

PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE NORTHAMPTON SLAVE QUARTERS:

COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

By

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Submitted to the

Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

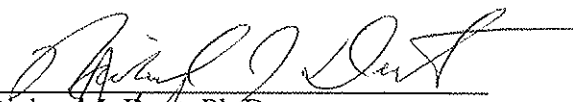
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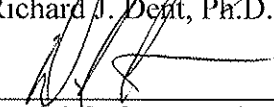
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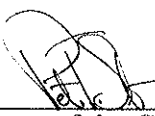
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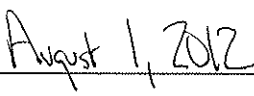
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DEDICATION

To my family

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ABSTRACT

The public has many different views and misconceptions about archaeology. Archaeologists practicing within the subfields of public and community archaeology work towards erasing these misconceptions by conducting collaborative research with descendant populations and community groups. However, this collaborative approach is not at the forefront of all archaeologists' agendas. For some archaeology projects in the United States, the pressures of completing a project on time and within budget becomes the primary focus. It is the importance of collaborative research and community engagement that form the basis of my dissertation.

Using the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park in Mitchellville, Maryland, I demonstrate the importance of collaborative research. The slave quarters of the Northampton plantation are located on a preserved half-acre parcel of land within a townhouse community in Lake Arbor. The African American descendants of those who lived and worked at Northampton have been active participants of the project since the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission's (M-NCPPC) Archaeology Program began in 1988. The M-NCPPC Archaeology Program not only collaborated with

the African American descendants but actively engaged the surrounding communities through outreach projects. Starting with a base in community collaboration, cooperative education, and archaeological ethics, I demonstrate how these concepts are pertinent in archaeological research.

Although I argue the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park's primary significance revolves around the active descendants, its physical location also played a major role in its creation. Northampton is located within Prince George's County, a majority African American county, thus they have a majority political voice. Both the descendants and County are advocates for protecting African American resources thus creating a unique situation for this archaeological park. It is through Northampton that I show how collaborative archaeological research not only created an understanding and trust between archaeologists and descendants but has sustained that relationship to this day.

PREFACE

In the summer of 2007 I attended a family reunion in upstate New York. It was my grandfather's side of the family (my mother's father). While there my family (mom, a couple of her cousins and their grown children, my grandmother, and my great aunt) spent some time on our family's "ancestral" property. It had been more than ten years since I was last there but this visit was different.

First, some background on my family. My great-great-grandfather was a Danish missionary who originally envisioned working in Asia but was instead placed in the United States in the 1880s. He started out in the mid-west and eventually moved to in New York to the small rural town of Laurens (about twenty miles south of Cooperstown, New York). He purchased many acres and built a house on the property. Over time the land was divided among his children, however, the main parcel that contained the house remains in the family.

The original house on the property burned down in the 1930s. Prior to this his son-in-law (my great grandfather) began building a cabin. The cabin was built on the foundation of what was originally going to be a garage next to the house. He completed the cabin in the late 1930s after the house burned. My grandfather and great aunt remember helping their father (my great grandfather) build the cabin. My great-great-grandfather's other son-in-law eventually built a new house on the property. Through

marriage my great grandfather inherited a portion of the original land. When he retired in the 1950s he purchased the main house from his brother-in-law and moved to Laurens.

While at the reunion in 2007, my great aunt and I looked through photographs of her helping build the cabin. In the late 1970s after my great grandmother passed away and my great grandfather was in his early 90s, the main house burned down but the cabin remained unharmed. The main house was never rebuilt but my aunt (my mother's younger sister) and uncle purchased the property after my great grandfather's death. My aunt lives in New York City and frequently travels to Laurens to maintain the cabin and barn (the only surviving structures), along with the property. Frequently when digging through the ground she finds objects from our family's past (e.g. ceramics, glass, metal). Although I have known my family's history through stories, pictures, and visits to the property, my visit to Laurens in 2007 took on new meaning. I attribute this to my background in anthropology and archaeology. Not only can I identify the artifacts and significant features on the property but I have a personal connection to this site – it is my family's past, my heritage.

Understanding the significance of descendant collaboration is also seen firsthand in hearing the stories of my grandfather and great aunt (his younger sister). As things are accidentally unearthed on the property my great aunt will occasionally remember it. She recognizes the old iron keys as those used by her great grandfather to open sardine cans. Seeing a metal toy car brings back my grandfather's childhood memories of when he lost that toy. Hearing these memories along with seeing the photographs and objects reifies the importance of place, family, and collaborative research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are a number of people I would like to acknowledge that played a part in my dissertation. First, I would like to thank the Hawkins family and their continual enthusiasm and dedication. Without them there would be no project. To Iris McConnell, Elizabeth Gordon, and Raymond Smith, your stories, insight, and help throughout the entire archaeological project have demonstrated what an amazing family you have. It is through your collaborations that we have been able to build the interpretations of your family's ancestral property of Northampton. I will especially cherish all of my conversations with Iris and her wealth of knowledge.

Next, I thank my dissertation committee of Joe Dent, Tricia Samford, and Dan Sayers. Joe not only served as chair of my committee but endured the long journey. Our meetings and phone conversations over the years have been a great help through this process. To Tricia I appreciate all of the comments, suggestions, and insights. Her upbeat presence helped me through the process. I also owe my thanks to her staff at the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum's MAC Lab and their x-ray assistance. To Dan I am grateful for his willingness to help out at the end. He was not only fast and efficient with his comments but provided me with new perspective.

From the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Archaeology Program in Prince George's County, I would like to thank all of the staff I have worked with over the years including Don Creveling, Mike Lucas, and Matt

Cochran. I especially thank Don Creveling for our initial talk about possible dissertation topics and offering me a job on the same day. Don provided me with information and support from day one. I additionally thank Mike Lucas for not only creating some of the CAD maps but spending time to give me a CAD tutorial. Mike provided interpretative assistance and was a great soundboard. He additionally provided plenty of moral support, even if it was in the form of random entertainment.

From the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History I thank Doug Ubelaker. Doug has been a remarkable teacher and colleague who I greatly admire. He has been supportive, patient, and provided me with opportunities I would have never imagined. Christmas escapes out to the country are something I look forward to every year.

I additionally thank Ken Cohen and Charles Musgrove of St. Mary's College of Maryland. Both helped provide information and interpretative assistance.

To my "dissertation support group" of Debbie Taub, Jane Brooks, and Tammy Sweeney, thank you for being there and helping me through the process. Your friendship has been vital to my graduate survival from late nights in Hurst to 80s nights. I would also like to thank my numerous other friends who have also been there throughout. I have appreciated all of your support, patience, and listening ears.

And finally I thank my family. Although some are no longer here to see me finish, your support has been incredible. To my parents, Heather, and Brendan, thank you for dealing with me through what seemed like an unending project. You were always there to listen and talk to. Your support and goofiness have helped me through it all. I also thank

Tyler, Lindsay, and Evan for being the perfect distractions when I needed to take a break. And thank you Kelbi for patiently dealing with my long days and nights when I was writing. You always gave me my space and periodically checked on me to remind me to take a break and eat. To my entire family you have instilled in me the importance of laughter and unconditional love, qualities that helped me survive.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although everyone has a diverse past that they acknowledge in different ways, a sense of place is one way people can create similar bonds among each other. It is the concept of heritage that forms a sense of place to join people and communities. Heritage, however, is not tangible but instead something that evokes different meanings to multiple people. Heritage can also change; it is not a constant and over time it becomes a cultural process for people (Smith and Waterton 2009:42-45). According to Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton (2009:42), archaeologists do not view heritage in these ways.

Archaeologists tend to view heritage as something that is material and tangible. Viewing heritage as tangible negates the power heritage has as a living and changing entity. It is through heritage sites, which are physical locations, that people and communities form emotional bonds around the concept of heritage. Memories of the past, present, and future are evoked. And, as previously stated, these memories and/or emotions can change over time, taking on new meaning to an individual or community. (Throughout I define “community” as a single group of individuals that share a common identity but maintain their own personal opinions. When using “communities” I am referring to a collection of “community” groups.)

It is heritage and group identity surrounding one archaeological site within Prince George’s County, Maryland, that are the subjects of my dissertation. The site is the

Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park where one African American extended family has joined together, since its creation, to learn more about their ancestral past. My focus is on collaborative research stressing the importance of archaeologists and communities working together. Through one descendant family's journey to understanding their past, they became advocates for their ancestral site by gathering research, assisting with excavations, providing oral histories, educating the public, and petitioning governmental agencies for preservation. It is from continued research by archaeologists and descendants that additional public formats (i.e. exhibit, website, brochure) will be created in the future demonstrating the importance of ongoing multi-vocal research and collaboration to engage the various publics.

Statement of Problem

Erasing the different misconceptions of the field of archaeology among the general public can be a constant effort. However, through education and working together with the public a better understanding of archaeology can be achieved. Not only should more archaeologists educate the public about archaeology, but they in return can learn from the public. Examples of when the public has an impact on archaeology include archaeology conducted within or near a community or areas where a descendant population exists. African Americans are one such group with an impact on archaeology when it occurs within their communities or conducted on sites once occupied by their ancestors, as is the case with Northampton.

Although the Civil Rights Movement of the late 1960s may have prompted archaeologists to excavate areas occupied by enslaved African Americans (Ferguson

1992:xxxv), it took until after 1980 for an African American sub-discipline to grow within the field of archaeology (Ferguson 1992:xxxix). With the current interest in African American sites, it is important for archaeologists to incorporate African Americans (e.g. descendants, private citizens) into their research projects from the beginning. Those archaeologists who have acknowledged descendant inclusion have incorporated descendants as a significant part of their research (e.g. Derry 1997; Franklin 1997; McDavid 1997, 2007, 2009; Uunila 2003). It is important for archaeologists to become more proactive within the various communities by learning who their stakeholders are and when possible, involving them. However, many archaeologists may see this process as time consuming (Edwards-Ingram 1997) and likely to slow down a project when faced with a deadline. In addition, as Carol McDavid (2009) has found in her research, certain communities or individuals may not want or have the time to be involved in the process. As archaeologists, it is our job to conduct the research and learn about past individuals; to the local citizen it is not. Even though obstacles exist, figuring out ways to include and collaborate with various communities should become an important part of the archaeological process. As Linda Derry (1997) found, incorporating the community and African American descendants of the site from the beginning creates a more successful project than those that incorporate these groups at their completion.

This dissertation project has two primary goals which originate from the public's misconceptions of archaeology and the importance of education. My first goal is to demonstrate the importance of archaeologists working together with a community (e.g. descendants, neighborhood, organization) from the beginning when conducting research. Including community members can provide valuable insights. Through gathering oral

histories or consultation, archaeologists can learn what outcomes, if any, community members may want from the archaeology being conducted. It is important to reiterate, that a community can change over time and the individuals within it may have diverse opinions. My second goal is to show how through a cooperative project the knowledge provided by both the professionals (e.g. archaeologists) and the community (e.g. descendants) can be synthesized to create a more successful project and interpretation of the site. In addition, through collaboration and community engagement continued site advocacy and preservation can result.

Research Significance

As stated before, the creation of an African American sub-discipline in archaeology was not much of a reality until after 1980. This dissertation will further contribute to that sub-discipline by demonstrating the importance of community collaboration using the example of one African American descendant family. Through their collaborative involvement they took control of their history and not only became, but remain, advocates of archaeological site preservation. According to some archaeologists, community collaboration is emerging, but not to the extent that it should (Barile 2004; Young 2004). It is through community collaboration, cooperative education, and archaeological ethics that a successful public archaeology can exist when working on African American sites. First, by working with the African American community, archaeologists are learning that it is important to include communities from the beginning of a project (e.g. Potter 1991; Derry 1997; McDavid 1997, 2009). However, archaeologists need to remember that everyone within the community will not

be a willing participant. As Rick Knecht (2003) reminds us, individuals have their reasons for being an active participant or not and these decisions should be respected – this should not discourage archaeologists from community involvement.

Second is the importance of cooperative education within the realm of public archaeology. Archaeologists should educate the public on the projects they are conducting. Through educating or informing the public and descendant populations, situations may open themselves to create a more equal environment. Creating a transparent environment can create a trust where the public may feel more comfortable with archaeologists. The public may be more willing to provide archaeologists with cultural insight, which enriches the knowledge of the archaeologists. Within this process archaeologists will learn what the community wants to gain from archaeology, how museums should display their history, and simply listen and learn from their knowledge of their ancestry. Through mutual learning, archaeologists and non-archaeologists can reach a further understanding of African American sites.

Finally, archaeologists should work as both advocates and stewards to not only protect the archaeological record, but work together with the public. It is important to know your audience and incorporate methods and theories that are respectful of communities. Archaeologists must also be aware of the social, economic, and political forces within the various communities. One way to a more successful archaeology is through identifying constituent communities, incorporating them into the archaeological research, and finding out what is of interest to them.

This research will incorporate the ideas of community collaboration, cooperative education, and archaeological ethics to present a unique case study in Prince George's

County, Maryland. Excavations were conducted in 1991 by the Archaeology Program of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) in Prince George's County, at the location of two identified slave quarters associated with a plantation known as Northampton. This site is one of the largest and oldest plantations within the county. Unfortunately no final archaeology report has yet been completed so a section of this dissertation will be a general interpretation of the site. Producing a detailed site report is not my research focus. From the beginning of the project, the descendants of Elizabeth Hawkins, a woman living at Northampton during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, were active participants in the archaeology. In 1999 the descendant family held a memorial service at the slave quarters site (Creveling and Lucas 2000:4) and have held periodic memorial services since. An established descendant family who has played an active role in the excavations and who desire additional public exhibitions about their family's history sets up the perfect dialogue between archaeologists and descendants to continue to build the site's interpretation and public interest. As a result, Northampton provides an example of how archaeology can be used for public engagement.

In addition to the significance of inclusion and collaboration when working with a community, this research will:

- Provide a case study on how to incorporate a descendant population into archaeological research.
- Add not only to the current research on African American sites in Prince George's County Maryland, but also to the larger field of African American public archaeology.

- Create and sustain a dialogue between archaeologists and the communities.
- Provide a different approach to mainstream archaeology by including the descendant population as an important “expert” who adds first-hand knowledge to the archaeologist.
- Provide information on how to integrate not only the community but also the concepts and/or practices of other professions (e.g. historians).

I have organized my chapters into the following format beginning with a literature review in Chapter 2. Here I focus on the field of public archaeology and the importance of community awareness and involvement. Community collaboration, cooperative education, and archaeological ethics are at the forefront of my research.

In Chapter 3, I introduce my project area through a brief background to Prince George’s County, Maryland, and the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park. Establishing the current political background for the county is important for understanding the significance of the site and the current statutes that protect it and other African American sites within Prince George’s County. This chapter concludes with an explanation of my methods for research.

After the brief background on the county and site, Chapters 4 and 5 address the views and research of two different communities: archaeologists and African American descendants. Chapter 4 focuses on the archaeology through providing a brief historical account of Northampton, its owners, and what was found archaeologically through the years. Since a site report was never completed by the M-NCPPC following their

excavations, I provide a summary on their archaeological finds and a general interpretation of the site.

In Chapter 5, the African and African American communities of Northampton are explored. Provided are the documents and stories of those enslaved at Northampton. The significance is placed on the African American descendants who contribute insight into the past and present history of their ancestors and selves by providing accounts of history spanning three centuries. It should be noted that when I use the terms African and African American I am referring to “Africans” as those individuals born in Africa and “African Americans” as individuals who are of African descent but born in North America.

Chapter 6 combines archaeologists and descendants together to demonstrate the importance of collaboration. Community involvement and public outreach are all components of this research. Through African American descendant involvement I will show the evolution of one family’s heritage. Over more than two decades the family has been an active participant in the research, archaeology, and outreach at Northampton. They have united to save and preserve *their* past. A case study of Catholic objects found within the two slave quarters shows how, through a small collection of artifacts and working together with descendants, a joint interpretation of the site’s religious history begins to form. This primarily serves as an example of how specific items can tell an interesting and personal story for use within additional public venues like a museum or on a website.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I conclude with the significance of my research and the areas within a “true” public archaeology that need attention. I offer suggestions for how

to address some of these concerns along with problems that will continue to persist.

Finally, I conclude with the future directions of this research.

CHAPTER 2

RESPONSIBLE ARCHAEOLOGY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

...[T]he decisions we make now about how we present history will influence what we know about the past, and...all of our local communities should have a voice in making those decisions.

—Carol McDavid, *Collaboration, Power, and the Internet: The Public Archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation* 2003:51

I believe it is the responsibility of archaeologists to educate the public and work with them to create a better understanding of what we as archaeologists do; other archaeologists in agreement include Linda Derry (1997), Ywone Edwards-Ingram (1997), Barbara Little (2002), Barbara Little and Paul Shackel (2007), and Carol McDavid (1997, 2009). It is through education and working with the various publics that an open dialog can begin among archaeologists and non-archaeologists to create a more engaged and cooperative environment. This atmosphere can greatly strengthen archaeological projects and a site's history. Starting then with a base in public archaeology and the importance of cooperative projects between academics (e.g. archaeologists) and non-academics (e.g. descendants, the public), I address issues surrounding archaeology conducted at African American sites and community involvement.

This literature review will begin with a look into the methods and theories of public archaeology. Using examples of the relationships between American Indians and archaeologists provide good case studies for beginning to address archaeology conducted at African American sites and community involvement. Within the field of public

archaeology I have identified three main areas of importance when conducting archaeology at African American sites: community, education, and ethics. I define them as: *Community* – the descendant or indigenous populations and the many publics incorporated into a community (e.g. housing development, government agencies, local community organizations) and the multiple perspectives they offer. As stated in Chapter 1, when using “community” I am referring to a single group of individuals that share a common identity but maintain their own personal opinions. When using “communities” I am referring to collection of “community” groups. *Education* – the idea and importance of archaeologists educating communities and communities educating archaeologists. *Ethics* – the ethical responsibilities of archaeologists to act as both advocates and stewards. It is then through community, education, and ethics that I will address how archaeology can be incorporated into the public arena and the power relations/politics embedded within African American archeological sites – all important concepts utilized at Northampton.

Working with Communities

Conducting an archaeological project within the context of a living community can greatly influence its success. Again, I am defining “community” as a group of individuals that hold a common identity but maintain their own personal opinions (e.g. descendant or indigenous population, housing development, government agency, local community organizations). Through community involvement, various insights and new avenues of exploration are brought directly to the attention of the archaeologists. This combination of archaeologists working together with communities has been found by

many archaeologists to enhance the project through providing specific insights that only members of descendant populations can offer; for example, first-hand accounts of lifeways, social dynamics, or historical events (e.g., Potter 1991; Baker 1997; Derry 1997; Dongoske and Anyon 1997; Edwards-Ingram 1997; Franklin 1997; La Roche and Blakey 1997; McDavid 1997, 2007; Singleton 1997; Watkins 2000; Barile 2004; Brown 2004; Young 2004; Brooks 2007; Gallivan and Moretti-Langholtz 2007; Shackel 2007; Stahlgren and Stottman 2007). It is these specific insights of descendants that are incorporated into my dissertation. Although more archaeologists are recognizing the importance of incorporating communities into archaeological projects, there is still much to be accomplished in this regard.

Arguably, one of the major events in archaeological history that has legally acknowledged the importance of working with descendants stemmed from the creation and passing of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990 (Nichols 1998:312). Prior to its enactment, American archaeologists in the early part of the twentieth century began researching the past through strictly scientific methods of excavation. During the 1970s archaeologists believed the scientific recovery of human remains and artifacts was the only valid means of understanding the past. Most archaeologists did not explore the possibilities of using historical documents and oral histories, such as those preserved by many American Indian tribes (Downer 1997:29). This disregard for American Indians ultimately created a division between American Indians and archaeologists. According to Larry Zimmerman (1997:54), such action often results in little more than “archaeological colonialism” with the archaeologists using their “more valid” and “scientific” methods to effectively impose their own interpretations on

a less powerful group. Archaeologists worked in isolation. They saw their job as an independent effort. According to the archaeologists, this practice would ultimately benefit American Indians by helping with tribal land claims, controlling looting on American Indian sites, and dispelling racist myths (Downer 1997:30). American Indians came to a different conclusion.

NAGRPA was the eventual result of this blatant disregard for and lack of respect of American Indian tribes. Since the passing of NAGPRA, an increase in communication between archaeologists and American Indians has begun to emerge (Nichols 1998:312). According to Alan Downer, prior to NAGPRA, if communication existed between these two groups, they "...were largely talking past one another – [they] did not share a common frame of reference or even, apparently, a common language" (Downer 1997:24). Although the inclusion of American Indians is legally mandated only for federal projects, some archaeologists have extended the principals and spirit of the NAGPRA experience to include African Americans, especially in regard to sites associated with the enslaved unearthed within the United States (Baker 1997; Derry 1997; Edwards-Ingram 1997; La Roche and Blakey 1997; Matthews 1997; Leone and Fry 1999; Wilkie 2000; *Black Issues in Higher Education* 2001). Through this process, these archaeologists have discovered that cooperative projects including African American communities/descendants, has allowed them to gather more information about a site. In addition, these archaeologists have begun to understand the interests of the various communities with respect to the communities' pasts and preservation desires.

Archaeologists who incorporate African Americans into their research projects are beginning to take a long awaited step toward positive cooperation with the African

American population. Archaeologists such as Linda Derry (1997) and Maria Franklin (1997) are advocates for incorporating African American communities from the very beginning of a project. In fact Franklin (1997) goes as far as to state that it is the archaeologist's responsibility to take the first step and invite African American communities to participate in the history of their past (Franklin 1997:47). I believe this is a persuasive argument. Archaeologists should consider the benefits of incorporating a descendant community into the beginning stages of any project concerning their history. When communities are associated with an archaeological site, or can be affected by the research, I believe it should become second nature to the archaeologists to include those communities. Background preliminary research should consist of locating and contacting, when possible, the descendants or associated African American communities near the project site which was the approach used at Northampton. Many archaeologists, however, may see this process as very time consuming (Edwards-Ingram 1997) and a hindrance to the start of the project, especially when faced with projects of limited or constrained duration. But as Derry (1997) found, when one incorporates communities and African American descendants of the site from the beginning, the project becomes more successful than research that incorporates these groups at its completion. With the assistance of a local school, one African American community saw Derry's genuine interest in preserving the community's history and thus perceived her as a trusting individual (Derry 1997:22).

The African Burial Ground Project in New York City is a good example of how later incorporation of an African American community resulted in a very politically complicated situation that demonstrated the power any group can exert (La Roche and

Blakey 1997). Excavations began in the summer of 1991 and were eventually halted by African Americans and others of the local community. The project was seen as a form of disrespect since burials were being unearthed (primarily by white archaeologists) and done so without the inclusion of the African American communities and respect for the spirituality associated with the burials. The groups involved eventually agreed that Michael Blakey, an African American physical anthropologist from Howard University, would take the lead in excavation and conduct research using his staff and facilities at Howard (La Roche and Blakey 1997:84-86). Through listening to the communities' concerns and respecting their spiritual beliefs the excavation was able to continue with a more positive approach.

Archaeologists should see the African Burial Ground Project as a case study of the value of learning from and realizing the power relations surrounding their projects as well as the possible repercussions. Although this case resulted in research based at an historically African American institution (Howard), it should not be assumed that African American archaeologists/anthropologists are the only ones qualified to conduct such work. As in this case, it was through listening to the communities that a primary concern of handling spirituality arose. Even though the African American community was more comfortable with Blakey, they never discredited white archaeologists for being unqualified scientists (Blakey 1997:91).

An interesting juxtaposition to the African Burial Ground Project occurred approximately ten years earlier at the First African Baptist Church (FABC) Cemetery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (McCarthy 1996). The Cultural Resources Management Firm, John Milner Associates, Inc. (JMA) was hired in 1983 and 1990 to excavate the FABC

cemeteries. A new office building and an expanded highway was going to impact these cemeteries. JMA, from the beginning of the project, was in contact with the various African American communities (e.g. African American descendants, members of the FABC congregation, Philadelphia's Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum). The African American communities were actively engaged in the project. Some local African American scholars, not members of the FABC, played key roles throughout the project. These local scholars assisted with collecting oral histories, developing programming, and working with the FABC on their interests and desires with respect to the handling of human remains and telling of their church's history. In addition, archaeologists held periodic public events to update the communities throughout the process (McCarthy 1996:7-9). (All approaches also used by the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program to keep the local communities and African American descendants engaged at Northampton.) A mutual respect evolved between the European American archaeologists and the African American descendants of the FABC. Race was not a factor among the descendants and those of the FABC put their trust in the JMA archaeologists. In fact, during one public event, a local community activist asked why "... white people were standing up there talking about 'black folks' history and messing with black folks' bones'" (McCarthy 1996:10). A matriarch of the FABC congregation immediately stood up and proclaimed her support of the archaeologists and their work (McCarthy 1996:10).

As John McCarthy (1996:6) points out, when the African Burial Ground Project began, previously referenced, there was no formal research design or consultation with potential stakeholders within the African American communities. This evolved into African American community activists charging those initially involved in the project,

with racism and desecration. Justification for these feelings became evident during one public meeting, when a European American regional manager for the U.S. General Services Administration stated that since "...the federal government had purchased the property for the office building from the City of New York...the government owned everything in and on the site, including the human remains..." (McCarthy 1996:9-10). Having a white representative publicly state ownership over the remains of the enslaved only fueled the sentiments of racism and disrespect. Opposed to that, is the initial inclusion of the descendants of the FABC Cemetery projects in Philadelphia. Since the African American descendants were involved in both cemetery projects, archaeologists discovered and acknowledged their interests, resulting in a successful project. Instead of holding a political agenda, like the communities involved in the African Burial Ground Project, the FABC African American descendants were primarily concerned with their church's history (McCarthy 1996:10). Racism was a mute point, since archaeologists helped descendants achieve their goal of adding to the history of their church.

Another more contemporary example of knowing your stakeholders occurred at the National Park Service site of President's House, also in Philadelphia. Both President's Washington and Adams lived in the house while construction on the permanent capital was underway in Washington, DC. In 2002-2003, the Liberty Bell Center was built over a portion of the original house. The press revealed that a slave quarter was located approximately five feet from the main entrance of the Liberty Bell Center (Lawler 2010). Local African Americans protested the invisibility of enslaved labor at President's House resulting in the 2002 creation of Avenging The Ancestors Coalition (ATAC). ATAC lobbied for recognition of the enslaved and the creation of a Slavery Memorial at the site

(ATAC 2011). Although it took a couple years, redesign of the site occurred. Additional archaeology was conducted to locate structures, and new interpretation at President's House was developed to include the slave quarter and those enslaved (Kennicott 2007). It was public advocacy that created an environment of collaboration, demonstrating the power of the public with respect to change.

If more archaeologists recognize the significant role communities have, including those communities from the beginning can help form research design and direction. Initially when an archaeologist begins a project, a group of research questions are developed. Although archaeologists are typically the ones to develop the research questions, there are a significant group of archaeologists who believe that African Americans need to become part of this initial research design (Potter 1991; McCarthy 1996; Derry 1997; Franklin 1997; McDavid 1997, 2009; Crist 2002; Uunila 2003, 2005; Barile 2004; Brown 2004; Young 2004). Having African Americans participate in asking questions used for research allows the archaeologist to see the interests of a group and identify what is important to them. Asking the African American descendants their opinions on what they wanted from Northampton was a key step of inclusion by both the M-NCPPC archaeologists and myself. For example, McDavid (1997) discovered that by allowing herself to open up and let the community see her vulnerability and agenda in the process, she was able to gain the respect of her informants who in turn talked more freely to her. A similar situation existed at Northampton when M-NCPPC archaeologists first engaged with descendants. I also took a similar approach when I began my research and was very transparent with the family about my interest in gathering their knowledge on the site and increasing Northampton's public visibility. In Derry's (1997) experience, she

realized through asking the correct questions and incorporating a community from the beginning she gained the respect of that community. More individuals divulged information to her and saw her as an individual who was genuinely interested in preserving the community and its history instead of just out there to preserve “old things”. She eventually became a trustworthy part of the community. This greatly added to its historical knowledge (Derry 1997:22).

John Baker (1997) also received a positive reaction to his research from a local community, but in a different way than McDavid (1997) and Derry (1997). Baker’s research motivation was to learn more about his African American ancestry at Wessyngton Plantation in Tennessee. Through his research he used sources such as court records, bills of sales, diaries, slave records, financial records, photographs, and land records. From these sources and others, he was able to track down information about his ancestors. He then worked together with archaeologists who were excavating at Wessyngton Plantation. Working together with archaeologists created a unique situation where Baker, a descendant, was able to help with excavation and see what was being unearthed. It likewise gave archaeologists a chance to incorporate the knowledge and research Baker had to gain a further understanding of the African Americans enslaved on the plantation. Throughout Baker’s research he gave a number of genealogical lectures. These lectures opened the eyes of various African American communities to the abundant sources that exist on descendant research. The positive result for the local community was hope. Many of the African American community members did not realize the resources available and through Baker’s lectures they learned how to track down their own ancestries (Baker 1997:15). The African American descendants of Northampton

were, and are, involved in much the same way. They have conducted their own primary document research, assisted with excavations, and spoken to school groups – which have all added to Northampton’s interpretation and visibility all further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

The culmination of the interaction between archaeologists and African American communities produce a wealth of information about a site that can assist in interpretation. Like Roger Anyon et al. (1997) and Anne Pyburn and Richard Wilk (1995), who discuss the importance of integrating American Indian knowledge with archaeology, other archaeologists are beginning to incorporate the resources living African American communities can provide (e.g. recorded oral narratives, personal interviews, photographs, assistance with object identification) (McCarthy 1996; McDavid 1997, 2007; Leone and Fry 1999; Ruppel et al. 2003; Uunila 2003, 2005; Barile 2004; Brown 2004; Young 2004; Shackel 2007; Stahlgren and Stottman 2007). Using narratives, for example, provides an integral part to learning more about the history of a site. However, caution should be used when using these sources. Timothy Ruppel et al. (2003) and Laurie Wilkie (2000) stress when using some oral narrative sources (e.g. narratives collected as part of the Federal Writers’ Project in the late 1930s) the researcher must take into consideration the personal accounts and the interviewers. Since some of the interviews were between formerly enslaved African Americans and descendants of those who enslaved them, the responses by African Americans may have been edited. In addition, memories may be vague for some of those interviewed since they were sometimes as old as ninety at the time of the interview or young children during the antebellum period (Ruppel et al. 2003:323). Although it is important to be cautious when using any narrative, it should not

discourage archaeologists away from this form of information. As Wilkie (2000) points out, narratives can still provide a wealth of information on religious beliefs and practices, diet, and medicine. Oral accounts should be seen as "...a record of how an individual in a given place and time chooses to remember and convey his or her understanding of the past (Wilkie 2000:xvii). Through understanding and incorporating oral tradition and/or narratives into archaeological research, an archaeologist is able to add to the history of the site and enrich the interpretation; a method I used with the African American descendant at Northampton.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this section on "community", a community is more than a group of descendants or the surrounding living community. A community can also include other professionals or government agencies. What makes Ruppel et al. (2003) and Mark Leone and Gladys-Marie Fry's (1999) research interesting is the fact that their projects are interdisciplinary and combined people from the fields of Anthropology and English/Literature. They found that through incorporating the various disciplines, they could combine forces and increase their knowledge about a particular place in time. Leone and Fry (1999), in particular, learned that through looking at folklore sources and comparing them to the archaeological record, a better interpretation of a site was achieved. More archaeologists should begin to use the resources around them, expanding their horizons and not only conducting cross-disciplinary research but acknowledging the resources provided by communities as a whole. Although this process may increase the length of an archaeological project, I believe, as does Wilkie (2000:xv-xvi), that it will only strengthen the archaeological record by incorporating multiple perspectives to create a fuller understanding of African American history.

Cooperative Education

Numerous authors have stressed the need to educate the general American public in areas of archaeological concern with respect to American Indians (Bielawski 1989; Iseminger 1997; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Watkins 2000; Jameson 2003; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007), African Americans (Edwards-Ingram 1997; Gibb 1997; Matthews 1997; White 2002), American community members in general, or for the protection of cultural resources (Pyburn and Wilk 1995; Society for American Archaeology [SAA] “Ethics in Archaeology” Committee 1995; Smardz and Smith 2000; McManamon 2002; Bergman and Doershuk 2003; Jameson 2003; McGuire 2003; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006b). These individuals are just a few scholars who see the importance of public education, and argue that it is an issue not to be taken lightly. Incorporating the public into the archaeological research conducted creates an environment where they can feel more involved in their community and better understand the reasons why such research is done on past peoples. Edwards-Ingram (1997) sees public education as the perfect creative outlet for disseminating archaeological knowledge and getting communities interested in a project, especially if it relates to an individual’s origin or identity. Through community education, archaeologists can begin to teach the importance of archaeology. And when archaeologists interact with communities, they start gaining an understanding of the potential wealth of information the public can provide, a significant aspect within this dissertation.

Some ways in which education can be incorporated are through museums, schools, workshops, and conferences. Through the use of museums, archaeologists are able to incorporate what has been excavated along with the research gathered from the

process into the creation of public exhibits. However, this has not always been an easy task as Theresa Singleton (1997) has found. Many traditionally white institutions are still very behind on providing African American exhibits (White 2002; Brown and Chappell 2004). [It should be noted that although Brown and Chappell (2004) refer to the slave quarters at Carter's Grove in Williamsburg, Virginia, the site has since been closed down and the slave quarters have been moved to the Great Hopes Plantation site at Colonial Williamsburg.] Even with their efforts at change, collections for display are scant or nonexistent, since archaeologists typically did not gather material on African Americans prior to the 1960s (Singleton 1997:146). Resources to mount new exhibits are also at a premium. Those museums which have incorporated African American history have found themselves both applauded and criticized by scholars (Fleming 1994; Bograd and Singleton 1997; Edwards-Ingram 1997; Franklin 1997; Matthews 1997; Chappell 1999). One of the main issues of discussion in that regard is slavery. How should slavery be incorporated into a museum? What should be discussed and shown to the public? What should be left out? According to Singleton (1997), slavery should not be left out of a museum since it is a topic too important to African American history. Although a very disturbing and politically embedded point in history, she believes that more museums are openly discussing slavery and it should continue. One museum which is openly discussing slavery is Colonial Williamsburg. Although Mark Bograd and Theresa Singleton (1997) criticize Williamsburg for not having enough African American programs or interpretations, they do believe when Williamsburg interprets African American history they do a good job. However, as stated previously, including slavery can be very politicizing. As Christy Matthews (1997) points out, when Colonial

Williamsburg decided to increase their African American programs to include a re-enactment of a slave auction this action was met with much contention among the African American communities. Finding a common ground can be difficult with topics like slavery where not all are in agreement. But to try to tackle this issue, some museum directors and archaeologists have fashioned strategies to incorporate African Americans into the creation of their museums, such as sending out surveys to learn what they believe should go into a museum (Fleming 1994) or hiring African Americans as staff and interpreters at museums (Bograd and Singleton 1997; Matthews 1997).

While I believe that Bograd and Singleton (1997) and Singleton (1997) are correct in their criticism that an African American presence is not as great as it should be within museums, it is important that museums are trying to create more African American programs (Matthew 1997). Museums need to begin to address these issues, figure out what holes exist in their collections, and fill the voids with the information needed to educate the visitors. This reason was also why the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program chose to focus on the African American history at Northampton instead of the European American landowners. Beginning, as John Fleming (1994) does, by sending surveys to African American communities is one way to incorporate a population whose history will be publicly displayed. Responses then show archaeologists or museums the diversity that exists among African American communities and their opinions toward their history. Derry (1997) believes that seeing the diverse opinions of a community will help one to better understand the community. For example, Parker Potter (1991) found that some African Americans may not care about the creation of a new museum or the field of archaeology, while Derry (1997) and Singleton (1997) discovered that some African

Americans who demonstrated an interest in history would rather see a celebratory history rather than a focus on slavery. It is then important to identify the diverse opinions among a community and develop a way to incorporate them into a museum.

Lonnie Bunch, director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, has taken the approach of looking at other museums for comparative research on the development of the new museum. Through researching the complaints gathered from the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian and praises of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, he has learned that people become more involved within a museum's exhibit when personal stories are told. It is through the stories of those who lived within a specific time that draws an audience in. One concept the museum is considering is depicting the institution of slavery through one plantation. Using a single plantation, places the focus on only those individuals who lived and worked there (Kaufman 2012). This story will allow the audience to become emotionally involved in the lives of those specific individuals while learning about slavery. It is for these reasons that continued consultation has occurred among the African American descendants of Northampton, and with plans for future public outreach venues (i.e. exhibits, website), why it is important to maintain this relationship.

A second way to educate the public on archaeology is through schools. When teachers use archaeology in the classroom it is important that they work together with archaeologists prior to curriculum development to better understand the field of archaeology (Brunswig 2000; Selig 2000). As stated by Robert Brunswig (2000), Victor Geraci (2000), Margaret Heath (1997), Francis McManamon (2002), and Larry Zimmerman et al. (2000), there is a vital need for archaeology in the classroom.

Archaeology can be effectively incorporated into a diverse array of required subject areas, including math, science, history, and writing. Project Archaeology, is one program which has recognized the applications of archaeology within the education system. Project Archaeology is an archaeology and heritage education program that provides educators with the tools for teaching past and present cultural history of the United States. Currently, there are 27 established states using Project Archaeology, a joint project between the Bureau of Land Management and Montana State University (Project Archaeology 2011). Some states have developed curriculum specifically related to their state. One example is Pennsylvania, who became one of the first states east of the Mississippi to incorporate Project Archaeology into its schools. Pennsylvania's Project Archaeology began in 1994 when the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission awarded a grant to the Pennsylvania Archaeological Council Education Committee. The grant was awarded for the development of a Pennsylvania archaeology curriculum for grades five through eight, the years the state focuses on Pennsylvania history (Wolynec and Bedell 1996:3-4).

Around 1996 I became involved with Project Archaeology at The State Museum of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg. A workshop was held at the museum to introduce teachers to Pennsylvania's Project Archaeology curriculum. Participants not only learned how to incorporate the program into their classrooms but took part in selected lessons. This hands-on approach allowed participants to see how the curriculum worked. As I have seen through Project Archaeology, archaeology provides educators an alternate way to teach cultural history and heritage to their students. Archaeology provides students with a cross-curricular or interdisciplinary approach to learning by tying in many disciplines

(Heath 1997; Brunswig 2000; Geraci 2000; Zimmerman et al. 2000). It also provides the students with a greater understanding of how information can be related across a spectrum of disciplines, as well as providing a necessary “real world” component to learning.

The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) also advocates the importance of archaeology in the classroom. On their website, the SAA has a section dedicated to *Archaeology for the public* (Society for American Archaeology [SAA] 2011). Through the use of archaeology, the SAA believes that students are provided with an opportunity to expand their horizons and develop critical thinking skills through learning observation, interpretation, classification, inference, and deduction. They too stress the importance that archaeology has with respect to subjects like math (e.g. learning site grids), science (e.g. soils), social studies (e.g. geography), and writing (e.g. site notes and recording) (SAA 2008a, 2008b).

Derry (1997) provides a perfect example of integrating a middle school with her quest for historical information about an historic segregated African American school. Derry discovered that the African American community surrounding the site had concern over a lack of community youth programs. With this information, Derry developed a cooperative educational program with a local community school to assist her with gathering historical information on the historic African American school. The project was a success and provided the community with a creative educational outlet for its youth by engaging them in the process of data collection through oral histories. The students talked to individuals and created a photographic record. The result also provided a collection of more oral histories than Derry would have been able to gather herself. Some community

members even disclosed information to the students about the school that they would not normally share. Michael Blakey (1997) also reiterates that many African Americans will hold on to information when interviewed by European Americans as a form of resistance and power. Through this cooperative program it took community students to gather stories from elders (something also discovered through the development of “Foxfire” in Appalachia discussed further in Chapter 5). Archaeologists can learn from Derry and begin to incorporate what she learned into their projects.

It is important to stress that education is a cooperative endeavor where archaeologists not only educate the public but learn from them. Education can also be provided in the form workshops, such as the example of tribal archaeology programs among American Indians (Rice 1997). These programs are created to instruct and train interested tribal members on archaeological techniques so that they can become active participants in archaeology. Through the creation of such programs, American Indians are becoming part of archaeological projects. They can be on site to learn more about archaeology while archaeologists at the same time learn more about American Indian perspectives. These newly-trained American Indian archaeologists also act as liaisons who communicate between their tribal leaders and archaeologists, thus keeping both groups informed. In the end this creates an open field dialogue in which each group learns and respects one another (Rice 1997:224-225). Application of this concept to African American communities is one more way for archaeologists to educate through conducting workshops for African Americans. Further exposure to archaeology can increase interest which could translate to more African Americans becoming professional archaeologists, which Blakey (1997) states must increase. As Derry (1997) learned, once

school children were taught methods of collecting oral histories they applied this knowledge to gather data and learn more about an historical African American school. Education is then a starting place to introduce individuals to archaeology which could result in later interest in the profession.

American Indians have also become involved in presenting papers at conferences to begin to educate other participants. Topics discussed at the American Anthropological Association (AAA) (Biolsi and Zimmerman 1997) and Society for American Archaeology (SAA) (Swidler et al. 1997) have included the role of the American Indian and the archaeologist, what those of either side are doing to comply with issues of repatriation, or how, through better communication, further problems might be avoided (e.g. misunderstanding of archaeological reports). Historical archaeologists and other professionals who study African American history have also come together to present papers at conferences to educate others on issues surrounding various projects conducted on African American sites (McDavid and Babson 1997). Although this can be seen as a beginning step in educating individuals on various archaeological issues, AAA, SAA, and Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) are professional organizations. Non-professionals are allowed to attend the meetings but such large venues can be intimidating for non-archaeologists. So a question posed is how do non-professionals, like those within African American communities, become comfortable and/or accepted at such a venue? One step in this direction is cooperative community archaeology. Including a community in the archaeological process can demonstrate the importance archaeologists place on the knowledge of a community. Once a level of trust and respect is established, an African American community may be more willing to embrace a

research project, as Derry (1997) and McDavid (1997) found. African American non-archaeologists will feel more welcome at a professional conference once they know that archaeologists respect their opinions, ideas, and history. As an active voice at professional conferences, African Americans can educate more archaeologists on how to conduct successful projects with African American communities.

Establishing proper education is key to the field of public archaeology. Education can take the form of archaeologists teaching the public about the importance of archaeology and preservation. Collaborative research should also be stressed and at the forefront, especially with respect to African American communities. However, archaeologists must also recognize the important educational role African Americans also provide to the archaeological record as was the approach among the descendants of Northampton. If African American history is being told, it is important to collaborate with African American communities. Through cooperative programs at museums, schools, workshops, and conferences, everyone involved (e.g. archaeologists, the public, descendants) has the opportunity to learn and gain a mutual respect for one another.

Ethics: Who's Responsible?

Ethics is a large component of archaeology when discussing community interaction and education. What are the ethics involved in the profession of archaeology? Are archaeologists the only ones responsible for protecting the archaeological record? What approaches should be taken to protect our cultural heritage? Many scholars have addressed these ethical issues and have published edited volumes on archaeological ethics along with discussions on advocacy and stewardship (Vitelli 1996; Lynott and

Wylie 2000; Derry and Malloy 2003; Zimmerman et al. 2003; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006a). In addition, archaeologists who study African American history have incorporated the concepts of community collaboration (previously discussed in this chapter) into their various methods and theories when approaching a site (e.g. Potter 1991; McKee 1994; Franklin 1997; La Roche and Blakey 1997; McDavid 1997, 2007; Leone and Fry 1999; Wilkie 2000; Singleton and Orser 2003; Gadsby and Chidester 2007; Shackel 2007). Using examples from the previously named scholars I will address the ethics surrounding archaeologists who work with the various publics. More archaeologists should go beyond stating they are responsible for protecting the archaeological record and incorporating the various publics into their work and actually set it into practice. It is this collaboration with African American descendants at Northampton that opened a dialogue between archaeologists and family members to build the growing interpretation of the site and protection of its historic resources.

It is important that archaeologists act as both advocates and stewards of the archaeological record. As such, the archaeologist is responsible for protecting the archaeological record and educating others. As seen in the previous section on “Cooperative Education”, an archaeologist should not only work with professionals within the discipline, but involve and interact with the many publics to keep them informed and educated – a practice at Northampton over its years of active excavations. According to the SAA Ethics in Archaeology Committee, advocacy and stewardship should be the central ethical stances in archaeology and all archaeological principles should and can derive from them (SAA “Ethics in Archaeology” Committee 1995). Actively involving the public by sharing knowledge will create a better understanding of

research being conducted. In addition to disseminating this knowledge among the public, I agree with the SAA committee on ethics when they state that conservationist principles must be incorporated to assure the archaeological record is preserved; this concept can also be tied into public education. With stewardship as the central focus, more responsible archaeology can be conducted to help educate the public and preserve the past for the future.

Anne Pyburn and Richard Wilk (1995) also believe in incorporating and educating the public in areas of archaeological interest (previously discussed). In addition to becoming more proactive within communities, Anne Pyburn and Richard Wilk (1995), along with Brian Fagan (1996a), also see education within the schools as one place where archaeological ethics and preservation can be incorporated. It should be noted though, that these ethical stances place the power/responsibility in the hands of archaeologists. However, if one looks at the Vermillion Accord, adopted by the World Archaeological Congress in 1989 (Smith and Burke 2003:184), the importance of protecting the cultural resources of the past and present is presented as a negotiation between archaeologists and indigenous populations (Watkins 2003:132), placing both groups on more even ground. While the Vermillion Accord was written specifically for the treatment of human remains, its significance lies in the fact that both archaeologists and indigenous populations are placed in positions of power and responsibility. I believe through recognizing the importance of these concepts a responsible archaeology is achievable.

Although a lot of these ethics originate from American Indian issues, archaeologists who study African American history are realizing the importance of

community inclusion and have outlined critical theory as pertinent to the process (Franklin 1997; Gibb 1997; McDavid 1997), citing Potter (1991:101-103) and his four approaches as key. First, critical theory is important to the field of public archaeology since it is interested in how learning is historically situated and how archaeological finds can be relevant to various political and social interests (McDavid 1997:117). Second, through incorporating critical theory, Potter (1991) has addressed four approaches necessary when studying African American archaeology: 1) Use a descendant point of view; 2) be aware of "...the broader historical context of plantation slavery" (Potter 1991:102); 3) use self-reflection; and 4) acknowledge that African Americans have little interest in archaeology. Through Potter's (1991) approach, an archaeologist becomes aware of her audience and understands the needs and interests of them. I agree with Potter's conclusion that conducting archaeology without these considerations is irresponsible. In fact, Potter (1991) comments that social responsibility is an aspect of any project whether it is field work or developing a museum. A project lead must be aware of what she is presenting to the public and how this can possibly be misinterpreted or misread by the public (Potter 1991:95). It is then within critical theory that the importance of shared control of both archaeological knowledge and research is present among archaeologists and African American communities. A fluid approach can then be adopted to adjust to the various situations that may occur by allowing change and redirection when needed (Franklin 1997:39).

Larry McKee (1994) is one archaeologist who studies African American sites who does not agree with the considerations/approaches put forth by Parker Potter (1991). He states:

...I believe that, by definition, archaeologists are the people who are best suited to deal with the archaeological record. We are equipped to untangle what is left in the ground and to translate our finds into a form available for broader consumption. (McKee 1994:3)

Even if archaeologists are seen as the authorities or specialists when it comes to particular parts of history (Patten 1997), this belief by no means dictates that we are the only ones capable of deciphering what is found in the ground. Singleton (1997) found a case where the interpretation of an object found in the ground and then placed in a museum was misinterpreted by white archaeologists not familiar with its use. Only after it was seen by an African American visitor was it completely understood by the archaeologist, which demonstrates the importance of combined knowledge and incorporating a non-professional's explanation. Potter's (1991) call of inclusion of African American descendants provides a way for a more comprehensive interpretation of a site.

Archaeologists should also address the paradox posed by McKee (1997), who addresses archaeologists as the "right" group to report archaeological knowledge but not necessarily always providing the "right" questions. Although McKee agrees that archaeologists may not always ask all the questions or collect enough data to address the concerns, questions, or interests of African American descendants or community members, he does not see involving those communities in asking research questions as part of archaeological research. Although data collection cannot always be controlled due to time constraints or environmental conditions, resolving the issue of asking the "right" questions is one problem that could be resolved by simply including African American communities. I believe McKee should recognize the important role non-archaeologists

can provide and see inclusion as a step to reducing problems later and gaining additional insight.

In addition to taking a critical theory approach to archaeology, with respect to sites involving descendants (Potter 1991; Franklin 1997; Gibb 1997; McDavid 1997), the archaeologist should be responsible for recording research in written form (Fagan 1996b; Gibb 1997). Mitch Allen (2002), James Gibb (1997), William Lipe (2002), and Peter Young (2002) stress the importance of publishing, but in a form for public consumption. I completely agree that archaeologists can learn to write in a manner that creates more accessible information for the public. As Gibb (1997) suggests, writing in the form of a narrative, in the first person, and using active sentences produces a more engaging piece of literature. Even though non-archaeologists can gain access to some archaeological site reports, they are written in a dry cookie cutter form with technical jargon not easily understood by the general public. Creating documents free of archaeological jargon as a narrative will develop a new way of recording sites for the public to view. However, a compromise can be accomplished by creating both professional reports and publicly accessible literature. Maintaining professional reports provides a complete source for data gathered at an archaeological site, while literature written for the public creatively summarizing the data in a form more manageable to read by individuals without a professional background. I am not advocating that all archaeological projects need to have dual reports; this strategy would be met with resistance along with issues of time and money. Instead, I am suggesting that archaeologist consider creating more publicly accessible literature especially with regard to community related projects. These archaeological projects can create positive community support through education in the

form of literature. The world wide web is an example of one method for public distribution.

Examples of breaking the professional/academic molds to writing archaeology can be seen in James Deetz's (1996) popular press book on historical archaeology, Janet Spector's (1996) feminist approach to narrative writing, and Adrian Praetzelis' (2000) novel-like approach to archaeological theory. All see the importance of using new approaches to introducing individuals to archaeology. Although people outside of archaeology may not purchase these publications, they present a creative way of looking at archaeology by making it more active and interesting. I strongly believe these are great examples to incorporate into colleges and universities because they expose students to different styles of writing while at the same time teaching archaeology.

Cross-disciplinary research, although mentioned previously in the section "Working with Communities", is an additional approach that archaeologists should and are using (Singleton 1997; Leone and Fry 1999; Ruppel et al. 2003). Integrating various disciplines assists with interpretation by providing additional insight from other professionals (Leone and Fry 1999; Ruppel et al. 2003). Potter's (1991) concept of social responsibility can be applied to the integration of not only descendant populations but also interdisciplinary research. Michael Blakey (1997) and Laurie Wilkie (2000) add that with so many African American resources (e.g. publications, courses, professional historians) archaeologists need to incorporate the multitude around them. With an overwhelming majority of European American archaeologists, simply working with African American historians seems to be a responsible start to further understand and interpret African American archaeology. Matthews (1997) goes further to say that

learning where enslaved Africans originated and about their lives there will create a more comprehensive understanding to some of the lifeways discovered on African American plantation sites (Matthews 1997:109).

Embedded with the information gathered from descendants and communities are the ethics surrounding field collection. McDavid (1997) advocates and used a “both/and” approach to her research at the Levi Jordan Plantation in Texas. By incorporating a “both/and” approach, McDavid gathered and used both archaeology and African American descendant knowledge. Through incorporating more than just the archaeologist’s view, McDavid was able to understand what the local African American community knew and wanted to know along with directing her research questions. Using a “both/and” technique can gain the respect of an African American community over an “either/or” method. Addressing a site using “either/or” means that the archaeologist is the one who ultimately makes the decision in deciding whether they will include community information or not. The principal of “either/or” goes against what has become known as critical theory by discounting one group and not using a shared knowledge in the formation and interpretation of an African American site.

McDavid (1997) did find resistance from some community members who did not want to open up or talk to her when she wanted to incorporate the local African American community before the project began. Initially, she interpreted this response as a result of ethnicity – she, a white archaeologist, speaking to African Americans about their history – a result that other scholars have also witnessed in their research (Blakey 1997; Derry 1997; La Roche and Blakey 1997). She instead discovered their reticence was a result of past experience with community projects. Previously, involvement of the African

American community in many of the projects (e.g. parades, museum boards) occurred near the end or at the completion of the project and were seen by the African American community as tokenization. With other projects, the community would be asked to be involved only to learn later that the information gathered was never integrated as promised. As a result, community members were wary of McDavid's approach, believing that she would be like the others and only appear to be really interested in the information gathered and never use it. Once McDavid recognized the hesitation of the local African American community, she was able to acknowledge this problem and redirect her approach. In one instance this effort went as far as having to write a justification letter answering a series of questions posed by one retired African American teacher. I believe it is important to learn through the challenges that archaeologists have faced in the past in order to create a more successful archaeology project. Through a critical theory approach and the incorporation of "both/and", McDavid was able to conduct her interviews because she accepted the problem and worked out a way to resolve the issues with some of the community members.

Summary

Through addressing public archaeology with incorporation of communities, cooperative education, and ethics, I have demonstrated the importance of including public archaeology when conducting archaeology at African American sites. There are many parallels between the researchers I have presented and the methods used at Northampton. When I began my dissertation I proceeded in a similar manner taking into consideration the three aforementioned areas of importance. First, by working with

African American communities archaeologists are learning that it is important to ask multiple questions and include multiple perspectives from the beginning of a project (e.g. Potter 1991; Derry 1997; McDavid 1997, 2007). Although integration of African American communities should never be pushed aside, archaeologists do need to remember that not everyone within a community will be a willing participant. Participation should not be forced, as Derry (1997) and McDavid (1997, 2009) discovered. With the overwhelming majority of archaeologists being of European American background, road blocks are to be expected and anticipated, particularly when the archaeologist attempts to interpret and present the history of another culture. Even dissent, however, can be instructive.

Second, cooperative education is important when working with the many publics or communities. Archaeologists should educate the public on why sites are or are sometimes not excavated, why the research that is conducted is important, and what people can do to assist or learn more. From educating or informing the public and descendant populations, situations may open themselves to create a shared environment where the public will feel comfortable with archaeologists and provide them with cultural insight; thus showing that education must also be done by communities. Archaeologists need to equally listen to a community and learn from them. Does a community really understand archaeology and, if so, do they believe it is important? What is important to a specific community or the various publics and how should this be recorded and or displayed? What oral histories can be passed down? It is with education that archaeologists and non-archaeologists can reach a further understanding of African American sites. Both archaeologists and African American descendants of Northampton

reciprocated such education. It is through the descendants that archaeologists were, and are, able to gain further knowledge on future goals of the family with respect to their history.

Finally, archaeologists should work as both advocates and stewards. It is the archaeologist's responsibility to protect the archaeological record and it should become the archaeologists responsibility to work together with the various publics. Incorporating methods and theories that are respectful of communities are especially important when dealing with African Americans. Using critical theory and self-reflection has been advocated by many of the archaeologists studying African American plantations. It is important to know the audience, include them, and recognize how interpreted histories may be taken out of context. However, archaeologists must always remain aware of social, economic, and political forces, especially when working with African Americans. A more successful archaeology can exist when archaeologists identify who their publics are, collaborate with them on research, and find out what is of interest to them. How has this occurred at Northampton? Within the next chapter I provide my methods of research demonstrating the importance of collaboration and community engagement.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In practicing archaeology, archaeologists need to be aware of their social and political environment as addressed in Chapter 2. Will a surrounding local community be impacted? Are there associated living descendants? What is the political environment of the area? These are some of the central questions archaeologists should consider when beginning to develop a scope of work. In addition, an archaeologist should be transparent about agenda and acknowledge his/her position within a specific community. Using these questions as a beginning point, I will address the importance of understanding ones' environment when conducting an archaeological project and how archaeology can be used to actively engage the public. To begin I will first provide a brief history of Prince George's County, Maryland, and Northampton to demonstrate the significance of the methods used for my research. A more comprehensive history of Prince George's County and Northampton will follow in the proceeding chapters.

A Brief History of Prince George's County, Maryland

Prince George's County, Maryland, borders the east side of Washington, DC (see Figure 1). Prince George's County, Maryland, was established in 1696, created from portions of Calvert and Charles County, with two major tributaries of the Chesapeake

Bay for boundaries: the Patuxent River on the east and Potomac River on the west (Hienton 1972:1-3).

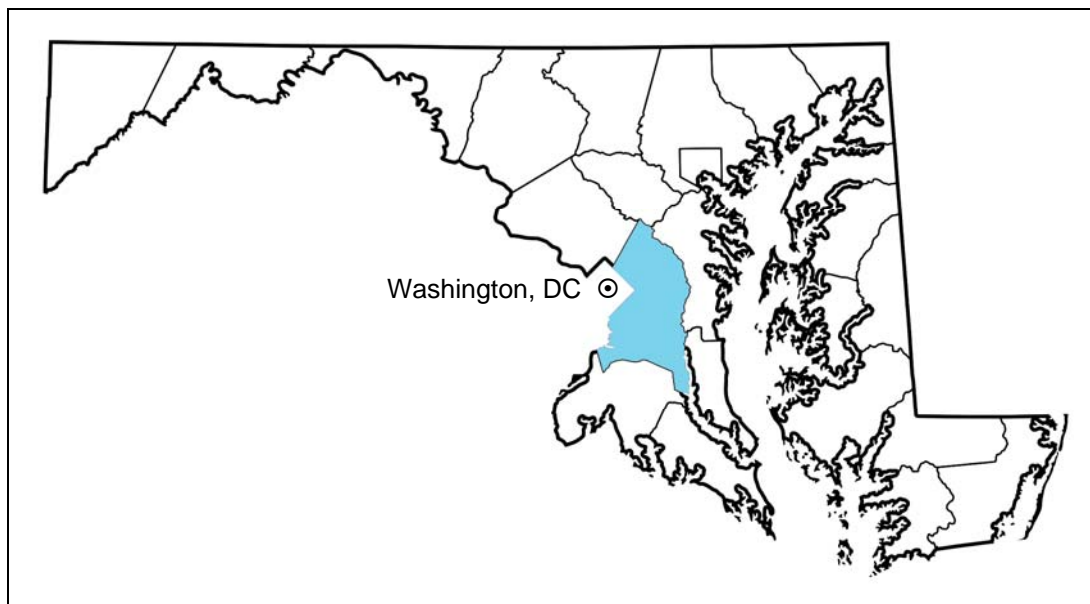


Figure 1. Shaded Area Represents the Location of Prince George's County within Maryland. Map courtesy of David Benbennick with modifications by author.

Northampton is located in the center of Prince George's County, approximately fifteen miles east of Washington, DC, twenty-five miles west of Annapolis, Maryland (state capital), and forty miles south of Baltimore, Maryland (see Figure 2). When the land was originally granted to Thomas Sprigg in 1673 (Prince George's County Court Land Records 1701), Prince George's County was not yet established and the 1000 acre plot was part of Charles County.

During Maryland's early history, tobacco became an important agricultural crop, making it the largest export for Colonial Maryland (Middleton 1984:172). Since tobacco production is labor intensive, the need for additional labor became evident, creating for the Chesapeake region an economy increasingly reliant on "...black-slave and white-

servant labor...” (Berlin 1998:7). Over time, the economy expanded and plantations grew, thus increasing the need for specialized labor (Middleton 1984:175-176).

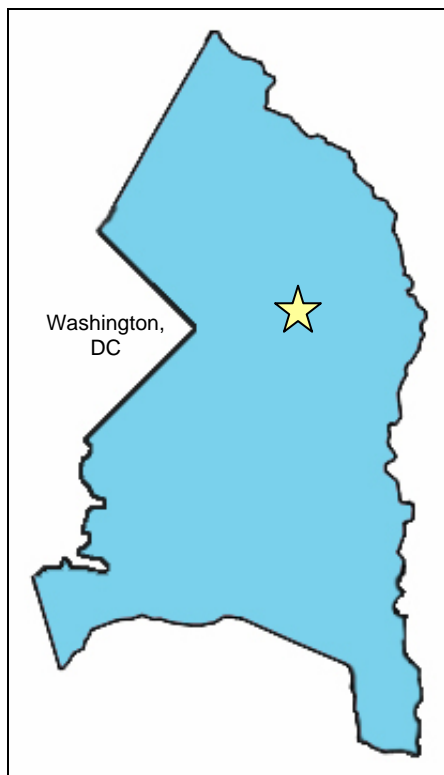


Figure 2. Star Marking Approximate Location of the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park within Prince George's County. Map courtesy of David Benbennick with modifications by author.

Slave labor quickly grew during the early eighteenth century in Prince George's County. From 1704 to 1710, the enslaved population more than doubled, going from 436 to 1297 respectively. When looking at slaveholdings, Northampton, the focus of my research, was among the larger wealthier plantations (Lucas 2008:117-120). In the late eighteenth century, enslaved African descendants comprised over sixty percent of the population in the region of Prince George's County where Northampton was located

(Sperling 2009:52). By the nineteenth century, African Americans outnumbered European Americans in the county (Brugger 1988:236).

Although there was a steady increase in the African American population during the early history of Prince George's County, the African American population has drastically changed over time. In the nineteenth century, African Americans outnumbered European Americans; in 1860, African Americans were the majority population (59%), but beginning in 1870, the numbers began to drop (46%). There was a steady decrease in the African American population through the mid-twentieth century, until its lowest percentage (8%) in 1960; thereafter the population began to grow (Prince George's County Planning Department 2004:7). By the 2000 United States Census (Census), the percentage of African Americans living within the county reached 62.7% (U.S. Census Bureau 2007), an increase of 12% since the 1990 Census (Prince George's County Planning Department 2007). Although the increase in the African American population has slowed over the last decade, the 2010 Census still reported they are the majority population, making up 64.5% of the county (U.S. Census Bureau 2011), demonstrating continuous growth and a majority status.

Working in a county with a majority African American population has prompted organizations such as the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC) to acknowledge this dominant population and adopt an ordinance in 2005 to protect its African American cultural resources. The Prince George's County ordinance states that when archaeological investigations are conducted, they (the county) are "...especially interested in the location (and possible preservation) of slave quarters and burials" (M-NCPPC, Prince George's County Planning Board 2005:13). The ordinance

even lists specific recommended sources (e.g. tax records, probate) to consult when identifying what property owners had slaves (M-NCPPC, Prince George's County Planning Board 2005:13).

In addition to the 2005 *Guidelines for Archeological Review*, The Ottery Group, a Cultural Resources Management firm contracted by the M-NCPPC, Prince George's County Planning Department, conducted research and produced a guide to antebellum plantations in Prince George's County. Ottery's publication, entitled *Antebellum Plantations in Prince George's County, Maryland: A Historic Context and Research Guide*, is intended as a beginning research tool for county planners, cultural resources managers, and other researchers when addressing the antebellum period within the county (Sperling 2009). This guide helps provide individuals with a basic background history of Prince George's County and explains the landscapes of different sized antebellum plantations. This guide is not, however, a predictive model for locating plantations and their associated structures or layouts.

While the antebellum guide was being completed, the M-NCPPC, Planning Department contracted the cultural resources management firm of Greenhorne & O'Mara, Inc. to produce a document addressing postbellum resources in Prince George's County, Maryland. The *Postbellum Archaeological Resources In Prince George's County, Maryland: A Historic Context and Resource Guide* focuses on archaeological sites dating between 1865 and 1958. Themes (e.g. agriculture, transportation, government facilities) organize this guide with archaeologically significant sites highlighted within each category. It is important to note that the postbellum guide is not comprehensive, but instead a resource on the history of the county's postbellum period and some of the

related significant archaeological resources (Kreisa et al. 2010). This guide is available to the public, and provides county planners, cultural resources managers, and other researchers a way to conduct further research.

With an explosion of development now occurring within a county once full of plantation history and a re-established majority African American population, the M-NCPPC has made protecting African American cultural resources a primary focus. Working within a county that stresses the importance of maintaining the cultural resources of its African American heritage, as evidenced by the production of the archaeological guidelines and ante- and postbellum guides, reiterates the importance of ethically responsible archaeology and being aware of the political environments.

A Brief History of Northampton

It is the intention of the M-NCPPC, Natural and Historical Resources Division (NHRD) to create an exhibit focusing on the slave quarters at Northampton. Space has been provided by NHRD at the Lake Arbor Community Center and both the former NHRD Division Chief (currently retired) and the Archaeology Program manager, were notified of my original research interest in this project. The Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park is one of two archaeological parks managed by the Archaeology Program. It is located in the Lake Arbor Community of Mitchellville, Maryland, approximately fifteen miles east of Washington, DC, and on part of the original land of Northampton.

Northampton, a 1000-acre plot, was granted to Thomas Sprigg, Sr. by Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, in 1673 (Prince George's County Court Land Records

1701). Located in what is now known as Prince George's County, Maryland, Northampton remained in the Sprigg family until 1865. In 1865, Violetta Sprigg, widow to former Maryland governor Samuel Sprigg (1819-1822) (White 1970:79-80), sold the property to Dr. John Fairfax (Prince George's County Court Land Records 1865). Later, in 1959, descendants of Fairfax sold the land (Prince George's County Court Land Records 1959), which a developer eventually purchased.

Prior to development, Prince George's County's Comprehensive Design and Zoning regulations required the developer to both conduct archaeological investigations and create a set percentage of the new subdivision into parkland for the M-NCPPC. As a result, MAAR Associates, Inc. was hired in 1987 by the developer to conduct initial archaeological testing on the proposed 12.5 acre park. During testing, MAAR documented the ruins of the main plantation house and several outbuildings, as well as discovering two slave quarters on land outside the proposed park. The slave quarters were designated significant archaeological resources and additional testing was recommended. As a result, the developer agreed to dedicate this half-acre parcel (located to the east of the original proposed 12.5 acres) to the M-NCPPC and hired Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. in 1990 for additional testing (Creveling 2001).

The slave quarters consist of one wooden frame structure and one brick structure. Both quarters were duplexes, divided in half by a wall containing a fireplace on either side (Resnick 1990:8), thus allowing separate space for two families. The frame quarter's dimensions are 25 by 27 feet and may be the structure referred to as the "Negro House 26 by 24" listed in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax. The brick structure is believed to date between 1820 to 1850s (Ridout 1988) and measures 24 by 42 feet.

Through continued work by the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program, documents and other sources about one African American woman who lived at Northampton, Elizabeth Hawkins, have proven to be particularly invaluable resources (M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program n.d.). Elizabeth appears, listed under the name of her husband Robert, in the 1870 Census as “Keeping House” and twenty-five years of age. Descendants of Elizabeth have been active participants of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program’s research conducted at Northampton from the beginning. They have assisted with excavations and provided both genealogical information and oral histories that have all added to the understanding and growing interpretation of the site.

Methods

Through providing a brief history of Prince George’s County, Maryland, and Northampton, I have begun to show the significance that both a political environment and descendants have on archaeological investigations. How then does an archaeologist use this information to actively engage the various publics to help her not only research a site, but present an interpretation for public consumption? Through making transparent my methods of research I will provide an approach for answering these questions.

The M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program completed archaeological investigations at the Northampton slave quarters in the late 1990s. Although there was preliminary research, a complete analysis of the artifacts and a formal archaeology report have not yet been completed. The unfinished nature of this project and the desire to create additional public interpretation is why the importance of including the descendants of Elizabeth Hawkins is significant for applying a collaborative approach. Combining the information

from the descendant family (e.g. oral histories, photographs) with archaeological data in the form of an exhibit will provide a unique multi-vocal perspective on Northampton.

Exhibit Goals

The small-scale, self-guided exhibit will be housed in the M-NCPPC, Lake Arbor Community Center, located in Mitchellville, Maryland, and will be a product constructed beyond my scope of research. Although the main subject of the exhibit will be Northampton, I would like to include background information on Prince George's County, slavery, and the postbellum period to provide context for Northampton over time. These concepts will also be the starting point for creating the themes of the exhibit. Once the archaeologists and descendant family establish the themes and basic script, the physical layout of the exhibit will evolve upon consultation with the M-NCPPC, Parks and Recreation, Exhibit Department. Once the Exhibits Department creates an initial layout and design, the archaeologists will receive a copy and will in turn work with the family on any edits or redesign.

Since the descendant family is proactive at Northampton and believes in passing their history through the generations, it is important they be involved with the creation of the exhibit. My primary goals are to create a multi-vocal exhibit displaying both the descendant and the professional archaeologists' perspectives with hopes of engaging the visitor. One suggestion on how to create a multi-vocal exhibit is to display multiple meanings of one object. This could be achieved by creating multiple labels for an object showing: 1) its physical attributes (e.g. material, date); 2) descendant description or story behind the significance of an object; and 3) archaeologist description/interpretation.

These labels will show the different ways to think about an object and the potential meanings/interpretations behind it.

Another way to create a multi-vocal exhibit is to incorporate the oral histories gathered from descendants. These accounts add human dimension to an exhibit and remind the visitor there are living ties to the past. Oral histories can also help elucidate the archaeologically record, even if at times they contradict one another.

In addition to descendant involvement with the creation of the exhibit, the exhibit should engage visitors. Three ways to engage the visitor in this self-guided exhibit are to: 1) ask questions; 2) include hands-on activities; and 3) provide research resources. First, through placing questions throughout the text, visitors can interact with the exhibit and reflect on what they are seeing and learning. Some of these questions can draw parallels to the present and future to create potential ties to the past. Encouraging visitors to post their answers and ideas online can create an ongoing open dialog.

Second, providing small hands-on activities create an environment where the visitor becomes part of the exhibit. Examples of hands-on activities include: 1) displaying images the visitors flip open to reveal additional information or pictures; 2) three dimensional puzzles (e.g. cubes laid out in rows like a checkerboard that when turned over show parts of an image. Matching sides then display an artifact or the excavated site) – similar concepts used at the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum's *FAQ Archaeology* exhibit, in St. Leonard, Maryland; and 3) child and adult handouts/worksheets to correspond with the exhibit.

Third, it is important to provide the visitor with information on how to gather African American resources. This information will let the public know what is available

to them and how to begin personal research. Now that I have laid out my goals for the exhibit, there were two main methods used to gather data – interviews and primary documents.

Interviews

I began gathering information among the descendants and archaeologists in 2006. Formal recorded interviews were conducted between 2010 and 2011. All interviews were open-ended allowing for flexibility based on answers given. Meagan Brooks (2007) found this style of interview to be especially useful since it allows a basic set of questions to be tailored depending on the individual and his/her response.

Interviews were first conducted among the descendants of Elizabeth Hawkins. Although there are three primary family members who live within close proximity to the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park, official interviews were only conducted with Iris McConnell, the family historian. I interacted with other family members in more informal situations related to site events or development projects. The aforementioned two additional individuals of particular significance are brother and sister. One is the patriarch of the family who remembers visiting his grandmother at the brick quarter when she was a tenant at Northampton during the 1920s/30s (Creveling 2001, 6). His sister was actively involved in coordinating family reunions and periodic memorial services held at the site. She passed away in late 2009.

Through open-ended interviews in person and over electronic mail, I gathered oral histories and a further understanding of what the site means to the family. Issues of slavery were addressed to identify individual views and what they perceive as important

aspects to highlight for the younger generations and others who will see the exhibit at the community center. Other questions and issues were what significance does the site have for the descendants, how important are oral histories, what did it mean to be included in the archaeological research, and why is it important to remember the past and return to the site? This information provides the living descendant perspectives of Northampton that are elaborated upon in Chapters 5 and 6.

I also interviewed Donald Creveling, the manager of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program. This interview provided a “professional” point of view, addressing issues of the scope of work and what led to the cooperative project with the descendants. Other archaeologists within the program also provided insight into the interpretation of the site and the work conducted; these individuals, however, were not interviewed officially. This data was collected through my everyday interactions and duties associated with working for the Archaeology Program. Working with archaeologists involved allowed me to uncover the archaeological goals, or agendas, and how they viewed the outcome of a collaborative project.

Speaking with descendants and archaeologists allowed me to recognize similarities and differences among the groups. These opinions and ideas will not only show the multiple perspectives on issues surrounding slavery and African Americans within Prince George’s County, but they can provide insight into the agendas of various stakeholders in the past.

Primary Documents

In addition to interviews, primary documents in the form of historical documents, photographs, and the archaeological record assisted with research on the history of Northampton. First, historical documents (e.g. wills, probate inventories, tax documents, census records, land deeds) aided in establishing items such as chain of title, slave statistics, and manumissions. Historical documents used in combination with descendant oral histories, helped locate ancestors and identified who was enslaved or free and how long they lived on the Northampton property.

Second, photographs were a valuable resource. Images from the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) series showed what structures existed on the plantation property during the turn of the twentieth century and 1930s, and the uses of these buildings. Family photographs from descendants created a visual history of the family over time.

Third, the archaeological record provided a way to interpret the slave quarters by establishing its dates and uses over time. Archaeological field notes (e.g. field photographs, maps, soil layer descriptions) documented features in the ground and soil accumulation over time. Features and artifacts found during excavation support the interpretation of the site. Datable artifacts within the various soil layers and features establish when a soil layer or feature was created or filled. Identifiable objects (datable or not) assist with site interpretation and can lead to concepts like consumerism and cultural activities. By combining historical documents and photographs with the archaeological record, I can address specific moments in time at the Northampton slave quarters.

Interpretation of the life of African Americans who were enslaved and worked as tenants is then the result of connecting these various moments together.

Summary

A synthesis of the information gathered from the various communities (e.g. descendants) and archaeology (e.g. archaeologists, archaeological record) will demonstrate the importance of collaboration when conducting archaeology in the following chapters. Specifically, through descendant inclusion, the family can take control of *their* history and work together with archaeologists on telling *their* past. Using Northampton will then provide a case study for how archaeology can engage the various publics.

Within the next two chapters I focus on the archaeology (Chapter 4) and African American communities (Chapter 5) of Northampton. In Chapter 4 I provide the historical background on the landowners from its development to present day and a summary of the excavations. The purpose of Chapter 4 is to present only a general summary of the excavations conducted by the M-NCPPC since a site report was never completed. It is not my intension to provide a detailed site report. I then move to the African American presence at Northampton in Chapter 5. From enslavement to tenant farming, Africans and African Americans were a major component of the Northampton plantation. Their history and the research conducted by the African American descendants is the foundation of Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

THE ARCHAEOLOGY AT NORTHAMPTON

...[A]rchaeologists...are best suited to deal with the archaeological record.

—Larry McKee, *Is It Futile to Try and Be Useful? Historical Archaeology and the African-American Experience* 1994:3

As an historical archaeologist, I combine research gathered from the archaeological record and primary historical documents to understand the history of a site and create an interpretation of the data collected during fieldwork. In this chapter, I focus on the archaeological record. What have previous archaeologists found? What do historical documents tell us about the site and the people living there? To begin, I will first explain how archaeological data is typically presented.

When presenting the data in written form as an archaeological site report, archaeologists in the United States follow a general format. The typical topics discussed are:

- Location of the project area
- The environmental (geological) settings for area
- Previous archaeological work in the area
- The prehistoric and historic backgrounds (e.g., who lived there, how did they live)
- Research design of the project

- The archaeological finds (e.g., descriptions of soils layers, features, artifacts)
- Interpretation of the archaeological finds
- Suggestions for additional research
- Appendices, or an additional volume including an inventory list of artifacts

This information becomes a “boiler plate” for archaeologists who continue to do work in the field and create scholarly site reports. It creates uniformity and allows other archaeologists to see the raw data and use it for comparative research. Some of this uniformity is required based on federal, state, or local laws. To present the archaeological research for Northampton, I will begin in some of the same ways: first, I will provide the historical background of Northampton, focusing on the property owners; second, I will provide a summary of previous excavations conducted at the site; and finally, I will explain both the methods employed and descriptions of the archaeological data collected by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission’s, Prince George’s County, Archaeology Program.

Historical Background of Northampton

In the Chesapeake region, tobacco production created an economy reliant on “...black-slave and white-servant labor...” (Berlin 1998:7). Although tobacco was Colonial Maryland’s largest export, other crops and industries were introduced to supplement harder economic times in the eighteenth century. With an expanding economy, plantations grew and the need for specialized labor increased (Middleton

1984:172-176). Northampton was no different and maintained a tobacco economy that it supplemented with "...wheat, corn, cattle, and sheep" (Resnick 1990:7). In Osborn Sprigg's 1814 will, Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., suggests that the listing of crops and livestock reflect both income (tobacco) and subsistence (other smaller crops and livestock). Although the latter could be a form of income, it is believed that if it was used as such it represented only a small percentage of income for the Spriggs. Northampton continued with large scale tobacco production mixed with other grains, livestock, and dairying up to the Civil War (Resnick 1990:24).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, slave labor quickly grew in early eighteenth century Prince George's County to maintain the antebellum agricultural economy. Through the antebellum period, Northampton remained a large plantation, retaining most of its 1000 acres. One of the first accounts of slavery at Northampton is recorded in the 1704 estate inventory of Thomas Sprigg, documenting eight enslaved individuals. A peak in slave labor at the plantation is recorded in Samuel Sprigg's 1840 United States Census (Census) with 117 enslaved African Americans. One of the last accounts of enslaved African Americans at Northampton is found in the 1860 Census, where Osborn Sprigg reports 59 individuals. It is important to note that these figures reflect the *total* number of slaves owned by the Spriggs and do not necessarily mean they were all living at Northampton.

Ownership

The Sprigg's plantation, Northampton, was one of Prince George's County's largest plantations, thus making them one the larger slave owning families. Most of the

Spriggs who maintained Northampton were influential in politics, not only in Maryland, but also at the Colonial and National level. Below I will provide an overview of Northampton's owners starting with the Sprigg family and ending with the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC). The use of Senior (Sr.) and Junior (Jr.) is used to designate who first received the name and then his son. The use of Sr. and Jr. is also found within the primary documents but its use is inconsistent. I will use Sr. and Jr. as a way to designate father and son.

Thomas Sprigg, Sr.

Thomas Sprigg, Sr. (1630-1704) moved from Virginia to Maryland in 1651. He served as justice for Calvert County from 1667-1674/75 (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765). In 1673, Charles Calvert (Third Lord Baltimore) granted a 1000 acre plot to Thomas Sprigg, Sr. (Prince George's County Court Land Records 1701). Sprigg named the property Northampton, and both managed and lived on the property until his death in 1704. In his May 9, 1704 will, he left to his "...Sonne Tho. Sprigg my Dwelling house & all the houses & Land of Northampton & Kettering that I have not disposed of..." In addition, one of the eight slaves listed on Thomas' 1704 probate inventory is referenced in the will. "...[M]y malatta Johnno Cabby bee sett free after Fore yeares Servis & to have what is dew to white Servants..." Thomas' request of freedom for this individual is also recorded in his probate inventory.

Thomas Sprigg, Jr.

Although the junior Thomas Sprigg's exact birth and death dates are unknown, he lived between 1670 and 1739. He was the eldest son to Thomas Sprigg, Sr. and

Catherine. Thomas was born in Calvert County and lived at Northampton (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765), which he acquired in his father's 1704 will. He served as a justice for Prince George's County in 1697-1705, and 1709-1715/16. While serving as justice, he was also a member of Prince George's County's Lower House from 1712-1715. He served in the military and became a major (1711), then lieutenant colonel (1715) (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765). It should be noted that due to his military service he is sometimes referred to by those titles in the historical record.

In 1722, Thomas, Jr., relocated to London. In preparation for the move, he began getting rid of his land in 1716. It is in 1722 that Thomas Sprigg, Jr., deeds Northampton to his son Osborn Sprigg before moving. Although Thomas, Jr., worked as a planter in Maryland, his primary occupation was as a merchant, a profession he continued in London (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765).

Osborn Sprigg, Sr.

Osborn Sprigg, Sr. (1707-1749/50) was born in Prince George's County and lived at Northampton. Like his father, Thomas Sprigg, Jr., he served in the Prince George's County Lower House (1739-1745). In 1742, he was appointed commissioner for the creation of the town of Bladensburg within Prince George's County (about a mile east of Washington, DC) and was acting sheriff of the county from 1747 to his death (Papenfuse et al. 1985:763-764).

His main profession was as a planter and merchant. As a merchant, Osborn created a partnership in the early 1740s with Joseph Belt, Jr. and Thomas Clark and

began trading with other merchants in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and England (Papenfuse et al. 1985:764).

In his will dated January 6, 1749/1750, Osborn Sprigg divides portions of his properties among his three sons. When his sons Osborn and Joseph are of “proper age”, they are to receive a parcel of land called Darnall’s Grove that is to be divided between them. His third son, Thomas, is willed “...all that tract or parcell of land whereon my Dwelling House stands and also all my other tracts or parcells of land adjoining or lying contiguous there to...”

Osborn Sprigg, Jr.

Osborn Sprigg, Jr. lived from 1741 to 1815 and resided at Northampton (Papenfuse et al. 1985:764). Although not deeded Northampton, he eventually purchased from his brother Thomas in June of 1775 their father’s “North Hampton” property including the dwelling house and other parcels of land for the price of two-thousand pounds sterling. This deed is particularly interesting since it lays out the various family owners before Osborn, Jr.’s 1775 purchase. Around March 20, 1759, Joseph Sprigg (oldest brother) purchased the properties that Osborn, Jr. later bought in 1775. This land was originally willed to Thomas, according to their father’s 1749/50 will. However, Thomas would have been about twelve when their father’s debt was due in 1759. So the oldest brother Joseph, approximately twenty-three, settled their deceased father’s (Osborn Sprigg, Sr.) debt. Then around February 10, 1774, Joseph sold the properties to Thomas who a year later sold them to Osborn, Jr.

Osborn, Jr. was a planter and held a number of political offices. He served in the 1st through 5th (1774-1775) and 9th (1776) Constitutional Conventions (Papenfuse et al. 1985:764-765). He was one of the delegates chosen to write the 1776 Constitution (Van Horn 1976:165). Osborn, Jr. served in Prince George's Lower House in 1777 and was part of the Constitution Ratification Convention in 1788. He also served as a county justice from 1779 to 1786 and 1793 to 1798. He was appointed commissioner of tax in 1792 and 1798 (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765). According to R. Lee Van Horn (1976), considered one of the more prominent patriots in the colonies and during his life signed "The Association of Freemen of Maryland" (Van Horn 1976:165).

Osborn Sprigg, Jr. did not have any biological children. His heirs were his brother Joseph's and sister Rachel's (Harwood) children (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765). Upon Joseph's death in 1800, Osborn, Jr. adopted his brother's son Samuel. It was Samuel who eventually inherited Northampton (White 1970:79).

Samuel Sprigg

Samuel Sprigg (1783-1855) inherited Northampton after the death of his biological uncle, Osborn Sprigg, Jr. in 1815 (White 1970:79-80). On September 24, 1806, he received his Bachelor of Arts from the "college of New Jersey" according to *The United States Gazette* (1806:2). In 1808, Samuel passed the bar and began practicing law in Prince George's County. Three years later he married Violetta Lansdale. Samuel would eventually will the estate to her. From 1812-1814, he was commissioned to serve as an officer for the Maryland cavalry. Samuel most likely participated in the 1814 Battle

of Bladensburg (Pearl 1991), where the United States cavalry was defeated by the British army.

After the Battle of Bladensburg, British troops crossed the border into Washington, DC, setting fire to its public buildings. Upon their withdrawal from the city, they returned through Bladensburg to retrieve their ships docked on the Patuxent River. According to Sprigg family tradition, some of the British soldiers stopped at Northampton after traveling through Bladensburg to replenish their supplies. However, they did not damage Northampton, reportedly out of respect for Violetta (Samuel's wife) and their baby daughter (Pearl 1991).

In 1817, Samuel Sprigg was elected as one of the Directors for Planters' Bank in the Prince George's town of Upper Marlboro, a position he served until 1828. Two years after he began his service as Director, Samuel was elected governor of Maryland in 1819. Up until this point, Samuel was a political unknown and the election became one of the closest in the state thus far (Pearl 1991). He served as governor until 1822. One of his platforms was to create more canals and roads to facilitate communication. Although he pushed for the creation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, resistance during his administration made his efforts unsuccessful (White 1970:79). Problems ranged from funding the project to an increased interest in introducing a railroad connecting Baltimore and Ohio (Brugger 1988:203-204). After his governorship, he remained active in the creation of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal project. He was president of the board and was determined to see it completed (White 1970:79-80). Although both the railroad and canal were eventually financed, the canal did not receive funding until 1828 (Brugger 1988:203-204).

Samuel maintained Northampton throughout his life, but did not reside there while governor. Once he left office he returned to the plantation and managed it until his death in 1855 (White 1970:79-80). The largest number of slaves within the Sprigg family occurred under Samuel in 1840, when he reported 117 enslaved African Americans in the Census. I have been able to identify five individuals he manumitted. At his death, he left his estate to his wife Violetta, including 61 enslaved African Americans recorded in Samuel Sprigg's 1859 inventory. Samuel was buried in the cemetery of St. Barnabas Church (Upper Marlboro, Maryland), where he and his family had been active members (Pearl 1991).

Violetta Sprigg

Violetta, widow to Samuel Sprigg, remained at Northampton until she sold the property in 1865. Although Violetta inherited Samuel's estate, their son Osborn also appears as owner of the Northampton property on the 1861 Martenet Map (Figure 3); however, when the deed of sale was completed in 1865 Violetta is the listed as the seller. A similar situation occurs with respect to slave ownership. When the Census was taken in 1860 her son was listed as "Slave Owner", reporting 59 enslaved African Americans, but she is listed as owner for the slave declarations required after emancipation.

In 1865, Violetta Sprigg sold Northampton to Dr. John Contee Fairfax (Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron) and George W. Riggs. A couple weeks later, Violetta died and was buried in the Carroll family vault where her daughter's husband William Thomas Carroll had been previously buried. The cemetery of her interment, Oak Hill, is located in the Georgetown section of Washington, DC. Later in 1865, Samuel Sprigg's

remains were removed from the St. Barnabas cemetery and reinterred with his wife Violetta (Pearl 1991).

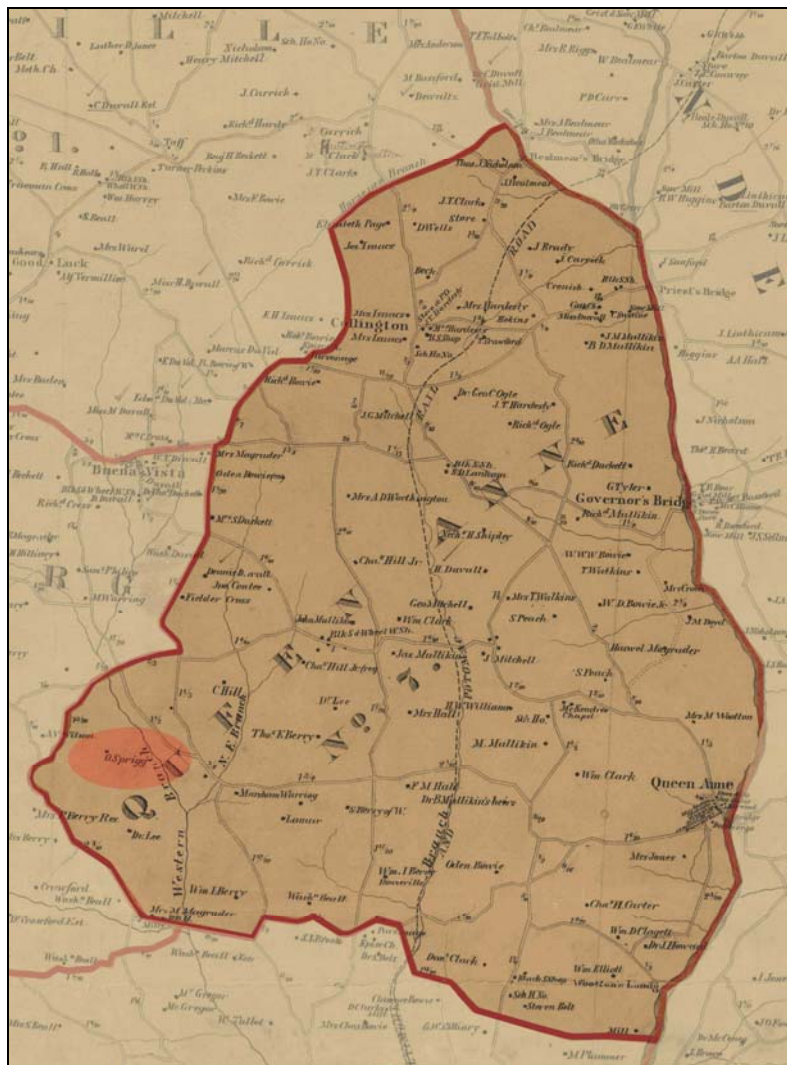


Figure 3. Highlighted Area Showing Location of Osborn Sprigg's Property, within the Queen Anne District of Prince George's County, on 1861 Martenet Map. Map courtesy of Library of Congress, American Memory Collection.

John Contee Fairfax and Family

After Dr. John Contee Fairfax and George W. Riggs purchased Northampton in 1865, agricultural production continued on the property. At this time tenant farming was replacing slavery and some freed slaves remained at Northampton as tenant farmers.

Fairfax was an American-born British Lord and the first of two American-born British Lords during his life. The second Lord was his son Lord Albert Kirby Fairfax. Dr. Fairfax lived at Northampton until his death. His son Albert Kirby Fairfax inherited the property, although at the time he worked and lived in New York City (*New York Times* 1939). Albert's 1936 will names his son Thomas Brian McKelvie Fairfax as successor to inherit Northampton.

The property continued as a working farm until the late 1950s. In 1959, the Fairfax family sold Northampton. Two different deeds show the property changing hands twice on July 17, 1959. First, Thomas Brian McKelvie Fairfax and his wife Sonia Fairfax deeded Northampton and other properties to Lovell Otto Minear. Then, Lovell Otto Minear and his wife Gertrude D. Minear deeded the same properties to Robert W. Ammann, Sherman H. Hollingsworth, and Nathan M. Lubar.

Post Fairfax

The Northampton property passed through a number of corporate hands, beginning on August 20, 1964 when Ammann and Hollingsworth sold the property to the Northampton Corporation from Washington, DC. After the Northampton Corporation acquired the property, it was sold and subdivided over the years among different corporations. It was Central Avenue Associates Limited Partnership, who eventually purchased parcels of the Northampton plantation back. Finally, in a December 30, 1986 deed, Porten Sullivan Corporation purchased the property from Central Avenue Associates Limited Partnership and developed the current townhouse community surrounding the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park.

On March 31, 1987 the developer, Porten Sullivan Corporation deeded a 12.5-acre parcel to the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. This property contained the ruins of the main plantation house and a couple of small outbuildings. A year later on May 6, 1988, Porten Sullivan Corporation deeded an additional half-acre parcel to the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. It was on this half-acre parcel that the remains of the two slave quarters were discovered.

Previous Excavations

Now that I have provided the owners of Northampton over the years, I will next address the excavations that have occurred. Various archaeological methods are employed when conducting research in the United States. Depending on the project, federal, state, and/or local laws dictate what needs to be completed. Up to three phases of archaeological testing are conducted, dependent on what is found. First, Phase I research starts by surveying and identifying if any significant cultural materials exist within an area. When an area is deemed significant, Phase II research is conducted to expand the testing area. Larger scale phase III excavations are conducted after additional significant cultural resources are discovered during Phase II testing. Since the property, originally known as Northampton, was being developed, archaeology was required and conducted in phases. Below I will present an overview of the previous archaeological work at Northampton.

Phase I

Prince George's County Comprehensive Design and Zoning regulations required Porten Sullivan Corporation, to both conduct archaeological investigations prior to townhome development and create a set percentage of its new subdivision (Northlake) into parkland held by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC). As a result, MAAR Associates, Inc. (MAAR), was hired by Porten Sullivan Corporation in 1987 to conduct initial archaeological testing on the proposed 12.5-acre park set aside for the M-NCPPC. The original Northampton plantation house was believed to be on this tract of land. When the archaeological survey began, the property was overgrown with trees and brush (Traver 1988:I-1). MAAR's primary goals were to establish the potential archaeological significance on the designated lot and to research the inhabitants' way of life (Traver 1988:I-4).

MAAR began their survey of the property with an initial walkover of the entire lot (Traver 1988:II-1). They then excavated twenty-two shovel test pits and seven test units (Traver 1988:III-1). Photographs from the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) of the manor house, dated 1895, and the two slave quarters, dated 1936 (see Figure 4), along with previously written descriptions of the site helped establish the locations of the buildings. MAAR identified several features associated with the plantation, including the main house, a capped well, outbuildings (modern and historic), and the two slave quarters. The frame quarter was found approximately 330 feet southeast, downhill of the main house. The brick quarter was approximately 73 feet east of the frame quarter (Traver 1988:II-1-12); however, no testing was conducted on the quarters during Phase I research (Traver 1988:III-2).

a.



b.



c.



Figure 4. HABS Images at Northampton (a. 1895 HABS Photograph of the Main House, b. 1936 HABS Photograph of Frame Quarter, c. 1936 HABS Photograph of Brick Quarter). Photographs courtesy of the Library of Congress, American Memory Collection.

Upon completion of their testing, MAAR archaeologists concluded that the main house caught fire twice. There were also three building episodes associated with the original block of the house. First, archaeological evidence supported construction of the original house prior to 1704, with a large addition added around 1788. Finally, after the addition burned down, circa 1909, the house was rebuilt excluding the west portion. The entire house then completely burned to the ground in the mid- to third quarter of the twentieth century (Traver 1988:II-38-39).

Interesting to note are the approximate dimensions MAAR provided for the house prior to 1909. They estimated the dimensions of the main house to be one hundred by thirty-four feet (Traver 1988:II-38). When you compare that to Osborn Sprigg, Jr.'s 1798 Federal Direct Tax listing, the main house dimensions are very similar. It lists one

“...Framd [sic] Dwelling House 60 by 40 with hip roof Kitchen 36 by 26 with hip roof...”. The Tax List helps further identify other structures present on the property including a “...Wash house 30 by 26, Meat House 16 feet Sq^r. Milk House 12 feet Sq^r. all in very good repair...1 Overseers House 20 by 16, one Negro House 26 by 24, Corn House 40 by 12, with 10 foot Shed on each Side, Barn & Stable 60 by 30, Three Tob^o. Houses 60 by 24 each...”. Although all outbuildings were not located by MAAR, they were able to identify the size of the plantation and potential structures on the property. MAAR did report that several tobacco barns associated with the plantation were destroyed when the initial development occurred (Traver 1988:II-39).

MAAR concluded their report stating the archaeological significance of not only the buildings located on the designated 12.5 acre park but also the slave quarters which fell outside the designated area. With the proposed housing development, they recommended further research. Through identifying additional written records and Phase II excavations, an enhanced understanding of the rich resources of Northampton could be provided to the surrounding community. MAAR recommended including Northampton’s designation as eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, the creation of a museum to interpret the site (Traver 1988:III-2-5), and acquisition of the area containing the slave quarters as “...a commemorative for black members of the community...” (Traver 1988:III-5). Since the 12.5 acres was already protected and set aside as dedicated parkland, not to be developed, the land holding the slave quarters became the focus of preservation. This area was to be developed and located in middle of the proposed townhouses. Fortunately the developer was willing to change its building plans to

encircle the slaves quarters (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). On May 6, 1988, the M-NCPPC was deeded this additional half-acre parcel.

Phase II

In 1990, Porten Sullivan Corporation hired Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. (Berger), to conduct additional archaeological testing in the area of the slave quarters, as recommended by MAAR. Figure 5 shows the condition of the frame and brick quarters prior to excavation. Since preliminary background research of Prince George's County and Northampton was conducted during Phase I, Berger narrowed its focus to address the socioeconomics of Northampton. They researched both the slave and agricultural economy at the site. During excavations, they unearthed foundation walls for the frame and brick quarters and a subfloor pit in front of the hearth in the brick quarter.

a.



b.



Figure 5. Condition of the (a) Frame and (b) Brick Quarters Before Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., Excavations. Photographs courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

Figure 6 shows the yard areas tested by Berger. The dates of the yard deposits spanned the early nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Additional twentieth century architectural artifacts located beside both quarters suggest the repair or upkeep of the structures during occupancy (Resnick 1990:88-89).

Of particular interest to Berger was the presence of the brick slave quarter. Berger concluded that the unusually large distance between this quarter and the main house confirms the owner's wealth. Berger suggests that it is more likely to find a brick quarter closer to the main house for the enslaved who worked there—this is not the case at Northampton (Resnick 1990:89).

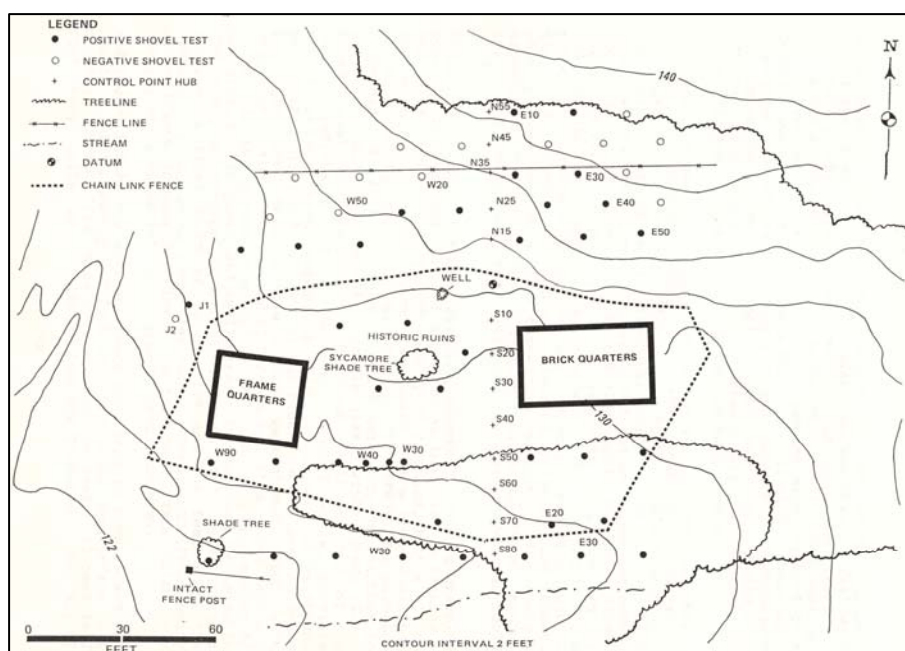


Figure 6. Areas Tested by Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. (Resnick 1990:29).

Another important conclusion Berger made related to socioeconomic status is that of free antebellum African American tenants. Originally, artifacts found within the subfloor pit of the brick quarter suggested an overseer's, rather than enslaved, occupation of this structure. Berger came to this first conclusion when comparing the subfloor pit artifact assemblage to an overseer's deposit from a Georgia plantation. However, through data from wills and the United States Census (Census), Berger inferred that instead this assemblage could reflect free antebellum African Americans who remained on the property as tenant farmers. These documents record the Sprigg's desire to free some of their enslaved and provide them with various items, including animals and adjacent property. Although this brick quarter may have housed enslaved African Americans, Berger concludes the artifact assemblage they excavated suggests the possibility that its

inhabitants were free antebellum African American tenant farmers. Berger recommended in their report further archaeology to research this premise (Resnick 1990:89-90).

Phase III

The official M-NCPPC dedication of the slave quarters' half-acre park was in 1990. With the significant historic resources of the frame and brick slave quarters, the M-NCPPC decided to turn this area into an outdoor museum exhibit focusing instead on the African American presence at the site rather than that of the European American land owner. This park was a much-needed resource in Prince George's County in the late 1980s, since there were few historical sites dedicated to African American history (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). Before restoration of the two structural foundations, Phase III research was initiated by the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program in 1991. Prior to excavations, they conducted a walkover survey of both structures to locate the previous Phase II excavation units, map any above ground features, and collect surface artifacts. The primary focus of the Phase III work was the interior of the two quarters, the area to be directly impacted by the future stabilization and reconstruction of the foundation walls (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

When excavations began in 1991, the Archaeology Program started a public archaeology outreach program that continued through the late 1990s. Field excavations concluded in 1999, at which time additional laboratory and archival research as well as interpretation began. It continues today. All artifacts were processed in the Archaeology Program's laboratory (washed, inventoried, and placed into the M-NCPPC Paradox database) and permanently housed in its Upper Marlboro, Maryland facility.

When I began working with the collection, artifact processing was complete but analysis of the artifacts was not, so a completed site report did not yet exist. Part of my interest was to analyze the artifacts from the frame and brick quarters to add to the interpretation of the site and to use items of interest for a future exhibit. To make the database more manageable I imported it into two Microsoft Access databases – one for the frame quarter and one for the brick quarter. This allowed me to query the data more easily and import it into other Microsoft programs (e.g. Excel) to create tables and graphs. I divided the artifacts into standard functional groups for purposes of comparison. The categories used within both structures were:

1. Apparel (e.g. buttons, safety pins, sewing accoutrements, shoes)
2. Architecture (e.g. nails, window glass, roofing slate)
3. Faunal (e.g. animal bone, shell)
4. Health (e.g. medicine bottles, toothbrushes, chamber pots)
5. Household (e.g. lighting, mirrors, keys, padlocks, furniture, writing implements)
6. Kitchen (e.g. plates, bottles, glasses, lids/tops, utensils)
7. Personal (e.g. jewelry, beads, religious items, coins, toys, figurines, entertainment)
8. Tobacco Pipes
9. Miscellaneous (including both identified objects and unidentified objects)

The information I will provide is only a summary interpretation of the site, not a detailed description. There are many research questions for the future that can be asked of

the data. Here I focus on the general time period of occupation and general interpretation of who was living in the quarters.

Results of M-NCPPC Excavations at Northampton

When the M-NCPPC started their Northampton archaeology project, they began excavations on the brick quarter and then the frame quarter. All information presented is from field notes of the excavation and inventory sheets of the artifacts, all housed at the Archaeology Program's facility in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. The two quarters were excavated using natural soil stratigraphy, unless otherwise noted. Unit designations differed for each quarter and will be further explained under each section for the frame and brick quarters. All measurements were taken in engineering scale (ten tenths equal one foot). Quarter inch wire mesh was used to screen artifacts. All artifacts were collected except for large quantities of non-descript brick and miscellaneous building material; in these cases a representative sample was saved.

Frame Quarter

The smaller of the two structures (25 by 27 feet) was a wooden frame quarter that stood on a stone foundation. It is believed to date to the late 1790s (Ridout 1988). This house was divided by a central wall with hearths on either side. This wall divided the house into western and eastern halves, providing living space for two families.

Excavations at the frame quarter occurred from 1995 through 1999. Thirty-seven five by five foot units were excavated in the area of the quarter (Figure 7). When referring to Figure 7 please note that although a southwest coordinate was used to

designate each unit (refer to Unit S25W30), the actual location of that coordinate falls in the unit's northeast corner.

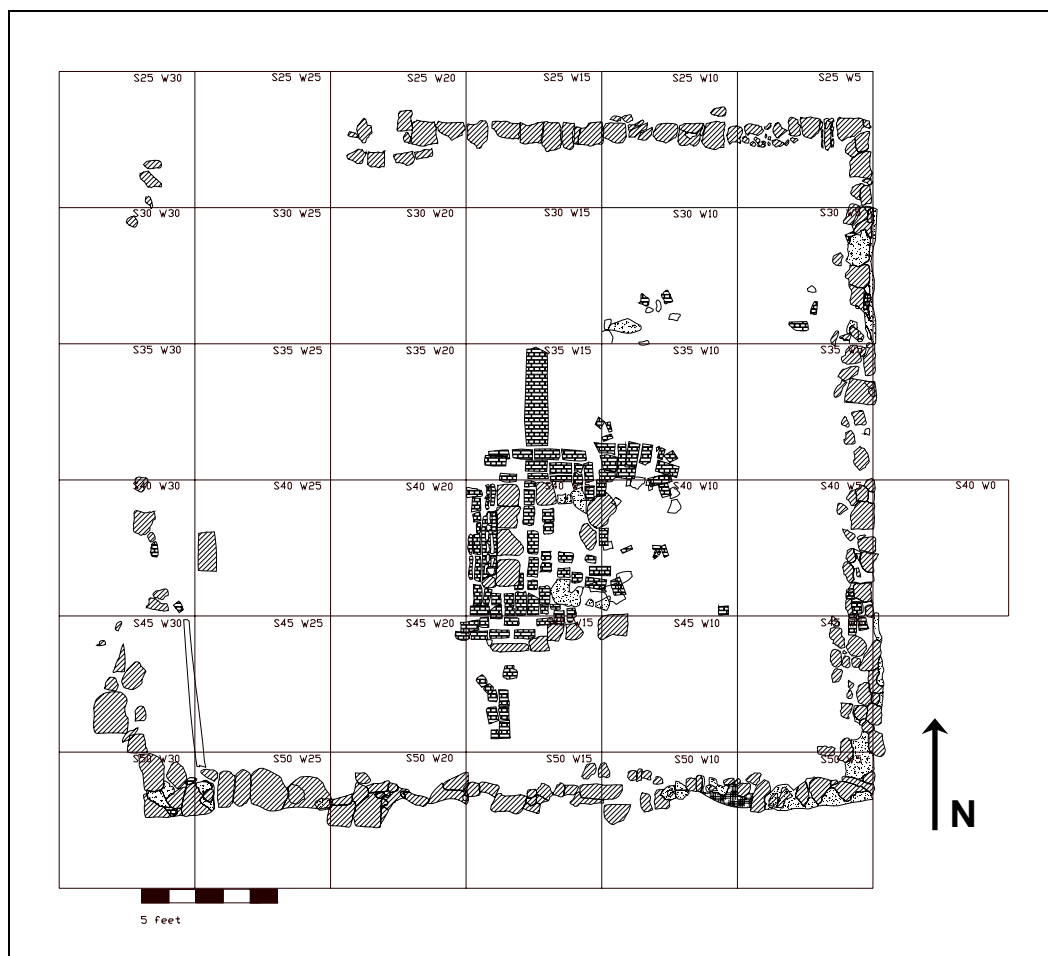


Figure 7. Layout of Excavation Units for the Frame Quarter. Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

The units along the north, south, and west foundation contained both interior and exterior space. Unit S40W0 was the only complete unit placed outside of the foundation. This unit was located next to the eastern foundation wall. There were also four shovel test pits placed alongside the eastern foundation. There were twelve designated soil layers named A through L, excluding features.

A total of 42,310 artifacts were recovered from the frame quarter. Layer A was the first layer of soil (topsoil) designated across the entire area and contained 33.5% of the total artifacts recovered. Layer A was found within all units and contained a mixed context of artifacts ranging from the eighteenth through twentieth century. This layer contained the overburden that had accumulated over the years due to the destruction of the quarter; thus accounting for the mixing of temporal artifacts.

Layer B was below Layer A and encountered in all units. However, there were five units where Layer B was only on the exterior or interior of the foundation and not located in both. In two units along the northern foundation wall, Layer B was only in the interior of the unit (S25W25 and S25W10) and not on the exterior of the foundation. Along the southern foundation wall unit S50W25 only had Layer B on the exterior and in the northwest corner (unit S25W30) and the unit adjacent to the south (S30W30), Layer B was also only on the exterior of the foundation. It should be noted that Layer B was only in the northern half of unit S40W25, located near the southwest corner of the western half of the structure. A mixed context of artifacts was contained within Layer B representing 25.7% of the total artifacts collected. The presence of a 1926 nickel dates this layer to the African American tenant occupation of the early twentieth century.

Layer C contributed to 13.9% of the artifacts within the frame quarter. It was located in most of the interior of the frame quarter except for unit S25W25 near the northwest corner and S45W25 near the southwest corner. In units S25W25 (northwest corner) and S35W30 (along the west foundation wall) Layer C was only on the exterior of the building. Along the whole southern foundation wall, Layer C was excavated on the exterior. Finally, Layer C was found in S40W0, the unit placed on the exterior of the east

foundation wall. There was a mixed context of artifacts from eighteenth-century ceramics to a 1948 quarter.

One of the Berger units was identified in the southeast corner of unit S35W10. In this unit, Layer C was the soil designation for the soil surrounding the Berger unit. In unit S40W25, Layer C was only in the northern half of the unit. And on the eastern side of the structure in units S35W15 and S45W15, the units located on the outer wall of the hearth on the northern and southern sides respectively, Layer C was found.

The most intriguing artifact recovered while excavating Layer C occurred when excavating unit S35W10. In the process of removing soil from this level along the western edge near unit S35W15, a bird bone bundle with an iron metal ring around it was discovered. The ring's diameter was almost 29 mm and the width of the iron was approximately 2.5 mm. It was located on the eastern side of the quarter, near the central dividing wall and northern edge of the hearth (see Figure 8). Although excavators were able to establish the bones were intentionally placed within the metal ring it was out of context. The object was commingled with the rest of the artifacts for site Layer C so no feature designation was assigned. Even though this object is in a mixed context it does suggest African American spirituality, raising the questions why was it there and what purpose did it serve. Aaron Russell (1997:67) references the use of animal bones for spiritual purposes, which could suggest the intent of the bones within the metal ring. Spirit bundles are known as *minkisi* and are placed in an enclosed space or the ground to protect the living (Matthews 2010:185). Since this bundle was located within a mixed context its original placement cannot be established. However, the placement of the bird

bones within the metal ring was an intentional act which leads me to infer there is a spiritual association.

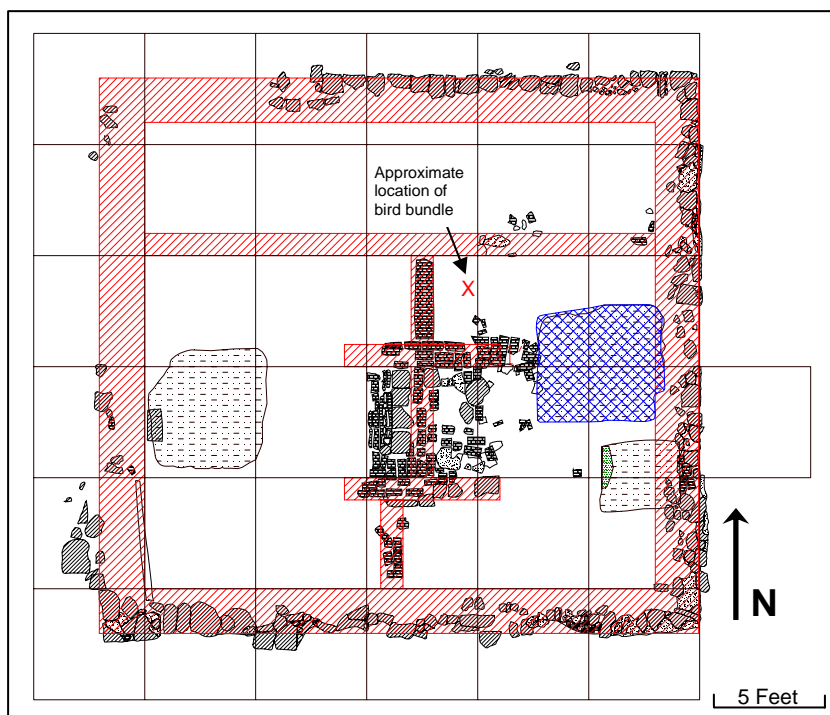


Figure 8. Location of Bird Bone Bundle. Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

Layer D was located in the majority of the interior units of both sides of the structure. In the western side of the quarter, Layer D was not located in unit S45W25 or the southern half of the unit to the north of it, S40W25. Also in this half of the structure unit S25W20 only contained Layer D on the exterior side of the foundation wall. This layer contained a mixed context of artifacts and included a 1916 penny. The artifacts recovered within Layer D account for almost 7% of the collection within the frame quarter.

On the eastern side of the quarter, Layer D was not located in units S35W15 or S45W15 on either side of the hearth. Also on the eastern side, more of the Berger

excavation unit was unearthed which fell in the middle of four M-NCPPC excavation units (refer to Figure 9). In this area Layer D was not identified in unit S35W5.

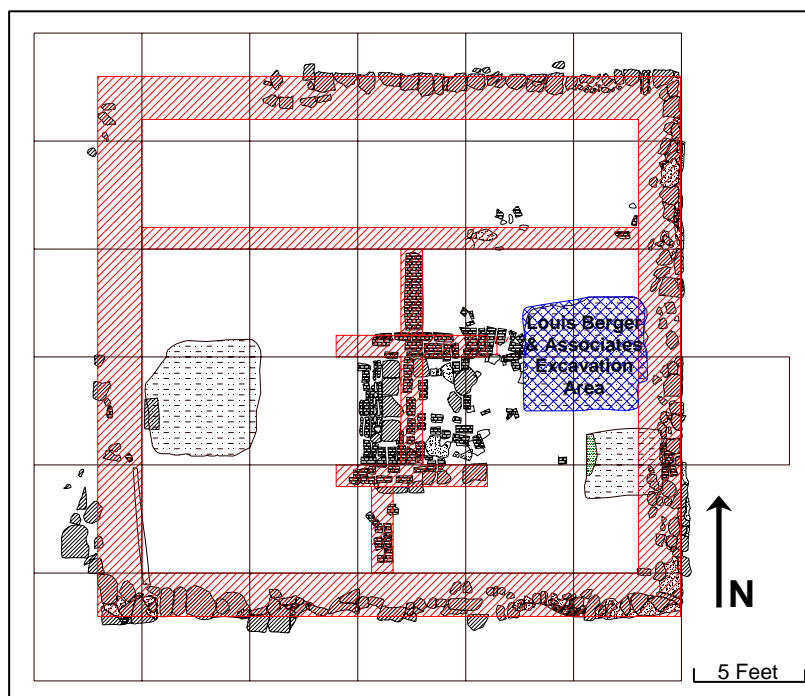


Figure 9. Location of Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. Excavation Area. Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

Along the southern foundation wall Layer D was identified on the exterior of the building (units S50W25-5). In these same units Layer D was only identified in the southeast interior corner (S50W5).

Site Layer E was primarily located on the eastern side of the frame quarter and yielded 5% of the artifacts recovered. The units that did not contain Layer E on the interior were all located along the foundation in the north (unit S25W15), east (units S30-40E5 and S50W5), and south (unit S50W15). On the western side of the quarter, nine units contained Layer E. Four of the units were located along the northern foundation wall (S25W15-30). In these four units, Layer E was only located on the exterior of the

building. Five units contained Layer E on the interior of the building, one located in the north along the central dividing wall (S30W15), two in the middle of the structure (S35W20-25), and two along the interior of the western foundation wall near southern corner (S40W30, S45W30). Recovery of a 1920 and 1934 penny within Layer E place this occupation layer to the twentieth century tenant farmers at Northampton.

Layer F was primarily located in the interior of the quarter and dated to the middle of the twentieth century with the presence of a 1964 nickel; the artifacts account for almost 3% of the total. Some of the mixing of artifacts is attributed to the presence of rodent disturbances in a couple of the units. On the western half, the units containing Layer F on the interior were mainly along the walls of the northern foundation wall (S25W20-25), northern portion of the central wall (S30-35W15), and western foundation wall (S40-45W30). The same two central units on the western half that contained Layer E also contained Layer F (S35W20-25). However, in unit S35W25, a feature was located at Layer F and part of F was excavated as the top of that feature (Feature 35, Layer A). Feature 35 is further described and interpreted later. Only two units on the western side contained Layer F on the exterior of the structure, S25W30 and S40W30.

As mentioned above, the majority of the units containing Layer F were on the interior of the structure. On the eastern half of the frame quarter, the units containing Layer F also followed the same pattern as the western half and primarily fell along the walls of the central dividing wall on either side of the hearth (S30W15 and S45W15), northeast corner (S25W5), and along the eastern foundation wall near the southeast corner (S45W5). There were two central units near the hearth that also contained Layer F (S35-40W10). Only three units contained Layer F on the exterior of the frame quarter,

two along the northern foundation wall (S25W10-15) and one along the southern foundation wall (S50W15).

Layer G was identified in eleven units all primarily falling along structural walls, seven on the western half and five on the eastern half. On the western half of the structure three units contained Layer G on the exterior (S25W20-25 along the northern foundation wall and S40W30 along the western foundation wall) and four contained Layer G on the interior (S25W15 and S25W30 along the northern foundation wall, S45W30 near the southwest corner of the foundation, and S35W20 near the central dividing wall and northern edge of the hearth). On the eastern half of the structure, Layer G was encountered on the exterior of the quarter in one unit (S25W5 northeast corner of the quarter) and found on the interior of the building in four units (S25W15 along the northern foundation wall, S35W15 and S45W15 along the central dividing wall on the outside edges of the hearth, and S35W10 also near the central dividing wall and northern edge of the hearth). The presence of an 1864 penny and early twentieth century artifacts place this layer within the period of tenant farming on the property. Although the collection of artifacts comprise only 2% of those collected among all site layers of the frame quarter, the largest percentage of items found within Layer G correspond to kitchen (40%) and architecture (27%) groupings.

The remaining soil layers (H-L) each contain less than 1% of the artifacts collected across the site. Layer H was only found along the foundations walls and central dividing wall of the quarter. Along the northern foundation wall, Layer H was on the exterior of the building in units S25W5, S25W15, and S25W25, and on the interior of the building on the western half in unit S25W20. Layer H was also located on the western

interior side of the quarter near the southwest corner in unit S45W30. Along the central dividing wall, two interior units contained Layer H, both on either side of the hearth. One unit (S35W15) was located in the western half of the quarter on the north side of the hearth and one unit (S45W15) was in the eastern half of the quarter on the south side of the hearth. Artifacts present date this soil layer to at least the mid-nineteenth century.

Layer I was located in three units of the frame quarter, two on the western side and one on the eastern side. All locations of Layer I were in areas with structural walls like Layer H and on the interior of the building. Of the two units containing Layer I on the western side, one unit (S25W20) was along the northern foundation wall and one unit (S45W15) was along the central dividing wall on the southern side of the hearth. The one unit that contained Layer I on the eastern half of the structure was S35W15. In this area Layer I was given two arbitrary layers, I.1 and I.2. Layer I.2 was designated at the base of the central diving wall. Artifacts are similar to those found in Layer H representing a mid-nineteenth century occupation.

Layer J was only located on the western half of the frame quarter, again only falling along structural walls. Artifacts were recovered in unit S25W20, along the northern foundation wall, Layer J was located on the exterior of the structure. Layer J was also designated in unit S45W15, along the central diving wall on the southern edge of the hearth. The mixed context of artifacts dates to the mid to late nineteenth century.

The two remaining soil layers are K and L. These designated layers were located on the western side of the quarter. Both Layer K and L were uncovered on the exterior of the structure along the northern foundation wall in unit S25W20. Artifacts within Layer

K and L date to the mid to late nineteenth century. An 1864 two cent piece was recovered within Layer L.

As shown, all artifacts contained within the site layers comprise a mixture of objects dating from the eighteenth through late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The types of objects found reflect a household occupation. There is a high quantity of kitchen and architectural items in addition to a large diversity of hygiene (e.g. medicine bottles, toothbrushes, combs), personal (e.g. jewelry, coins), and leisure or entertainment items (e.g. dice, marbles, toys). The range of children to adult related artifacts also reflects a multi-generation occupation within the structure during the postbellum tenant farming period at Northampton.

Features

Thirty-six features were excavated including rodent and root or tree disturbances. The majority of the features were associated with the foundations and walls of the frame quarter. The primary external foundation walls that were composed of mortared limestone were assigned feature designations 1 and 3. The central wall running north/south and dividing the two halves of the quarter can be seen in Figure 10. Remnants of this mortared brick wall were designated Feature 5 and Feature 7 and attached to the outside edges of the central hearths.

Four features were identified as an east/west trench associated with the original foundation for the northern wall. These features were identified as Feature 16 (southern edge of S30W10), Feature 17 (southern edge of S30W20), Feature 19 (southern edge of S30W25), and Feature 27 (northern edge of S35W20), suggesting the original northern

wall of the frame quarter was once about five feet or more to the south (refer to Figure 10). Some of the foundation stones were still intact. Artifacts ranged from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century, suggesting these areas were filled in no earlier than the mid-nineteenth century.

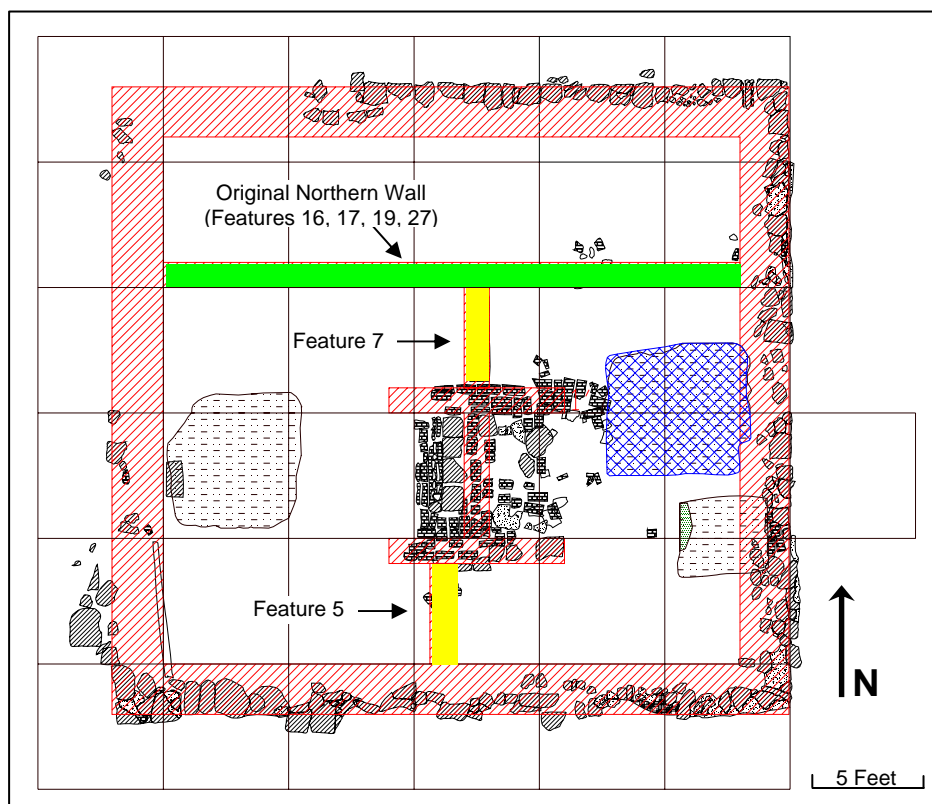


Figure 10. Location of Central Wall, Features 5 and 7, Running North and South (yellow) and Original North Wall, Features 16, 17, 19, 27 (green). Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

Evidence of a builder's trench associated with the outermost perimeter of the quarter was encountered near each inside corner of the building. Each area received its own designation Feature 8 (located in the northeast S25W5), Feature 12 (located in the southeast S45W5), Feature 26 (located in northwest S25W30), and Feature 29 (located in the northwest S45W25). Feature 26 was not excavated. Two pennies, one dated 1897 and

the other 1921, were found in Feature 12. This suggests these builder's trenches are associated with repair of the frame quarter during tenant occupation.

Feature 9, located in S30W20, was a row of brick and natural ironstone that ran north/south along the eastern edge of the unit. This feature was not excavated but may be associated with an interior wall or floor joist support. No artifacts are associated with Feature 9.

Features 14, 21, 22, 25, and 32 were originally thought to be associated with either the construction or repair of the central hearths and dividing wall. The presence of late nineteenth-century artifacts suggests these features are associated with the repair of the central hearths and wall.

The remains of the collapsed hearths and chimney were identified with four feature numbers (Feature 4, 10, 20, 23). Feature 10 was located in S25W25 in the northwest corner of the structure. This feature designation was given due to the amount of architectural debris found in the area where the foundation was located. This feature was excavated to a depth of approximately half a foot and may be related to either the destruction of the foundation in that corner or a chimney. An 1864 penny was found within Feature 10. Features 4, 20, and 23 were associated with the central hearth. A mason jar found within Feature 23 dates this fill to the early twentieth century or later.

Features 6 and 18 were associated with destruction debris of the quarter's collapse. Even though a small quantity of artifacts are associated with each feature (22 artifacts from Feature 6 and 20 from Feature 18), architectural debris composes the highest frequency of artifacts. Sixty-eight percent of the artifacts from Feature 6 and 60%

from Feature 18 fall within the architecture category supporting the theory that these features are related to the collapse of the quarter.

Feature 15 was identified as a possible post hole (Feature 15.a) and post mold (Feature 15.b) in unit S25W15. Both the post hole and mold were relatively circular with the hole approximately one foot in diameter. The feature was very shallow, a couple tenths of a foot in depth, and bottomed out on sterile clay and natural ironstone. Only five artifacts were recovered within the post hole and thirteen within the post mold. The only datable object within the post hole was a fragment of creamware ceramic which has a median date of the late eighteenth century. Within the post mold, there was a patent medicine bottle fragment that dates to the mid- to late nineteenth century. If this is in fact an old posthole location, the later date suggests the fill episode is related to the tenant farming occupation.

There are three subfloor pits found within the frame quarter, one in the western half and two in the eastern half. Feature 35 was located approximately six feet in front of the hearth on the western half of the structure (see Figure 11). Its dimensions were approximately 5.4 feet by 5 feet in width and 2 feet deep. Feature 35 was bisected and only the southern half was removed. The feature was excavated in ten arbitrary levels with the soil remaining consistent throughout, suggesting it was filled in one episode. The top level did contain a concentration of ash. A 1916 coin was found about halfway down, dating the fill to the early twentieth century. The types of artifacts reflect the same functional categories found within the main site soil layers of the quarter; thus supporting the conclusion that this feature was out of use in the early twentieth century.

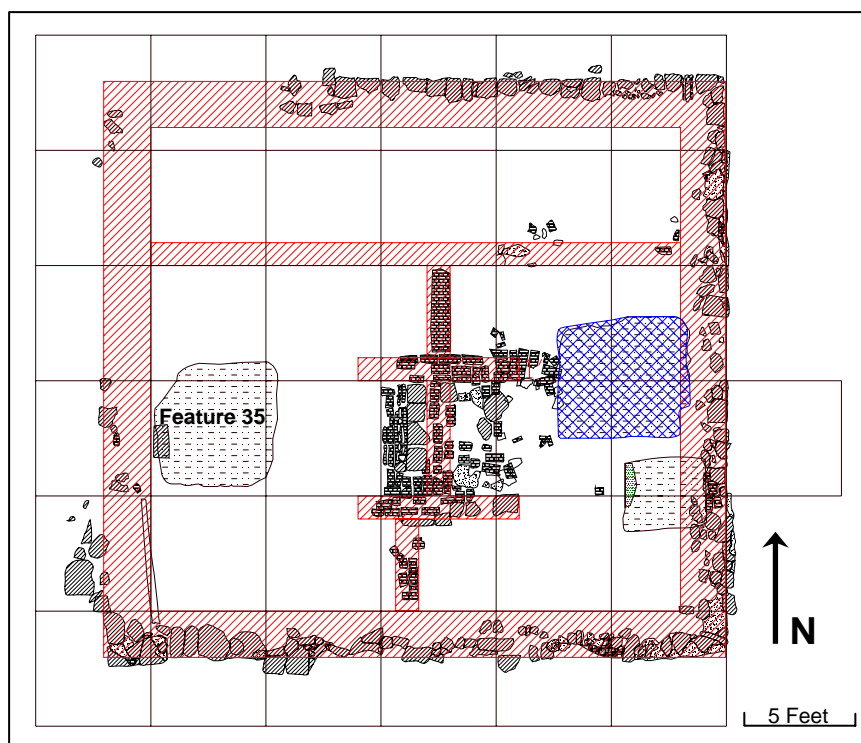


Figure 11. Location of Feature 35. Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

Since Feature 35 contains twentieth century fill, it is unknown when the pit was originally dug. However, its dimensions and location near the hearth is similar to subfloor pits used for food storage by the enslaved. Patricia Samford (1997:117) found that the placement of subfloor pits near the hearth have dimensions typically the same width of the hearth. This allows the user to optimize the environment for the preservation of foods such as tubers. Although her research focuses on colonial Virginian slave quarters, there are parallels with Feature 35, suggesting it was originally created for use as a root cellar. It should be noted that soil samples were not collected within the feature to test for food remains. Although the frame quarter shows an overall twentieth century occupation, the presence of this subfloor pit may provide the evidence of an earlier occupation.

Two subfloor pits were located on the eastern side of the quarter, also placed relatively close to the hearth. Feature 11 was the number assigned during M-NCPPC's excavations to the subfloor pit Berger identified during their excavations in 1988. Berger's unit occupied most of Feature 11 which fell in the middle of four M-NCPPC units (see Figure 12).

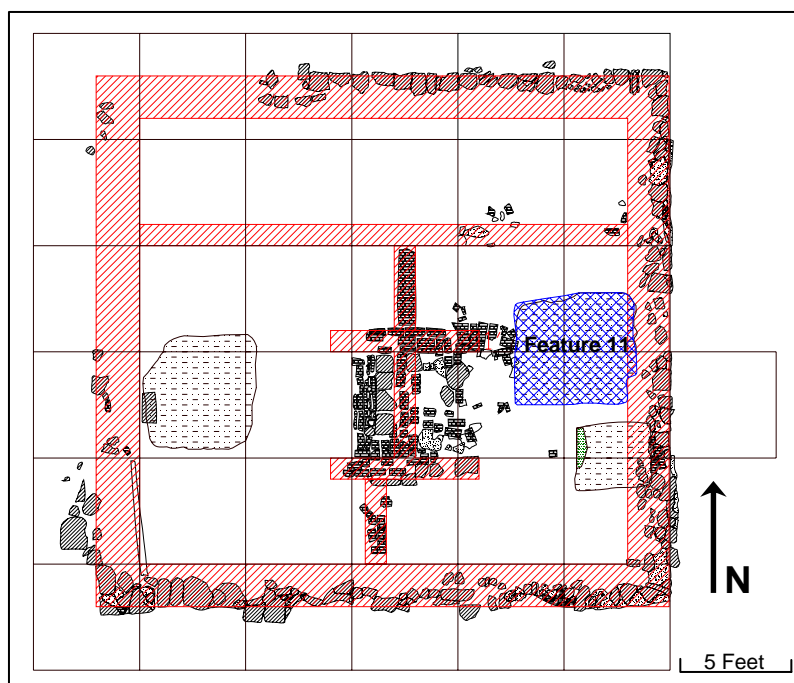


Figure 12. Location of Feature 11. Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

The M-NCPPC conducted further excavation of Feature 11. Its dimensions were similar in size to the subfloor pit located on the western half of the building. The feature was approximately 5 by 5 feet and dug by the M-NCPPC in two soil layers (D and E). However, it was later determined that these soil layers (D and E) were backfill from Berger's excavation. Once this soil was removed the M-NCPPC archaeologists uncovered an apparent shelf within the subfloor pit. Although it had been previously

excavated by Berger, due to its dimensions and placement it most likely once functioned as a root cellar, similar to Feature 35 on the western side of the quarter. During Berger's excavations they did not assign this feature a number, but did suggest it may be a root cellar. Artifacts recovered from their excavation, revealed a mixture of artifacts in type and date. The predominant artifacts were kitchen wares and architectural materials, combined with faunal remains. Dates for these objects ranged from the early nineteenth through twentieth centuries. Evidence of rodent disturbances within Berger's original unit containing the subfloor pit, provide an explanation for the commingling of datable artifacts (Resnick 1990:68-75).

The third subfloor pit, Feature 34, was located along the eastern edge of the foundation wall about a foot south of Feature 11. This pit was about half the size of the two other subfloor pits and measured approximately 3 feet by 2.6 feet wide and 1.8 feet deep with straight sides. Feature 34 was located in the middle of S40W5 and S45W5 (see Figure 13) and discovered while excavating through Layer D on its north side and Layer F on its south side. Layers D and F were not excavated to a depth beyond the top level of this feature. The matrix was excavated in six arbitrary levels. The feature contained flecks of charcoal, burned wood, brick, and mortar. The consistency of the soil within the feature suggests it was filled in a single episode.

The subfloor pit contained a total of 265 artifacts, with almost 60% comprised of faunal remains. There was a mixed context of artifacts dating from the late eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries. An additional feature was found within Feature 34 along the western edge. Feature 36 was linear and approximately 1.8 feet by 0.4 feet and 0.58 feet deep (refer to Figure 13). It was darker in color than the soil of Feature 34, and

discovered near the bottom of the Feature 34. Feature 36 cuts into the subsoil. All of its 59 artifacts were faunal except for four: an unidentified plastic disc fragment, an unidentified nail, a pearlware fragment, and a mortar fragment. The faunal remains in the smaller feature were primarily identified as mammal, including pig and cow. Some of the remains showed evidence of exposure to heat.

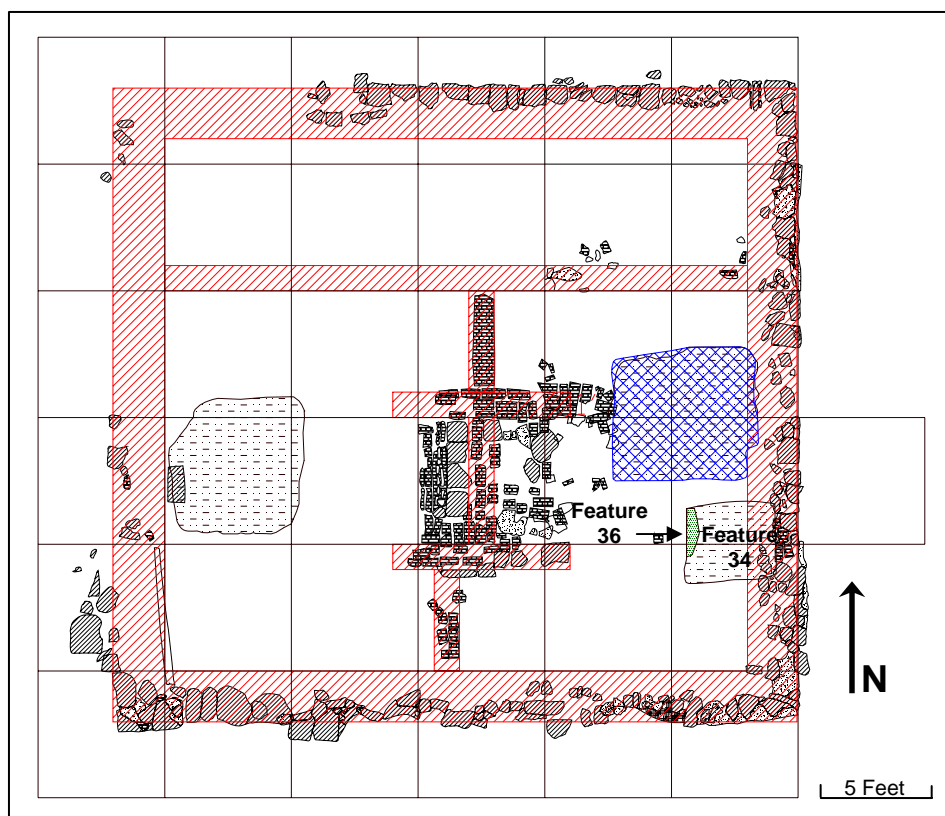


Figure 13. Location of Features 34 and 36. Base map courtesy of Michael Lucas with modifications by author.

Within the main subfloor pit (Feature 34) 47% of the faunal remains were bone, with higher quantities of pig and cow than fish and bird. Rodents were also present and evidence of rodent activity was visible on some of the bones. (It should be noted that a faunal expert did not look at the collection so identifications of those cataloged as

“unidentified” may be identifiable.) Oyster shell (3%) and egg shell (50%) made up the remaining percentages for the faunal distribution. The high quantity of egg shell could be a factor of its fragile nature, creating higher counts over time. As with the faunal remains in Feature 36, some of the remains show evidence of heat exposure. A general interpretation of both features would suggest two separate fill episodes disposing of food remains. The original use of the pit is unknown.

Brick Quarter

The later of the two structures is the brick quarter, with construction believed to date from 1820 to 1850s (Ridout 1988). Built entirely of brick, it measured twenty-four by forty-two feet. A central wall and chimney divided the structure into two living areas. There was a separate door and hearth for each side with a loft above. Later, a shed addition, seen in the 1936 Historic American Buildings Survey image, was placed to the side of the building (Figure 14).



Figure 14. 1936 Historic American Buildings Survey Photograph Showing Shed Addition on East Side of the Brick Quarter. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress, American Memory Collection.

Forty-five units were excavated within the brick quarter from 1991 to 1995.

Although the majority (twenty-eight) of the units were five by five feet, the units along the south and east walls were smaller (refer to Figure 15 for grid layout).

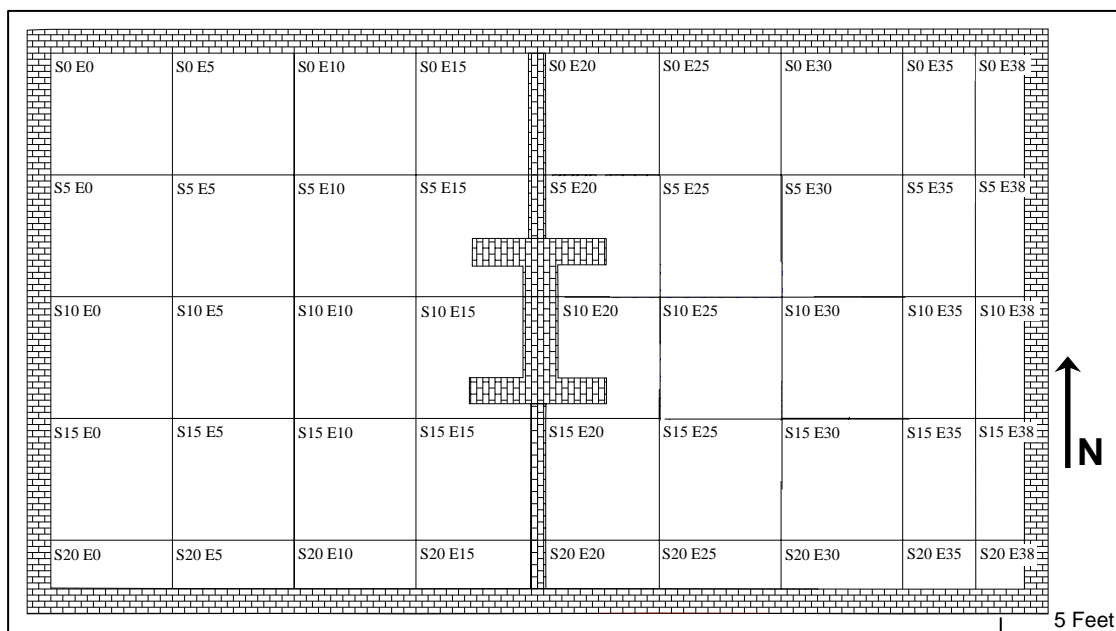


Figure 15. Site Map of the Brick Quarter Showing the Unit Designations. Map by author.

On the interior of the brick quarter there were eight strata identified and labeled A through H, excluding features. A total of 26,690 artifacts were recovered. All units excavated were inside the quarter and designated by a southeast coordinate. However, when referring to Figure 15, note that although the southeast coordinate was used it is technically located in the northwest corner of the unit, an initial point of confusion when trying to establish unit names (refer to Unit S0E0 in Figure 15).

Layer A was the top layer of soil identified across the whole brick quarter. This layer composed 31.3% of the total artifacts collected within the structure. The mixed context contained artifacts from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Nine coins

were recovered, including a 1941 penny, dating this layer to no earlier than the early/mid-twentieth century.

Layer B was identified directly below site Layer A and was found in all units except S0E20 and S0E35 (on the east side of the central dividing wall along the northern foundation), and S10E15 (one of the units containing the hearth on the west side of the central wall). It should be noted that on the eastern side of the quarter backfill related to the Berger excavation was given the designation of Layer B. In unit S5E25, Layer B was a mix of the remaining rubble from Layer A in the northern two thirds of the unit and backfill from Berger units in the southern third. In unit S10E25, Layer B consisted of a mixture from Berger backfill and Feature 19 soil (a detailed description of Feature 19 is discussed later). Layer B in unit S5E20 was more compact than the rest of site Layer B and located directly above Feature 56, a concrete pad (further discussed under the feature descriptions for the brick quarter). Ten coins were recovered within Layer B, with two dated 1909. The eighteenth- through twentieth-century objects within this layer account for 29.8% of the total artifacts collected.

Layer C, below Layer B, was primarily located along the southern, western, and eastern foundation walls and sporadically in the center (western half units S0E0, S0E15, S5E0-15, S10E0-5, S15E0, S15E10-15, S20E0-15; eastern half units S0E38, S5E20, S5E38, S10E20, S10E38, S15E20, S15E30-38, S20E20-38). Artifacts excavated from Layer C represent 13.7% of all artifacts collected within the brick quarter. As with the previous layers, Layer C contains a mixed context with eighteenth- through twentieth-century objects. A 1942 penny dates the soil layer to the mid- twentieth century.

Layer D was concentrated to the southern half of the site and represents 2.6% of the artifacts for the site. Units containing Layer D were divided among the two halves of the structure with six units on the western side (S5E10, S10E0-5, S15E0, S20E10-15) and nine units on the eastern half (S5E20, S10E38, S15E20, S15E38, S20E20-38). The artifacts range from the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. A metal fastener embossed with “DEC 14 1880” supports the late nineteenth century context.

Layer E was identified primarily along the middle of the southern foundation wall and the southern sections of the east and west foundation walls. There were three units containing site Layer E on the western side of the central dividing wall, S15E0 and units S20E10-15. On the eastern side of the central dividing wall there were also three units containing site Layer E with two in the southern end (S15E38 and S20E25) and one in the northern end along the central dividing wall (S5E20). In unit S5E20, Layer E was split into two arbitrary layers, E.1 and E.2. Layer E.2 was established when Layer E.1 was down .5 feet. The presence of wire nails dates this layer to no earlier than the mid to late nineteenth century. Artifacts collected for Layer E comprise 1.2% of those collected within this structure.

Layer F was only unearthed in the western half along the southern foundation wall in unit S20E10 and on the eastern half in the northern portion along the central dividing wall in S5E20. The artifacts collected accounted for less than 1% of the total excavated within all site layers. Although one late eighteenth-century tobacco pipestem was recovered, it was found in a mixed context with a late nineteenth-century fragment of

ironstone ceramic from within S20E10. A wire nail dating to the late nineteenth century was also recovered in S5E20.

Layer G and H were only contained in unit S5E20, on the eastern half of the brick quarter along the central dividing wall in the northern section. There were no artifacts collected in Layer G. Layer H was the designation given to the soil below the brick and concrete of the hearth, however, it appeared to be the same soil deposit as site Layer B in the unit directly south of it (S10E20). Layer H contained only 42 artifacts representing less than 1% of the artifacts excavated within the brick quarter. The presence of three sherds of whiteware ceramic dates the soil to at least the mid- to late nineteenth century.

A very similar artifact pattern to the frame quarter was found within the brick quarter with artifacts dating from the eighteenth century through the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries throughout most of the soil layers. These artifacts represent evidence for a continuous occupation through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, the range of artifact types reflected the same household occupation as the frame quarter with high quantities of kitchen or foodway related objects in addition to high concentrations of architectural remains. Similarly there is a presence of artifacts related to children (e.g. toys, dolls), leisure (e.g. marbles, dice, records), personal items (e.g. jewelry), and personal adornment (e.g. buckles, buttons).

Features

Eighty-four features were designated in the brick quarter, including rodent and root disturbances. There were also five unknown late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century features identified. The brick walls of the quarter (Feature 1) and hearth (Feature

10) were given two different feature designations. Feature 1 created the southern wall for the quarter. The majority of the remaining features were associated with building joist supports for the floor, in the form of north/south trenches (6 feature designations) or the stone supports (20 feature designations). The stone supports (made of natural ironstone) were mainly located along the southern wall with a couple located near the northern wall or section of the building.

The artifacts associated with the north/south trenches for the floor joists predominately date to the mid to late nineteenth century. The presence of a foreign coin dated 1906 in one of the features places these trenches in the early twentieth century. Although there were twenty feature designations assigned to the natural ironstone supports, since the numbers were physically assigned to the ironstone, artifacts were only associated with two, Feature 42 and 59. Twenty-two artifacts were recovered between the two features with the majority of those comprising unidentifiable metal. The couple of objects that were datable place the ironstone supports in the nineteenth century. Conclusions can be drawn that these building joists were placed in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and likely associated with building repair.

Builder's trenches were identified along all of the walls of the brick quarter including the hearth. On the east side of the dividing wall five features were identified as possibly associated with builder's trenches. Trenches along the east wall date to the mid-to late nineteenth centuries, with an additional trench dating to the late nineteenth century, potentially associated with building repair. Two builder's trenches were located on the eastern half of the structure near the central dividing wall. Although both contain mixed context artifacts from the eighteenth through late nineteenth centuries, Feature 58

was stratified. In the lowest soil layer of Feature 58, the datable artifacts suggest a mid-nineteenth century fill episode. Since this feature is associated with the main foundation of the brick quarter, it could be the remnants of the original builder's trench that was disturbed by repair work in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.

Evidence of eight builder's trenches were discovered in the western half of the brick quarter. Each trench was assigned a different feature designation. Six of the features (builder's trenches) fell along the perimeter walls containing a mixed context of artifacts from the eighteenth through late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. Along the central dividing wall on the western side, the remaining two identified builder's trenches displayed a similar artifact pattern containing eighteenth through early twentieth century objects. Due to the commingled assemblage of artifacts these trenches date to the repair work on the brick quarter.

Wood remnants of some of the floorboards were recovered and designated as six independent features. Artifacts were recovered in one of the features, Feature 51. There were twenty objects collected; half were faunal remains. The datable objects found within the feature date to the mid-nineteenth century. An additional feature, Feature 53, was an area of darker soil interpreted as a location of floor collapse. The artifacts associated with Feature 53 include a button embossed with 1851; also dating the fill of this feature to the mid-nineteenth century.

A concrete pad (Feature 56) was unearthed along the central dividing wall on the eastern half of the quarter. It is approximately 7 by 2 feet and runs from the northern foundation wall to the side of the hearth (Figure 16).

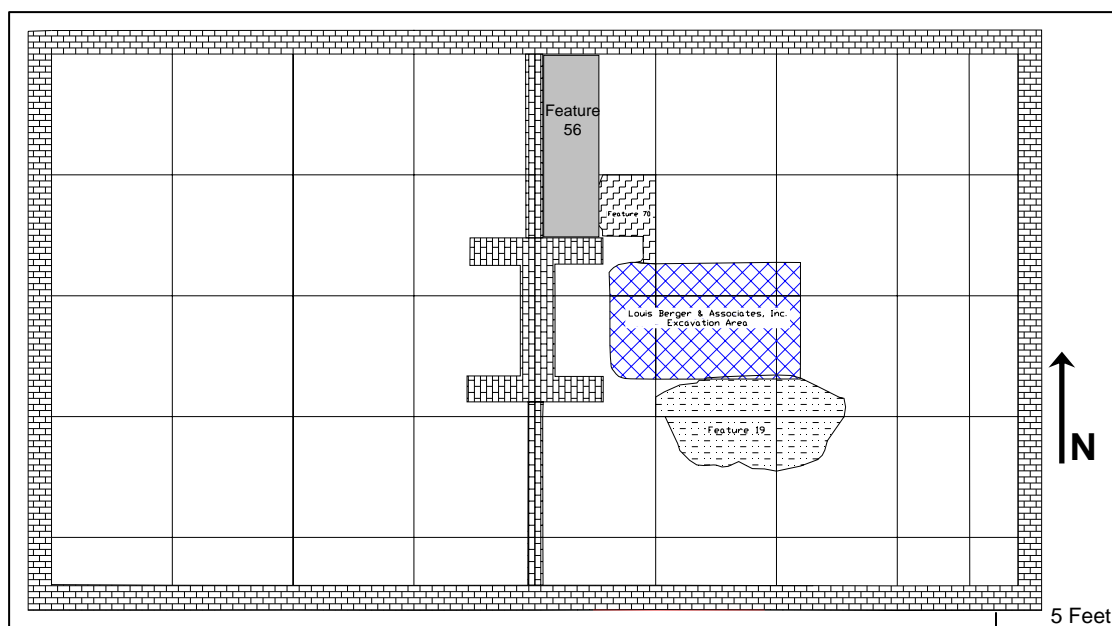


Figure 16. Location of Feature 56 in Gray. Map by author.

Artifacts associated with the feature include a coin dating to the late nineteenth century. Some of the concrete contained embedded glass, located in the unit containing the northern edge of the hearth. Directly underneath the concrete in this same area was a layer of glass. That was where the late nineteenth century penny was uncovered. This area was originally interpreted by the M-NCPPC as providing support for the concrete pad. There were 486 fragments of glass, comprising 95% of the assemblage associated with this feature. The majority of the glass was associated with vessels (e.g. bottles).

There are four potential subfloor pits within the brick quarter, all located on the eastern half of the quarter, near the hearth. The distinction of these features is difficult since features overlap each other making it hard to establish true edges. In addition, when Berger conducted their excavations they unknowingly disturbed the area in front of and to the north side of the hearth.

Feature 69 was located beneath the concrete pad (Feature 56) (Figure 17).

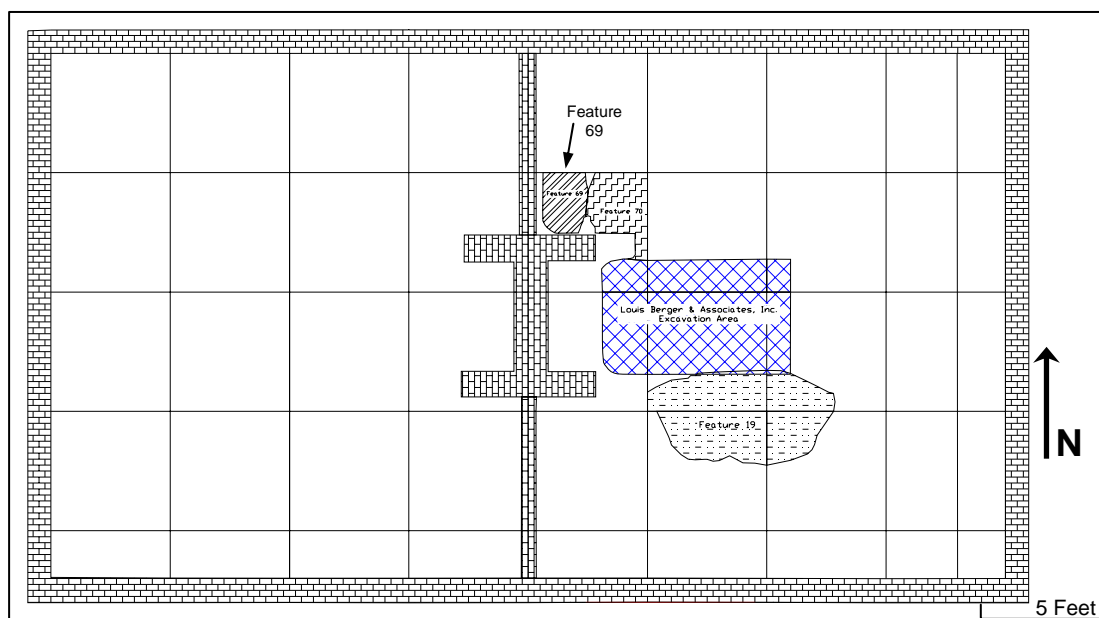


Figure 17. Location of Feature 69. Map by author.

A shallow ash and charcoal layer, designated Feature 67, was directly above Feature 69. These two features may be part of the same subfloor pit. A padlock was recovered within the ash layer, designated Feature 67, near the bottom in the northwest corner. Forty-one artifacts were collected, eleven of those fragments from the padlock. The largest functional group in the assemblage is from architecture (51%), then faunal (23%) and kitchen (10%). These artifacts include nails, glass bottles, a button, a ceramic fragment, bone and shell, and unidentified metal. The artifacts date this ash layer to the mid-nineteenth century.

Feature 69 was partially excavated and assigned two arbitrary levels. The portion that was excavated was rounded at the southern end, approximately one foot deep and about 2.5 by 2 feet wide. A padlock was also found within this feature. Figure 18 shows the artifact distribution for this feature.

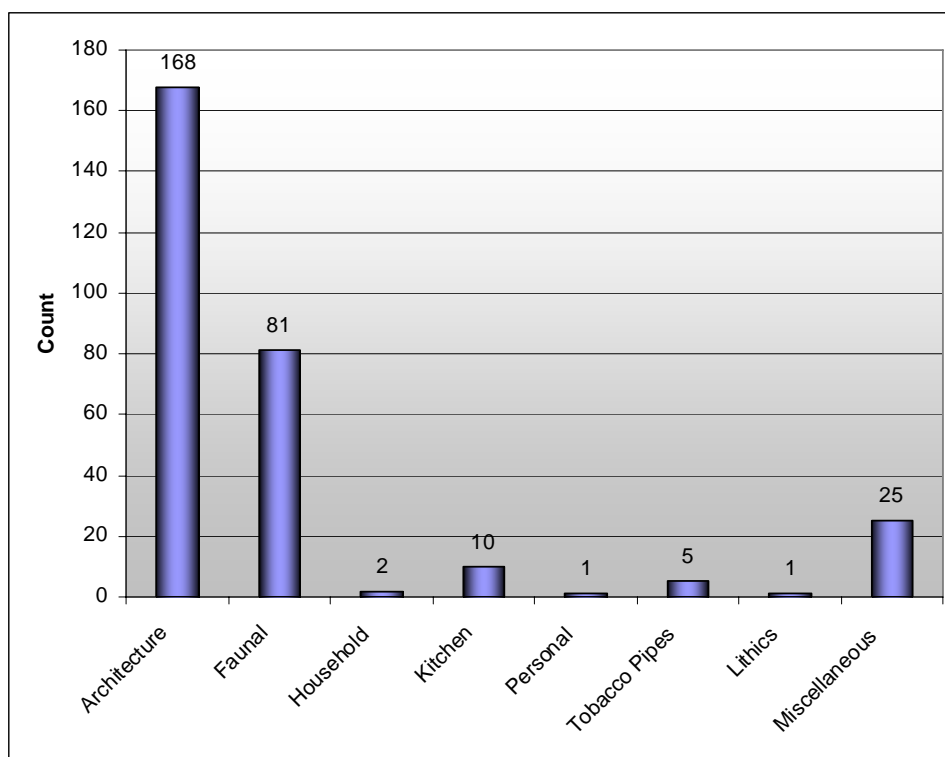


Figure 18. Artifact Distribution for Feature 69.

Four pipestem fragments dating to the early eighteenth century were found with artifacts dating to the mid-nineteenth century. An interpretation is difficult since the pit was not fully excavated and cuts into Feature 70 along its eastern edge. Feature 69's placement in the corner may suggest it was used as a personal storage pit at one time.

Feature 70, which was cut into by Feature 69, may be an earlier subfloor pit (Figure 19). It was discovered while excavating near the bottom of Feature 69. Feature 70 was dug in arbitrary levels and excavated down to site Layer G on its northern edge and Feature 71 on its southern edge. It was approximately 1 foot deep. Similar artifacts were found as in Feature 69, but the quantity of architecture to faunal remains reverses (Figure 20). The fill of Feature 70 dates to at least the mid-nineteenth century, like Features 67 and 69.

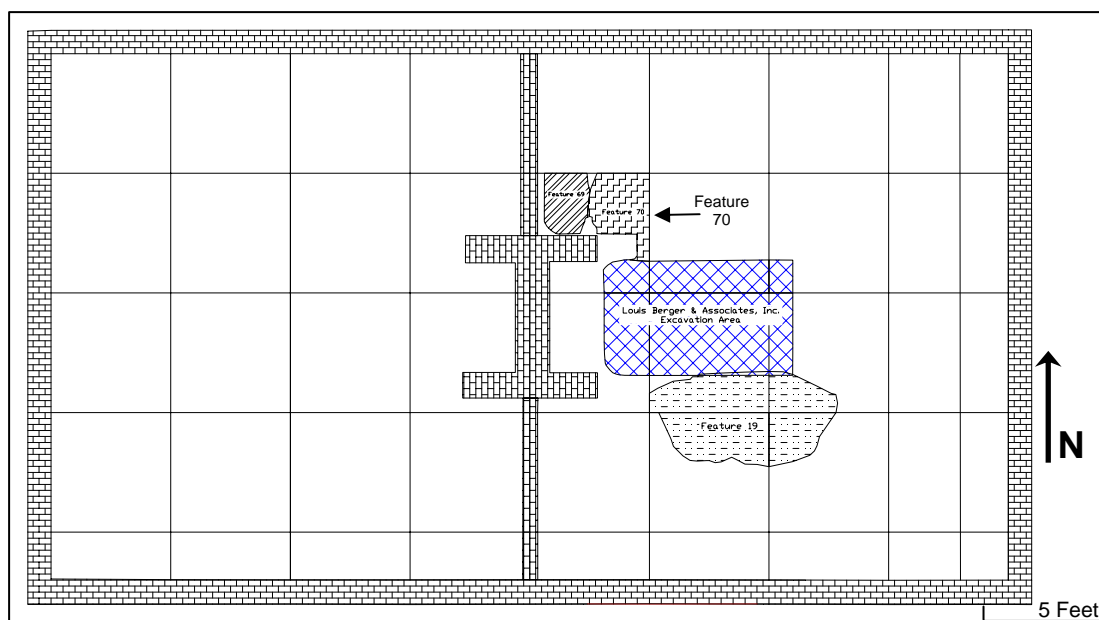


Figure 19. Location of Feature 70. Map by author.

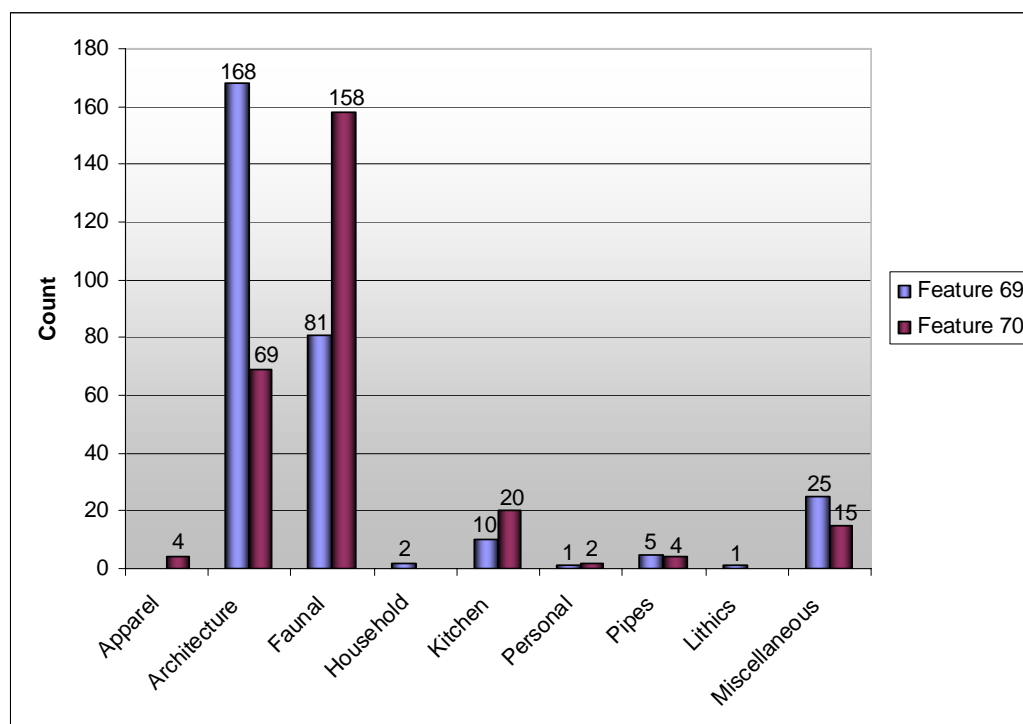


Figure 20. Comparison of Artifact Distribution in Features 69 and 70.

Feature 71 was encountered below Feature 70. Originally it was believed to be the bottom soil layer of Feature 70, but when a probe was used to better determine its depth, it was discovered to go much deeper. This soil was designated Feature 71 and was not excavated further. It appeared to have displaced subsoil on top which separated Features 70 and 71. Since Feature 71 was not fully excavated, its dimensions are unknown and it cannot be determined if it was in fact another soil layer of Feature 70 or its own feature. The few artifacts recovered consisted of an unidentified nail and nine faunal fragments (bird, fish, and unidentified mammal). Due to the types of artifacts, a date cannot be established.

The final subfloor pit is Feature 19, which the M-NCPPC associated with the subfloor pit excavated by Berger. Because of the disturbed backfill, the number of features found along the eastern edges of Feature 19, and previous excavation, it was difficult to identify what was associated with the subfloor pit Berger discovered. Figure 21 shows what the M-NCPPC excavated and how it relates to the Berger excavations. It is possible that Feature 19 could be an adjacent subfloor pit to the one identified by Berger in the north. The depth of Feature 19 ranged from 1.5 to 2 feet deep with its exact width and length unknown due to disturbances. It was stratified with artifacts from the mid to late nineteenth century. The top layer of the feature contained objects that could date that fill episode to the early twentieth century.

In summary, the artifacts in the brick quarter primarily date the occupation to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although eighteenth century objects were found within some of the features they were found in a mixed context. Compared to the frame

quarter, interpretation of many of the features was difficult due to the high amount of disturbances.

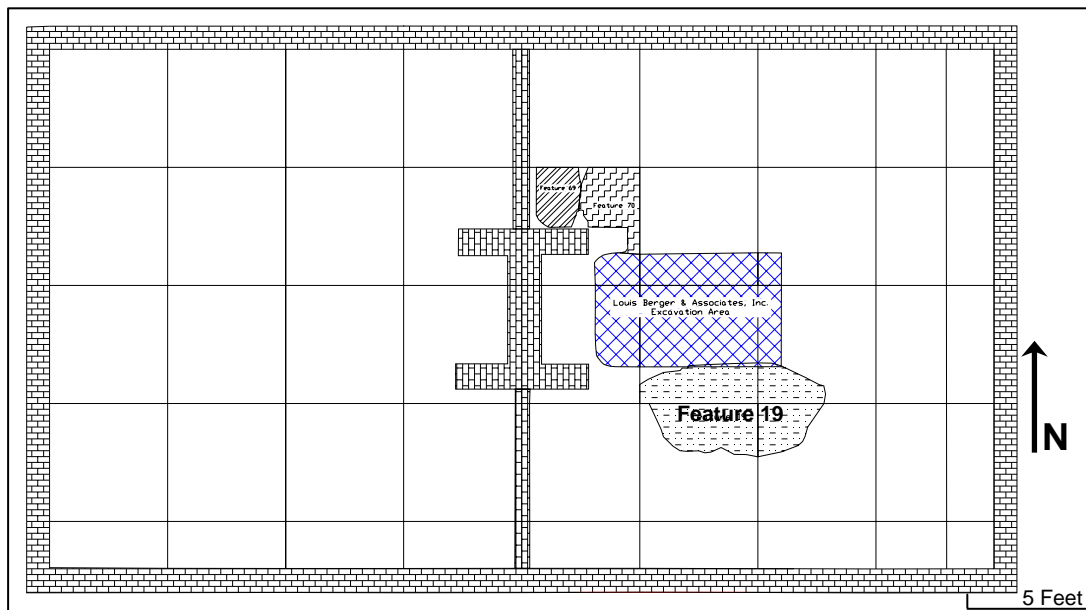


Figure 21. Location of Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. Excavation Area and Feature 19. Map by author.

Summary

The frame and the brick quarters both contained features showing evidence of repair, suggesting these structures were lived in for long periods of time. The 1936 HABS photographs also support this by showing evidence of additions and disrepair on the structures. Although Orlando Ridout (1988) suggests the architecture of the frame quarter is the earliest of the structures and dates to the late eighteenth century, the context of artifacts reflect a later occupation. However, evidence of large subfloor pits on either side of the frame quarter in close proximity to the hearths does suggest an earlier occupation and their use as root cellars. Although one subfloor pit was previously excavated by Berger on the eastern side, its dimensions are similar to the subfloor pit (Feature 35)

unearthed by the M-NCPPC on the western side of the quarter. The presence of a 1916 coin provides the date of Feature 35's fill episode.

An interesting smaller square subfloor pit (Feature 34) that contained a linear smaller feature (Feature 36) along its western edge was also found within the eastern half of the quarter. Feature 34 had a mixed context of artifacts dating from the late eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Feature 36 was filled with a majority of faunal material and a late datable object placing its fill episode from the late nineteenth to twentieth centuries. The original use of the subfloor pit is unknown. However, the single fill episodes within each feature and evidence of rodent gnawing on some of the faunal remains could suggest its later use as a trash pit.

Although the feature fill and site strata within the frame quarter are of a mixed context, the presence of both early and late artifacts show a continued occupation of the quarter. In addition, the presence of subfloor pits may be all that remains as evidence of an earlier occupation.

The brick quarter was assessed by Ridout (1988) as being the later of the two structures, dating to the early to mid- nineteenth century. The artifact assemblage was very similar to the frame quarter, suggesting simultaneous occupations. The mixed context artifacts from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries provide evidence for an earlier occupation, but repair and long term use of the quarter has erased evidence of intact early structural features.

Features located within the brick quarter were more disturbed than those of the frame quarter, making their signatures and interpretations difficult. A number of subfloor

pits were located on the eastern side of the quarter. Some of the pits show evidence of use as personal storage while others were used as root cellars.

As previously stated, the patterns of objects within the frame and brick quarters are very similar. All artifacts found are within a mixed context of objects from the eighteenth century through the late to early twentieth centuries. Although this represents a continuous occupation within the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the presence of earlier objects should not be ignored. The individuals living within the quarters used their houses to fit their needs and undertook repair erasing most of the earlier occupation of the structures. However, the presence of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artifacts reflect this earlier occupation. Some of these objects may have been uncovered during repair work or represent objects passed down through the generations.

The objects present within the structures also support a household occupation. The high presence of kitchen related items (e.g. canning, tableware) along with a combination of apparel, health, personal, and other objects found within a home are evident throughout all soil layers and features. A multi-generational household is reflected by the presence of toys (e.g. dolls, tea sets) and games (e.g. marbles, dice). Also interesting among the assemblages for the two buildings is the similarity in the artifacts within functional groups. This reflects that individuals were not only living within these structures contemporaneously, but they shared behavior patterns perhaps suggesting family or kin ties.

Since the primary focus of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program's excavation was related to the reconstruction of the two slave quarter foundations, the work

conducted was within the structures, excluding a couple tests in exterior yard areas. With the artifacts reflecting a later occupation within the quarters it would be interesting in the future to see what is present in the yard areas between and around the structures.

Preliminary testing was conducted during Phase II work, but there was no extensive excavation in these areas. Since yard areas provided the space for much of the activity during enslavement (Morgan 1998:121-122), it would be interesting to see if additional testing can identify any of these activity areas. With twentieth-century disturbances within the structures there may not be much that remains. Or evidence of an eighteenth-century occupation could be reflected and preserved within the areas around the quarters if alterations were primarily conducted within the quarters.

Having provided an overview of the excavations at Northampton, the next chapter will focus on the African American descendants and communities. I begin with the African diaspora and the institution of slavery within the Chesapeake. Next I explore the African and African Americans associated with Northampton through the use of primary documents from the antebellum to postbellum period. The focus of the second half of Chapter 5 is on the importance of the African American descendants of Northampton. How did they become involved with their family's history? What research have they collected? And what do they perceive as important stories or family histories to tell and preserve for future generations.

CHAPTER 5

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES OF NORTHAMPTON

...[Archaeologists] must trust descendant communities to agree to that which is truly in everyone's best interests.

—John P. McCarthy, *Who Owns These Bones?: Descendant Communities and Partnerships in the Excavation and Analysis of Historic Cemetery Sites in New York and Philadelphia* 1996:11

Explaining the significance of archaeology and the reasons for conducting investigations, are things archaeologists face when working with the various publics and governments (local, state, federal). We find ourselves justifying our profession when we begin a project, ask for funding, and maintain our jobs. As seen in Chapter 4, archaeology can play an important role in understanding one's past. We can learn how people lived, their behaviors, diet, access to consumer goods, or socioeconomic standing. Good or bad, this information assists with changing or reaffirming history and understanding current trends and behaviors of people. Barbara Little (2009) reminds us that archaeology should be used as a community tool. Archaeology can connect the public to current community issues (e.g. class, protecting heritage), making it relevant to the public which, in turn, can assist with community advocacy (e.g. Little 2009, McDavid 2009, Uunila 2005).

Archaeology can also speak for individuals and groups who have not had a previous voice in the past, the people not in power (under-represented in historical documents, if at all), individuals treated as property, and people seen as second-class

citizens. When archaeologists study these populations, however, they need to expand beyond their world of researching the past through existing ideas, historical documents, and evidence in the ground. Working with descendant populations can open up undiscovered information not recorded in the primary documents or hard to interpret in the ground. Through community engagement, an archaeologist can broaden an interpretation of a site, increase the knowledge of its history, protect its heritage, and make the past relevant to the present. Likewise, a community becomes an active participant in the process of preservation and maintaining their community's history.

Within a collaborative environment, an archaeologist can learn the different histories and concerns of the present communities, thus creating a multi-vocal approach. However, as stated in earlier chapters, archaeologists need to acknowledge that some individuals within a community may have strong feelings toward impending research or may not want to be included so an archaeologist must remain flexible through the process. As Carol McDavid (2009:229-231) points out, every project should be on a case-by-case basis since each community or individuals within a community may have different agendas. McDavid continues to state that not all communities will want to be active participants in a project and an archaeologist needs to be prepared for that scenario too; this outcome can be attributed to lack of interest or the lack of time and money. Unlike archaeologists, whose job it is to research, the public is involved in other commitments that may not allow them the luxury of participating.

The archaeological project at Northampton, however, provides a successful example of collaborative research between the African American descendants of the site and the archaeologists. In Chapter 4, I focused on the "professional" research at

Northampton through providing a background history of the site's ownership and summary interpretation from the excavation data. In this chapter, my focus is on the Africans and African Americans of Northampton from enslavement to tenant farming. I then turn to current descendants. I begin with addressing the African Diaspora and how the institution of slavery changed over time in the Chesapeake region. Next, I present examples of useful primary documents when studying African American ancestry at the site and their significance. Finally, I conclude with the African American descendants of Northampton and their journey to find their past. It should be noted that when referring to "slaves" I am referring to anyone enslaved, regardless of their ancestry. For example, at Northampton, Africans, African Americans, and East Indians were all enslaved on the property at different points in time.

African Diaspora and the New World

Enslaved Africans arrived in the New World against their will. They were pulled from their homelands and forcibly transported to a new place, thus becoming part of the African diaspora in North America. However, as Christopher Fennell (2007:1) points out, the definition of *diasporas*, includes not only people who move to new locations against their will, but also those fleeing from hostilities in another location. The latter will be further explored in Chapter 6 with respect to the spread of Catholicism in Maryland. In the case of slavery in the New World, Africans were forced across the Atlantic through the Middle Passage. Although they were pulled from their families, cultures, and homes, Akinwumi Ogundiran and Toyin Falola (2007a:6) state that these individuals still identified as African, lived as African, and interpreted their lives in North America with

respect to their African culture, although it may have been hidden. Patricia Samford (2007) stresses the importance of remembering this. The enslaved did not forget who they were. Keeping their cultural traditions in mind, they adapted to the challenges they encountered in slavery (Samford 2007:12-13). Over time, new identities formed from the different communities on the plantation.

When researching or interpreting African diaspora archaeological sites, it is particularly important to look across the Atlantic to discover where the different Africans derived. Ogundiran and Falola (2007b) address understanding and recognizing both the European influences on Africa and the differences among African cultures. The enslaved adapted to their environment using their cultural heritage, overt or not. Knowing the cultural backgrounds of the Africans associated with an archaeological site and the people with whom they were in contact helps build an interpretation for the artifacts and features found archaeologically. Today researchers of the African diaspora in North America acknowledge the importance of going beyond the United States. Maria Franklin and Larry McKee (2004) have found that more researchers are looking at Africa, the Caribbean, and even Canada, to achieve a better understanding of individuals of African descent within the United States. Looking at when and where Africans arrived in the Chesapeake region will provide context for enslaved Africans at Northampton.

Almost two-thirds of the people crossing the Atlantic in the Americas between 1492 and 1820 were African. Plantations of varying sizes were a final destination for the majority of those enslaved (Dubois and Scott 2010:2). Most of the first black immigrants to the Chesapeake region came from the West Indies – not directly from Africa. In the late seventeenth century, Africans began arriving in the Chesapeake directly from Africa.

During the mid-1670s to 1700, six thousand slaves arrived in Maryland and Virginia from Africa (Morgan 1998:2-3). At this point, the Chesapeake had established a plantation economy reliant on tobacco (Morgan 1998:7), increasing its need for more labor.

The eighteenth-century enslaved population quickly grew in the Chesapeake, creating, along with the Carolina lowcountry, the colonial regions with the highest slave populations (Lockley 2009:xxiv-xxv). At this time the Bight of Biafra became one of the primary regions to supply enslaved Africans for the transatlantic trade (Lovejoy and Richardson 2011:19) (see Figure 22).

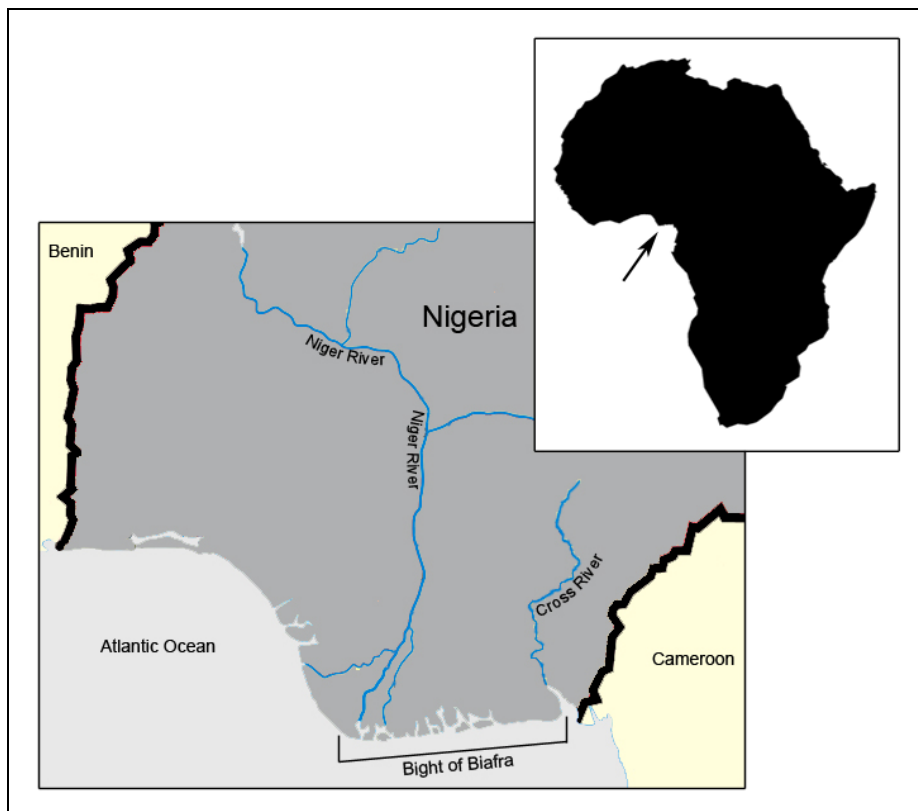


Figure 22. Map of the Bight of Biafra. Map by author. This region is located in West Africa along its southern coast, and primarily covers the area between the Niger and Cross rivers extending from the coastline to the north several hundred miles (Brown and Lovejoy 2011:5-7).

Prior to the Atlantic slave trade, people in this region traded slaves for other commodities. Eventually the British and additional Europeans arrived in this region. This arrival created a commingling of African and European cultures throughout the region, stimulated the internal slave trade, and made the slave trade transatlantic. Seventy-one percent (approximately 45,000 individuals) of the enslaved Africans from the Bight of Biafra were sent to the Chesapeake region during the slave trade (Brown and Lovejoy 2011:8-11). However, this region only made up 16.7% of the African enslaved population within the United States. Prior to 1775, three-fourths of the Igbo people, originating from the Bight of Biafra, arrived in the Chesapeake (Gomez 2011:104) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Sample of Where Enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake Region Originated Prior to 1775

Region of Africa	Percentage
Senegambia	24.2
West-central Africa	17.4
Gold Coast	12.0
Bight of Biafra	2.5

Note: Data comprised from Gomez 2011:104

Shown in Table 1, Senegambia, West-central Africa, and the Gold Coast supplied the largest percentages of Africans prior to 1775 in the Chesapeake region. Although the Bight of Biafra did not produce the highest amount of enslaved Africans it did produce the highest amount of enslaved African women transported to West African ports for the slave trade in the eighteenth century (Gomez 2011:105). And in Virginia, in the early

eighteenth century, trading from this region increased when the populations decreased in other areas of West Africa (Samford 2007:30).

According to Lorena Walsh (2001:145-152), the importation of enslaved Africans was highly dependant on European traders within the Chesapeake. She has found regional differences within the Chesapeake based on tobacco sales. Tobacco within the lower Chesapeake carried a higher price initially, thus creating a better market for slave traders in the beginning. In addition, the various European traders favored different areas of the Chesapeake, which accounted the mix of Africans in the region. For example, London imported most of their slaves to Maryland. Since they concentrated their African trade in the Gold Coast or Upper Guinea, Walsh infers these African locations supplied most of the slave labor in Maryland (Walsh 2001:148).

Through the eighteenth century, the number of Africans crossing the Atlantic was actually double that of Europeans (Morgan 1998:xv). While estimates vary somewhat, according to Michael Gomez (2011:104), there were 12.5 million Africans forced across the Atlantic from 1500 and 1867. He cautions that the real number is probably higher since the transportation of enslaved Africans was not always reported. With further research these numbers should increase (Gomez 2011:104).

The Changing Institution of Slavery in the Chesapeake

Slavery created a system where one group of people owned and dominated another group. Those enslaved were no longer seen as people but commodities; property and labor. They were dehumanized, removed from their homes, separated from their families, and stripped of their possessions. As previously mentioned, the Chesapeake had

adopted a tobacco economy reliant on slave labor. Owners would “manage” their slaves themselves or hire an overseer to watch their enslaved. Although owners practiced brutality against their slaves, some realized the benefits of allowing incentives for good work, small allotments of personal time, or occasional reductions in absolute control. The enslaved were also not passive agents within their environment. Their resistance took different forms from the subtle through ritual, symbol, and word (Berlin, Favreau, and Miller 1998:4-5), to the overt through withholding labor and fleeing (Berlin 1998:130). And, changes within the institution of slavery in the Chesapeake occurred as the result of slave resistance and the changing economy.

An example of resistance occurred during the second half of the eighteenth century with the creation of the slave family. In the Chesapeake during the 1750s, slave demographics began changing. Although, slave families existed prior to this period, the male to female ratios were high among enslaved Africans. As American born generations increased, demographic changes occurred and family structure reorganized. Ratios between male and female African Americans fell in the 1750s, increasing the chances to create families. However, families did not always live together and many were forced to live on separate plantations (Kulikoff 1986:358-359). Flexible kinship ties developed that allowed the enslaved to adjust and negotiate their family life within their enslavement (Kulikoff 1986:380). Not all slaves were passive and some urged their owners not to split them up. When owners disregarded this request, those enslaved would reduce their labor or flee the plantation (Berlin 1998:129-130). According to Ira Berlin (1998:130), separating families was probably the largest reason behind slave runaways.

With an increase in slave families came a change within the physical structure of the slave community. Slave barracks, originally constructed for the first Africans arriving in the New World, were replaced by more private family spaces (Berlin 1998:131). On larger Chesapeake plantations, a group of small houses comprised the slave quarters. These structures were either duplexes (similar to those at Northampton) or single cabins. Domestic cabins were typically close together around a common yard. The common yard provided space where those living in the quarters could gather to eat, celebrate, and socialize (Kulikoff 1986:368). The enslaved would also maintain their own gardens and animals (Berlin 1998:132-133). The quarters provided a place for the enslaved to live with their families and kin. They created a sense of community within the institution of slavery.

As the Chesapeake's reliance on tobacco grew and with its labor intensive cultivation, those enslaved moved from field to field once crops depleted the soils. On different fields they interacted with others and relationships developed. This movement also created the need for networks. Roads and indirect communication grew among the different slave quarters which increased accessibility and strengthened kinship ties. Those living in the quarters were either extended biological family or kinships of non-biological individuals. Although slave families, and or communities were created, it is important to note they were difficult to maintain since slave owners were in control and had the power to divide them at any moment (Berlin 1998:129-132).

Another example of slave resistance in the eighteenth century came in the form of labor reduction. The tobacco economy within the Chesapeake region required specialized knowledge – a skill mastered by the enslaved since they were the labor forces within the

fields. The enslaved took advantage of their knowledge and skills, negotiating with owners over creating standardized workdays or not working on Sundays. Slave owners worried how these changes would affect the institution of slavery. With increased personal time, what would happen to the slave economy and how would the marketplace react with them as consumers? To reduce their fears of slave “free time”, owners added extra tasks by increasing tobacco processing responsibilities and adding more tasks in the main house. Tobacco productivity was also declining at this time. With the changing economy, grain production increased, also causing a reconfiguration of slave labor (Berlin 1998:133-134).

With the changing Chesapeake economy, emerging specialized jobs increased with plantations now relying on a mixed agricultural economy. Newly added grain crops were seasonal, and although labor was not needed in the fields year round, specialized work was required. White male laborers, both nonslaveholders and servants, entered the workforce as wagoners for transporting grain, mill workers for processing the grain, and blacksmiths and tanners for maintaining the horses. By the mid-eighteenth century, male slave labor replaced many of these positions. Urban areas also began to grow creating additional jobs markets for the enslaved during the slower agricultural seasons on the plantation. Some plantation owners began renting out their male enslaved who had acquired specialized skills. These individuals worked independently away from their owners. A certain amount of “freedom” came to those being reassigned. They had to travel to their job sites and live on their own while working off plantation (Berlin 1998:135-136). Some of their trades included work as carpenters, coopers, and ironworkers (Kulikoff 1986:413-415).

This changing economic trend by diversifying its crops and renting out its enslaved, is present in runaway ads for those enslaved at Northampton. An example is seen in ads placed by Samuel Sprigg in Washington, DC's *Daily National Intelligencer* on July 20, 1820 and August 25, 1820 for the capture of "Joe Cook". In these ads, Samuel states that Joe "...was formerly in the habit (before I purchased him) of hiring himself in Montgomery County..." Although this statement does not prove Joe was rented out while living at Northampton, it does imply Joe had a marketable trade.

In general, Philip Morgan (1998) states that enslaved blacks in the Chesapeake region, even in the seventeenth century, had access to certain "freedoms", showing more flexibility within the slave system in this region than others. This is demonstrated in the previous example of Joe being hired for his trade. Some of the enslaved were able to earn money and with that money could buy or sell commodities (Berlin 1998:137), including buying their own freedom (Morgan 1998:11).

Researching African American Ancestry at Northampton

African American ancestry is difficult to research for obvious reasons. These individuals were property and many were renamed to strip them of their identity once in the New World (Manning 2009:138). So how or where does one begin to research such questions? One place to start is to look at the accounts of the slave owners. In Chapter 4, I presented the owners of Northampton. The Spriggs were the original owners of the property who lived there up through the beginning of emancipation. Knowing the names of the different Sprigg owners allowed me to locate primary documents (e.g. tax records, probate inventories, wills, United States Census [Census] records, runaway ads,

manumission records, and slave declarations). The information from these resources goes beyond providing the number of slaves owned by the Spriggs. Using these primary documents in combination, one can establish age and sex distribution, familial ties, economy, social environment, and the trade or skill specialties of those enslaved. In addition, using primary documents together can eliminate the biases that exist when looking at documents in isolation. The preceding primary documents on the Spriggs were not only useful in understanding the size of their plantation, but how slavery changed over time, the enslaved were treated, and resistance among the enslaved.

From the first land owner of Northampton through 1865, the plantation relied on enslaved labor to help maintain its large scale tobacco production which it eventually diversified with grains, livestock, and dairying (Resnick 1990:24). Over the years the Spriggs' enslaved population fluctuated with a steady increase to its height in 1840 with 117 and then decline to 59 in the last Census taken before emancipation. Using primary documents I will provide a narrative of enslaved life at Northampton.

Understanding the number of enslaved is important for establishing the size of a plantation and socioeconomic status of an owner. However, since the Census was not collected until 1790, probate inventories can answer these questions. Probates can also provide insight into house configuration, structures on a property, and demonstrate how the enslaved were viewed as property through the listing of people among furniture, kitchen items, and livestock.

It is also interesting to see how over time the probates change in their listing of the enslaved. Through the years, names are increasingly given in place of physical descriptions. An example showing this change is evident in comparing Thomas Sprigg,

Sr.'s 1704 probate to his grandson's, Osborn Sprigg, Sr.'s, 1750 probate. In Thomas' 1704 probate, only descriptions of his slaves are listed, shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Transcribed Excerpt from Thomas Sprigg's 1704 Probate Inventory

one young Lusty negro man	31:10:00 ^a
one Ditto Something in years	30:00:00
one young negro woman	28:00:00
one negro woman	27:10:00
one Negro Girle 7 years old	15:10:00
one negro Girle 10 months old	02:00:00
one Old decriped woman	02:00:00
one East India Negro to be Free at 4 years End accord ing to will	16:00:00

^aThe numbers represent the value of each individual in order of pounds:shillings:pence

Also within Table 2 is the comment that one of his slaves should be freed after four years of service, according to his will. When referring to Thomas Sprigg, Sr.'s 1704 will, he names a "malatta" [sic] slave, John Cabby, to be freed after four years service.

Comparing these two documents one can infer that John Cabby is the same "East India Negro" listed by description in his probate (shown in Table 2).

Looking further at the descriptions of each individual listed in the probate, one will note that the one individual granted freedom is the only person listed as an "East Indian Negro". This grant of freedom may reflect preference given to an individual of mixed ethnicity. If one compares Thomas, Sr.'s probate to Osborn, Sr.'s 1750 probate (Table 3), the names are provided for his enslaved. Their ethnicity and age is also listed.

Table 3. Transcribed Excerpt from Osborn Sprigg's 1750 Probate Inventory

Description	Name	Age	Value
1 Negroe Man	Peter Aged	33	61:5:_ ^a
1 D ^o	Will	21	52:10:0
1 D ^o	Coffee	21	61:5:0
1 Negroe Woman	Fider	23	49:_:_
1 D ^o	Jane	25	49:_:_
1 D ^o	Phillis	23	49:_:_
1 D ^o	Babb	31	42:_:_
1 Negroe Man	Tom	50	28:_:_
1 Negroe Boy	Sam	11 months	8:15:0
1 D ^o Girl	Page	1	8:15:0
1 D ^o Ditto	Hannah	6	21:_:_
1 Negroe Man	Banika	34	56:_:_
1 Boy	Prince	9	33:5:_
1 Girl	Debb	7	21:_:_
1 Mullatoy Boy	Charles	12 Years old to serve too 31 Years	} 26:5:_
1 D ^o A Girl		10 Years to serve too 31 Years	
1 Negroe Boy	Benn	7 months	10:10:0
1 Negroe Man	Jack	25	61:5:0
1 Negroe Man	Rochester	27 Years old	70:_:_
1 Negroe Man	Blackwell	60	14:_:_
1 D ^o	Sampson	57	15:15:0
1 D ^o	Ben	45	50:15:0
1 D ^o	Sandiggy	45	43:15:0
1 D ^o	Cesar	40	45:10:0
1 D ^o	Nodd	43	43:15:0
1 D ^o	Harry	25	56:0:0
1 Woman	Sue	34	43:15:0
1 D ^o	Mall	55	17:10:0
1 D ^o	Kate	66	7:0:0
1 D ^o	Flora	22	49:0:0
1 Boy	Blackwell	6	24:10:_
1 D ^o	Nacy	1	8:15:_
1 Girl	Mall	2	8:15:_
1 D ^o	Shale	10	33:5:_
1/3 a Negroe Man named Caroe in company with Thos. Clark & Joseph Bell Junior			} 8:_:_

^aThe numbers represent the value of each individual in order of pounds:shillings:pence

Even if this demonstrates an acknowledgement to “humanize” the enslaved, they are still listed among the rest of Osborn’s personal possessions with prices attached to each one.

There are two interesting references in Osborn, Sr.’s probate. The first promises freedom to two of the enslaved when they reach the age of thirty-one; one a boy who is listed as twelve and the other a ten year old girl. As with Thomas, Sr.’s will, the two individuals that Osborn, Sr. grants freedom once they reach the age of thirty-one, are both listed as “Mullatoe” [sic] and not “Negro”. The promise of freedom seemed to be more available of persons of mixed ethnicity. The second reference refers to joint ownership of one “Negro Man” who is one-third owned by Osborn who shared him with two other men. Two possible conclusions are that he possessed skills the other enslaved did not and was thus considered “valuable”, or his skill set was not needed fulltime and thus shared among the three owners.

In the two probates, one can begin to see trends in the local institution of slavery over the years. Treatment of individuals of mixed ethnicity compared to Africans or African Americans is evident, with freedom awarded to those of mixed ethnicity. There is a change in the conception of slaves being identified by description like livestock and other property, to an eventual transition into names becoming associated with individuals. However, even if they are listed with names they are still considered property which is very evident in how they are found mixed throughout Osborn’s probate among his other property. Although probates provide the economic standing of an owner, I have focused on how probates begin to show the status of the enslaved and the changing trends in the slave economy through freedoms granted, the sharing of the enslaved, and names associated with specific individuals.

In addition to documents providing information on freedom, they also show transfer of ownership. For example, Osborn Sprigg, Sr.'s wife Rachel inherits "Will" and his wife, while his son-in-law, Thomas Bowie, inherits "Barrackai", according to his 1749/1750 will. Even though the Spriggs occasionally redistributed their enslaved, many of the new owners were still located within the county. However, this did not always mean the enslaved had access to their family or kin if they were separated.

After the death of Osborn, Sr., the Census was helpful in providing demographic statistics for Northampton's enslaved population. The Census was first collected in 1790, during Osborn, Jr.'s ownership, then taken every ten years. In the 1790 Census, Osborn Sprigg, Jr. reported 43 enslaved, placing it as a large plantation for the period. Most of the enslaved on large plantations during this time were engaged in tobacco production (Sperling 2009:51).

It is also important to remember though, that the number of slaves listed under one owner does not mean they were all residing on the same property. In the 1798 Federal Direct Tax account for Osborn, Jr., his land acreage, his dwelling house, additional buildings, and number of slaves are all recorded. Osborn lists two "Negro" houses, one at Northampton and one on another property. At Northampton there is an overseer's house in addition to three tobacco barns, illustrating their tobacco economy. Since his dwelling house is listed at Northampton, this list provides evidence that Northampton operated as his main plantation. However, with the presence of an additional slave quarter on another off-plantation property, it is clear he maintained slaves on this land too. The specific names, ages, and sexes are not listed, but the information reports 44 enslaved individuals. Nineteen of those slaves are between the

ages of twelve and fifty. Knowing the exact number of slaves at Northampton is difficult to establish since Osborn maintained slaves at more than one property, as referenced above in the 1798 Federal Direct Tax. However, since he lists the majority of his structures at Northampton along with his dwelling house, it can be inferred that more slaves lived and worked there. Northampton would require more labor to maintain the tobacco crops, livestock, other agricultural crops, and the main house.

Through Osborn, Jr.'s ownership there was a steady increase in his enslaved population (Table 4).

Table 4. United States Census Slave Statistics for Osborn Sprigg, Jr., 1790 – 1810.

Owner	Census Year	Ages of Slaves	Total
Osborn Sprigg, Jr.	1790 ^a	n/a	43
Osborn Sprigg, Jr.	1800 ^a	n/a	48
Osborn Sprigg, Jr.	1810 ^a	n/a	63

^aDistribution of age not recorded in this Census year.

It was also during his ownership that the placement of runaway ads appear in the newspaper. These ads provide a record of who was enslaved and when, familial or kinship ties, occupation, and capture (Parker 1994). Providing as much detail as possible helped owners distinguish their slaves from others (Parker 1993:65). The placement of runaway ads in daily newspapers among land and real estate sales reinforce the status of slaves as property. Additionally, these ads reflect the changing economic environment.

Osborn, Jr. ran multiple runaway ads in the Washington, DC newspaper, *The Centinel of Liberty*, for both “Charles” and “Bob” in 1800. On June 13, 1800 Osborn posted a runaway ad for “Charles”:

SIXTY DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY, on the 9th inst. from the subscriber, living in Prince-George's County, a negro Man, named CHARLES. He is about 5 feet 4 or 5 inches high, is bow-legged, has a full round face, and is rather of a light black or brown complexion.

The above reward will be paid for securing this fellow in any jail so that he is recovered and reasonable charges if brought home.

OSBORN SPRIGG

June 10th, 1800.

This identical ad ran multiple times through the first week of July, but it is unknown if "Charles" was ever found.

On August 20, 1800 "Bob" ran away from Northampton and an ad for his return was also placed in *The Centinel of Liberty*.

Forty Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber on the 20th a negro man named BOB, about 25 years old, 6 feet high stout and well made, with large eyes and thick lips, he is of a dark complexion, has acquaintances in Charles county, and it is probable he may make that way, he is a tolerable good carpenter having worked 5 or 6 years at that trade. As he has several changes of good clothes any accurate description of them would be impossible.

Whosoever secures the said negro in any jail so that I get him again shall receive the above reward and reasonable charges if bro't home.

OSBORN SPRIGG

Prince-George's County,
August 29th, 1800

Osborn Sprigg, Jr. also ran this ad for "Bob" during the month of September in the same paper. Not only does it suggest where he has "acquaintances" (in Charles County, Maryland, the adjoining county to the southwest along the upper Potomac River), but it lists him as working as a carpenter for the last five or six years. The

additional reference to a number of “good clothes” suggests he may have purchased clothing with money made while working as a carpenter. It is unknown if he was ever found and returned to Northampton.

Even though there is record of the enslaved running away from Osborn, Jr. there are accounts of him promising freedom to thirteen enslaved African Americans in his 1814 will. He also adds in his will, that the children of those individuals should also be freed at his death, which occurred in 1815. Of the freed, some were left livestock, property, and other items. For example, both Tom and Frank received livestock and property. Tom received land in addition to his home, while Frank received land and the house where “his father lives”. The land they received was one property divided equally between them (Resnick 1990:16). Benjamin Resnick (1990:16) speculates that Tom and Frank were father and son. Frank’s wife and children were also granted freedom when Osborn, Jr. died. When comparing Osborn, Jr.’s will against his manumission accounts in Table 5, Frank’s surname is listed as “Hawkins”, along with his wife and two children. It should also be noted that although they were all promised freedom in Osborn, Jr.’s 1814 will, their certificates of freedom did not always occur at the same time. When referring to Table 5, Kitty and Nace, children of Frank and Linda Hawkins, did not get their freedom certificates until almost ten years later in 1825. To date I am unsure when Frank and Linda attained freedom but it is possible it occurred at the same time as their children.

Table 5. Manumission Accounts.

Owner	Name of Slave	Age	Manumission Year ^a	Certificate Date ^b
Osborn Sprigg, Jr.	Harriot Shorter	33	1811	1825
	Polly	23/24	1811	
	James Daffin	43	1814 by Will	
	Joseph Warren	21	1814 by Will	1828
	Frank Hawkins		1814 by Will	
	Linda (wife of Frank)		1814 by Will	
	Kitty (child of Frank and Linda)	19	1814 by Will	1825
	Nace (child of Frank and Linda)	16	1814 by Will	1825
	Louisa Hawkins	17	1814 by Will	1830
	Elanor Hawkins	15	1814 by Will	1830
	Milley	40	1815	
Samuel Sprigg	Betsey Hawkins	35	1825	1825
	Nelly Hawkins	12	1825	1825
	Nancy Hawkins	32		1826
	Mark Daffin	30		1827
	Joseph Warren	21		1828

^aYear manumission was declared by owner

^bYear manumission was acknowledged by owner or relative

An 1832 document showed the Hawkins family had increased since the will was written in 1814. In the document, dated May 25, 1832, Samuel Sprigg requested freedom papers for four additional children of Frank and Linda Hawkins [sic] not reported in their original manumission. The request was made to provide safe travels for the whole family, who was planning on leaving Maryland. The new children were William (fourteen), Thomas (eleven), Christina (six), and Patrick (around three). According to research by Iris McConnell (2010, pers. comm.), a family descendant, she found records suggesting that Frank is the father of Robert Hawkins (husband to Elizabeth “Lizzie”), her great-

grandfather, but she has not established if Linda is Robert's mother. This 1832 document by Samuel Sprigg demonstrates that Samuel followed his uncle's will by ensuring all of Frank's children were given freedom.

Osborn, Jr.'s will also grants freedom to James Daphney, his wife (Minta), and daughter (Rachel). In addition, they were to receive livestock and food (Resnick 1990:16). However, I have only found manumission records for James who is listed as "James Daffin" (see Table 5).

Five others were also awarded freedom in Osborn, Jr.'s will. According to Benjamin Resnick (1990:16) it appears that these individuals all worked in the main house. One of the five, William, was left Osborn, Jr.'s clothing, bed, and some money. According to his will, he was described as his "favorite boy". Joe, the son of the cook for the main house, was also awarded freedom, but not until he reached the age of twenty-one. Joe was also required to serve as a carpenter's apprentice for Samuel Sprigg, Osborn, Jr.'s nephew, who inherited Northampton (Resnick 1990:16-17). Although I did not locate manumission papers for William, Joe was manumitted according to the will of Osborn, Jr. As seen in Table 5, Joseph Warren was manumitted in 1828, under Samuel Sprigg, at the age of 21.

What is also interesting in Table 5 are that Betsey and Nancy Hawkins are probably the same Betsey and Nancy referenced in Osborn, Jr.'s 1814 will as granted freedom upon his death, which occurred in 1815. If true, Samuel chose to keep these two women enslaved for approximately ten more years, demonstrating that freedom was not always granted, even though it was written into the will of an owner.

Table 5 also lists additional Hawkins family members, however, I am unsure of their relationships to the descendant family or to each other. Most likely Louisa and Elanor are sisters and Betsey is the mother of Nelly, since their papers have the same date. Manumission records have been especially helpful with providing full names of individuals to compare against other documents.

After Osborn, Jr.'s death, Samuel acquired Northampton in 1815. Not only did the enslaved population grow but there was an increase in runaway ads. Samuel Sprigg placed runaway ads in the Washington, DC newspaper, *Daily National Intelligencer* for "Billy" and "Clem" in 1815, "...Clem, and his wife Sophy..." from 1817 to 1819, "Tom" and "Joe" in 1820, and "William" in 1836. First, there were "Billy", who went by William Whittington, and "Clem", also known as Clem Hill. They escaped together on June 21, 1815 as shown in the *Daily National Intelligencer* ad on June 26, 1815.

200 DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY from the subscriber on the night of the 21st inst. a mulatto man named BILLY, (who calls himself William Whittington), a stout well-made handsome fellow, about six feet high, and thirty years of age; had on a coarse linen shirt and overalls, hat and shoes; and took with him a new shirt of coarse linen, and a dark cloth great coat. At the same time, and in company, a negro man named CLEM, (Clem Hill). He is a tall handsome black fellow, upwards of six feet high, about twenty years old, and remarkably active; his dress was of coarse linen, pretty much worn, and a hat. I will give the above reward for the two if brought home; but for both, or either of them, if secured in any jail so that I get them again, I will give at the rate of sixty dollars for each.

SAMUEL SPRIGG,

Northampton Farm, Prince Geo. Co. Md.

June 26—eo

It is interesting to note that the time of their escape was the year of changing ownership. These two individuals may have seen this as a good time to flee. Also important is the fact that they ran away together. Freddie Parker (1993:187) found with his research on runaway ads in North Carolina, when the enslaved chose to run away in a group there was a higher frequency of that group consisting of two people. A smaller group not only provided companionship for the ordeal of escape but the number was small enough to potentially evade capture. However, it appears that Clem was captured since another runaway ad appears two years later for the capture of "...Clem, and his wife Sophy...", who ran away in the middle of May 1817. One runaway ad for them appears on June 14, 1817 in the *Daily National Intelligencer*. The ad describes Sophy as pregnant and suggests that the couple may have fled in the direction of Annapolis, Maryland (approximately 25 miles east), where her enslaved father lived. According to Parker (1993:187-188), when men and women fled together they were typically trying to return to where they were raised, as possibly evidence in this ad. Please note that in the following text "grum" translates to glum or surly and "trunchy" to short and thick.

100 Dollars Reward.

I WILL give the above reward for the apprehension of my negro man CLEM, and his wife SOPHY, both of whom left my farm about the middle of May. Clem, who calls himself Clem Hill, is a slim black fellow, about 6 feet high, and 22 or 23 years of age. Sophy a short trunchy girl, about 16 or 18 years of age, quite black, with thick heavy lips, grum countenance, and apparently 5 or 6 months advanced in her pregnancy. I will give the above reward to any person who will secure them both in any jail so that I get them, or 70 for Clem and 30 for Sophy if taken and delivered separately.

SAML. SPRIGG.

Northampton Farm, near Bladensburg, June 6, 1817

N.B.—Sophy’s father lives about the old race ground at Annapolis, and belongs to a Mr. Weels; it is probable they may be in that neighborhood.

June 14—2awtf

The previous ad ran for at least a year in the *Daily National Intelligencer* with the same text (found periodically in 1817 through August 29, 1818). Then Samuel Sprigg changed the amount of reward for Clem and Sophy from one hundred dollars to five hundred dollars, as seen below in the January 9, 1819 paper. However, the amount for Clem was always higher than that for Sophy, something that Parker (1993:197) found as a result of slave owners considering females to be less valuable than males. This *Daily National Intelligencer* ad describes the couple in a similar manner as the previous ads, except Sophy is no longer described as pregnant, suggesting she had the baby.

FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

I WILL give the above reward for the apprehension of my negro man CLEM, and his wife SOPHY, both of whom left my farm about the middle of May, 1817. Clem, who calls himself Clem Hill, is a slim black fellow, about 6 feet high, and 22 or 23 years of age. Sophy a short trunchy girl, about 16 or 18 years of age, quiet black, with thick heavy lips, grum countenance. I will give the above reward to any person who will secure them both in any jail, so that I get them, or 300 dollars for Clem, and 200 for Sophy, if taken and delivered separately.

SAMUEL SPRIGG.

Northampton Farm, near Bladensburg
jan 4—w3w

To date, no documents have been located to indicate whether “Clem” and “Sophy” were found. The runaway ads for “Clem” and “Sophy” may suggest they were seeking freedom to both keep their child out of slavery and maintain their family. Some enslaved sought freedom when pregnant to prevent their child from being born into slavery

(Windley 1995:60). In addition, according to Berlin (1998:130), the "...separation of family members was probably the single largest source of flight...". Owners also found it more profitable to sell children of the enslaved or divide up families. This division of family became more of a concern in the late eighteenth century within the Chesapeake region when blacks were interested in creating a more stable life (Berlin 1998:129).

By 1820 Samuel's reported enslaved population had risen to 73, according to the Census. At this time he was serving as governor (1819-1822) and did not reside at Northampton. This may have prompted the July 11, 1820 escape of "Tom" and "Joe". In the below runaway ad that appeared in the *Daily National Intelligencer* on July 20, 1820, Sprigg suggests the locations of where these two individuals fled. "Tom" may have gone in the direction of "...Mr. Summers', just below the Long Old Fields" where he has family (located in Forestville, MD, less than ten miles southwest of Northampton). Sprigg suspected that "Joe" would first travel toward Montgomery County, Maryland (borders Washington, DC, on the north and west sides), where he occasionally worked. Here he may have had connections to paid work and able to acquire money before traveling further. In this case it is suggested he may eventually flee to Pennsylvania.

150 DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY from my farm, in Prince George's County, on the 11th instant, a negro man, belonging to me, named TOM; he is between thirty-five and forty years of age, five feet eight or ten inches high, and with quite a dark complexion, and well made; has a soft manner when spoken to, and apparently a little deaf. There is nothing very remarkable about him, except that his head is rather tapering towards the top; his clothing such as is common among laboring servants; I purchased him about two years since of a Mr. Joseph Pope, of this County. He has a wife

and family at Mr. Summers', just below the Long Old Fields.

Also, a handsome mulatto man, who calls himself JOE COOK, a first rate carpenter by trade. I purchased him some years since of a Mr. George Wells, (carpenter) of this county. Joe is about six feet high and well proportioned, and has a large dark mole or wart on one of his eye lids; he was formerly in the habit (before I purchased him) of hiring himself in Montgomery County, where it is likely he will aim to get, and probably from thence to Pennsylvania. I will give twenty-five dollars for Tom and fifty for Joe, if apprehended in Prince George's County, and brought home to me; or fifty dollars for Tom and one hundred for Joe, if taken up out of the county and secured in any jail, so that I may get them again.

SAML. SPRIGG.

Northampton Farm, July 18, 1820.

N. B. All persons are hereby cautioned against employing or concealing the above slaves, or in anywise aiding or assisting them in their escape.

S. S.

july 20-

Additional information listed in this ad provides the locations of familial or kinship ties, a reference to "Joe" being a "...carpenter by trade..." (suggesting he was rented out for his carpentry skills), and "Joe's" full name. It is interesting to note that Samuel Sprigg wrote a separate ad for "Joe" on the same day as the one he wrote for "Tom" and "Joe". The text of the ad is similar and appeared on August 25, 1820, in the *Daily National Intelligencer* (the only newspaper I found associated with runaway ads for Samuel):

100 DOLLARS REWARD.

RANAWAY from my farm, in Prince George's County, on the 11th instant, a handsome mulatto man, who calls himself JOE COOK, a first rate carpenter by trade. I purchased him some years since of a Mr. George Wells, (carpenter) of this county. Joe is about six feet high and well proportioned, and has a large dark mole or wart on one

of his eye lids; he was formerly in the habit (before I purchased him) of hiring himself in Montgomery County, where it is likely he will aim to get, and probably from thence to Pennsylvania. I will give fifty dollars for Joe, if apprehended in Prince George's County, and brought home to me; or one hundred if taken up out of the county and secured in any jail, so that I may get him again.

SAML. SPRIGG.

Northampton Farm, July 18, 1820.

N. B. All persons are hereby cautioned against employing or concealing the above slave, or in anywise aiding or assisting him in his escape. S. S.

july 20-

Since the reward amount for "Joe" is twice the amount for "Tom", "Joe" is considered more "valuable" by Samuel. This conclusion can also be supported by the additional ad placed by Samuel for only "Joe" that bears the same date as the one listing them together.

Following Samuel's term as governor he returned to Northampton. The plantation continued to grow with the total number of enslaved reported in the Prince George's Tax List for 1828 being 86. (There is no Census data for Prince George's County in 1830. Instead, there is an 1828 Prince George's County Tax List available with slave statistics for the Spriggs.) With the continual growth on the plantation, the enslaved still sought freedom. A final runaway ad located was placed by Samuel Sprigg on May 25, 1836, in the *Daily National Intelligencer*. William Duvall escaped on May 15, 1836 via Washington, DC. Sprigg believed William took the train in Washington and was seen later that morning in Baltimore, Maryland (approximately 40 miles north of Washington, DC). An interesting comment made in the ad is the reference to a couple fine linen shirts "...marked with either O. S. or O. Sprigg...". These shirts may have formerly belonged to Osborn Sprigg, Jr., Samuel Sprigg's uncle.

300 DOLLARS REWARD.—Ranaway, on Sunday morning, the 15th instant, mulatto boy WILLIAM DUVALL, about 18 years of age, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, weighing about 148 pounds, well-made, and of genteel appearance; with a full, round face; bright mulatto, with a small spot (the effect of a ringworm) on his cheekbone, (believed to be the left;) of a lighter color than the rest of his face; dark bushy hair, but not curly; a good set of teeth, though discolored by the use of tobacco; and always smiles when spoken to. Took with him a claret broadcloth frock coat, with velvet collar, a close-bodied coat of the same, gray cloth roundabout and pantaloons, with metal buttons; several fine linen shirts, believed to be marked with either O. S. or O. Sprigg; and a variety of other clothing, all of the best material and fashionable make. If apprehended in the District of Columbia, and lodged in the county jail, I will give a reward of \$100; for his apprehension any where in Maryland, and lodged in jail, \$200; and the above reward of \$300 will be given for him, if apprehended elsewhere, and lodged in Baltimore county jail, or secured so that I get him again. William left Washington city on the morning of the 15th instant, in the railroad car, (it is believed,) and was seen the same morning in Baltimore city.

SAMUEL SPRIGG,
Northampton, Prince George's co.

Md.

may 25—eo3w&wtf (Balt. Pat.)

In keeping with the majority of runaway ads placed by Samuel Sprigg, it is unknown if “William” was ever found. It should be noted that William Duvall is not the same William referred to in Osborn Sprigg, Jr.’s 1814 will due to conflicting ages.

Four years after William’s escape, Samuel acquired the Spriggs highest enslaved population in 1840, reporting 117 in the Census. The Spriggs maintained status as one of the larger slaveholders in the county and continued with tobacco production in addition to livestock and supplemental crops, as evidenced in Samuel’s 1859 probate. Table 6 shows the rise and fall in the enslaved population from Samuel’s ownership to after his death.

Table 6. United States Census Slave Statistics for the Spriggs, 1820 – 1860.

Owner	Census Year	Ages of Slaves			Total
		>14	15-45	45<	
Samuel Sprigg	1820 ^a	27	39	7	73

Owner	Census Year	Ages of Slaves			Total
		>10	10 – 55	55<	
Samuel Sprigg	1830	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Samuel Sprigg	1840	47	61	9	117
Samuel Sprigg	1850	15	56	2	73
Osborn Sprigg	1860	21	36	2	59

^aAge distribution categories were different in 1820.

After 1840 there is a steady decrease in the Spriggs' enslaved population, the opposite of the trend within Prince George's County over those decades (Sperling 2009:65-66). As to what accounts for this change I am unsure. However, even with a decreasing enslaved population, Samuel still maintained a large slaveholding.

Through the examples of primary documents I have begun to explore the history of the Africans and African Americans who were forced into slavery and provided the labor responsible for maintaining Northampton. Although these records begin to link families together, record the social environment of slavery, and place Northampton within the larger context of Prince George's County, the living African American descendants of those who lived at Northampton are also a vital component to the interpretation and preservation of Northampton.

Descendant Voices

Although it is important to use historical documents to understand the past and help interpret an archaeological site, the living, likewise, provide an equally vital part of the story. As I have shown there are a number of ways to research the African Americans at Northampton through historical documents. However, living testimony in the form of oral histories or stories passed down from generation to generation is another important form of data collection. As shown in Chapter 2, the telling of these histories or stories are from the descendant's perspective. They reflect one person's point of view and are a retelling of what they experienced and/or remember. As Laurie Wilkie (2000:xvii) reminds us, we must interpret this type of history like any other historical source keeping in mind the biases of the story teller. Some biases could exist on part of the interviewer and interviewee based on sex, ethnicity, and age. These biases may be a result of an interviewee's advanced age and lapsing memory or uncomfortable feelings due to the interviewer's sex or ethnicity. It is also important for the interviewer to be open and honest so the interviewee knows why information is being collected, how it may be used, the benefits of the research, and potential dangers that exist (e.g. recalling difficult memories of one's past, in the case of Northampton remembering slavery).

When gathering oral histories, interviewing can be emotional for the interviewee. The telling of stories and recounting of events allows one to enter yet another dimension of history. Oral histories provide a way to potentially get questions answered about the past in the present (Darrow, Simon, and Willard 2006:414). For this reason, it is important to incorporate and collaborate with descendant populations at archaeological sites. *Their* stories and histories help shed light into the telling of *their* past, which all

enhance the interpretation of the site for future generations. The past comes alive through the people who either experienced it, received the knowledge through their ancestors, or researched their own past. Descendants become emotionally invested in their heritage and through collaboration become active participants in preserving their history.

A good example of individuals becoming involved in researching their own history is seen in the *Foxfire* publications. *Foxfire* began in 1966 with an English teacher's desire to engage his Georgia high school class in writing. He gave his students the freedom to decide how they wanted to learn and they choose to start a magazine titled *The Foxfire Magazine*. For the magazine the students recorded the history of their community in the Appalachians. The project evolved and students took it upon themselves to talk with their grandparents and to collect community stories. The collection of stories about their Appalachian heritage created such an interest that the students' work was turned into a book series. Today the magazine is still published through the high school and interested teachers nationwide are instructed on the unique teaching technique for use in their schools. *Foxfire* did and still does promote a way of preserving one's heritage by engaging a community and allowing that community to tell its story (Lanman and Wendling 2006). A community is not only engaged in the process, but in control of their history.

Keeping with the concept of community oral histories, David Dunaway (2006) stresses the importance of teaching and integrating the communities in collecting their own oral histories. It is through this process that an individual can take pride in their community through knowing they were responsible for collecting their history. It is these individuals who lived that history, or were told that history from their relatives; it is now

their past. They are active participants and in control of their past and heritage. This pride and excitement is seen in the actions of the African American descendants of Northampton.

The Hawkins Family: African American Descendants
of Northampton

Elizabeth “Lizzie” Hawkins is the matriarch of the African American descendants of Northampton. There are six clans that descend from Lizzie: Fletcher, Harkins, Hawkins, Ponger, Savoy, and Smith (“clans” is the preferred term of the Hawkins’ family). Three individuals in particular have been extremely helpful throughout the Archaeology Program’s involvement with the site; Iris McConnell (Iris) from the Harkins clan and her cousins Raymond Smith (Raymond) and Elizabeth Gordon (Elizabeth) (brother and sister) from the Smith clan. Raymond is currently in his early nineties and spent his summers at Northampton from about the age of seven to fifteen with his grandmother Susie Smith (daughter of Lizzie). He has shared stories of his grandmother cooking for the Fairfax family and the other jobs she would perform at the main house (Wedgeworth 2003). Elizabeth was the only daughter in her immediate family. She passed away in 2010, but in life enjoyed organizing the Hawkins’ family reunions and memorial services, discussed in further detail later. Before her death, Elizabeth was in the process of organizing another family memorial service at Northampton. Iris is the family historian who has dedicated decades of her life collecting research about their family. Although I have interacted with all three family members and others, I officially interviewed Iris.

Iris's Journey

In August 2010, I spent an afternoon with Iris Harkins McConnell, the great-granddaughter of Lizzie and Robert Hawkins. We spent the afternoon telling stories, looking at historical documents, and turning through the pages of old photographs passed down to her from her grandmother. She is related to the Hawkins on her father's side of the family. Lizzie's daughter is her father's mother. Her parents are Robert and Rose Harkins. Iris is the only daughter in a family with four brothers. She was born in Washington, DC, and is currently in her early eighties. Iris began researching her family background in the early 1980s and from an early age knew her father's family came from Northampton. There were once a couple large pillars on Central Avenue, in Prince George's County, which marked the old gate entrance to Northampton. As a child, her family would pass this spot on their way to the beach and her parents would point it out (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Iris moved to Prince George's County in the 1960s but at the time did not realize how close she was to Northampton. When her daughter was older, she too ended up locating in the area, and moved even closer to Northampton. Currently Iris lives a couple miles away from the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Collecting History

Iris has spent decades researching her family's past. She uses the analogy of a jigsaw puzzle when talking about her process of gathering the details of her family's history. She sees this as "...a thousand piece jigsaw puzzle..." and explains how when

you work on a puzzle you may start on the sky, jump down to the grass, then choose to work on the mountains in the middle. Like a jigsaw puzzle, you do not move through the process in one fluid and linear movement; you remain flexible. You never know where the information you assemble will lead, and sometimes it may be a dead-end. Although Iris describes researching her family history as exhausting and time-consuming, it has become her life and she “loves it”. Even her home is organized around her research. Next to her computer are family files, copies of historic documents, and photographs organized to go through at a moment’s notice. In her bedroom, next to a chair near her bed, remains a container with family files she can go through when she starts her day. Anything kept on the floor is in plastic boxes to protect her research from water damage. Her entryway closet is a library where she keeps books and a collection of more family photographs. Iris’s research is so extensive that she maintains a storage unit where the rest is housed (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Iris’s research is her life and she enjoys days she can seclude herself to work. During the winter of 2009/2010 when the Washington, DC, area had numerous snow storms she used the opportunity to stay at home and research. Iris ended up adding 315 names to Ancestry.com (a paid subscription online resource containing all of the Census records) and organizing her files. She has found Census records the most useful for tracking her family and learning occupations, job locations, and place of residence (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Iris initially began collecting stories of her family from her grandmother, father, aunt (father’s oldest sister), and cousin (Raymond). She used the information she learned from each individual as a starting point for future research. She created a questionnaire as

a general guide when gathering information. The idea originated from family members asking her to write obituaries. This helped organize her thoughts when collecting family oral histories (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

When asked about stories she remembers from her family she reminds me that as you get older and no longer hear the stories you begin to forget (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). Those memories from her past she remembers the most about Northampton are from when she was eight or nine and her father would start his "...when I was a little boy..." stories on the way to the beach. Passing of the pillars/columns marking the entrance to Northampton would trigger her father's memory. She laughs remembering her father and how she and her brothers would be in the back seat of the car mouthing almost every word of his stories. Her father would talk about the road he walked to get to Washington, DC, or what they did on the farm at Northampton. In both her father and grandmother's stories, they were always sure to mention how well they were treated on the farm. This fact has led Iris to the conclusion that her great-grandmother Lizzie was also treated well while living at Northampton (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). The time periods represented by these generations reflect when the Fairfaxes (postbellum) owned the property. However, Lizzie's generation and prior would have been on the property during the Spriggs (antebellum) ownership.

Over the years Iris has broadened her research scope and is looking at her mother's family, the Spriggs, the Fairfaxes, information on Maryland slavery, and the general institution of slavery. She has also collected records from every historic house in Maryland with the hope of tracing the slave trade within the state to see where the enslaved went. Iris understands that acknowledging the bigger picture helps interpret her

family's past. One avenue of her future research is to look at shipping records from Africa to locate family. Currently Iris knows she does not have the information needed to begin this new research (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). It is Iris's self-determination that guides her through the process of collecting her family's history. Her interest in the past only increased her knowledge on her ancestors at Northampton and the desire to continue to learn more.

Recreating the Past

Collecting her family's history through talking to elders, looking at photographs, and seeing historical documents is only one way Iris connects to her past. In addition to these methods of gathering materials, she believes it is important to experience what has happened in the past. Seeing and experiencing what African Americans in the past did during the time of slavery helps build Iris's understanding of her heritage (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Pilgrimage to Africa

Over the years Iris has extensively traveled. In 1998 she traveled to Africa, arriving in Sierra Leone and then traveling along the western coast. Her husband was still living at the time, but she wanted to travel to Africa by herself. It was a nine day organized trip filled with emotion, but she considers it the best trip of her life (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). They visited Elmina Castle in Ghana, the first sub-Saharan European slave trading location (White 2011). She became very emotional sharing her trip with me and remembering how difficult it was to go into the dungeons knowing what occurred. She sensed the smell of blood from the people torn from their

families who were tortured and died in the dungeons. Some rooms Iris could only partially enter making sure she always saw the light of the entrance to the outside. When they were told how the women were paraded on a balcony so the men below could choose who they wanted, Iris felt pain looking up at that balcony as the men had once done. The guide then brought them up through the narrow passage and to the balcony so they could see what the women saw. When she followed in the footsteps of these women she was overcome with tremendous fear (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Iris found it interesting how the men and women of her tour reacted differently to what they saw. The men had the strongest reactions to the places the men were locked up while the women had the strongest reactions to the places the women were held. That night they all spent the night in nice cabins on the beach and the next day, when they left on buses, Iris was sitting in the back. Something in her told her to turn around and when she did she looked through the bus window and the kicked up dust created a haze muting the village they were going through. In this haze that she saw a naked boy. She looked at him longingly thinking “they left nothing but the little children and the old people” (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Seeking Freedom

Iris, her husband, and their two friends went on a five day trip the year her husband passed away. She told her husband for her birthday she would like to travel to Niagara Falls by train to follow the trip Harriet Tubman took to cross into Canada. (After the trip, Iris learned that Tubman crossed over from Rochester, New York, where the water span is shortest.) On the trip north, Iris remembers not putting into perspective

what Tubman experienced. It was on the trip back that she began to internalize what happened. The realization set in when her husband asked the simple question “how much longer till we get off”. At that moment Iris thought about how much longer the trip would have been for Tubman and the fear or uncertainty along the way. On their trip they were traveling on a fast train with no worries; they were on vacation (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.), unlike Tubman, who was fleeing for her life.

Traveling north and thinking about Tubman was important for Iris. In fact, although they only needed to see identification to cross into Canada, Iris brought her passport and insisted on getting it signed and stamped. She was the only one in the group to do this. For Iris, this event had to be officially documented. Iris was so enthralled with Tubman that in the 1990s she took two weeks to research the amount of miles Tubman traveled. Iris used modern highways as way to track Tubman’s journey. Once completed, she was surprised by how far Tubman traveled (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Continuing Research

Iris’s journey to research her family’s past is a continuing endeavor that has exposed her to different cultures, archival documents, and long-lost family. She is always in search of something new to discover, and in some instances the source finds her. In one case, the press became valuable for gathering information on the history of Northampton. After one of the first newspaper interviews Iris conducted, she received a phone call from a person who was the child of someone who worked in the main house when the Fairfaxes lived at Northampton, an individual not related to the Hawkins. From this person she learned that Northampton may have been part of the Underground

Railroad. The person told Iris the story of being a child in the early 1900s and stumbling on a room in the basement with papers and a human skeleton. When the children were discovered sneaking into this room, it was immediately locked and they were instructed to stay away (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). Iris has never asked her family about this or have I looked into this further. Although this is an interesting story, it would not be easy to verify.

Other memories shared with Iris by this individual were Saturday hayrides at Northampton. Everyone worked half a day and in the afternoon the children went on hayrides and told scary stories. The Fairfaxes also held periodic picnics for those living at Northampton. Iris has family photographs of these picnics with dates written on them by other family members. These stories Iris has heard from family who attended (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Other continuing research includes the early twentieth-century property boundaries for Northampton. Iris found in her research that a daughter of the Fairfax family married a man whose property bordered Northampton in the early 1900s. Iris learned this information through a family member who worked for Fairfax's daughter and worked on the farm at Northampton (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). It is quite possibly that this property merged with Northampton.

Documenting the Past

With Iris's growing knowledge on her family and their connection to Northampton, I was interesting in understanding what she wanted to do with all of her research. In the past, people have encouraged her to write a book; however, she always

felt her research was incomplete so she never undertook this task. It was 2009 when Iris knew she had enough research to begin her book – she had discovered the 1814 freedom papers for Frank, who she believes is Robert Hawkins’ father. (The same Frank mentioned earlier in this chapter when Osborn, Jr.’s 1814 will was discussed.) She initially found Frank on Ancestry.com and went to the Maryland State Archives to get a copy of the document. In further research on Frank, Iris has found that he used two last names during his life, Hawkins and Sprague, which she has followed through Ancestry.com. When she brought the copy of his freedom papers home she laid the document on a counter where they remained for about a month. She would wake up at night and see the document and think about this “hollow victory” for Frank – he had received his freedom but could not travel without these papers. She would try to imagine the fear he had knowing that someone at anytime could tear up his papers and send him south for re-enslavement. Iris was additionally flooded with questions about how Frank was able to maintain his freedom in a time where it could change at any moment. Frank’s papers left her so emotional that at times she became sad and would cry, while other times she was happy thinking of the freedom he received. She was likewise emotional towards Osborn Sprigg, Jr., where one moment she felt Osborn, Jr. was a good person since he awarded Frank freedom, then in another moment she believed Osborn, Jr. was a bad person since he enslaved people (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Iris has also located Frank in the 1828 Prince George’s County Tax List as owning 100 acres (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). It is again in Osborn, Jr.’s will that Frank is to receive a house and property and freedom is extended to his wife Linda and their children.

Iris's book will someday be about her family, their experiences, the people they interacted with both on and around Northampton. Included will be information on the dispersal of the family's generations. An example of what she considers important concerns a story about her father. Iris's father never graduated from high school and was forced to begin working at the age of eight to twelve. Since he was the oldest male in the household once his father was no longer there, his father's duties fell to him. Iris's uncle did not have this responsibility and was able to pursue an education. This situation has directly affected these two families. All of her uncle's children, except for one, graduated from college; none of Iris's siblings did. This outcome has affected her so much that she remembers being in the eight or ninth grade and having to bring home a form related to where she would go to school for her parents to sign. Iris wanted to go to college preparatory school but her father did not think she should go and instead instructed her to go a different school where she would learn shorthand and typing. Although this is not what she wanted, this is what her father wrote on the paper and that is where she went. Her four brothers did not graduate from high school. When you look at her uncle's family, not only did the majority of his children go to college, but their children also went to college and are in professions that require an expertise in something (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). This example is important since it demonstrates how an individual does not always have a choice and in the case of her father and her, someone else made that choice for them which affected them in the long term; her past has affected future generations.

Another story Iris feels is important to document for her family is when her parents eloped. Her grandmother (on her mother's side) had packed her daughter's

belongings up that morning, handing them to her daughter and stating that she would now live at her new husband's house. Her mother went to live with her new husband's family. At the time, Iris's father was sharing a room with his brother so he had to move out to accommodate her mother. They lived in this house for ten years and Iris's mother took on the customs of her new family. One of the important customs was the Sunday meal consisting of fried chicken, baked macaroni and cheese, and rolls. There was only one hot meal cooked on Sunday, served in the middle of the day. When her parents finally moved out of the house, her mother still kept the tradition of the Sunday meal. As a child Iris remembers her mother going to six o'clock Catholic mass on Sunday mornings, coming home, and getting the family ready for nine o'clock mass. By the time Iris and her siblings returned from mass, the Sunday meal was ready to eat. After her mother died in her early forties, Iris would still go to Sunday mass with her brothers and remembers coming home to the smells of their traditional Sunday meal. Her father, who never went to mass, prepared the meal and it was from her father that Iris learned how to cook the meal. Iris then took on the tradition of preparing the Sunday meal which she brought to her own family. Iris remembers the funny story of her children sitting down for the Sunday meal with her late husband (all of Iris's children are from her first marriage). Iris's only daughter, who was nine at the time, looks to her step-father who is getting ready to eat and states "in this house we pray before we eat"; after that, Iris's husband prayed before every meal (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Among Iris's family, they began calling this the Harkins' breakfast which carried over to Iris's friends. It evolved over time and instead of having it for the Sunday meal, Iris began serving it on opening day for the Washington Redskins. She also added her

own tradition to this meal and began cooking it with gravy. Although the “Harkins’ breakfast” does not occur every Sunday or for each year’s opening day for the Redskins, her family and friends still gather a couple times a year to have this family meal. Her daughter picked up the tradition of learning how to prepare the meal, but her children, Iris’s grandchildren did not. These are the stories Iris believes are also important to share. They provide information on family traditions, relationships, and education or jobs (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). For Iris, these stories represent the foundations to what each person has become.

Iris still has every intention of writing a book about her family’s history but she is not sure what to say. She knows the stories and has the pictures, but is unsure what to do with the pictures. The introduction is written, she has a general layout for it, has organized a folder with images she would like to incorporate, and has a title for the book. She has even spoken to a publisher and would like to take writing classes. She keeps her grandchildren in mind when thinking about writing a book, since she would like to create a piece of non-fiction they would enjoy reading (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

For Iris all of this research is about her and her family’s past. Through her collection of oral histories from family members, photographs, primary documents, and experiencing history firsthand, Iris has become an advocate of her history by compiling the important stories to eventually become part of her written past. She has become personally invested and emotionally attached. However, Iris’s children have never shown any interest in the research she has done or what she has posted on Ancestry.com (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). Yet, through all, it is her family that is always in mind when she continues her journey through her ancestry. Iris’s connection to her family is at

the forefront, and Northampton has become a key component of Iris's heritage. Her growing research, insight, and stories, have enriched the archaeological research and interpretation for Northampton.

Elizabeth "Lizzie" Hawkins

Research conducted by the African American descendants has helped correct and build on the research previously done at Northampton. One example is related to Lizzie's maiden name. When Robert and Lizzie's daughter Rosa, Iris's grandmother, switched from Catholic to Methodist the official name for Robert listed on the Catholic Church records was Robert Hawkins and Lizzie's maiden name was listed as Hall. Prior to this her last name was believed to be Savoy.

Another document that can help archaeologists determine Lizzie's enslavement status are manumission papers. Iris's uncle told her that in the past he had seen Lizzie's manumission papers, however, Iris and I have never seen them. She was told that the original manumission are housed at Howard University's Library, but she has not located them since she does not believe she has all the information needed to correctly find them. She also believes that Robert was born after his father Frank was free, making him also free (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). However, in Violetta Sprigg's slave declarations (declared by her heirs) in July of 1867, there is listed a Robert Hawkins who is forty-one years old. Although Robert is listed with Lizzie at Northampton in the 1870 Census as sixty and in the 1880 Census as sixty-six, there is a good chance the Robert Hawkins in Violetta's slave declaration is the same person, since ages are not always accurately listed in these accounts; thus showing that Robert was not free.

Other documents Iris has located to learn more about Lizzie includes death certificates. Iris has a number of death certificates that have allowed her to confirm ages, individual's parents, and places of burial. She has death certificates for a number of family members including Robert (Lizzie's husband), Lizzie, and Henrietta (their daughter). Iris has also found that dates are not correctly listed on primary documents. Lizzie's age is incorrect on Robert's death certificate; it does not match the information listed on Lizzie's 1934 death certificate, but her profession as retired housekeeper correctly reflects the profession listed for her in the 1870s Census (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

These few documents found by descendants have helped confirm and clarify information previously gathered by archaeologists, while other documents still raise questions. Through collaborative research, more extensive information is collected to help interpret the lives of African American's at Northampton.

Discovering Your Roots (Bringing the Family Together)

The Fletcher line of the Hawkins family is one of the clans that moved out of Maryland to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Harrison Fletcher, grandson to Lizzie and Robert, lived as a tenant on the property when the Fairfaxs owned Northampton. The Fairfaxs had promised many things to Harrison but never followed through on these promises. As a result, Harrison moved to Philadelphia for a new start (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

The combined efforts of Iris and Elizabeth have, over the years, been able to reconnect many family members. This has happened through family reunions, which

began in the 1980s, and coincidental meetings at family gatherings like funerals. Iris recalls one time when she traveled with Elizabeth to Philadelphia to attend the funeral of a family member. On this trip, they discovered how two relatives lived within blocks of each other and did not know their relation to each other. At the time of the funeral, Iris was staying with one woman and Elizabeth with the other woman. It turned out that one woman was related to the Smith side of the family, the other to the Fletcher side, but since they had married their names changed so they did not know their connection. When Iris and Elizabeth were talking to these women at the funeral and asking where they lived, everyone realized not only the family connection but that they lived blocks from each other (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

In addition to meeting family members at events, Iris has attended programs to learn how DNA is used to track ancestry. Around 2006/2007 Iris attended a M-NCPPC Black History Program talk at Harmony Hall on finding your ancestry through DNA. After learning about this method, Iris sent in her sample and a number of months later she received the results. She was so excited that she could not open the envelope for three to four hours. When she finally looked at the results, it was technical and took a while to understand. The results reported her ancestry as 70% African and 30% European. She was initially upset that the results reported she was partially European. She had always thought she had Native American Indian ancestry based on her features. This was nothing told to her by her family, this was all based on her assumptions. On the other hand she was pleased to learn she was 70% African. She is now interested in learning more about her European ancestry. Her African ancestry is from central Africa but she would like to get more specific information on this. She has attended additional M-NCPPC educational

sessions on tracing ancestry and is interested in having another DNA test done to learn the specifics on her African heritage (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). Through discovering additional family members and testing her DNA, Iris is able to combine her family's past and present histories. Iris is making the past relevant for future generations.

Tracking One's Name

Iris has gained much knowledge about both her family and the process of researching her ancestry. She has learned about the difficulties of tracing family names, which was discussed earlier in this chapter. When names are recorded sometimes there can be spelling variations which could be the result of a transcriber's error. As Iris McConnell (2010) points out other variations in spelling may be attributed to ones hearing or education. An example is with the name Sprigg, the original owners of Northampton. When the name is spoken one may hear it as Sprigg or Sprague. An instance when this happened was during a telephone conversation I had in the summer of 2010 while talking on the phone with a woman from New York. She had contacted me after finding Northampton on the M-NCPPC Prince George's County Parks and Recreation website. She was calling because she was a Sprague and believed she was related to the Hawkins. In talking with her I kept saying *Sprigg*, while she was saying *Sprague*, but neither of us picked up on this difference until I stopped to get the spelling of the name she was referencing. It was at this point we realized we were talking about two different spellings, but still referring to the same people. Iris attributes this spelling variation to both how someone may hear a name and spell it or due to education where a person simply misspells (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

Additional examples of complications of names are in the different ones Frank (Robert's father) used, which Iris discovered, or in the spelling of the name Hawkins or Sprigg. I have discovered multiple variations of the spelling for Hawkins and Sprigg. These differences in spelling are a reminder of human error and something to account for when researching. All of this information assists in the understanding of how the past was and is recorded. At Northampton, this has been an invaluable discovery that has opened up additional family searches. Through Iris and my collaborative efforts, we have been able to research family members associated with Northampton that were previously undiscovered.

Connection to Frederick Douglass

Growing up as a child, Iris had an aunt that would always tell her they were related to Frederick Douglass (which as Iris points out was a man many African Americans want to be associated with). However, this aunt had the reputation of always telling stories and exaggerating the truth. So whenever the aunt would chime in with the Hawkins family's relation to Douglass, Iris would not take it seriously (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). The interesting thing I discovered about this connection was when I was speaking with the previously mentioned woman from New York. Her connection to the Hawkins family is through Nathan Sprague (Iris has established as a family member but is unsure the exact connection). Nathan Sprague married Rosetta Douglass, daughter to Frederick Douglass. When I spoke with Iris about this connection to Frederick Douglass, she remembered the stories told by her aunt and wished she had taken her more seriously at the time and asked her why she always thought the family was related to

Douglass. This is a great example of how memories may be perceived as the exaggerated truth until further research becomes available and why it is important to record these oral histories when given the chance.

Hawkins Family Reunions

The Hawkins family reunions began as a product of Iris's research on the family in the early 1980s. She worked with her cousin Elizabeth on the reunions. Elizabeth would organize them and Iris would conduct the family history. Their first family reunion was around 1984/1985. Iris prepared a booklet on the family's history to give to those attending. She has become so focused on gathering their family's history that through the years she has never served on the reunion committee for fear this would distract her from her research (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). Hawkins reunions have occurred in various locations within Maryland and outside the state. These reunions are an important way for the family to connect with each other and remember their ancestry. In years when they do not have their large family reunion, the family turns their focus to memorial services on the property of the slave quarters. There, it is the physical site of Northampton that becomes the unifying force where the family can remember its past and look towards its future.

Hawkins Memorial Services

In October 1996 the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park had its official dedication that included local politicians (County Executive, County Council Members, M-NCPPC officials) and Elizabeth Hawkins' descendants. Three years later in October 1999, the family began holding its own memorial services at the Northampton

Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park. This was a personal memorial service conducted by the family that did not include politicians or VIPs. It was primarily attended by Hawkins descendants, but those of the surrounding community were also included (e.g. townhouse community, members of the homeowners association), in addition to the M-NCPPC Archaeology Program staff. This was the family's service to remember their ancestors and those enslaved at Northampton. Family members, clergy, and local community leaders spoke, sang, and prayed. Children participated with the placing of roses in front of a picture of their ancestor Elizabeth Hawkins at the brick quarter (Figure 23).



Figure 23. 1999 Hawkins Family Memorial Service at Northampton. Photograph courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

Since this event the family has held periodic memorial services at the site, to date there have been four (further described in Chapter 6). Each time through spoken and sung word, the family can gather to remember their past their way. They have taken control of their history. Through working together with archaeologists they have not only gotten

closer to their ancestors through what archaeology can uncover but they have more importantly told their stories and memories of the past to teach archaeologists.

Memorializing *their* family on *their* ancestral land provides them with a direct connection to their past. As previously stated, for the family it is important to not only remember the past but celebrate the future. These memorial services provide an educational opportunity for their future generations.

Summary

Tracking the African and African American descendants of Northampton has involved many resources. From primary historical documents to the African American descendants, the pieces to the puzzle of Northampton's enslaved and free past come together. It is, however, the descendants that provide the greatest insight into the lives of their ancestors and the history they experienced firsthand. They are active participants in collecting their family's history. Through gathering oral histories from family members, holding family reunions to meet newly-discovered members, researching primary documents, and traveling to experience the past of those enslaved, the Hawkins descendants are committed to understanding their history. Having shown the resources one descendant family has and is continuing to build, an understanding for why archaeologists need to conduct more collaborative research is demonstrated. In the next chapter, the significance of collaboration between archaeologist and descendant is further explored in addition to the public outreach at the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park.

CHAPTER 6

COLLABORATION AND PUBLIC OUTREACH

Inviting community involvement in archaeological research early on, and keeping local communities involved throughout the process, not only builds public support for the stewardship of archaeological sites but also enriches the quality of the archaeological research.

—Maureen Malloy, *Introduction* 2003:ix

“Although residents of the North Lake Townhouse Community in Lake Arbor may not know it, their community is built around the foundations of two slave cabins that date back to the late 18th and early 19th centuries” (Wedgeworth 2003). This statement opens an article by Sherkiya Wedgeworth in the Prince George’s County edition of the *Gazette*. I have witnessed that fact first hand through working at the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program. I have participated in events within the predominately African American neighborhood of the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park and residents are unaware of the significant site in their backyard. We are even asked questions like “what are you doing here?” by individuals residing in the townhouse community that surrounds the park. This situation could be a case of individuals not caring about the site or archaeology, as Parker Potter (1991) found with some African Americans, or simply a matter of us needing to disseminate information to the public and educating them on their surrounding resources. According to Donald Creveling (2011, pers. comm.), this has not always been the case. Since he began working with the

Northampton project in 1988 he has seen a shift in the surrounding community. When the project first began, the townhouse community was being developed. The families moving into the new homes could watch the archaeology going on literally in their yards. They were aware of the project, they would come by the site to visit, and some would help out. Currently, many of the original homeowners are no longer there, and residents living in the townhouses are not familiar with the community archaeology project that occurred. Donald Creveling (2011, pers. comm.) also stated that the number of public speaking engagements related to the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park has reduced. He attributes the change in interest or even knowledge of this site to the reduction in public speaking engagements and the turnover in ownership. Education on the archaeology conducted in their community is not as publicly “visible” as it was at the beginning of the project.

In the case of Northampton, a great place to start is with the combination of the archaeological and descendant research. In this chapter, I will address the collaboration between archaeologists and the local communities, discuss public outreach, and present a current case study incorporating archaeological and descendant research. A comprehensive interpretation of the site is achieved through collaboration, that in turn can be used in the development of new outdoor interpreted panels and exhibits.

Creation of a Community Park

The M-NCPPC Archaeology Program became involved in the Northampton project when Donald Creveling (D. Creveling) began working for the M-NCPPC in April 1988. On his first day he was brought to the site of the slave quarters, covered in

vegetation, and asked to develop a preservation plan within a park setting. At this time, the Archaeology Program was part of the History Division which also contained the Black History Program. The Manager of the Black History Program helped introduce D. Creveling to various people of the community, one of which was Iris McConnell (Iris). D. Creveling was contacted by the descendant family and met with six descendants at the site of the quarters. Around the same time the commission was planning to reconstruct the foundations of the two quarters, so D. Creveling saw this as an opportunity to meet with the descendants to see how they would like to be involved. He wanted to determine how the descendants would like to see their family's past portrayed and how involved they would like to be in the process. At this time, Porten Sullivan Corporation was responsible for funding the reconstruction of the slave quarters since it was part of a Recreation Facility's Agreement between the M-NCPPC and the developer. The agreement required the developer to put aside a specific percentage of their property for parks and green space, and the development of recreational space (e.g. playground). The developer contributed \$80,000 for this effort that the M-NCPPC used towards the reconstruction of the brick slave quarter and funding additional archaeology. The brick quarter was the original focus for reconstruction since it was in better shape (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. (Berger), was hired by the developer to conduct the Phase II work both in and around the slave quarters. When they were hired to do the archaeology, the developer also hired a restoration mason to work on the reconstruction of the brick quarter. Around 1990/1991, when the mason was still working on the reconstruction of the brick quarter, Porten Sullivan Corporation went bankrupt. At this

time, the slave quarters property was officially given to the M-NCPPC and the financial responsibility for finishing the park went to the M-NCPPC (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

In October 1996, the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park was officially dedicated. In attendance were local politicians (County Executive, County Council Members, M-NCPPC officials) and Elizabeth Hawkins' descendants. The only element completed at this time was the brick quarter; the foundation was restored, a walkway was put in, and benches were placed at the end of the pathway. More archaeology was needed on the frame quarter and its foundation required restoration (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

Community Involvement

When you have an archaeological site publicly visible within a community, community involvement is key to a successful project. Although it may not begin smoothly, as demonstrated by the very public African Burial Ground Project in New York City (La Roche and Blakey 1997) and the President's House in Philadelphia (Lawler 2010), once the community had its voice heard, researchers worked with them to figure out a way to continue the project. This process may not be defined as true collaboration, but the community was put at ease when their needs were met, thus showing the importance of listening to the community. Meeting with, listening to, and collaborating with communities (e.g. African Americans) are important steps of the archaeological process (Potter 1991; McCarthy 1996; Derry 1997; Franklin 1997;

McDavid 1997, 2009; Crist 2002; Uunila 2003, 2005; Barile 2004; Brown 2004; Young 2004).

Local Communities

In 1990, the volunteer program at Northampton really began with involvement by the surrounding community. Through the early to mid 1990s, the Archaeology Program conducted excavations every Saturday at Northampton. People moving into the new townhouses surrounding the site would stop by to help. The larger Lake Arbor Community around the townhomes began in the 1970s. New homes still were being added in the early 1990s and these individuals also volunteered at the site. Descendant family members were periodically present throughout the project. To encourage volunteerism, announcements were sent through the community in the form of public service announcements on the radio and newspaper, and a listing within the M-NCPPC Prince George's County Guide (this Guide is published seasonally to inform residents of Prince George's County what resources, activities, and classes the M-NCPPC has available for them). Speaking engagements related to the work conducted at Northampton were also held in the county during Black History Month and at other times of the year. When volunteers began assisting, they first helped clear the vegetation from the foundation walls of the frame quarter (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

D. Creveling remembers a positive reaction from the townhouse development towards the archaeology conducted at Northampton. He attributes this reaction to the fact that the community was new, these individuals were the first residents, and many were first-time home buyers. There were also a number of children in the community and all

appeared interested in seeing what the archaeologists were doing. To protect the site from looting, a chain link fence was placed around the quarters. However, there were never problems with looting or vandalism. Archaeologists remained in touch with community's Citizens Association, which was composed of individuals living in the townhouses and the single family homes of the greater Lake Arbor Community. Talks were held at the local library to encourage people to visit the archaeologists at the site to learn more about archaeology, the project, and what was being uncovered. These meetings were well attended by the community and contributed to the spread of knowledge about the archaeology and site (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

School groups became involved when interested teachers saw or heard about the project and called the Archaeology Program office to inquire about fieldtrips. For a period of time, the department had a museum educator who acted as a liaison with the schools and organized some of the school groups at Northampton (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.) (Figure 24).



Figure 24. School Groups Assisting with Excavations at Northampton. Photographs courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

The M-NCPPC, Prince George's County community centers also incorporated the Northampton site into their summer camp programs. Many of the Community Centers found out about the opportunity to help through the Prince George's County Guide or through public speaking engagements conducted by the Archaeology Program. These summer camps would consist of middle through high school aged students. During the week, community center camps came out to learn about Northampton and volunteer their time at the site (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

Temporary exhibits were also created using information and artifacts from Northampton. During Black History Month in the early 2000s, the Archaeology Program and the Black History Program did an exhibit on toys, featuring artifacts found in the two slave quarters (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

In the 1990s, the Archaeology Program began participating in Lake Arbor Day (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). This community day is put on by the Citizens Association to celebrate the Lake Arbor Community. It is a one day event that includes food, entertainment, local vendors selling crafts, and various corporate and government organizations. A number of different groups from the M-NCPPC are involved with providing recreational activities (e.g. roller and inline skating equipment), supplies (e.g. tents and audio equipment), and historical background on the community (e.g. Archaeology Program). The Archaeology Program has periodically participated in this activity over the years. Archaeologists explain the work they do within Prince George's County and highlight the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park, located less than a mile away. Having the Archaeology Program there helps educate the

community of the African American resources around them and the history of where they live.

In the summer of 2010, I participated in this event. What surprised me were the amount of people who lived right next to the park and did not know it existed – similar to sentiment of this chapter’s opening quote from the newspaper. When I spoke to them, I initially got a reaction of surprise that a plantation was originally in this area. Next, individuals were interested in learning about the reconstructed slaves quarters down the street from the event. Much of the community’s lack of knowledge can be attributed to what Donald Creveling (2011, pers. comm.) referred to earlier as a combination of new residents in the community and a reduction in public speaking engagements.

A final local community group is a preservation organization that began in 2007. Although they are not associated with Northampton, their advocacy is significant to African American resources. The African American Heritage Preservation Group (AAHPG) started with a number of citizens within Prince George’s County, as a result of interest in creating the Prince George’s County African American History Museum in North Brentwood, Maryland (this is a private endeavor that has acquired land, but is waiting for building to begin). Their mission is to promote and preserve Prince George’s County’s African American history by focusing on the architecture and places associated with significant events. AAHPG is comprised of local community activists, including representatives from the local NAACP chapter. The African American descendant family from Northampton is not a stakeholder in this group (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.), although the M-NCPPC is a stakeholder. Monthly meetings are held to discuss the issues of African American heritage within the county. D. Creveling is one

representative of the M-NCPPC that participates in these meetings. Their first project was to produce a brochure on “African American Heritage Sites in Prince George’s County” to encourage heritage tourism. Provided within the pages are pictures, basic descriptions, and contact information of the sites around the county, including three archaeological sites (Cherry Hill Cemetery, Northampton, and Mount Calvert Historical and Archaeological Park). These brochures were sent throughout the county and state (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

In 2010, I attended one of these meetings which was held at the Lake Arbor Community Center, about a mile away from the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park. The majority of attendees were African American, ranging in age from people in their thirties to ninety years of age. After the meeting, I led a group to the park to discuss Northampton and the significance of the slave quarters. Not everyone at the meeting came to the site. A number of the people who went to the site were not aware of the site or the significance of the area where they were holding their meeting. It shocked me that a group of individuals who are concerned with the heritage and preservation of African American resources within the county were not aware of this rich and valuable resource – keeping in mind they had produced a brochure of the African American resources of the county that included Northampton a couple years before. This tour was my chance to not only show them the African American resources within the county, but teach them about the site and the ongoing collaboration with its African American descendants. A number of good questions were asked, specifically related to those individuals enslaved on the property. When the tour was over, I thought about how the public can become more involved and aware of the history that surrounds them.

When thinking about who is at fault for the lack of knowledge on archaeological sites, blame can be assigned to all concerned parties. The public can be at fault for not using the resources around them to learn what is available. Archaeologists are at fault if they do not make resources more publicly available. Accessibility to information over the internet, community outreach projects, public speaking engagements, and the creation of museums are all examples of how to disseminate archaeological information. Although many of these forms of outreach were used when the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program began at Northampton, archaeologists can reach a limit to what they are able to do based on time and money. Likewise, some members of the public could have limits on their accessibility to these information outlets. Even when archaeologists are able to engage in community activities, it is still up to the public to choose if this is something in which they want to actively participate.

Outside of the African American local communities, both around the property of Northampton and within Prince George's County, are the African American descendants of Northampton. These individuals form a distinct community of their own. They have been active participants at Northampton since the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program's involvement and were the focus of Chapter 5. Below I discuss the collaboration between the African American descendants and the archaeologists of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

African American Descendants

In the 1980s, when Iris was researching her family's history, she contacted the Prince George's County Black History Program within the M-NCPPC. Her hope was to

speak to the Program's manager to gather more information on her family. It was the late 1980s and D. Creveling had just begun working for the Archaeology Program within the M-NCPPC. Since the Black History Program Manager was aware of the newly acquired Northampton property and the Archaeology Program's involvement, she put Iris in contact with D. Creveling. This was the beginning of the African American descendant family's involvement with the archaeology – all completely coincidental (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). The family became involved in preserving their history through excavations, community outreach, advocacy, and holding memorial services at the site.

In our talks, Iris McConnell remembers D. Creveling's invitation to visit the site of the slave quarters with her cousin Raymond Smith (Raymond) (previously mentioned in Chapter 3 and 5 and the oldest surviving male of the descendants). This was the first time descendants and archaeologists came together at Northampton. Upon standing at the site, she recalls a warmth that came over her and the sensation she was home. However, she could not help but see the size of the structures and think about the number of people crowded into the small space. She also remembers Raymond standing there with a memory he could not place, then suddenly pointing and stating "a sycamore tree, a sycamore tree". Initially Iris McConnell and D. Creveling did not know what to think and then realized that the tree Raymond was pointing to was the tree he remembered as a child between the two quarters. It was still standing. Iris remembers how this sudden outburst helped lighten the mood of her emotional connection to the site (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).

These memories were among the first ones expressed to an archaeologist about the site. Having an individual who lived at the site in the past, recognize a piece of the

present, demonstrated the important stories and history that can be shared to enrich the interpretation of Northampton.

As the three walked the property, Raymond told stories of his childhood at Northampton. He was a child when his grandmother, Susie, lived on the farm. Raymond would work in the fields or help around the house. Raymond recalled how his one brother was too young to work in the fields. Instead his brother's job was to use tree branches to keep flies away when those workers took their lunch break (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). It is these memories that flooded Raymond's mind when they walked the property of Northampton. Identifying the sycamore tree helped bridge the connection to his past. Raymond was able to again identify with his sense of place and the significance that Northampton had in his early life.

Raymond also remembered the time of his aunt's death. She lived in one of the quarters in the early 1900s when Raymond was a boy. When she died no one was able to pick up her body until the next day, so they all had to stay in the cramped quarters of the house with the deceased until the next day. Since he was a child when this happened this memory stayed with him (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). It is these memories and sensations that tie the descendants to their heritage at Northampton. In addition, these stories provide archaeologists with first-hand accounts of life at Northampton during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Combining descendant experiences and knowledge with archaeological research, adds to the interpretation of the site; something that would be absent without collaboration. Likewise, collaborative research creates a multi-vocal approach.

According to Rosemary Joyce (2002:6), multi-vocality should not be a new concept to archaeologists. Even if archaeologists do not collaborate with local communities in their research, they are being multi-vocal in the field, although they may not be consciously aware of it. Joyce reminds archaeologists that, when in the field, they discuss their findings with those around them. These discussions are collaborations with their colleagues on ideas for interpretation of an artifact, feature, or the site as a whole. This form of multi-vocality is an evolving process throughout a project. It is at the end of the project when an archaeologist collects the information gathered from the field and colleagues, and incorporates it on paper as interpretation (Joyce 2002:133). Using the concept of multi-vocality and applying it to descendant populations should be no different. The stories that the descendants of Northampton have shared with archaeologists, help with the further understanding of life at Northampton, during enslavement or the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When the descendants are given an equal voice with archaeologists, they become part of the process and through that can tell *their* history.

After their first visit to Northampton and after excavations initially started on the brick quarter, there were three dedicated Hawkins' Family Dig Days at Northampton (Figure 25). At each Dig Day, approximately twenty descendants of "Lizzie" Hawkins (the family's matriarch) participated. They would stay for the whole day, helping at the site and holding picnics (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). Raymond, his sister Elizabeth, two of their brothers, and their cousin Iris all helped with excavations at Northampton. This event was Iris's first time to see and help with an archaeological excavation. She found it all very interesting and enjoyed sifting through the soil to find

artifacts from her past. Her children and grandchildren participated in excavations and displayed pride in the site by showing their friends where *their* ancestors once lived. Iris recalls coming out every Saturday to help with the brick quarter for a number of months during the summer. She mainly worked in the morning when it was not as hot. Although she enjoyed assisting with the archaeology, her focus was on researching the family, as shown in Chapter 5. Since documentary research was her priority, Iris did not assist with excavations when archaeologists moved to the frame quarter (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.).



Figure 25. Descendants Participating in Hawkins Family Dig Days at Northampton. Photographs courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

Iris McConnell and D. Creveling participated in public speaking engagements within the Prince George's County public school system. Together they traveled to Oxon Hill High School to educate students about Northampton (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). This visit made African American history relevant to the students. Students were shown how history exists in close proximity to them and how it can relate to the living.

Iris has also been in the forefront of the Prince George's County African American community and its preservation efforts, by serving as a former commissioner

for the Historic Preservation Commission. Her desire to serve came from her interest in preservation after she became involved in the Northampton archaeological project (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

The descendants also became advocates for the site when the original funding for the archaeology at Northampton disappeared after the developer went bankrupt. They lobbied at the state and county levels for funding. First, the Archaeology Program applied for a Non-Capital Grant through the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) to fund artifact processing. Family members sent letters to the MHT voicing their support for the grant request. The Archaeology Program received a \$50,000 grant which allowed them to hire part-time staff to process the artifacts.

Second, family members showed their desire to protect their family's heritage by testifying in front of the County Council to encourage funding for the restoration of the slave quarters foundations. This was *their* site, *their* past, and *their* history to preserve for the future. They were all a part of it and emotionally invested. As Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton (2009) point out, heritage is something that emotionally engages the individual. At Northampton, heritage is reflected in the actions and emotions of the African American descendants through their dedicated involvement.

As evidenced in Chapter 5, the descendants of Northampton have been helpful with creating a comprehensive understanding of the site. Through the continuing research of Iris, the connections and associations between family members grows. It is through Raymond, who worked on the farm as a child, that archaeologists can further understand the quarters and what was found archaeologically. One example is in the case of trying to interpret a feature found within the brick quarter. On the eastern side of the house, on the

northern outside wall of the hearth, was a concrete pad (Feature 56). (Refer to Figure 16 in Chapter 4.) In speaking with Raymond, he told archaeologists that there were stairs in this location that lead to an upper level of the house. This concrete pad that archaeologists uncovered was the foundation placed to support these structures. He also mentioned how there was a storage closet underneath the stairs. Knowledge from their ancestors and past have also helped with identification of artifacts. This knowledge was similar to Theresa Singleton's (1997:149) case where an object was mislabeled in a museum and an African American visitor corrected the interpretation.

An example of learning new meanings of artifact assemblages occurred when Iris learned about the quantity of buttons found in the quarters. She shared with D. Creveling how she collected buttons and kept a button box. She began collecting ornate and unusual buttons from clothing too worn to keep. She would cut the buttons off and throw them in the box. Iris would even keep everyday four hole buttons if they were in good shape to maintain a set of similar buttons. She said that her mother also had a button box but her mother's collection was more utilitarian and used for mending clothing. She does not think it unusual to maintain a button box and believes that all households had one (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). Iris's insight into the example of buttons provides a new perspective on why collections of buttons are found archaeologically. This also adds to the creation of a multi-vocal story at Northampton. Ideas and concepts are shared by both professionals (archaeologists) and nonprofessionals (descendants), to create an interpretation from combining what was found in the ground, to practices of the present. Intertwining the past with the present makes archaeology relevant and engages the descendants in their history. At Northampton the African American descendants have

been a vital component to a more comprehensive understanding of the site and its occupation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A final way the descendants have helped preserve their history is in their organization of memorial services. The descendants have held periodic memorial services at the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park to remember and commemorate their ancestors through the years. They set up a remembrance table that displays pictures of relatives who have passed away (Figure 26).



Figure 26. Family's Table of Commemoration at a Memorial Service at Northampton. Photograph courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

They invite the Archaeology Program and Black History Program to attend and set up temporary exhibits related to African American history and the history of the site. For our archaeology display we provide pictures, background information on the site, and artifacts from the slave quarters (Figure 27).



Figure 27. Archaeology Display at the 2003 Hawkins Family Memorial Service. Photograph courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

Before and after the service, we are there to answer questions and talk with descendants. The family enjoys looking at the pictures, seeing the artifacts, and remembering being a part of the excavations. Occasionally, someone will ask about a specific object they remember finding or one that a relative had told them about. They have shown us their appreciation for the project and enjoy the new information gathered.

Through the years I have attended several memorial services and have been fortunate to meet numerous family members who both live locally in Prince George's County or have traveled from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Although the service is somber in its remembrance of those who have recently passed or of those enslaved at Northampton, it is at the same time celebratory. Importance is placed on remembering one's past and passing that knowledge through the generations.

The services are attended by multiple generations. At one service I spoke with the great-granddaughter of Raymond, who was in the first or second grade. She was standing

next to Raymond, looking at our display, when she suddenly saw a picture she recognized. It was an image of her at age three at the excavations with her family. I believe this is a perfect example of demonstrating the importance Northampton was and is to this family. Multiple generations helped out with the excavations and multiple generations are present at the memorial services. Although they are individuals with independent thoughts and beliefs, this site unites them and is an important part to their family's history and heritage.

In addition to the Hawkins descendants who have worked with the Archaeology Program, there has been an increase of potential new Hawkins descendants since my involvement with Northampton in 2003. Within less than a year I have spoken to three individuals who believe they may be associated with the Hawkins at Northampton. One woman I met at Lake Arbor Day in the summer of 2010, and the two other individuals were women who called the Archaeology Program for information about Northampton. The two women who called our office were collecting family history which led them to the Northampton website through www.pgparcs.com. One woman contacted me from upstate New York during the 2010 summer; the other woman from California in February 2011. In addition to speaking to each individual, I passed their contact information on to Iris so she could speak with them. The woman from New York, has proven to be the most valuable with enriching Iris's family history. Within about a month of me speaking with this woman for the first time, she and Iris had spoken and met in person. With each of these women, they became familiar with the history of Northampton and the association of the Hawkins name with the site through public venues – the website and public traveling exhibit. Through their interests in learning about their history, they managed to

find Northampton. To increase the publics' knowledge about a site's history, there needs to be interest on both sides, the desire of the publics' interest in a topic, and the interest on part of the archaeologist to continue to make the history they study publicly accessible. How then can this knowledge be used and disseminated to the greater surrounding community? Currently, there are a number of projects involving community outreach related to Northampton. These include new interpretive signage at Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park, an exhibit in a local community center, publication (print and web), and a new brochure.

Public Outreach

Interpretive Panels at Northampton

The M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program has been involved in a number of outreach activities. These activities include interpretive signage at Northampton, site recognition through the National Park Service (NPS), traveling exhibits within the county, and print media in the form of a brochure and website, which will all be discussed below. In 2008, I became involved with the restructuring of the interpretive signage at Northampton. At that time, there was only one interpretive sign at Northampton. Due to additional research conducted on the site, we replaced the one panel with four. The family was aware of the creation of the new signage from the beginning and excited about the concept. The new panels expand upon the interpretation of the two quarters and provide background for the site, including context on how the plantation tied into the larger political environment over time. Although the focus is on slavery, it was important to show how some of the enslaved remained on the property as tenant farmers, and how descendants of those

enslaved and tenant farmers were active participants in the archaeological project and still remain associated with it.

Before the panels were installed a couple family members previewed them and gave their approval before we made our final edits and sent the panels to the printer. They were very pleased with how they turned out, and assisted with corrections. They gave their approval, and we made the final corrections and sent the panels off to the printers. We installed the stands for the panels at the site in early 2010. There is a panel for each of the quarters (Figure 28) and two panels for the general information on slavery and the site (Figure 29).



Figure 28. New Interpretive Panels in Front of the Frame and Brick Quarters. Photographs by author.

a.



b.



Figure 29. Introductory Signage at Northampton; (a) Placement within Park (photograph by author), (b) Detail of Panels (courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Museum and Exhibit Support Unit).

The M-NCPPC Exhibits department created temporary panels identical to final ones to be placed at the site until they arrived. When the final panels came in we swapped them out and kept the temporary panels for use as traveling exhibit displays.

Network to Freedom

In addition to adding to the information at the site, the Archaeology Program has also increased Northampton's visibility through its acceptance into the Network to Freedom. On September 10, 2008, the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park was accepted into the NPS's, National Underground Railroad, Network to Freedom Program. This program was created in 1998 and focuses on enslaved African Americans who sought freedom. Any site, facility, and educational or interpretive program that addresses African Americans seeking freedom is eligible to apply. Acceptance into the program adds to the NPS's nationally growing database of resources related to the historical significance of the Underground Railroad. These programs in turn help educate the public and promote preservation. As of the spring of 2011 there are 424 resources

listed. Within the National Capital Region and southern Maryland there are 59 accepted resources, 6 in Prince George's County (Jenny Masur 2011, elec. comm.).

Although Northampton was not part of the actual "Underground Railroad", there were a number of enslaved African Americans who ran away from Northampton.

Through runaway ads, I was able to submit an application for inclusion into the Network to Freedom Program.

Exhibit at Lake Arbor Community Center

The creation of an exhibit in the Lake Arbor Community Center has been an additional way to educate the African American community within Prince George's County. According to Donald Creveling (2011, pers. comm.), one of the significances of the Lake Arbor Community is that it is one of the most affluent African American communities within the county and state. In addition, since the Lake Arbor Community Center is located on the original Northampton property, it makes history relevant to those who live in the area. People "...think of history as something that happened somewhere else. It happened in a different time..." (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). Through the creation of an exhibit at the Community Center, people can confront their past in their neighborhood and it is done within a space that it is not expected (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.). The Community Center is a place where people exercise, attend community meetings, and take classes; it is not a museum. An exhibit can turn community space into a place where an individual can learn how the African American community changed over time in the actual place they live. Community Centers within the county continue to have a desire to display exhibits and have expressed this interest.

However, due to time, money, and staffing it is not always feasible to do (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

Putting an exhibit within a community center is not a new concept to the M-NCPPC. Donald Creveling (2011, pers. comm.) commented that the Archaeology Program has been involved in a number of temporary exhibits related to African American history placed in county community centers. Over the years, however, the number of these exhibits have reduced. This reduction is attributed to a change in focus within the Archaeology Program. Around 1995, the M-NCPPC acquired another archaeological site, Mount Calvert, located on the confluence of the Patuxent River and the Western Branch in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. Since the excavations at Northampton were almost complete, full-scale excavations began at Mount Calvert a couple years after the Archaeology Program received it. This new site and focus took time and staff away from continuing with their community outreach and education involving Northampton.

The M-NCPPC Black History Program in Prince George's County still continues to display small temporary exhibits around the county, with a larger temporary exhibit on African American history displayed throughout the month of February during Black History Month. When the exhibit is removed, it is placed at the Wayne K. Curry Sports and Learning Complex, where it remains for about a year and is seen by thousands of people. That facility is a M-NCPPC site in Landover, Maryland, next to the Washington Redskins' FedEx Field. One of the agreements made between the county and the surrounding community when Sports and Learning was built was that the complex would be multi-purpose, supplying both sports and educational opportunities to the public (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.).

Creating an exhibit on Northampton can help increase the historical significance of African Americans within Prince George's County while at the same time incorporating the voice of the descendants. The descendants of Northampton are in support of such an exhibit. Iris McConnell (2010, pers. comm.) sees an exhibit on Northampton as a way of portraying information to the public on "...how an African American family evolved out of slavery". She would like the exhibit to show the struggle of her ancestors, but not as a "real" struggle. Iris explains this view by first stating that the institution of slavery was horrible. But, she always believed her family was not treated as "badly" at Northampton when you compare it to how she perceives the treatment of the enslaved in the deep South. She does not deny that her ancestors may have been hit or beaten, but she does not believe they had the scars that the enslaved in the deep South had. Historians, such as Philip Morgan (1998) and John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss (1994) generally support this contention, contrasting the treatment of the enslaved from the Chesapeake and South Carolina lowcountry. Morgan (1998:267,272) notes that slave owners of the lowcountry did receive a worse reputation than those in the Chesapeake. As Franklin and Moss (1994) point out, those owners with larger plantations tended to rely on overseers to supervise the enslaved. It was on these plantations with overseers that there were more accounts of brutality against the enslaved (Franklin and Moss 1994:130). Since there was a higher demand for slave labor in the lowcountry (Berlin 1998:142), the plantation sizes were larger, resulting in more plantations with overseers; thus the potential for increased cases of brutality.

The distinction between the different types of treatment among the enslaved is important to Iris. Even though this is something she feels strongly about, there is still

hesitation as to how much detail she would like displayed in a public venue. A parallel she draws is to watching the news and reading the newspaper. She will go for a week where she cannot watch or read either one because of what is portrayed. Then at other times she is fine with the media. These emotions are how she feels about the treatment of the enslaved; at times she can research and think about what her family or others have gone through, and at other times it is too painful (Iris McConnell 2010, pers. comm.). An exhibit can provide the family with an outlet to display their history in a relevant format for future generations through linking the past to the present in a way that incorporates both professionals (archaeologists) and nonprofessionals (descendants).

Brochure and Website

Another public outreach project is the creation of a new brochure and updating the website. The current brochure on Northampton needs to be redone to incorporate new information, illustrations, and contact information. Not only was the current brochure quickly produced, it was never intended as a formal brochure, and the information is out of date or incorrect. The new information provided in the brochure should correspond to the new panels at the site. The information should reflect the African American presence at Northampton over the centuries, including the current African American descendant family. Illustrations highlighting this history in a glossy color brochure will catch people's attention faster than the previous black and white photocopied brochure. Its distribution would include M-NCPPC sites and handed out at events the Archaeology Program attends.

In addition to the brochure, Northampton is already listed on the Parks and Recreation website. I have begun updating some of the out-of-date general information, but new research and the site's significance needs to be added. Like the brochure, the website should correspond to the new panels at Northampton. Adding a link to the artifacts found at the site will allow web viewers a way to learn about the different objects found at the site and the people who used them. Descendant perspectives on these objects should also be represented. This information allows the public to see objects that are currently not on display and how they tie into the present through the descendant community. It would also be helpful to include a link to African American research resources. The public commonly calls the Archaeology Program for information on African American resources, so providing some key links would allow the public to begin their searches.

Creating a website is the perfect venue for presenting this information in a multi-vocal dialogue. Carol McDavid (1998) found that through the web, archaeologists can incorporate the various people involved in a project and their opinions. The web viewer also becomes an active participant, thus another aspect of multi-vocality. The viewer chooses how to read and interact with the information presented to them through site navigation. Each viewer will then experience the website in a different way which in turn engages them in the archaeology of Northampton.

As with the panels at Northampton, an important aspect to these projects is to keep an open dialogue with the descendant family. Gathering input from them will help build the information provided to the public. An additional way to add to the understanding of Northampton is through researching and highlighting on the website

some of the items of intrigue found during excavations. Next, I will provide a case study on a collection of Catholic small finds unearthed during the multiple phases of fieldwork. Through the following case study I will showcase a collection of artifacts unearthed at Northampton, research their historical significance, and tie that information into Northampton and its descendants as a collaborative example for what can be used in the creation of a new exhibit or website.

A Case Study: Catholic Small Finds at Northampton

I have previously shown in this chapter the interaction between archaeologists and community members, including the descendants of Northampton. How then can the information that archaeologist gather through historical documents and excavation be combined with descendant knowledge in a creative way to engage the public? Through the example of religious Catholic small finds, I will demonstrate how small personal objects uncover the social context of African American Catholicism at Northampton, while in turn relate back to the current living African American descendants. This case study will, in addition, show how through the discovery of Catholic small finds at Northampton, archaeologists can collaborate with descendants on research and incorporate personal accounts to tell the story of one family's religious background and its relation to the surrounding historical religious environment. It is through this collection of artifacts that additional information is gathered on the people of Northampton. These objects and research can then be incorporated into an exhibit context or on the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program's website. This research can then expose the public to new information about African American religion within Prince George's

County and its connection to the religious environment at different points in time through the use of small religious objects.

Lizzie quietly sits in her home tightly clutching her rosary. Robert was working in the fields with their older children while the younger ones rest inside. She sits there for a moment taking in the light summer breeze through the opened door and windows while she hears the chickens outside. She looks down at her hands and begins to pray the rosary, grateful for her healthy family and home. When she finishes she looks at the Virgin Mary's face on the charm and carefully places her rosary back in her apron pocket. Later today she will pass this rosary on to her oldest daughter.

—Fictional narrative by author based on real people at Northampton

During excavations by the M-NCPPC, a number of religious items, including medals, were uncovered at Northampton within the two slave quarters. These items provide an intriguing insight to the people living in the quarters and the current African American descendants. Through a couple of objects, a new religious perspective of the site is achieved connecting Northampton to the larger community surrounding it. These religious objects are significant since they provide an example of how to engage the public while at the same time demonstrate how the past is relevant to the present. Beginning with a brief history of African American Catholicism, I will then discuss the Catholic small finds at Northampton and how collaborative research can help interpret their meaning and significance.

Catholicism in Africa, the New World, and Maryland

Africa has a vast religious background. During enslavement, Africans followed two main religious traditions; a wide variety of “traditional” African religions or non-African religions (i.e. Christianity and Islam) (Orser 2008:43). Focusing specifically on

Christianity, its early roots in Africa are found with references in history, the Bible, and in the creation of African saints (Davis 1990:1; Chineworth 1996:2-4).

In the seventeenth century, Christian missionaries from Portugal, Italy, and France were sent to convert Africans. It is also likely that some Africans came in contact with Christian Europeans living in forts along the African coast. For these reasons Christianity was not new to these Africans forced into slavery and taken across the Middle Passage to North America. Once enslaved Africans arrived in North America the conversion and/or spread of Christianity continued with denominations varying based on location (Orser 2008:44-45). The Catholic Church was one organized religious group that sent missionaries to spread Catholicism throughout the enslaved African populations in the New World (Williams 2002:24).

In the New World, Africans retained their religious beliefs and adapted them to their new environment. As Albert Raboteau (1978:4) states “[o]ne of the most durable and adaptable constituents of the slave’s culture, linking African past with American present, was his religion”. African religions in the New World were ever-changing. Those Africans exposed to Catholicism saw many similarities with their African religions and saw it as something they could borrow or adapt to their already established religious beliefs. Three main similarities among African religions and Catholicism are, 1. the concept of African divinities and Catholic saints (Raboteau 1995:189; Williams 2002:25), 2. a spiritual world exists within our world and it is accessible through ritual, and 3. ritual objects symbolize the spiritual world and make it present (e.g. ancestors can help the living through saint imagery) (Raboteau 1995:189).

In the eighteenth century when slavery became more established, enslaved African Americans developed families on the plantation, thus creating a more favorable environment for religious life. Christian missionary work began to expand and colonial legislation passed guaranteeing white owners slaves could not receive rights or freedom through baptism (Williams 2002:216). During the antebellum period, Catholicism was not practiced in most of the rural South except for Maryland and Louisiana (Raboteau 1995:118-119). In these two locations, Catholics were more persistent than most denominations on teaching African Americans their religious traditions (Williams 2002:216). One of the oldest black Catholic communities began in Baltimore, Maryland (Davis and Phelps 2003:15).

Enslaved African Americans living within Prince George's County also had early exposure to Catholicism. In 1728, two thousand acres were given to the Jesuits along the Patuxent River, in the area now known as Bowie. In the next year, they began constructing a church, later called Sacred Heart, which became their first mission within the county (Butler 1997:7-8) and one of the earliest Jesuit missions within the colonies (Sacred Heart Church 2011). Sacred Heart, first known as the Mission of St. Francis Borgia, became the center of Catholicism within Prince George's County. The Jesuits of the Mission traveled between Annapolis, Baltimore, and Washington, DC, and maintained slaves on their plantation (Sacred Heart Church 2011). In the 1830s, the Jesuits ended their use of slave labor and previously enslaved African Americans continued working on Jesuit lands as sharecroppers and tenant farmers (Butler 1997:14).

Through the 1800s, Catholicism grew within Prince George's County. St. Mary's parish began in 1848, to accommodate the growing numbers of practitioners and

supplement Sacred Heart. It was located within Upper Marlboro, the county seat (Butler 1997:14), all located in close proximity to Northampton.

Catholic “Small Finds” at Northampton

Having shown the spread of Catholicism within Africa to Maryland and Prince George’s County, I will now address the Catholic finds at the Northampton Slave Quarters. Although each object falls under the label of religion, the meaning behind each object is personal and can vary depending upon its owner and how it was used. People adapt the objects around them and their beliefs to serve their own purposes. Beginning with the objects, I will first explain the religious artifacts found within the two slave quarters. I will then conclude with the significance of these objects through introducing the people potentially associated with them and how descendant research has aided in interpretation and further understanding.

Frame Quarter

The earlier of the two slave quarters is the wooden frame quarter. A larger diversity of Catholic objects were found within this structure, including four medals, a rosary, and a button, all found in different soils layers and locations within the quarter. Although the original structure may date to the late eighteenth century, African Americans lived in this quarter as tenant farmers through the early twentieth century. Evidence of their occupation was found archaeologically through the commingling of eighteenth through early twentieth century artifacts throughout the majority of the soil layers, and further sustained by descendant oral histories.

The first of the four religious medals, found near the northern end of the quarter, was a Miraculous Medal, considered the most popular of the Catholic medals (Miracle of the Rosary Mission 2008). The imagery consists of the Virgin Mary on one side of the medal (Figure 30).



Figure 30. Miraculous Medal Found in the Frame Quarter; Front (Left), Back (Right). Photograph by author.

On June 30, 1832, the first of these medals were struck and distributed (Glass 1911). The medal became very popular, especially among the poor and oppressed. The name Miraculous Medal developed from the miracles that followed anyone who wore one (NPS 2008).

The second religious medal was a Chinese medal found in the southeastern corner of the eastern room of the quarter (Figure 31). This medal became a collaborative research effort. Two history professors from St. Mary's College in Maryland helped with the translation and interpretation; one a specialist in Asian studies, the other a specialist in Colonial history. The front of the medal references Maria (Mary), suggesting the image is the Virgin Mary. What intrigued the historians most was the additional saint imagery on the other side. The general translation references protection and appears to be

the image of Saint Frances Xavier. Xavier is considered the patron saint of missionaries (O'Brien 2011) and in some cultures is prayed to for good health (Oktaver 1995:6).



Figure 31. Chinese Catholic Medal Found in the Frame Quarter. Photograph by author.

The presence of this medal within the slave quarter may suggest it was used for protection. In addition, if the image on the one side is in fact the Virgin Mary, it may have the same connotations as a miraculous medal. An interesting point to mention is that a Catholic religious order known as the Josephites lived in Prince George's County and were associated with individuals who conducted missionary work in Asia (Butler 1997:17). There is a possibility that the Josephites within Prince George's County acquired Asian Catholic medals from their English counterparts and distributed them within the county to their parishioners.

The final two medals were found along the southern wall, on opposite sides of the central wall dividing the house into two living spaces. They are similar in size to each other, but smaller than the Miraculous Medal and Asian medal. Both are badly corroded and their imagery is difficult to see. In early December 2009, with the help of the

Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum's MAC Lab in St. Leonard, Maryland, one of the medals was x-rayed (Figure 32).

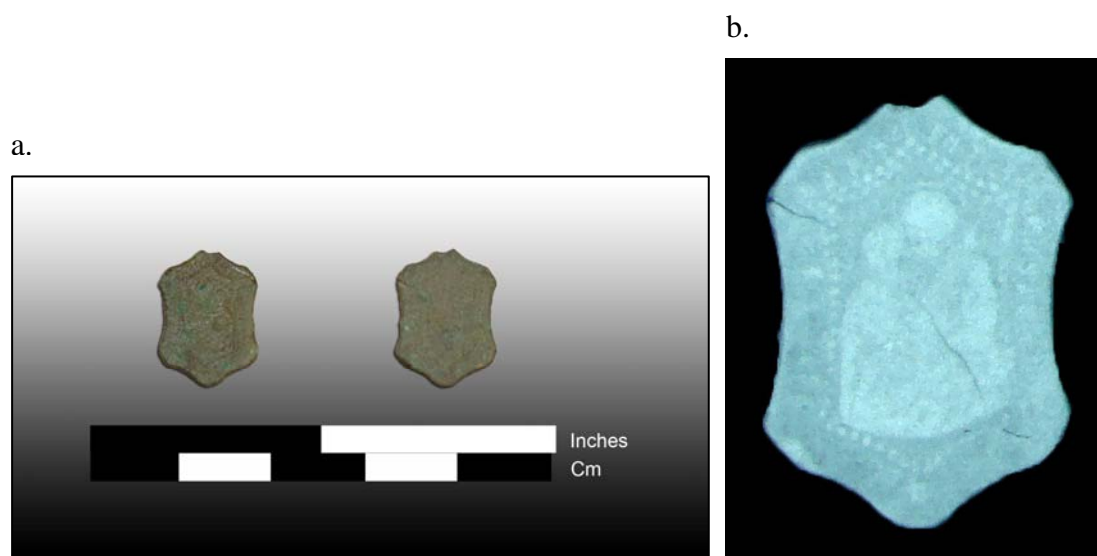


Figure 32. Unknown Catholic Medal Found in the Frame Quarter; (a) Front (Left), Back (Right) (photograph by author), (b) X-ray of Imagery on Front (X-ray courtesy of the Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum's MAC Lab in St. Leonard, Maryland).

In the x-ray there are two visible figures, one holding a small child, quite possibly representing the Virgin Mary and Jesus. The imagery on the second medal is not visible to the naked eye and has not been x-rayed (Figure 33).



Figure 33. Unknown Medal Found in the Frame Quarter. Photograph by author.

In addition to the four religious medals, a section of a bone bead rosary was found within the wooden frame quarter along the western side. There are nine beads present in this rosary (Figure 34).



Figure 34. Section of a Rosary Found in the Frame Quarter. Photograph by author.

Although the rosary is considered individual, praying the rosary as a family is also seen as an important practice to keep a family close. Variations do exist among the rosary prayers and the ways that different ethnicities use the rosary (Hahn 2009:228-231).

The final Catholic related object in the frame quarter is a “Georgetown College” button discovered in a subfloor pit feature along the eastern wall of the quarter (Figure 35).



Figure 35. Georgetown College Copper Alloy Button Found in a Subfloor Pit Feature of the Frame Quarter. Photograph by author.

The button was located near the bottom of the southern portion of Feature 34. (Refer to Chapter 4, Figure 13, for location of Feature 34). This subfloor pit was about three feet by three feet and almost two feet deep. Feature 34 contained one fill episode and was dug in arbitrary levels as a means of control. There were 265 domestic artifacts recovered including, architectural materials (e.g. nails, brick), kitchen wares (e.g. ceramics, glass), faunal material (e.g. butchered animal bones, oyster and egg shell), personal adornment (e.g. buttons), and miscellaneous personal items (e.g. marble). The majority (60%) of the artifacts consisted of faunal fragments, located throughout the feature. The remaining datable artifacts were primarily found in the upper levels, dating the fill episode to no earlier than the late nineteenth century. The earliest datable object was a rim fragment of a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century blue painted pearlware bowl (Noël Hume 1991:129). As Feature 34 got deeper, the artifacts mainly consisted of animal bone and shell (oyster and egg) – except for the “Georgetown College” metal button found near the bottom.

This button is significant due to its Catholic association with Georgetown College, the oldest Catholic College in the United States founded in 1789 and located in Washington, DC. Today it is part of Georgetown University and operates as its Liberal Arts College (Georgetown College 2010). The Jesuit Fathers who created Sacred Heart, the first Catholic Mission within Prince George’s County, held meetings on their plantation to discuss the organization of the Catholic Church of America (Sacred Heart Church 2011). With the Sacred Heart Church approximately twelve miles from Northampton, this distance reiterates not only close association of Catholic resources to those at Northampton but a link to Georgetown College also at that location.

An added point of interest is that in 1827, an academy for black boys began in a building at the entrance to Georgetown College. The Georgetown Seminary for females was created the same year. It was the first complete academy for black females in the District. Both schools lasted for six years until they closed down in 1833 (MacGregor 1999:29-30).

Brick Quarter

The brick quarter is the later of the two structures. Like the frame quarter, each of the religious objects found were within different soil layers and locations within the structure. The soil layers throughout the interior of the brick quarter also showed a commingling of datable objects from the eighteenth century through the early twentieth century. Two religious medals and a carved bone cross were found within the quarter.

The first object is a St. Benedict medal uncovered near the southern end of the central dividing wall (Figure 36).



Figure 36. Saint Benedict Medal Found in Brick Quarter; Front (Left), Back (Right). Photograph by author.

Scholars believe the St. Benedict medal is the second most dispersed medal, rivaled only by the Miraculous Medal (Miracle of the Rosary Mission 2008). Imagery of St. Benedict appears from the early 1400s through 1700s and is similar to the current medal imagery (Guéranger 2008). There is a record of approval for the medal around 1741/1742 (Ott 1912), but again no definitive initial production date.

There are many ways to carry or use the St. Benedict medal. The medal can be worn around the neck, attached to a rosary, or held in a pocket. It is often placed in fields, foundations of buildings, or in a car to ask God's blessings and the protection of St. Benedict. This medal also has a number of uses, 1. ward off evil, 2. assist at death (provide a good death), 3. provide protection (e.g. help those suffering from illnesses/diseases), 4. assist pregnant women with delivery, and 5. help those possessed by evil (used in exorcisms) (Eternal Word Television Network 2009). Missionaries have used the St. Benedict medal throughout the world for Christian conversion (Miracle of the Rosary Mission 2008).

The second medal found in the brick quarter was a Miraculous Medal (Figure 37).



Figure 37. Miraculous Medal Found in Brick Quarter; Front (Left), Back (Right). Photograph by author.

Berger recovered the medal during Phase II excavations in 1988. Through test unit excavations they identified a “root cellar” (subfloor pit) on the east side of the brick quarter near the front of the hearth. Approximately 800 artifacts were recovered, including this medal. The artifact assemblage within the subfloor pit consisted of objects associated with architecture, clothing, faunal, floral, furnishings, kitchen, personal items, and smoking. Berger dated the feature to 1820-1860, although the manufacturing dates of the artifacts range from 1750 to 1960 (Resnick 1990:51-67). The presence of a Miraculous Medal supports this date range, since production began in 1832.

The final religious object to discuss is a bone cross discovered in the top layer of soil in a unit along the western wall of the structure (Figure 38).



Figure 38. Bone Cross Found in the Brick Quarter; Front (Left), Back (Right). Photograph by author.

According to Hahn (2009:233) when it comes to personal Catholic religious imagery and medals, the cross is the most frequently recovered religious object from archaeological sites. Although I cannot state this cross is Catholic, with the presence of other Catholic

religious objects at Northampton, there is a high probability this cross too is Catholic. Currently, I do not have any background information on this object and have not found similar objects in my research. There is a hole through the side of the cross near the top suggesting it was attached to something, maybe worn around the neck or on a rosary. The cross is carved and has a circular punched design pattern – a mirror image of the circular design is on the other side. A round piece of copper alloy is set in the center which is flush and finished on one side and protruding on the other side.

Religion at Northampton

With Maryland containing one of the oldest histories of black Catholicism in the United States and the presence of Catholic objects at a slave quarter site a number of questions arise. Where the enslaved on the property Catholic and did they hide their religious practices from their owners? Were these religious objects adapted for other religious or spiritual purposes? What religion were the Spriggs, and did their slaves practice the same religion? Were the postbellum tenant farmers the only ones practicing Catholicism since many of these objects were found within a mixed context dating to the early twentieth century? Is there significance to where the objects were found? To begin to answer these questions I will start chronologically with the earliest occupation on the property, the Spriggs and their enslaved.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, Samuel Sprigg lived on the property from the early to mid nineteenth century and served as governor of Maryland from 1819-1822. According to the National Governors Association website (2009), his religious affiliation was Episcopal. Following Samuel's ancestry I have been able to trace his Episcopalian

roots to his great grandfather, Thomas Sprigg, Jr. (second property owner of Northampton) (Papenfuse et al. 1985:765). Since the Spriggs were Episcopalian how does, this religious background relate to the Catholic presence within the slave quarters?

Establishing the religious/spiritual practices of enslaved Africans and African Americans is more difficult. Some continued practicing their own African religions in the New World, while others practiced Christianity or incorporated and adapted various elements of Christianity with their already established beliefs or traditions while enslaved. Although I have found the Spriggs were not Catholic, I have not been able to establish if and when the enslaved were practicing Catholicism. Although some of the Catholic objects found within the two slave quarters have production dates during the antebellum period, these objects are within a mixed context, making it difficult to establish who might have been associated with them. Since there is an active African American descendant population at Northampton, I believed it was important to incorporate them into research questions I had about Catholicism at the site to achieve a better understanding of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century occupation.

Before speaking with one of the descendants, I was already aware of their family's current Catholic background, but I did not know its history. In August 2010, during my interview with Iris, we discussed the different Catholic objects found at the slave quarters. She did not know how far back her family's Catholic history went, but did say she has Catholics on either side of her family. I also discovered through our conversations that in 1934, Lizzie was buried in a Catholic cemetery in Prince George's County. Although neither of us have established when Lizzie came to Northampton, there is the record of her there in the 1870s Census. At that time she is living at Northampton

with her husband Robert and their two children. Iris also recalled a Catholic Church record she saw listing Elizabeth (Lizzie) and Robert as the parents of Rosa. The Catholic Church required paperwork for Rosa when she converted from Catholic to Methodist; establishing Catholic heritage within Lizzie and Robert's generation. The original book containing this document was located at the Holy Family Catholic Church in Mitchellville, Maryland (less than four miles away from the two slave quarters). The Jesuits established this Church, originally as a Mission, in 1890 specifically for African American tenant farmers in the area (Holy Family Catholic Church 2011). However, I do not know if the Hawkins were members.

It is important to note that although there was a black Catholic presence in Maryland in the eighteenth century, it continued to grow in the nineteenth century with the creation of black religious schools and Churches providing more outlets for Catholicism. In addition, there was an early presence of Catholicism within Prince George's County where numerous Catholic religious orders worked with African American communities. However, one cannot infer that close proximity to these sources of black Catholicism in Maryland and Washington, DC, meant accessibility, especially when African Americans were enslaved and later considered second-class citizens.

Conclusion

The research I have presented illustrates how a select group of objects (i.e. Catholic artifacts) at the Northampton slave quarters, opens new interpretations about the religious life of African Americans at Northampton through collaborative archaeological research with descendants and historians. These objects also demonstrate how the past

and present are connected within the descendant family. If a collection of objects like these Catholic small finds are illustrated within a community center exhibit or on the M-NCPPC website, the public is exposed to new pieces of history within their community. When the descendants' stories, research, and interpretation are also highlighted within these venues, the public sees direct examples of how objects of the past relate to the present.

It is through a collection of objects combined with the research or stories of the past from the African American descendants of Northampton that further interpretation is opening up on their history. New insight is constantly evolving that in turn adds to the ever changing interpretation at Northampton. With newly discovered findings, the family is able to build upon their family's history and growing tie to their heritage.

Summary

Within this chapter I have focused on collaboration and public outreach. From the beginning, the descendants and surrounding communities were actively engaged with the archaeology at Northampton. Over time though, this involvement has changed within the communities surrounding Northampton, while the family has remained actively involved with the site's ongoing preservation. Using the example of Catholic religious objects, I provided a case study on how through collaborative research new information is discovered that can be used in a format to engage the various publics. However, how can an archaeologist sustain public interest in a site and maintain heritage preservation?

According to Smith and Waterton (2009:42), archaeologists view heritage as a tangible thing and something that is material. They warn that heritage is not tangible, but

instead something that has multiple meanings to multiple people or communities, it can change and is not constant, it is a cultural process. It is what occurs at a heritage site that is significant, not the place itself (Smith and Waterton 2009:42-45). When a person visits a site, the emotions they experience or memories they recall can unite to other people who share the same emotions. This creates a commonality among people that in turn bonds a community under the label of heritage. In the case of Northampton, the Hawkins family shares a common bond through their ancestor Elizabeth (“Lizzie”), who lived on the plantation.

Because heritage is emotional there will not always be agreement between communities. Groups of people are bonded by their common emotions and one heritage site may evoke different emotions for different groups or communities. For example, looking at Northampton, you currently have the involvement of the family and lack of involvement by the townhouse community that surrounds the site. On occasion we have visited the site to find it vandalized with bricks being kicked out of the brick quarter and words spray painted on the sides of the foundations and sign (Figure 39).

a.



b.



Figure 39. Vandalism at Northampton; (a) Words Scratched and Spray Painted on the Original Sign at the Site, (b) Spray Painting Along the Side of the Brick Quarter. Photographs courtesy of the M-NCPPC, Archaeology Program.

The family sees this as a lack of respect for the site with the irony being the site is in the middle of an African American housing development. Although the vandalism can be attributed to individuals of the surrounding African American community who may see the site as reflecting a negative aspect of their past, most of the vandalism is attributed to teenagers. Evidence of teenagers loitering at the site is inferred in the trash we constantly find (e.g. alcohol bottles, smoking paraphernalia, food wrappers). The majority of the trash is located near the benches, located in the middle of the park, which are at a lower elevation than the townhouse streets. It is a good place to gather at night since individuals cannot be immediately seen. In any of these situations, the site of the slave quarters has different meanings to different people – the family sees it as their connection to their past, some community members may see it as a reminder of a negative past, and teenagers see it as a place to gather socially.

The continuing relationship between archaeologist and descendant has been a positive one throughout the Northampton archaeology project. Through collaboration a more complete interpretation of the site was achieved. The family's investment in the site has made the project possible through their advocacy work, assistance with excavations, oral histories, and research. They have remained involved in educating both the public and future generations of their family through public speaking engagements and family reunions and memorial services.

However, more work exists related to engaging the general public – the non-descendant community. Through increased visibility at public events, creating a brochure and exhibit, and adding to the website, the various publics become engaged with Northampton. First, the Archaeology Program needs to continue to participate in public events to educate both the local communities and beyond, of the resources Northampton offers.

Second, creating a new brochure and exhibit will also increase visibility. Through creating a new brochure on Northampton, basic information on the site can be circulated throughout other M-NCPPC sites within the county and provided at events attended by the Archaeology Program. With a collaborative exhibit, artifacts can be displayed and history told, by both descendants and archaeologists on the enslaved African Americans and later African American tenant farmers at Northampton. Incorporating the descendants not only allows them to participate in the telling of their history but it can provide an example of how the past and present have come together. Housing the exhibit within a community center will provide a unique location for displaying African American history. The community center is both an unexpected venue for an exhibit and

a location used by local community members. Since the community center is on land originally part of the Northampton plantation, a direct tie to the past can be presented to the public. This exhibit can portray relevant history to individuals who believe history does not happen where they live. Creating an exhibit within a community center also brings African American history to those who may not typically visit a museum.

Finally, through building upon the already existing website, additional access to Northampton goes worldwide. Artifacts can be illustrated, stories from the descendants highlighted, and resources on gathering African American history can all be featured on the site, demonstrating both the importance of heritage and multi-vocality. These forms of outreach are all ways to increase not only visibility of Northampton and the history of African Americans within the county, but they can also serve as tools for engaging the public.

The research on Northampton and the collaboration between archaeologist and descendant is continuing. As we are able to further analyze the archaeological collections, more insight into the people who lived at Northampton will be discovered. Through combining this work with the continuing research of Iris and the collection of oral histories by the family, a more comprehensive and multi-vocal interpretation of Northampton will occur.

In the following chapter I summarize the importance of community-based archaeology and descendant collaboration. How can archaeologists conduct collaborative projects? What research avenues still exist at Northampton and how can additional collaborative work be conducted to engage the various publics? These concepts and others are addressed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 7

THE FUTURE OF “PUBLIC” ARCHAEOLOGY

...[C]ommunicate archaeological work in ways that the public finds understandable and compelling.

—Barbara J. Little, *Public Archaeology in the United States in the Early Twenty-first Century* 2009:40

On my commute in to work in the fall of 2007, I had an exchange with a man also taking the same trains. Before he approached me, he had been observing my behavior which consisted of reading and taking notes for my dissertation research. When we were at the platform waiting for the next train he approached and asked, “What are you studying?” I recognized him from the start of my commute. He was an African American man in his fifties to sixties. I responded and told him I was working on my dissertation. The conversation progressed from there and I told him I was an archaeologist working with the descendant family from an African American slave quarter site in Prince George’s County. He immediately asked, “In my county?” He recalled a slave quarter site found about five years ago but could not remember the name. We boarded the train and he said, “You don’t look like the typical archaeologist”. He asked me how long I had been an archaeologist and how I had gotten into archaeology. I mentioned that I became interested in archaeology in college. He then made a reference to Indiana Jones and asked if I had ever worked anywhere dangerous. Since he was implying work in “exotic” lands in overgrown jungles, I told him I conducted my work in the Middle Atlantic region. He

followed with, “no places of danger, never worked in places like Peru?” By this time I reached my stop. I politely answered him and continued on my way to work.

In total, the conversation lasted approximately five minutes. But, in that time so many interesting thoughts and questions surfaced on both sides of the conversation, which is why it is an important one to tell in this context. The public has this perceived belief as to what an archaeologist is, does, and should look like. Likewise, archaeologists have their own preconceived notions of what it is to be an archaeologist and what their responsibilities as archaeologists are. One of the most interesting things that came up in conversation was the man’s surprise that “archaeology” was in his county, demonstrating how important it is to educate the public. The Washington metro area is full of rich archaeological history that many members of the public may be aware of, but do not believe occurs in their “backyard”. History is always somewhere else.

When archaeologists think about the public and “public” archaeology, they focus on the term “public” and interpret it as talking *to* the public about their research. Sometimes archaeologists expand this idea and hold days the public can participate in excavations or conduct school programs at an archaeological site. While these activities are all an important aspect of public archaeology, they are not its only components. Within this isolated view of public archaeology, the archaeologist is seen as the only expert who holds all the knowledge. But as I have demonstrated throughout this research, the local stakeholders (e.g. descendants) also provide a valuable resource of knowledge and can assist with the interpretation of a site and its preservation. Archaeologists need to be aware of a project’s stakeholders, to consider community collaboration from the

beginning, and to provide the results of an excavation in a publicly accessible format (e.g. producing jargon free publications, creating a website or exhibit).

Through the development of a community-based project, the Northampton Slave Quarters and Archaeological Park provides an example and case study for how to incorporate a community from the beginning of a project and the importance of sustaining descendant collaboration. Not only were family members active participants in the excavations, they also provided oral histories, conducted their own primary document research, educated surrounding communities, advocated for the protection of their site, and continue to honor their ancestors with memorial services. The foundations of the Northampton slave quarters were eventually reconstructed and the site is now a place of family pride with a rich heritage that many Hawkins descendants have invested their lives in. Through their experiences and research, combined with the archaeological data, a comprehensive interpretation of life at Northampton is continually building, and in a multi-vocal format. This information in turn can be used to engage the public about the archaeology that surrounds them.

What Does the Future Hold?

So what does the future hold and what can be done to continue communication between archaeologists and communities? In February 2011 I attended a Council for Maryland Archeology meeting, a professional advocacy group for Maryland archaeology. After our business meeting, a representative from PreserveMaryland spoke to us about Maryland revising its preservation initiative. After learning the background of the initiative, we broke into small groups and were given talking points to discuss in our

groups (the issues will all be considered when the state revises the initiative). The topics presented to us were related to archaeology and its practice within Maryland. They included archaeology laws, policies, and regulations; project planning and review; and public support. My group decided to start its discussion with the topic of public support. Our group was comprised of individuals from federal, state, and local government and cultural resources management (CRM). The general consensus about public support was that archaeologists need to be more involved with the public and interact more frequently with their fellow archaeologists or colleagues. Although we all agreed the public has a general interest in archaeology, there is a disconnection between the archaeology projects conducted and the dissemination of knowledge to the public. We attributed a large part of this disconnect to time and money. When a CRM company is contracted for a project, their client's primary concern is efficiently finishing the fieldwork. When financial matters are the primary concern, there is little time for curation and interpretation, not to mention incorporating a public component. It amazed me that through all the research I have conducted related to public interpretation and engagement, there has been a consistent theme of what needs to happen, but no indication of a major shift within the profession. The same sentiment was overwhelmingly in this meeting.

Why, then, with the general acknowledgement among many in the profession that more needs to occur with the public is it not occurring? Legislation is one place to start. Within Prince George's County, the passing of an archaeological ordinance protecting the resources of African Americans has helped protect these archaeological sites. This ordinance was possible due to the support of its majority African American population comprised of government officials and politically active citizens. Creating legislation is

difficult without this public support and ironically legislation needs to require a public component as part of the process of protecting historical resources at local, state, and federal levels. Mandating public components of research are also a key factor in getting financial support.

Archaeologists should also re-evaluate how they conduct their work and begin with a community-based approach. As Carol McDavid (2009) reminds us, although we need to work with these various groups, we also need to be aware that individuals outside of the profession may not always be willing participants. This situation is true at Northampton, where Iris McConnell (Iris) is invested in Northampton research but her children are not; although they enjoyed participating in excavations. In the case of Iris's family, this could be the result of generational issues. Iris has a direct connection to her past at Northampton through the stories her father and cousins would retell about life on the property. She is also retired and able to dedicate her time to researching her history. Her children work and may not have the luxury of becoming involved with researching their history at this point in time. For them, it is not a priority.

Archaeologists must also remember the importance of multiple voice research. As Rosemary Joyce (2002) reminds us, as archaeologists we use a multi-vocal approach every time we conduct our research through the process of bouncing ideas off one another to gain a further understanding of what we uncover in the ground. As archaeologists we need to recognize how essential this process is and apply it to local communities and descendant populations. Incorporating multiple voices helps us, as archaeologists, understand the sites we are researching while gaining additional insight into interpretation.

Overall there needs to be a restructuring around the concept of “public” archaeology. Archaeologists need to look beyond their site tours and public “dig days”. Archaeologists should acknowledge the resources of the various communities (e.g. oral histories, experiences). Information from technical site reports should be written in a second format for public consumption (e.g. website, publicly accessible literature). When we as archaeologists are in positions dependent on public support, it is our ethical responsibility to include those publics into the process and provide relevance for the work conducted. I agree with Barbara Little (2009:43) that archaeology needs to be connected to contemporary issues. This is how archaeology becomes relevant. Two examples include using archaeology to engage the public in discussions on racism or, to use archaeology as a way to encourage public activism and advocacy (Little 2009:45); Northampton did both. Yes, this may include more time and money, but the benefit could pay off in the end including increased funding for projects.

Future Research

There are still many avenues to explore with Northampton and many more research questions to ask. However, the most interesting and useful part of the project is the collaborative work with its descendants. Working together with the Hawkins descendants has already answered and will continue to answer additional questions to further interpret the site. Through added recognition and visibility, Northampton will add to the continuing research of not only the enslaved and nineteenth-century African American tenant farmers, but the importance of collaborative research and public engagement. One easy, but important step, is getting Northampton recognized on the

National Registry of Historic Places. During Phase I archaeological work, the project's cultural resources management consultant (MAAR) recommended Northampton's placement on the National Registry. The site has been part of Prince George's County's Sites and District Plan, but the paperwork has yet to be filled out to place it on the National Registry (Donald Creveling 2011, pers. comm.); a task that needs to be accomplished.

There are also interesting research avenues for the artifact collection from the slave quarters. As with the case study on Catholic religious objects, there are many other objects that can add stories of personal interest at Northampton and of tenant life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Continuing to combine artifacts with the descendant perspectives and their research, can create a multi-vocal interpretation of Northampton. These stories, combined with artifacts, are what create items of interest for the public and increase public outreach. This information can be used for the creation of an exhibit on Northampton and enrich the current website.

Conclusion

Revisiting the preface and the story of my family, it was through time that I developed a deeper understanding and appreciation for my own history. I always knew, growing up, my maternal family's history, however, I took it for granted and it did not have the meaning it now does. This example is similar to Iris's story of constantly hearing her father tell stories of his past, but not really thinking about their significance. Yes, much of this is attributed to age, but through my research at Northampton I have realized it was education that played a greater role. I do not mean higher education, but

instead education about the field of anthropology, more specifically archaeology. Once I had the knowledge about archaeology and how it can uncover my family's past, being able to participate in that history had new meaning to me. Although the stories and histories of my family and those of the Hawkins descendants cannot be compared, parallels can be made. Becoming involved with the archaeology at Northampton helped the descendants further uncover their family's past. They were active in *their* history and preserving *their* past. They became advocates of the archaeology of their family through petitioning state and local government agencies to preserve *their* heritage. The Hawkins descendants are still actively engaged in their past through memorializing their heritage, an unending desire to research their past, and the desire to display the knowledge for public consumption. This evolved from education. More archaeologists should acknowledge and practice education with the public and realize the benefits of public engagement and collaboration. These approaches are an important component to how archaeology can remain relevant and maintain public support.

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