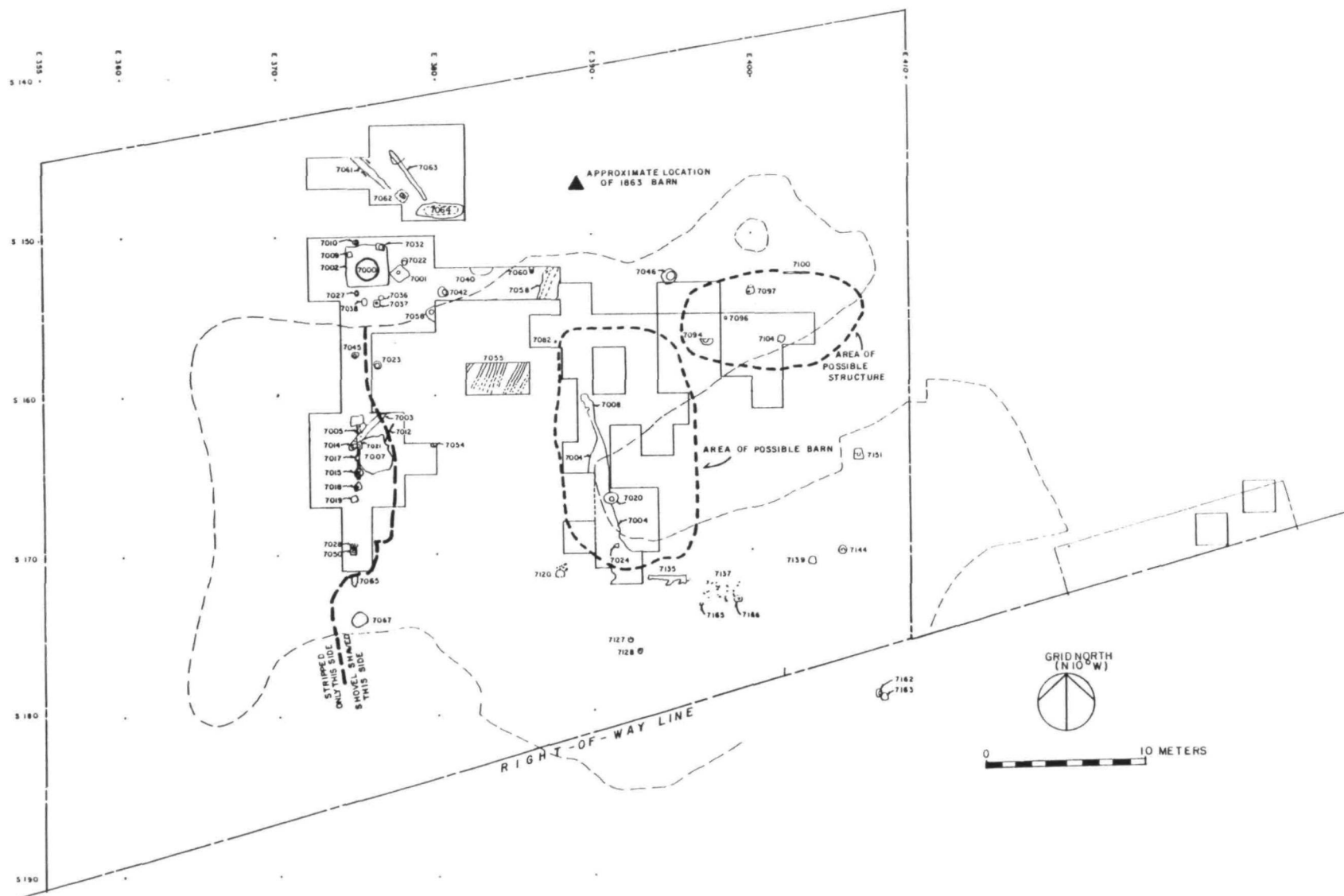


FIGURE 115. Area VIb Features.

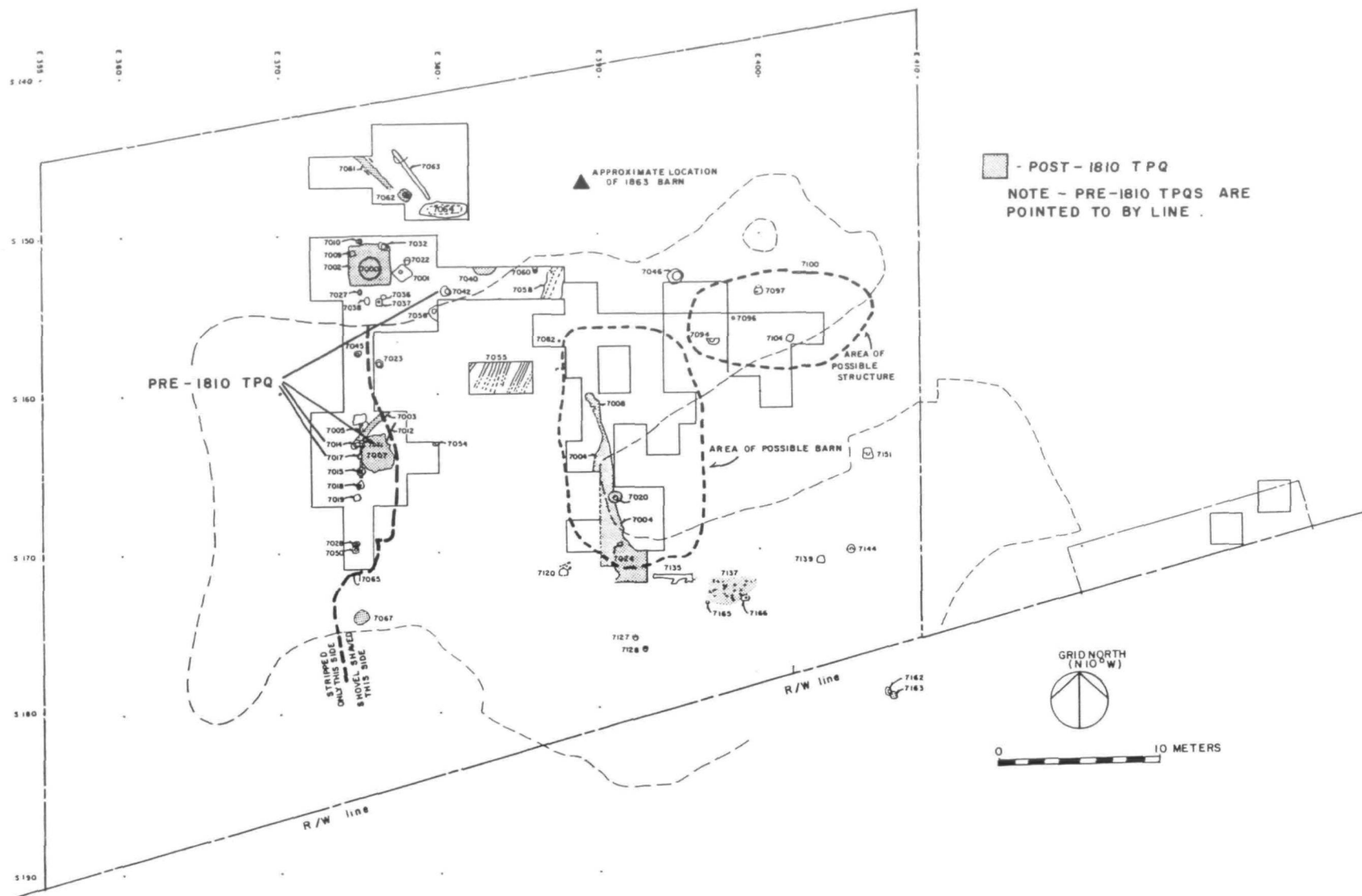


FIGURE 116. Area VIb Features by Period.

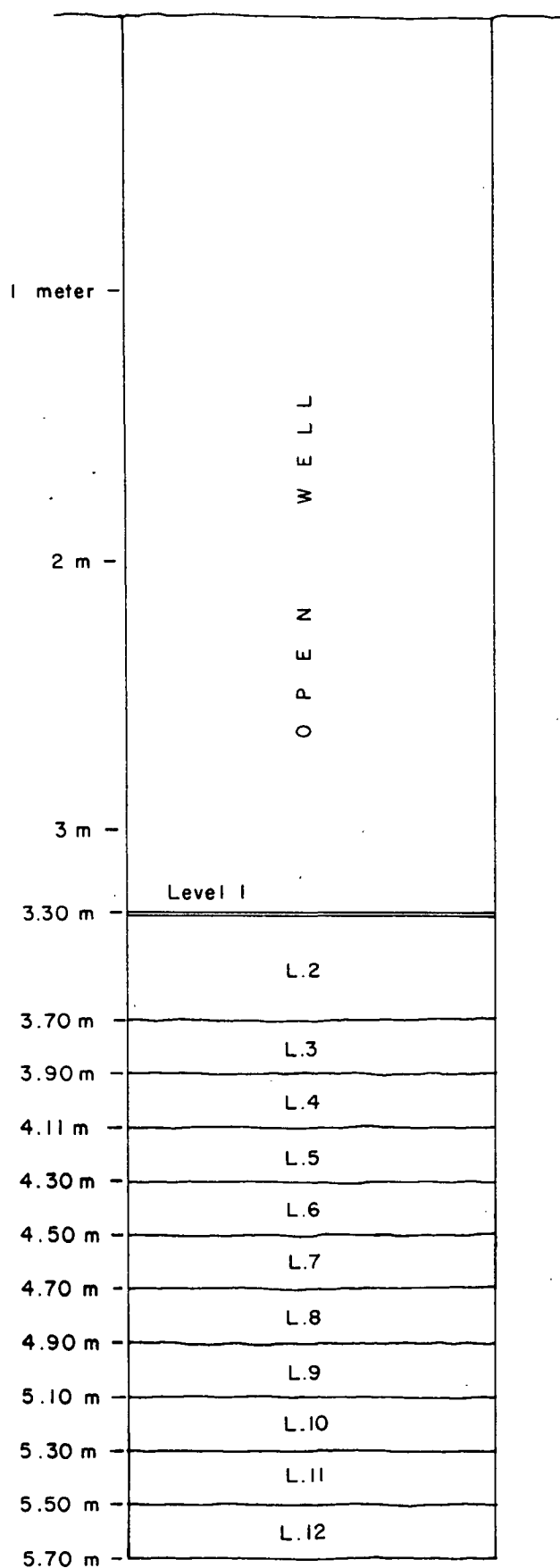


FIGURE 117. Area VIb Well Profile.

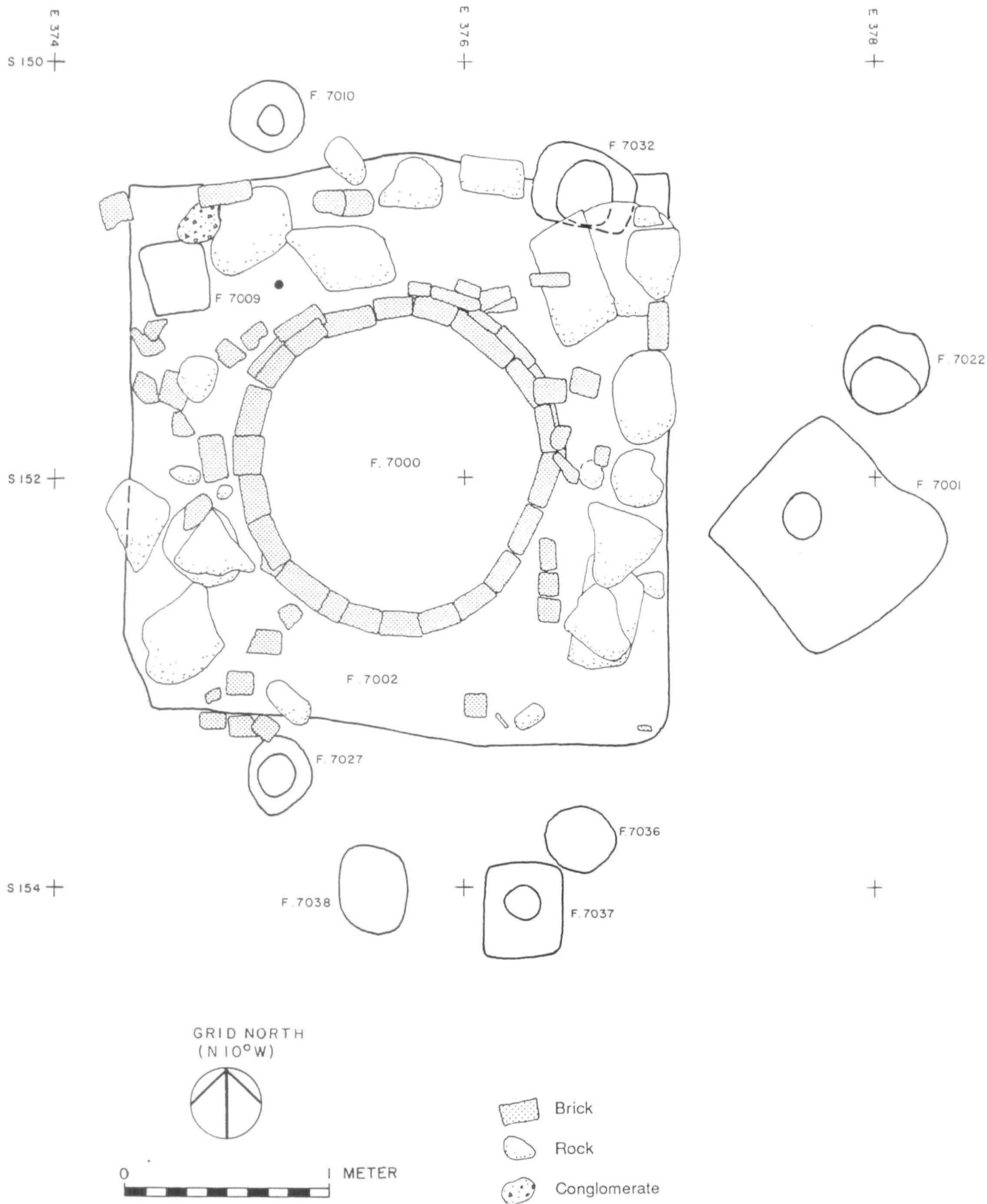


FIGURE 118. Area VIb Well and Associated Features.

The well was to be excavated only 6.15 m (20 feet) below ground surface, since this was slightly deeper than the site would be impacted in Area VIb. This depth was not reached, however. At 5.5 m (18 feet) below ground surface an unknown caustic substance was encountered causing moderate skin irritation to crew members. Excavation of the well was discontinued immediately. Since the well fill was still twentieth-century at this depth with no sign of change, and since the 6.15 m (20 foot) level was within 60 cm (two feet) of having been reached, it is unlikely that significant data were lost.

The well yielded a mean ceramic date of 1865. This is not a valid indicator of the age of the deposition within the well since most of the twentieth-century types have not yet been assigned mean ceramic dates, and earlier types weigh dates out of proportion to their numbers. This well, although presumably dug in the nineteenth century, contained exclusively twentieth-century deposits from the Sumner Welles household in its upper levels. These materials were related to the deposits recovered from the cellar in Area VIa, and indeed cross-mends were found between this well and the cellar.

Features associated with the well were a large square brick and stone pad surrounding the well (Feature 7002), and eight postholes (Figure 118). Feature 7002, the brick and stone pad, measured approximately 2.69 by 2.58 m. The feature was quartered and its northwestern quarter was removed. Beneath the surface stones and bricks, the soil was found to be of a different color and texture from the surrounding subsoil. This fill was excavated in 20 cm levels to approximately 20 cm into subsoil. The base of the feature measured between 50 and 55 cm in depth. The fill matched the outline of the pad above. This exposed the mortared northwestern outer wall of the well. It is not known whether the mortar on the outside of the well bricks was part of the original construction of the well or a later repair. The fill was a uniform silty clay from top to bottom. A small scattering of artifacts was recovered from the first 20 cm of fill, but no artifacts were recovered from lower levels. This feature yielded a mean ceramic date of 1832.00 from 7 dateable sherds. The remaining quadrants of Feature 7002 were then removed from around the well. This feature seems to have been the base for a well house or some other kind of structure surrounding the well.

Eight posthole features were also located around the well (Features 7038, 7027, 7009, 7010, 7032, 7022, 7001, and 7037). They ranged in size from 87 cm by 92 cm to 31 by 32 cm and generally were smaller than those in Areas VIa and I. These may have been associated with the hypothesized structure surrounding the well (Figure 118).

### North of the Well

Excavations were undertaken directly north of the well in an attempt to locate evidence of which structures appeared in this area on the 1863 map, and because the area to the south of the well had been especially rich in features. Unfortunately, at the time these excavations were undertaken our approximation of the location of the barn noted in Figure 115 was not as precise as that in the figure. However, it should be pointed out again that locations on historic maps can easily be off by tens of feet, and that this was undoubtedly the case here. No structures could be defined from the four features found. These features included two shallow trenches (Features 7061 and 7063), one large posthole with multiple molds (Feature 7062), and one large rectangular pit (Feature 7064) (Figure 115). The two trench features ran from the southeast to the northwest and one extended beyond the excavated area to the north. The exposed portion of Feature 7061 measured 1 m in length, 30 cm in width, and approximately 8 cm in depth. This trench was filled with a yellow brown clay soil mixed with red gravel; large gravel lined the base of the trench. Trench Feature 7063 was located to the east of Feature 7061; its exposed portion measured 2 m in length, 30 cm in width, and no more than 5 cm in depth. Feature 7063 was filled with a brownish yellow silty clay, mottled with yellowish brown and light olive brown clay. These features may have been vehicle ruts. These features were narrow



and very clearly outlined, and do not appear to have been used more than once or twice.

Feature 7062 (Figure 115) measured 92 cm east-west, 84 cm north-south, and 54 cm in depth. The hole was filled with a strong brown clay loam. One of two molds in the posthole was located in the eastern half of the hole and intruded on the second centrally located mold. The central mold measured 27 cm north-south, 23 cm east-west, and 24 cm in depth. The eastern mold measured 31 cm north-south, 30 cm east-west, and 40 cm deep. Both molds were large, but could not be clearly associated with the trenches or Feature 7064 to the east.

Feature 7064 was a large, deep rectangular pit intersected by Feature 7063 (Figure 115). Feature 7064 measured 280 cm east-west, 122 cm north-south, and approximately 32 cm deep. The feature was filled with a light olive brown silty loam, mottled with a yellow brown clay and a yellowish red gritty sand. Four large stones, which may have been cut building stones, were encountered in the eastern half of the feature. Unfortunately, little else was found within this feature, and its function could not be determined.

### The Fenceline

A line of postholes was found directly south of the well running north-south (Table 56). The first of these postholes was located by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985:85) and was described as "maybe one footing for the L-shaped structure to the southwest, or possibly for the Oxon Hill barn or some other structure." There were nine additional postholes located to the south of the one Hurry and Kavanagh found (Features 7014, 7021, 7017, 7015, 7018, 7019, 7028, 7050, and 7065) (Figure 119). Feature 7045 was located five meters directly north of the first posthole located by Hurry and Kavanagh in 1984 (1985:75). As with the three postholes at the southern end of this line, Feature 7045 was farther removed from the main group of features. Attempts were made during excavation and later after mechanical stripping to locate perpendicular lines to the east that might define a structure. However, no perpendicular lines of postholes were found, and the alignment of the postholes suggests a fenceline, oriented to the western edge of the well to the north. Feature 7067 aligned with the hypothesized fenceline, but was much larger than the other postholes. While this feature had no clearly defined posthole it did have a scooped out area in the west central side of its floor, which may have indicated the presence of a post. It is possible that this 30 cm deep posthole represents a fence gate, but it does not appear to be a corner post as its size would suggest. Unfortunately, the area further to the south was not mechanically scrapped due to large trees in the area.

Table 56. Dimensions of Fenceline Postholes and Postmolds.

<u>Feature #</u>	<u>Length(cm)</u>	<u>Width(cm)</u>	<u>Depth(cm)</u>	<u>Shape</u>
7014 (posthole)	59.0	45.0	37.0	squared
(postmold)	38.0	38.0	37.0	rounded
7015 (posthole)	47.0	35.0	37.5	rounded
(postmold)	25.0	25.0	24.5	rounded
7017 (posthole)	49.0	20.0	41.0	rounded
7018 (posthole)	51.0	45.0	20.0	rounded
(postmold)	20.0	20.0	10.0	rounded
7019 (posthole)	43.0	39.0	46.0	squared

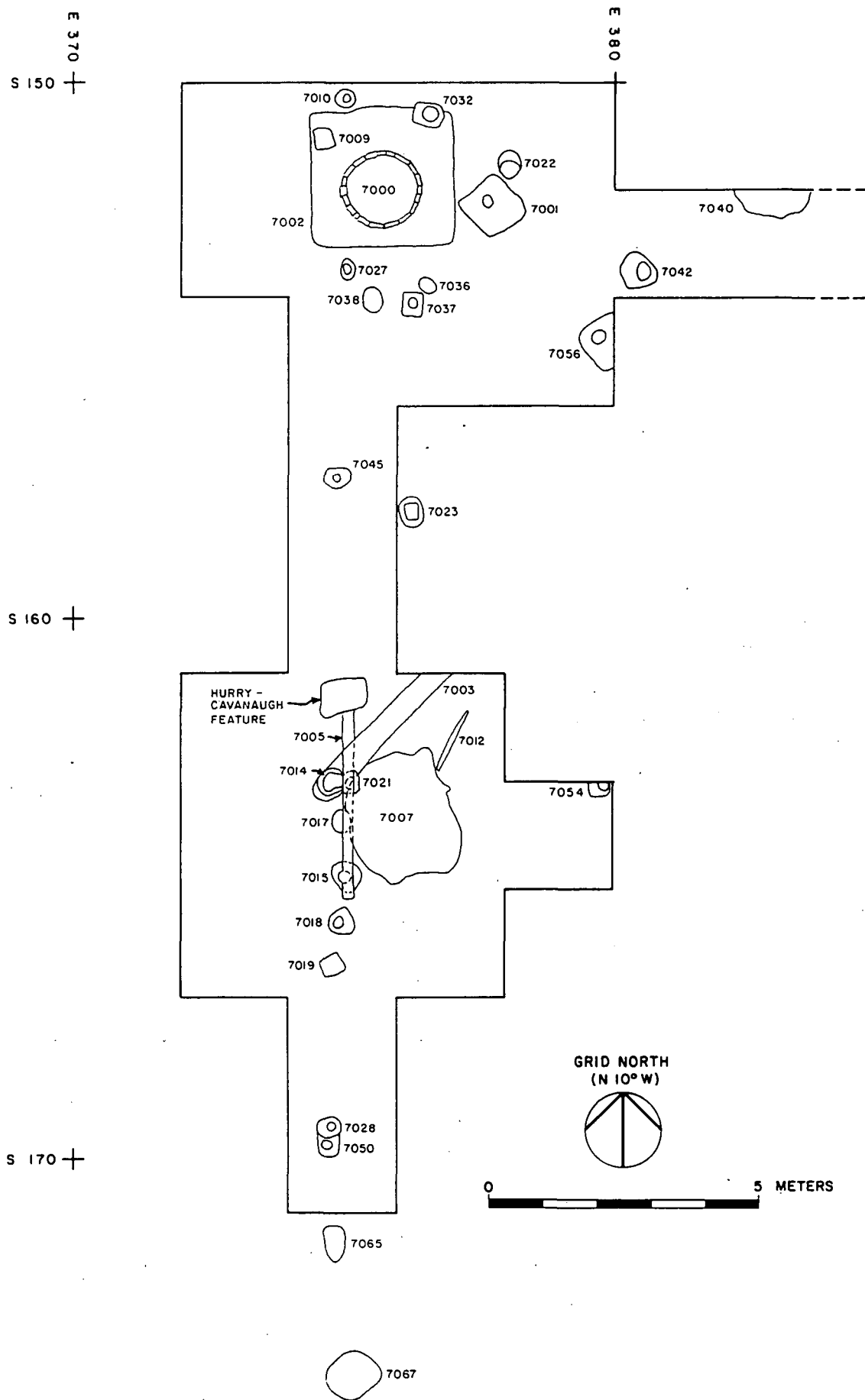


FIGURE 119. Area VIb Well and Fence Line Features.

Table 56. Continued.

	(postmold)	20.0	20.0	46.0	rounded
7021	(posthole)	39.0	32.0	31.0	squared
	(postmold)	18.0	16.0	23.0	squared
7028	(posthole)	44.0	44.0	40.5	rounded
	(postmold)	25.0	25.0	39.5	rounded
7045	(posthole)	49.0	40.0	35.0	rounded
	(postmold)	16.0	16.0	33.0	rounded
7050	(posthole)	42.0	35.0	50.0	squared
	(postmold)	21.0	17.0	17.0	rounded
7065	(posthole)	70.0	40.0	10.6	rounded
Scaled for comparison from Hurry & Kavanagh (1985)					
Feat 9, Unit 7	(posthole)	?	55.0(?)	40.0	rounded
Feat 4, Unit 7	(postmold)	?	27.0	20.0	squared

Feature 7021, the only feature besides the one found in testing to have a square mold, intersected 7014 on its eastern side. It is possible that the testing posthole and Feature 7021 represent paired gate posts, since they both have square molds. However, the molds are rather different in size, and their postholes are differently shaped (Table 56). Features 7017 and 7065 contained no postmold. Features 7014, 7021, 7019, and 7050 all had square postholes as opposed to the round holes of the remainder. Feature 7028 and 7050 intersected each other with 7028 appearing to be the most recent of the two holes. It was a circular hole and mold while 7050 was a square hole with a circular mold. The distance between the postholes, as measured from the centers of each postmold (or hole if no mold was present) varied from between 75 cm to 1 m among the closer holes. The distance between Feature 7045 and Hurry's posthole was approximately 5 m (Figure 119). The many closely spaced fence posts near the center of the line probably indicates that the fence often needed repair in that area. Feature 7005 presents further evidence of repair or attempts to close off the bottom of the fence. This was a shallow stain running between Hurry's posthole and Feature 7014. Apparently a board was placed into the soil along the bottom of the fence to act as a gate threshold or to keep dogs or small animals from digging under the fence at that point. Such a fenceline might indicate an animal pen or simply a fenced area near the well.

Three other features were possibly associated with the fence. Features 7012 and 7003 were both trench features running roughly northeast to southwest, and Feature 7007 was a shallow trash feature.

Feature 7012 was the southernmost of the trenches and measured 1.1 m long, 10 cm wide, and 8 cm deep. The sides of the feature were V-shaped, and the fill was dark yellowish brown. The southern end of the feature intruded on Feature 7007. Feature 7003 was the northernmost trench and measured 3.5 m in length, 46 cm in width and 11 cm in depth. This trench had a flat floor and was filled with pale brown loam containing ash and coal. Both trenches were probably too shallow to have been structural and may have been planting trenches, which are more commonly found around houses than around barns.

Feature 7007 was a large stain of dark brown organic soil, nearly rectangular in shape and measured 2.5 m north-south, 2 m east-west, and 10 cm deep. This feature appears to have been a trash pile near the fence, containing almost equal amounts of architectural and kitchen artifacts (29 and 24, respectively).

## The Possible Barn

To the southeast of the well and east of the fenceline is a major feature (Feature 7004), which seems to form the eastern edge of an open area between it and the well and fenceline. This feature is approximately 11.8 m in length, fluctuating in width from approximately 20 cm to 1 m, with an average depth of 20 cm. At the southern edge, the trench appears to turn to the east while broadening out towards the south and becoming shallower at the same time (Figure 115). The fill in the trench was a dark grayish brown clayey silt with brick fragments scattered throughout, along with glass, nails, and ceramics. Feature 7004 yielded a mean ceramic date of 1848.18 from 54 sherds. After mechanical stripping it was impossible to determine whether this feature extended any further to the east. No other structure-like features were associated with this feature except for Feature 7020, a posthole. An area of very compact soil just to the east of Feature 7004 is interpreted as a pad of earth from inside a dirt floored structure. The feature itself would have been along the outside edge of the structure and would have eroded away, leaving a protected interior pad surrounded by lower eroded ground. Such a situation suggests a barn or similar large, dirt-floored structure. However, beyond this evidence and the concentration of Architecture Group artifacts in and around Feature 7004, there were no other structural indications.

While Feature 7137 cannot give direct evidence of architecture it would have been located outside the southern end of any such structure. This feature was shallow and rather extensive, measuring 4.5 m east-west, 3.4 m north-south, and a maximum of 18 cm in depth. The fill was a brownish yellow clay loam. Activities Group artifacts were well-represented in Feature 7137; a total of 43 Activities artifacts were present, including horse tack and miscellaneous unidentified metal hardware. The position of this feature, its large size, and contents would seem to indicate a dumping area associated with an outbuilding.

In the southeastern and southwestern corners of this feature posthole Features 7165 and 7166 were found beneath the trash fill. These, as well as the remaining postholes noted on Figure 115 could not be clearly associated with any other features, and may represent posts used for non-structural reasons.

## Agriculture

Between the well and fenceline on the west and the possible structure on the east, two sets of features may give a better idea of the ultimate function of Area VIb than any other features. These were Features 7055 and 7058 (Figure 115), a series of plow scars running northeast to southwest. The scars were among the easiest features to identify in Area VIb, being a dark brown in the yellowish brown soil. Feature 7055 was a series of seven, possibly eight, long, narrow plow scars which ran southwest to northeast, while Feature 7058 was a single plow scar running parallel to the first. The mean ceramic date for Feature 7058 is 1848.75 based on only 6 sherds. Feature 7055 did not have any dateable sherds. Such a date in conjunction with a date of 1848.18 from Feature 7004, the trench, may indicate that this area was plowed while the possible structure was in use, even though the distance between the well and possible structure was not great. Features 7100 in the northeastern portion of the area and Feature 7135 south of the possible barn give further evidence that Area VIb had been plowed. These features run east-west rather than northeast to southwest. Neither had dateable ceramics, so the dates of the different sets of plow scars cannot be determined.

## A Possible Structure and Remaining Features

In Figure 115 there is an area designated as a possible structure. This designation is based entirely on a concentration of architectural artifacts encountered in that portion of the area. There were no clearly associated features, although a case might be made for Features 7094, 7096, 7097, and 7104 to be associated with a structure, although none of them seem to be aligned or had similar fill or artifact patterns. The presence of such a structure is therefore hypothetical. Carson et al. (1981) and Kelso (1984) have noted various similar instances where earthfast structures leave virtually no direct evidence of a structure except for associated midden deposits. This may have been the case here, and with the possible barn in the center of Area VIb.

The remaining 16 features in Area VIb were scattered postholes and possible postholes with no clearly defined alignment or associations. A complete summary table of all the features from all areas is given in Appendix 7.

## Southeastern Portion of Area VIb

One last part of Area VIb was some distance to the southeast of the area discussed above. This was a small strip along the right-of-way that resulted in the recovery of fired daub during testing (Figure 116) (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985). It was felt that an eighteenth-century structure might have been located in the strip or just south of the right-of-way. Two 2 x 2 m units were placed in the area with minimal results, a total of 68 artifacts was found in both units. Kitchen artifacts outnumbered architecture artifacts 40 to 9. Unit 9240 had an MCD of 1821.67 and a TPQ in the lowest level of 1875. Unit 9213 had an MCD of 1818.5 and a TPQ of 1830. No features were found. It was concluded that none of this data offered much hope that an eighteenth-century occupation (based on the fired daub) or even a nineteenth-century domestic structure was in the area. Further, it was felt that the deposits probably represented discard along a plantation access road, which in this area may have corresponded closely with the modern access road.

## Summary

The results of the work in Area VIb were disappointing. The 1863 map of the site had indicated as many as four structures in the area, comprising a complex of plantation outbuildings. Presumably, a tenant house could have been among the structures. Testing by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985) had indicated that structural features were present in Area VIb, and artifacts found by them indicated a high proportion of architectural items. During mitigation phase work, however, no clearly defined structures of any period or type were found. The only clear results of the excavations in this area were the identification of the well fill as having come from the Sumner Welles household, a fenceline extending south from the well, at least two plowing episodes, and the possibility of one or two structures as defined by a few features and nineteenth-century artifact concentrations. As might be expected artifacts tended to cluster around the well and between the well and a possible structure to the east. Artifacts also concentrated along the fenceline.

The density of artifacts in Area VIb was nearly the same as in Area I, but the number of features per square meter was much less (Table 47). Area VIb also was almost exclusively nineteenth-century as evidenced by the TPQs and MCDs in the units and features. The artifact densities may therefore be a result of the general proliferation of artifacts during the nineteenth century (as the result of cheap mass produced products, especially glass and ceramics), and not from more people or more usage of the area (low feature density). This dicotomy might also be the result of plowing after the collapse of the structures, which may have destroyed structural features. Unfortunately, it was impossible to

determine whether plowing preceded the features or vice versa.

## AREA VIc

Area VIc was located to the east of Area VIb and along the north edge of the present access road. The area was level and covered in hardwood forest with an undergrowth of brush and poison ivy. No features were visible on the surface prior to excavation (Figure 120 and 121). Investigations centered on the northern portion of the area because this appeared to be the area least disturbed by the access road.

Selection of Area VIc for excavation followed recommendations presented by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985:85-87, 93-94). It was anticipated that excavation of Area VIc would provide artifact assemblages and features related to:

1. an "ephemeral domestic structure" (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:93), possibly a slave cabin; and
2. artifacts which would reflect the status differentiation between slaves and the manor household

Excavations recovered only one feature and very few artifacts (Figure 120). Historical research did not provide any evidence supporting the use of the area for structures. The overall mean ceramic date, based on 30 sherds, was 1792.70, similar to the mean site date of 1802.50, and was an indication of the general midden dispersion in this area.

Area VIc had a very thin, dark loam topsoil layer, measuring no more than 8 cm in thickness (Figure 120). Beneath this was an approximately 17 cm thick sandy clay loam above a fragipan subsoil. The soil had the appearance of an old leached plowzone in a forested environment.

Hurry and Kavanagh (1985) indicated that while no structural remains were found, the artifacts recovered from their test unit suggested good potential for a structure in the area. Only one feature (Feature 8000) was found during mitigation phase work. This feature was a posthole, square in shape, and oriented north-south. It was located in the western unit along the edge of the area (Figure 120). Two nail fragments and one brick fragment were found in the hole, indicating that it was historic. No mold was found, probably because a tree stump intruded through the southeastern portion of the feature. The hole measured 44 cm north-south by 48 cm east-west and was 15 cm in depth. This hole may have been part of a fenceline running near the edge of the area.

Fourteen 1 x 1 m units were opened in what had been hypothesized to have been an undisturbed part of the site with disappointing results. No evidence for a slave cabin or other structure was recovered, and very few artifacts were found to examine socioeconomic status as had been anticipated.

## AREA VIId

Area VIId was located to the east of Area VIc and to the north of the access road. It was a small level area with only a 3 by 10 m strip of apparently good soil integrity. This area was well to the east of the main house, and prior to excavation it was hypothesized to have been one of the service areas of the plantation (Figures 122 and 123). Area VIId was heavily forested with hardwoods and some undergrowth of brush and poison ivy.

Selection of this area for excavation was guided by Hurry and Kavanagh (1985:65-99). It was

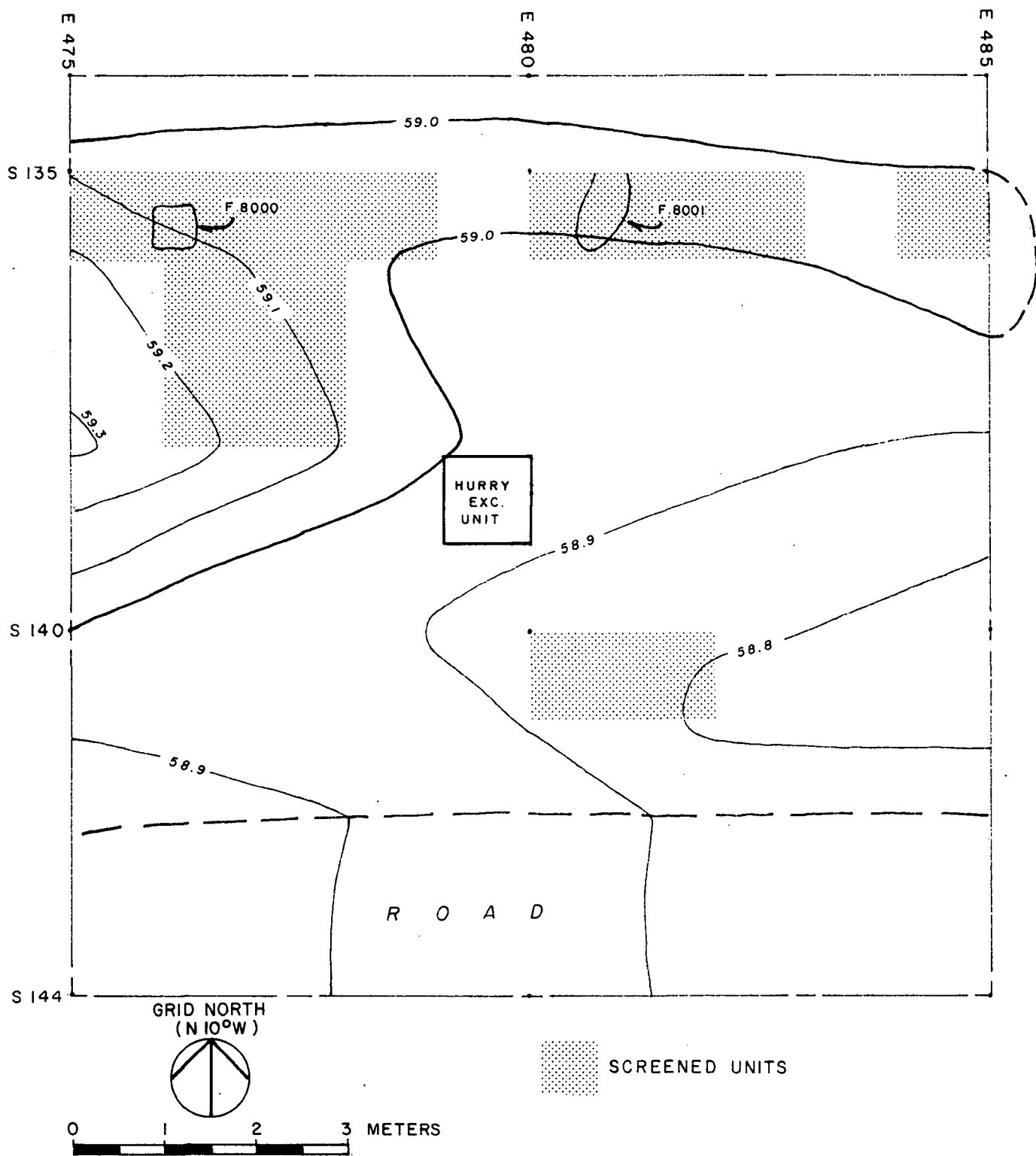


FIGURE 120. Area VIc Topography, Excavation, Features, and North Profile at S 135 Line.

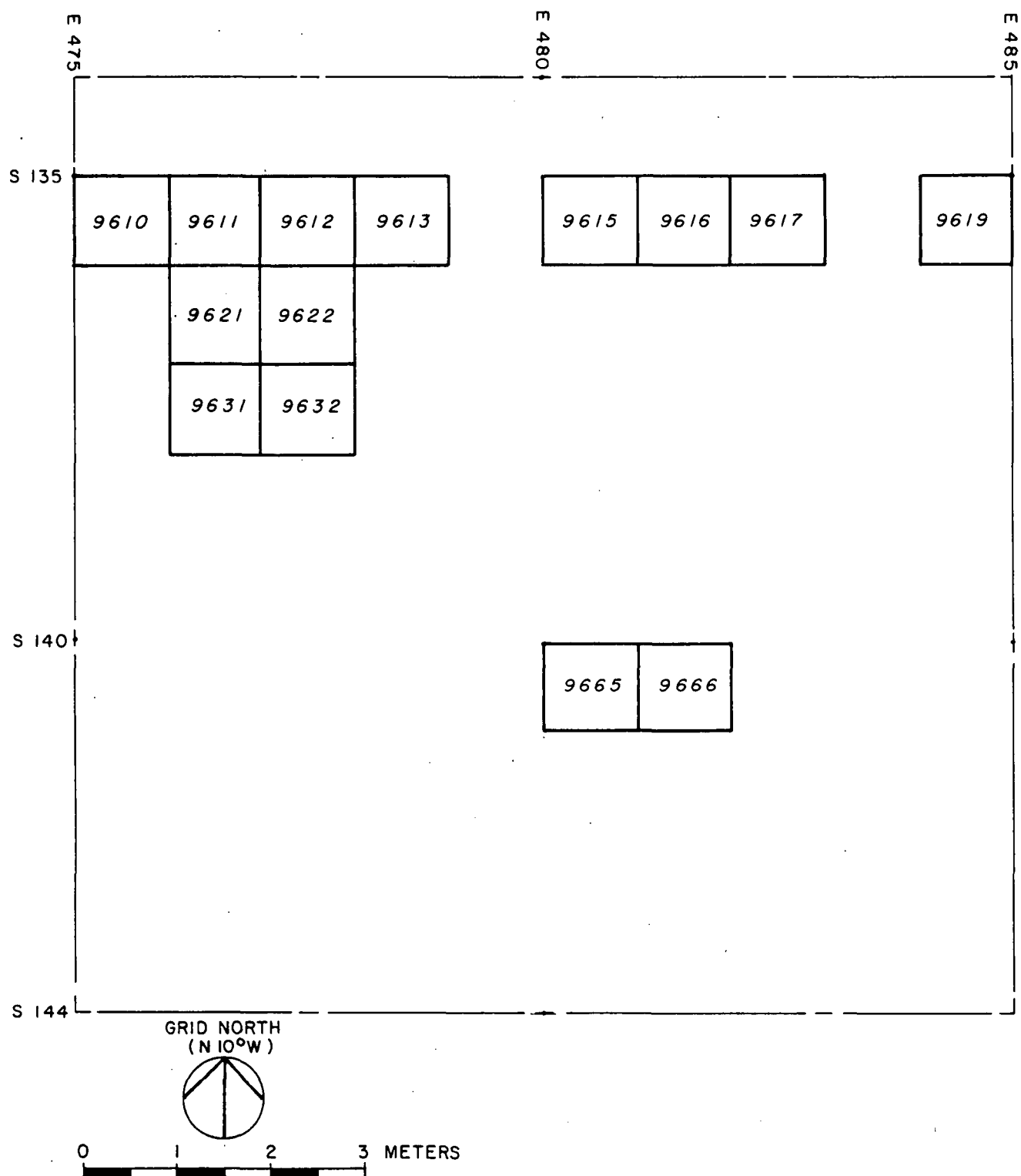
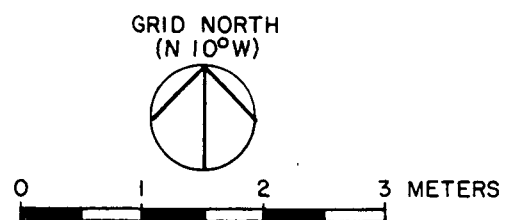
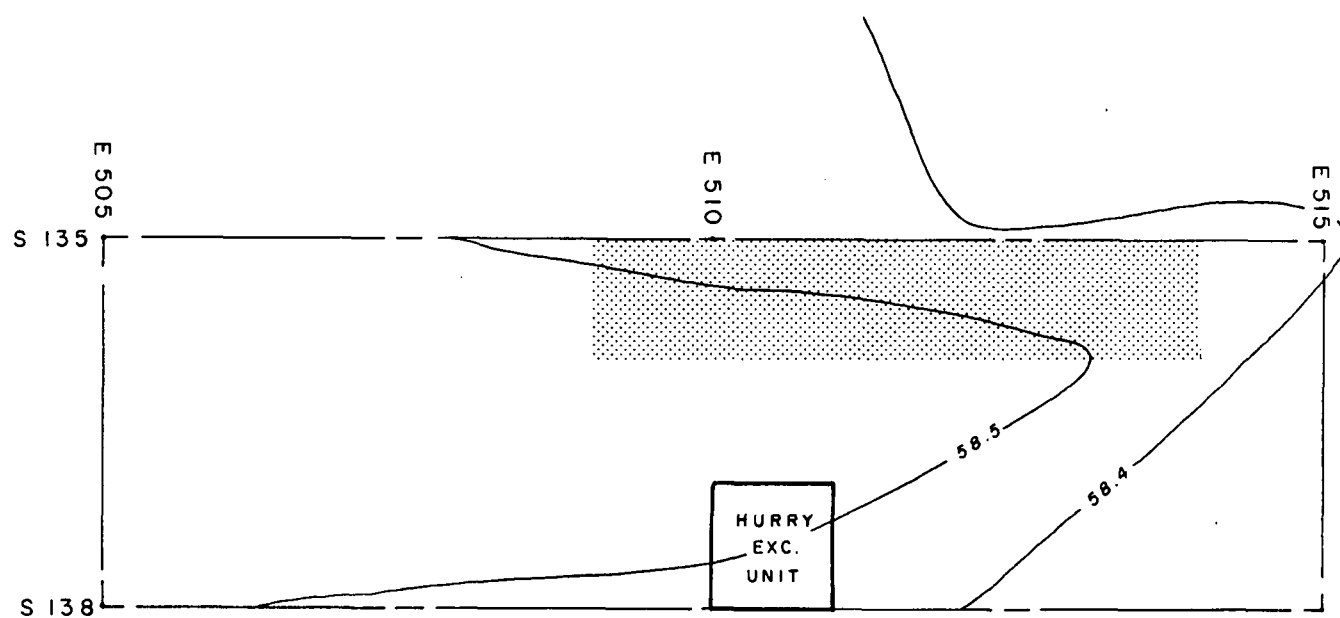
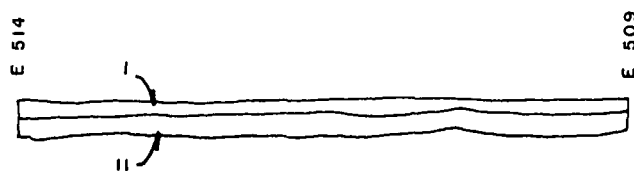


FIGURE 121. Area VIc - Unit Numbers.





PROFILE AT S136 LINE



- I - 10 YR 4/3 Brown loam
- II - 10 YR 6/6 Brownish yellow sandy loam

FIGURE 122. Area VI d Topography, Excavation, and South Profile at S 136 Line.

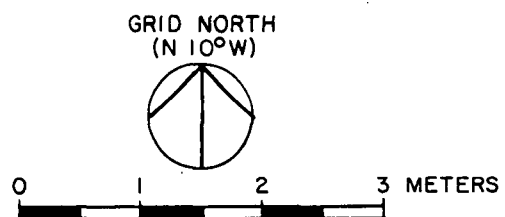
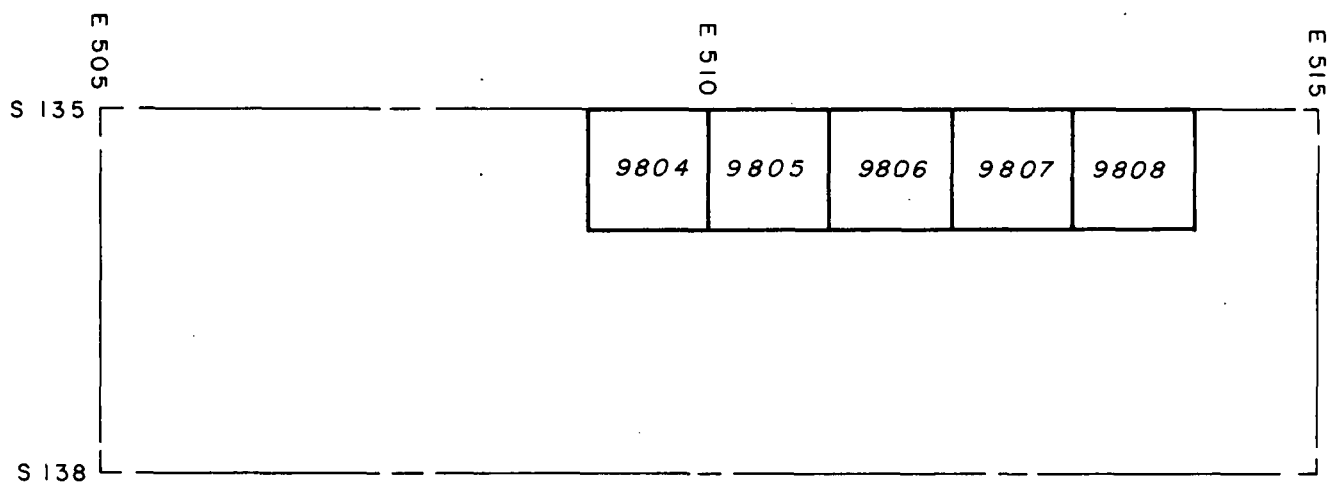


FIGURE 123. Area Vid - Unit Numbers.

anticipated that excavation of Area VIId might yield:

1. the location of an "ephemeral domestic structure" (Hurry and Kavanagh 1985:98); and
2. and a representative sample of artifacts to address the hypotheses relating to the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of Oxon Hill.

Only a light scatter of artifacts was recovered from Area VIId. No indication of a structure was recovered, nor were there enough artifacts to indicate an occupation of any sort in the area. Two dateable sherds give an MCD of 1761.75 with a TPQ of 1762.

Field investigations began on April 29, 1985 and were completed by May 2, 1985. The excavation strategy for Area VIId called for hand excavation in a series of 1 by 1 m units. Six units in all were excavated.

The stratigraphy of Area VIId began with a thin brown clay loam topsoil, typical of forested conditions, measuring 5 cm thick. Beneath this was an 18 cm thick layer of brown yellow sandy loam followed by a mottled orange clay layer with a thickness of 25 cm. The subsoil was fragipan as it was in most of the areas.

Again, the results of the excavations in Area VIId were disappointing. No evidence of a structure was found and no artifacts which could address questions of social status were recovered.

## CONCLUSIONS

Field work began on January 3, and ended on June 28, 1985. During those six months, 1,219 square meters of the site were hand excavated, resulting in recovery of a total of 236,659 artifacts and 345 features.

Figure 124 summarizes the major areas of the site and indicates when each area was used. Area I produced a nineteenth-century cellar, an eighteenth-century well, and one or possibly more ill-defined structures, as well as a variety of postholes and planting features. The area had been landscaped relatively late in its history and was obviously intensively used throughout the site occupation as artifact and feature density were relatively high. The use of the area shifted over time from a relatively clean sideyard in the early years (Addison period) to a more heavily used area in the latter half of its occupation (Berry period).

Area II was used as a dumping area. Although no concentrations of debris were encountered within the area, the area itself had the highest density of artifacts of any area at the site. This area contained few features and had been heavily eroded. Some dumping in Area II may have been the result of discard from the structure represented by a cellar in Area I, but dumping episodes could not be clearly defined and assigned to discard from specific areas of the site.

Area III was discovered to contain no archaeological deposits predating the construction of I-95, and no work beyond two backhoe trenches was conducted in the area.

Area IV was an artificial terrace, probably constructed during the eighteenth century during the heyday of the plantation under the ownership of the Addison family. There was extensive evidence of formal gardening activity in the area, including the terrace itself and an elaborate brick drainage system. A buried A soil horizon below the artificial terrace did not contain intact prehistoric features as had been hoped. This area had low feature density and the third lowest artifact density of the site and apparently was not used for many permanent activities.

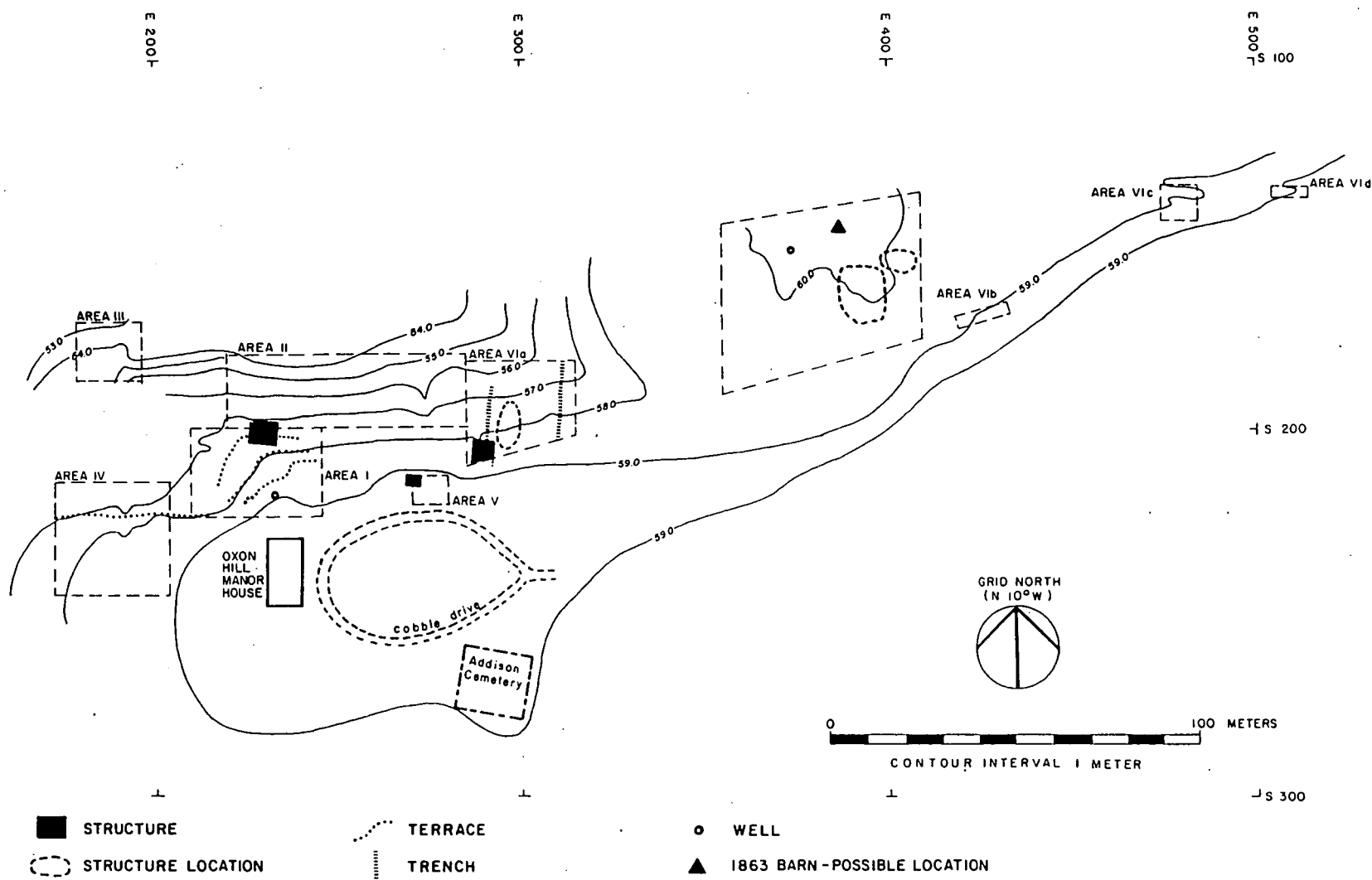


FIGURE 124. Results of Oxon Hill Site Excavations.

Area V contained a high concentration of features, higher than Area I, indicating that it too was intensively used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This area also contained a structure interpreted as a meathouse along the northern edge of the main house compound east of the main house itself, and contained at least three other structures. Area V may represent only a small part of what may have been a series of structures along the north edge of the main house compound.

Area VIa was flanked by a set of trenches interpreted to represent a palisade, a vertical plank wall or a series of open trenches enclosing a storage compound. This area may have been transitional in terms of time between the later occupation of Area VIb to the east and the areas to the west which were used intensively throughout the occupation of the site. In the eighteenth century the compound may have been used as a plantation storage area or for some other specialized function. During the nineteenth century the compound was no longer in use and had been replaced by a deep cellar, probably used to store foodstuffs. In the twentieth century this cellar was filled in with material from the new Oxon Hill Manor owned by Sumner Welles.

Area VIb had relatively few clearly defined features. A nineteenth-century well filled with material from the Sumner Welles household was the most outstanding feature in the area. A possible fenceline and one or two possible structures are less clearly established for the area. It is certain that a portion of the area was a plowed field at one time, probably in the nineteenth century. Very little eighteenth-century material was recovered from this area. Areas VIc and VId contained very little in the way of features or artifacts and may have also been plowed fields. All three areas may have had artifact concentrations (relative to gaps between the areas) which were the result of discard along old dirt roads in the area.

In summary, the fieldwork was extensive and produced large quantities of features and artifacts. These data have been used to help interpret the character of the occupants of the site and the functions of the various parts of the site. The following chapter continues this discussion from the point of view of the artifacts and artifact patterns.

## CHAPTER VII. ARTIFACT ANALYSIS RESULTS

### INTRODUCTION

The chapter which follows contains two types of artifact analysis. The initial section of this chapter discusses the 1727, 1765, and 1775 estate inventories that were compiled following the death of the plantation owners. The purpose of that analysis is to establish the material culture content of the Oxon Hill plantation in those years so that the analysis of the archaeologically recovered materials can be better understood. The second section of this chapter presents the analysis of the artifacts recovered during this project on an area-by-area basis.

This chapter concludes with a discussion of the interpretations that can be supported through the estate inventory analysis and the analysis of archaeologically recovered materials. The implications of the artifact analyses in terms of the project research design are presented in that section.

### Analysis of the 1727, 1765, 1775 Estate Inventories

The estate inventories conducted on the Oxon Hill property in 1727, 1765, and 1775 (see Appendix 3) form the best comparative base that currently exists for the eighteenth-century archaeological components of the Oxon Hill site. Each inventory was conducted after the death of the site's owner as a part of settling his estate.

Preparation of accurate transcriptions of the Oxon Hill estate inventories presented a series of problems that have to be addressed by any researcher working with such documents. Each inventory taker used a slightly different form of short hand notes that had to be deciphered. Also, the hand writing styles of the compilers of the inventories were different, and the combination of a cramped hand writing style and a poor copy of the original document, at times, combined to make a particular entry unreadable.

A potentially serious problem was encountered with the 1765 inventory. The pages of that inventory had apparently been mounted out of sequence by the Maryland Hall of Records, and simply did not make sense in the form in which they were copied. Fortunately, the inventory taker in that case kept running column totals of the values of the items tabulated, and those totals could be used to unscramble the document. Once the document was correctly arranged, it was possible in most cases to determine where particular items had been located in the house and on the property at large.

Each estate inventory should be approached as a potentially flawed document. It is likely that even the most conscientious compiler missed items, and the omissions could have ranged from the contents of whole buildings to rooms within structures. Further, it is likely that small items stored in various types of furniture could have been overlooked, or that a compiler misunderstood the functions and/or names of at least some items. The problems inherent in interpreting inventory documents are compounded by potential transcription errors. As discussed above, the hand writing used in the inventories was at times difficult to decipher and, while many entries were easily interpreted, many others were more difficult to discern. The transcriptions were made more difficult in many cases because of the use of terminology that has become obsolete over the intervening centuries.

The inventories also present special problems when one tries to relate their contents to archaeologically recovered and described collections. As an example, a "china dish" presented in one of the inventories could have related to a porcelain vessel, but it could have also related to a number of refined earthenware types. That problem is accented in cases where the number of items present is described as a "lot", "parcel", "some", or some other nonspecific figure. The problems of imprecise (to the archaeologist) terminology and enumeration means that the inventory data will not be absolutely comparable to the archaeological collections. That does not mean that comparisons should not be attempted, however, as the inventories still represent the best available information about the contents of the Oxon Hill site at three moments frozen in time.

The greatest number and diversity of items on each inventory was found in the manor house. Each inventory specified the room in which the inventoried items were found, and it is possible to discuss the physical layout of the manor house at the time of each inventory. Table 57 lists the rooms and closets mentioned in each inventory by the names given by the compilers.

Eleven rooms and two closets were enumerated within the manor house in 1727. Those rooms included two parlours, a passage, a garret, a cellar kitchen, six bedrooms, and a "back room" that may have been used by the family as a living area or for entertaining guests. The two closets in the house were listed as "Col. Addison's closet" and the "little parlour closet". Twelve rooms were enumerated in 1765, although at least one of those, listed as the "kitchen", was actually located outside.

Table 57. Rooms and Closets Within the Manor House in 1727, 1765, and 1775.

<u>Room/Closet</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Room</u>			
Best Green Room	X		
Green Room		X	X
Little Green Room	X		
Red Room	X	X	X
Yellow Room	X	X	X
Parlour	X	X	X
Little Parlour	X		X
Back Room	X	X	X
Madam Addison's Room	X		
Passage	X	X	X
Cellar Kitchen	X		
Cellar		X	X
Kitchen		X*	X*
Garret	X		
Ar. Room		X	
White Room		X	X
Chamber		X	
Chamber Below Stairs			X
Spinning Room		X	

Table 57. Continued.

Passage Upstairs			X
Back Porch			X
Total Rooms	11	12*	13*
<u>Closet</u>			
Col. Addison's Closet	X		
Little Parlour Closet	X		X
Yellow Room Closet		X	X
Closet in Great Parlour		X	
Back Room Closet		X	X
Porch Closet			X
Total Closets	2	3	4

\* Includes possible outside kitchen as a room.

The 1765 list included five rooms that were probably used as bedrooms, as well as the parlour, the passage, an "Ar." room, and a spinning room. Several rooms within the house were apparently used for storage, and that also appears to have been the function served by the cellar. Three closets were listed on this inventory. These included the "yellow" room closet, a closet in the "great parlour", and a "back room" closet.

Thirteen rooms were included on the 1775 inventory. The kitchen, which first appeared on the 1765 list as being distinct from the cellar, also appeared on this list. The additional room listed in 1775 was the back porch, which probably does not deserve distinction as a separate room. Five distinct bedrooms were enumerated on the 1775 list, and the "back" room had been converted into a den or study. The "little parlour" was once again in use as a parlour, and was presumably used for entertaining guests. The four closets listed in 1775 included one in the "little parlour", a second in the "yellow" room, one in the "back" room, and a presumably new closet added on the porch.

The room lists from the three inventories reflect that little structural change took place in the manor house from 1727 to 1775. The most significant changes appear to have been the addition of an outside, but nearby, kitchen before 1765, and modification and use of the back porch before 1775. Otherwise, the structure of the manor house appears to have been virtually unchanged, despite the minor changes in room names over the three inventories.

The relative lack of change within the manor house is an important consideration when interpreting the contents of the three inventories. Major changes in the manor house structure (such as adding the wings onto the manor house that are known to have been present in the nineteenth century) could have triggered major changes in the amount and perhaps types of furnishings within the house. Study of the rooms within the house from 1727 to 1775 has demonstrated that the shell of the manor house remained unchanged, and that changes observable in the inventories through time were probably the result of replacing worn out or discarded items, or items outmoded by changing styles.



## Ceramics and Glass Vessels

The discussion of the history of the Oxon Hill site presented in Chapter IV has demonstrated that the Addison family, who owned the property from 1710/11 to 1810, was one of the wealthiest families in colonial America. It is likely that they controlled sufficient wealth to furnish their homes with the most up-to-date ceramic and glass vessels, and that their inventories of those items would reflect essentially the range of consumer choices available for the period.

Table 58 lists the ceramic and glass vessels taken from the three inventories. The 1727 inventory itemized 67 separate vessels, and did not enumerate "china" and "cups" listed with two tea tables. A total of 39 (58.2%) of the enumerated vessels were what appear to have been coarse earthenware types, and none of the remaining vessels were specifically listed as porcelain.

Table 58. Ceramics and Glass from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Item</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Ceramics</u>			
China for Japanned Tea Table	1 lot		
China Dishes	2		
China Cups	19		
China Punch Bowls	2		
Tea Cups for Japanned Tea Table	NS		
White Quart Mugs	2		
Brown Quart Mugs	1		
Quart Tea Pot	1		
White Tea Pot	1		
Stone Jugs	1		
Four Gallon Stone Jug	1		
Earthen Butter Pot	1		
Earthen Runlet	1		
Four and A Half Gallon Jar	1		
Jar with Linseed Oil	1		
Jars with Turpentine	2		
Three and Four Gallon Stone Jugs	31		
China & Tea Table		parcel	
China in Corner Cupboard		some	
Mugs		NS	
Cups		NS	
China Plates		19	
Flint Plates		38	
Small Plates		5	
T[----]hill Plates		5	
Flint Dishes		1 1/2 Set	
Flint Decanters		3	
Pint Decanter		1	
China Punch Bowls		3	

Table 58. Continued.

Earthenware in Corner Cupboard		some	
Jug With Rum		1	
Jug With Honey		1	
Jar With Molasses		1	
Empty Jugs		11	
Jugs With Linseed Oil		4	
Empty Jar		1	
Jars With Soap		2	
Jar With Hog Fat		1	
Milk Pan		NS	
Pickle Pots		NS	
Pots		NS	
Cannisters		NS	
Other Great Pans		NS	
Earthen Water Jug		1	
Stone Chamber Pots		3	
China Bowls			6
China			parcel
Dishes of Queen's China			7
Queen's China			parcel
Large Stone Jugs			2
Currents & Jar			1
Stone			parcel
Earthen			parcel
Stone Jars			3
Large Stone Baker			1
Earthen Milk Pan			1
Stone Butter Pot			1
Wicked Oil Jars			2
Earthen Soap			3
Stone Soap Jugs & Jars			8
Broken Soap Pots Earthen			2
Watering Pot			1
Stone Soap Jars			2
Small Pot With Pickles			1
Butter Pot			1
Small Pot of Butter			1
<u>Glass</u>			
Drinking Glasses	48		
Decanters	3		
Glass Basket	1		
Bottles Jasmine Oil	2		
Bottles Musk	2		
Bottles Civet	6		
Quart Bottles	437		

Table 58. Continued.

Small Phials With Medicine	parcel	
Glass in Corner Cupboard	NS	
Bottles	NS	
Case Bottles	2	
Bottles	NS	
Vinegar Crewets	3	
Decanters With Spirits Case		NS
Old Bottles & Snuff		5
Decanters		5
Glass Salvers		2
Jelly Plates		55
Wine Glasses, Cut Shanks		9
Old Pickle Case & Bottles		1
Pickle Bottles		parcel
Snuff Bottles		parcel
Old Glassware		parcel
Bottles Old Madeira		8
Broken Decanters		3
Glass Bottles		216

NS: Not Specified

The 1765 inventory was less specific concerning the number of ceramic vessels present than was the 1727 listing. A total of 100 distinct vessels was enumerated, and there were seven entries with no indication of numbers, as well as one mention of a "parcel", two listings of "some", and one listing of "1 1/2 set". It is not possible to discuss the relative balance of coarse earthenware types in that collection, but subjectively it appears that the majority of the ceramics were refined earthenwares and porcelain types.

The ceramic listings for 1775 were even less specific than those for 1727 and 1765. A total of 43 vessels were enumerated, and four "parcels" of vessels were noted. "Queen's china" was noted in the collection, and that relates to the Queen's ware pattern on yellow creamware, which had been introduced in 1762 (South 1977). A total of 28 of the enumerated vessels (65.1%) were coarse earthenware types.

The table and bottle glass enumeration on the 1727 inventory appears to have been complete. That inventory lists 48 drinking glasses, three decanters, and one glass basket that would include the tumbler and tableglass classes from the archaeological analysis. The "drinking glasses" in this case undoubtedly included both tumblers and stemmed wine glasses. Ten bottles are listed that contained oils or musks, and those bottles likely correspond to the "pharmaceutical" class used in the artifact analysis. A very high total of 437 quart bottles was listed in the inventory. That means that 6.5 times as many bottles were enumerated as ceramic vessels in 1727. The implications of the ratio of glass bottles to ceramic vessels will be discussed below in the section that pertains to the contents of the Area I well. As an additional note, 295 quart bottles were evaluated at 3 pence each, while 142 were evaluated at 5 pence each. Since the bottles had the same capacity, it is likely that the 3 pence bottles

represented old bottles (perhaps onion forms), while the 5 pence bottles were newer (perhaps mallet types). The extremely high number of quart, presumably wine bottles, is many more than would be necessary for normal, practical purposes. This high number, quite apart from the monetary value implied, indicates that the estate may have had a wine cellar, a very high status item indeed.

The ceramic vessels carried in the 1727 inventory appear to have been generally more expensive than the quart bottles. As examples, two china punch bowls were carried at a value of 4 shillings each, while four and five gallon stoneware jugs were valued at 2 shillings each. The 48 drinking glasses and three decanters carried a value of at least one pound and two shillings, while the value of the glass basket was at least seven shillings. One "lot" of china was given a value of one pound eight shillings, while the combined "japanned" tea table and lot of tea cups carried a value of one pound two shillings.

The glass vessel enumeration in the 1765 inventory failed to list all but three vinegar cruets and two case bottles by number. The inventory listed a "parcel" of medicine phials with medicine, with a value of five shillings. The only definite tableglass tumbler entry was, "glass, earthen, & some china ware in the corner cupboard", worth a total value of 12 pounds. One of the bottle listings combined bottles with several different ceramic forms in a lot, with a total value of one pound. The second bottle listing also combined the bottles with a number of other items, and gave a combined value of 12 shillings and six pence.

It is hard to evaluate the 1765 list, but it appears that more ceramic than glass vessels were in use on the property in that year. It is worth noting at this point that the owner of the Oxon Hill property was much wealthier in 1727 than 1765, and that this disparity was well marked in studying other categories in the inventories. The decline in the numbers of vessel glass and the apparent increase in the reliance on ceramics may have simply been additional markers of that difference in available, disposable wealth. Not that the cost of glass versus ceramics was higher, it was not; but that the ostentatious numbers of glass bottles represented in 1727 seem to have declined by 1765.

The 1775 inventory listed an unspecified number of decanters, three complete and three broken additional decanters, two salvers and 55 jelly plates, and nine wine glasses with "cut shanks", and "old glassware" among the tableglass and tumbler categories. The enumerated bottles included an unspecified amount plus five snuff bottles, a pickle case with bottles, an unspecified number of pickle bottles, eight bottles of "old Madeira", and 216 glass bottles. The glass bottles were evaluated at slightly less than three pence each, while the glass salver and jelly plates were evaluated at one pound 15 shillings. The wine glasses carried a value of eight pence each. By comparison, two large stoneware jugs were evaluated at four shillings each, while the seven Queen's ware plates were assigned a value of one shilling eight pence each.

Study of the ceramic and glass vessel listings in the 1775 inventory appears to reflect a higher number of glass than ceramic vessels in the collection. The economic situation at Oxon Hill appears to have improved between 1765 and 1775, and that factor appears to be reflected in the inventories.

In summary, it would appear that large numbers of bottles in relation to ceramics during the eighteenth century, when bottles were heavily curated items, may be an indicator of ostentatious wealth, since only the very wealthy could have afforded great numbers of bottles.

## Metal Vessels

Study of the inventories indicates that metal vessels were extremely important components of the household in 1727, 1765, and 1775. Table 59 presents the metal vessels listed by type of metal when that could be determined. The remaining metal vessels were placed under the heading "unspecified metal".

Table 59. Metal Containers, and Cooking and Food Service Vessels from the 1725, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location &amp; Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<i>Manor House</i>			
<u>Silver</u>			
Silver Plate	20 lb 8 1/2 oz.		18 lb 6 oz.
Good Silver Plate		18 lb 2 oz.	
Sorry Silver Plate		1 lb 11 oz.	
Snuff Box			1
<u>Pewter</u>			
Oval Pewter Cistern	1		
Pewter	24 lb 1/2 oz.		
Best Pewter		48 lb	
Pewter, Second Sort		81 lb	
Pewter, Third Sort		81 lb	
Hard Metal Plates	6		
Water Plates		6	
Hard Metal Plates & Dishes			116 lb
Mean Hard Metal Plates & Dishes			97 lb
Old, Dented Hard Metal Plates & Dishes			83 lb
Candle Molds			10
<u>Copper/Brass</u>			
Coffee Copper Pot	1	1	1
Large Coffee Copper Pot	1		
Copper	10 lb 12 oz.		
Copper Stew Pan			1
Copper Still	1		
Old Copper Tea Kettle			1
Large Copper Kettle			1
Brass Kettles	10 lb 1.6 oz		
Brass Chafing Dishes for Plates	2		2

Table 59. Continued.

---

Brass Warming Pan			1
Brass Skillet, Handle Broken			1
Brass Jardiniere			1
<u>Tin</u>			
Square Sugar Box	1		
Cannisters	5		25
Knife Basket	1		
Funnels	2	2	1
Apple Roaster	1		
Fish Kettle	1		
Small Pans	4	3	
Dutch Oven		1	2
Milk Pans		8	
Collander			1
Jardiniere			1
Candle Box			1
<u>Iron</u>			
Trivit	1		
Iron Pot	8 lb 9.6oz.	5	13
Grid Iron		1	2
Hooks			3 pair
Old Box Iron			1
Heaters			3
Tea Kettle			1
Jardiniere			1
<u>Bell Metal</u>			
Bell Metal	15 1/2 lb		
<u>Lead</u>			
Cannisters of old Snuff	5		
Sheet Lead	12 lb		
<u>Unspecified Metal</u>			
Small Tea Kettle	1		
Large Tea Kettle	1		
Tea Kettle		1	1
Old Funnel	1		
Patty Pans	24		
Large Pastry Pan	1		
Baking Pan	1		
Old Cannisters	8		
Chafing Dishes	2		
Old Chafing Dish	1	1	1
Warming Pan	1		

Table 59. Continued.

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Old Warming Pan	1	
Frying Pans	2	1
Old Coffee Mill	1	1
Snuff Boxes		3
An Old Still		1
Dutch Oven		1
Pepper Box		1
Leaky Pans		2
Griddles		2

*Location Unknown*

Pewter

Old Pewter	68 lb
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Copper/Brass

Old Copper Kettle	1
Stew Pan	1

Tin

Candle Box	1
Cheese Toaster	1

Iron

Iron Pots	2
Split Iron Pots	2

Unspecified Metal

Sugar Box	1
-----------	---

*Other Room in the Shade*

Tin

Small Pans	9
Small Pans Made From Sifters	2

Unspecified Metal

Old Meal Sifters	2
Old Frying Pans	3

*Other Store*

Pewter

Chamber Pots	4
--------------	---

Tin

Large Tin Pans	7
----------------	---

Table 59. Continued.

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Unspecified Metal

Frying Pan

3 lb 14.4 oz.

*Slave Quarters \**

Pewter & Tin

Old Pan

4 lb

Iron

Iron Pots

843 lb

8

Old Hooks

13

Hooks

15 1/2

Hooks

NS

Unspecified Metal

Small Old Frying Pan

1

Frying Pan

2

\* 1727 Slave Quarters Includes an overseer.

NS: Not Specified

---

Each of the three inventoried households contained the same relative amount of silver plate. Silver plate, in this case, could include both flat and hollow forms, and likely replaced a number of ceramic vessels that would have otherwise been present. Although there is no way to be sure, it is likely that the silver plate present in 1727 survived, for the most part, until the 1775 inventory. In any event, it is unlikely that silver plate would have been discarded to show up in the archaeological record when a vessel was broken or worn out, as those vessels were still valuable for their silver content regardless of condition.

Pewter was represented in the 1727 inventory by an oval pewter cistern (appropriately located in the Great Parlour), 24 pounds and one-half ounce of pewter, and six "hard metal" plates. The cistern was not carried in the 1765 inventory, and the pewter enumerated included 48 pounds of "best" pewter, 81 pounds of second grade, and 81 pounds of third grade. The six plates enumerated in 1727 may have been the same vessels as the six "water" plates listed in 1765. The 1775 inventory offered more detail concerning the pewter artifacts. That inventory included 116 pounds of hard metal plates and dishes, 97 pounds of poorer grade plates and dishes, and 83 pounds of old and dented plates and dishes. Ten candle molds completed the 1775 pewter inventory.

Pewter vessels, like those made of silver, likely served a large proportion of the food service needs in the 1727, 1765, and 1775 households. It is not possible to estimate the total numbers or forms of vessels of pewter or silver in those households, but there appears to have been enough of each to sharply reduce the need for ceramic vessels in each case. Pewter, like silver, is unlikely to appear in the archaeological record in any quantity. Pewter was easily recast into new vessels when it was too dented or worn for further use. Pewter vessels were probably very durable, and many of the pewter vessels reflected in the 1765 and 1775 inventories were probably also present and enumerated in 1727.

Copper and brass vessels were better represented in the 1727 and 1775 households than in 1765.



Copper vessels present in 1727 included two coffee pots, a copper still, and ten pounds, twelve ounces of copper in unspecified form. Brass items included two chafing dishes and slightly more than ten pounds of kettles. The 1765 inventory listed a single copper coffee pot, perhaps the same copper coffee pot listed in 1727 and subsequently in 1775. Additional copper items in 1775 included two kettles and a stew pan. The brass items included two chafing dishes, a warming pan (probably also a chafing dish), a skillet with a broken handle, and a jardiniere. The jardiniere, which formed an ornamental stand for a flower or plant pot, was one of three jardinieres on the back porch in 1775.

A total of 15 vessels made of tin were listed in the 1727 inventory, while 14 were listed in 1765. The total of 31 tin vessels in 1775 was inflated by the presence of 25 canisters. Unusual tin vessels present in 1727 were an apple roaster and a fish kettle, while a tin jardiniere was present in 1775.

Iron vessels were represented in the manor house by a trivet (not strictly a vessel, but a vessel stand), and what appears to have been a single iron pot. Five iron pots and a grid iron were present in the 1765 household. It appears that iron vessels intended for use elsewhere on the plantation were stored in the manor house in 1775 (the total inventory for most slave quarters was an iron pot and hook). These included 13 iron pots and three pairs of pot hooks. Other iron vessels present at that time included two grid irons, an old iron box and three heaters, a tea kettle, and a third jardiniere from the back porch.

Bell metal and lead vessels were only present on the 1727 inventory. The bell metal was simply listed as 15 and half pounds of bell metal, and may not have actually been in vessel form. The lead vessels consisted of five canisters of old snuff.

The vessels of unspecified metal included kettles, a funnel, cooking vessels, canisters, chafing dishes, and a warming pan, on the 1727 inventory, and totalled 41 vessels. There were six vessels of unspecified metal on the 1765 inventory, versus 14 in 1775. The six 1765 vessels included a kettle, a chafing dish, a warming pan, two frying pans, and a coffee mill. The 1775 vessels included a kettle, a chafing dish, a frying pan, a coffee mill, three snuff boxes, an old still, a Dutch oven, a pepper box, two leaky pans, and two griddles.

A number of vessels that were probably, but not certainly, in the manor house in 1765 included 68 pounds of old pewter, a copper kettle and stew pan, a candle box and a cheese toaster, four iron pots (two split), and a sugar box. The cheese toaster was an unusual vessel form, and was unlikely to be anywhere but the manor house or the manor house kitchen.

A number of metal vessels were enumerated outside the manor house, particularly in 1727. A structure called "the other room in the shade" in 1727 contained nine small tin pans, two small tin pans made from sifters, two old meal sifters, and three old frying pans. The "other room in the shade" was probably occupied by a slave.

A structure that may have been a storehouse on the 1727 inventory was referred to as the "other store", and contained four pewter chamber pots, seven large tin pans, and a frying pan of unspecified metal. No one apparently lived in the "other store", and those items were evidently being stored against future need.

The slave quarters in 1727 contained a number of iron pots and pot hooks, as well as three frying pans. Each listed quarter had iron pots and pot hooks, and they appear to have been components of a small, standardized list of items provided to the slaves by the plantation master. At least two of the

frying pans may have been used by an overseer who resided in Barnaby Quarter. Eight iron pots were inventoried in the slave quarters in 1765, and represented the only metal vessels that were definitely located outside the manor house in that year. No metal vessels were enumerated outside of the manor house on the 1775 inventory.

### Cutlery and Flatware

The inventories included a total of 83 cutlery and flatware items in 1727, 23 in 1765, and one in 1775 (Table 60). The manor house included what appears to have been two matched sets of knives and forks in 1727, as well as five single case knives and five butcher knives. All of the spoons present in the manor house at that time were listed as being in Madam Addison's "store" (storehouse), and included 39 total spoons. The inventory listed 12 forks and 11 knives in the manor house in 1765, a significant reduction over the numbers present 38 years earlier. The results shown on the 1775 inventory cannot be adequately explained. A single "flesh fork" was listed on that inventory. It is possible that some of the silver plate and pewter listed under metal vessels actually represented flatware. That speculation cannot be tested with available evidence.

Table 60. Cutlery and Flatware from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Horn Handled Knives	11		
Horn Handled Forks	11		
Single Case Knives	3		
Butcher Knives	5		
Case Knives	12		
Forks	12	12	
Knives		11	
Flesh Fork			1
<u>Madam Addison's Store</u>			
Hard Metal Spoons	26		
Alcemy Spoons	13		
Totals	83	23	1

### Sifters, Milling Stones, Mortars, and Pestles

The distribution of sifters, milling stones, mortars, and pestles on the three inventories offers insights into the subsistence system that was operative within the plantation (Table 61). No items from this broad category were enumerated within the manor house in 1727. An unspecified number of large hair sifters were present in the "other store" (the plantation storehouse), as were a small old grindstone and two pairs of old hand millstones. A single large grindstone was listed from the store located at the landing, and the remainder of the items in this category were listed in the slave quarters.

Hair or wire sifters and hand millstones or grindstones appear to have been components of a standardized kit provided to the slaves by the plantation master in 1727. Three old iron pestles and a hominy pestle were also enumerated.

Table 61. Sifters, Milling Stones, Mortars and Pestles from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Iron Mortar & Pestle		1	
Large Iron Mortar & Pestle			1
Hominy Pestle		2	
Brass Mortar & Pestle		1	
Grindstone		1	
Pair Old Hand Millstones		1	
<u>Other Store</u>			
Large Hair Sifters	NS		
Small Old Grindstone	1		
Pair Old Hand Millstones	2		
<u>Store at Landing</u>			
Large Grindstones	1		
<u>Slave Quarters*</u>			
Old Grindstones	1		
Stones	2		
Hair Sifter	5		
Wire Sifter	1		
Old Sifter	1		
Pair Old Hand Millstones	1		
Pair Hand Millstones	3		
Small Old Grindstone	1		
Pair Large Hand Millstones	1		
Grindstones	2	1	
Old Iron Pestle	3		
Hominy Pestle	1		

NS: Not Specified

\*1727 Slave Quarters includes an overseer

The standard kit provided to slaves in 1727 appears to have included a hair or metal meal sifter, a pair of hand millstones, an iron pot, and a pair of pot hooks. "Negro bedding" is mentioned in several quarters in 1727, and may have been part of the standard kit. Slaves were probably responsible for either making their own food serving vessels (perhaps of wood), or acquiring whatever ceramics and

glass they used as a result of their own low order financial system. Unmilled grains were probably provided to the slaves for food, and the slaves were responsible for milling those grains. The hair or wire sifters were then used to sift the milled grains and perhaps remove grit and grain husks.

The 1765 inventory included one iron mortar and pestle, two hominy pestles, a brass mortar and pestle, one grindstone, and one pair of hand millstones within the manor house. A single grindstone was included within a slave quarter. A single large iron mortar and pestle was included within the manor house on the 1775 inventory. It is evident that the slaves began to be provided milled grains at some point after 1727 and before 1765. Further, it is also apparent that grains entered the manor house in milled form during all periods covered by the inventories.

### Furniture

The manor house contained extremely large amounts of furniture in all three inventories (Table 62). The furnishings in 1727 included the largest amount of matched furniture, with heavy emphasis on walnut frames combined with either leather or cane. Chairs were placed in matched sets of six to twelve, and only one set of six "Rushia leather" chairs was listed as "worn" or old. The 1727 inventory further listed a couch of black leather and a second of cane, and a number of walnut tables. Additional tables included a "checkered Dutch" table, "japanned tea tables", and a backgammon table with ivory men. The use of walnut within the house was continued on the mirror frames and the frames for sconces. The fireplaces within the house were well appointed with fireplace furniture. The overall impression conveyed by the manor house furnishings in 1727 was of extreme wealth and abundance.

Almost all of the furniture listed on the 1727 inventory was located within the manor house. Two old chests, two beds and bed furniture, and a pair of andirons were enumerated as the total furniture content of the slave quarters in that year. At least one of the beds and one chest were located in Barnaby Quarter, which was also the residence of the overseer at that time. The remaining items were scattered through the rest of the slave quarters.

Table 62. Furniture from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Chairs (Manor House)</u>			
Cane Chairs, Walnut Frames	23		
Walnut Frame Chairs, W/ Red Turkey Leather	12		
Walnut India Back Chairs Cov'd W/ Turkey Leather	12		
Walnut Frame Chairs W/ Black Spaish Leather Seats	12		
Rushia Leather Chairs	6		
Worn Rushia Leather Chairs	12		
Walnut Frame Easy Chair Cov'd W/ Red Turkey Leather	1		
Large Walnut Frame Easy Chair W/ Black Spanish Leather	1		
Old Lumber Chairs	parcel		

Table 62. Continued.

Leather Bottom Chair		16	
Cane Bottom Chairs		6	
Old Crany Chairs		11	
Old Chairs		21	
Arm Chairs		2	
Smoking Chairs		2	
Chair		1	
Old Shattered Chair		1	
Mahogany Chairs			24
Window Chairs			12
Old Chairs			14
Cane Chairs			2
Other Chairs			2
Chairs			4
Morocco Leather Chair			1
<u>Chairs (Overseer's House)</u>			
Old Chairs			5
<u>Couches (Manor House)</u>			
Cane Couch	1		
Black Leather Couch	1		
Small Leather Couch		1	
Old Cane Couch		1	
Old Couches			2
Couch			1
<u>Tables (Manor House)</u>			
Walnut Chamber Table	3		
Checkered Dutch Table	1		
Backgammon Table & Ivory Men	1		
Japanned Tea Tables	2		
Oval Table	1	1	
Walnut Oval Table	1		
New Small Oval Table	1		
Large New Oval Wainscot Table	1		
Old Leaf of a Table	1		
Walnut Table		2	
Tea Table		1	
Walnut Tea Stand		1	
Oval Table of Oak, Broken		1	
Tables		NS	
Tables		2	
Small Square Table		1	
Small Stand		1	
Small Tables		2	

Table 62. Continued.

Pair Backgammon Tables		1		
Large Mahogany Table				1
Mahogany Card Tables				2
Round Mahogany Tea Table				1
Large Black Walnut Table				1
Small Wild Cherry Table				1
Mahogany Night Table				1
Black Walnut Table				1
Oak Table				1
Chamber Table				1
Small Walnut Stand, Broken				1
Small Walnut Table				1
Dressing Table				1
Large Walnut Table				1
Backgammon Table				1
Old Tea Table				1
<u>Tables (Overseer's House)</u>				
Walnut Table W/ Drawer				1
<u>Chest of Drawers, Cupboards, and Tea Boards (Manor House)</u>				
Japaned Corner Cupboard	1			
Corner Cupboard	1	2		
Old Chest of Drawers	1			
Tea Board				1
<u>Chest and Trunks (Manor House)</u>				
Small Black Leather Trunk	1			
Old Painted Trunk	1			
Old Chests	2	1		
Old Trunks		5		2
Small Trunk		1		
Small, Ironbound Chests				2
Old Leather Trunks				2
Pine Chest				1
<u>Chest and Trunks (Stores)</u>				
Small Empty Chest	1			
Old Chests	4			
Old Trunk	1			
<u>Chests and Trunks (Slave Quarters)*</u>				
Old Chests	2			
<u>Beds, Bedsteads, &amp; Bolsters (Manor House)</u>				
Feather Bed and Bolster	8			1

Table 62. Continued.

Small Seabed of Feathers	1		
Bed, Bedstead Cord & Hide, Bolster		3	
Bedstead, Bed, & Bolster		1	
Bedstead & Cord		2	
Beds, Bolsters		2	
Bed & Bedstead, Hide, W/ Bed Bolster		1	
Bedstead & Cord W/ Bed, Bolster		1	
Old Bed		1	
Small Bed		1	
Walnut Bedstead, Bed, & Furniture			1
Cradle			2
Bedstead & Bed			6
Beds			2
Bolsters			3
Small Bedstead, Bolster			1
Mahogany Bedstead			1
<u>Beds, Bedsteads, &amp; Bolsters (Overseers House)</u>			
Old Bed			3
Bolsters			2
<u>Beds, Bedsteads &amp; Bolsters (Other Store)</u>			
Old Shock Bed	1		
Small Old Feather Bed	1		
<u>Beds, Bedsteads, &amp; Bolsters (Slave Quarters)*</u>			
Old Shock & Feather Mixture in a Bed & Covering	1		
Old Feather Bed & Part of a Bolster	1		
<u>Mirrors (Manor House)</u>			
Poor Glass in Walnut Frame	2		
Large W/ Gilt Top	3		
Glass W/ Walnut Frame	1		
Large Looking Glass	1	1	2
Small Looking Glass	1		
Large W/ Black Frame	1		
Smaller W/ Gilt Frame		1	
Looking Glass		3	2
Looking Glass W/ Gilt Frame, Newer			1
Old Looking Glass Plates			2
Looking Glass & Sconce			1
<u>Sconces, Lanterns, &amp; Globes (Manor House)</u>			
Pair Glass Arms	1		
Glass Sconce in Walnut Frame	1		
Large Chimney Glass in Walnut Frame	1		
Sconce in Carved Gilt Frame & Pair Glass Arms	1		

Table 62. Continued.

Sconce Glass		1	
Pair of Globes		1	1
Passage Lantern			1
<u>Sconces, Lanterns, &amp; Globes (Place Unknown)</u>			
Old Lantern		1	
<u>Sconces, Lanterns, &amp; Globes (Other Store)</u>			
Lanterns	2		
<u>Fireplace Tools (Manor House)</u>			
Pairs of Fire Tongs	3	4	2
Pairs Old Fire Tongs	1		
Fireplace Shovels	3	3	2
Bellows	1	2	
Poker		1	1
Bright Dogs (Pair)	2		
Bright Dogs W/ Brass Knobs (Pair)	1		
Pair Small Iron Dogs	1		
Pair Small Dogs	1		
Pair Andirons		3	4
<u>Fireplace Tools (Slave Quarters)*</u>			
Pair Strong Andirons	1		
<u>Miscellaneous (Manor House)</u>			
Pictures Drawn in This Country	7		
Plaster Likeness			1
Prints Glazed & Framed			6
Dutch Landscape on Paper			1
Print of General Wolfe			1
Old Safe	1	1	1
Mahogany Spirit Case			1
Pair Iron Candle Snuffers	1		
Old Brass Candlesticks		4	
Brass Candlesticks		6	8
Pair Candle Snuffers		2	
Tin Candle Box		1	

\* The 1727 Slave quarters included an overseer.

The furnishings of the manor house in 1765 appear to have been largely the items that had survived from 1727. Many of the furniture items were listed as old, and the manor house furnishings appear to have accurately reflected the financial condition of Oxon Hill Manor in that year. No furniture was definitely listed outside of the manor house in 1765.



Many of the old and worn out furniture items in the 1765 inventory were apparently replaced by 1775. The replacement furniture appears to have been made of mahogany, although a number of walnut items were still present. It appears that emphasis was placed on replacing the furniture in the parlours, while many of the less public rooms were still furnished with old items.

The only furniture inventoried outside the manor house in 1775 was located in the overseer's house. The overseer's inventory included five old chairs, a walnut table with a drawer, and three beds and two bolsters. Although it cannot be proven, most or all of the furnishing in the overseer's house probably represented used, old furniture from the manor house, and indeed may have been items that first appeared on the 1727 inventory.

### Cloth and Clothing Items

Extremely large amounts of cloth and clothing items were inventoried at Oxon Hill in 1727, 1765, and 1775 (Table 63). The listing of items in Table 63 understates the cloth and clothing related items actually present, since materials listed with furniture items (such as bedding, sheets, and blankets) were not split out and included with this enumeration. The goal of this listing was to include items such as curtains that were not otherwise included in a table, and also to present a view of the extra linens and the like that were available beyond those absolutely needed to cover the furniture that was present.

The manor house appears to have been very richly appointed in 1727. The material in the 15 sets of curtains that were present ranged from a combination of silk and mohair to calico, and included cambric, calamanco, and harrateen. The cambric fabric was probably from Cambrai, France, while silk may have been from China or the New World. The calico was from India. The other fabrics could have been from either England or the New World. All of the curtains appear to have been brightly colored, and the calamanco characteristically had a checked pattern on one side.

Table 63. Cloth and Clothing Items from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location &amp; Item</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<i>Manor House</i>			
<u>Curtains</u>			
Silk & Mohair	1 set		
Green Harrateen	2 sets		
Scarlet	1 set		
Scarlet Cambric	2 sets		
Lemon Colored Calamanco	1 set		
Lemon	2 sets		
Green Harrateen	1 set		
Calico Lined w/Calico	4 sets		
Deep Full Calico Lined w/Calico	1 set		
Sorry Old Curtains		1 set	
Camp. Bed Curtains			1 pair

Table 63. Continued.

Red [ ] & Curtains			1
Stamped [ ] Curtains			7 sets
<u>Blankets &amp; Quilts</u>			
Blankets	8 pairs		5 pairs
Blankets	NS		
Blanket	1		1
Quilts	4		
Calico Quilt, China Back	1		
Very Sorry Old Quilt		1	
Remnant of Green Frize		1	
Patch Work Quilt			1 pair
<u>Towels</u>			
Dowlas Towels	12		
Coarse Towels	12		
Towels		22	
Sorry Towels		8	
Small Huckaback (much worn)			14
<u>Sheets</u>			
Strong Holland	6 pair		
Strong Irish Holland	5 pair		
Holland (much worn)	3 pair		
Irish Linen	5 pair		
Irish Linen (much worn)	1 pair		
Sheets		23 1/2 pairs	4 pairs
Coune Sheets		3 pairs	
Osnaburg		7 pairs	2 pairs
Small Single Sheets (Worn)			11
Single Cotton			3
<u>Table Cloths</u>			
Large Damask	2		
Small Huckaback	10		
Large Diaper Cloth	2		
Coarse Cloth	4	13	2
Damask		2	
Diaper		5	19
Huckaback		7	15
Small Coarse Cloth			4
<u>Napkins</u>			
Damask	23	10	
Huckaback	32	6	11
Large Huckaback	2		
Minces Linen	21		

Table 63. Continued.

Diaper		3	
Napkins		8	
Old Diaper			10
Diaper (much worn)			14
<u>Counterpanes</u>			
White Cotton	3		
Old Wrought	1		
Country Cotton		3	
Old & Very Sorry Country Cotton		1	
Fine Country Cotton		2	
Stamped Cotton			2
Large Old Cotton			1
<u>Pillows and Pillow Cases</u>			
Feather Pillows	12		
Holland Cases	4		
Dowlas Cases	10		
Finest Scotch Cloth	5		
Coarse Scotch Cloth	13		
Pillow Cases		11	
Sorry Pillow Cases		8	
Pillow Cers			6
Pillow Cases (much worn)			5
<u>Carpets</u>			
Rugs	2		
Large Turkey Carpet	1		
Large Wilton Carpet			1
Old Carpet			1
<u>Miscellaneous</u>			
Cotton Hammock (worn)	1		
Cover for Tea Table	1		
Indian Handkerchiefs	2		
White Dimity Night Caps	4		
Holland Night Caps (old)	2		
Knife Cloths	10		
Bag W/ Some Feathers		1	
Small Empty Bag		1	
Old Sorry Bag		1	
Old Wrapper		some	
Small Cotton Cloths		2	
Old Hand Loom		1 pair	
Quilting Frame			1
Cloths Basket			1
Curtain Rods			8

Table 63. Continued.

Cloth, Thread, and Yarn

Cotton	95 yards
Roll of Osnaburg	106 ells
Woolen Yarn	20 troy
Osnaburg	110 ells
Blue Fear Nothing	5 yards
Man's [ ] Cloth	3 1/4 yards
Country Cloth	20 1/2 yards
Woolen Yarn	2 1/4 lb.
Irish Linen	49 yards
Coarse Irish Linen	14 yards
Damask	4 ells
Huckaback	5 ells
Shoe Thread	2 lb.

*Lady Addison's Store*

Cloth and Thread

Cotton Week	6 lbs.
Fine Sewing Silk	6 oz.
Hanks Mohair	24
Diaper Tape	4 pairs
Broad Holland Tape	2 pairs
Narrow Holland Tape	1 pair
Lady Cambric	3 yards
Bobbin	1 yard
Blue Guinea Calico	4 yards
Fine Garlix Holland	1 pair
Fine Broad Garlix	1 pair
Fine Corded Dimity	1 pair
Fine Plain Dimity	5 1/4 yards
Fine Irish Holland	17 1/4 yards
Coarse Irish Holland	13 1/2 yards
White Huckabacks	6 3/4 ells
Coarse White Sheeting Canvas	18 ells
Narrow Garlix	5 1/2 ells
Good Dowlas	6 ells
Bag Holland	2 3/4 ells
Silk [ ] riting	2 pairs
Brown Garlix	11 3/4 yards
Elatches	1 1/4 yards
Gray Sagathy	1 1/2 yards
Doru[ ]	2 1/2 yards
Shalloon	3/4 yard
Wadding	1 yard
Flowered Calamanco	10 1/4 yards
Cambric	3/4 yards

Table 63. Continued.

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Colored Holland	2 1/2 yards
Broad Livery Lace	19 yards
Narrow Livery Lace	6 1/4 yards
Shoulder Knot for Livery	1
Yellow Shalloon	6 yards
Yellow Calamanco	6 1/2 yards
Ginghams	2 pairs
Thread Satin	14 3/4 [ ]
Mohair	1/2 lb.
Coated Binding	3 pairs
White Binding	1 pair
Silk Laces	10
White Thread	3 lbs.
Nun's Thread	10 oz.
Colored Thread	1/2 lb.
Silk	3 hanks

Finished Goods

Silk Handkerchiefs	19
Large Red Worsted Hose	1 pair
Men's Kid Gloves	2 pair
Hand Gloves	2 pair
Men's Fine Thread Hose	2 pair
Boy's Kid Gloves	2 pair
Fine Large Black Worsted Hose	2 pair
Small Boy's Shoes	10 pair
Mohair Coat & Breast Buttons	1

Buttons, Pins, Thimbles, Scissors,  
and Combs

Coat and Waistcoat Metal Buttons	1 dozen
Small Salisbury Scissors	4 pair
Men's and Women's Thimbles	8
Pins	5500
Horn Combs	13
Ivory Combs	2

*The Other Store*

Cloth

Brown Linen	612 1/2 ells
Brown Sheeting	5 1/4 ells
White Osnaburg	5 ells
Red Half Thick	32 yards
Striped Flannel	3 3/4 yards
Blue Duffel	19 yards

Table 63. Continued.

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Colored Half Thicks	20 1/4 yards
Blue Half Thicks	3 1/2 yards
White Kersie	17 1/2 yards
Welsh Cotton	281 yards
Good Kersie	8 pairs
Shoe Maker's Thread	13 lb.
Wadding	17 yards
Mild Duffels	3 1/4 yards
Fine Shalloon	9 1/2 yards

Finished Goods

Osnaburg Shirt	1
Osnaburg Breeches	5 pair
Cotton Breeches	28 pair
Carolina Hats	2
Old Sack Bag	1
Monmouth Caps	11
Men's Plain	72
Boy's Plain	44 pairs
Women's, Boys, & Girl's Shoes	45
Men's Falls	15 pairs
Best Men's Wood Heeled Shoes	8 pairs
Men's Wood Heeled Shoes	1 pair
Men's Kersie Coats	18
Boy's Kersie Coats	16
Men's Cotton Breeches	27
Woman's Panitone Jacket, Lined	1
Large Boy's Yarn Hose	42 pairs
Large Youth's Yarn Hose	20 pairs
Men's Yarn Hose	39 pairs
Women's Yarn Hose	86 pairs
Old Duffel Blankets	5
Old Rugs	4
Rug	1

Buttons

Buttons	some
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*At The Mill*

Blankets

Duffel Blankets	2
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Table 63. Continued.

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*Slave Quarters*

Miscellaneous

Bed, Rug & Blankets	NS
Sorted Negro Shoes	5

*Location Unknown*

Miscellaneous

Wearing Apparel	NS
Old Regional Cloths	2 suits

NS: Not Specified

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Other cloth and clothing related items in the manor house in 1727 reinforce the view that efforts were made to maintain matching items within the house. Twenty-four towels were present, of which a dozen were made of dowlas, and a dozen were noted as "coarse cloth". Paired sheets were the rule, and were enumerated as "holland", "Irish Holland", or "Irish linen". The "Holland" and "Irish Holland" were probably fine cotton fabrics in view of the way the terms were used. The table cloths included two damask examples, while the remaining 12 were made of less expensive fabrics. Large numbers of napkins (78) were reflected in the inventory, and of those 23 were made of damask.

The fabrics present in the house were acquired from a number of different countries. One carpet was listed as a "large Turkey carpet". The "Turkey carpet" may have been of Turkish origin, and was probably an unusual item to find in a Maryland home of that period. A second carpet, carried on the 1775 inventory, was referred to as a "large Wilton carpet", which means that it was made in what is now Germany. The use of the terms "Holland", Irish, Scottish, "Welsh", and "Guinea" probably related to the country or area of origin of the fabric, particularly for the 1727 inventory (Judy Corum, Maryland Historical Society, personal communication, 1986). Dowlas was a type of fabric manufactured in the Brittany region of France. As previously mentioned, other fabrics on the inventories came from England, France, India, and possibly China.

The 1727 inventory included the contents of "Lady Addison's Store" and the "Other Store". "Lady Addison's Store" contained a broad array of fine fabrics, as well as finished goods that would have been used by men or women of wealth. Livery lace and a shoulder knot for livery were the only items in the store that could be directly related to servant's use. The "Other Store" contained less expensive fabrics, and proportionately more finished goods. The osnaburg fabrics may have been used as clothing for slaves (Isaac 1982:44), although items such as wooden heeled shoes were finer and more costly than normal slave fare. It is possible that the items listed as "men's plain" and "boy's plain" were shoes intended for slave useage. The terms "Lady Addison's Store" and "Other Store" may have referred to actual stores where goods were bought and sold, but could have also meant that they were "storehouses" for items to be used within the plantation. Unfortunately, the historical record (see Chapter IV) does not clarify that point.

The 1765 and 1775 inventories reflect fewer fine cloth and clothing items, and presumably a lower

level of disposable wealth. Few of the items enumerated in 1727 appear to have survived until 1765, and the range of cloth types present in 1727 was not present in subsequent inventories. At least some of the changes in cloth types may have related to changing styles, changed characteristics of the British marketing system, or changes in the world view of the owners, but the primary cause appears to have been diminished disposable wealth and purchasing power.

### Miscellaneous Items

The miscellaneous items listed in Table 64 represent a number of small items that would not comfortably fit into one of the other broad categories. All three inventories listed books within the manor house, and writing paper was enumerated in 1727 and 1775. The pair of old money scales and weights listed in 1727 and the pair of large brass scales and weights listed in 1775 may have been the same items and were simply missed on the 1765 inventory. A telescope, listed as a spy glass or "prospective" (sic) glass appears on all three inventories. Survey instruments were present in 1727 and 1765, as were maps in 1727. The watch listed as Col. Addison's in 1727 was probably the same as the silver watch in 1765, and the old watch in 1775. The pair of steelyards (a set of scales) appears in all three inventories. The 1775 inventory reflected the second Thomas Addison's ostentatious lifestyle, and listed a gold headed cane and a pair of silver spurs among his possessions.

Table 64. Miscellaneous items from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Old & New Books of Divinity, Law, Physics, and History	parcel		
Old Top of a Scripture Books	1	parcel	sundry, 6
Writing Paper	13 gross		4 qume
Large Biblio	1		
Common Prayer in Folio	1		
Razors	4	4	
Honing Strap	1	2	
Hone		1	
Pair Old Money Scales & Weights	1		
Pair Large Brass Scales & Weights			1
Pair Gold Buttons	1		
Japanned Telescope	1		
Old Telescope		1	
Old Maps	some		
Scale Protractor & Compass for Surveying	1		
Set of Surveying Instruments		1	
Old Trumpet	1		
Watch	1		
Silver Watch		1	
Old Silver Watch			1
Quills	2		



Table 64. Continued.

Umbrella			1
Gold Headed Cane			1
Pair of Silver Spurs			1
Pair Steelyards	1	1	1
Small Brass Cock	1		
<u>Under Plantation Utensils</u>			
Telescope			1

### Firearms, Sidearms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition

The inventories listed surprisingly few arms items from the property (Table 65). Arms items were restricted to two silver-hilted swords within the manor house in 1727, although a pair of damaged pistols and an old musket were listed in the plantation storehouse in that year. The rather high total of 75 pounds of gunpowder and 130 pounds of shot and goose shot were also listed. The 1765 inventory listed a silver-hilted sword and three old guns in the manor house, and no other arms items on the property. Two silver-hilted swords, four old guns, two old pistols, and one holster were listed in the manor house in 1775. An additional "small" musket was listed under "plantation utensils", and that item may have also been stored in the manor house. The 1775 inventory listed eight pounds of gunpowder, 160 pounds of "hail shot", and six powder horns, shot bags, and magazines within the manor house, and a "cartoach (cartridge) box" under "plantation utensils". It appears that hunting was not an important activity at Oxon Hill during the time the three inventories were taken. As a side note, the silver-hilted swords listed on the inventories may well have been the same swords, with one sword missed when the 1765 inventory was compiled.

Table 65. Firearms, Sidearms, Gunpowder, and Ammunition from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Silver Hilted Swords	2	1	2
Old Guns		3	4
Hail Shot			160 Lb
Powder Horns, Shot Bags, & Magazines			6
Gunpowder			8 Lb
Old Pistols			2
Holster			1
<u>Under Plantation Utensils</u>			
Small Musket			1
Cartoach Box			1

Table 65. Continued.

Other Store

Pair Damaged Pistols	1
Gunpowder	75 Lb
Shot	120 Lb
Goose Shot	10 Lb
Old Musket	1

Yard, Garden, and Plantation Tools

The three inventories list a broad array of yard, garden, and plantation tools (Table 66). The inventories included a variety of hoe types, as well as axes, spades, saws, sickles, and other items necessary for the operation of the plantation. It appears that hoe cultivation was exclusively practiced on the plantation at the time of the 1727 inventory since no plows are included in that inventory. Plows, including plows with "iron work", show up on the 1765 and 1775 inventories.

Table 66. Yard, Garden, and Plantation Tools from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Scythes		8	6
Hilling Hoes		12	12
Weeding Hoes			14
New Weeding Hoes			4
Broad Hoes		12	
Narrow Hoes		12	
Garden Spades		3	
Garden Rakes		3	
Turf Spade		1	
Old Hoes		15	
Old Axes		5	
Old Whip Saw & Tiller		1	
Old Worn Out Scythes		3	
Ploughs With Iron Work		7	
Ploughs			3
Pitchfork			1
Iron Toothed Harrows			2
Mattocks			6
Good Sickles			28
Flax Hackle		4	
Reap Hooks		12	
Currying Knife		1	
Cutting Knife W/ Frame		1	

Table 66. Continued.

Shoe Maker's Hammer & Pincers	1	
Carpenter's Tools		lot
<u>Other Store</u>		
Single Knives	36	
[_]oach Knives	24	
Narrow Hoes	131	
Broad Hoes	80	
Grubbing Axes	13	
Old Corn Sickles	19	
Old Scyth	1	
Steel Spades	3	
Auger	1	
Pairs Sheep Shears	3	
Loping Ax	1	
Hand Saws	2	
Cooper's Ax	1	
<u>Slave Quarters</u>		
Rowling Stone	1	
Working Tools For The Plantation	NS	
Tools For Yard, Garden	NS	
Old Broad Hoes	6	
Narrow Hoes	3	
Old Cross Cut Saw	2	
Worn Broad Hoes	1	
Worn Narrow Hoes	2	
Old Spade	1	
Axes		6
Hoes		19
Hoes		parcel
Fluke Hoes		5
Small Wedges		2
Iron Wedges		3
Plough With Iron Work		1
Ploughs		3
Cross Cut Saw		1

A few specialized tools were present in the inventories. A "rolling stone" was listed in one of the slave quarters in 1727, and that tool may have been used in the maintenance of the formal gardens or manor house grounds. There is no explanation, however, for why that item was in one of the slave quarters instead of at the manor house.

A currying knife was listed from the manor house in 1765. That inventory also included a reference to sides of leather in bark, which means that a tanning operation was set up in the vicinity of the manor house in that year. Study of the inventories indicated that while many shoes were stored on the plantation in 1727, they were virtually absent in subsequent inventories. Shoemaker's tools show

up on the 1765 inventory, and it is obvious that at least the slave's shoes were being made on the plantation in that year.

### Miscellaneous Hardware

The lists of the miscellaneous hardware present on the property and enumerated in the three inventories are presented in Table 67. Those items would primarily fit under the Architecture Group in an archaeological pattern analysis. The majority of the miscellaneous hardware on the property in 1727 was stored in the plantation storehouse, while on subsequent inventories those types of items had been moved to the manor house.

Table 67. Miscellaneous Hardware from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Brackets	5		
Scubing Brushes	2		
Clamp Brushes	3		
Broken Chain		some	
Iron Pot Racks		2	
10 <sup>d</sup> Nails		8 M	
Brass Taps		4	
Tap Borer		1	
Set of Casters			1
20 <sup>d</sup> Nails			1500
Brass Cocks			3
Half Crown Nails			1000
Window Glass		parcel	
Large Panes Window Glass			30
<u>Other Store</u>			
Brass Door Knocker	1		
Box Staples	7		
Padlock Hasps & Staples	8		
Iron Bolts on Iron Plate	1		
Pair Small Size Hinges	1		
Clamps For Brushes	4		
30 <sup>d</sup> Nails	1284		
Spring Door Latch	1		
Tacks	4 M		
Stock Locks	2		
8 <sup>d</sup> Nails	29000		
Sheathing Nails	some		
20 <sup>d</sup> Nails	3 M		
Saw Files	7		

Table 67. Continued.

Marking Irons	NS
Small Gauges	5
Lathing Hammer	1
Taper Bits	4
<u>Slave Quarters*</u>	
Old Broken Racks For Pots	3

\* There was an overseer included in the slave quarter in 1727.

### Horse Tack, Riding Gear, Carts, and Wagons

Items of horse tack and riding gear were restricted to the plantation storehouse and the slave quarters on the 1727 inventory (Table 68). The only wheeled item noted in 1727 was a "chariot", which was probably a light-weight carriage. The storehouse also contained collars, hames, and traces, but no other wheeled vehicles were mentioned.

Table 68. Horse Tack, Riding Gear, Carts, and Wagons from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Curry Comb & Brush		1	
Hames, Collar, Cart, Saddle, Iron			
Traces, W/ 3 Husk Collars		1 set	
2 Pair Hames W/ Old Rope Traces & Husk Collars		1 set	
Man's Saddle W/ Silver Stirrup			1
Woman's Saddle			1
Coach Whips			3
<u>Plantation Utensils</u>			
Portmanteau			1
Saddles & Pillows			2
Saddle			1
Broken Saddle			1
Old Cart Wheels			2
Old Iron & Wagon Appurtenances			parcel
Ox Cart & Tackle			1
Body of an Old Canticle			1
<u>Additional Items</u>			
Coach			1

Table 68. Continued.

Other Store

3 Collars, Hames, Traces, 2 Collars	1 set
Blink Bridles	6
Cart Saddles	2
Hemp Halters	4
Broad Rained Snaffle Bridles	6
Single Girths	4
Good Curb Bridles	3
Whole Shirted Saddle	1
Half Shirted Saddle	1
Cloth Housing	1
Plain Cloth Housing	1

Slave Quarters\*

Chariot & Harness For 6 Horses	1 set	
Collars, Traces, & Cart	some	
Horse Harness	some	
Old Horse Harness	some	
Hames		2 pair
Iron Traces		1 pair

\*The overseer lived in the slave quarter in 1727.

The 1775 inventory contained the gear for two carts that was stored at the manor house. No mention of the actual carts was made in the inventory. The hames and iron traces listed in the slave quarters in 1775 may have been used in plowing. A single curry comb and brush, stored at the manor house, completed this category in 1765.

The second Thomas Addison apparently placed great emphasis on his saddle horses and coach. The 1775 inventory includes a coach, and that coach was apparently pulled by a team of six horses. A man's saddle with stirrups and a woman's saddle were stored in the manor house, and three coach whips were kept in the parlor. The "plantation utensils" included a pair of saddle bags or bags (portmanteau), saddles and pillows, parts of carts and wagons, and an ox cart and "tackle".

The relative lack of wheeled vehicles in 1727, and the emphasis on them in 1775 may have related to the status of the roads in that part of Prince Georges County. Roads were probably improved in the interval between the two inventories, which made the use of wheeled vehicles more feasible.

Stored Food and Spices

Compilation of the three inventories has indicated that the smallest amount of stored food on the property was enumerated in the 1727 inventory (Table 69). The 1727 inventory was dated August 10, and was thus made before the fall harvests and the fall slaughtering of pigs. Stored foods were probably at a low point at that time of year, and would not reach their maximum point until November

or December. The 1765 inventory was made on January 14, which was after the stored foods were laid in and before a significant amount would have been consumed. The 1775 inventory was dated March 16, and thus it was nearly spring when it was conducted.

The stocks of food and spices in the manor house in August 1727, included ten bushels of malt, 90 gallons of molasses, 12 pounds of Bohea tea, one pound of green tea, and five pounds of raw (unroasted beans) coffee. Madam Addison's storehouse also contained five and one-half pounds of pepper, 14 ounces of nuts, cloves, cinnamon, and mace, 11 pounds of ginger, and 72 pounds of loaf sugar. No food was listed in the slave quarters. It is likely that the residents of the plantation were living on fresh vegetables, garden corn, and fresh fish at that time of the year. The diet may have also been supplemented by fresh meat from domestic livestock.

Table 69. Stored Food and Spices from the 1727, 1765, and 1775 Inventories.

<u>Location/Type</u>	<u>1727</u>	<u>1765</u>	<u>1775</u>
<u>Manor House</u>			
Malt	10 Bushels		
Molasses	90 Gallons		
Bohea [Chinese] Tea	12 Lb		
Green Tea	1 Lb		
Raw Coffee	5 Lb		
Cider		8 Hhds	
Rum		1 Jug	
Honey		2 Jugs	
Tallow		105 Lb	
Salt Fish		1 Tub W/ Some	
Molasses		1 Jar	
Vinegar		1 Cask	
Hog Fat		1 Jar	
Pickles		2 Small Boxes	
"		1 Pot	
Butter		1 Pot	
Salt Peter		1 3/4 Lb	
Loaf Sugar		NS	
Pepper		1 1/2 Lb	
Beans		6 Bushels	
Dirty Salt		2 Bushels	
<u>Madam Addison's Store</u>			
Pepper	5 1/2 Lb		
Nuts, Cloves, Cinamen & Mace	14 Oz.		
Salt peter	12 Lb		
Ginger	11 Lb		
Double Loaf Sugar	72 Lb		
<u>Milk House</u>			
Beef		200 Lb	

Table 69. Continued.

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<u>Meat House</u>		
Old Bacon		138 Lb
Pork		5851 Lb
Beef		674 Lb
<u>Unknown Location</u>		
Indian Corn		414 1/2 Barrels
Wheat		135 Bushels
<u>Store at Landing</u>		
Salt	300 Bushels	
<u>Listed as "Additional Articles"</u>		
Wheat		249 Bushels
Indian Corn		60 Bushels
Fish		5 Hhds, 11 Barrels
Bacon		765 Lb
<u>Slave Quarters</u>		
Corn		42 Barrels

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The stored foods listed in the 1765 inventory present a different picture. Small amounts of rum, honey, molasses, vinegar, pickles, butter, and beans were stored at the manor house. Stored spices were restricted primarily to salt and pepper, with saltpeter--used as a preservative among other things--also present. Fish was the only form of animal protein stored in the manor house, and that was present in fairly small quantities. Eight hogsheads of cider were stored in the cellar, and that was probably a preferred drink in the household. A milk house and a meat house were present in 1765, and the milk house contained 200 pounds of beef. The large amount of meat stored in the meat house included 138 pounds of old bacon, 5,871 pounds of pork, and 674 pounds of beef. The slave quarters contained 414 1/2 barrels of Indian corn and 135 bushels of wheat. It is likely that the slaves were fed large amounts of corn (perhaps milled into meal), and that their diet was primarily supplemented with pork and wheat flour. They may have received small amounts of beef in addition to the other items.

The 1775 inventory listed fairly modest amounts of stored foods in comparison to the 1765 inventory. Those foods included 249 bushels of wheat, 60 bushels of Indian corn, five hogsheads and 11 barrels of fish, and 765 pounds of bacon stored in the vicinity of the manor house. A total of 42 barrels of corn was listed as being present in the slave quarters. It seems likely that the slaves were fed corn, probably in the form of meal, and the primary dietary supplement had switched from pork (in 1765) to fish. Additional supplements may have been provided by bacon and wheat in the form of flour.

Some of the exotic goods present in this category came from outside of either England or the American colonies. Bohea tea, which was a fine black tea, was imported from northern Fukien Province in China, while the green tea was probably also from China. The coffee present in 1727 may have come from the Far East or Africa, and spices such as cloves, cinnamon, and ginger probably came from the East Indies. Rum and sugar was probably produced in the Caribbean.



## Inventory Summary

The inventory documents have provided valuable and interesting insights into the contents of the Oxon Hill site at three points in time in the eighteenth century. There can be no doubt at this point that the 1765 inventory is incomplete (and this is probably true of the rest of these documents). That flaw is expectable, however, when dealing with estates of the sizes represented in those years. The documents are, however, comprehensive enough to paint detailed pictures of the material culture that was operative within the site.

It is clear, despite omissions, that the Oxon Hill manor declined between 1727 and 1765. That decline was evident in the relative numbers of slaves present as well as in the contents of the property. John Addison inherited only a part of Col. Thomas Addison's estate in 1727, and he failed to increase the estate he did inherit by the time of his death in 1765 (see Chapter IV). His failure to increase his estate may have been due to fluctuations in the tobacco market or individual reverses not reflected in the available historical records. Whatever the reason, the differences in the contents of the estate in 1727 and 1765 are clear, and it is equally clear that the second Thomas Addison had improved the value of Oxon Hill and its contents by the time of his death in 1775.

Study of the three inventories has established a baseline for better understanding the contents of the manor house and its appurtenances in 1727, 1765, and 1775. It is unfortunate that no similar documents could be found for nineteenth-century Oxon Hill, but the inventory analyses will aid in interpreting the eighteenth-century contexts that were explored under this project.

## AREA I

Excavation of Area I yielded a large artifact collection from a number of discrete contexts. Two major features, a well and a large cellar, were encountered in this area, while over 200 minor features were encountered and excavated (see Chapter VI). The vast majority of the features consisted of shallow postholes or planting trenches or holes, and the artifact yield from these features was extremely low. No well-defined, intact midden deposits were identified in Area I, and the artifacts recovered from the topsoil levels tended to consist of small, highly fragmented sherds of ceramics and glass.

Area I served as a side yard for the manor house from construction in 1710/11 until its destruction by fire in 1895. The median occupation date of this area was thus 1802.5/1803. The features--exclusive of the well and cellar--from this area yielded a combined mean ceramic date of 1802.4, while analysis of the ceramics from the topsoil deposits in the area resulted in a mean ceramic date of 1812.9. The combined ceramics from the topsoils and the features exclusive of the well and cellar yielded a mean ceramic date of 1809.2, based on 2,542 diagnostic sherds from the topsoil deposits, and 1,385 diagnostic sherds from the features. The mean ceramic date derived from the total diagnostic ceramic content of the cellar was 1804.8, while the combined well assemblage yielded a date of 1753.8.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the available evidence concerning Area I indicates that it was subjected to extensive landscaping activities in the latter nineteenth century. It appears that the area was reshaped through the use of an instrument such as a mule scoop, and that the landscaping was done at the same time that the large cellar within this area was filled. The results of the mean ceramic dating appear to reinforce the landscaping scenario, as the date that most clearly parallels the median occupation date of the site came from the features within that area. The slightly later date for the topsoil deposits may reflect the loss of artifact content in that area, and the disproportionate

representation of later artifacts that resulted. The dating disparity may also have been compounded by differing intensities of trash discards in the area in the eighteenth versus nineteenth centuries.

The mean ceramic date derived for the cellar fill requires comment. The cellar is located at the position of a structure that was depicted on the original topographic survey map of 1863. The artifacts within the cellar included small numbers of artifacts that probably post-date 1860, and there is no doubt that the structure over the cellar was indeed standing as late as 1863. Despite that fact, the cellar fill yielded a mean ceramic date of 1804.8. The early date of the cellar fill probably reflects the landscaping of the side yard included within Area I in the late nineteenth century, and deposition of spoil dirt from that landscaping in the cellar hole.

### Artifact Patterns - Units and Features

The majority of the artifacts recovered from Area I, exclusive of the well, were extremely small items that could have been easily overlooked in yard cleanup activities. While the nature of the artifacts does provide support for the idea that the area was used as a generally well kept yard, the sizes of the artifacts recovered--particularly the ceramics and glass--renders the collections all but useless for sophisticated artifact analysis. The discussion of the Area I artifacts will, for that reason, be largely restricted to a presentation and interpretation of the artifact patterns evident for that area.

Table 70 presents the artifact patterns derived for the units and features of Area I. It should be remembered that the artifact patterns discussed in this report exclude the twentieth-century material unless explicitly noted. The feature artifact patterns are organized by features with TPQ dates of the eighteenth versus the nineteenth century, and features that did not contain temporally diagnostic artifacts. All artifacts derived from nonfeature contexts that were screened are grouped under the title "units". The artifacts from nonfeature contexts that were not screened, referred to as "chunked units" on this project, were not included within the artifact pattern table, as there is no way to be sure that the collections are representative of the contents of those proveniences.

Table 70. Area I.

	18th	%	Features 19th	%	No Date	%	Feature Total	Units All	%
<b>KITCHEN GROUP</b>									
Ceramics	271	21.96	1942	17.02	127	17.47	2340	3934	25.23
Spirit Bottles	160	12.97	717	6.29	65	8.94	942	1017	6.52
Case Bottles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	3	0.02
Bottle Glass	68	5.51	962	8.43	75	10.32	1105	1787	11.46
Pharmaceutical	3	0.24	31	0.27	2	0.28	36	21	0.13
Tableware	5	0.41	271	2.38	1	0.14	277	150	0.96
Kitchenware	0	0.00	17	0.15	0	0.00	17	84	0.54
Modern Bottle Glass	0	0.00	3	0.03	0	0.00	3	52	0.33
Miscellaneous Kitchen	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0.00
Sub-Total	507	41.09	3943	34.56	270	37.14	4720	7048	45.20
<b>ARCHITECTURE GROUP</b>									
Window Glass	169	13.70	2517	22.06	115	15.82	2801	3087	19.80

Table 70. Continued.

Wrought Nails	9	0.73	30	0.26	1	0.14	40	97	0.62
Cut Nails	9	0.73	303	2.66	0	0.00	312	354	2.27
Wire Nails	0	0.00	34	0.30	0	0.00	34	35	0.22
Unidentified Nails	322	26.09	2384	20.90	216	29.71	2922	2651	17.00
Spikes	0	0.00	7	0.06	0	0.00	7	7	0.04
Construction Hardware	0	0.00	2	0.02	0	0.00	2	5	0.03
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	2	0.01
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	9	0.08	0	0.00	9	12	0.08
Sub-Total	509	41.25	5287	46.34	332	45.67	6128	6250	40.08
<b>FURNITURE GROUP</b>									
All Items	2	0.16	13	0.11	3	0.41	18	12	0.08
Sub-Total	2	0.16	13	0.11	3	0.41	18	12	0.08
<b>ARMS GROUP</b>									
Ball, Shot, Sprue	0	0.00	7	0.06	2	0.28	9	18	0.12
Gunflints, Spalls	0	0.00	4	0.04	0	0.00	4	6	0.04
Gun Parts	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	0	0.00
Sub-Total	0	0.00	12	0.11	2	0.28	14	24	0.15
<b>CLOTHING GROUP</b>									
Buckles	0	0.00	2	0.02	0	0.00	2	4	0.03
Thimbles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0.00
Buttons	1	0.08	32	0.28	0	0.00	33	36	0.23
Straight Pins	1	0.08	7	0.06	0	0.00	8	0	0.00
Hook & Eye	0	0.00	10	0.09	0	0.00	10	6	0.04
Bale Seals	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	1	0.01
Glass Beads	2	0.16	3	0.03	0	0.00	5	1	0.01
Scissors	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0.00
Leather Shoe Part	0	0.00	6	0.05	0	0.00	6	0	0.00
Glass Shirt Stud	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	2	0.02	0	0.00	2	1	0.01
Sub-Total	4	0.32	63	0.55	0	0.00	67	50	0.32
<b>PERSONAL GROUP</b>									
Coins	0	0.00	2	0.02	0	0.00	2	0	0.00
Keys	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Miscellaneous	1	0.08	9	0.08	0	0.00	10	17	0.11
Sub-Total	1	0.08	11	0.10	0	0.00	12	18	0.12
<b>TOBACCO GROUP</b>									
Pipes & Stems	73	5.92	369	3.23	21	2.89	463	315	2.02

Table 70. Continued.

Sub-Total	73	5.92	369	3.23	21	2.89	463	315	2.02
<b>ACTIVITIES GROUP</b>									
Construction Tools	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	0	0.00
Farm Tools	0	0.00	1	0.01	0	0.00	1	7	0.04
Toys	0	0.00	9	0.08	0	0.00	9	15	0.10
Storage Items	1	0.08	18	0.16	0	0.00	19	0	0.00
Horse Tack	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	12	0.08
Miscellaneous Hardware	1	0.08	20	0.18	0	0.00	21	60	0.38
Other	136	11.02	1661	14.56	99	13.62	1896	1782	11.43
Cleaning	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0.00
Sub-Total	138	11.18	1710	14.99	99	13.62	1947	1876	12.03
Grand-Total	1234	100.00	11408	100.00	727	100.00	13369	15593	100.00

### Kitchen Group

The class constituents of the Area I units and features are very similar (Table 71). Ceramics formed 56.1 percent of the Kitchen Group from the units. The Kitchen Group within the eighteenth-century features contained 53.5 percent ceramics, while the nineteenth-century features totalled 49.3 percent. The features that lacked temporally diagnostic artifacts had a total Kitchen Group made up of 47 percent ceramics.

Attempts were made to crossmend the Area I ceramics, and a tentative minimum vessel count was compiled. Review of the ceramic content of the area, however, has revealed that the sherds from the area are so small that the minimum vessel count tabulations cannot be presented with any degree of reliability.

Table 71. Area I Kitchen Groups.

	18th	%	Features 19th	%	Nodate	%	Feature Total	Units	%
<b>KITCHEN GROUP</b>									
Ceramics	271	53.45	1942	49.25	127	47.04	2340	3934	55.82
Spirit Bottles	160	31.56	717	18.18	65	24.07	942	1017	14.43
Case Bottles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	3	0.04
Bottle Glass	68	13.41	962	24.40	75	27.78	1105	1787	25.35
Pharmaceutical	3	0.59	31	0.79	2	0.74	36	21	0.30
Tableware	5	0.99	271	6.87	1	0.37	277	150	2.13
Kitchenware	0	0.00	17	0.43	0	0.00	17	84	1.19
Modern Bottle Glass	0	0.00	3	0.08	0	0.00	3	52	0.74

Table 71. Continued.

Miscellaneous Kitchen	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0.00
Grand-Total	507	100.00	3943	100.00	270	100.00	4720	7048	100.00

The Area I collections yielded few ceramic vessels that were as much as 50 percent complete. Those vessels, illustrated in Figures 125 through 127 included two stoneware bottles and a molded white ironstone bowl from the units and features. The stoneware bottle sherds came primarily from unit excavations, while a number of the constituent sherds of the ironstone bowl came from a nineteenth-century cobble feature. In total, over 95 percent of the ceramic vessels noted from all Area I contexts, exclusive of the well, were less than 25 percent complete, and most were represented by single sherds.

Bottle glass formed a large percentage of the Kitchen Group artifacts. A total of 14.4 percent of the Kitchen Group from the units was classified as spirit bottle glass, while the eighteenth-century features had the highest of the feature percentages for that class at 31.6 percent. The spirit bottle glass category was composed of olive green bottle glass, and it is assumed that most of the sherds in that class date either to the eighteenth or to the first half of the nineteenth century. The bottle glass that was not olive green in color was classified as "bottle glass", and presumably a majority of those sherds date to the nineteenth century, particularly the second half of that century. That assumption appears to have been borne out in the collections, as the bottle glass class accounted for 13.4 percent of the Kitchen Group in the eighteenth-century features, but totalled 24.4 percent in the nineteenth-century features. As an extension of that same logic, it appears that a majority of the undateable features are nineteenth century in age, as 27.8 percent of the Kitchen Group within those features consisted of the bottle glass class. A total of 25.4 percent of the artifacts from the Kitchen Group within the units was classified as "bottle glass".

The percentage of completeness of the glass bottles from the Area I units and features was quite low. Very few restorable or partially restorable vessels were identified within the collections. One aqua bottle, embossed with "SHENK'S PULMONIC SYRUP PHILADELPHIA" was partially restored (Figure 129). That manufacturer was described by Baldwin (1973:434-435) as being listed in the New York Mercantile Register from 1847-1848. A second bottle, embossed with "GARGLING OIL LOCKPORT. N.Y." (Figure 130) was pine green in color, and was probably manufactured in the second half of the nineteenth century. An aqua mineral water bottle, embossed with "FOGARTY & CO ALEXANDR[I]A V<sup>a</sup>" on one side, and "THIS BOTTLE IS N[EV]ER SOLD" on the other, probably dates to the late nineteenth century (Figure 131). An additional unembossed pine green bottle (Figure 132) probably dates to the same period. All of the restorable bottles except the "gargling oil" example came from the cobble feature. The "gargling oil" bottle came from a chunked unit over the cobble feature.

Additional glass artifacts recovered from the Area I units and features included minor amounts of pharmaceutical glass, and sherds classified as "miscellaneous glassware". The "miscellaneous glassware" class was set up to account for table glass, but it is likely that at least some of the clear sherds are misidentified and are actually bottle glass. The sherds in that class were too fragmentary to support further analysis.

### Architecture Group

The Architecture Group classes from the units and nineteenth-century features were similar (Table

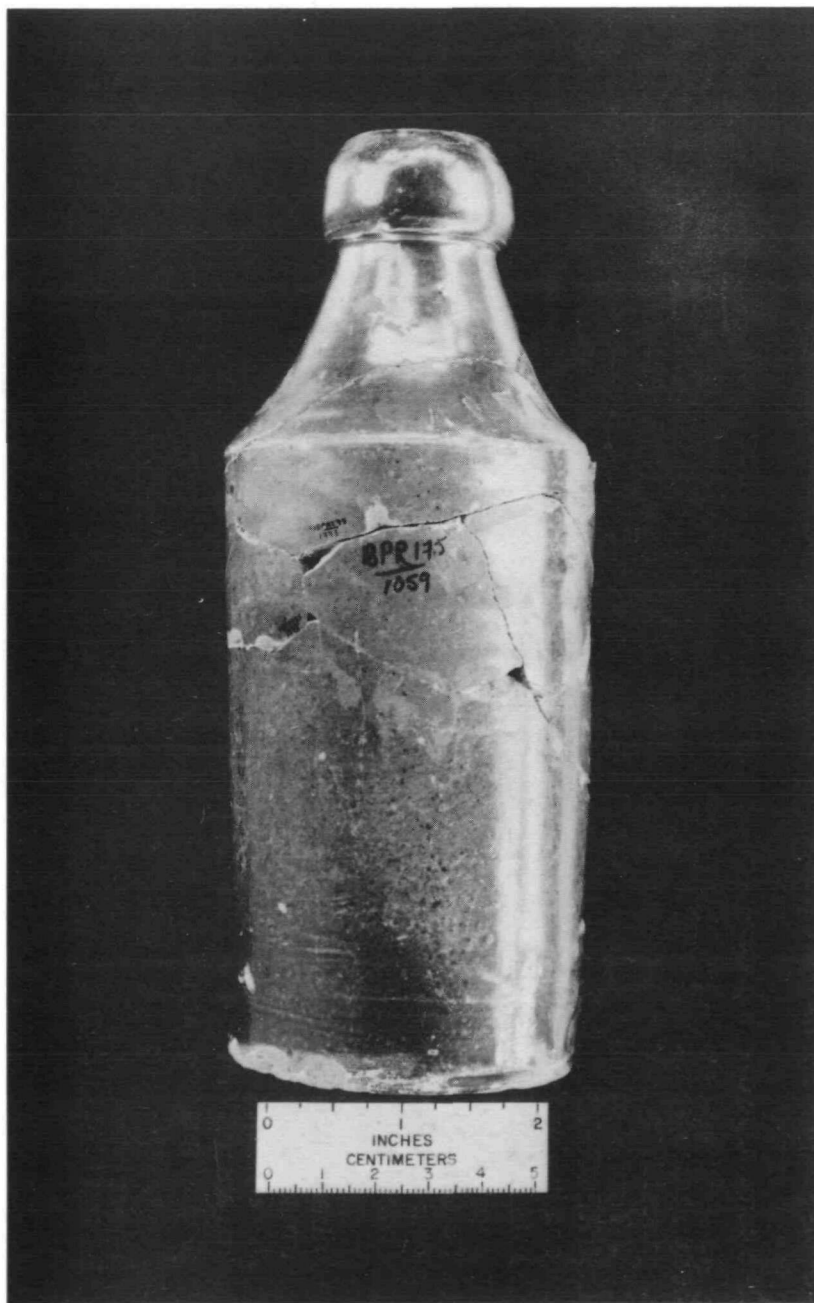


FIGURE 125. Dark brown stoneware bottle #6051 from Area I.

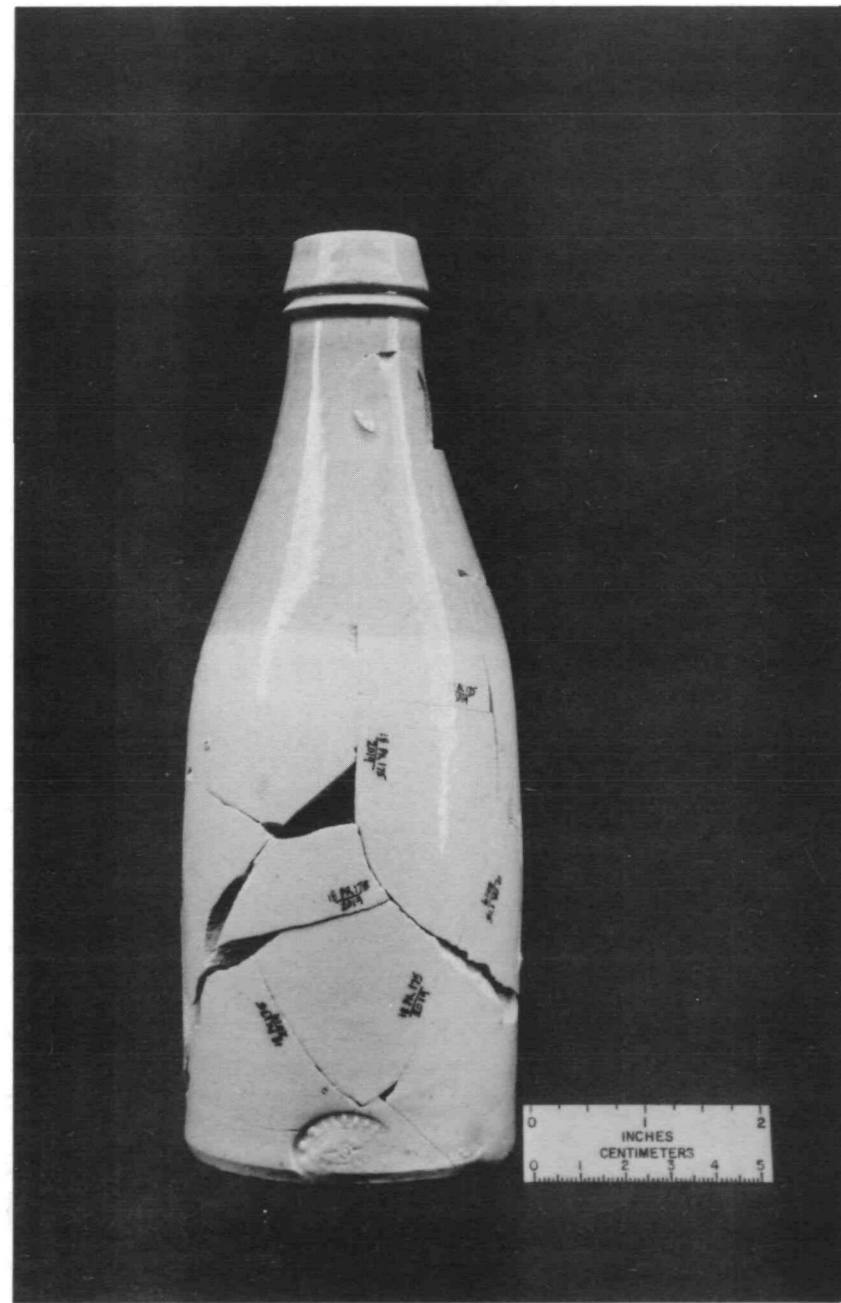


FIGURE 126. Tan stoneware bottle #6046 from Area I.





FIGURE 127. Plain ironstone bowl from Area I, Feature 6.

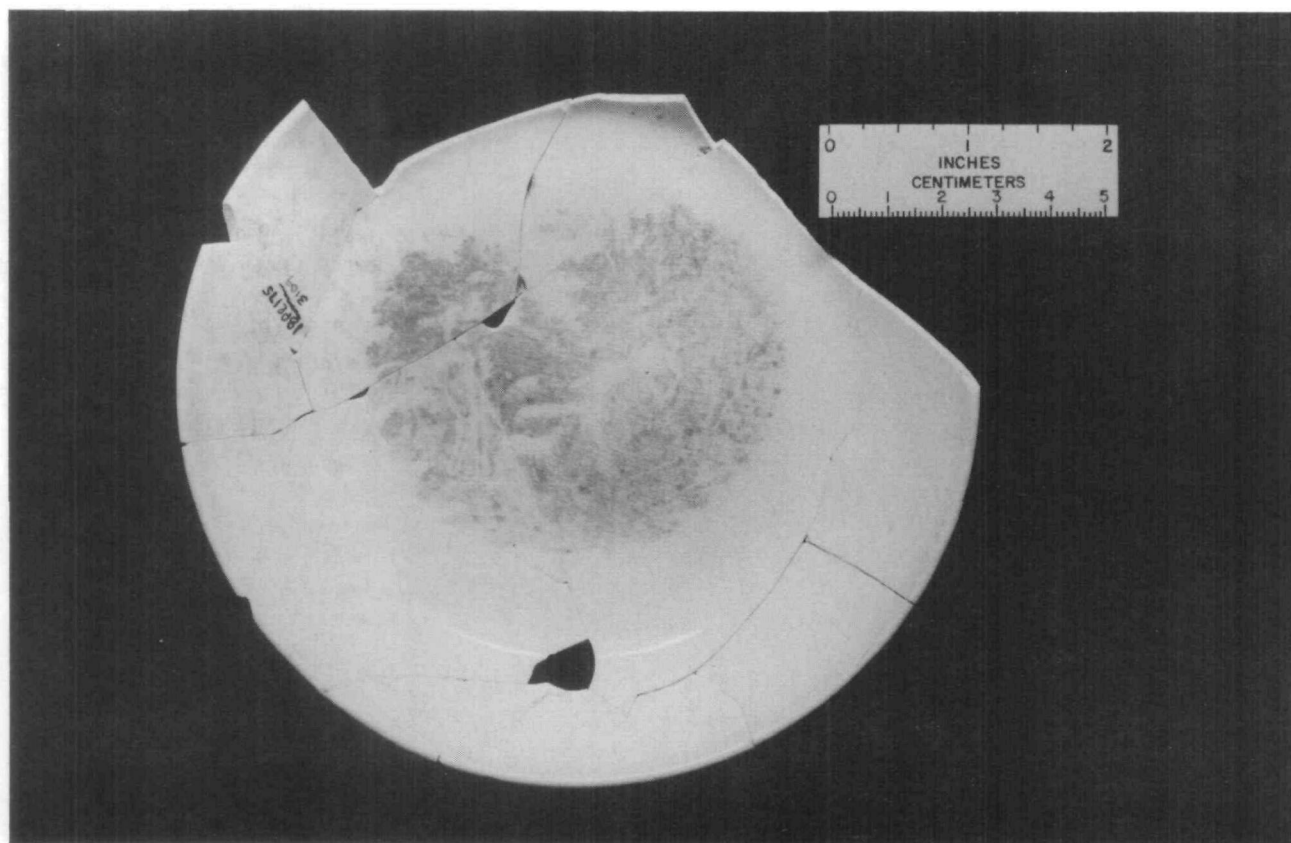


FIGURE 128. Overglaze red transfer print ironstone from Area I cellar.

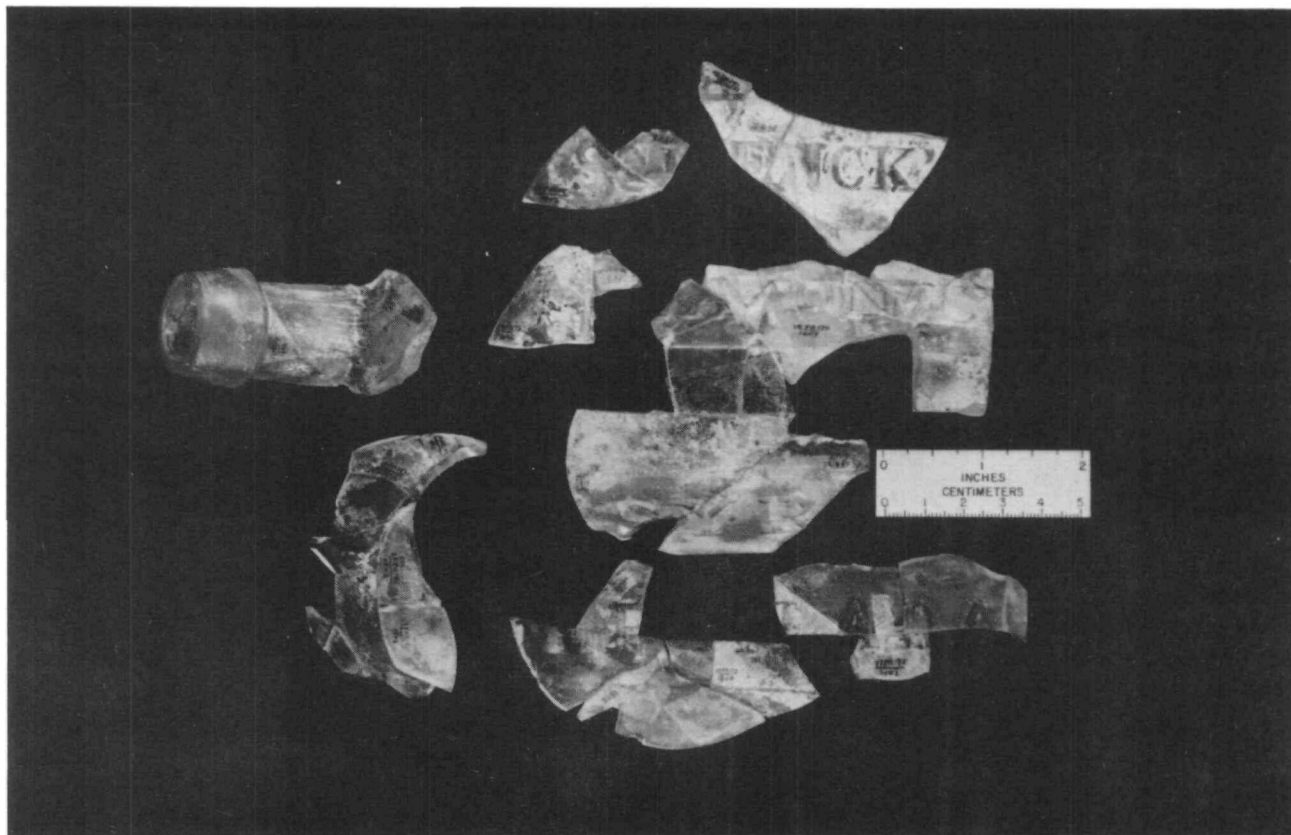


FIGURE 129. Pharmaceutical bottle from Area I. Embossed "SCHENCK'S PULMONIC SYRUP". Sherds from Feature 6, Levels N13 and N17, Unit 17, Level 1Y, and Unit 980, Level 2 (minimum vessel 7071).



FIGURE 130. Glass "gargling oil" bottle from Area I, Unit 17, Level 1Y (minimum vessel 7076).





FIGURE 131. Light green glass bottle from Area I, Unit 17, Level 1Y.  
Embossed "FOGARTY'S & CO." "ALEXANDRIA VA".

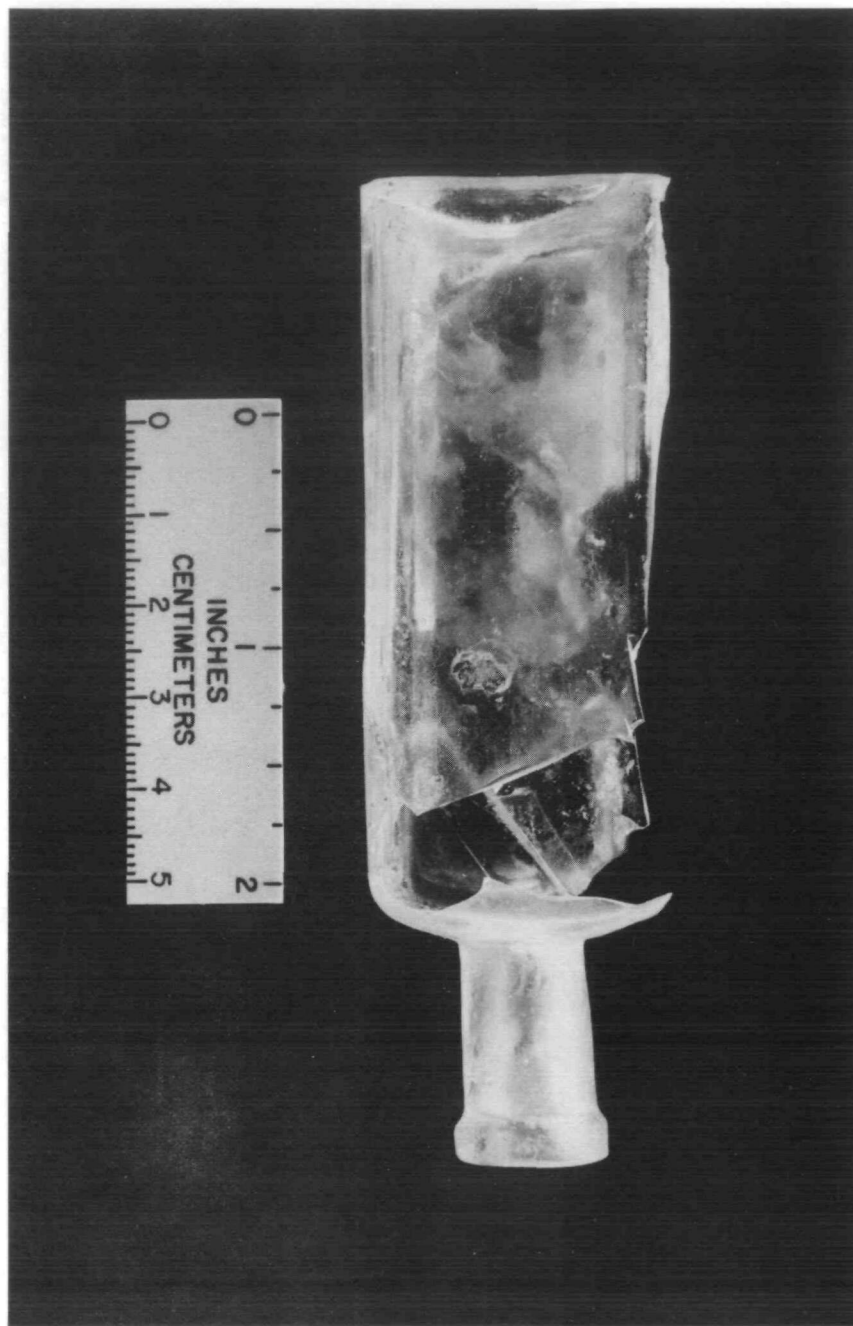


FIGURE 132. Pharmaceutical bottle from Area I, Feature 233Z01.

72). A total of 49.4 percent of the Architecture Group artifacts from the units were window glass, as opposed to 47.6 percent from the later features. Window glass from the eighteenth-century features amounted to 33.2 percent of the group total, while 34.6 percent of the Architecture Group artifacts among the undated features were of that class. The eighteenth-century and undated features contained similar percentages of unidentified nails at 63.4 and 65.1 percent respectively, while the nineteenth-century features and the units were most closely matched with 45.1 and 42.4 percent. Minor amounts of construction hardware, door lock parts, and miscellaneous items were recovered from the nineteenth-century features and the units, while the other contexts lacked those classes of artifacts. Wire nails were recovered from only the nineteenth-century features and the units, as would be expected.

Table 72. Area I Architecture Group Artifacts.

	18th	%	Features 19th	%	Nodate	%	Feature Total	Units	%
<b>ARCHITECTURE GROUP</b>									
Window Glass	169	33.20	2517	47.61	115	34.64	2801	3087	49.39
Wrought Nails	9	1.77	30	0.57	1	0.30	40	97	1.55
Cut Nails	9	1.77	303	5.73	0	0.00	312	354	5.66
Wire Nails	0	0.00	34	0.64	0	0.00	34	35	0.56
Unidentified Nails	322	63.26	2384	45.09	216	65.06	2922	2651	42.42
Spikes	0	0.00	7	0.13	0	0.00	7	7	0.11
Construction Hardware	0	0.00	2	0.04	0	0.00	2	5	0.08
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	1	0.02	0	0.00	1	2	0.03
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	9	0.17	0	0.00	9	12	0.19
Grand-Total	509	100.00	5287	100.00	332	100.00	6128	6250	100.00

The high percentage of window glass present in all four context types should be a reflection of a high degree of repair activities that went on in Area I. The higher overall percentage of Architecture Group artifacts in the features than in the units may have been the result of better preservation of nail fragments in the features versus units, although the lower percentage of nail in the nineteenth-century versus the eighteenth-century features cannot be explained under that argument. An alternative explanation is that construction and repair activities may have been more common early in the site's use history, while accumulation of much of the Kitchen Group material was later. This would explain the relative percentages, and still fit with what is known about the history of the site.

### Additional Artifact Groups

Furniture Group artifacts were rare in all contexts. Furniture tacks accounted for most of the artifacts from this group, but the features also yielded one drawer pull and four furniture lock parts. The units contained two drawer pulls and two furniture hinges in addition to furniture tacks.

The Area I units yielded a total of 14 Arms Group artifacts, while 14 were recovered from the features. Arms Group artifacts were totally absent in the eighteenth-century features, and only two were found in the undated features. The majority of the artifacts within this group were modern cartridges, although four gun flints and a gun part were recovered from the features and the same

number of each came from the units.

Buttons were the most common Clothing Group artifacts recovered, with 36 from the units and 32 from the nineteenth-century features. The eighteenth-century features yielded a total of only four Clothing Group artifacts, while none were recovered from the undated features.

The Personal Group artifacts totaled 18 from the units and 12 from the features. Two coins were recovered from the nineteenth-century features. These consisted of a 1984 penny recovered from an old test unit, and an 1865 Indian Head penny from Feature 112. The remainder of the Personal Group items were primarily jewelry, slate and slate pencil, and comb components.

The Tobacco Pipe Group artifacts consisted primarily of very small stem and bowl fragments from the units and features. While the overall counts of these artifacts is 315 from the units and 463 from the features, few contexts contained more than a small number of fragments.

Most of the Activities Group artifacts from both the units and features were classified as miscellaneous hardware and "other". Those classes were composed of all artifacts that could not be functionally placed within another group, and included bits of wire and many other types of artifacts that were not immediately identifiable by function. The largest artifact class in all cases was the class "other", which was made up of unidentifiable metal. Miscellaneous hardware (60), horse tack (12) and toys (15) were the next largest identifiable classes from the units, while miscellaneous hardware (21), storage items (19), and toys (9) formed the next largest classes from the features. The eighteenth-century features yielded only two Activities Group artifacts (one "storage" item and one "miscellaneous hardware") beyond unidentifiable metal. No Activities Group artifacts besides unidentifiable metal were recovered from the undated features.

### Artifact Patterns - The Area I Cellar

The Area I cellar included four main contexts. The uppermost, and largest context, consisted of red clay fill. Below the red clay fill was a layer of organic fill that had probably been removed from the Area I side yard and placed in the cellar hole as a result of landscaping activities. A thin deposit of organic soils was encountered below that fill, and that deposit appears to have defined the floor of the cellar prior to the filling process. The fourth context was a large, circular feature of unknown function. Three nearly complete, articulated sturgeon skeletons, and the complete, articulated skeleton of a duck were found near the bottom of the high organic content level, but all appear to have been thrown there during the filling process.

The artifact patterns from the four cellar contexts are presented in Table 73. It should be noted that only artifacts from screened contexts are included in those tabulations.

Table 73. Area I Cellar Artifact Patterns.

	Red Clay Fill		Organic Fill		Floor		Circular Feature	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
KITCHEN GROUP								
Ceramics	581	42.88	424	38.37	252	34.30	174	28.76
Spirit Bottles	115	8.49	85	7.69	68	9.26	50	8.26

Table 73. Continued.

Case Bottles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bottle Glass	100	7.38	23	2.08	30	4.09	8	1.32
Pharmaceutical	0	0.00	6	0.54	2	0.27	0	0.00
Tableware	8	0.59	9	0.81	8	1.09	16	2.64
Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.14	0	0.00
Modern Bottle Glass	6	0.44	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Miscellaneous Kitchen	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sub-Total	810	59.78	547	49.50	361	49.18	248	40.99
ARCHITECTURE GROUP								
Window Glass	271	20.00	248	22.44	132	17.98	192	31.74
Wrought Nails	22	1.62	11	1.00	10	1.36	1	0.17
Cut Nails	2	0.15	0	0.00	1	0.14	1	0.17
Wire Nails	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Unidentified Nails	88	6.49	167	15.11	119	16.21	101	16.69
Spikes	1	0.07	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Construction Hardware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Miscellaneous	1	0.07	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sub-Total	385	28.41	426	38.55	262	35.69	295	48.76
FURNITURE GROUP								
All Items	2	0.15	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sub-Total	2	0.15	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
ARMS GROUP								
Ball, Shot, Sprue	1	0.07	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Gunflints, Spalls	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.14	0	0.00
Gun Parts	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sub-Total	1	0.07	0	0.00	1	0.14	0	0.00
CLOTHING GROUP								
Buckles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Thimbles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Buttons	3	0.22	3	0.270	3	0.41	0	0.00
Straight Pins	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Hook & Eye	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bale Seals	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Glass Beads	0	0.00	1	0.09	0	0.00	0	0.00
Scissors	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Leather Shoe Part	0	0.00	3	0.27	0	0.00	0	0.00
Glass Shirt Stud	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sub-Total	3	0.22	7	0.63	3	0.41	0	0.00

Table 73. Continued.

<b>PERSONAL GROUP</b>								
Coins	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Keys	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Miscellaneous	1	0.07	2	0.18	2	0.27	0	0.00
Sub-Total	1	0.07	2	0.18	2	0.27	0	0.00
<b>TOBACCO GROUP</b>								
Pipes & Stems	37	2.73	41	3.71	29	3.95	26	4.30
Sub-Total	37	2.73	41	3.71	29	3.95	26	4.30
<b>ACTIVITIES GROUP</b>								
Construction Tools	0	0.00	2	0.18	0	0.00	0	0.00
Farm Tools	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.14	0	0.00
Toys	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Storage Items	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Horse Tack	0	0.00	0	0.00	10	1.36	0	0.00
Miscellaneous Hardware	2	0.15	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Other	114	8.41	80	7.24	65	8.86	36	5.95
Cleaning	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Sub-Total	116	8.56	82	7.42	76	10.35	36	5.95
Grand-Total	1355	100.00	1105	100.00	734	100.00	605	100.00

The Kitchen Group constituents of the Area I cellar artifact patterns range from a low of 41 percent within the circular feature to a high of 59.8 percent in the red clay fill. That percentage is somewhat higher than the Kitchen Group range of 34.6 to 45.2 percent observed for the Area I contexts exclusive of the well and cellar. The range of 41 percent to 49.5 percent observed for the organic fill, floor deposits, and the circular feature is similar to the 45.2 percent observed for the Area I units, which lends credence to the idea that the soils that constituted those contexts could have all come from the side yard, and have been placed in the cellar from the side yard during the terminal filling of that feature.

The Architecture Group percentages observed in the cellar range from a low of 28.4 percent in the red clay fill to a high of 48.8 percent in the circular feature. That range contrasts with the Architecture Group range of a low of 40.1 percent to a high of 46.3 percent in Area I exclusive of the well and cellar. The lowest Architecture Group percentage in Area I exclusive of the well and cellar came from the units, while the highest percentage was observed within the nineteenth-century features. The classes that constitute the Area I cellar Architecture Groups will be discussed below, but it is sufficient at this point that the relative percentages of occurrences of the Architecture Group artifacts may be more a function of the preservative characteristics of the various fill soils than any other factor. It may be significant that the lowest percentage of occurrence of nails in all four contexts was within the red clay fill level, which was presumably the most acidic of all of the cellar fills. This means that the internal variations of percentage among the Kitchen and Architecture groups within this context may not indicate that the fill soils that constitute those contexts came from different areas

within the larger site.

## Kitchen Group

The Kitchen Group artifacts exhibit almost identical internal percentages within the four contexts (Table 74). This is true despite the rather large differences noted between the Kitchen and Architecture percentages in those contexts. Given the differential preservation characteristics of the red clay fill versus the other cellar soils, it is likely that the internal constituents of the Kitchen Group (composed of very durable artifact types) provides a more accurate measure of the similarity of the artifact collections from the four contexts than can be provided by the Architecture Group. Based on the extremely similar internal composition of the cellar Kitchen Groups it is highly likely that the soils of all four levels came from the same area of the larger site.

The percentages of completion of both the ceramics and glass vessels in the cellar deposits were quite low, and few partially restorable vessels were found. An overglaze pink transfer printed saucer on a white bodied ironstone paste was recovered from the circular feature in the floor of the cellar (Figure 128). That vessel could date to ca. 1850, or could represent the revival of transfer printing which began around 1885. A second partial vessel, a blue transfer printed mug on pearlware (Figure 133) was recovered from the floor deposit. That vessel probably pre-dated 1830, and is further evidence of the mixed nature of the lower fills.

The spirit bottle glass and the bottle glass occurred in slightly different frequencies in the fill levels in the cellar and in the Area I units and features. Olive green bottle glass was outnumbered by later glass types in the units and features, while the cellar fills contained almost two times as much olive green glass as the later types. This observation would seem to support the idea that Area I received bottle glass at a higher rate after the landscaping than before.

Table 74. Area I Cellar Kitchen Group Artifacts.

	Red Clay Fill		Organic Fill		Floor		Circular Feature	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<b>KITCHEN GROUP</b>								
Ceramics	581	71.73	424	77.51	252	69.81	174	70.16
Spirit Bottles	115	14.20	85	15.54	68	18.84	50	20.16
Case Bottles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Bottle Glass	100	12.35	23	4.20	30	8.31	8	3.23
Pharmaceutical	0	0.00	6	1.10	2	0.55	0	0.00
Tableware	8	0.99	9	1.65	8	2.22	16	6.45
Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.28	0	0.00
Modern Bottle Glass	6	0.74	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Miscellaneous Kitchen	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	810	59.78	547	100.00	361	100.00	248	100.00

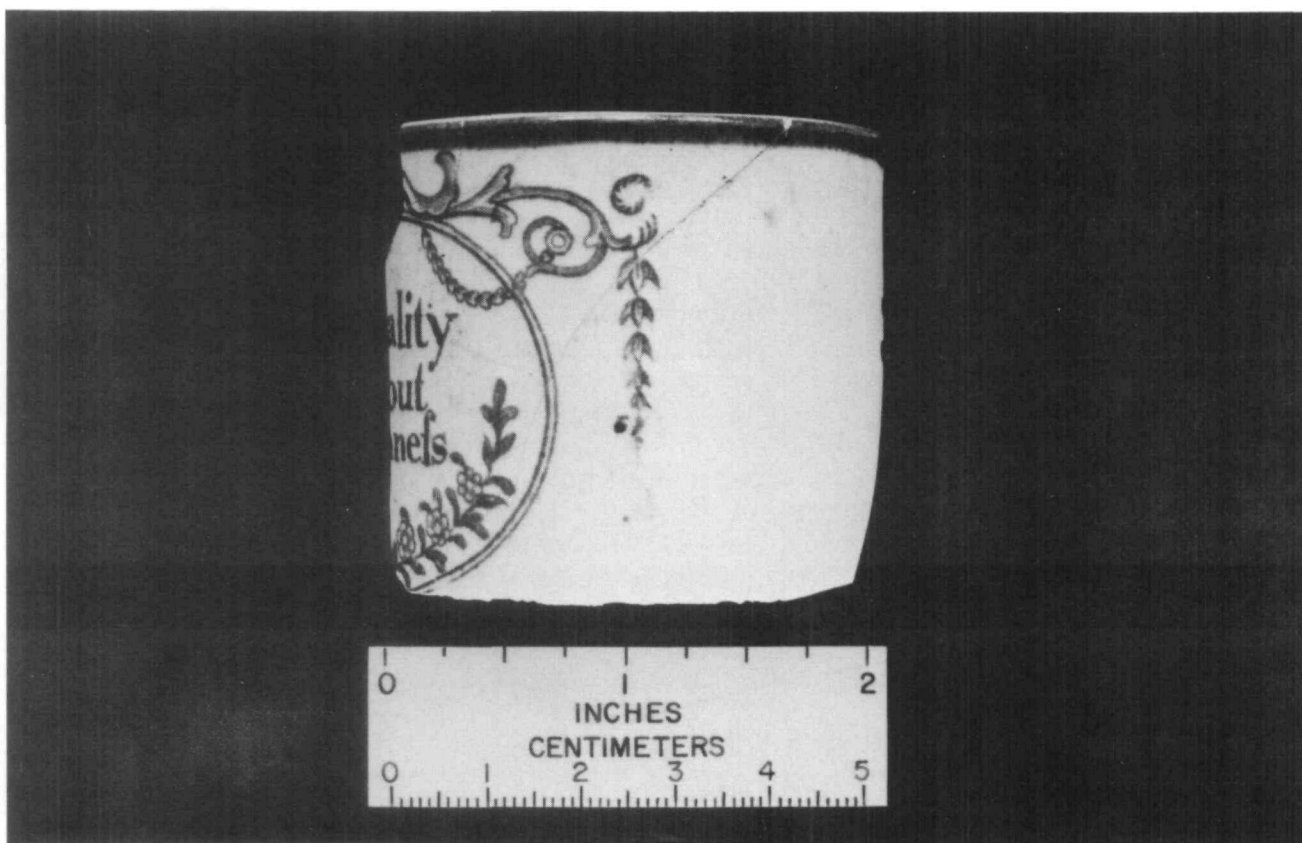


FIGURE 133. Blue transfer print pearlware vessel from Area I cellar, organic level.



## Architecture Group

The Architecture Group of the cellar was dominated by window glass and nails (Table 75). Window glass was the largest Architecture Group class in all cases, with window glass percentages ranging from 50.4 percent to 70.4 percent of the totals. Those percentages are higher than observed for Area I exclusive of the well and cellar, which ranged from 13.7 to 22.1 percent. The only architectural artifacts that were not window glass or nails were one spike and one piece of miscellaneous hardware from the red clay fill level. The high percentages of window glass observed within the cellar contexts can probably be attributed to differential preservation of metal artifacts, and the loss of significant numbers of metal artifacts due to accelerated oxidation. The process of the removal of artifact bearing soils and redeposition of those soils probably changes the environment of metal artifacts to the point that oxidation is accelerated until those artifacts stabilize within their new environment. That process seems to be somewhat measurable in the observed differences in the Architecture Group within the cellar and the Architecture Group in the contexts in Area I exclusive of the well and cellar.

Table 75. Area I Cellar Architecture Group Artifacts.

	Red Clay Fill		Organic Fill		Floor		Circular Feature	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
ARCHITECTURE GROUP								
Window Glass	271	70.39	248	58.22	132	50.38	192	65.08
Wrought Nails	22	5.71	11	2.58	10	3.82	1	0.34
Cut Nails	2	0.52	0	0.00	1	0.38	1	0.34
Wire Nails	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Unidentified Nails	88	22.86	167	39.20	119	45.42	101	34.24
Spikes	1	0.26	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Construction Hardware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Miscellaneous	1	0.26	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	385	100.00	426	100.00	262	100.00	295	100.00

## Additional Artifact Groups

The Furniture Group inventory was restricted to two brass furniture tacks recovered from the red clay fill. Artifacts from this group were also rare in the Area I units and features.

A total of three arms-related artifacts were recovered from the cellar. The red clay fill yielded a French gunflint and a brass cartridge case. The floor level yielded a single English gunflint.

Thirteen clothing artifacts were recovered from the cellar contexts. Nine buttons were recovered, with three each in the red clay fill, the organic fill, and the floor deposit. One glass bead was recovered from the organic fill, while three leather shoe parts also came from that level. The leather shoe parts probably represented parts of one or more shoes discarded directly into the cellar during the filling process. No clothing artifacts were found in the circular feature in the floor of the cellar.

A total of five Personal Group artifacts were recovered from the cellar. Those items included a piece



of worked bone, a glass mirror fragment, a piece of graphite for a pencil, a key, and a piece of an ivory or bone fan. The Personal Group items recovered from the cellar were very similar to those from the Area I units and features.

The four contexts within the cellar each yielded similar numbers and percentages of Tobacco Pipe Group artifacts. All but two of the recovered artifacts within this group were ball clay stems and bowls, and the two remaining items were fragments of stub stemmed pipes.

A total of 310 Activities Group artifacts were found in the cellar, but the overwhelming majority of those items were unidentifiable metal. The organic fill level included two construction tools, while the red clay fill yielded two pieces of miscellaneous hardware. The floor deposit contained one farm tool and ten pieces of horse tack.

The artifact patterns from the cellar were not particularly informative. The artifacts from the four identified contexts were mixed, and probably originated from the same area. The structure that included the cellar had obviously been very carefully cleaned of its contents, and the cellar hole had been filled with dirt taken from the remainder of Area I. No evidence was found in either the excavation or analysis to indicate the function of the structure associated with the cellar.

### **The Area I Well**

The well in Area 1 consisted of a 1.1 m diameter shaft that was excavated to a depth of 12.94 m below ground surface. The well shaft was unlined for the initial 8.44 m below ground surface, where a circular liner made of wooden planks was encountered. The top of the planks was found approximately 2 m below the top of the ground water level, and had evidently been placed to prevent slumpage of the shaft walls. It was not possible to reach the bottom of the well due to the problems discussed in the previous chapter, but what appears to have been a sand and gravel filtration system had been reached by the time the excavation was terminated. This would seem to indicate that the excavation had reached a point close to the bottom of the well, and had indeed removed the trash filled soil layers deposited after the abandonment of the well as a water source.

The artifacts recovered from the well were dated using a variety of means. Dates achieved for minor artifact classes are discussed in the sections that follow, but review of the depositional sequence in the well as it is currently understood in relation to the mean ceramic and pipestem dates will be sufficient at this point to set the stage for the remainder of the artifact analysis.

Four distinct depositional sections were detected in the well. Ceramic and bottle glass crossmend studies conducted as an adjunct to the vessel form/function analyses yielded evidence that supports the four distinct depositional sections within the well shaft discussed in the previous chapter.

The results of the crossmend studies are quantified in Figures 134 and 135, and require explanation. Each chart graphically depicts the maximum vertical span of the crossmended sherds. The top of each vertical bar reflects the uppermost level of a crossmend, while the lowest point on the vertical bar reflects the lowest level from which the same crossmend was recovered. Those two figures can thus be viewed as "maps" of the ceramic and glass vessels within the well levels, and the crossmends can be interpreted as a means of discerning related levels. It should be noted that some vessels contained crossmends that spanned large numbers of levels, and some crossmends overlapped the boundaries of proposed depositional sections. That situation is viewed as a relic of the manner in which the well was originally filled and later excavated. As the concrete well liners were slightly smaller in diameter than the well shaft, some material appears to have been carried behind the well

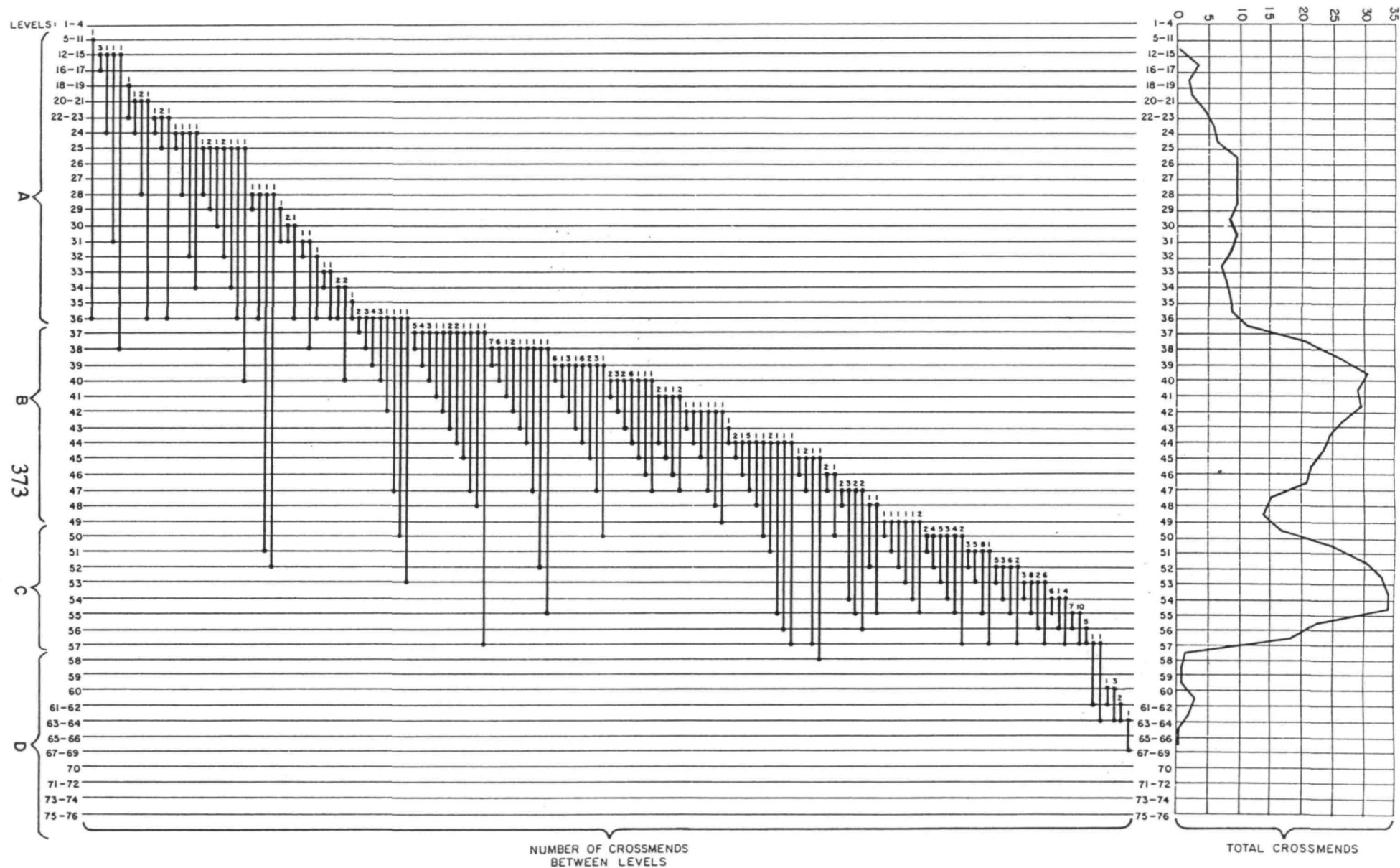


FIGURE 134. Ceramic crossmends in Area I well.

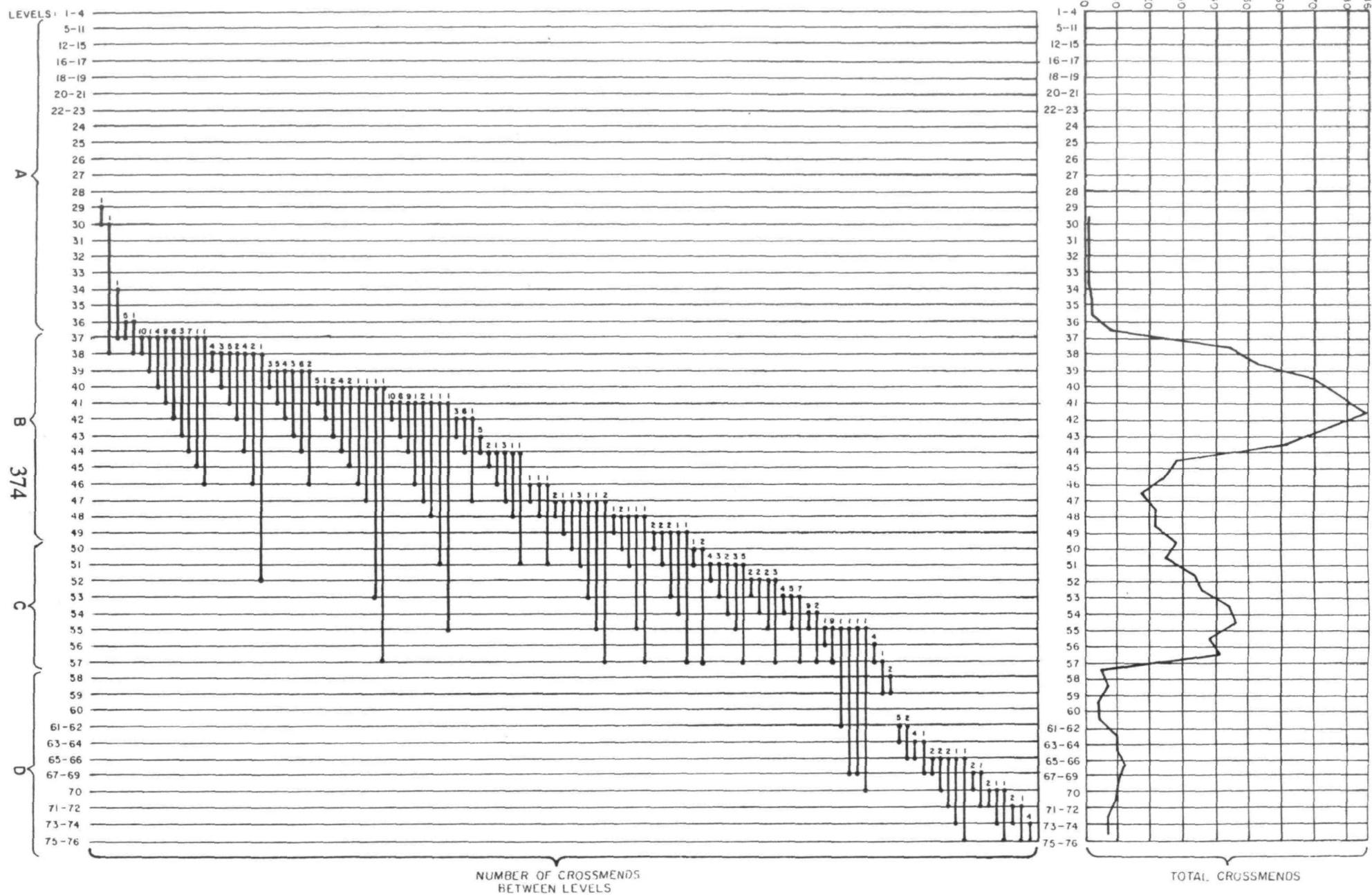


FIGURE 135. Spirit bottle glass crossmends in Area I well.

liners for a fairly great vertical distance before the section that contained those artifacts was sufficiently undercut for the deposits behind the liner to slump and the artifacts recovered.

Figures 134 and 135 each contain a graph on the right side of the figure that reflects the total number of sherds in each level that could be crossmended with sherds from any other level. Both graphs strongly support dividing the well into four depositional sections for purposes of analysis.

These sections have been defined in the previous chapter based on fill characteristics (Figure 59). Depositional Section A extends from the ground surface to level 36. The second depositional section, Section B, extends from level 37 to level 49. Depositional Section C extends from level 50 to level 57. The lowest section, Section D, extended from level 58 to level 76.

Depositional Section A contained mixed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century deposits. The mean ceramic date derived for this section was 1767.57, based on a total of 647 dateable sherds. The pipestem date, based on 193 stems, was 1748.66. The mixed nature of this section appears to be reflected in the divergent ceramic and pipestem dates, and study of the artifacts indicated that a good deal of the material present had been eroded into the shaft from what had been nearby midden deposits. The artifacts in Depositional Section A were more fragmented than the artifacts from other sections, and included a range of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century materials. The upper half of this section was composed of debris from the manor house that had fallen into what was at that time a shallow portion of an open shaft at some point following the destruction of the manor house in 1895. That section contained brickbats, roofing slate, and other materials that appeared to be identical to the content of the brick pile left by brick scavengers that had been above part of this feature prior to excavation (see Chapter VI).

Depositional Section B appears to have been an almost pure mid eighteenth-century deposit. The mean ceramic date derived for this section was 1747.97, based on a sample of 258 dateable sherds. The pipestem date for this section was 1746.66, based on a sample of 389 pipestems. The ceramic and pipestem dates show close agreement in this section, with a variance of slightly more than a year.

Depositional Section C appears to have been free of any later contamination. The mean ceramic date for this section was 1742.23, and was based on 531 dateable sherds. The pipestem date was 1745.72, with a sample size of 571. Both the ceramic and pipestem dates are thus earlier than the dates derived for Depositional Section B, and vary by nearly three and a half years.

The lowest depositional section, Section D, yielded a mean ceramic date of 1753.05, and a pipestem date of 1736.49. The mean ceramic date in this case was based on only 39 sherds, and all of those sherds were of the same decorative/ware type. The pipestem date was based on a sample of 104 pipestems, and although that sample was also small it probably yielded the more likely date for this section.

The depositional span of the well has a potential date range of 1710/11 to at least 1895. It is evident that the bottom three depositional sections all dated to the eighteenth century, however, and study of the recovered artifacts makes it possible to constrict that date range even further. The mean ceramic and pipestem dates place the lower three depositional sections around the middle of the eighteenth century or earlier. Further, the lower three sections contain a single ceramic vessel of a type that has a beginning manufacture date of later than 1750. That vessel, represented by sherds recovered in Section B, was classified as cream colored ware, a type first manufactured in the nineteenth century. Cream colored ware was clearly intrusive to Section B, and probably was carried to that section of the well behind the concrete liner. If that interpretation is correct, then the lower three depositional sections predate 1750, although based on the mean ceramic dates and pipestem dates it is unlikely that

the deposits were significantly earlier than that date.

It is not possible to pinpoint a firm *terminus ante quem* date for the well deposits. The well clearly does not predate construction of the manor house in 1710/11 based on the nature of the artifacts that are present. The pipestem date of 1736.49 for Section D is probably fairly close to the *terminus ante quem* date, and it is extremely likely, based on recovery of sherds of malt bottles in the lowest Depositional Section D, that initial placement of artifacts in the well dated no earlier than the 1720s.

The dating evidence thus indicates that the major portion of the well shaft was filled during the period between the 1720s and ca. 1750, and most likely during the residence of John Addison. That appears to have been a period of decline at Oxon Hill Manor, and the implications of the date of these deposits and their artifact content will be fully discussed in the following description and interpretation of the well artifacts.

### Artifact Patterns

Excavation of the well yielded a sample of 27,878 artifacts suitable for inclusion in artifact pattern (South 1977) studies. All soils excavated from the well were water screened through 0.25 inch mesh hardware cloth, and large numbers of soil samples were floated. Because of this methodology, the recovered artifact sample represents a systematically assembled collection that should have value for statistical analysis such as artifact pattern studies.

The artifact pattern achieved from the well is presented in Table 76. The pattern achieved from the total well is described in detail on a group-by-group basis in the following discussions. The detailed artifact data are presented in reference to the four observed depositional sections that were described above.

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Table 76. Artifact Patterns from the Area I Well.

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<u>Group</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
KITCHEN		
Ceramics	2,821	10.12
Spirit Bottles	9,869	35.40
Tumblers	13	0.05
Pharmaceutical	886	3.20
Table Glass	943	3.38
Tableware	5	0.02
Kitchenware	20	0.07
Bottle Glass	272	0.98
TOTAL	14,829	53.19
ARCHITECTURE		
Window Glass	4,586	16.45
Wrought Nails	2,431	8.72
Cut Nails	21	0.08
Unidentifiable Nails	3,674	13.18
Spikes	0	0.00

Table 76. Continued.

Construction Hardware	12	0.04
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00
TOTAL	10,724	38.47
FURNITURE	34	0.12
ARMS		
Ball, Shot, Sprue	2	0.01
Gunflints, Spalls	10	0.04
Gun Parts	3	0.01
TOTAL	15	0.05
CLOTHING		
Buckles	6	0.02
Thimbles	1	0.01*
Buttons	8	0.03
Straight Pins	22	0.08
Hooks & Eyes	0	0.00
Bale Seals	0	0.00
Beads	4	0.01
Scissors	1	0.01*
Shoe Components	182	0.66
Textiles	13	0.05
TOTAL	237	0.85
PERSONAL		
Coins	4	0.01
Keys	1	0.01*
Miscellaneous	23	0.08
TOTAL	28	0.10
TOBACCO PIPE	1,700	6.97
ACTIVITIES		
Construction Tools	0	0.00
Farm Tools	20	0.07
Toys	5	0.02
Fishing Gear	0	0.00
Storage Items	1	0.01*
Horse Tack	27	0.10
Miscellaneous Hardware	8	0.03
Other	6	0.02
Military Items	0	0.00
TOTAL	67	0.24

Table 76. Continued.

GRAND TOTAL	27,701	99.99
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\* 0.01 indicates presence.

The artifact pattern achieved from the well contains a relatively low Kitchen Group percentage, coupled with a fairly high Architecture Group percentage. The Kitchen Group of the Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern (Garrow 1982) ranges from 51.8 percent to 64.97 percent, while the Architecture Group ranges from 25.18 percent to 31.38 percent. It appears that the Area 1 well received large amounts of architectural items from either repair or demolition/construction activities carried on in the vicinity of the manor house. Masses of grass and twig clippings were noted in the lower section of the well during excavation, and the Area 1 well probably served as a convenient place to dispose of trash generated both within the manor house and from the grounds. The meaning of the artifact patterns will be discussed in greater detail following discussions of the individual artifact groups.

### Kitchen Group

Ceramic sherds normally form the single largest class of artifacts within the Kitchen Group on eighteenth- (South 1977) and nineteenth-century (Garrow 1982; Klein and Garrow 1984) sites (see the Artifact Analysis Interpretations section at the end of this chapter). The ceramic class from the Oxon Hill well comprised only 19 percent of the well Kitchen Group, however, and was greatly outnumbered by spirit bottle sherds (66.6 percent). Both ceramics and glass bottles were heavily curated and reused items in the eighteenth century, as the concept of bottles as disposable items did not come into being until the twentieth century.

Study of the distribution of the ceramics and glass within the four proposed depositional episodes within the well (Table 77) presents additional interpretive problems. A total of 37.7 percent of the ceramics within the well was recovered from Section A, the uppermost section of the well that at least periodically continued to receive redeposited trash at least until the destruction of the manor house by fire in 1895. At the same time, only 4.7 percent of the spirit bottle sherds were recovered from Section A. Section A is the only section within the well where ceramic sherds outnumber glass spirit bottle sherds. Section B contained 701 ceramic sherds versus 1,756 spirit bottle sherds, while Section C exhibited an even greater disparity with 918 ceramic sherds versus 7,011 spirit bottle sherds. Possible interpretations for these relationships are to be discussed in immediately following sections, and in the Artifact Analysis Interpretations section at the end of this chapter.

Table 77. Kitchen Group Artifact Classes by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Class	Artifacts by Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
2,821	Ceramics	1,063	7.17	701	4.73	918	6.19	139	0.94
9,869	Spirit Bottles	462	3.12	1756	11.84	7011	47.28	640	4.32
272	Bottle Glass	196	1.32	16	0.11	19	0.13	41	0.28
13	Tumblers	0	0.00	11	0.07	1	0.01	0	0.00

Table 77. Continued.

886	Pharmaceutical	170	1.15	286	1.93	397	2.68	33	0.22
943	Table Glass	145	0.98	277	1.87	384	2.59	137	0.92
5	Tableware	1	0.01	1	0.01	1	0.01	2	0.01
20	Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	0.02	17	0.11
Totals		2084	13.74%	3068	20.55%	8750	58.91%	996	6.60%

The remaining classes of the Kitchen Group included bottle glass, tumblers, pharmaceutical glass, table glass, tableware, and kitchenware. Both the table glass and pharmaceutical glass sherd counts appear to be quite high in relation to the number of ceramic sherds recovered, and each included a large enough sample to support analysis beyond simple counts.

The table glass analysis included both items listed as table glass in the artifact analysis pattern breakdown, but also the items included under "tumbler". A minimum vessel analysis conducted on the total table glass and tumbler assemblage yielded a count of 24 vessels that could be firmly identified as dating to the mid eighteenth century or earlier. Table 78 presents the table glass and tumbler vessels identified in the well collection by vessel form, vessel count, and sherd count. It is important to note that the sherds listed in Table 78 are restricted to sherds definitely attributable to the mid-eighteenth century or earlier, and to sherds that could be linked to a specific, distinct vessel. This restriction explains the differential in the total count of the table glass and tumbler sherds in the artifact patterns versus the minimum vessel analysis.

Table 78. Table Glass and Tumbler Vessels.

<u>Vessel Description</u>	<u>Number of vessels</u>	<u>Number of sherds</u>
Wine Glass		
Balustered	8	42
Drawn-stem	4	12
Tumbler	6	16
Decanter	1	15
Firing/bonnet Glass	1	2
Salver	1	7
Ink Well	1	3
Cruet	1	7
Other Curved Form	1	27
Totals	24	131

Although most of the wine glasses comprise various and elaborate early stem forms--ball knops, balusters, collars--there are two good examples (vessels 848 and 834) which represent later drawn-stem glasses (Figure 136). Vessel 848 was found in Section D, and contains an elongated, hour-glass tear in its stem. The stem on this glass is slightly thicker than that of vessel 834, which has a plain stem and contains a small air bubble in the waist of the bowl. The stem of vessel 834 was found in Section B. These later types were popular between the period 1725-1760, but because of



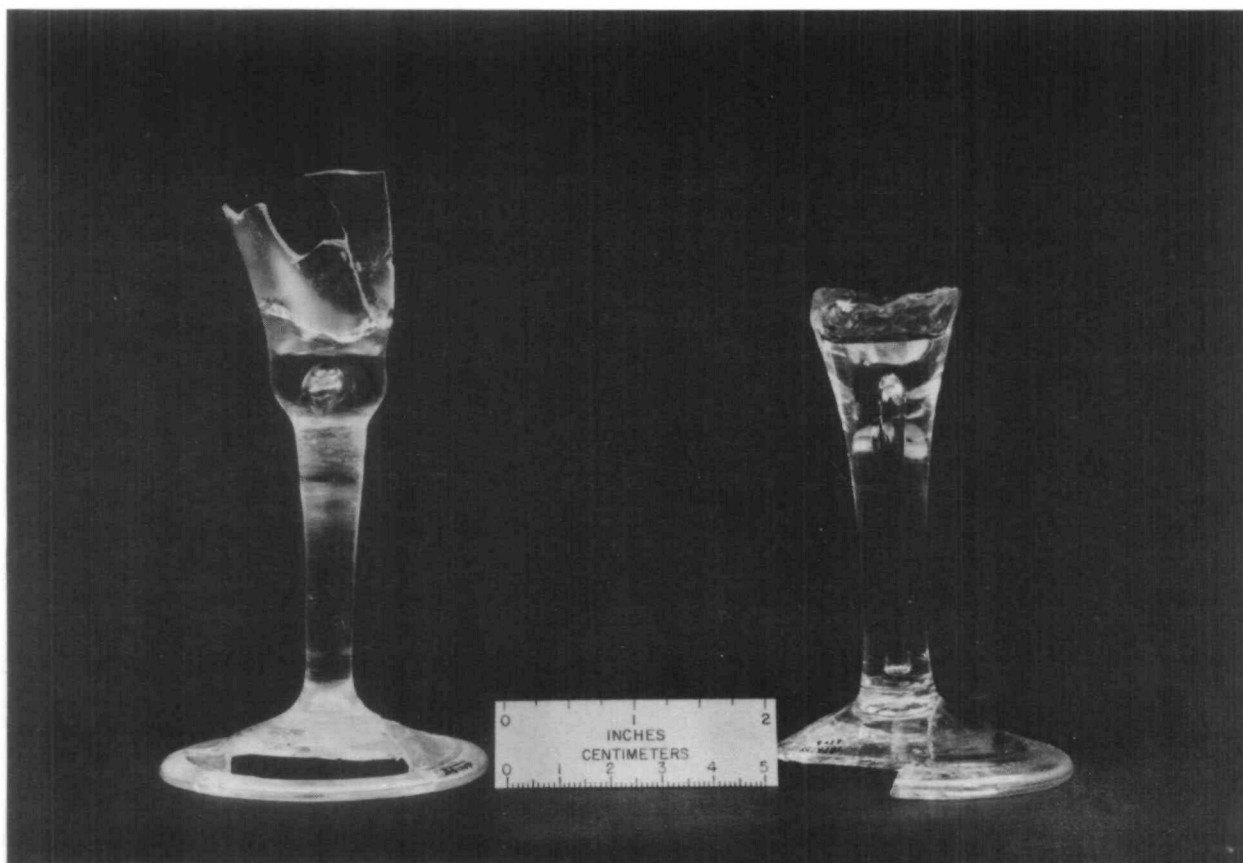


FIGURE 136. Stemmed glasses #834 (l), #848 (r) from Area I well.

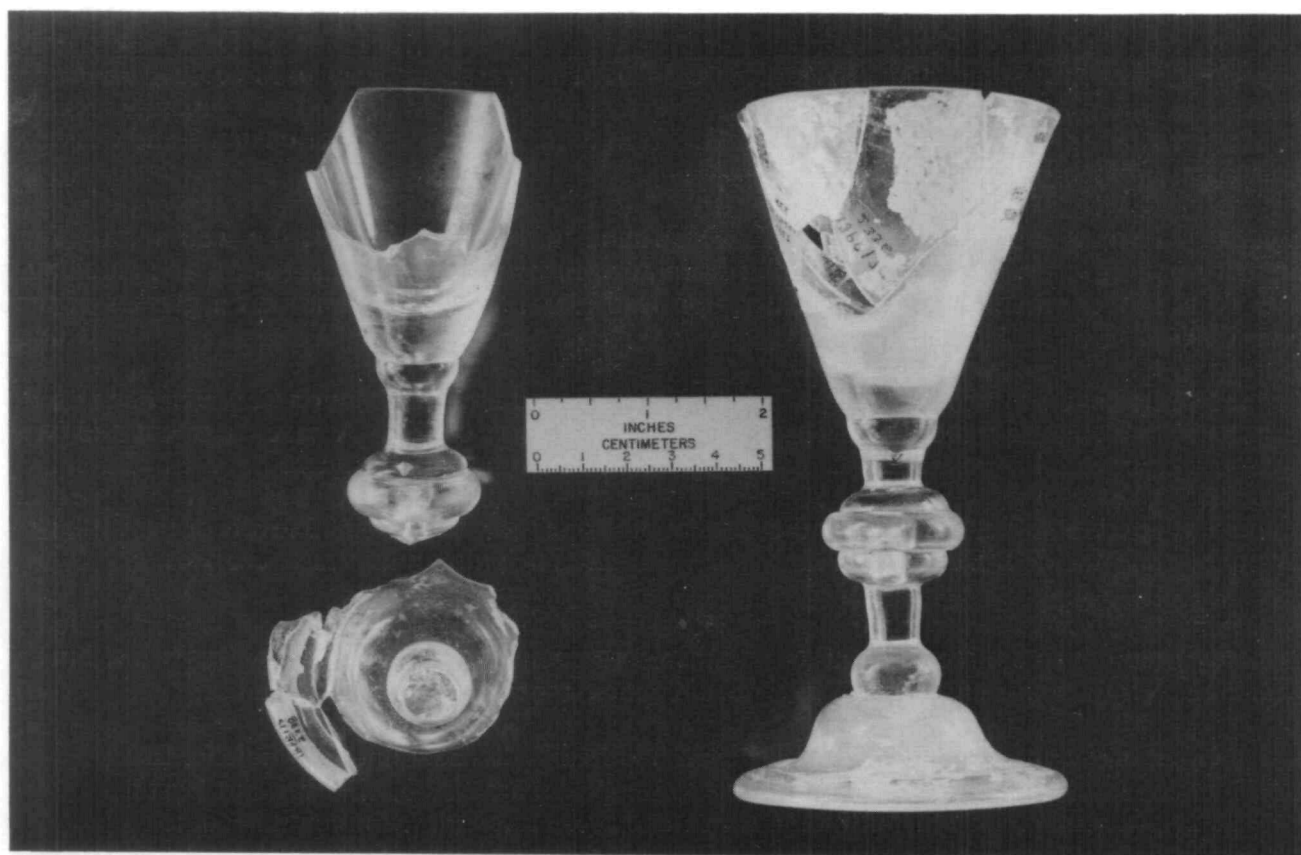


FIGURE 137. Wine glasses #839 (l), #840 (r) from Area I well.

the endless varieties that existed, they are difficult to date. Known to have been used as toasting glasses, they were afterwards snapped between the fingers or smashed against a wall (Charleston 1984:144). The best example of a nearly complete wine glass recovered from the well is vessel 840, which dates to the period 1715-1735 (Figures 137 and 138). It is quite probable that vessels 840 and 839 are part of a set of glasses, each containing central, doubly-cushioned knops, domed and folded feet, and a flattened knop at the junction of the foot and stem (Figure 137).

Both folded and plain feet were common on glasses from this time period, although folded feet are more typical of the wine glasses found in the well. Two thick, plain conical foot fragments were recovered from Section A and Section C. This type of foot was characteristic of "firing" glasses or a "bonnet" glass. The feet on "firing" glasses were much thicker than typical wine glasses of this period, to withstand the traditional pounding on the table in response to a formal toast. Such pounding resembled a volley of musketry, and thus the term "firing" glass. A "bonnet" glass was believed to be a dessert glass of sorts, and several rim sherds of pattern-molded glass with a mesh design were recovered from the well, and were very similar to the vessel described by Jones and Sullivan (1985:138).

Tumblers represent the second largest form of tableware excavated from the well, but unlike wine glasses, they are difficult to date (Noel Hume 1969a:24). The most complete example found is vessel 837, which is 7.2 cm high and has a flaring rim (Figures 139 and 140).

Several base, body, and neck fragments of a decanter were recovered from Section C, with a crossmend of one sherd from Section B. The glass has an opaque-white color, with a fire-polished lip. A string rim 2.8 cm below the lip served only as a decoration. This vessel probably dates to the period 1720-1750 (Noel Hume 1969b:196-198).

Several pieces of flat glass--some with folded rims--were recovered from Section D. Those sherds probably belonged to a platter or salver (Figure 141). This vessel appears to have been round in form, and would have represented one of several tiers. Each tier could be used as a separate serving tray when not being used in a stacked "pyramid" form to display a variety of custards and desserts (Charleston 1984:169).

A total of 21 wheel-engraved glass sherds were found in the upper half of the well shaft. The decorative pattern of these sherds was either floral, or geometric with swags, bands, and hatching. These sherds (both rim and body) are clear, non-lead glass, and were common on glasses of the period 1750-1770 (Noel Hume 1969a:22).

Other vessels excavated from the well included a curved vessel found in Section C, which had raised, linear lines encircling the glass, and was likely a glass bowl or basket. A base fragment and two body sherds recovered from this same section appear to be from a small, square ink well. Base and lip sherds of a vessel with a high conical push-up were noted from Section C, and possibly represent a condiment or cruet bottle. Because of the amount of disturbance in the top 23 levels of the well, the majority of glass sherds from these levels was not subjected to a minimum vessel analysis.

The Area I well contained a minimum of 16 pharmaceutical bottles. A list of the ingredients commonly found in an apothecary's store--and therefore in pharmaceutical bottles--was printed in an article in the Virginia Gazette on April 4, 1766, announcing the arrival from England of:

Large and genuine assortment of DRUGS and MEDICINES, among which are fine Peruvian bark, ipecacuanha, India and Russian rhubarb, jalap, Glauber and Epsom salts, camphire, saffron, antimony, saltpeter, borax, calomel, red precipitate, quick

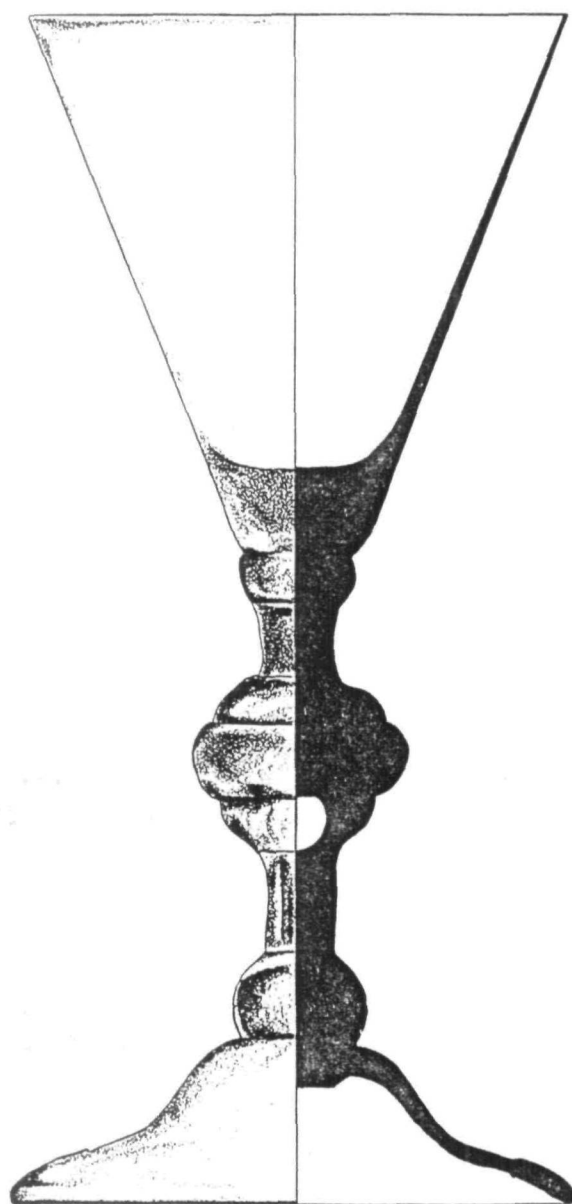


FIGURE 138. Wine glass #840 reconstruction.

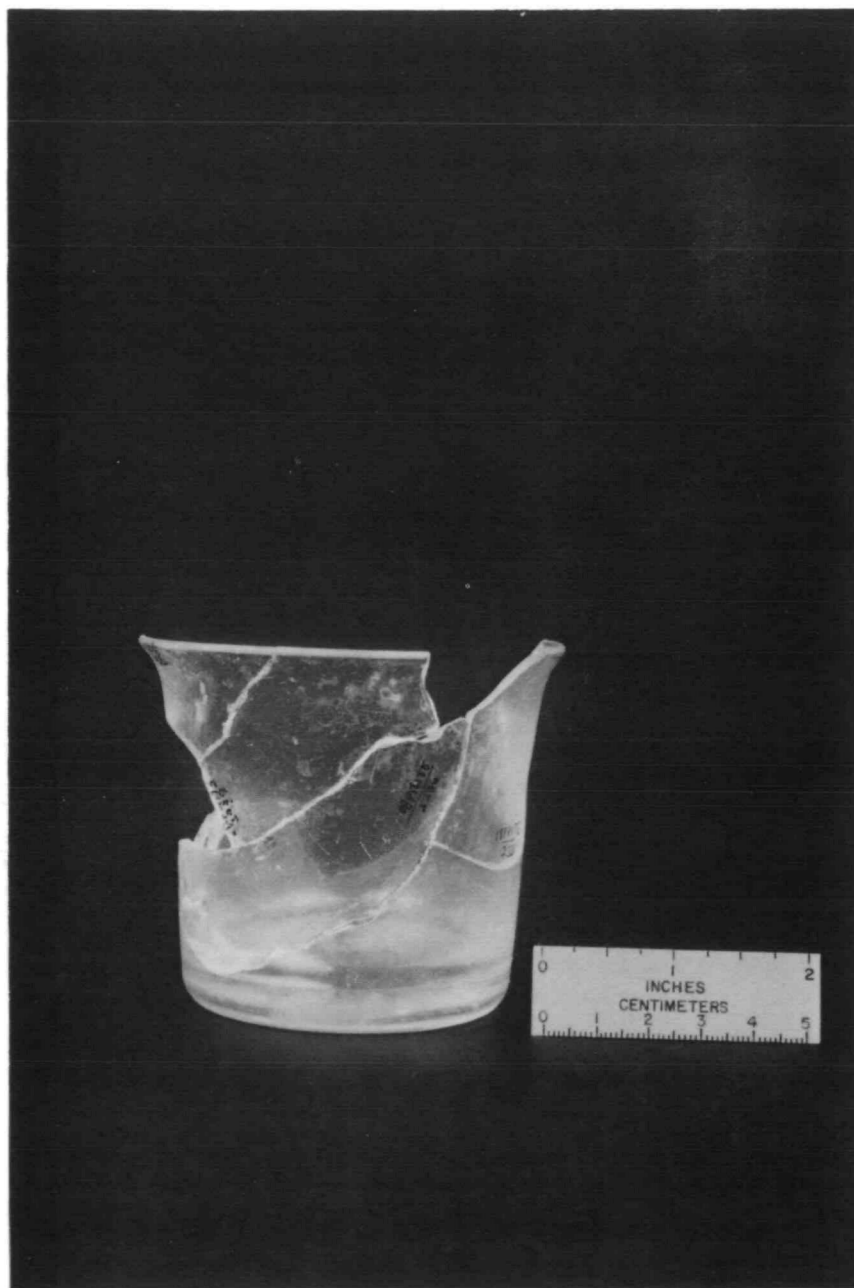


FIGURE 139. Glass tumbler #837 from Area I well.

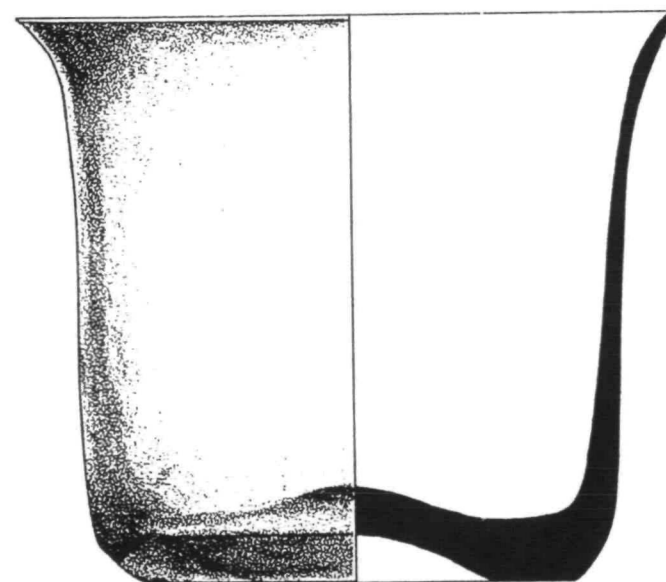


FIGURE 140. Tumbler #837 reconstruction.

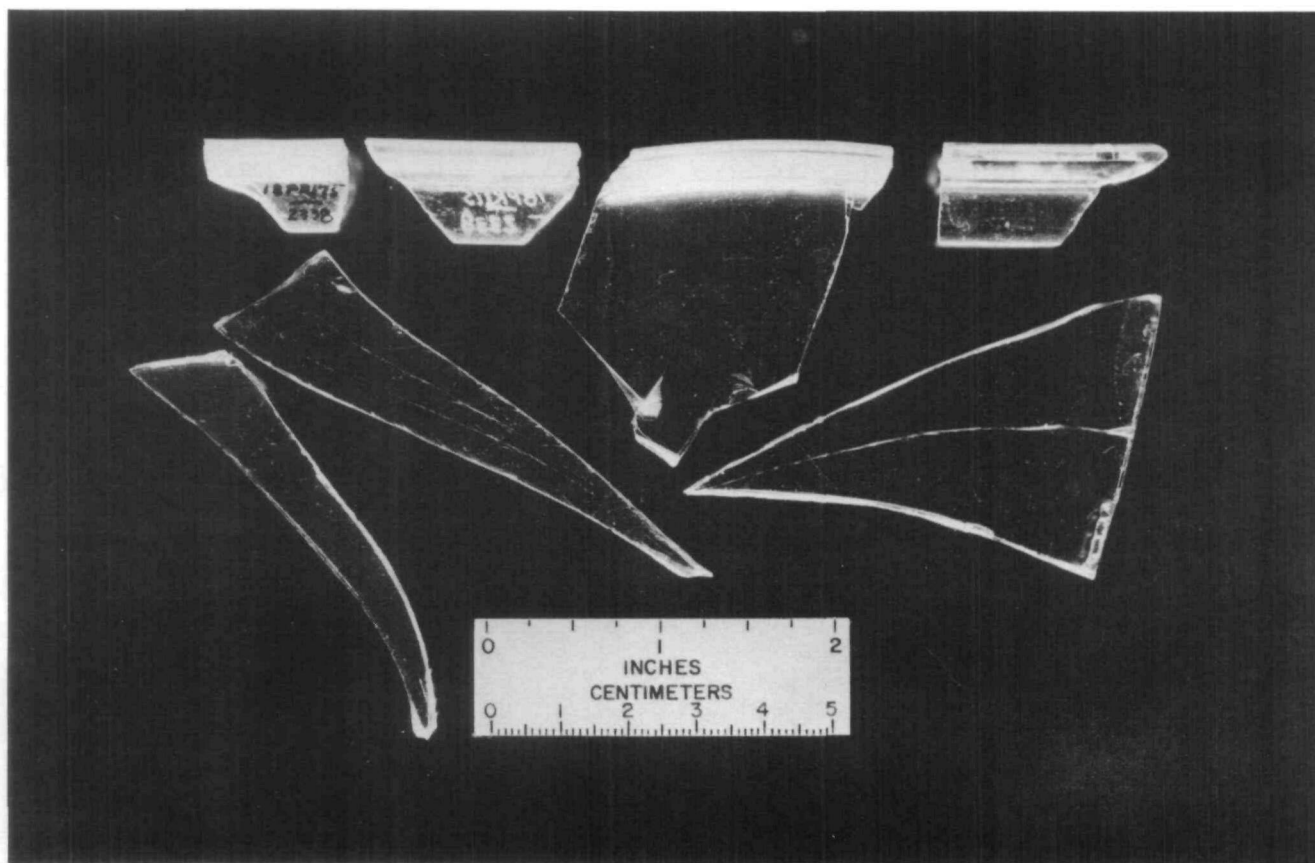


FIGURE 141. Clear glass salver #847 sherds from Area I well.

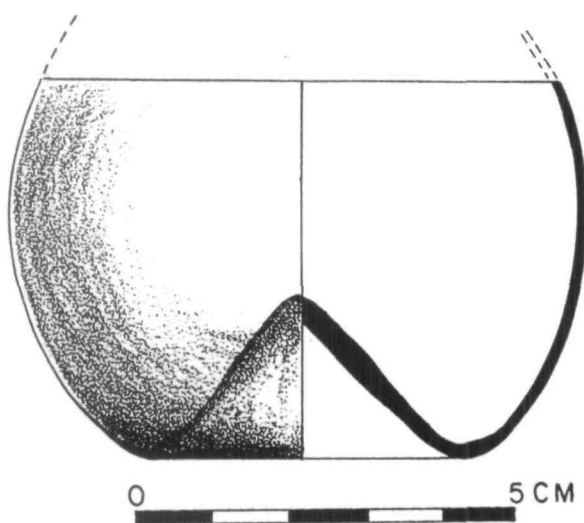


FIGURE 142. Globular pharmaceutical bottle reconstruction from Area I well.

silver, crucus of antimony, Venice treacle and turpentine, gentian, orange peal, juniper berries, camomile flowers, sarsapasilla, China root, aloes, Spanish flies, balsam capivi, lucatelli, Peru, tolu, sulphur, etc. . . Florence and palm oil, mercurial and other ointments, plaisters, Bateman's drops, Anderson's pills, British oil, Squire's and Daffy's elixir, Godfrey's cordial, Stoughtone's bitters, Turlington's balsam of life . . . (Noel Hume 1963:274)

In addition to the many imports there were doubtless numerous remedies that were made up in the colonies from local ingredients, most of which would have been dispensed in plain cylindrical green or clear glass phials bearing only a paper label (Noel Hume 1963:274).

The vessel forms observed included one square form, four globular examples, nine cylindrical vessels, and two flask shapes. The pharmaceutical glass proved to be very fragile and fragmented, which made attempts to reconstruct vessels very difficult. Only one vessel in the sample was more than 25 percent complete. The pharmaceutical bottles were dispersed throughout the well, although the cylindrical forms were more common in upper levels, especially above Section C.

It was possible to deduce country or region of origin for at least some of the pharmaceutical bottles. One cylindrically shaped bottle from Section B was determined to be composed of lead glass through shortwave ultraviolet analysis. Lead glass is characteristic of English and Irish glasswares made during the second half of the eighteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:12). This vessel falls within a level with a mean ceramic date of 1752.24. A second vessel found in Section D is the base of what appears to be a square bottle. This vessel contains the distinctive blue-green color and numerous seed bubbles common in French wares during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Jones and Sullivan 1985:73).

Although the sample of pharmaceutical glass was too small to substantially contribute to the crossmend analysis, one particular cross mend is worthy of mention. A cylinder-shaped bottle, which is comprised of sherds from levels 53 through 55, also crossmended with a sherd from the Area I cellar.

The artifact class "bottle glass" formed a minor part of the Kitchen Group. The sherds within this class could not be assigned with confidence on the basis of typology to the eighteenth-century collections from the well, but study of the distributions of those items through the depositional sections indicates that many were eighteenth-century in date. The largest cluster of those sherds was in Depositional Section A (72.1 percent), which was indeed a mixed context.

The tableware recovered from the well exhibited a nearly even distribution among the four depositional sections. Section A yielded a metal fork, while metal utensil handles were recovered from Sections B and C. Section D contained a metal spoon and a metal utensil handle.

Table 79 presents the distribution of the kitchenware items. Wooden artifacts (Figure 143) are rarely recovered in recognizable form from historic sites, although they doubtless formed numerically important components of the material culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### Architecture Group

The Architecture Group consisted of a total of 10,724 items. Window glass accounted for nearly 43 percent of the Architecture Group artifacts, with nails accounting for almost all of the remainder. Table 80 presents the distribution of the Architecture Group artifacts classes in the four depositional

sections of the well.

Table 79. Kitchenware by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Artifact Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
13	Bottle Corks	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	10.00	11	55.00
3	Wood Handle Utensils	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	15.00
2	Wood Lids	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	5.00	1	5.00
2	Wood Bowls	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	10.00
20	Totals	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	15.00	17	85.00

Table 80. Architecture Group Artifacts by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Artifact Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
4,586	Window Glass	1896	17.68	988	9.21	1349	12.58	353	3.29
2,431	Wrought Nails	241	2.25	940	8.77	1161	10.83	89	0.83
21	Cut Nails	20	0.19	1	0.01	0	0.00	0	0.00
3,674	Unidentifiable Nails	1295	12.08	1184	11.04	1092	10.18	103	0.96
0	Spikes	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
12	Construction Hardware	2	0.02	3	0.03	5	0.05	2	0.02
0	Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
10,724	Totals	3454	32.21	3116	29.06	3607	33.63	547	5.10

The Architecture Group artifacts, like the Kitchen Group, were distributed differently in Section A than in the remainder of the well. Section A contained 41.3 percent of the total window glass sherds in the well, but only 25.4 percent of the total nail sample. Further, all but one of the cut nails, which are associated with the nineteenth century, came from the top section, with the remaining cut nail recovered from Section B. Section A did contain a layer of burned brick and roofing slate that appears to have been deposited after the burning of the manor house in 1895, and the differential occurrences of the Architecture Group artifacts in Section A can probably be attributed to the presence of that layer.

### Furniture Group

The Furniture Group consisted of a total of 34 artifacts, all of which were metal items (Table 81). Brass tacks represented the majority of items found, and were probably used to ornament or secure leather and other materials to chairs. Six iron tacks were also found. While their function may have been the same, they would not have been as decorative as brass tacks, and may have been used on



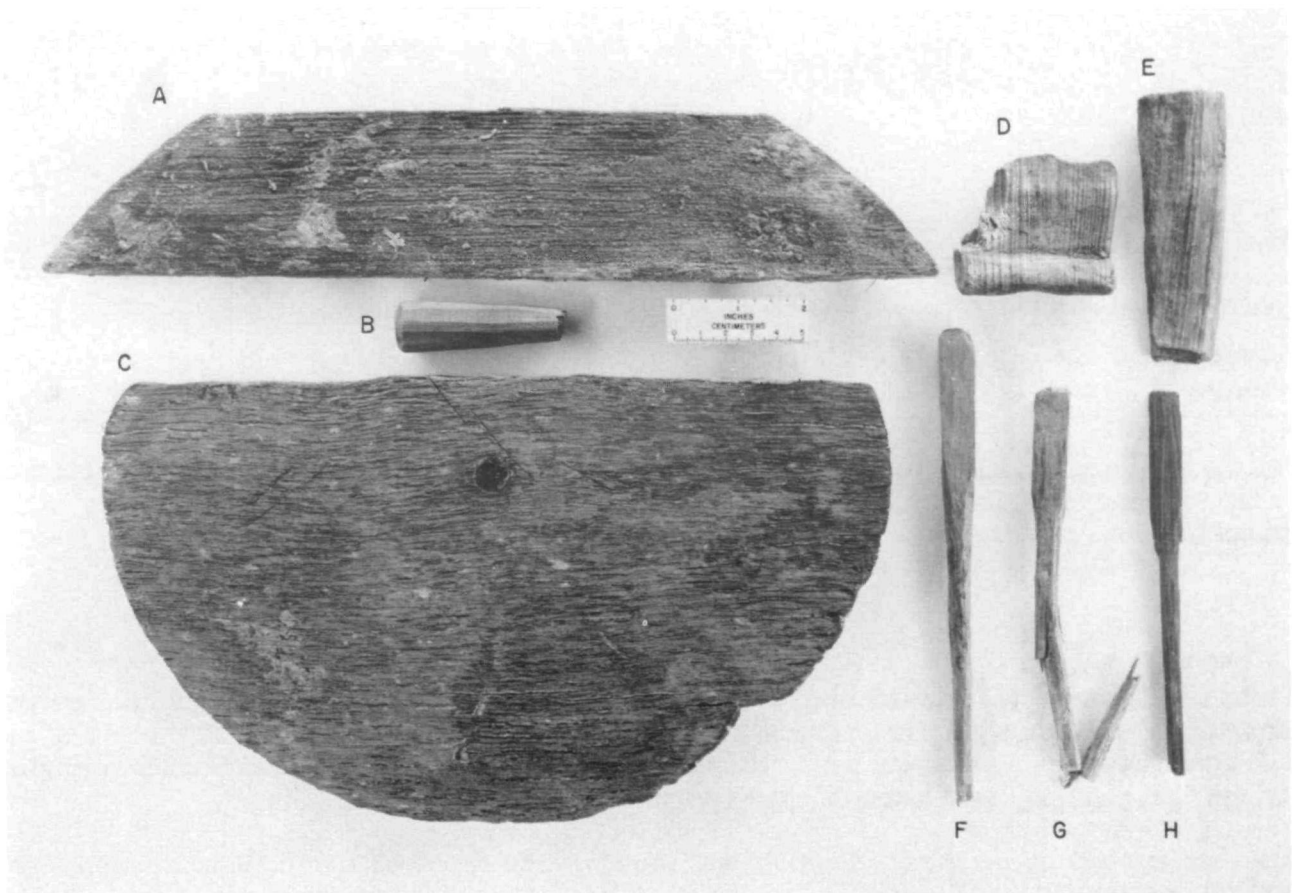


FIGURE 143. Wooden kitchenware artifacts from the Area I well. A - Barrel lid fragment. B - Barrel lid handle for C. C - Barrel lid fragment. D - Wood bowl rim. E - Wood bowl fragment. F, G, H - Wood utensil handles.



less expensive pieces of furniture. Other items represented in the furniture group include three metal drawer or door pulls, one metal furniture foot, and five unidentified metal furniture parts.

Table 81. Furniture Group Artifacts.

Artifact Description	#	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Brass Furniture Tack	9	26.47		2	5.88	7	20.59	1	2.94
Iron Furniture Tack	0	0.00		0	0.00	6	17.65	0	0.00
Metal Drawer/Door Pull	3	8.82		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Metal Furniture Foot	1	2.94		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Unident. Metal Furniture Part	4	11.64		0	0.00	1	2.94	0	0.00
Totals	17	49.87		2	5.88	14	41.18	1	2.94

Half of the Furniture Group artifacts were recovered from Section A. Section B yielded two Furniture Group artifacts, while 14 were recovered from Section C. Section D yielded a single artifact from this group.

### Arms Group

A total of 13 gun-related artifacts were found in the Area I well (Table 82). Three of these are gun parts, two of which contain elements dateable to early manufacturing methods. Gun flints and lead balls comprise the other artifacts within the arms group. A number of flakes of French or English flint may have actually been pieces of shattered gun flints or used as strike-a-lights.

Only one temporally diagnostic gunflint was found within the Area I well. This is a spall-type gunflint located within Section D (Figure 144C). The gunspall is characteristic of English manufactured gunflints up to 1790, at which time the more efficient French technologies for producing flake-type gunflints were introduced (Hamilton 1980:141). Other flints in the arms group are simply flint flakes of either English or French origin.

Table 82. Arms Group Artifacts by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Artifact Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
2	Ball, Shot, Sprue	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	13.33	0	0.00
10	Gunflints, Spalls	2	13.33	2	13.33	4	26.67	2	13.33
3	Gun Parts	1	6.67	1	6.67	1	6.67	0	0.00
15	Totals	3	20.00	3	20.00	7	46.67	2	13.33

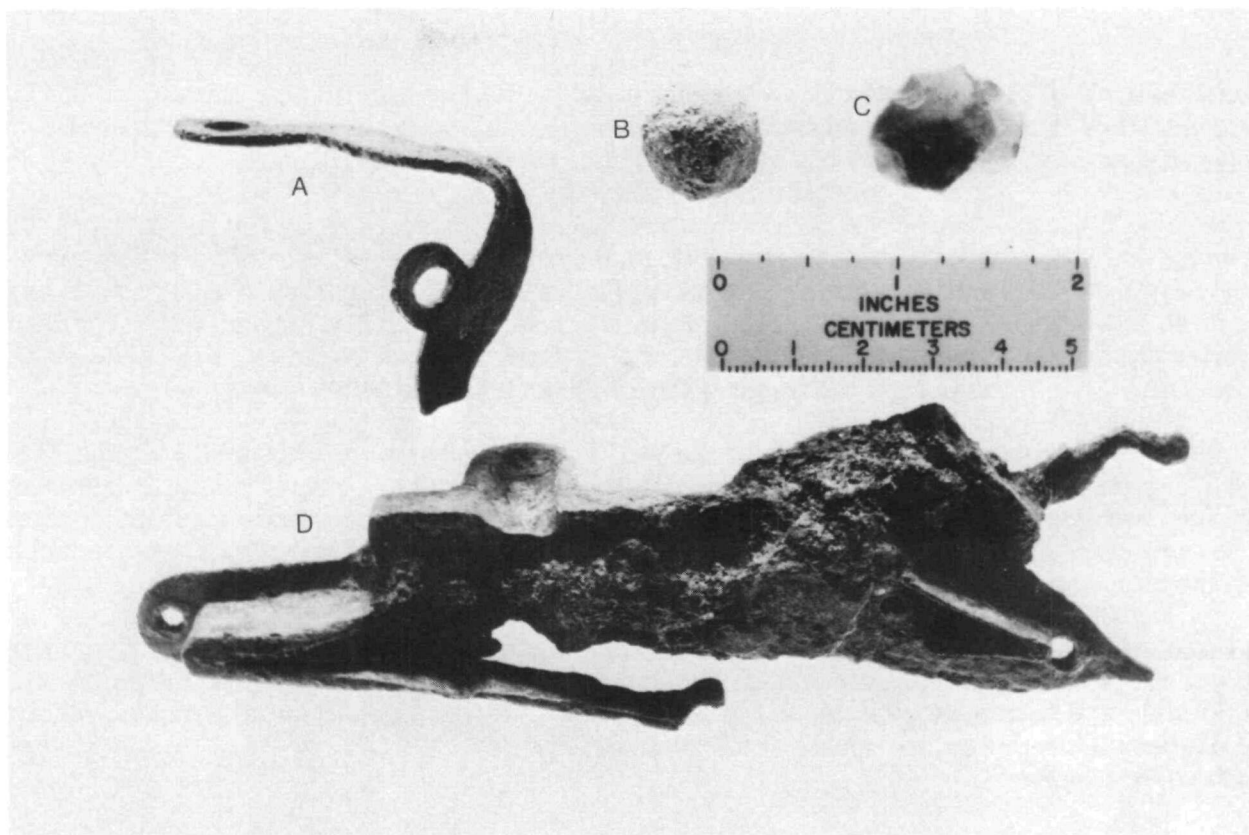


FIGURE 144. Metal arms group artifacts from Area I well. A - Gun side plate, Level 57. B - Possible musket ball, Level 55. C - Gun flint, Level 60. D - Flintlock mechanism, Level 44.

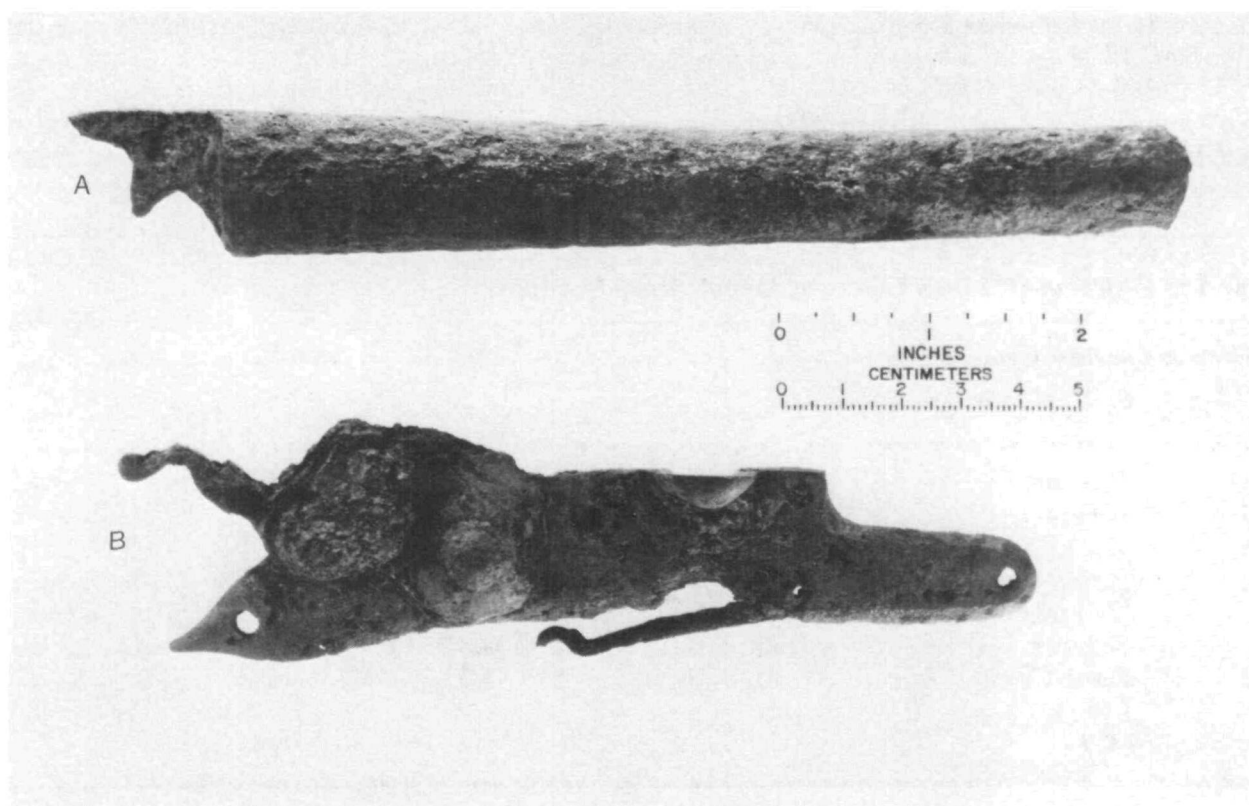


FIGURE 145. Metal gun parts from Area I well. A - Gun barrel, Level 17. B - Flintlock mechanism, Level 44.

A small sample of lead shot was recovered from the well. The only measurable lead ball had a diameter of 0.69 inches, and was recovered from Depositional Section D. This measurement fits into a range of diameters from 0.69 inches to 0.73 inches common for lead balls used in the Brown Bess or other guns with a 0.75 inch bore (Hamilton 1976:33).

The shape and size of an undecorated brass side plate found in Section C fits into a series common to early English trade guns with three screw locks (Figure 144A). This particular design matches the first in an evolution of serpent style side plates from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Hamilton 1980:45, 67). A portion of this plate has been broken just to the left of the second screw hole from the right but suggests the existence of a third screw hole.

A flintlock mechanism from Section B of the well is in good condition (Figure 144D and Figure 145B). The mechanism displays an unbridled frizzen and tumbler, a convex lock base, removable flash pan, and three attachment screw holes. Based on the absence of a bridled frizzen or tumbler, it can be concluded that this is either a flintlock made before the 1700s, or a cheap lock manufactured in the eighteenth century (Peterson 1956).

The barrel of a pistol from Section A reveals a touch hole, suggesting that it worked in conjunction with a flintlock mechanism (Figure 145A). The barrel was slightly bent and in poor condition, but it was possible to determine the length and bore diameter. The barrel measured 6.5 inches, while the bore diameter measured approximately 0.5 of an inch.

### Clothing Group

The Clothing Group, incorporating all those items associated with wearing apparel as well as sewing notions, formed less than one percent of the total artifacts found in the well. Artifacts from the Clothing Group were located throughout the well; however, with only two exceptions, the more easily degradable artifacts were located in the water-logged Sections C and D.

Table 83 lists the Clothing Group artifacts recovered from the well by depositional section. Section D yielded 66.7 percent of the Clothing Group artifacts, while Section C contained the second greatest amount at 21.1 percent. Sections A and B yielded 6.3 and 5.9 percent respectively.

Table 83. Clothing Group Artifacts by Depositional Sections.

Quantity	Artifact Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
8	Buttons	3	1.27	2	0.84	2	0.84	1	0.42
4	Beads	1	0.42	1	0.42	1	0.42	1	0.42
6	Buckles	1	0.42	0	0.00	5	2.11	0	0.00
22	Straight Pins	10	4.22	4	1.69	8	3.38	0	0.00
1	Thimble	0	0.00	1	0.42	0	0.00	0	0.00
1	Scissor	0	0.00	1	0.42	0	0.00	0	0.00
182	Shoe Components	0	0.00	5	2.11	28	11.81	149	62.87

Table 83. Continued.

13	Textiles	0	0.00	0	0.00	6	2.53	7	2.95
237	Totals	15	6.33	14	5.91	50	21.10	158	66.67

Three buttons were recovered from depositional Section A (Figure 146). An octagonal brass button similar to South's (1964:113-133) Type 9, is of cast manufacture, has a stamped face design, and a drilled eye (Figure 146I). The second button from Section A is a South Type 15, and is a plain, single hole, bone button representing a blank that might have been covered to match a costume of similar fabric (Figure 146B). A mid nineteenth-century button, similar to South's Type 32, was composed of stamped brass, and consisted of a sunken oblong panel with two thread holes (Figure 146H). It was stamped "J.W. BELL\*NEW YORK\*", and was also recovered from Section A.

Two South Type 1 buttons were recovered from Depositional Section B. One of brass is the spun back of a two piece button, and contained a drilled eye (Figure 146J). The other is a two piece button with embossed convex crown (Figure 146D), and concave back with a drilled eye (Figure 146E).

A South Type 8 button (Figure 146C) and a sleeve link (Figure 146F-G) similar to Type 34 were recovered from Depositional Section C. The button is a two-piece mold, cast with a wire eye, and has a convex crown with edge rim. Each half of the sleeve link had a clear blue faceted glass stone set in a cast stamped decorated disc with drilled eyes. The wire connecting the two was still intact on the larger sleeve link.

A South Type was not available for the plain wooden, plain hemispherical, single eye button recovered from section C (Figure 146A). This button, similar to the bone disc, could have been covered in fabric.

Buttons were the most dateable items in the Clothing Group. South dates Types 1, 8, 9, and 34 from 1726 to 1776. Type 15 has a range of 1726 to 1865 and the most recent button, Type 32, has a range from 1837 to 1865. The calculated mean ceramic date for those levels with buttons were well within the date ranges offered by South's button analysis. South offers no date ranges for the wood button.

Four beads were recovered, one each from the four depositional sections of the well (Figure 147). A Kidd Type W111d (Kidd & Kidd 1970:1, 45-89), dark blue mandrel wound barrel shaped bead (0.75 cm length, 0.85 cm diameter) decorated with applied thread of white glass in foliate pattern was found in Depositional Section A (Figure 147A). This bead has a date range of 1725 to 1850 (Hayes 1983:219-256). A Kidd Type W11c2, milky grey translucent mandrel wound bead (0.70 cm length, 1.00 cm diameter) of irregular shape with eight pressed facets was found in Depositional Section B (Figure 147B). This type of bead has a date range of 1670 to 1850 (Good 1972:92-129). A tubular, untumbled drawn cane composite bead, Kidd Type 11bb4, (1.30 cm length, 0.45 cm diameter) was located in Depositional Section C (Figure 147C). This bead has an opaque brick red layer overlaying a translucent green layer, three stripes of white/black/white canes running its length, and a surface coated with a thin layer of colorless glass. It is dated from 1640 to 1750 (Marvin D. Smith, personal communication 1985). The fourth bead is of wood, spheroidal, and flattened at the bore ends (0.65 cm length, 0.85 cm diameter) (Figure 147D). It was not possible to date the wooden bead. Date ranges for the three glass beads recovered from the well encompassed the calculated mean ceramic date for their respective levels.

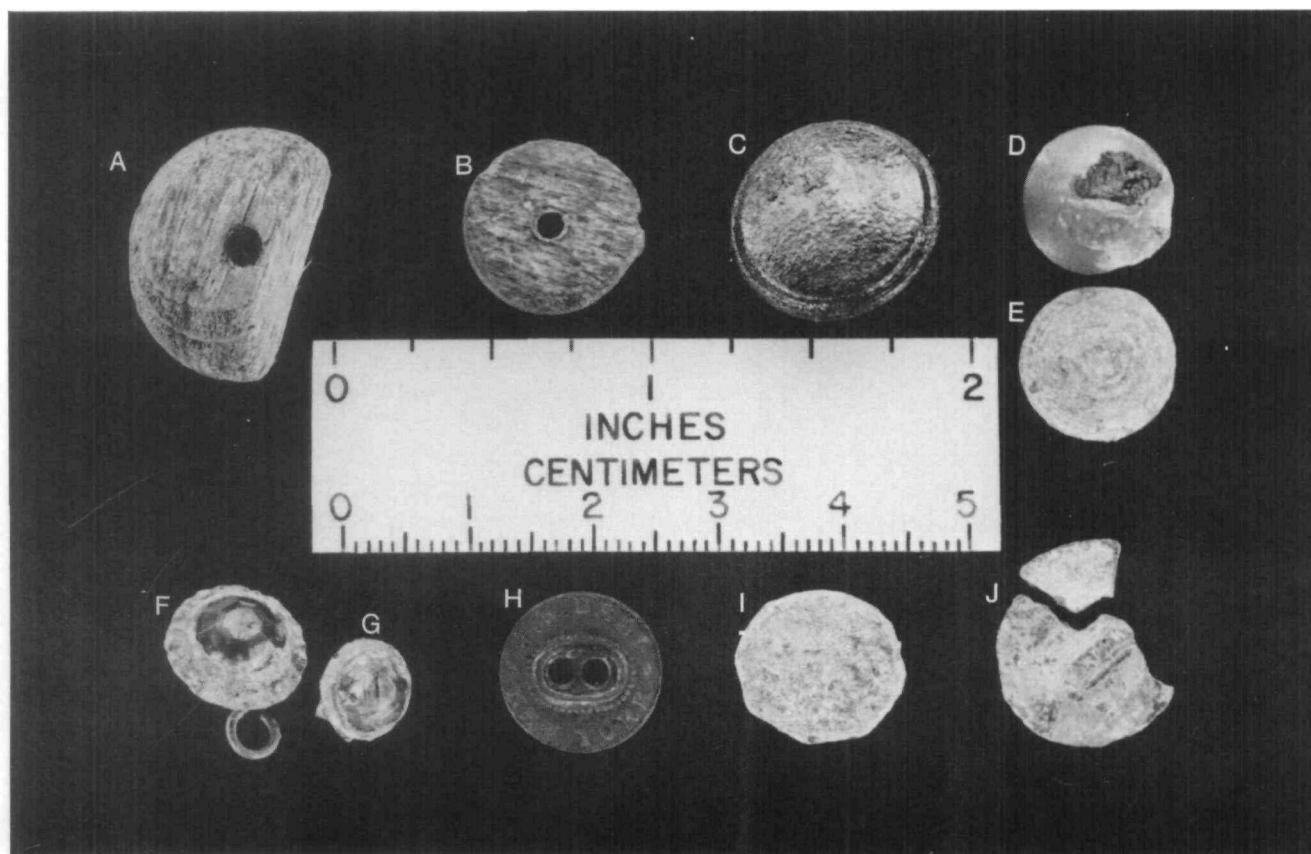


FIGURE 146. Buttons from Area I well. A - wood, Level 70. B - bone, Level 22. C - brass, Level 57. D, E - white metal, Level 46 (D and E). F - brass, Level 51. G - brass, Level 51. H - brass, Level 10. I - brass, Level 32. J - brass, Level 43.

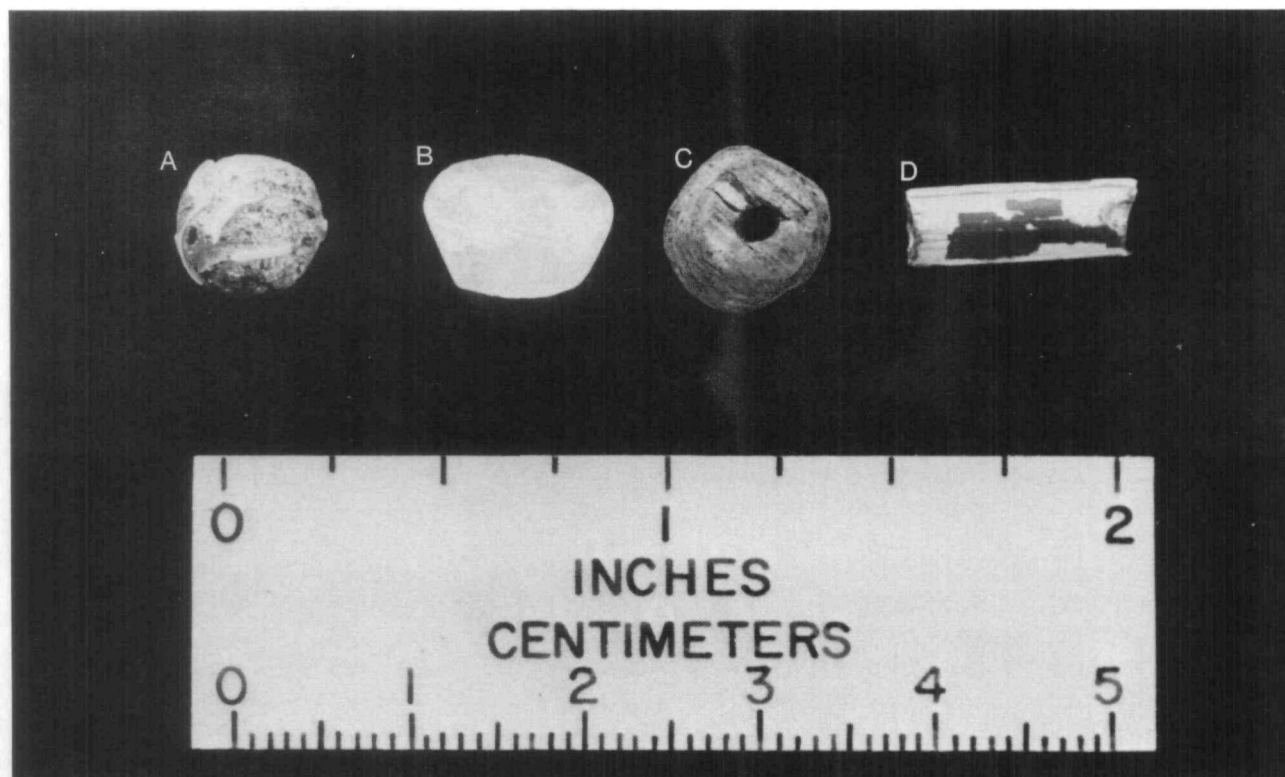


FIGURE 147. Beads from Area I well. A - blue glass, Level 13. B - glass, Level 47. C - wood, Level 60. D - red and green glass, Level 57.

Dates were not available for the six buckles and buckle fragments recovered from the well (Figure 148). All the buckles or buckle fragments were recovered from Depositional Section C, with the exception of a cast brass, undecorated "figure 8" buckle found in Section A (Figure 148A). Two buckles could be identified by function. An iron, square framed buckle with a movable looped tongue is similar to a type that has been identified by Stone (1974:299) as a harness buckle (Figure 148E). The large, cast brass "figure 8" buckle with an iron tongue (Figure 148F) is either a sword belt buckle or a buckle for an ornamental horse harness (Noel Hume 1969b:86). A brass D-shaped frame or strap end buckle (Figure 148C), a brass rectangular frame buckle with rounded corners (Figure 148D), missing its movable central hinge bar, and a cast silver or white metal rectangular buckle with rounded corners and Rococo style decoration (Figure 148B) were unidentified as to function.

Twenty-two straight pins and pin fragments were found throughout the well (Figure 149). Except for one iron pin in Section B, all were of a copper alloy, most likely brass. Pins from Section A and Section C appear to have been tin-plated. Sizes of whole pins ranged from 2.5 to 3.0 cm. All of the pins had wire wound heads. According to Noel Hume (1969b), this mode of manufacture continued until 1824, when the solid headed pin was introduced.

A brass thimble (Figure 149) recovered from Section B is characterized by a convex crown, tapered walls, rolled rim, and pattern stamped depressions on all surfaces. Its size suggests an adult's sewing thimble (i.e., rather than a cobbler's). This type of artifact is difficult to date, but the pattern stamped crown feature appears by the beginning of the eighteenth century. There is, however, little difference between thimbles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Noel Hume 1969b). An undated, undecorated scissor haft with its blade broken below the axis but with half the finger loop intact was also recovered in Section B (Figure 149).

All leather and wood shoe components (Figures 150 to 153), except for five undiagnostic leather fragments from Section B, were located in the water-logged Sections C and D. An example of every part of the shoe was represented. Identifiable shoe parts had been stitched, some showed a cobbler's zigzag lashing marks, and all parts exhibited wear as well as depositional erosion. Identification of assemblages of shoe components could be made within levels, but there was no positive correlation of components between levels.

At least 13 shoes are represented in this collection, and all but a woman's shoe and a large heel lift or inner sole fragment from Section C, were located in Section D. Section D contained the largest assemblage of shoe parts (73) and the largest representation of individual shoes (11). Women's shoes were identified by a pointed toe, a common eighteenth-century feature of women's fashion (Stephen R. Davis, personal communication 1985). The square toe was a popular men's style before 1720, gradually replaced by the rounded toe (Stephen R. Davis, personal communication 1985). Adults' and children's shoes were surmised by size.

Two women's shoes were represented by the pointed toe portion of an outer sole in Section C and a pointed toe inner sole from Section D. Unique to Section D was a woman's wooden heel, 3.1 cm high, tapering to the base, badly warped and possibly associated with the pointed inner sole (Figure 153). The only example of a man's square toe shoe was a large leather squared toe reinforcer in Section D (Figure 152). A similarly sized, rectangular outer sole from the same level appears to be associated with it. Three children's shoes were represented by three quarters with latchets intact from Section D. The quarter from Section D is matched in size to two portions of heel lifts with wood heel peg fragments intact, a 2.4 cm high leather covered wood heel, and an intact inner sole from the same level (Figure 151). A rounded toe inner sole, right and left quarters with latchets and matching welt fragments form a man's shoe from Section D. The inner sole had been cut diagonally



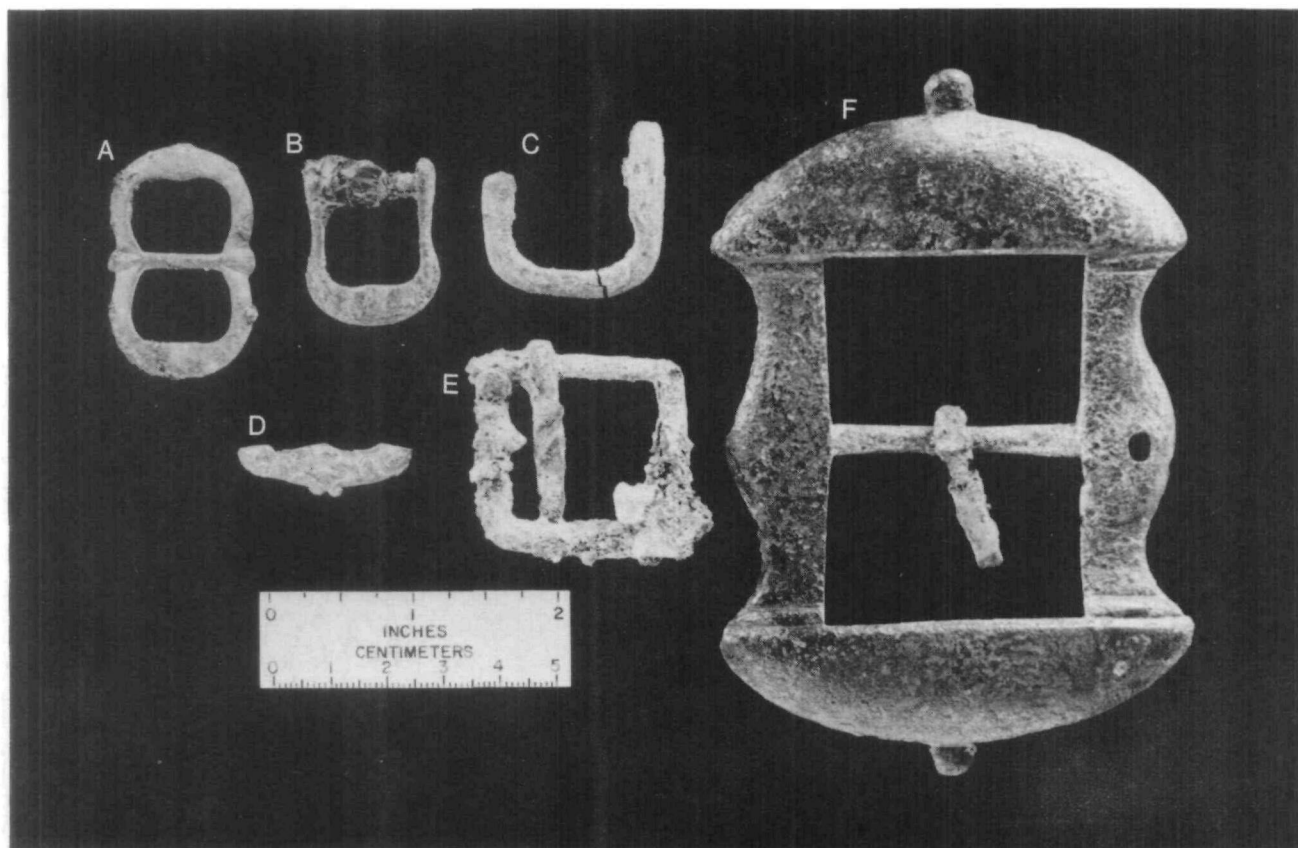


FIGURE 148. Metal buckles from Area I well. A - figure 8, Level 31. B- rococo style, Level 55.  
C - D-shaped, Level 52. D - rectangular with rounded corners, Level 53.  
E - square, Level 55. F - large, Level 57.

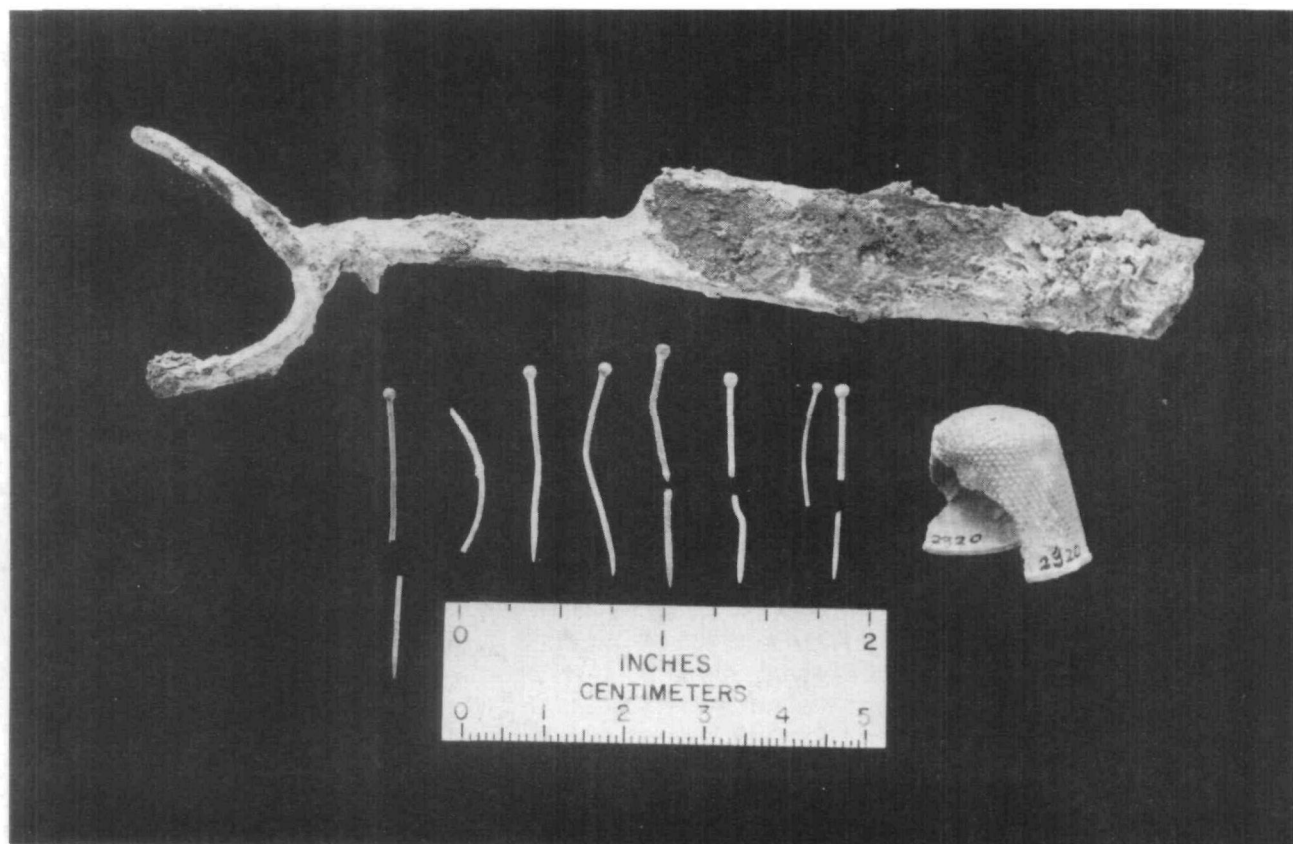


FIGURE 149. Metal sewing related items from Area I well. Top - scissor piece, Level 47.  
Bottom - Left - pins, Levels: 14, 21, 22, 23, 31, 32, 42, 55, 57. Right - thimble, Level 40.

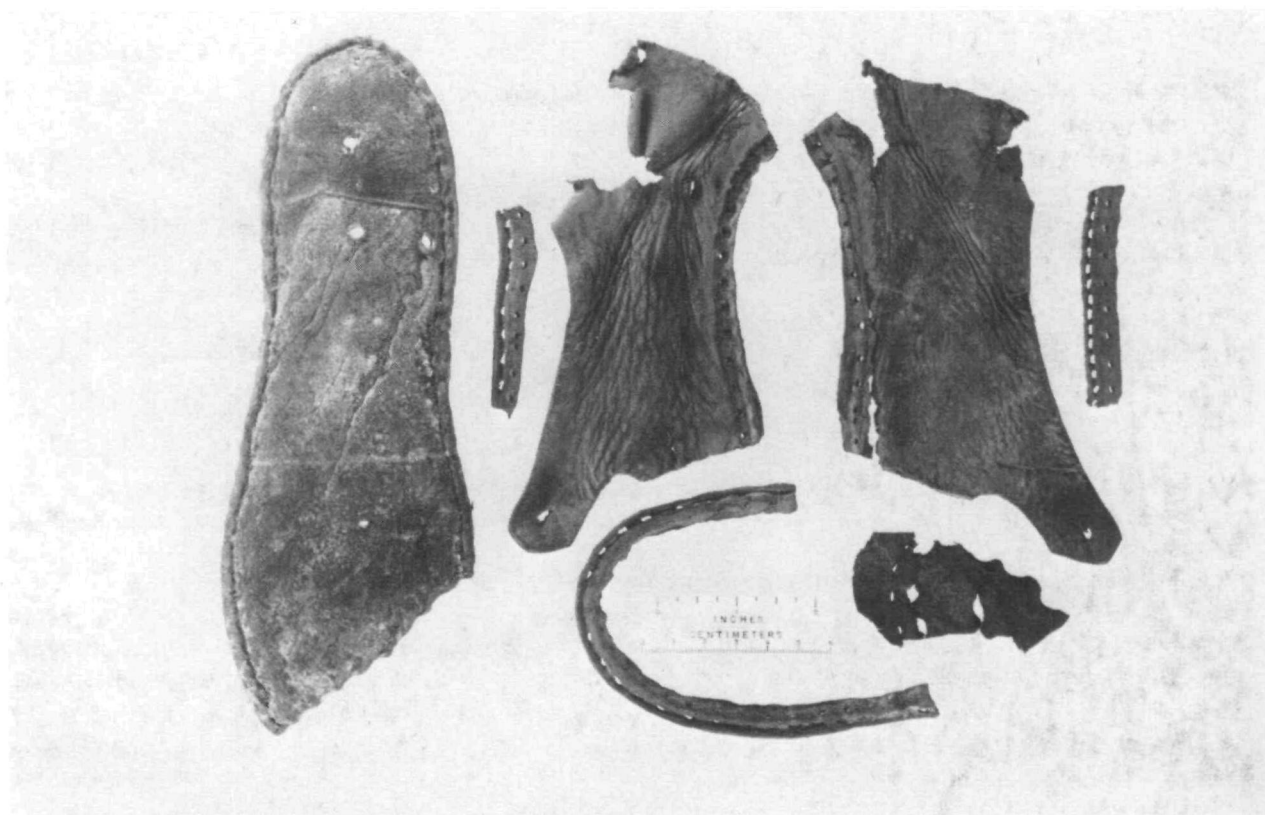


FIGURE 150. Leather shoe parts from Area I well, Level 63.

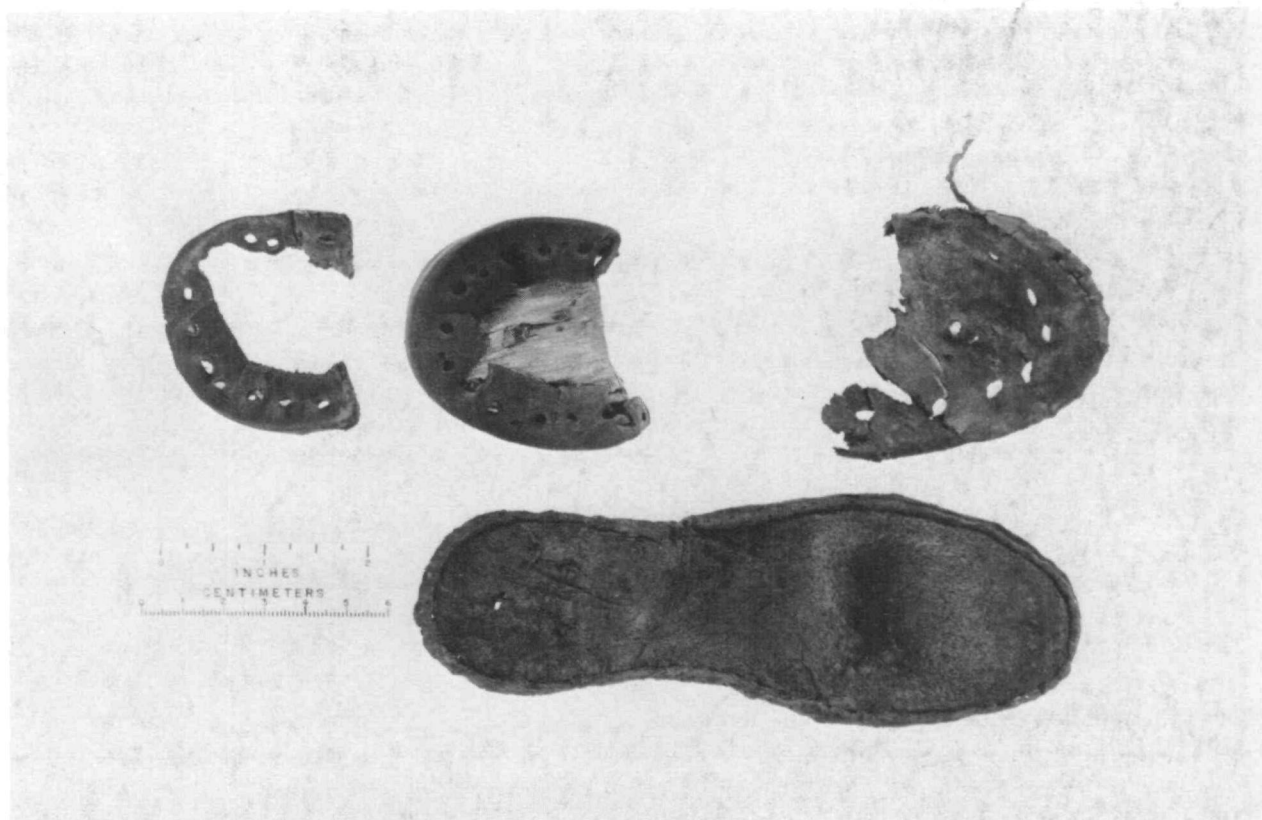


FIGURE 151. Leather shoe parts from Area I well, Level 70.



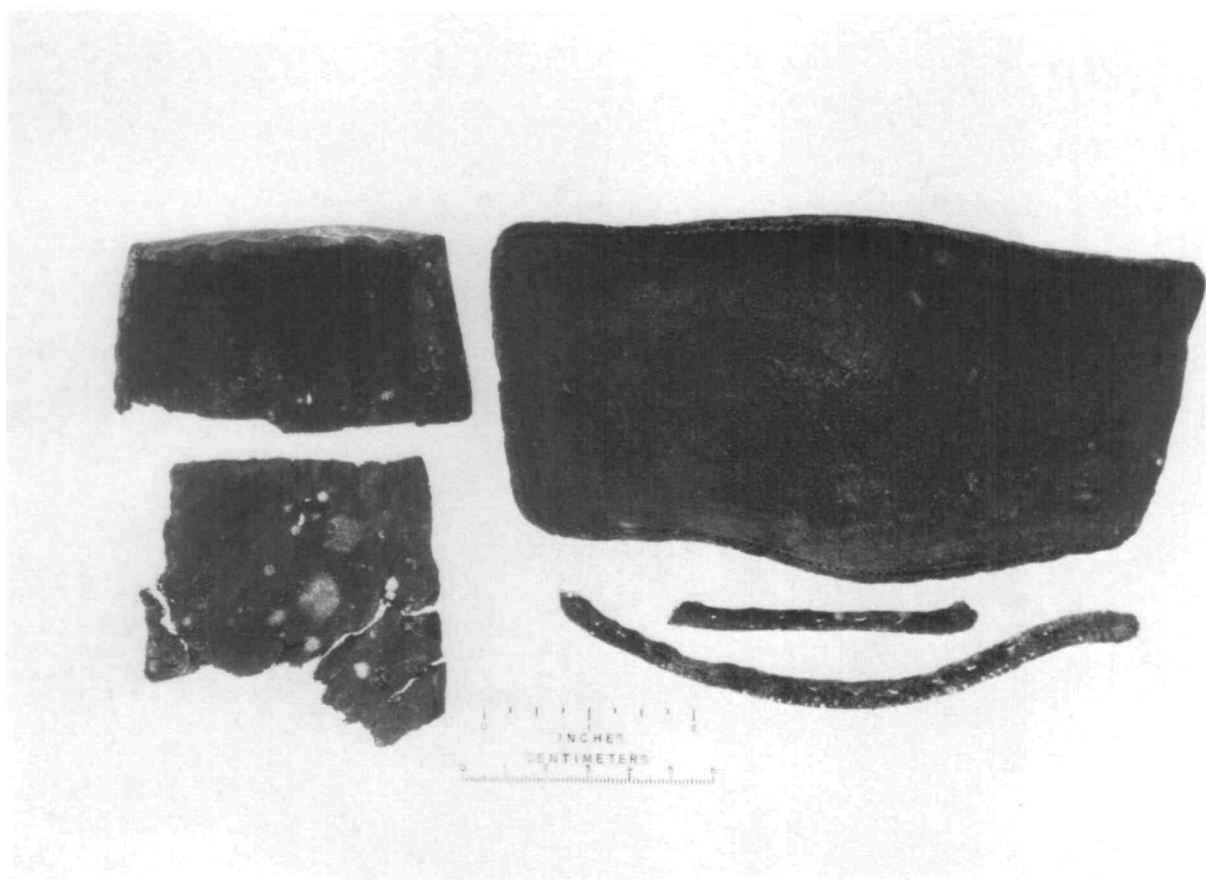


FIGURE 152. Leather shoe parts from Area I well, Level 71.



FIGURE 153. Wood shoe heel from Area I well, Level 67.

down from one side of the toe to the arch area. Stitching holes along this cut showed either a cobbler's economy in leather or a repair to the sole (Figure 150). One shoe, of adult size, was represented by a outer sole fragment in Section C too large to match to any other fragment. At least three shoes of varying adult sizes were identified by four heel lift sets in Section D. Three of the heel sets exhibited similar stitching and peg hole arrangements. Two of the heel lift sets were of the same size--suggesting a pair. A set of heel lifts in Section D and the arch section of an outer sole in Section C form two additional shoes.

According to Stephen R. Davis (personal communication 1985), a finer shoe is generally distinguished by the grain side of the leather being exposed and polished. An attempt was made to define shoe quality based on this premise. Five quarters and one vamp from various levels were used for identification between inner and outer surfaces. In all cases, wear marks seem to be on the grain side leading to the assumption it was the outer surface, and therefore the shoes were of superior quality.

Study of the stitching patterns on at least some shoes seemed to contradict the information gained from study of the leather grain placement. A round-closing stitch was generally used to sew quarter heels together. The stitch exited only on one side of the leather, and this was left on the outside of the shoe to prevent chaffing. A whip stitch was used to fasten a lining giving support on the inner surface. The inconsistencies appear not only with the wear marks occurring on all samples on the grain side, but with the heel stitching. It would seem the cobblers making these shoes were not consistent in the placement of the heel stitching. Of the six samples, four components have the grain side on the outer surface, representing higher quality shoes.

A selection of textile samples from the well was examined microscopically by Drs. Jayaraman and Clark of Georgia Institute of Technology for certain visual characteristics of yarns (Table 84). A solubility test in hypochlorite (NaOCl) was also employed. Fibers derived from protein such as animal hairs will dissolve. Plant fibers such as cotton or flax do not dissolve in NaOCl. The solubility test proved the textiles in the well assemblage were all made of animal fibers. The woven samples were all of a plain weave. The six samples examined by Drs. Jayaraman and Clark were confirmed to be silk. Although the plain weave is the most basic and easiest of weave patterns, silk is a relatively expensive fabric. Three other plain weave fabrics and a three-ply thread exhibited similar silk characteristics. Two threads, each of two-ply, S-twist yarns, exhibited characteristics of some type of wool. An appliqué-looking item of applied and woven yarns in a floral or butterfly motif was also recovered (Figure 154). Microscopic examination showed the piece might have been lacquered or painted. The yarns were soluble, indicating an animal-derived fiber.

Table 84. Textiles by Depositional Sections.

Quantity	Material	Depositional Section			
		A	D	C	D
6	Confirmed silk	0	0	4	2
5	Probably silk	0	0	2	3
2	Wool	0	0	0	2
13	Total	0	0	6	7

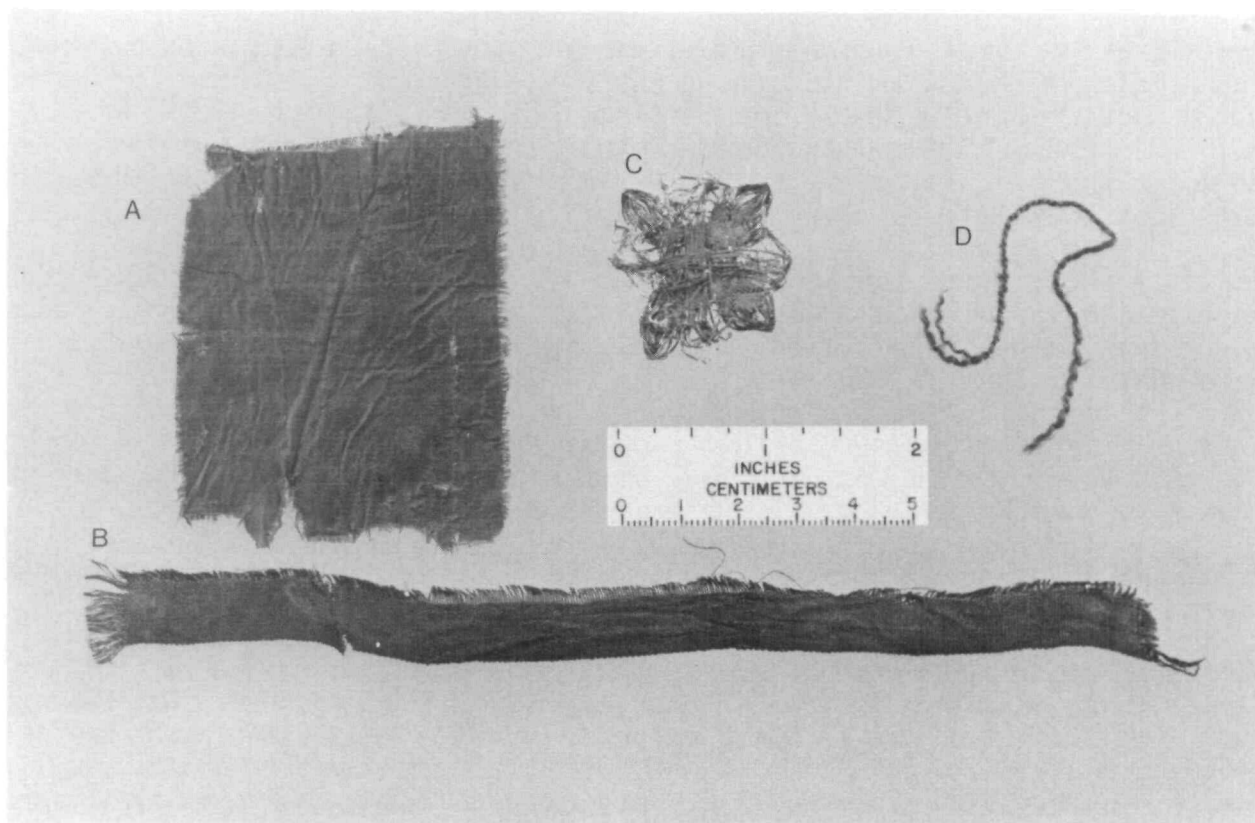


FIGURE 154. Textiles from Area I well. A - square, Level 57. B - long strip, Level 65.  
C - pattern, Level 57. D - thread, Level 76.

## Personal Group

The personal group includes those items one might carry in a pocket or purse, items used in personal grooming, personal enhancement, and jewelry-related objects. The personal category formed only 0.1 percent of the total artifacts retrieved from the well. The majority (46.4 percent) of Personal Group artifacts were located in Depositional Section C, followed by B (25.0 percent), A (17.9 percent), and D (10.7 percent) (Table 85).

Table 85 . Personal Group Artifacts by Depositional Sections.

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Material</u>	<u>Depositional Section</u>			
		<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
4	Coins	3	1	0	0
1	Key	0	0	1	0
1	Clasp Knife Housing	0	0	1	0
2	Ivory or Worked Bone Comb Teeth	1	0	1	0
1	Bone Toothbrush Handle Fragment	0	1	0	0
1	Bisque Porcelain or Pipe Clay Wig Curler	0	1	0	0
8	Bone Fan Mounts	0	2	6	0
1	Wood Fan Mount	0	0	0	1
2	Unidentified Worked Bone Fragments	0	0	2	0
1	Mother of Pearl Fragment	0	0	1	0
1	Brass Jewelry	1	0	0	0
1	Gold Clasp	0	0	0	1
4	Stone Jewelry/Box Fragments	0	2	1	1
28	Totals	7	13	3	
	Percentages	17.86%	25.0%	46.43%	10.71%

The only dateable items were four coins: two silver reales and two 1983 Lincoln head pennies. The two 1983 pennies were left at the bottom of Hurry's test unit in the well, and are included in the totals in the interest of complete bookkeeping of the recovered artifacts. A silver, Spanish two reales piece cut in quarter sections with a value of a half real was found in Section A (Figure 155A). Severed through the embossed date on its reverse, all that remains is the 17 of a 1700s date. Similarly, a "PH" is intact on its obverse. The only reigning Philip of Spain in the 1700s was King Philip V, who occupied the throne between 1700 and 1747. Therefore, this coin was minted during that period.

A silver one real, attributed to the Potosi mint in Bolivia, was retrieved from Section B (Figure 155B). That coin is an irregular disc that is stamped off center. The reverse shows a stamped "2", the third digit of a partial date, located below an 'SVL' which is between indistinct Columns of Hercules. The Columns of Hercules were introduced after 1651 and continued to 1773 (Buttrey 1973:14-16).

Other pocket or purse type items excavated from Section C of the well included a key with a solid iron shank, and half an iron clasp knife housing (Figure 156A-B). The case knife housing probably had been covered with wood or bone (Neumann 1975:175 Figure 39).

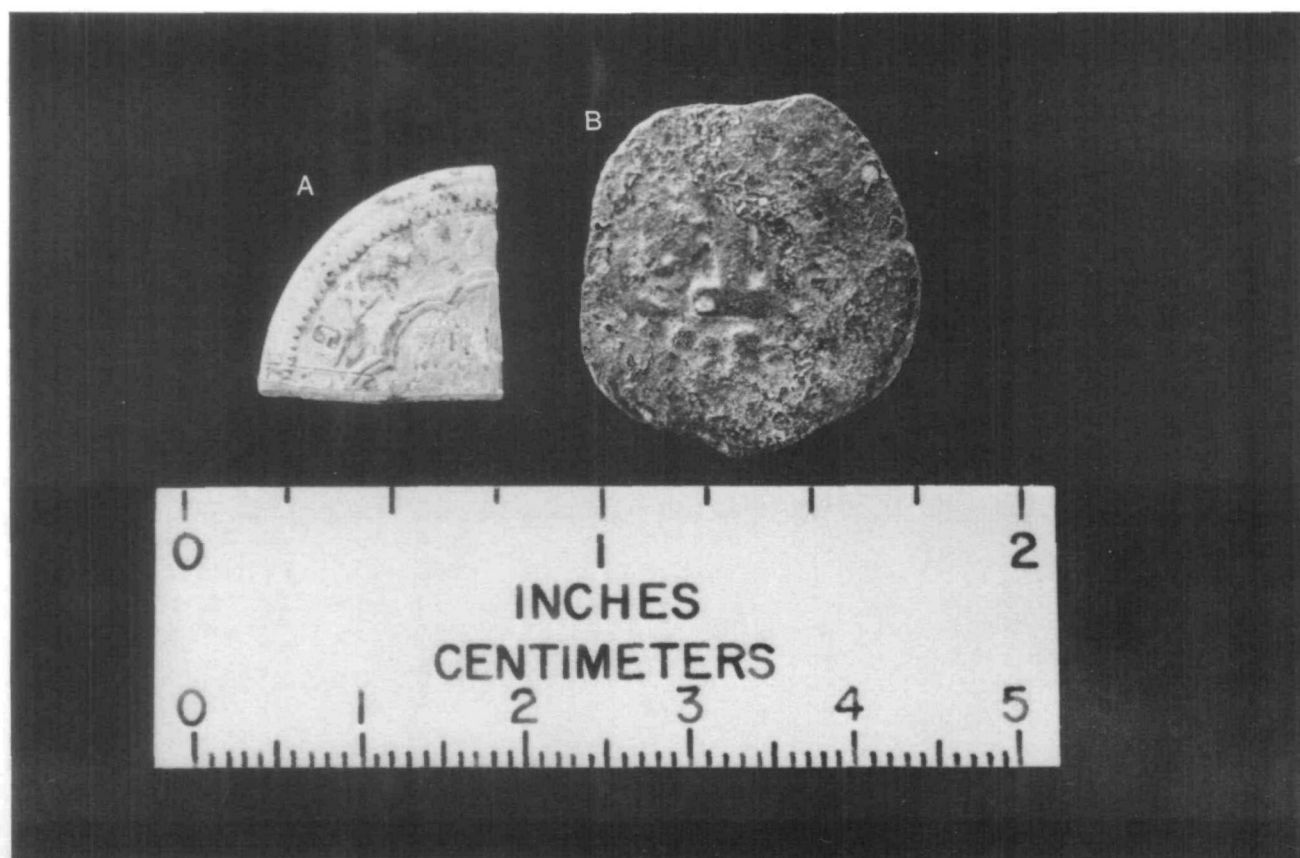


FIGURE 155. Coins from Area I well. A - One quarter of a Spanish real minted between 1700-1747, Level 22. B - Bolivian 1 real probably minted in the 1720's, Level 39.

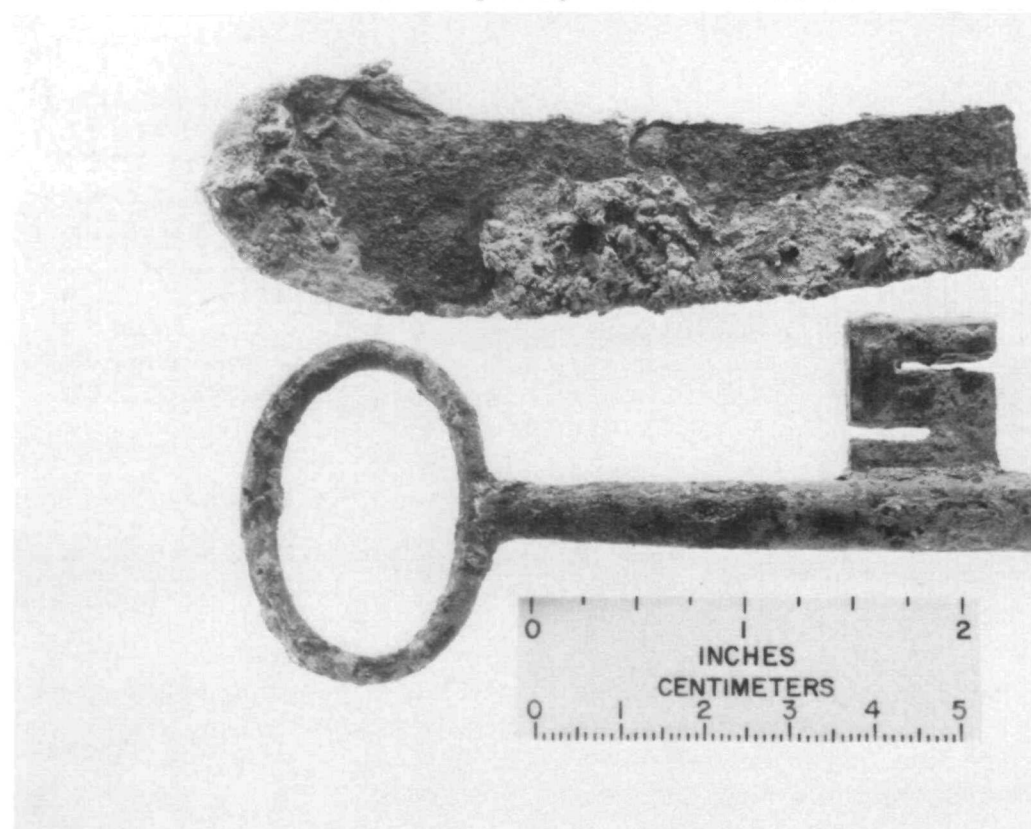


FIGURE 156. Personal artifacts from Area I well. Top - clasp knife housing, Level 52. Bottom - key, Level 57.



Four items associated with personal grooming were identified; two ivory or worked bone comb teeth (Sections A and C)(Figure 157C), a worked bone toothbrush handle (Section A) (Figure 157A), and the waist portion of a bisque porcelain or pipe clay wig curler (Section B) (Figure 157B).

The Personal Group collection also included eight bone fan mount fragments in Sections B and C, and one wooden mount fragment from Section D (Figure 158A-C). The fragments represent more than one fan. A common woman's accessory, fans were a curatable item, being professionally remounted or repaired before being finally discarded (Earle 1903:496 Vol 2) (Figure 158). Two unidentified worked bone objects were located in Section C: part of a ring-shaped object, and a tiny fragment flattened on one side and convex on the other (Figure 158D-C).

Among the jewelry-related items was half of an undecorated gold or gold plate clasp in Section D and an L-shaped mother of pearl fragment with foliated engraving from Section C (Figure 159F and E). The remains of latitudinally drilled holes at each broken end of the mother of pearl fragment suggest it was the corner piece of an inlay object. Four unmendable fragments of finely engraved, blackened stone were recovered from Sections B, C, and D (Figure 159A-D). The engraving varies in size on each piece, but is similar in style. The fragments form what seems to be a small ornamental box approximately 7.5 cm in diameter. A possible jewelry fragment that consisted of a brass fragment with two holes evenly spaced was recovered from Section A (Figure 159G-H).

### Tobacco Pipe Group

The tobacco group includes only ten ball clay pipe bowl fragments with maker's marks or decorations (Figure 160) out of the total of 574 bowl fragments. Four bowls have the letters H and M on opposing sides of the heel, two have a H on the base of the bowl, one has an unidentifiable fragment of a maker's mark on the bowl, two pipe heels have undetermined maker's marks, and one bowl fragment has a leaf pattern.

Wheaton et al. (1983:254-256) in their study of two plantation sites in South Carolina indicated that tobacco pipes may be studied to better understand the socioeconomic standing of groups within a site. First it was noted that chewing or deliberate carving on a pipestem might indicate extended use of the pipes and/or reuse of broken pipes (Figure 161). They found that 3.23 percent of the pipes from their combined sites were modified, while in the present study only 0.62 percent of the pipes from the well were modified. They also noted that the percentage of pipestems to bowls might indicate the extent of pipe reuse. Individuals with greater wealth may have made very little effort to conserve and reuse ball clay pipes for long periods of time. At the same time, it is likely that persons of modest means would be more willing to reuse a pipe until very little stem was left. In the present study pipestems constitute 66.24 percent of all pipe fragments found in the well, as opposed to the South Carolina study in which pipestems made up 74.17 percent to 88.16 percent of the pipe fragments. These percentages may indicate that the inhabitants of Oxon Hill discarded pipes after shorter use spans than did the slaves at Yaughan and Curriboo.

The pipe and bowl fragments of the Tobacco Pipe Group were unevenly distributed through the depositional sections. Section C contained the greatest number of the artifacts from this group, with 1,030 or 53 percent of the total. The least number of tobacco pipe artifacts came from Section D, with 206 items (10.6 percent). Sections A and B respectively yielded 274 (14.1 percent) and 434 (22.3 percent) tobacco pipe artifacts.

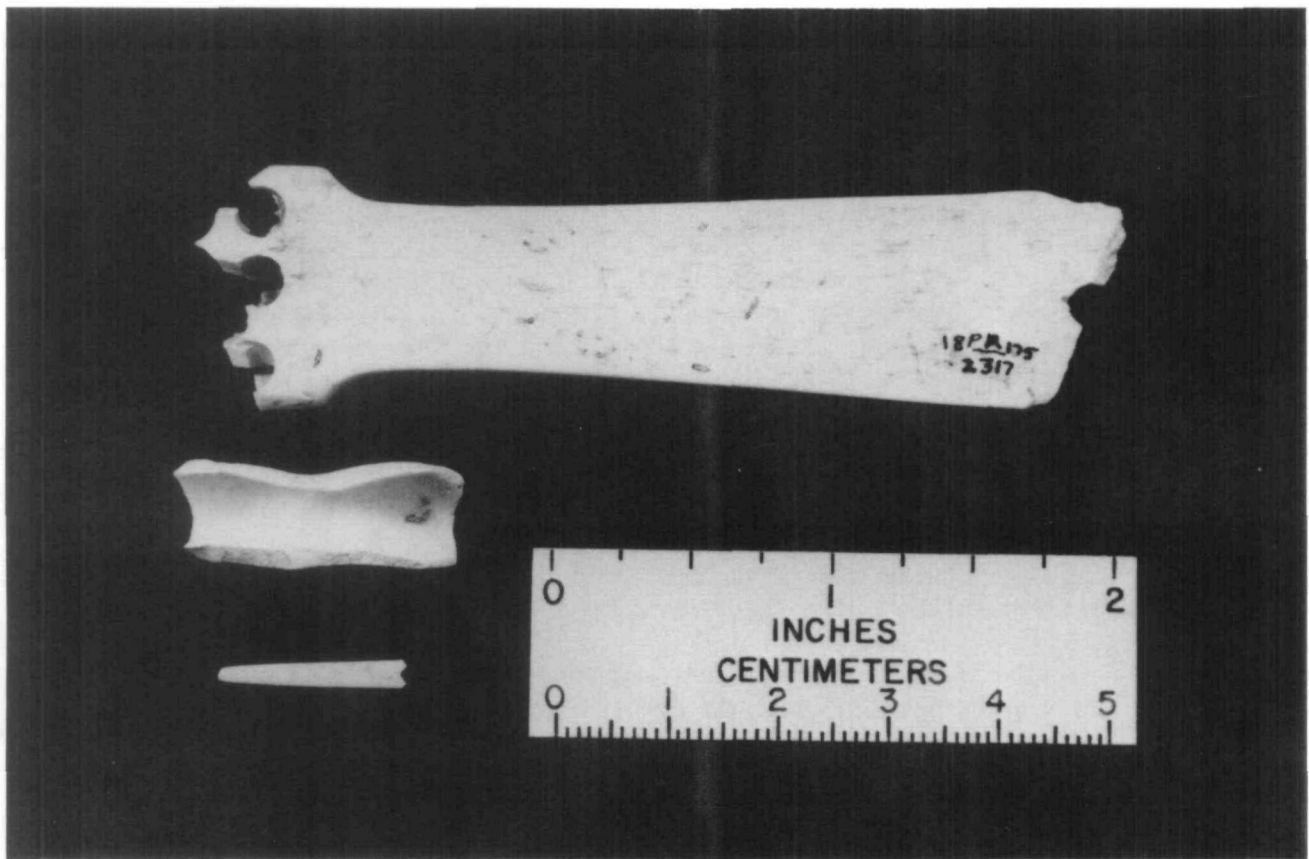


FIGURE 157. Personal group artifacts from Area I well. Top - worked bone toothbrush handle, Level 37. Center - ceramic curler, possibly for a wig, Level 46. Bottom - ivory or bone comb tooth, Level 57.

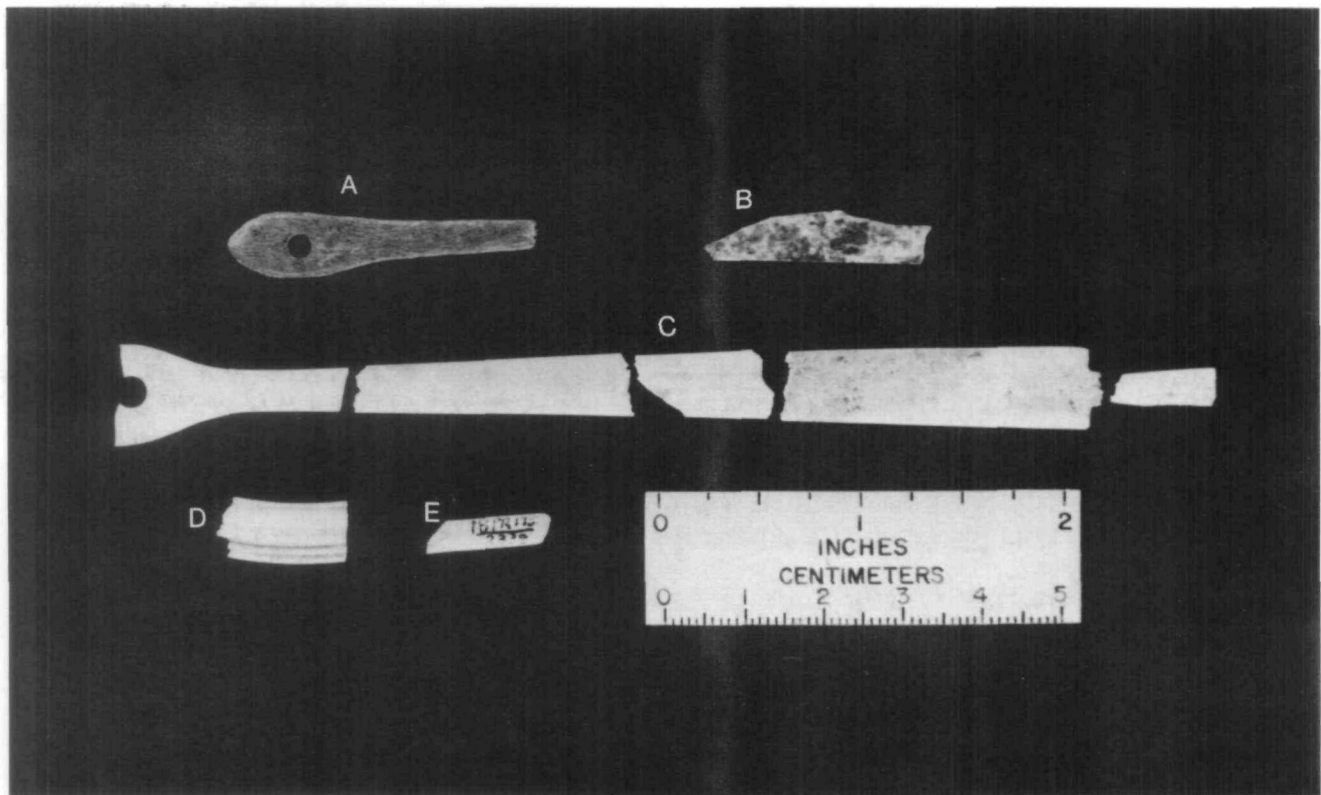


FIGURE 158. Bone artifacts from Area I well. A - wooden fan spline, Level 76. B - wooden fan spline, Level 43. C - part of a bone fan spline, Level 43. D, E - unidentified worked bone, Level 56.

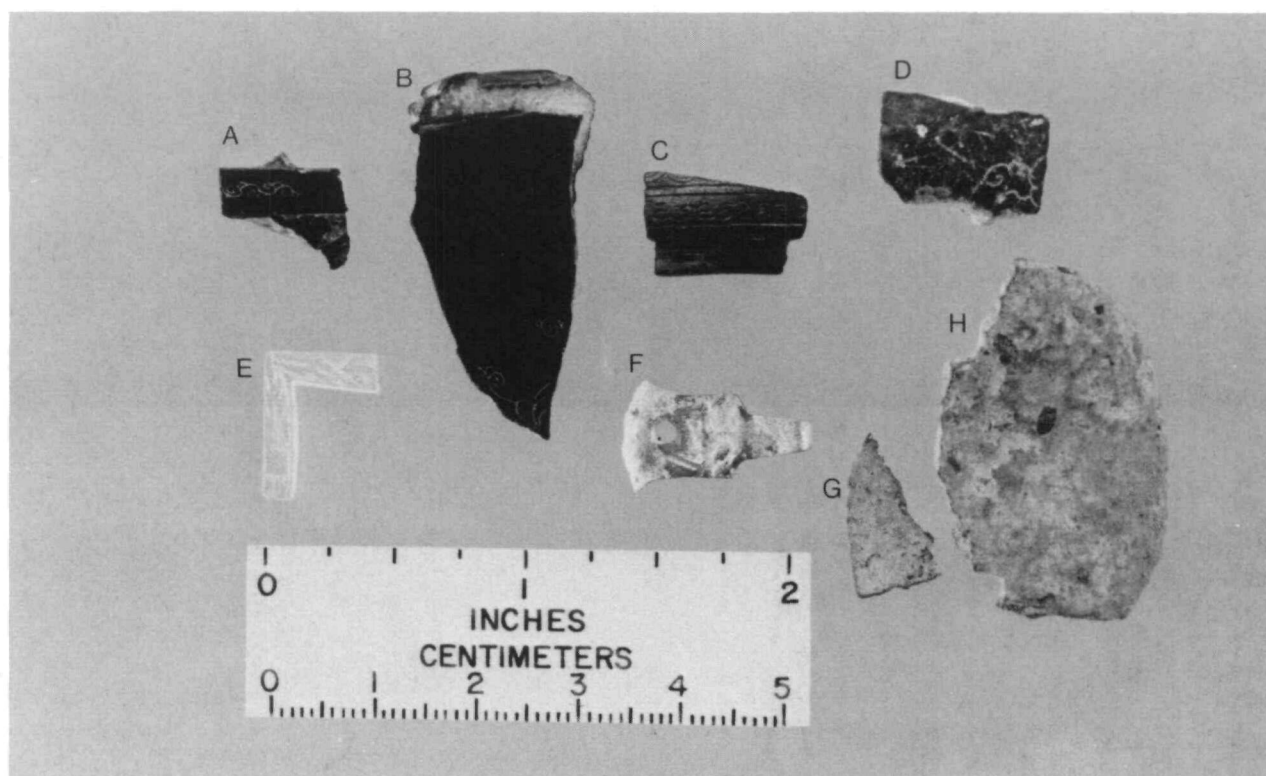


FIGURE 159. Jewelry related artifacts from Area I well. A - stone jewelry / box fragment, Level 46. B - stone jewelry / box fragment, Level 42. C - stone jewelry / box fragment, Level 60. D - stone jewelry / box fragment, Level 53. E - mother-of-pearl fragment, Level 53. F - gold clasp, Level 74. G, H - metal drawer pull, back plate, Level 32.

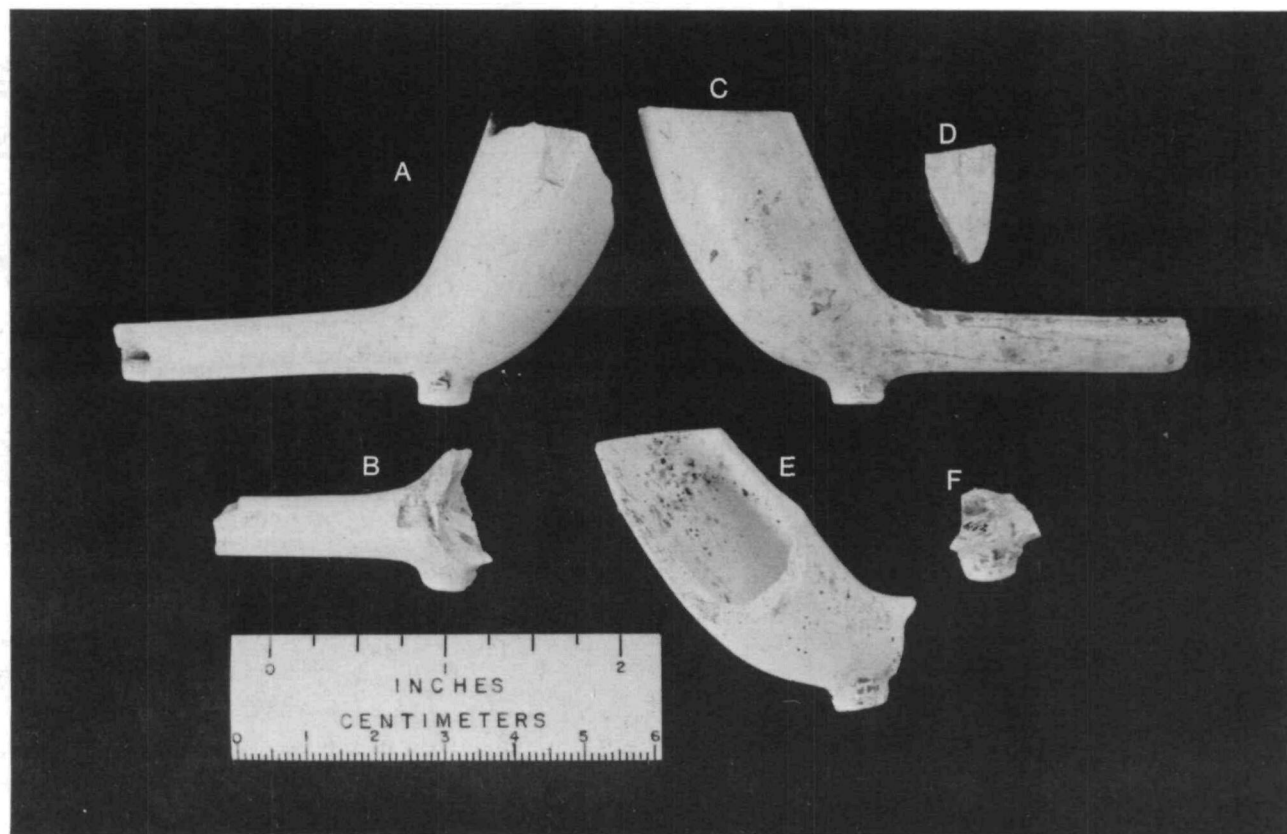


FIGURE 160. Kaolin clay pipe fragments from Area I well, showing maker's marks. A - bowl, Level 39. B - stem fragment, Level 55. C - bowl, Level 40. D - bowl fragment, Level 56. E - bowl, Level 48. F - bowl fragment, Level 52.



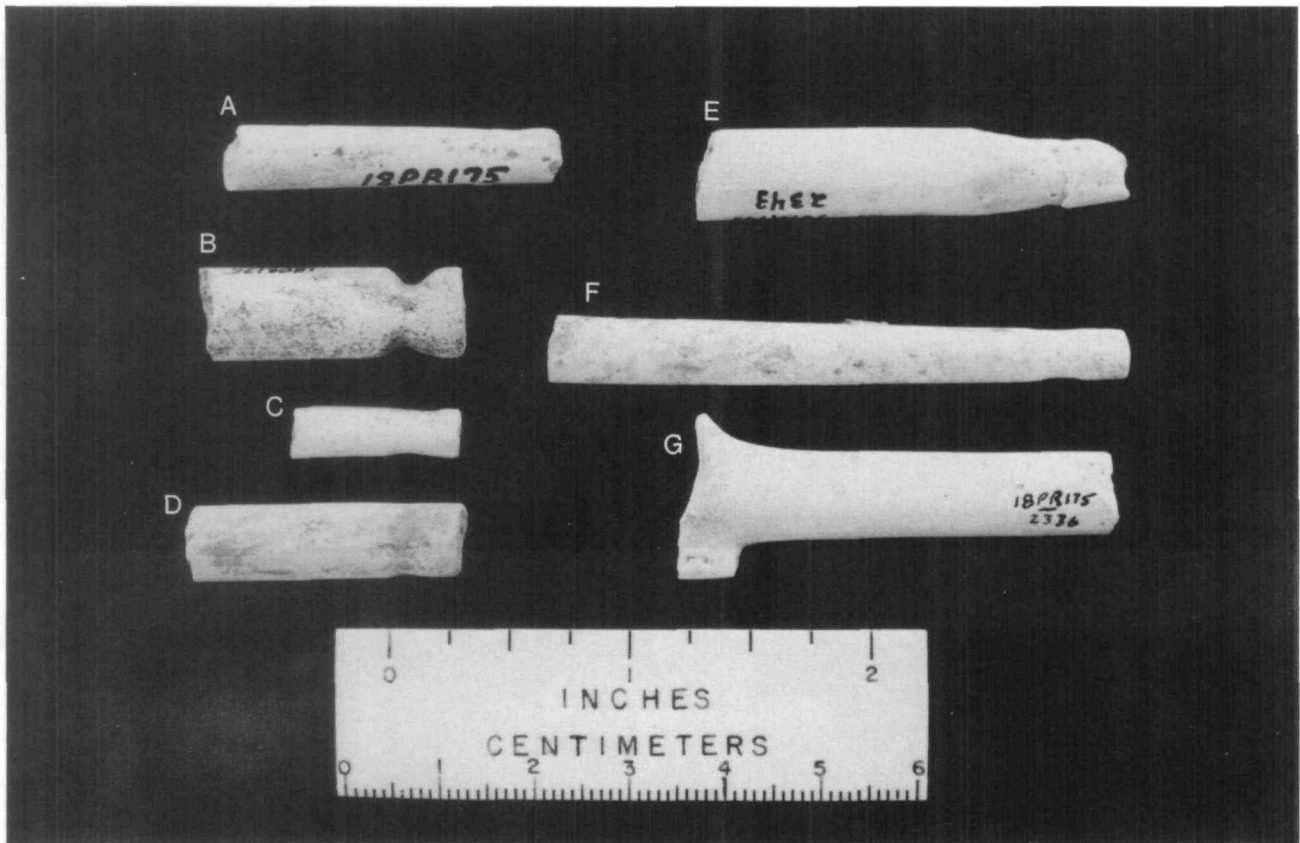


FIGURE 161. Kaolin clay pipe stems from Area I well. Note teeth impressions. A - Level 52.  
B - Level 53. C - Level 55. D - Level 61. E - Level 63. F - Level 40, G - Level 55.

## Activities Group

The Activities Group contains two classes of artifacts that reflect the agricultural base of the site in the eighteenth century, as well as the proximity of a stable to the well (Table 86). Agricultural/horticultural items include one hedge shear, five fragments of wood, parts of two metal spades, and eleven hoes. The wood fragments were interpreted as tobacco sticks, pointed sticks used to hold up and move tobacco leaves. Noel Hume (1969b:274-276) notes that all-metal spades apparently appear in the New World only in post-1700 contexts, although paintings and drawings show them as early as 1565 in Europe.

Table 86. Activities Group Artifacts by Depositional Sections.

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Depositional Section</u>			
		<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>
10	Bridle Part	1	2	0	7
4	Brass Wire	1	2	0	1
1	Marble	1	0	0	0
2	Spade	1	0	1	0
12	Hoes	2	4	4	2
1	Stove Eye	1	0	0	0
2	Horse Shoe	0	1	1	0
1	Milling Stone	0	1	0	0
2	Iron Buckle	0	1	1	0
1	Brass Cock Stop	0	1	0	0
1	Porcelain Doll	0	1	0	0
1	Catlinite Gaming Piece	0	1	0	0
1	Hedge Shear	0	1	0	0
1	Leather Saddle Seat	0	0	1	0
1	Jews Harp	0	0	1	0
3	Leather Scraps	0	0	0	3
1	Leather Decorative Piece	0	0	0	1
7	Leather Straps	0	0	0	7
3	Leather Strips	0	0	0	3
2	Iron Nuts	0	0	0	2
1	Wood Musical Instrument Bridge	0	0	0	1
1	Wood Musical Instrument Peg	0	0	0	1
2	Toy Porcelain Dish	0	0	0	2
1	Wood Scrub Brush	0	0	0	1
5	Tobacco Sticks	0	0	0	5
67	Totals	7	15	9	36
	Percentages	10.45%	22.39%	13.43%	53.73%

Egloff (1980:3) has divided hoes into three types and three varieties. His types indicate the age of the hoe and are based on the presence or absence of "spines" and the completeness of "collars". Varieties are based on the angle of the blade to the shaft, and indicate the use of the hoe. Grubbing hoes (83°) are used for the initial breaking of the ground, hilling hoes (77°) are used for breaking down the soil and shaping it, and weeding hoes (73°) are used for weeding. Following Egloff, all of the hoes

from the well fall into the Type II category, and include four grubbing, one weeding, and six of unknown function. The hoes may be assigned a date range of 1675 to 1740 (Table 87). Noel Hume (1974:77) notes that hoes over seven and a half inches broad were normally used for farming while the smaller ones were garden tools. Based on Noel Hume, there are four garden hoes and four agricultural hoes in the sample.

Table 87. Types and Varieties of Hoes.

	TYPE I (1620-1675)	TYPE II (1675-1740)	TYPE III (1740-1780)
Grubbing	0	4	0
Hilling	0	0	0
Weeding	0	1	0
Unknown	0	6	0
Totals	0	11	0

Catalogued as stable-related artifacts are a piece of a hand-tooled seat of a saddle (38 x 24 cm) (Figure 162), one leather diamond-shaped decorative piece (5.5 x 3.5 cm) with two brass studs, three narrow leather strips or laces (two of them tied together), three irregularly shaped leather scraps (one with regular perforations), and seven leather straps or belts. Three of the straps have five perforations each. One is split at the end, and the other two each have a remnant of leather lacing through two of their holes. One strap is perforated at the end to hold a buckle, two other straps have two perforations each, and the last strap has four holes and a lace of leather between two of the holes. However, except for the saddle seat, none of these leather pieces can conclusively be called horse tack.

Additional stable artifacts recovered from the well include two horseshoes and numerous bridle/harness parts (Figure 163A-C). These include a possible snaffle loop, six pieces of jointed-mouthed curbs--the most popular bit used in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Noel Hume 1969b:240)--and two bosses that fit the jointed-mouthed curbs. One boss is a transitional form dated 1680 to 1710 (Figure 163B), and the other is the final form the boss took and dates to the eighteenth century (Figure 163C) (Noel Hume 1969b:240).

A small milling stone, probably less than 30 cm wide when whole, was found in the well (Figure 164). Other objects recovered include a metal stove eye, a wooden scrub brush (Figure 165), a brass stop cock to a barrel spigot, two wooden handles, two iron buckles, four strands of 0.5mm diameter brass wire (two of them twisted around each other), and two iron nuts. Toys include one stone or clay marble, one porcelain doll part, one ceramic toy dish, and one catlinite gaming piece.

The musical class of the Activities Group includes two wooden objects interpreted as a bridge and a peg of a stringed instrument and one brass jews harp (Figure 166).

### Ceramic Vessel Analysis

The deposits within the well shaft contained evidence of a minimum of 286 distinct ceramic vessels (Figures 167 through 188). As previously stated, the constituent sherds of some of the vessels were

distributed over a number of levels within the well, making the task of studying the ceramic vessels in relation to the four depositional sections somewhat more difficult. The methods used to excavate the well shaft probably contributed to the vertical spread of at least some of the ceramic sherds in the sample; however, a second reason for the spread of vessels over several levels resides in the nature of well deposits. Trash thrown into constricted spaces tends to mound, and the distance between the top and bottom of the mound can be considerable, but probably never any higher than the well is wide, in this case about 1.3 m (4 feet). Also, voids may develop in the deposit, which can later be filled by trash from above as the organics in the trash deposit degrade. Another reason for the occurrence of sherds from the same vessel in several levels is that the sherds may have been deposited at different times. A degree of stratigraphic confusion may therefore be expected in well shafts, and the Area 1 well is no exception.

Despite the problems wrought by the excavation methods and the obstacles inherent in well deposits, the descriptions in the previous sections of this discussion have demonstrated that the four identified depositional sections had a high degree of depositional integrity. The depositional sections were, therefore, retained as the basic units of discussion for the ceramic vessel analysis. Further, the decision was made to assign each vessel to the depositional section that contained the shallowest occurrence of a constituent sherd of that vessel. At first glance this would appear to be a backwards approach to the assignment of the vessels to sections, as the shallowest sherd of a vessel was at least the last to be deposited. In practice, however, this approach appeared to work well, as it successfully segregated all but one of the vessels attributable to a post-1750 manufacture into Section A. The single exception was a vessel of unknown form (and thus represented by few sherds) that was assigned to Section B. The sherds of that vessel were of plain cream colored ware, and the vessel was manufactured after 1820 (Garrow 1982).

The ceramic vessels identified from the well are presented in Tables 88 through 91 on the basis of decorative/ware and forms. Depositional Section A contained evidence of 178 distinct vessels, or 62.2 percent of the total vessel count from the well. That section contains vessels representative of 66 different decorative/ware types ranging in age from the first half of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. Two vessels of decal-decorated hard paste porcelain may even post-date the burning of the manor house, and could have been introduced into the shaft by brick salvors in the early twentieth century.

The mixed nature of the decorative/ware types that comprise the Section A vessels means that the vessels from that section, although interesting, have little value for further analysis. For that reason, the remainder of the vessel analysis will focus on the vessels from sections B, C, and D, with the exclusion of the single intrusive cream colored ware vessel in Section B. Table 92 presents the combined sections B, C, and D ceramics vessels.

The table service vessels in the Section B, C, and D samples are predominantly hollowware forms. Those include 19 cups (18.1 percent of the total forms), 11 mugs (10.5 percent), and six large bowls (5.7 percent). Those vessels, taken together, constitute 34.3 percent of the total vessel sample. This sample is increased by the small container category which contained 13 vessels (12.4 percent) that were hollowware forms and could have been either cups or bowls. The total cup, mug, and bowl sample is 49 vessels, or 46.7 percent of the total vessel sample. The flatware sample consists of five plates (4.8 percent) and eight saucers (7.6 percent), for a total of 13 vessels (12.4 percent).

Storage vessels recovered from the three sections include eight jugs, crocks, or jars (7.6 percent), four milk pans (3.8 percent), and one unidentified crockery (1 percent). The total storage vessel count was 13, and that category accounted for 12.4 percent of the total vessel sample.

Table 88. Well Section A Ceramic Cross-Mends for Section A

Ceramic Type	Cups	Mugs	Saucers	Tableware Lid	Jugs, Cocks, & Jars	Small Containers	Milk Pans	Large Bowl	Small Bowl	Plates	Coffee/ Tea Pot	Pitcher	Gravy Boat/ Tureen	Ginger Beer Bottle	Unident. Crockery	Unident. Forms	Total
PORCELAIN																	
Early Plain Porcelain	1																1
Overglaze Enamelled China Trade			1														1
Early English Porcelain	1																1
Underglaze Blue Chinese	5		3						2	1						1	12
Late Soft Decal Porcelain	2																2
Late Hard Decal Porcelain	1																1
Late Hard Plain Porcelain																1	1
Late Hard Overglazed Porcelain			1														1
Late Gilded Porcelain	2		2														4
REFINED EARTHENWARE																	
Molded White Salt Glaze Stoneware										4							4
White Salt Glaze Stoneware		1		1							1					1	4
Slip Dipped White Salt Glaze Stoneware																2	2
Black Basalt																2	2
Unglazed Refined Red Stoneware												1					1
Glazed Refined Red Stoneware																1	1
Plain White Ironstone				1						2							3
Colored Glaze Ironstone																1	1
Lighter Yellow Creamware									6							9	15
Ovglz. Enamel Hnd. Ptd. Creamware																2	2
Clouded/Tortoiseshell Creamware										2							2
Feather Edged Creamware													1			2	3
Edged Creamware										3							3
Molded Creamware																3	3
Blue Transfer Pearlware								1									1
Underglaze Poly Pearlware																2	2
Annular Pearlware	2	1														1	4
Unglz.Blue Hnd. Ptd. Pearlware																2	2
Edged Pearlware										4							4
Refined Agateware																1	1
Clear Glz. White Rim Refined Earth.								1									1
Late Blue Transfer Print				1						1							2
Plain C. C. Ware	1								1								2
Late Ivory Colored Earthenware																1	1
Late Black Transfer Print										1							1
Plain White Delft						2		2		2						1	7
Blue and White Delft								5		1						1	7
Polychrome Delft									1								1
Everted Rim Plain Delft Pot						1											1
Plain Yellowware																1	1
COARSE EARTHENWARE																	
Nottingham Stoneware		1															1
British Brown Stoneware		3				10									3		16
Rhenish Brn. Glzd. Sprig Stoneware						1											1
Dom. Plain Brn. Salt Glz. Stoneware															1		1

Westerwald Stamped Blue					4													4
Dom. Albany Slip on Grey Stoneware					1													1
Dom. Brn. Salt/Alka. Glz. Gry. Stoneware					1													1
Dom. Blue Deco. Grey Salt Glz. Stnwre.															1			1
Unident. Domestic Grey Stoneware					1													1
Trailed Clear Glaze Slipware							1											1
Combed Tinted Glaze Slipware	1						1				2							4
Trailed Tinted Glaze Slipware											2							2
Black/Trailed Tinted Glazed Slipware	2										2							4
Buckley					5				1									6
Fine Black Glazed Redware																2		2
Thick Black Glazed Redware																1		1
Plain Clear Glazed Redware							2	2								1		5
Trailed Clear Glazed Redware								1										1
Brown Glazed Redware														2		5		7
Unglazed Redware								1								1		2
Black Slip Redware								1										1
Clear Glaze Buff Earthenware														1		1		2
Black Glaze Buff Earthenware			1															1
Brown Glazed Buff Earthenware	1																	1
Green Glazed Buff Earthenware								1										1
INDUSTRIAL STONEWARE																		
Buff Bodied Ginger Beer Bottle														1				1
Brown Glazed Ginger Beer Bottle														1				1
TOTAL	19	7	7	3	23	3	4	16	10	27	1	1	1	2	8	46	178	

Table 89. Well Section B Ceramic Cross-Mends for Section B

<u>Ceramic Type</u>	<u>Cups</u>	<u>Mugs</u>	<u>Saucers</u>	<u>Tableware Lid</u>	<u>Jugs, Crocks, &amp; Jars</u>	<u>Small Containers</u>	<u>Milk Pans</u>	<u>Large Bowl</u>	<u>Plates</u>	<u>Fancy Cond. Dish</u>	<u>Unident. Crockery</u>	<u>Unident. Forms</u>	<u>Total</u>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>													
Overglaze Enamelled China Trade	1		2										3
Underglaze Blue Chinese	1		2							1			4
Early Piece of Applique												1	1
<b>REFINED EARTHENWARE</b>													
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	3			5								1	9
Slip Dipped White Salt Glaze Stoneware		2										1	3
Plain C.C. Ware												1	1
Plain White Delft									1			1	2
Blue And White Delft						1		1	3				5
Everted Rim Plain Delft Pot						1							1
Faience								1					1
<b>COARSE EARTHENWARE</b>													
British Brown Stoneware					4						1		5
Combed Tinted Glaze Slipware	2								1				3
Plain Clear Glazed Redware	2							1				1	4
Trailed Clear Glazed Redware							1						1
Unglazed Redware								1					1
Ext. Black Glaze/Int. White Glaze Redware												1	1
Green Glazed Buff Earthenware												1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>46</b>

Table 90. Well Section C Ceramic Cross-Mends for Section C

<u>Ceramic Types</u>	<u>Cups</u>	<u>Mugs</u>	<u>Saucers</u>	<u>Tableware Lid</u>	<u>Jugs, Crocks, &amp; Jars</u>	<u>Milk Pans</u>	<u>Large Bowl</u>	<u>Small Container</u>	<u>Chamber Pot</u>	<u>Unidentified Forms</u>	<u>Total</u>
<b>PORCELAIN</b>											
Overglaze Enamelled China Trade	4		1								5
Underglaze Blue Chinese	2										2
<b>REFINED EARTHENWARE</b>											
Molded White Salt Glaze Stoneware				1							1
White Salt Glaze Stoneware		1	2	2						1	6
Slip Dipped White Salt Glaze Stoneware		4									4
Plain White Delft								1	1	3	5
Blue And White Delft	1						1			1	3
Everted Rim Plain Delft Pot								8			8
Delft Sherds Without Glaze								1			1
<b>COARSE EARTHENWARE</b>											
British Brown Stoneware		3			1					1	5
Plain Clear Glaze Slipware						1					1
Buckley					1						1
Plain Clear Glaze Redware						2				1	3
Brown Glazed Redware							1				1
Unglazed Redware					1					1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>48</b>



Table 91. Well Section D Ceramic Cross-Mends by Well Section

<u>Ceramic Types</u>	<u>Cups</u>	<u>Mugs</u>	<u>Saucers</u>	<u>Tableware lid</u>	<u>Jugs, Crocks, &amp; Jars</u>	<u>Chamber Pot</u>	<u>Small Container</u>	<u>Unidentified Forms</u>	<u>Total</u>
PORCELAIN									
Underglaze Blue Chinese	1								1
REFINED EARTHENWARE									
Unidentified Domestic Grey Stoneware					1				1
White Salt Glaze Stoneware	2	2	1	1					6
Slip Dipped White Salt Glaze Stoneware								1	1
Plain White Delft						1			1
Everted Rim Plain Delft Pot							1		1
Delft Sherds Without Glaze								1	1
COARSE EARTHENWARE									
Clear Glaze Buff Earthenware		1							1
COLONOWARE									
Plain Colono-Indian								1	1
TOTAL	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	14

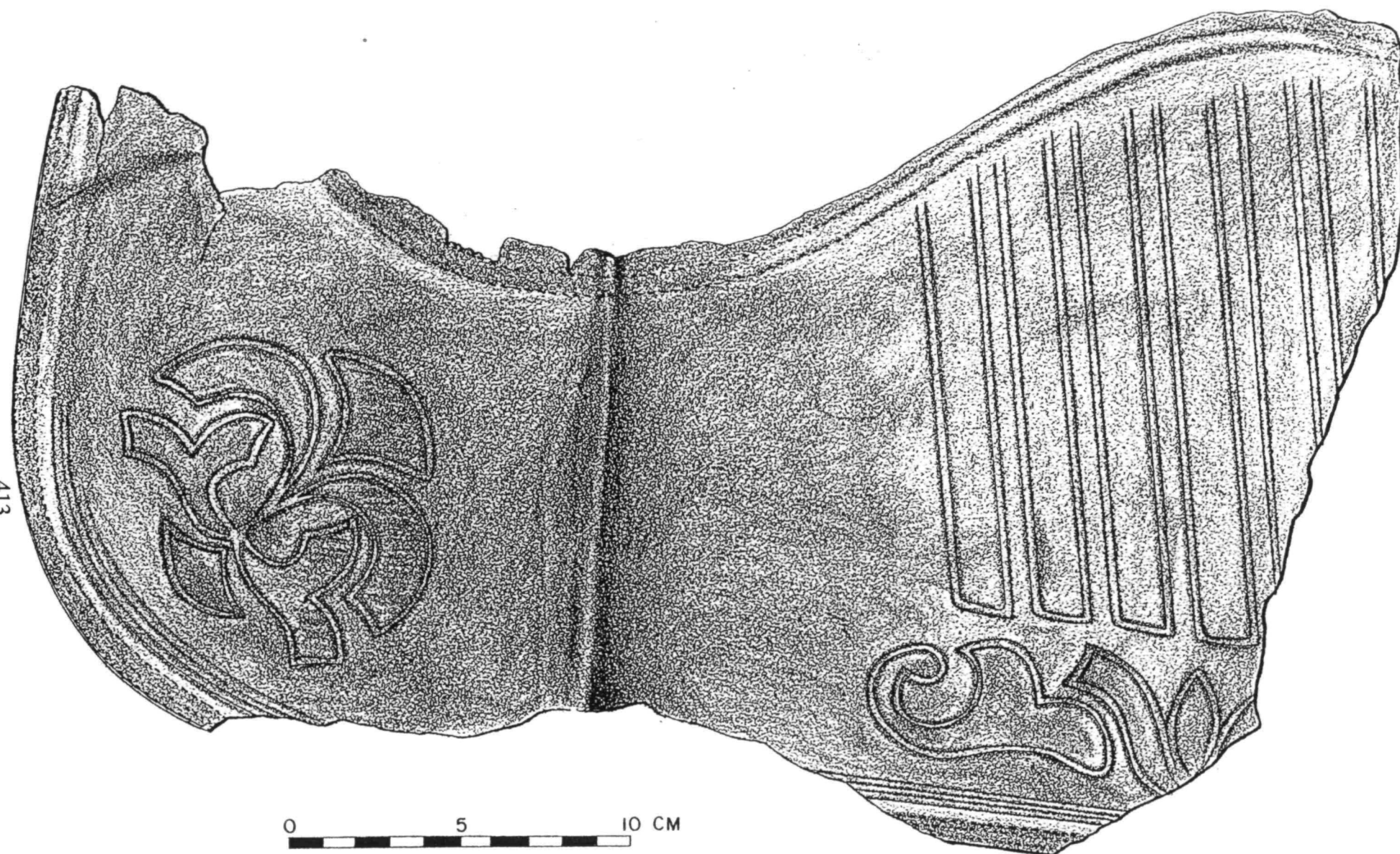


FIGURE 162. Fragment of leather saddle from Area I well, Level 57.

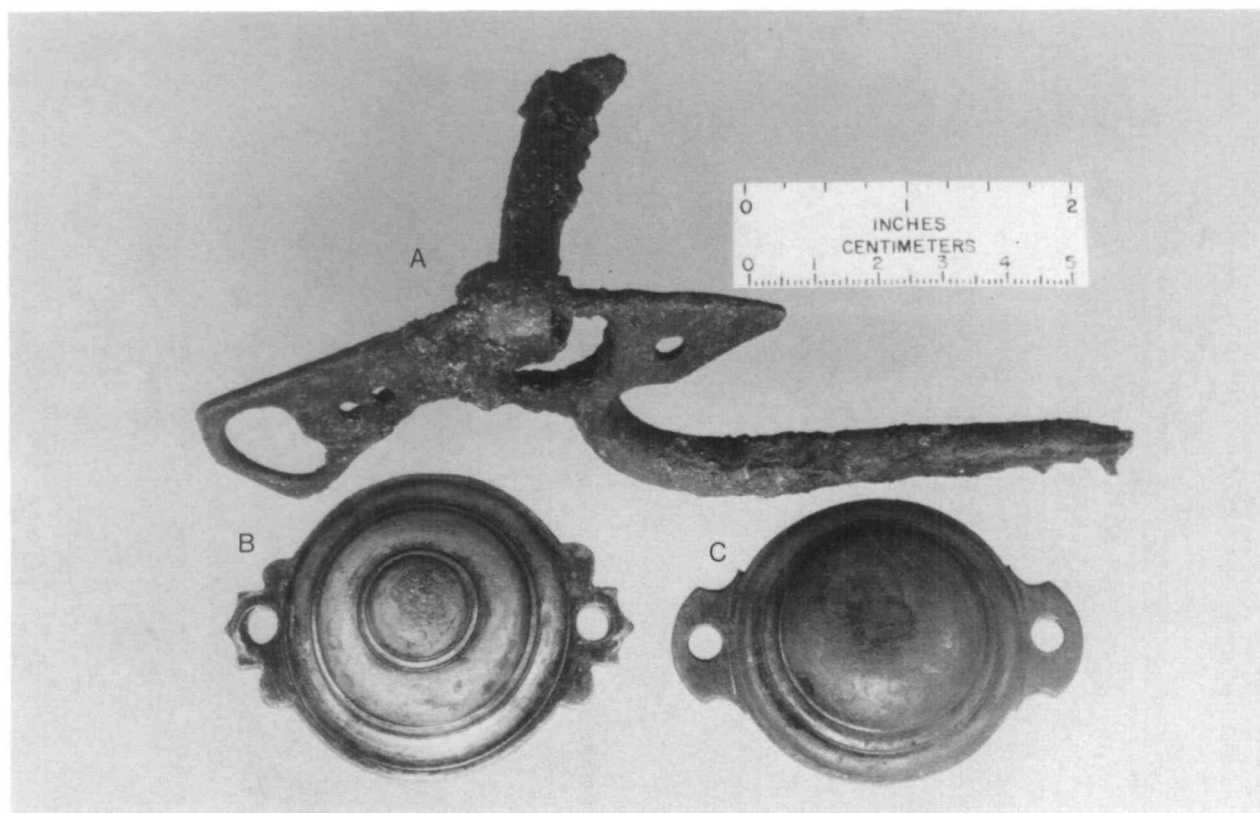


FIGURE 163. Metal bridle parts from Area I well. A - bit, Level 41. B - bosses, Level 76.  
C - bosses, Level 60.

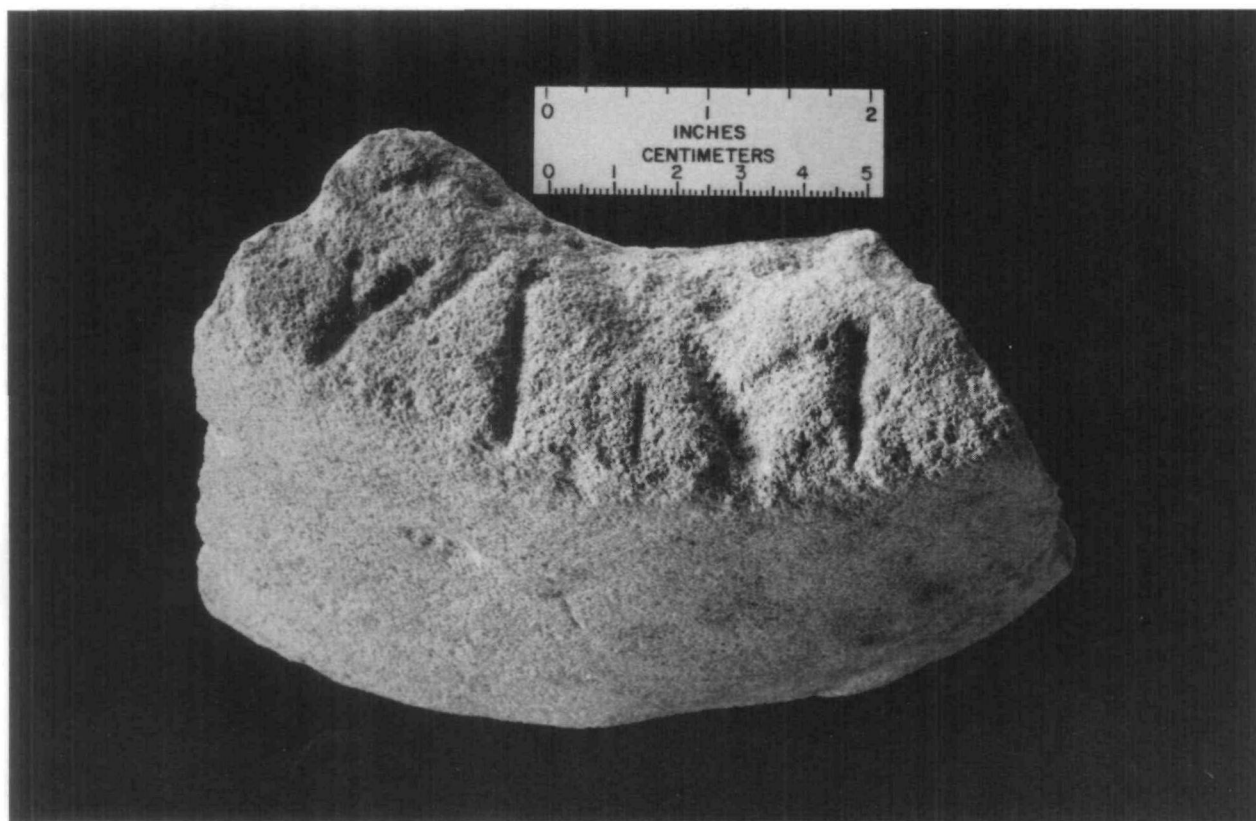


FIGURE 164. Milling stone from Area I well, Level 48.

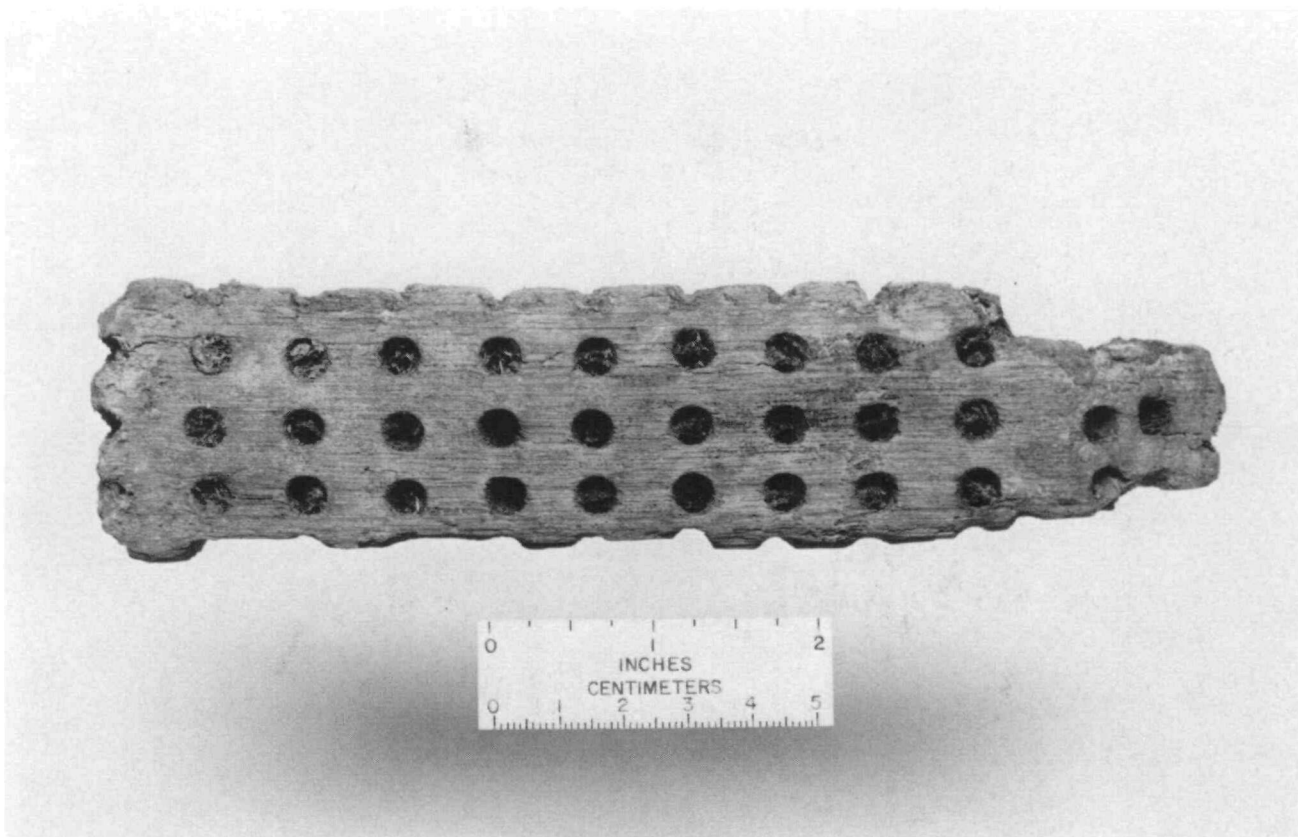


FIGURE 165. Wooden brush back from Area I well, Level 60.

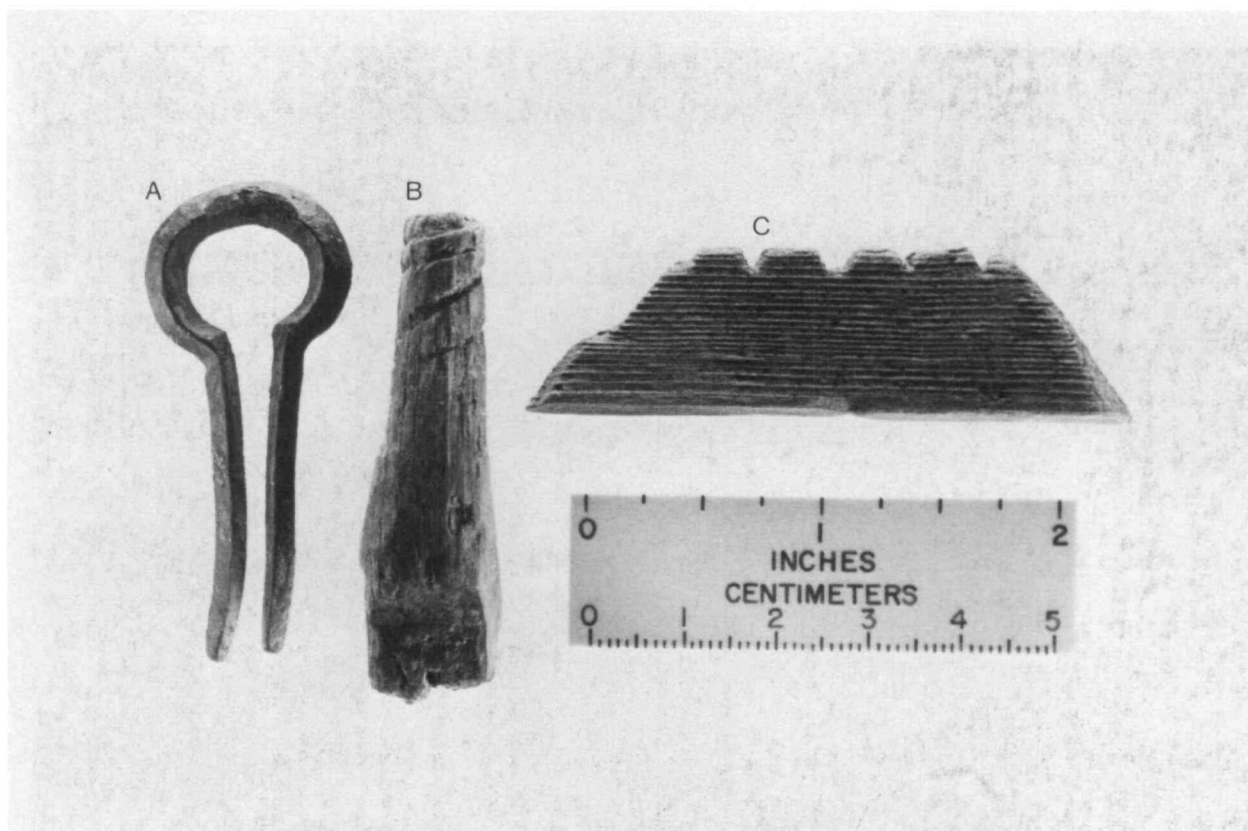


FIGURE 166. Musical instruments from Area I well. A - Jew's harp, Level 57. B - post from a string instrument, Level 61. C - bridge from a string instrument, Level 61.

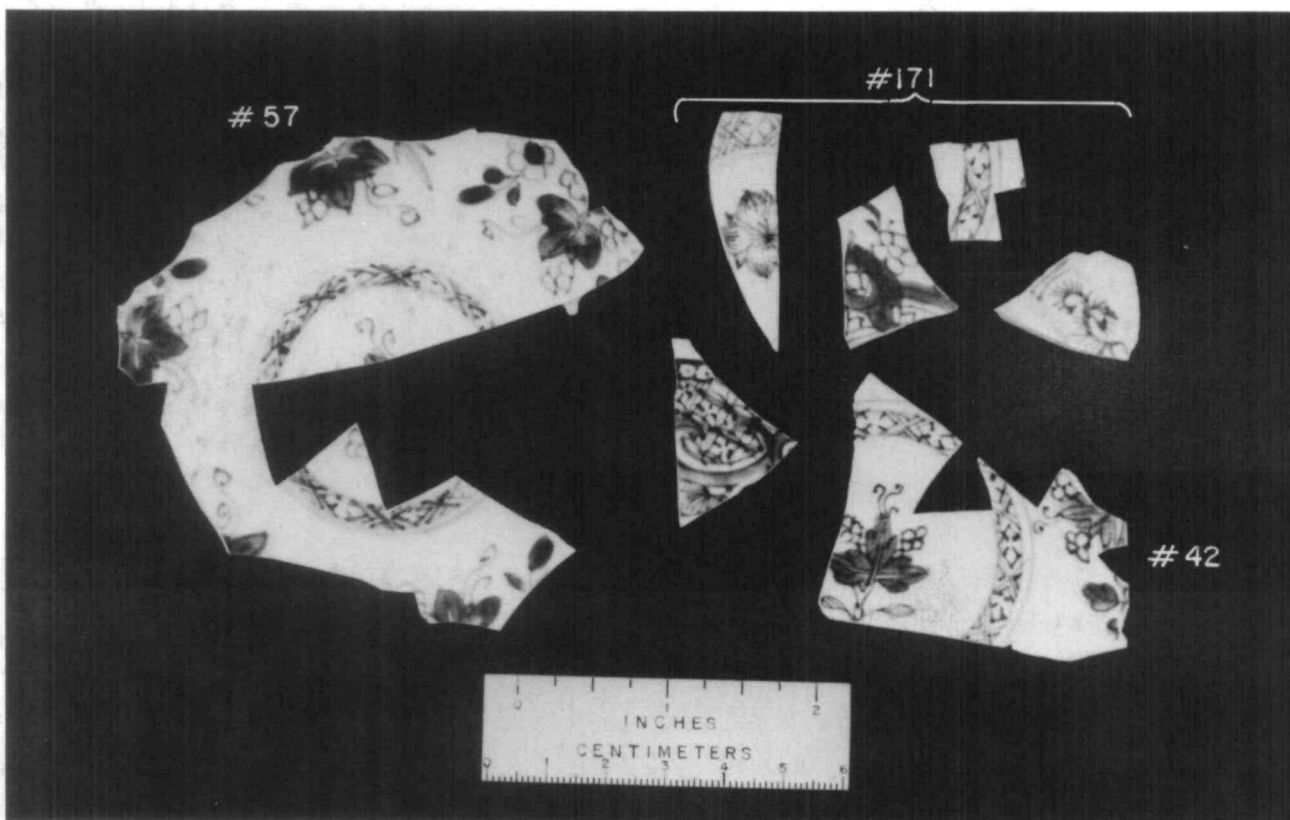


FIGURE 167. Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain from Area I well.



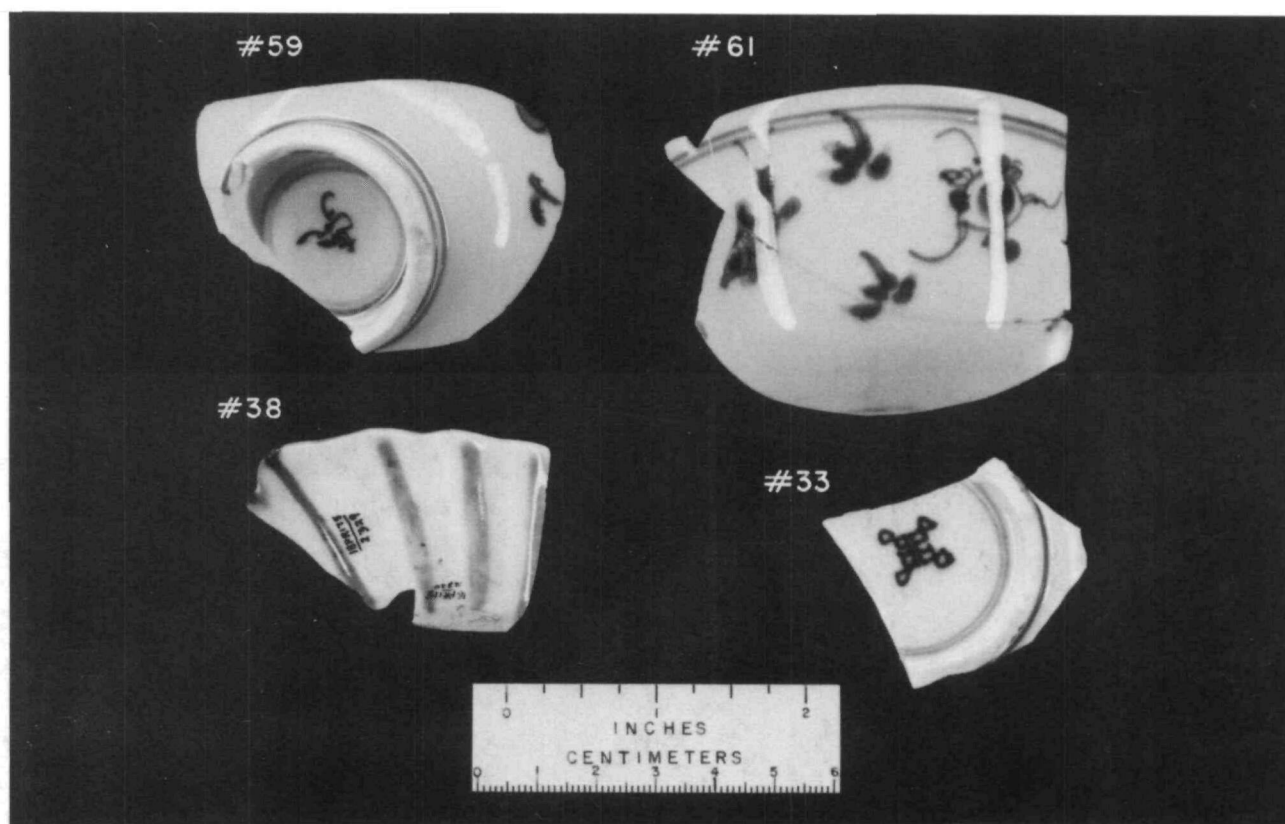


FIGURE 168. Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain from Area I well.

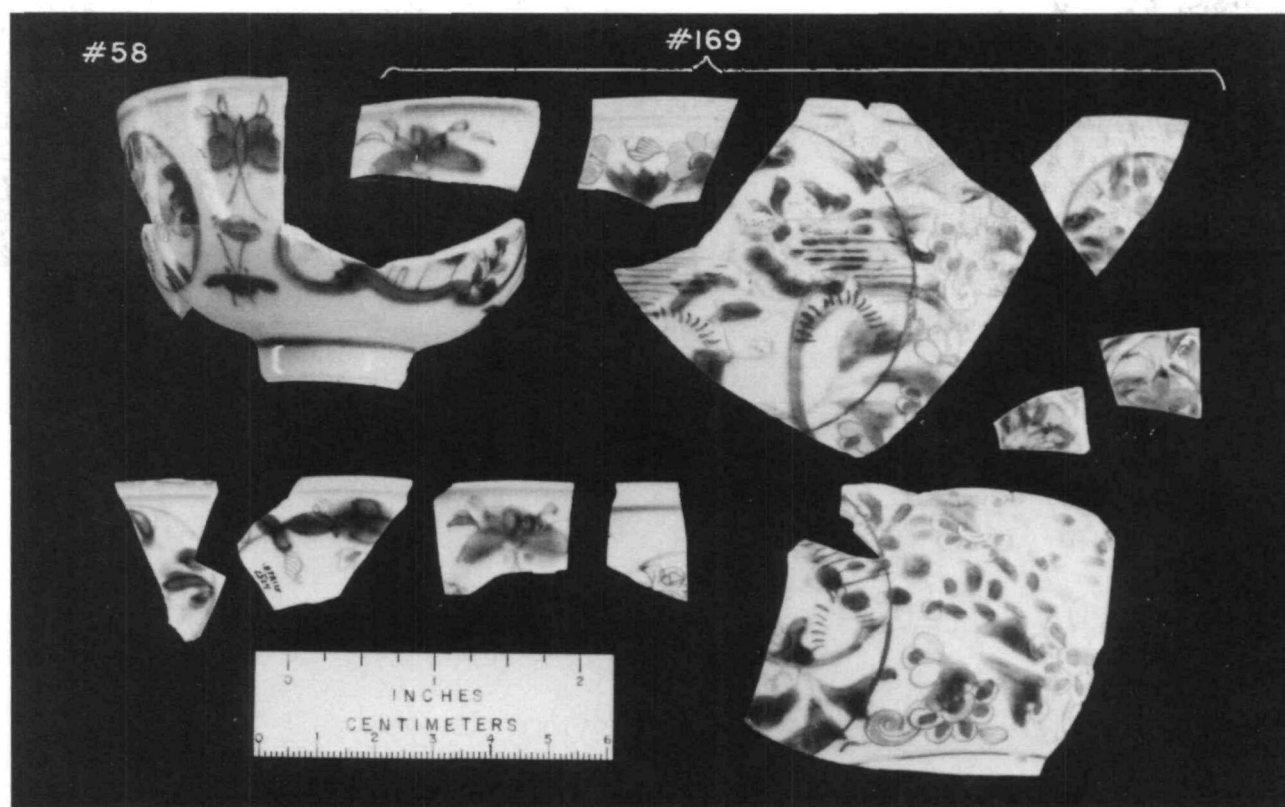


FIGURE 169. Overglaze enamelled Chinese trade porcelain from Area I well.

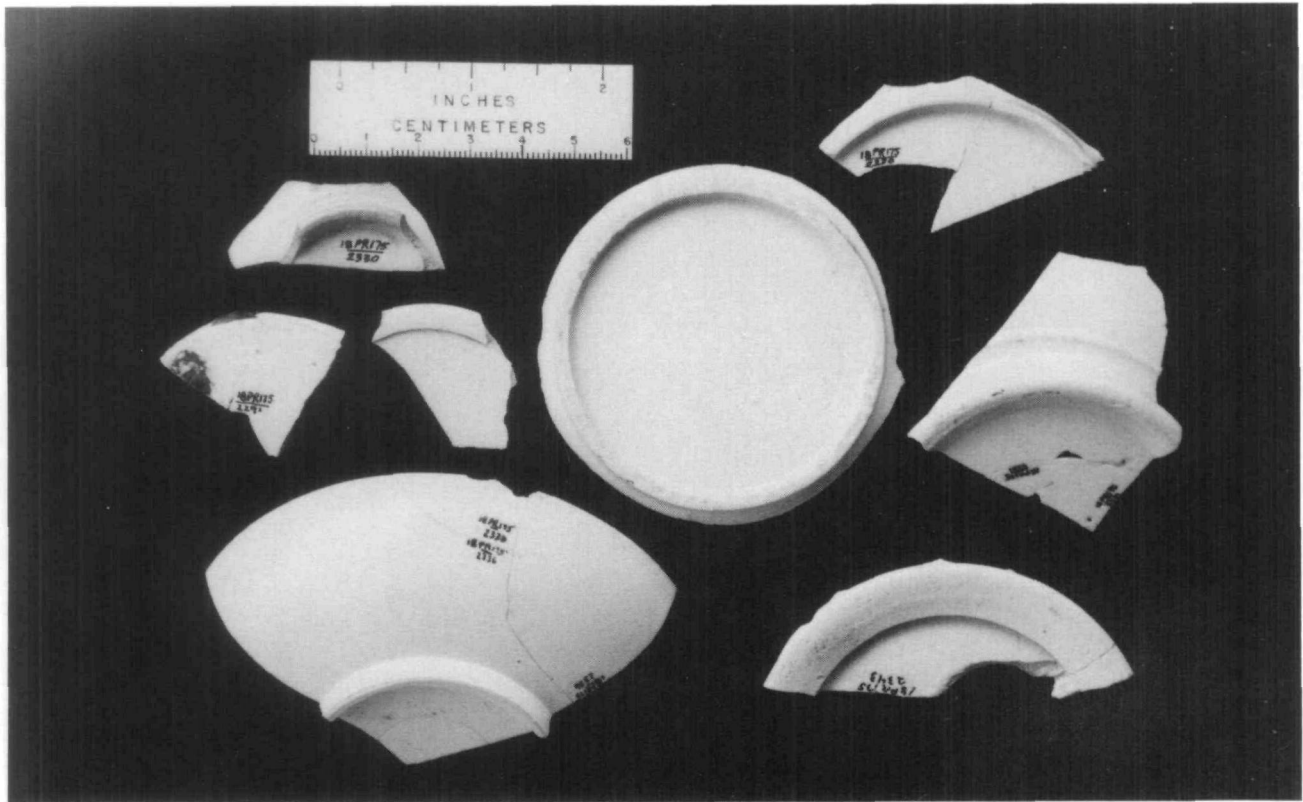


FIGURE 170. White salt glazed stoneware from Area I well.

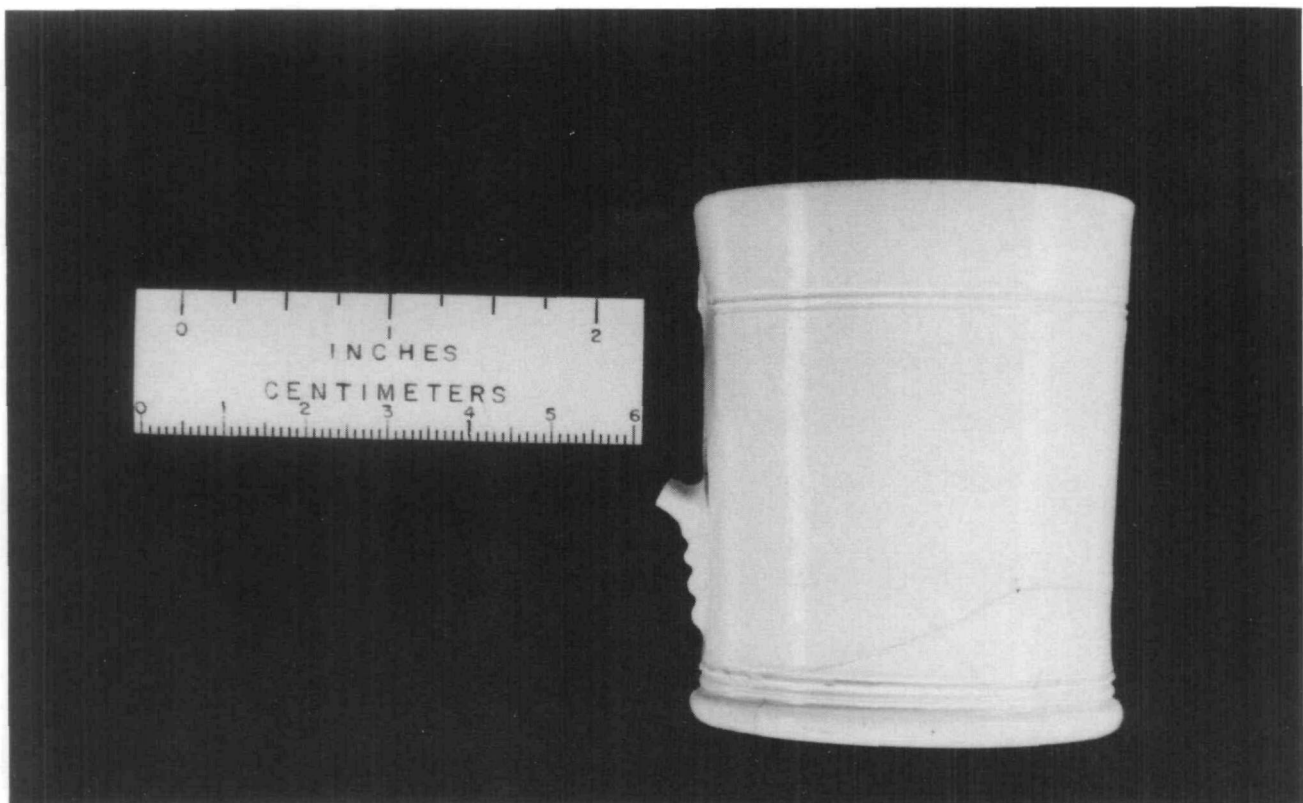


FIGURE 171. White salt glazed stoneware mug #240 from Area I well.

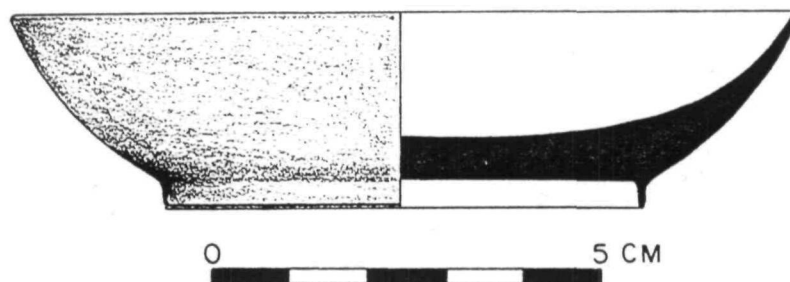


FIGURE 172. White salt glazed stoneware bowl #225 from Area I well.

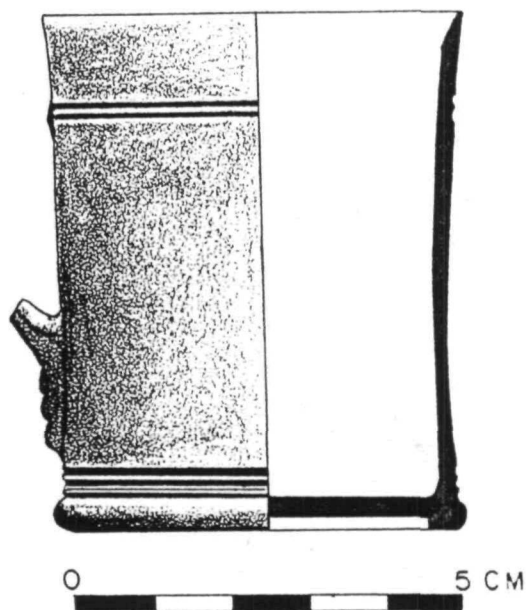


FIGURE 173. White salt glazed stoneware bowl #240 from Area I well.





FIGURE 174. Westerwald stamped blue stoneware vessel #17 with embossed medallion from Area I well.



FIGURE 175. Clear glazed refined earthenware bowl #267 with white rim from Area I well.



FIGURE 176. Unglazed redware jar #0005 from Area I well.



FIGURE 177. British brown stoneware jug #200 from Area I well.

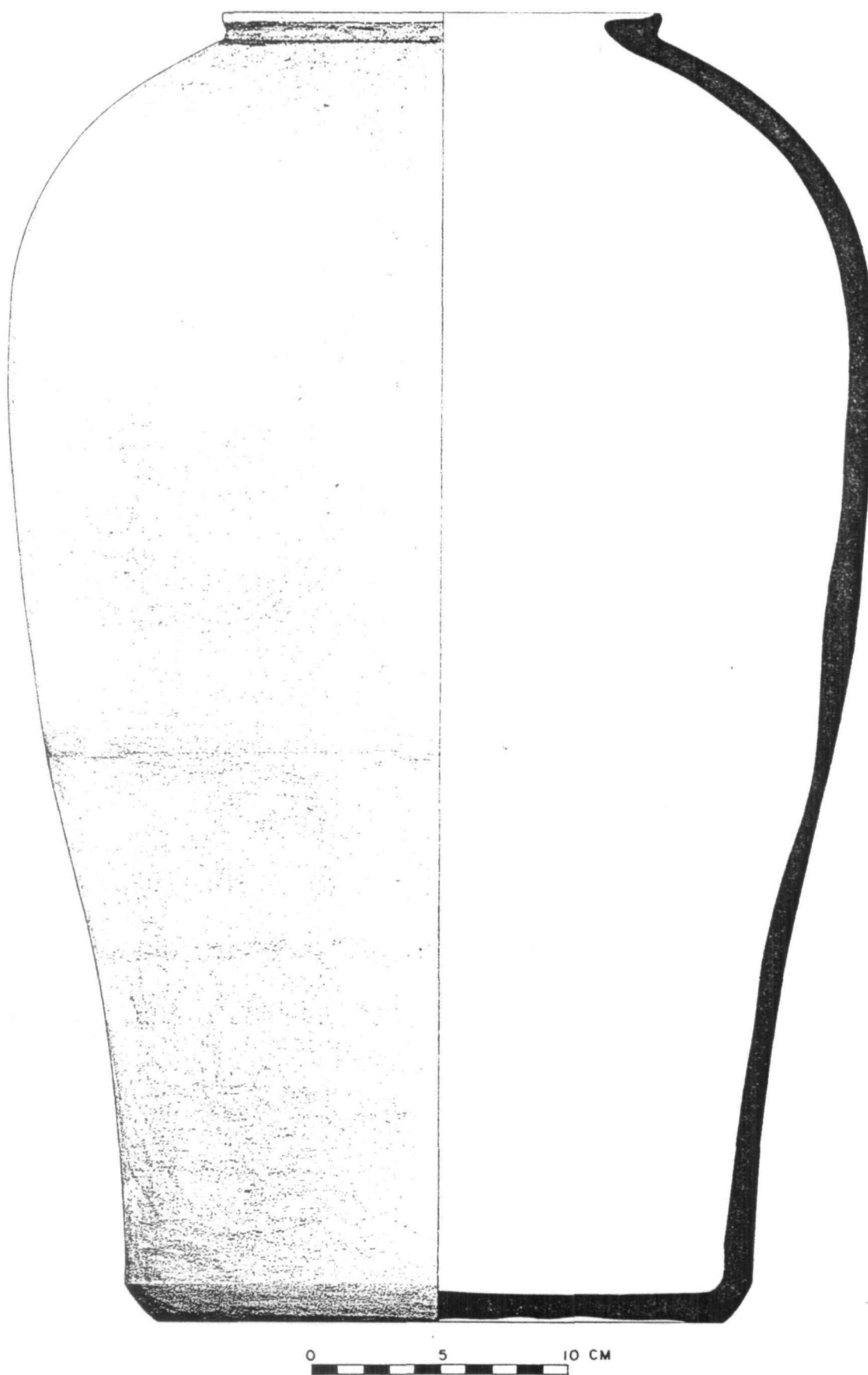


FIGURE 178. Unglazed redware jar #0005 reconstruction.

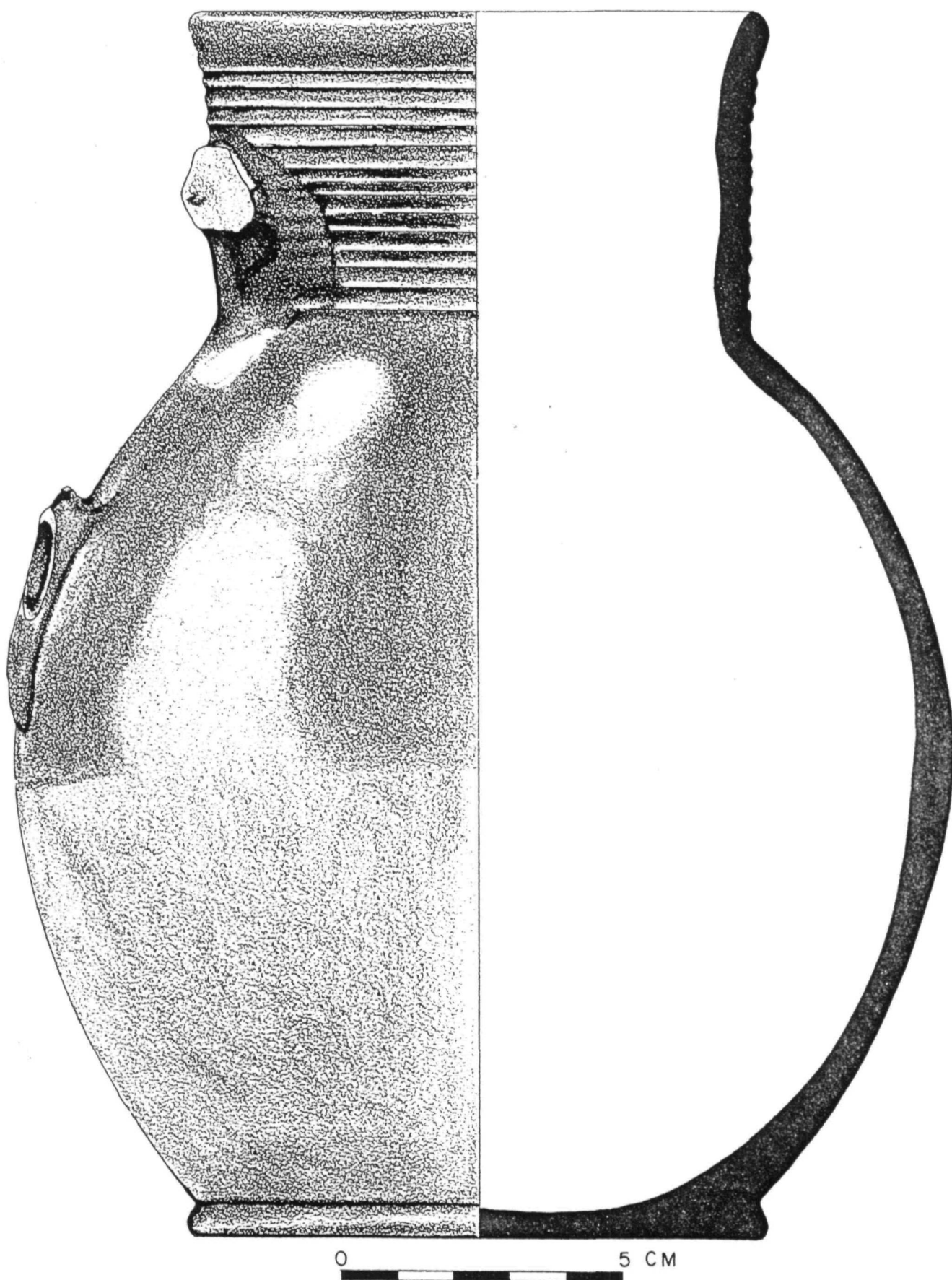


FIGURE 179. British brown stoneware pitcher #0018 from Area I well.

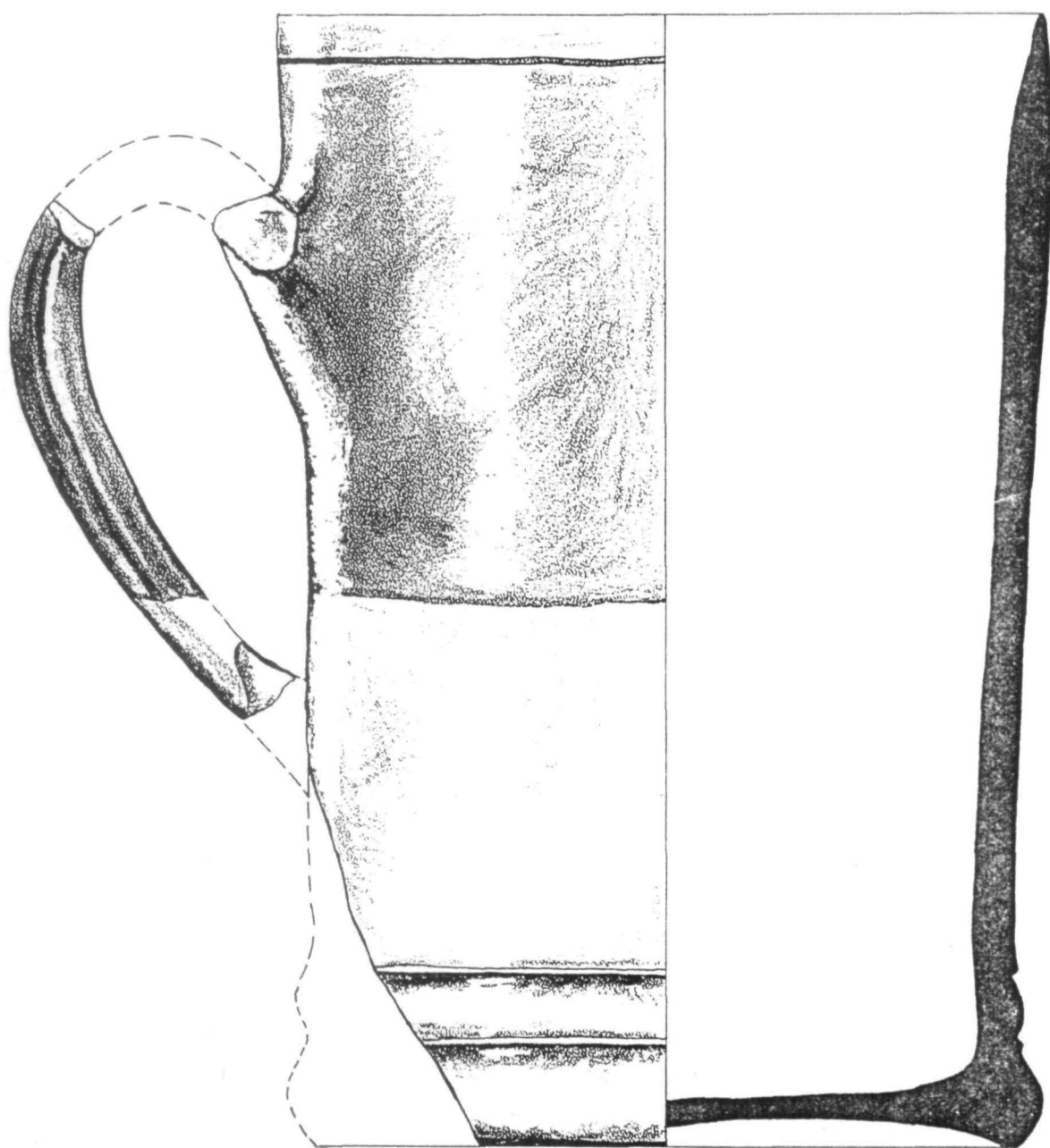


FIGURE 180. British brown stoneware mug #0014 from Area I well.



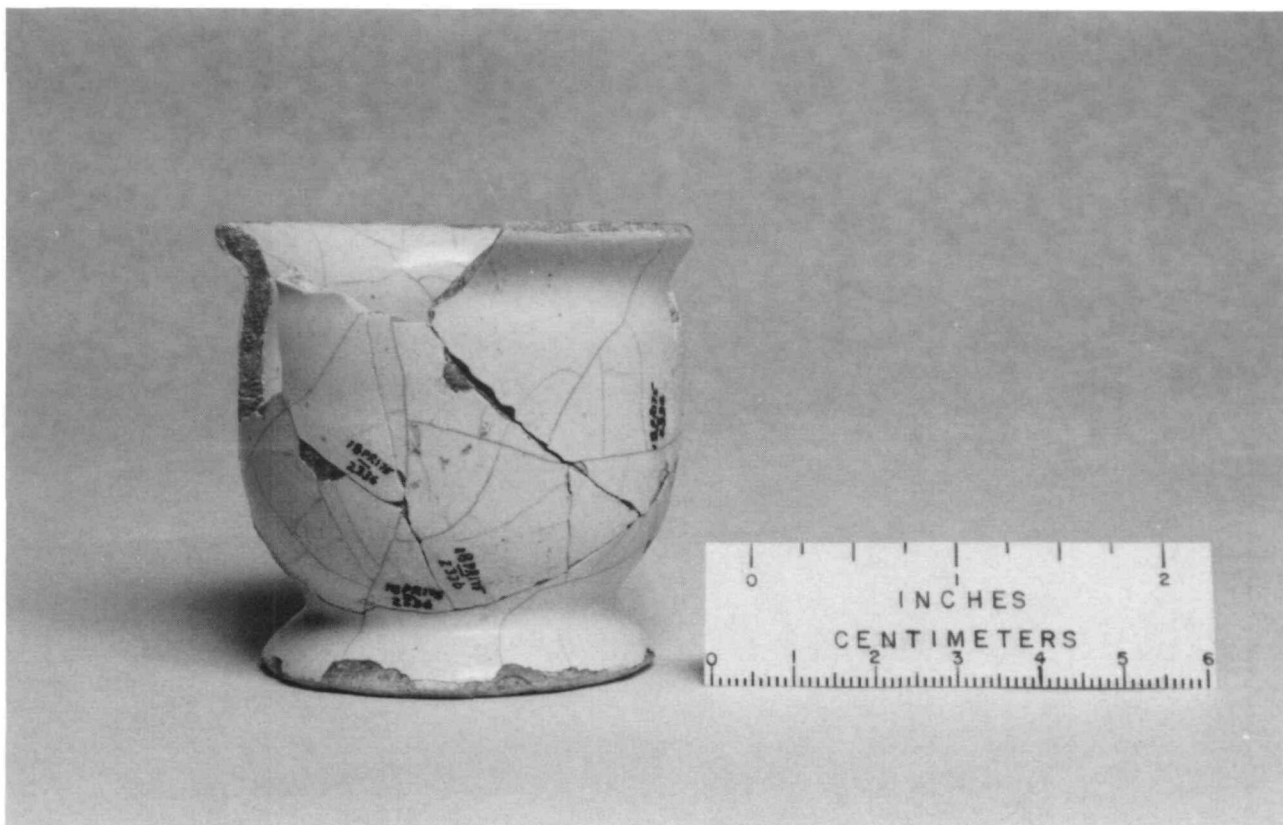


FIGURE 181. Plain Delft pot #153 with everted rim from Area I well.



FIGURE 182. Faience bowl #112 from Area I well.

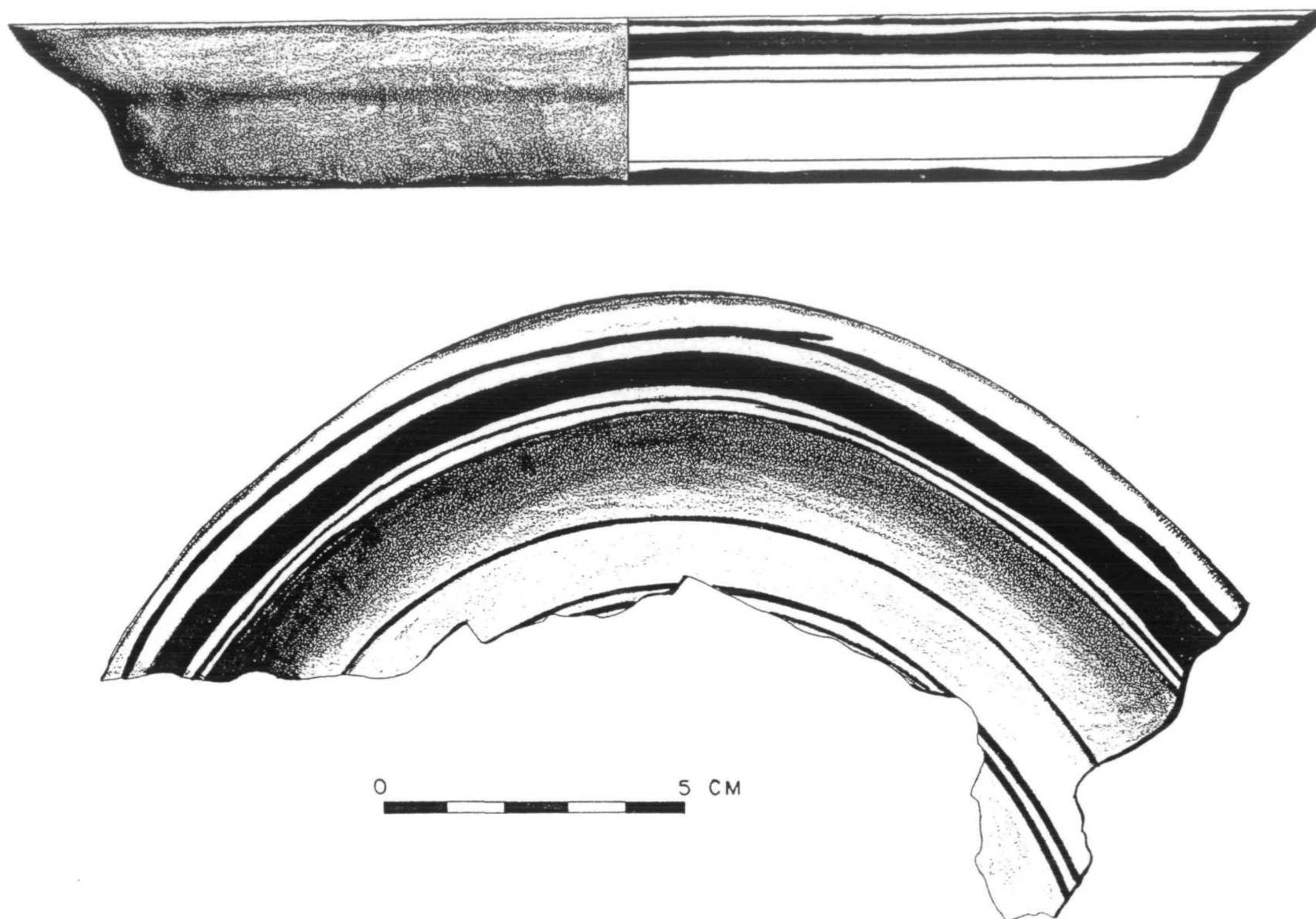


FIGURE 183. Blue and white Delft milk pan #0116 from Area I well.

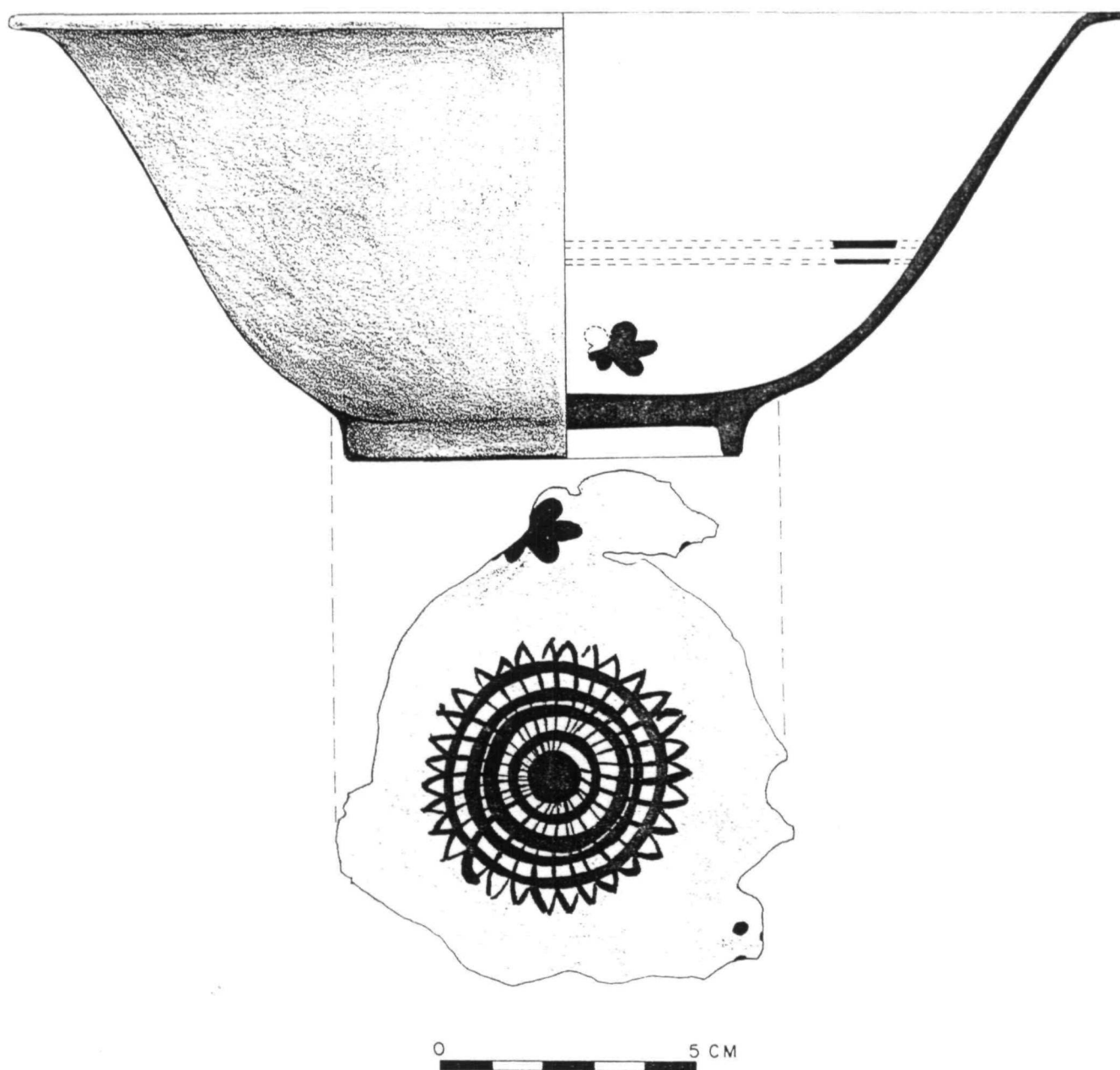


FIGURE 184. Blue and white Delft bowl #0111 reconstruction from Area I well.



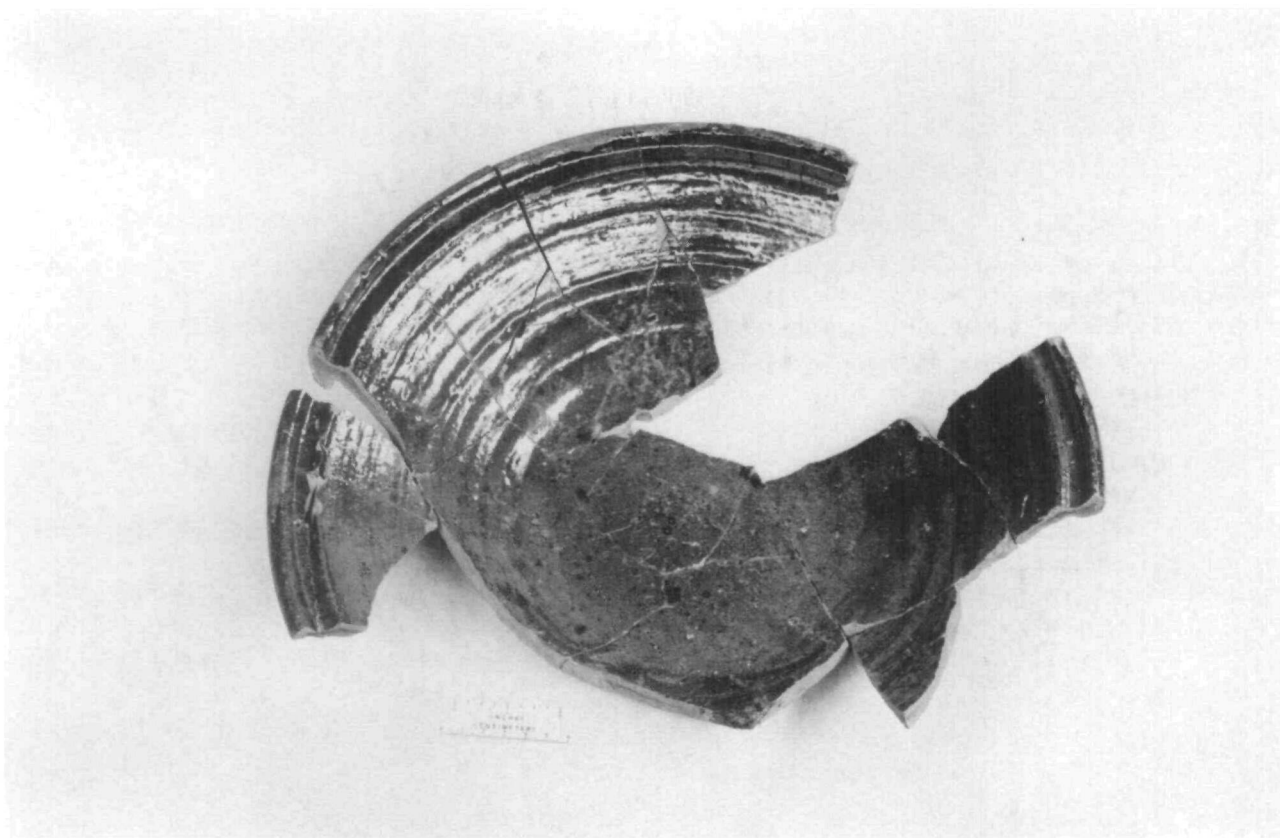


FIGURE 185. Plain clear glazed redware milk pan #0001 from Area I well.



FIGURE 186. Plain clear glazed redware milk pan from Area I well.

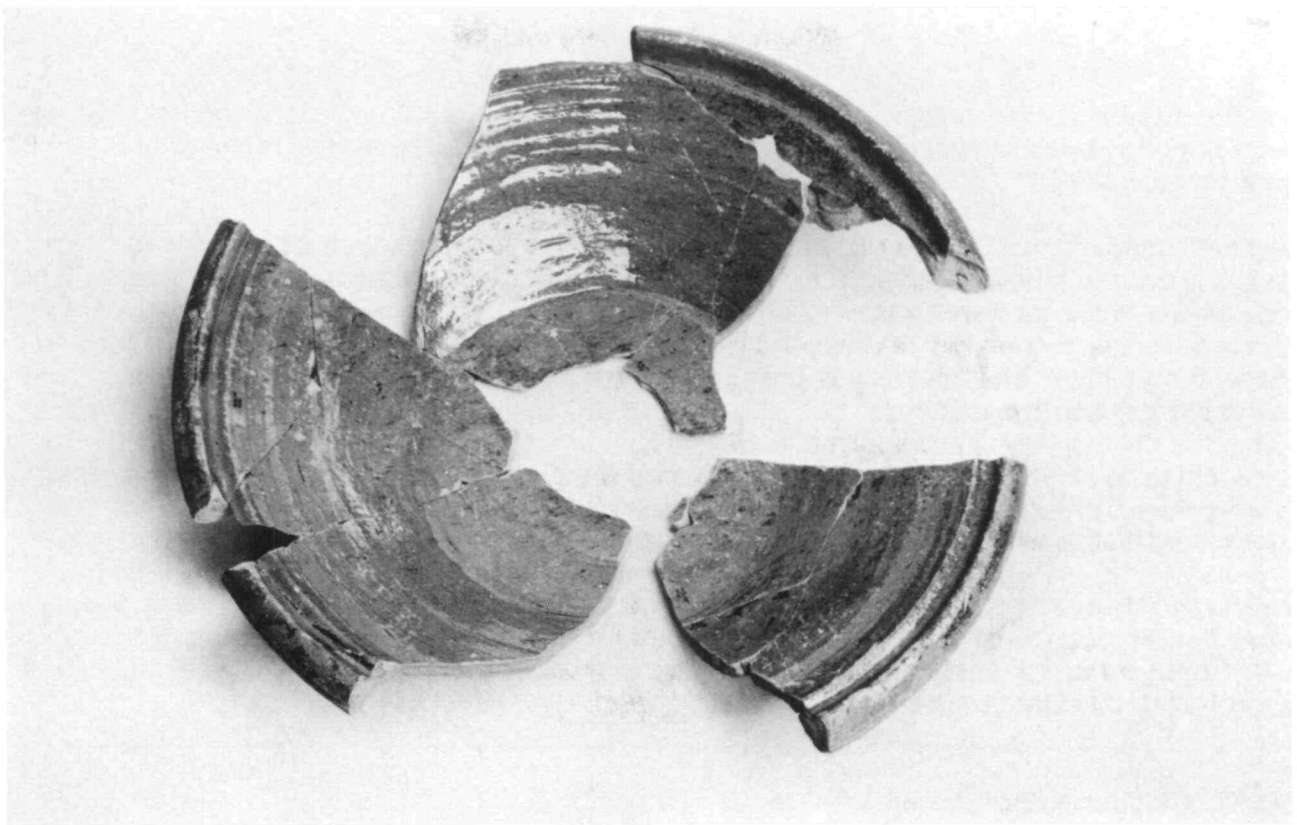


FIGURE 187. Plain clear glazed redware milk pan #0003 from Area I well.

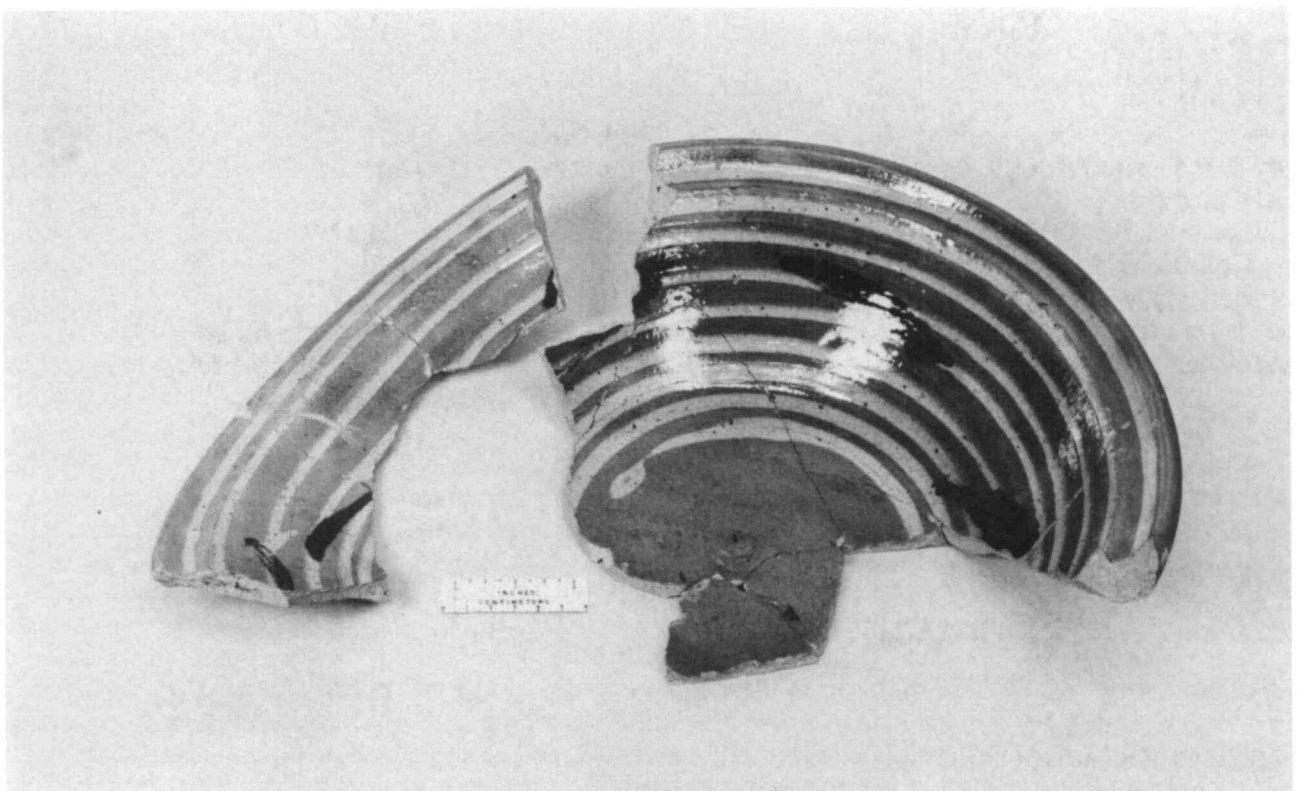


FIGURE 188. Trailed clear glazed slipware milk pan #0002 from Area I well and cellar.

The unidentifiable form category included 16 distinct vessels, or 15.2 percent of the total sample. Those vessels probably included both table service and storage vessels, as they represent a range of decorative/ware types.

The vessel sample from Sections B, C, and D appear to be heavily weighted towards tea wares. Cups and saucers combined accounted for 27 vessels, or more than a quarter of the total sample. The overall impact of the tea wares was probably even greater than those figures show, as a number of the small containers were probably tea cups and tea bowls, while at least some of the tableware lids were probably for tea pots. The functions of the 11 mugs in the sample are unknown, but they may have been used to serve coffee and/or tea.

Plates seem to be very under represented in the vessel sample. The five identified plates account for only 4.8 percent of the total vessel sample, and it is evident that ceramic plates were less common in the household that generated the artifacts under study than were cups and saucers.

The ceramic vessel sample extracted from the lowest three sections of the well is heavily weighed towards hollowware forms, and particularly tea ware forms. The composition of the vessel sample, and its implications for studying the socioeconomic level of the household that generated those artifacts will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

Table 92. Ceramic Vessels From Depositional Sections B, C, and D\*.

<u>Vessel Form</u>	<u>Porcelain</u>	<u>Refined Earthenware</u>	<u>Coarse Earthenware</u>
Cups	9	6	4
Mugs	0	7	4
Saucers	5	3	0
Plates	0	4	1
Large Bowl	0	3	3
Tableware Lid	0	9	0
Fancy Condiment Dish	1	0	0
Small Containers	0	13	0
Chamber Pots	0	2	0
Jugs, Crocks, & Jars	0	1	7
Milk Pans	0	0	4
Unidentified Crockery	0	0	1
Unidentified Forms	1	11	6
Totals	16	59	30

\*Excludes one plain Colono-Indian vessel of unknown form.

### Bottle Glass Vessel Analysis

The bottle vessel analysis conducted for the well yielded a total minimum number of 160 vessels. This analysis was based on extensive glass crossmends, which began with attempts to crossmend sherds from the same level, and was eventually extended to the total well sample. The crossmend results were somewhat less satisfactory with the bottle glass than with the ceramic sample. The

distribution of the vessels and their crossmends has already been presented in Figure 135. The crossmends by vessels clustered by depositional sections in much the same way as observed for the ceramic vessels. The major problem with the glass crossmends was that it was very difficult to sort the sherds in the same manner as had been done with ceramics. The sorting criteria available for the bottle glass included: flat sherds versus curved sherds (curved versus case forms); thickness; subtle color differences; and estimated vessel size. The flat versus curved criterion seemed to work well, but there were very few case bottles in the sample. Glass thickness was observed to vary somewhat within the same vessel, and thus provided no more than a general sorting guide. Glass color shades appeared to be more constant than thickness, but subtle shading variations were present in some cases within the same vessel. Vessel size proved to be a relatively good criterion, but the overwhelming majority of the vessels present were quart containers, although a few pint containers and a single demijohn were present (see Figure 189).

Four major bottle shapes were represented in the well sample (Figures 190 through 194). Case bottles, which are found as minority forms on sites dating to the first half of the eighteenth century, were represented by a few examples. The case bottle forms were primarily distributed in Depositional Sections B and C, and the sherds representative of that form were tightly clustered in level 36 in the top of Section B, and levels 53 through 56 in Section C (Figures 195 through 197). A single sherd from a case form was found in Section A.

Onion bottle forms, which were produced in quantity until the 1720s (Olive Jones, personal communication 1985), were clustered in Depositional Section B. The sherds that comprised the onion forms were clustered in levels 51 through 56 (Figure 198). Mallet forms, which were initially produced in the 1720s and eventually replaced onion forms in popularity (Olive Jones, personal communication 1985), were clustered in Sections B, C, and D. Sherds from mallet forms were recovered from levels 38 through 56, and 63 through 76 (Figure 198). Cylinder type bottles were introduced in the 1740s, and were popular into the nineteenth century (Olive Jones, personal communication 1985). Sherds assignable to cylinder types were recovered from levels 37 through 55 (Figure 198). Cylinder bottles were the most common forms in the bottle sample.

The crossmend study yielded a total of 1,410 mended sherds. Many of these mends consisted of only two sherds, but the decision was made to use only the crossmended sherds to depict the distribution of the spirit bottle glass through the well deposits. Figure 198 and Table 93 present the results of that study, and the mixed nature of Depositional Section A is made even more clear by reference to that figure. Depositional Section A contained only 27 sherds that crossmended, or only 5.8 percent of the total spirit bottle glass recovered from that section. A total of 23.1 percent of the Section B spirit bottle glass crossmended, while 10.9 percent of the spirit bottle glass sherds from Section C fit that category. The highest percentage of crossmends was achieved in Section D, with a total of 33.3 percent.

Base and finish sherds were studied independently of the crossmend analysis, although a high percentage of the crossmends achieved were indeed from finishes and bases. The purpose of the study of the basal sherds was to determine the type of technology used to produce the bottles in the sample, as well as to contribute to the minimum vessel count determinations. Table 94 lists the basal sherds by pontil type and depositional section.

It may be possible to make rough correlations between country or region of manufacture and pontil type. Sand pontils are generally thought to be of English origin, while glass, blow pipe, and particularly iron pontils are often considered to have been produced on the European continent (Jones 1971). If these assumptions are correct, it appears that a majority of the identifiable pontil types in Sections B and C were from the European continent, while most of those from Section D were



FIGURE 189. Olive green glass wine bottles from Area I well. A - #0527. B - #0525.



FIGURE 190. Olive green glass wine bottles from Area I well. A - Onion, #0400. B - Mallet, #0401.  
C - Mallet/cylinder, #0402. D - Cylinder, #0403.

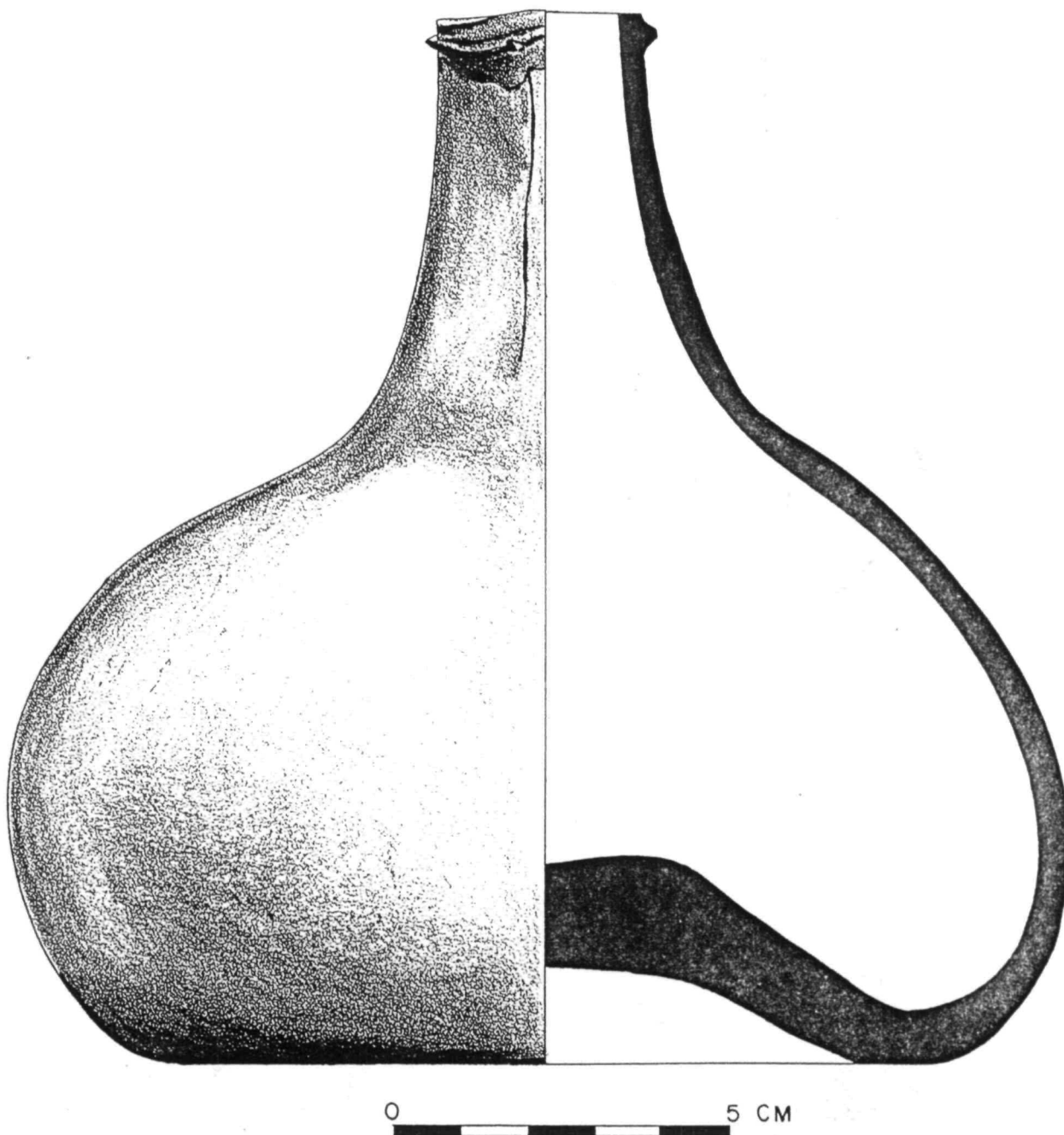


FIGURE 191. Olive green glass onion bottle #0400 from Area I well.



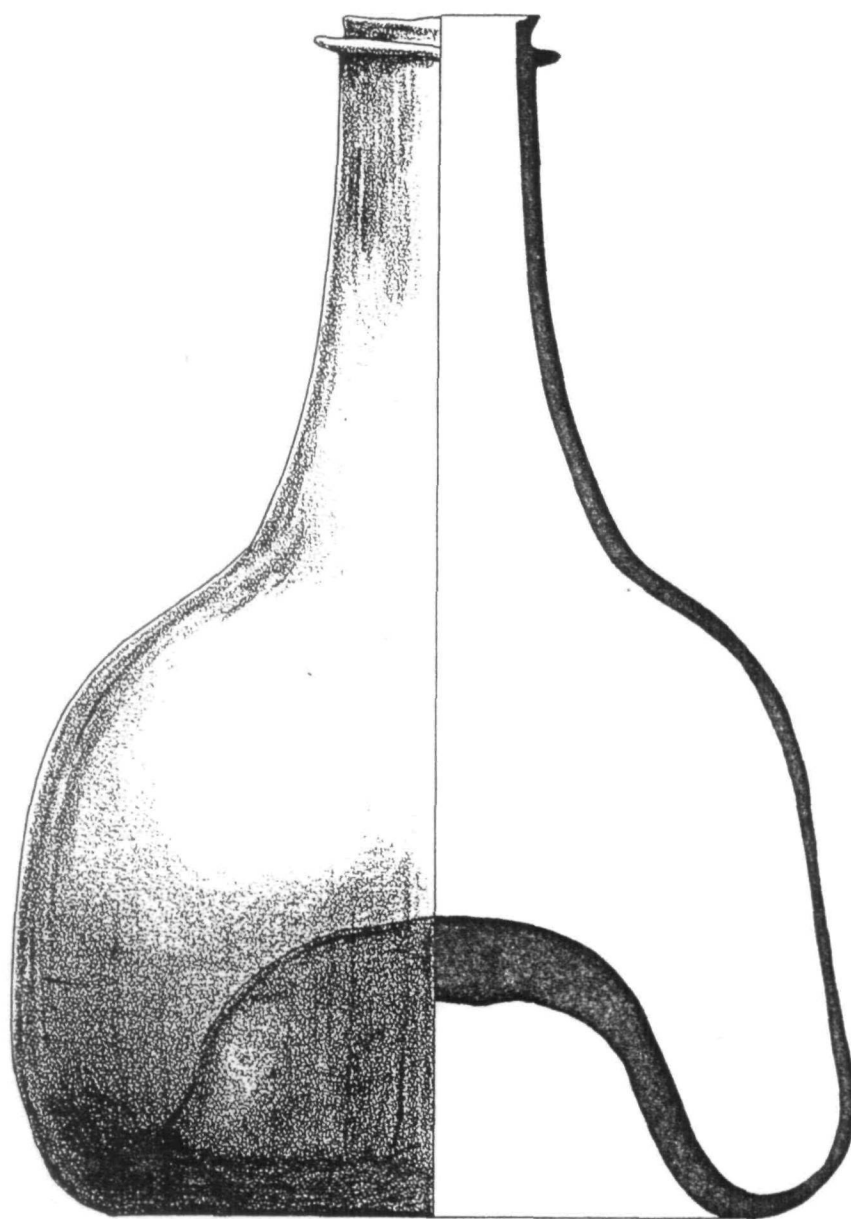


FIGURE 192. Olive green glass mallet bottle #0522 from Area I well.

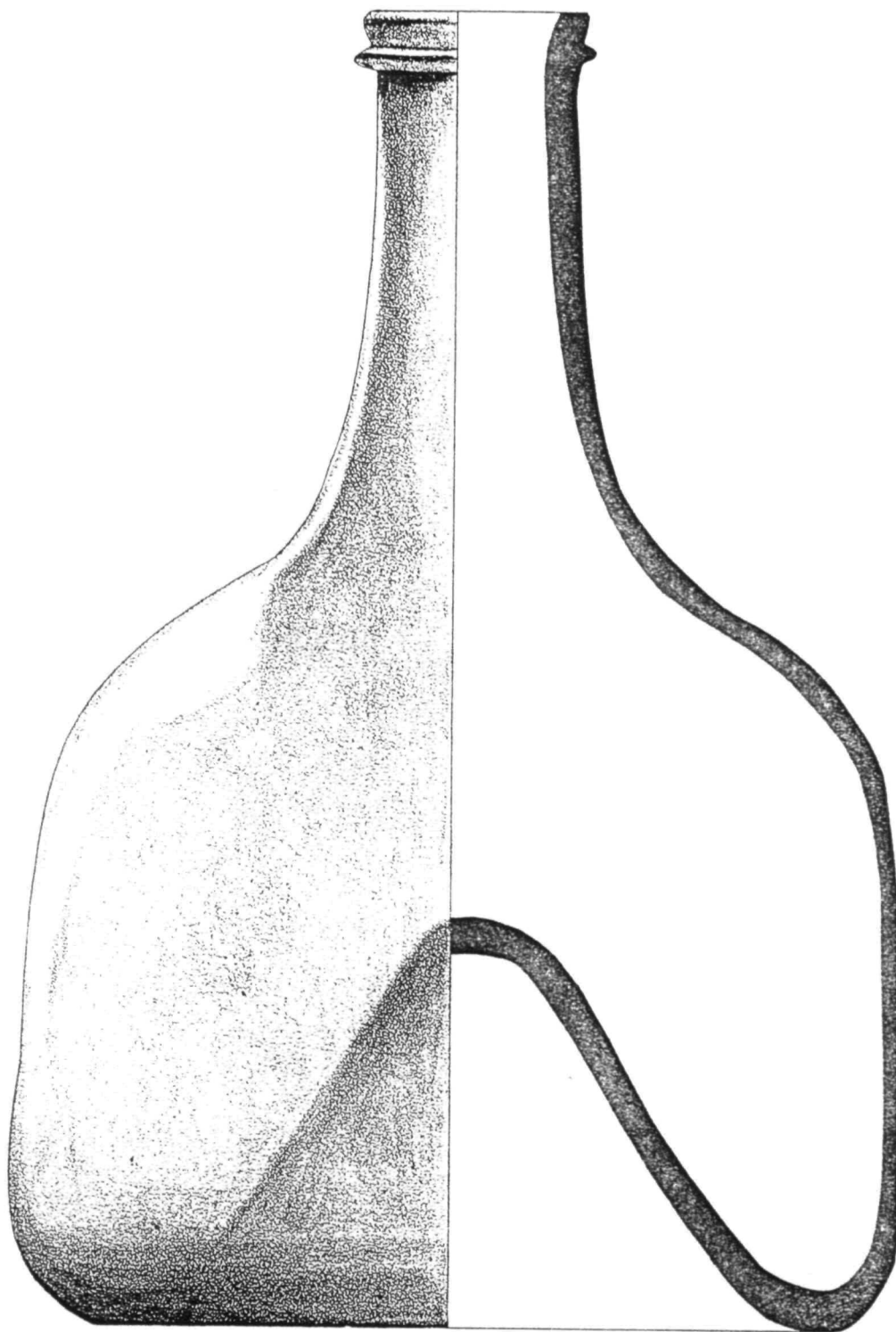
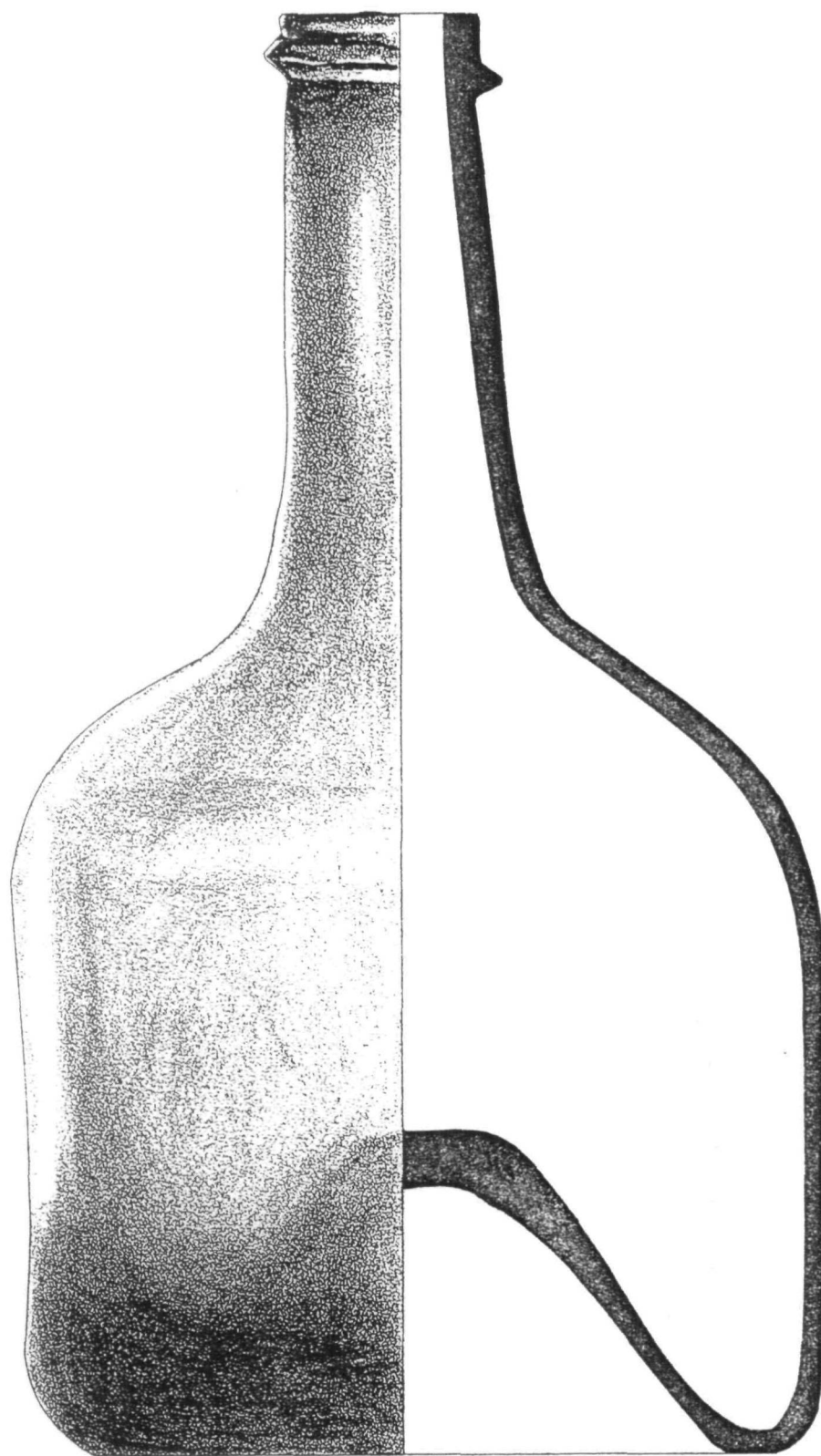


FIGURE 193. Olive green glass mallet/cylinder bottle #0401 from Arca I well.





0 5 CM

FIGURE 194. Olive green glass cylinder bottle #0403 from Area I well.



FIGURE 195. Olive green glass case bottle #0706 from Area I well.

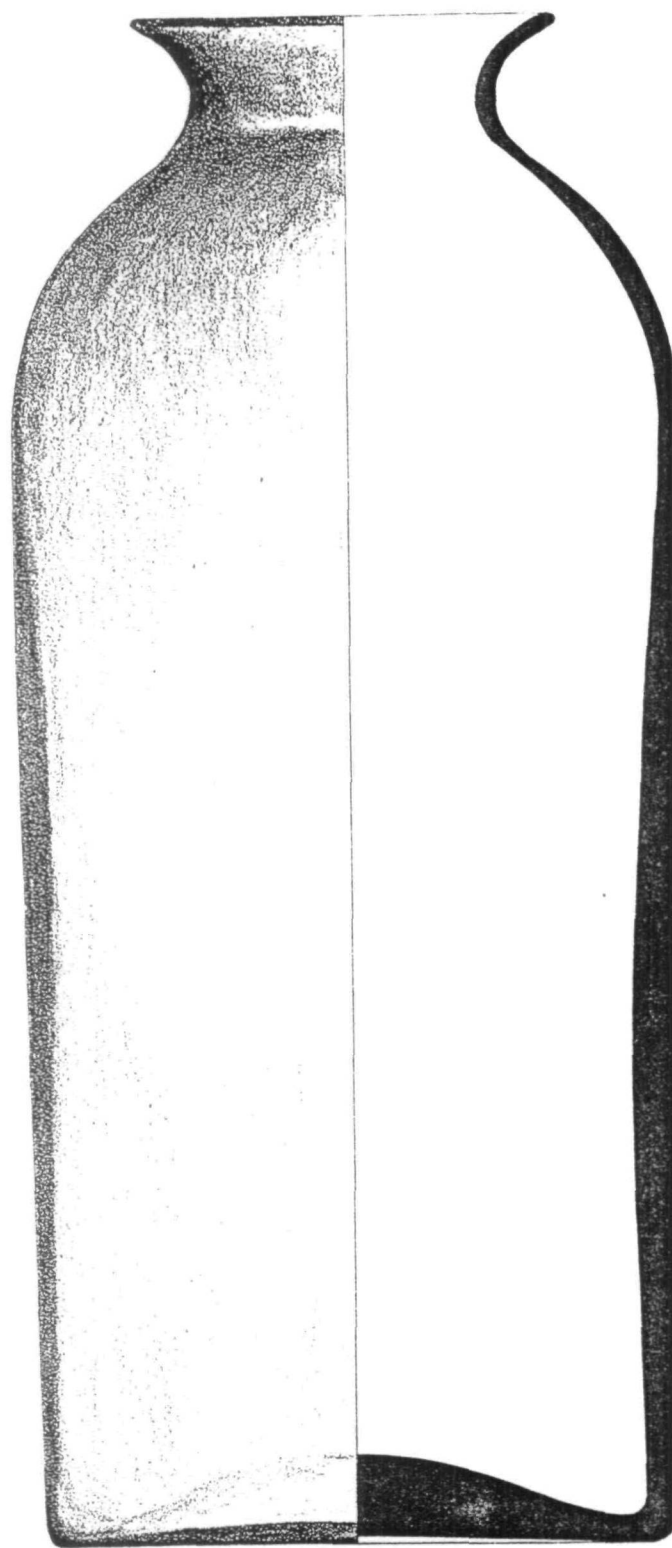


FIGURE 196. Olive green glass case bottle #0703 from Area I well.

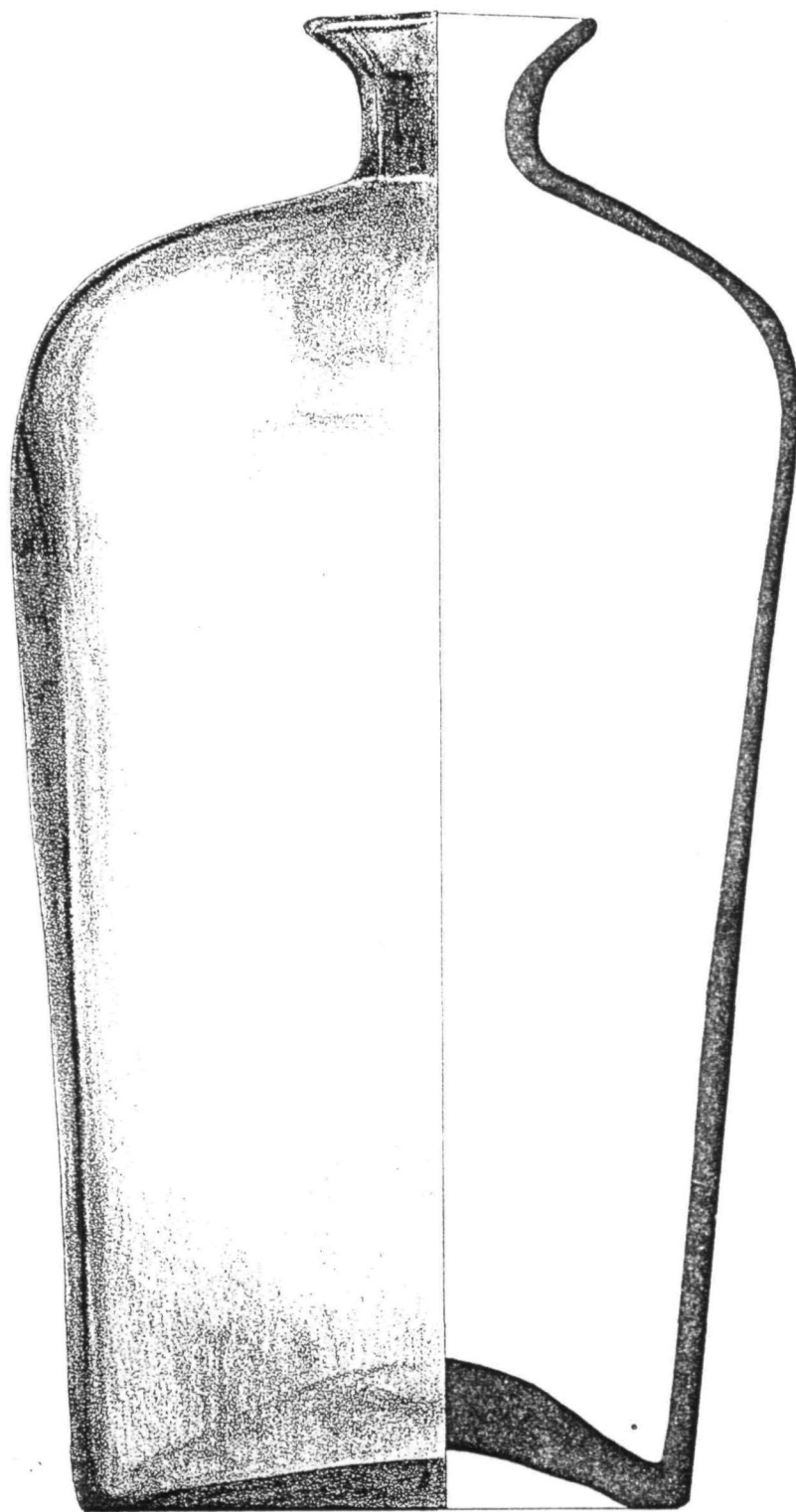


FIGURE 197. Olive green glass case bottle #0706 from Area I well.

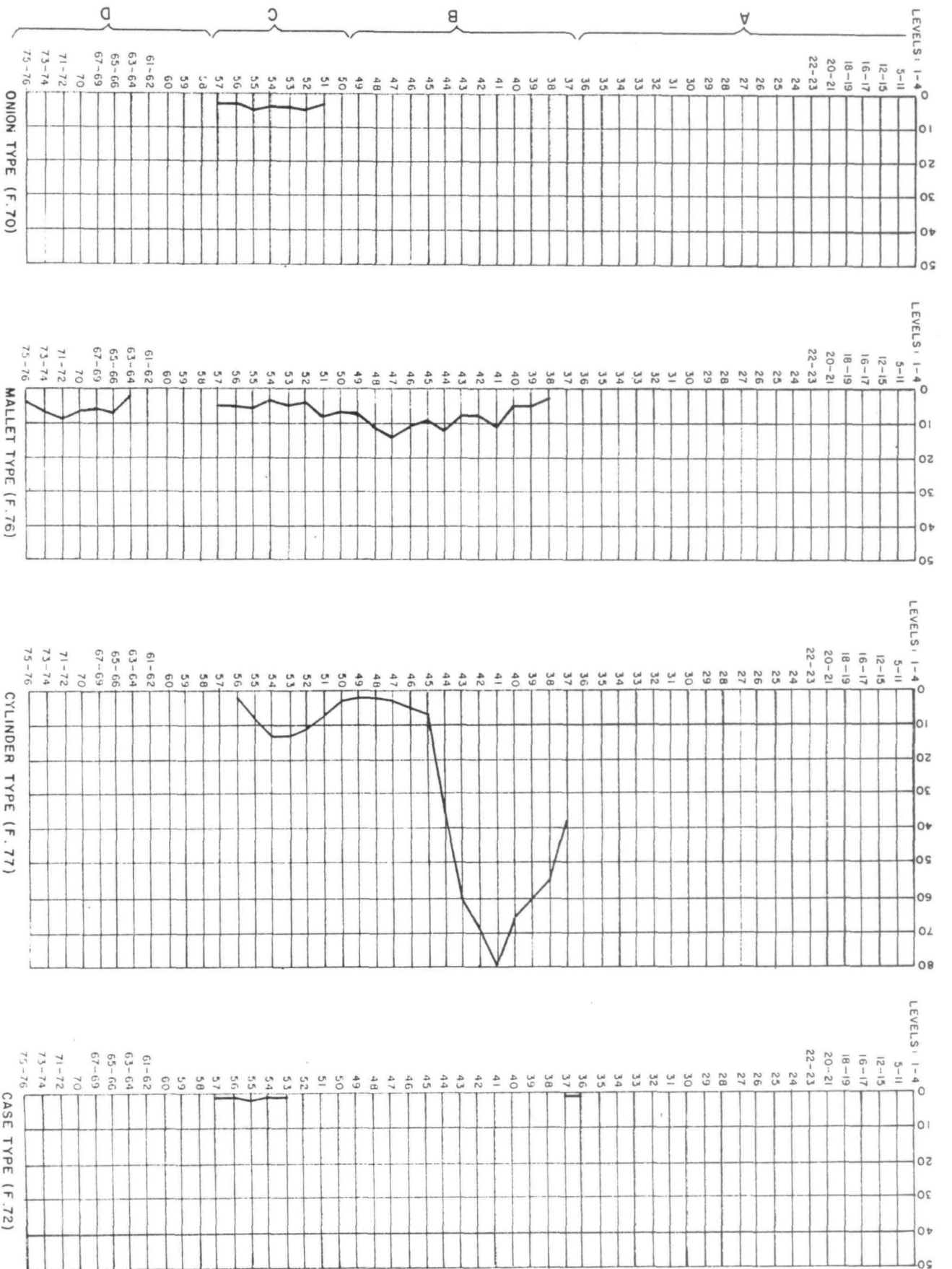


FIGURE 198. Spirit bottle crossends by type.

Table 93. Wine Bottle Forms by Depositional Sections.

Quantity	Bottle Form	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
936	Unidentified Wine Bottle	26	96.30	133	32.76	603	78.93	174	81.69
42	Onion	0	0.00	1	0.25	40	5.24	1	0.47
66	Case/Gin	1	3.70	17	4.19	48	6.28	0	0.00
99	Mallet	0	0.00	20	4.93	41	5.37	38	17.84
267	Cylindrical	0	0.00	235	57.88	32	4.19	0	0.00
1410	Totals	27	100.00	406	100.01	764	100.01	213	100.00

English. It should be noted, however, that the data on origin for the pontil types was gathered in Canada, and may not take the technology used in American glass houses into account to the degree that would be appropriate for a site located in Maryland.

Table 94. Wine Pontil Types by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Pontil Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
609	Missing/Unidentified	25	92.59	160	38.19	270	35.34	154	72.30
320	Glass	0	0.00	99	23.63	220	28.80	1	0.47
418	Sand	2	7.41	124	29.59	241	31.54	51	23.94
43	Blow Pipe	0	0.00	27	6.44	16	2.09	0	0.00
33	Iron	0	0.00	9	2.15	17	2.23	7	3.29
1423	Totals	27	100.00	419	100.00	764	100.00	213	100.00

The finishes within the sample were also studied at the sherd level. Tables 95 and 96 present the finish attributes that were observed within the collections, with terminology based on Jones and Sullivan (1985).

Table 95. Wine Bottle Lip Types by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Lip Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
757	Missing/Unidentified	24	88.89	232	55.37	420	54.97	81	38.03
127	Straight Finish	0	0.00	70	16.71	56	7.33	1	0.47
498	Everted/Flared	2	7.41	115	27.45	250	32.72	131	61.50

Table 95. Continued.

5	Flanged	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.65	0	0.00
11	Flat Side, Folded Out	0	0.00	0	0.00	11	1.44	0	0.00
22	Tapered Down	1	3.70	0	0.00	21	2.75	0	0.00
1	Flanged, Folded In	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.13	0	0.00
1	Rounded Side	0	0.00	1	0.24	0	0.00	0	0.00
1	V-Shaped	0	0.00	1	0.24	0	0.00	0	0.00
1423	Totals	27	100.00	419	100.01	764	99.99	213	100.00

Table 96. Wine Bottle Rims by Depositional Section.

Quantity	Rim Type	Depositional Section							
		A		B		C		D	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
763	Missing/Unidentified	24	88.89	232	55.37	426	55.76	81	38.03
25	Rounded Trail	0	0.00	2	0.48	23	3.01	0	0.00
270	Rounded, Flattened								
	Top & Bottom	0	0.00	12	2.86	191	25.00	67	31.46
55	Down Tooled	0	0.00	5	1.19	49	6.41	1	0.47
243	V-Tooled	2	7.41	165	39.38	30	3.93	46	21.60
30	Up-Tooled, Flattened								
	Side/V-Shaped	0	0.00	2	0.48	10	1.31	18	8.45
8	Rounded	0	0.00	0	0.00	8	1.05	0	0.00
29	Flattened	1	3.70	1	0.24	27	3.53	0	0.00
1423	Total	27	100.00	419	100.00	764	100.00	213	100.01

The various lip and rim types presented in Tables 95 and 96 do not have known temporal value at this time. These data are presented more for their future comparative value than for any other reason.

Study of the spirit bottle glass collection yielded 56 sherds which contained lettering scratched into their surfaces. In all but three cases, the lettering consisted of a single "A" executed in several different fashions (Figure 199). One sherd contained the name "Addison" (Figure 200), while a second sherd contained an "A" over the date "1726" (Figure 201). A third sherd contained the letters "J[ ]A", which may relate to John Addison. The lettering in that case was too faint to clearly illustrate. At least one of the scratched "A" letters appeared on a mallet form bottle.

The scratched letters appeared to be non-repetitive motifs on the bottles in the sample. If that was indeed the case, it would mean that approximately 35 percent of the 160 bottles in the minimum vessel sample contained the scratched letters. The actual percentage of bottles that contained the scratched letters in the sample was probably much lower, however, as the minimum vessel counts probably greatly understated the actual number of vessels present.

It is not possible at this time to determine the purpose of the scratched letters. The letters were scratched into the bottle surfaces by hand in a rather amateurish fashion. Further the two types of



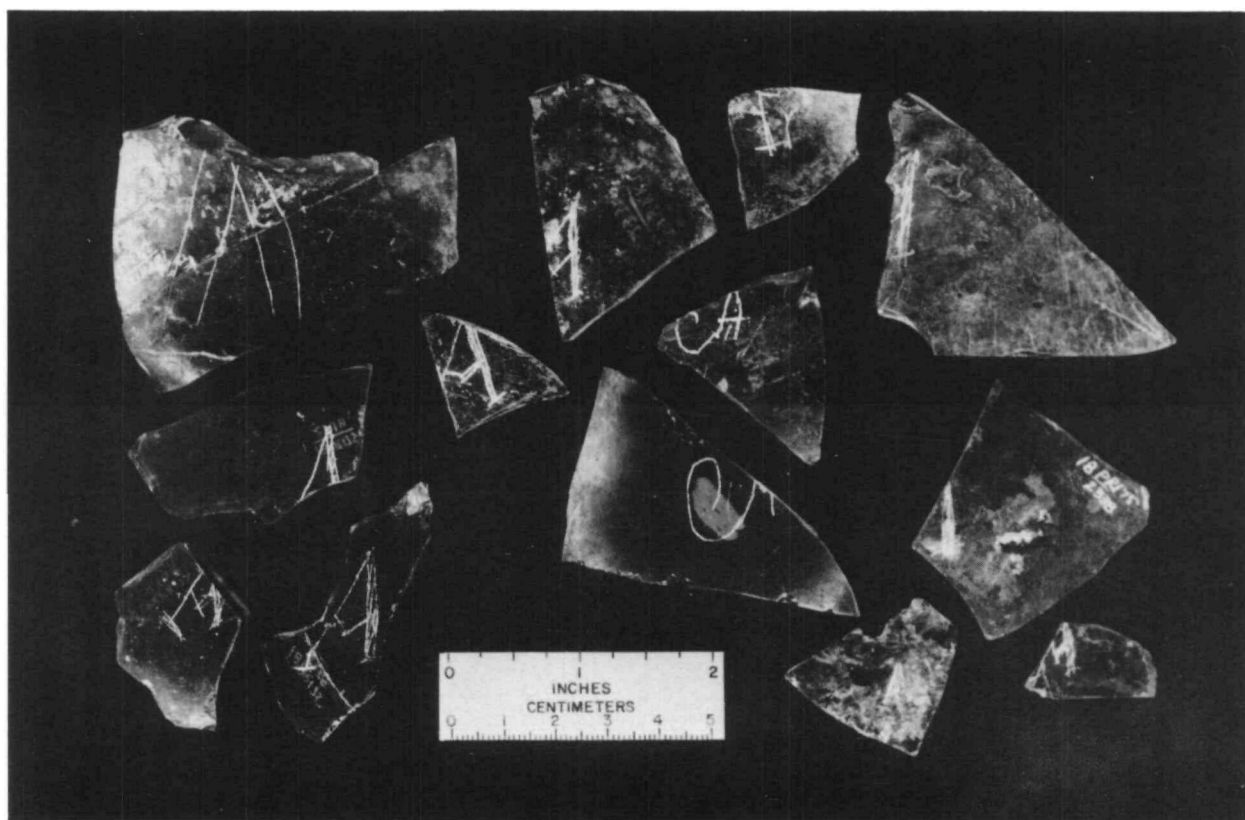


FIGURE 199. Olive green bottle glass sherds from Area I well, with "A"s scratched on them.  
Assorted etched sherds, Levels: 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63, 67, 71, 74.



FIGURE 200. Olive green glass wine bottle sherd from Area I well, with the name "Addison" scratched on it,  
Level 55.



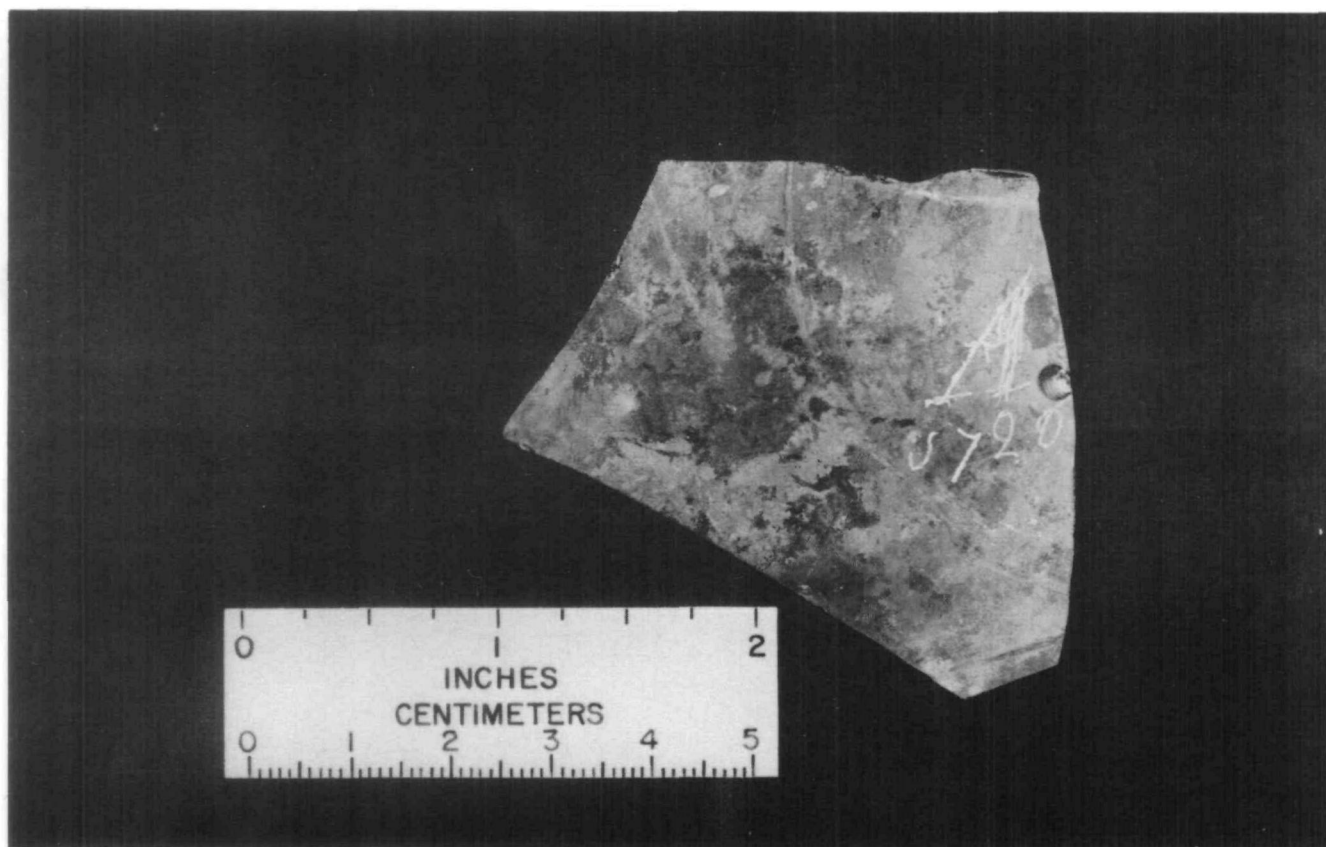


FIGURE 201. Olive green glass wine bottle sherd from Area I well, with an "A" and the date 1720 or 1726 scratched on it, Level 57.

"A"s (a printed one with a v-shaped crossbar and a cursive form) would seem to imply that the letters were produced by at least two individuals. It is possible that the letters were used to aid in some sort of inventory control, but without parallels from other sites of the period that remains unsupported speculation.

The research conducted on the spirit bottles from the well yielded evidence of at least 160 vessels in the sample, although the total number present was probably grossly under represented in this study. The presence of mallet type bottles in the lowest excavated depositional section in the well does provide some insights into the *terminus ante quem* date of the well artifacts, however. Mallet bottles became popular in the 1720s, and more specifically after ca. 1725. The presence of mallet bottles in Section D, and their occurrence to the exclusion of onion types in that section, supports the idea that the deposits were placed in the well between the 1727 and 1765 estate inventories compiled for the Oxon Hill Manor property.

### The Wise Analysis

The ceramics from the Area 1 well were subjected to the Wise (1976) Analysis as an attempt to derive a set of quantitative figures that may be reflective of the very high socioeconomic status enjoyed by the eighteenth-century residents of the Oxon Hill site. The computations to derive the status indices used under the Wise analysis were:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \# \text{ of refined ware sherds (480)} & & \\ \hline & = & \text{Status Index I (1.41)} \\ \# \text{ of coarse ware sherds (340)} & & \\ \\ \# \text{ of porcelain sherds (198)} & & \\ \hline & = & \text{Status Index II (0.41)} \\ \# \text{ of refined ware sherds (480)} & & \end{array}$$

The Status Index I and II values do appear to be very high, and indeed may have captured the high economic status enjoyed by the eighteenth-century Addisons. The results of the Wise Analysis will be further discussed in the Artifact Analysis Interpretations section of this chapter, which follows at the end of this chapter.

### AREA II

Area II was located north of, and adjacent to, Area I, and consisted of steep slopes on the south face of a ravine. The purpose of the excavations conducted in this area was to recover controlled samples of artifacts from the midden deposits believed to be present. Excavation of Area II (discussed in the preceding chapter) failed to identify intact middens and revealed that, although artifacts were present, vertical stratigraphy was totally absent. Further, very few features were encountered in Area II, and no feature contained an artifact sample of greater than 40 items.

The MCD derived for Area II was 1816.7, and was thus about 14 years later than the median occupation date of the site. The mean ceramic dating results indicate that Area II was used for trash dumping more frequently later in the history of the site than earlier, and may reflect changing perceptions of how that space was to be properly used within the general framework of the main house compound.

The artifacts recovered from Area II were highly fragmented, and the Area II contexts appear to have lacked both vertical and horizontal integrity. The artifact collection from this area is thus not suitable for sophisticated analysis, and the analysis discussion will be limited to a consideration of the artifact pattern evident in the area.

### Artifact Pattern Analysis

Table 97 presents the detailed artifact pattern from Area II. The Area II artifact patterns are presented by both units and features for comparative purposes, although the overwhelming majority of the artifacts from that area were recovered from topsoil contexts in the units.

Table 97. Area II.

	18th	%	Features		No Date	%	Total	Units	
			19th	%				All	%
KITCHEN GROUP									
Ceramics	39	22.54	0	0.00	4	7.84	43	3836	40.84
Spirit Bottles	30	17.34	0	0.00	10	19.61	40	982	10.45
Bottle Glass	4	2.31	0	0.00	3	5.88	7	630	6.71
Pharmaceutical	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	4	0.04
Tableware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	78	0.83
Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	4	0.04
Modern Bottle Glass	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Sub-Total	73	42.20	0	0.00	17	33.33	90	5535	58.93
ARCHITECTURE GROUP									
Window Glass	15	8.67	0	0.00	3	5.88	18	1577	16.79
Wrought Nails	7	4.05	0	0.00	3	5.88	10	72	0.77
Cut Nails	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	26	0.28
Unidentified Nails	66	38.15	0	0.00	22	43.14	88	1167	12.42
Spikes	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.96	1	3	0.03
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.02
Sub-Total	88	50.87	0	0.00	29	56.86	117	2847	30.31
ARMS GROUP									
Ball, Shot, Sprue	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.96	1	3	0.03
Gunflints, Spalls	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	3	0.03
Sub-Total	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	1.96	1	6	0.06
CLOTHING GROUP									
Buckles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Thimbles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.02
Buttons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	5	0.05
Hook & Eye	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Glass Beads	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Glass Shirt Stud	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Sub-Total	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	12	0.13

Table 97. Continued.

<b>PERSONAL GROUP</b>									
Coins	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	6	0.06
Sub-Total	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	7	0.07
<b>TOBACCO GROUP</b>									
Pipes & Stems	10	5.78	0	0.00	4	7.84	14	308	3.28
<b>ACTIVITIES GROUP</b>									
Toys	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Storage Items	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.01
Horse Tack	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.02
Miscellaneous Hardware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	4	0.04
Other	2	1.16	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	670	7.13
Sub-Total	2	1.16	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	678	7.22
Grand-Total	173	100.00	0	0.00	51	100.00	224	9393	100.00

Kitchen Group

The artifacts of the Kitchen Group formed the majority of the items retrieved from the Area II units, but only 42.2 percent from the features. The composition of the Kitchen Group is presented in Table 98.

Ceramics were the primary constituents of the Kitchen Group in both the Area II units and features. The 69.3 percent representation of the ceramics in the units was somewhat higher than the 55.8 percent noted for the Area I units, and the total spirit bottle and bottle glass percentage of 29.1 percent was significantly lower than the 39.8 percent noted in similar contexts in Area I. Area II did contain

Table 98. Area II Kitchen Group Artifacts.

	Features				Feature				
	18th	%	19th	%	No date	%	Total	Units	%
KITCHEN GROUP									
Ceramics	39	53.42	0	0.00	4	23.53	43	3836	69.30
Spirit Bottles	30	41.10	0	0.00	10	58.82	40	982	17.74
Bottle Glass	4	5.48	0	0.00	3	17.65	7	630	11.38
Pharmaceutical	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	4	0.07
Tableware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	78	1.41
Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	4	0.07
Modern Bottle Glass	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.02
Grand-Total	73	100.00	0	0.00	17	100.00	90	5535	100.00

proportionately more spirit bottle glass than did the Area I units, as the olive green bottle glass outnumbered later types by a ratio of six to four. That factor is somewhat curious in light of the MCD from this area, since that date was about 14 years later than the median occupation date of the site. The disparity between the earlier and later bottle glass types was even greater in the features, as only 12 percent of the bottle glass from the features was of the later types.

Tableware accounted for 1.4 percent of the Kitchen Group from the units, and was absent in the features. The pharmaceutical glass, tableware, and kitchenware classes were represented by very few artifacts from the units, and were absent in the features.

### Architecture Group

The Architecture Group accounted for less than one-third of the artifacts from the Area II units, but over half of the artifacts from the features (Table 99). Window glass accounted for 55.4 percent of the Architecture Group artifacts from the units, but only 17.1 percent from the features. The window glass percentage from the units compares favorably to the 49.1 percent occurrence noted in the Area I units. The low percentage of occurrence in the Area II features probably was the result of the low overall sample size from those contexts, and does not form a meaningful variation.

Table 99. Area II Architecture Group Artifacts.

	Features				Feature		Total	Units	%
	18th	%	19th	%	No date	%			
ARCHITECTURE GROUP									
Window Glass	15	17.05	0	0.00	3	10.34	18	1577	55.39
Wrought Nails	7	7.95	0	0.00	3	10.34	10	72	2.53
Cut Nails	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	26	0.91
Unidentified Nails	66	75.00	0	0.00	22	75.86	88	1167	40.99
Spikes	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.45	1	3	0.11
Door Lock Parts	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.07
Grand-Total	88	100.00	0	0.00	29	100.00	117	2847	100.00

### Additional Artifact Groups

No Furniture Group artifacts were recovered from the Area II units or features. Furniture Group artifacts were rare in the Area I contexts, and their absence in Area II is not remarkable.

The Arms Group artifacts from the Area II units included two French and one English gunflint, as well as three center fire cartridges. The single Arms Group artifact from the features was a lead shot the size of a modern buck shot.

Twelve Clothing Group artifacts were recovered from the units, while none were found within the features. Buttons formed the largest class within the Clothing Group with one made of bone, one of rubber, three of glass, and two brass examples among the collections. The remaining Clothing Group artifacts included a brass shoe buckle, two brass thimbles, a component of a hook and eye,

and a glass bead.

The seven artifacts from the Area II Personal Group included an undated coin, a bakelite comb, a piece of graphite from a pencil, and four glass mirror fragments. All of these artifacts came from the units, as no personal artifacts were found in the features.

The Area II units yielded 308 Tobacco Pipe Group artifacts, while 14 were recovered from the features. A total of 198 (64.3 percent) of the tobacco artifacts from the units were stems, while stems represented 85.7 percent (12) of those artifacts from the features. All of the recovered stem and bowl fragments were ball clay types.

A total of 682 Activities Group artifacts was recovered from Area II, and all were from the units. The vast majority of the recovered artifacts were classified as "other", and were unidentifiable metal. Additional artifacts, all recovered from the units, included a toy marble, an iron meat or pot hook, two metal harness parts, 21 glass globe parts, a piece of chain, a metal lamp part, a piece of wire, and a spring. The majority of the identifiable Activities Group artifacts were clearly domestic in function, as were the majority of all artifacts from Area II.

### AREA III

Area III proved, upon excavation, to consist of a heavy equipment push pile. No artifacts were recovered from this area.

### AREA IV

Area IV consisted of that portion of the formal gardens to the west of the manor house ruin that was located in the planned road corridor. Previous testing (Hurry 1984) had demonstrated that the area contained deep fills, and a goal of the excavation in Area IV was to study the nature of those fills. Additional goals for the Area IV investigations were to determine the nature and patterning of gardening features, and to investigate an old topsoil buried beneath the fill deposits that was believed to contain a prehistoric component.

Investigation of the area demonstrated that the fill levels were virtually sterile, and that the anticipated prehistoric component was effectively missing. Features, in the form of brick drains, were found, but no strong evidence for planting holes was observed. It was concluded that the portion of the formal gardens investigated under this project actually formed a formal lawn, and perhaps a bowling green.

### Artifact Patterns

The artifact pattern derived from Area IV is presented in Table 100. The overwhelming majority of the recovered artifacts were from upper topsoil levels, and were found during unit excavations. A small artifact sample was recovered from the features, and Table 100 presents the unit and feature artifacts separately for ease of comparison.

Table 100. Area IV Artifact Patterns.

	<u>18th</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Features</u>		<u>No Date</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Units</u>	
			<u>19th</u>	<u>%</u>				<u>All</u>	<u>%</u>
<b>KITCHEN GROUP</b>									
Ceramics	3	5.77	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	63	2.57
Spirit Bottles	2	3.85	0	0.00	4	8.89	6	81	3.31
Bottle Glass	38	73.08	0	0.00	27	60.00	65	316	12.91
Tableware	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	6.67	3	9	0.37
Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	11	0.45
Modern Bottle Glass	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	15	0.61
Sub-Total	43	82.69	0	0.00	34	75.56	77	495	20.22
<b>ARCHITECTURE GROUP</b>									
Window Glass	3	5.77	0	0.00	2	4.44	5	1817	74.22
Wrought Nails	3	5.77	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	10	0.41
Unidentified Nails	2	3.85	0	0.00	1	2.22	3	45	1.84
Sub-Total	8	15.38	0	0.00	3	6.67	11	1872	76.47
<b>FURNITURE GROUP</b>									
All Items	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.08
<b>ARMS GROUP</b>									
Ball, Shot, Sprue	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	16	0.65
<b>CLOTHING GROUP</b>									
Buckles	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.08
Buttons	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	2	0.08
Garter Snap	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.04
Sub-Total	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	5	0.20
<b>PERSONAL GROUP</b>									
Miscellaneous	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0.00
<b>TOBACCO GROUP</b>									
Pipes & Stems	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	4.44	2	3	0.12
<b>ACTIVITIES GROUP</b>									
Fishing Gear	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	1	0.04
Other	1	1.92	0	0.00	6	13.33	7	54	2.21
Sub-Total	1	1.92	0	0.00	6	13.33	7	55	2.25
Grand-Total	52	100.00	0	0.00	45	100.00	97	2448	100.00

The artifact pattern derived from the formal garden area was heavily weighed towards the Architecture Group, and particularly towards the window glass class. It is evident that the area did not receive domestic artifacts with any frequency, and the group percentages support assignment of a

nondomestic function for that area.

### Kitchen Group

Kitchen Group artifacts accounted for 20.8 percent of the artifacts from the units, and 90 percent of those from the features. The internal constituents of the Kitchen Group are presented in Table 101.

Table 101. Area IV Kitchen Group Artifacts.

	<u>18th</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>19th</u>	<u>Features</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Nodate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Feature</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>Units</u>	<u>%</u>
<b>KITCHEN GROUP</b>									
Ceramics	3	6.98	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	63	12.73
Spirit Bottles	2	4.65	0	0.00	4	11.76	6	81	16.36
Bottle Glass	38	88.37	0	0.00	27	79.41	65	316	63.84
Tableware	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	8.82	3	9	1.82
Kitchenware	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	11	2.22
Modern Bottle Glass	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	15	3.03
Grand-Total	43	100.00	0	0.00	34	100.00	77	495	100.00

The Kitchen Group class constituents differed radically from those noted in the Area I and II units. Ceramics formed only 12.7 percent of the Area IV Kitchen Group from the units, versus 55.8 and 69.3 percent for the Area I and II units respectively. The artifact samples from the Area IV features were too small to be statistically significant.

The combined spirit bottle and bottle glass classes from Area IV units accounted for 80.1 percent of the Kitchen Group artifacts. Other categories of kitchen glass were poorly represented in the units, and absent in dateable features.

### Architecture Group

The Architecture Group in Area IV units was dominated by the window glass class (97.1 percent), while window glass and nails occurred in almost equal amounts within the dateable features (Table 102). More window glass than nails were recovered from the Area I and II units, but the window glass percentages were much lower in those areas than in Area IV. The Architecture Group sample size from the Area IV features was much too small to support comparison with other areas.

Table 102. Area IV Architecture Group Artifacts.

	<u>18th</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Features</u> <u>19th</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Nodate</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Feature</u> <u>Total</u>	<u>Units</u>	<u>%</u>
<b>ARCHITECTURE GROUP</b>									
Window Glass	3	37.50	0	0.00	2	66.67	5	1817	97.06



Wrought Nails	3	37.50	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	10	0.53
Unidentified Nails	2	25.00	0	0.00	1	33.33	3	45	2.40
Grand-Total	8	100.00	0	0.00	3	100.00	11	1872	100.00

The overwhelming dominance of window glass within the Area IV Architecture Group requires explanation. No evidence of permanent structures was noted in the Area IV excavation, but it is plausible that a greenhouse had stood in the general area during some point in the past. If that was the case, the ratio of window glass to nails would be normal.

### Additional Artifact Groups

The Area IV Furniture Group contained a metal door or drawer pull and an iron furniture lock. Both items were recovered from the units.

The Area IV units yielded a rather high total of 17 Arms Group artifacts. Those artifacts included 14 rim fire cartridges and three center fire cartridges. All of the Arms Group may have been deposited on the site as a result of hunting after the destruction of the manor house. None of the features contained arms artifacts.

The Clothing Group artifacts recovered from Area IV included one glass and one white metal button, a brass shoe buckle and an iron belt buckle, and an iron or steel garter snap. All of the Clothing Group artifacts came from the units.

No Personal Group artifacts were recovered from the Area IV units or features.

It might be logically assumed that a formal garden or lawn would serve as an area for leisure time activities for at least the dominant family within the site and their guests. Under that assumption, Area IV should have contained a relatively high number of Tobacco Pipe Group artifacts, as a reflection of the general function of the area. That did not prove to be the case in either the Area IV units or features. A total of three Tobacco Group artifacts were recovered from the units, while two were recovered from the features. The unit artifacts included two stems and one bowl fragment, while the features yielded one stem and one bowl fragment. All of the recovered pipe items were made of ball clay.

Sixty-two Activities Group artifacts were recovered from Area IV. Those artifacts included seven pieces of unidentifiable metal from the features, 53 pieces of unidentifiable metal from the units, and a glass lamp globe sherd and a lead fishing weight from the units.

## **AREA V**

Area V was located to the east of Areas I and II, and west and south of Area VIa. Area VIa appears to have formed the northern section of the boundary between the section of the site viewed as the manor house compound and the barn complex and slave quarters located further to the east and the east-south-east. The Addison family cemetery was due south of Area VIa, and evidently formed the southern portion of the eastern boundary. It is probably significant that a survey conducted subsequent to the field work for this project (Garrow and Espenshade 1985) located a cobble surfaced road that led to the eastern side of the manor house. That cobble surfaced road ended at the

hypothesized boundary at a point equivalent to the eastern margin of Area VIa and the Addison family cemetery, and apparently became a dirt road to the east as it cut through a section between the barn complex located to the north and the slave quarters to the south.

The original goal stated for the excavation of Area V was to investigate a mounded area adjacent to a large depression (previously discovered by Dent [1983]) with an unknown function, possibly an icehouse pit. The depression was located to the south of the right-of-way, and was thus outside of the study area for this project. Excavation units were placed in Area V in the hope of finding structural evidence that could be related to the function of the depression, and thus develop evidence to support or deny the hypothesized icehouse function for that feature. The original icehouse interpretation appeared to be appropriate for the depression because of its location within the larger site. As discussed above, Area V was inside the eastern boundary of a section of the site that can be interpreted as functionally connected to the manor house. A structure that provided cold storage of foods and liquids can easily be rationalized as a type of structure that would fall under the direct control of the residents of the manor house.

Excavation of Area V revealed the presence of an unanticipated brick foundation that bounded a structure with a floor that had been excavated approximately a foot into the subsoil. Within the foundation three general levels were observed. The levels denoted "units" in this analysis continued over the entire excavated portion of Area V and consisted of soil and artifacts that had obviously accumulated after the presumed destruction of the structure. All artifacts from those levels are described under the designation "units" in this section.

Beneath that level and within the brick liner there were two generalized levels that appeared to be related to the structure. The uppermost of these levels displayed a high ash content, and appears to have contained artifacts that were within the structure at the time of its destruction, and possibly ash and architectural material from the burning of the structure. That level capped a thin lens of ashy soil that rested directly on the floor, and probably represented minor deposits missed during regular cleaning of the structure. Those two generalized levels have been combined under the designation "Feature 5000" for purposes of discussion in this section.

Two postholes were found during the excavation that appear to have served as corner supports for the structure. Excavation also yielded features, mainly postholes, that could not be related to the structure. Some of those features definitely postdate the use life of the structure, and probably relate to reuse of the area for a different function. All postholes and features exclusive of "Feature 5000" have been split into contexts dateable to the eighteenth versus nineteenth century for purposes of this analysis. Data from those contexts are presented separately from contexts that could not be dated, and from artifacts from the general units (see Chapter VI).

The "Feature 5000" deposits yielded a MCD of 1757.5, based on a sample of 66 dateable sherds. Support for an eighteenth-century date for the structure was found in the form of a glass stemware fragment and two glass beads. The stemware sherd is a ball knob type with an hourglass tear (Figure 202). That sherd was from a glass similar to a baluster type dated by Noel Hume (1969b:191) between 1700-1730. The two glass beads are both dateable types. One of the beads, an amber, mandrel-wound, decahedral bead (Figure 203) is similar to one found on the eighteenth-century Geubert Site (Good 1972:#8), and dated between 1730 and 1760. The second bead is a dark blue or black barrel shaped bead (Figure 203), and is similar in form and manufacture to a type dated by Good (1972:#164) between 1710 and 1750. It should be noted that "Feature 5000" was not a pure eighteenth-century context, as at least one sherd with a terminus post quem of 1820 was recovered from that context. It is believed, however, that mixture of earlier and later contexts was minimal in this case, however.

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**TITLE**

DATE DUE	BORROWER'S NAME	ROOM NUMBER