ABSTRACT

Title of Document: REORDERING THE LANDSCAPE: SCIENCE, NATURE, AND SPIRITUALITY AT WYE HOUSE

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This dissertation draws on literature and theoretical frameworks of gardening and social ordering that examine early Euro-American and African-American material culture as they came together on the plantation landscape at Wye House. Located on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, the plantation was home to the Welsh Lloyd family and hundreds of enslaved Africans and African-Americans. Using archaeological and archeobotanical remains of garden-related buildings and slave dwellings, this project acknowledges the different possible interactions and understandings of nature at Wye House and how this gave shape to a dynamic, culturally-based, and entangled landscape of imposed and hidden meanings, colonization and resistance.

REORDERING THE LANDSCAPE: SCIENCE, NATURE, AND SPIRITUALITY AT WYE HOUSE

By

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the enslaved people at the Wye House Plantation. Your names and legacy are not forgotten.

Acknowledgements

Writing is a group effort, and I have to thank the individuals who helped me through this particularly long effort. Mark Leone, as my advisor and committee chair, has guided me through the past five years of bewilderment and challenges. You were exactly the right balance of encouragement, humor, nudging, and straightforward criticism that I needed. The other members of my committee, Dr. Paul Shackel, Dr. Stephen Brighton, Dr. Cheryl LaRoche, Dr. Kelly Cook, and Dr. Mary Sies, were invaluable in helping me to structure and articulate this research. Thank you for being there to talk through ideas and offer wisdom.

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Excavating at the incredible Wye House would not have been possible without the continued support of the descendants. I regret that I could only meet the late Mrs.

Tilghman a few times, but her actions and enthusiasm were directly responsible for this research. Thank you so much to Richard and Beverly Tilghman, for opening your home to us and our band of new undergraduate archaeologists each summer. For the descendants of the enslaved people in Unionville and Easton, you are the reason I made it this far. Thank you to Harriette Lowery, Carlene Phoenix, and many others for their interest and insights. Mrs. Lowery, when we first met, you immediately pulled me into a big hug. Thank you for that, and for every hug since.

Historians Amy Speckart and Jean Russo had a huge hand in the historical research used in this dissertation. Amy kindly sent me the transcriptions of her research, which included numerous references to the gardens and agriculture at Wye House. Thank you for digging through reels of eighteen century scrawl and paving the way.

My parents, Dave and Lynn Pruitt, were skeptical of a career in archaeology, as any caring parent would be. Thank you for being endlessly loving and supportive nonetheless. I appreciated the "we're proud of you" cards and the boxes of sugary treats, both of which kept me fueled throughout this process. I love you, and I am so lucky to have you in life. This is equally true of Hart Wood. Whether it was well-timed words of love, unfailing optimism, or the funny and factually-incorrect "ABCs of Archaeology," you were always a source of encouragement and relief.

To the Archaeology in Annapolis field school students: you did the dirtiest, hottest, and arguably most fun part of this dissertation. Thank you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"I notice that it is only when my mother is working in her flowers that she is radiant, almost to the point of being invisible except as Creator: hand and eye. She is involved in work her soul must have. Ordering the universe in the image of her personal conception of Beauty."

- Alice Walker, *In Search of our Mothers' Gardens*

"In all things of nature there is something of the marvelous."

- Plato

Context

The Wye House Plantation on Maryland's Eastern Shore has been in the Lloyd family—immigrants from Wales—since the mid-seventeenth century. This landscape became an intersection for multiple transatlantic groups and through this space their identities were formed, challenged, and reformed. Through the exploitation of enslaved labor, the Lloyds built an aristocratic seat along the Wye River, which flows to the Chesapeake and then the greater Atlantic. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Lloyds expressed their elite identity through "scientific gardening" and maintained connections to English trends of landscape architecture. This carefully constructed identity is evident through multiple greenhouse buildings on the property and gardening manuals in the family library. Traditionally unnoticed in the gardens and landscapes at Wye House is the labor that went into shaping the landscape, running the greenhouses, and tending the gardens. Since the historical records at Wye House are dominated by the Lloyds, it is through archaeology and archaeobotany that researchers can learn more about this significant portion of the plantation population. Additionally, the most widely known person to live at Wye

House is Frederick Douglass, who was enslaved there as a boy. His autobiographies provide first-hand accounts of slavery and can, at times, add significant context and insights to the material culture there. Ultimately, the archaeological and archaeobotanical evidence at the plantation demonstrates that there are alternative ways of looking at this landscape and alternative ways in which it was used.

The enslaved laborers hid objects of meaning in and around buildings in order to influence the natural and spiritual worlds through practices that derived from West and West Central Africa. In the New World, these practices were adapted to new environments and became a means through which to express a diasporic identity. Both the Black and White residents of the plantation used the nature around them to perform identities and demonstrate a sense of control or resistance. Within a system where the Lloyds had overt control over the landscape, bodies, and lives of the enslaved people living there, resistance could take forms that were both visible and hidden. Enslaved people throughout the Atlantic used objects and plants to maintain a sense of autonomy, healing, and defense in the face of subjugation, overwork, and violence. The same landscape, environment, and plants were understood and used in different—though overlapping—ways by the Lloyd family and the enslaved people on the plantation.

At the Wye House Plantation, Archaeology in Annapolis researchers since 2005 have focused on the archaeological and historical records to illuminate the lives of enslaved people. As one of the earliest and most successful plantations within the system of Chesapeake slavery, Wye House presented a unique opportunity for historical archaeology in multiple ways. The direct descendants of the Lloyd family,

the Tilghmans, invited Archaeology in Annapolis to excavate on their property with particular emphasis on the lives of enslaved individuals. Since that time, archaeologists have excavated multiple buildings, including slave quarters, one greenhouse, and one hothouse. The property was home to hundreds of enslaved people over time, and the Lloyds were one of the oldest and wealthiest families in the state, possessing vast acres of land and the large labor force necessary to perform the work. By the time of Edward Lloyd III's death in 1770, he owned over 40,000 acres of land on the Eastern Shore and 174 enslaved men, women, and children across seven plantations (Speckart 2011:188). The long history and large population of enslaved people have allowed archaeologists to examine multiple contexts of the places where they lived and worked on the plantation.

The data from this site contributes to two other dissertations in addition to this one. The first is on the combination of foodways of European- and African-descended people on the plantation into Southern cuisine by Amanda Tang (Tang 2014). The second is on the analysis of landscapes of this and other plantations on the Eastern Shore the lenses of landscape archaeology and historical geography by combining historical maps, LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging), and Frederick Douglass' autobiographies by Benjamin Skolnik (Skolnik in progress).

For this dissertation, I examine the plantation landscape as a "space of otherness," a space outside of traditional categories within which social identities are formed, states are liminal, and social change can occur. In such a space, both the Lloyd family and the enslaved people constructed identities that connected them to their respective homelands. I place the plantation into a transatlantic context and

combine a historical and cultural understanding of two distinct ways of interacting with and interpreting nature. One comes from the European-American perspective of the Lloyds and the other comes from the African-American perspective of the enslaved laborers. The conclusion of this research is that these two traditions may become equally visible through the material culture of the plantation during and soon after slavery. These traditions developed on American plantations alongside each other as entangled cultural practices. Archaeological, archaeobotanical, and historical recourses support the idea that there were multiple ways in which to experience and view the landscape at Wye House, and these multiple ways contribute to a more fully-realized comprehension of the power dynamics of plantation and its inhabitants.

I use the material culture excavated from Wye House between 2008 and 2014 by Archaeology in Annapolis researchers, which includes the artifacts, features, and fossilized pollen remains from a greenhouse, a hothouse, and two slave living contexts. I also use the landscape itself—the physically and culturally constructed environment of the plantation—historic photographs, historical records, and the agricultural texts from the Lloyd library as evidence of gardening practices. The concealed objects placed throughout the landscape by the enslaved people demonstrate spiritual practices, knowledges, needs, and identities that made alternative uses of this environment. The fossilized pollen was analyzed by Dr. Heather Trigg and Susan Jacobucci from the University of Massachusetts, Boston in 2009 and Dr. John Jones of Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd. in 2014. The differences in pollen between spaces occupied by enslaved people and the Lloyds' gardening buildings helps to reconstruct the living landscape as it once existed in the

past. It shows that there were differences in the plant use between the Lloyds and the enslaved. Through this, it is possible to find overlapping and conflicting cultural ideas about nature, science, and the supernatural. While in the present, dominant Western notions tend to view Black and White, the natural and the supernatural, and science and spirituality as diametrically opposed concepts, they are far more fluid and complex.

Throughout this research, I use the autobiographies of Douglass as first-hand accounts of African-American life on the Eastern Shore to provide context to this dissertation. Most importantly, his writing provides a unique perspective of the landscape and realities of slavery there, a different lens through which to view the landscape. From his descriptions, he provides an understanding of the created boundaries between Whites and Blacks on the plantation. There are records that the Lloyds kept of the names of over 500 men, women, and children enslaved at Wye House between 1770 and 1834. Unlike Douglass, these are the names of people who did not write their histories down, but instead left their legacy on the ground, in objects, and with the present-day descendants in nearby towns. They were the people that Douglass lived with and wrote about. Using the two resources together can provide better understanding of the individuals who built this landscape through their toil and anguish.

Although this dissertation spends much time discussing the spiritual practices of the enslaved people at Wye House, it is not the intention of this research to further perpetuate the myth of the "Magical Negro." The Magical Negro is a trope of fiction, where a Black, usually poor character enlightens and guides the protagonist using

magical powers and folk wisdom. This research does discuss at length the systems of belief that enslaved people brought with them from West and West Central Africa and those connections to landscapes, nature, and plants. However, it is not my intention to characterize African worldviews in a stereotypically spiritual or mystical way. One of the false dichotomies explored here is a scientific, rational-based model of nature traditionally equated to Europeans and a spiritual, magic-based model of nature traditionally equated to Africans and African-Americans. A European-American understanding of nature brings with it religious and superstitious ideologies, and the uses of plants by African-Americans lends itself equally to observation and experimentation. It is important to examine these tropes and false dichotomies as they play out not only in fiction, but in the histories we write so that the same tired characterizations do not dominate in the stories we tell in the past and present.

Research Questions

Through material culture and gardening practices, I focus on the cultural connections that the Lloyd family and the enslaved laborers maintained to England and the African diaspora respectively, how these cultural practices had material consequences on the American plantation landscape, and how they demonstrated particular identities. Rather than view the enslaved people as passive participants of colonization, I want to bring their agency and resistance to the overwhelming power disparity, violence, and psychological trauma of slavery to the forefront of this research. There are three main research questions that drive this project:

1. How can we see transatlantic identities on the plantation through cultural materials and practices? How did the Lloyds and the enslaved people connect to England or the African diaspora in the New World?

2. Did the Lloyds and the enslaved people interact with the landscape differently?

3. Do the archaeological and archaeobotanical materials at Wye House provide evidence for a landscape of resistance for the enslaved men and women?

Objectives and Significance

The objective of this research is not only to explore the overlooked landscape of slave life and work on the plantation and to make this information available to the public, but also to offer a model for alternative perspectives. The importance of this work is that it encourages archaeologists to allow for more than one interpretation and use of the plantation landscape rather than defaulting to a presumed European-derived ideology. Rather than see Wye House as only the White men of the Lloyd family saw it, this research demonstrates that the same places, buildings, plants, and objects hold a multiplicity of meanings. This creates an entirely different ontology through which to examine the plantation landscape.

To the field of academic archaeology, the significance of this dissertation is that it combines understandings of the plantation that have traditionally been separated. The history of the Lloyd family is overt and present on the current landscape, but this tells only a fraction of the story. The focus here is in creating a vision of the landscape that is dynamic, peopled, multivalent, and cultural, based on knowledge of both Euro-American and African-American interactions with nature

and the plantation landscape. Additionally, this research uses plants—the fossilized remains left behind in the soil—as a material component to an archaeological analysis of African-American spiritual practices on the plantation. Since the 1990s, Archaeologists have begun to systematically record the ways in which materials of spiritual significance in enslaved and free African-American contexts are used or arranged, but the roles of natural materials have still been largely disregarded. This research adds to the growing recorded lexicon of West African spirit practices on American plantations and brings botanical materials into focus as an important component.

For present-day communities on the Eastern Shore, the significance is that the material culture that this work has recovered through excavations has an important role to play in the lives of the descendants that surround the plantation. Multiple nearby towns were founded and populated by formerly enslaved laborers from Wye House. Many of their descendants remain in several historically African-American neighborhoods. Descendants' perspectives on this history and landscape and their connections to the material culture add additional layers of meaning to the archaeological interpretations. In bringing the public's attention to African-American contributions to the history of such plantations, it not only helps descendants find connections and closure with the past, but it also invigorates the preservation movement in historically African-Americans neighborhoods in the area, which are currently being heavily gentrified and the historic buildings torn down.

Although Wye House is a privately-owned property, making it difficult to have open-access excavations, Archaeology in Annapolis has sought to connect with

the public in this research. This has been to the benefit of both the archaeologists and the local community. From the beginning of the archaeological project at Wye House, many descendants have focused on the ways in which their ancestors maintained spirituality, agency, and creativity. Harriette Lowery is a descendant of William Demby, whose murder at the Wye House Plantation by an overseer is described in Frederick Douglass' writing and quoted later in this dissertation. Mrs. Lowery has told the powerful story of connection to this history many times, and quoting directly from an interview, she says:

> *My great-grandmother, her name was Agnes Demby Green, and her relationship or her connection to Wye House is found in Frederick Douglass' autobiography when he talks about witnessing the murder of a slave named Demby. Knowing that I had an ancestor that was murdered at Wye House and knowing the circumstances of the murder—briefly, I'd say very briefly—there was pain.* (Lowery 2013)

It was in going to Wye House, walking near the spot where William Demby died, visiting the slave burial ground, and touching the artifacts from Wye House that she was able to feel relief from this pain. It was in personally confronting this violence, learning about the dynamic lives and ingenuity of the enslaved laborers, and discussing this history that Mrs. Lowery was able to experience a kind of healing process. The violence and suffering that the enslaved people endured at Wye House is not avoided in this dissertation, but it is also not used to characterize the lives of the enslaved people as simply passive victims. The power dynamics of the plantation were complex and contested, despite the structures of slavery and racism that pervaded life at this time in the United States. Through subjugation and the ever-

present threat of violence, enslaved people developed the means of resistance, restoration, and survival that I explore here through material culture.

The flag of Talbot County, which is flown in front of the Wye House mansion today, include the shield of Lord Calvert as well as the motto *Tempus Praeteritum Et Futurum*. These words translate to "Times, Past and Future," which is an apt motto to fly over the archaeological excavations at this plantation. The past, present, and future of this plantation and the surrounding towns of Talbot County are strongly linked and complicated in ways that are dynamic and alive. In bringing the past of slavery and the agency of the enslaved people into the present, it is possible to bring about conversations about race, power, and colonization into our current academic and social discourses.

Preview of Organization

This dissertation is organized into seven additional parts. In Chapter 2, I provide the historical background information and context for this research at the Wye House Plantation, in the Chesapeake, and the Atlantic Slave Trade. The main problem with historical research at Wye House and many other similar properties is that the narrative is skewed heavily in favor of the White owning family. Although historical research alone is ultimately not enough, this chapter examines both the history of the Lloyds and the enslaved laborers on the property. I describe an overview of the history of slavery on the Eastern shore of Maryland and the foundation of the Wye House plantation in the mid seventeenth-century. This establishes the driving forces behind the Lloyds' immigration to Maryland and the

forced immigration of the enslaved population. Through this historical context, it is possible to shed light on not only the cultural identities of the Lloyds, but also the enslaved laborers and the system of slavery that brought them together at Wye House.

In Chapter 3, I relate the theoretical approaches that I take in my interpretations. This dissertation relies on the frameworks presented by social theorists who understand how colonized spaces become a stage on which multiple cultures are in contact and conflict. Drawing from Foucault, Bhabha, and Lefebvre, I discuss the plantation as a "space of otherness." Additionally, I draw from the theoretical work on diasporas, which adds to my interpretations of the ways in which people on the plantation formed and reformed identities after leaving a homeland.

In Chapter 4, I provide a summary of the literary works from which I draw my support for the historical and archaeological understandings of my research. These include the ways in which archaeologists, geographers, and social theorists have understood landscape itself as a material culture. In order to interpret the material culture at Wye House from the enslaved perspective, it is also necessary to draw on the literature of archaeological research in the African diaspora. Building on this are the historical and ethnographic works of West and West Central African spirit practices and African-American material culture contributions to American plantations, particularly in the Chesapeake. I also provide a history of gardening from a European perspective as well as the growth of scientific gardening in Europe and the United States in order to place the Lloyds in this context.

In Chapter 5, I describe the archaeological excavations of two garden-related buildings and two slave living contexts. The excavations of the currently-standing

greenhouse and its attached quarter were completed in 2008. The archaeological work of a hothouse and two additional slave quarters were undertaken 2010-2014, though only one of these quarters is discussed in-depth in this research. From the material culture, we have discovered multiple instances of caches or "spirit bundles" that were concealed in enslaved living and working spaces as a means of protection and resistance. The construction and destruction of multiple greenhouses and hothouses on the property also indicate period of time in which the Lloyds—not just Edward Lloyd IV, but also his wife—were experimenting with the optimal environment for plant cultivation.

In Chapter 6, I summarize the archaeobotanical evidence that comes from analysis of the soil throughout time in both garden-related contexts and living spaces of enslaved people. The plants that are present on the plantation and surrounding forests and swamps can be viewed from multiple cultural perspectives are used for different spiritual, medicinal, and practical purposes. This demonstrates that the enslaved people took active roles in their own well-being and maintained identities within the African diaspora. I also discuss the gardening practices employed by the Lloyds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were in keeping with trends from England and the European-influenced gardening traditions.

In Chapter 7, I bring the history of this plantation into the present to examine the engagement with the descendant community. This project does not exist in isolation, but rather as part of a growing trend in public archaeology to establish partnerships with local communities. I discuss the history of the Archaeology in Annapolis project on the Eastern Shore and some of the public work previously

completed by this project. Research questions, derived from early conversations with descendants of the Lloyds and the enslaved community, had a great influence on the directions of this dissertation. In particular, the Lloyds' descendants' interest in gardening and the interest of enslaved laborers' descendants in the spiritual lives of their ancestors directly contributed to the subject matter of this research.

In Chapter 8, I conclude that both the Lloyds and the enslaved African-Americans at Wye House maintained transnational identities throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Lloyds cultivated the persona of the scientific gardener and kept social and economic connections to England in order to maintain their place among the Chesapeake elite. Their understanding of the landscape was built on hierarchy, control, and "rationality." However, the knowledge and abilities to run the plantation's gardens and care for its plants belonged not only to the White men of Wye House, who have dominated the historical record, but also to the women and the enslaved gardeners. The most obvious landscape visible on the property is controlled by the Lloyds. It is one where the enslaved labor's presence is rendered near invisible and their heritage erased. Through the material culture, it is possible to see that there was a concurrent landscape through which enslaved Africans and African-Americans demonstrated practices that connected them to the African diaspora. They resisted colonizing control, maintained physical, mental, and spiritual well-being, and exerted an influence over their surroundings. Although these two groups interacted and viewed the landscape in different ways, they also influenced each other.

The enslaved people at Wye House developed a hidden landscape within the European colonial practices that was filled with meaning particular to them—a countercolonial landscape—and it was based on a unique relationship with and expert knowledge of natural elements on the plantation. Between cultural categories emerges the spaces of otherness on the plantation—a combined colonial and countercolonial space where social life is established, subverted, and reordered in a dynamic and continuous process.

Chapter 2: Wye House Historical Context

The material culture at Wye House must be understood within the contexts of the history of slavery at the plantation and in the Chesapeake at large. It is part of a national and global history of the colonizing of the United States, the dehumanization of Atlantic Slave Trade, and the identities that were formed, reformed, and reordered in this process. It is also part of a tradition of interpretations at historic houses that exclude the lives of enslaved people. The history of Wye House and the history of slavery at Wye House are often presented as different stories, but they are inextricably the same. This is not unusual for historic houses of this era; when slavery is mentioned at all, it is usually secondary to the main narrative. Handler and Gable (1997) describe the separation of slavery from the story at Colonial Williamsburg through the creation of the "Other Half" tour. While this tour did remedy the complete silence about slavery that pervaded the institution, by divorcing the lives of Black Americans from those of White Americans, it still suggests that they separate stories and unequal in the sense that it is only the African-American story that is "other" (Handler and Gable 1997:79).

This reluctant inclusion and separation plays out at many historic sites. At Mount Clare—the home of the Carroll family in Baltimore, Maryland and a contemporary plantation to Wye House—the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America (NSCDA) and archaeologists have struggled for control over the plantation's story. As a public house museum, the narrative of Mount Clare focuses

on the power and prestige of the Carroll family, through its home, possessions, and political accomplishments. In doing so, it largely ignores the voices of those whose stories are not told in Georgian architecture, antiques, and historical documents. In 1991, the Carroll Park Foundation was formed to serve as steward to the surrounding grounds of the mansion and to the archaeological assemblage resulting from excavations (Moyer 2010:2). The Foundation excavated in Carroll's Hundred, their name given to the Carroll Park sites, and focused on bringing the shared African-American and European-American heritage of the plantation to the forefront of the historical research conducted there. From that point on, the NSCDA and the Carroll Park Foundation maintained separate contracts with the city. The former retained control of the Mount Clare House Museum, and the latter held jurisdiction over the surrounding landscape. Beliefs about the amount that archaeological evidence and the legacy of slavery should enter into the discussion at the mansion characterized the difference between the two organizations.

Though the plantation is not atypical in this regard, Rice (2012) uses Wye House specifically as an example of a site where the "weight of traditional historical narrative" (223) is so heavily in favor of the White American story of Southern charm and imported furniture that it casts aside any serious discussion of slavery and African-American heritage in the present day. The Historical Society of Maryland contains an accumulated wealth of preserved historical materials from generations of Lloyd men, including account ledgers, invoices, and letters. One of two historical theses to come out of the Wye House historical records is based entirely on the

furniture procured by the Lloyd family between 1750 and 1850 (Alevizatos 1999). The other chronicles the history of the Lloyd family, their land holdings, and management of the property throughout the generations (Speckart 2011).

As a National Historic Landmark, like Mount Clare, Wye House is used to tell the tale of the founding of the nation by weaving local Maryland history with patriotic themes of entrepreneurship, industry, and independence. The statement of significance for the plantation, taken from its National Historic Landmark designation in 1970, reads "An outstanding example of a large Southern frame plantation house, in seven-part form, built for Edward Lloyd IV, a wealthy landowner." The staggering weight of this traditional narrative largely paints a history of the plantation through the Lloyds' perspective. Where slavery is recorded in the historical record, it is through the lists of enslaved people, which categorize them as property equivalent to cattle rather than human beings. This creates a need for alternate perspectives and alternative sources of evidence in addition to the historical record. Importantly, the National Historical Landmark designation for Wye House is currently being re-written to reflect the importance of the African-American heritage as a result of the archaeological research done by Archaeology in Annapolis.

It is disingenuous to discuss the gardens or the gardening buildings at the Wye House Plantation without discussing those who built them and understanding these individuals as part of larger systems. The cultures within these systems affected and were affected by the landscape of the plantation. Although much of the evidence of African-American heritage on the plantation is invisible on the surface today, the

landscape was not empty. The intended impression now is one of a timeless colonial affectation, but the landscape was dynamic. Multiple cultures were in communication. Both Whites and Blacks formed identities and engaged in practices that were adapted to the unique environments of the plantations of this region over time. This historical account of the Wye House Plantation includes a summary of the Lloyd family's ownership of the land and the information derived from the records of enslaved people.

Chesapeake Slavery

The sandy loam of the tidal shorelines of Talbot County, Maryland made for rich planting soil, and Europeans used it to their advantage. When British colonists arrived in the Chesapeake, they found a landscape well-suited for tobacco cultivation and exportation. At first, they experimented, finding the best means to grow, process, and market the plant in the new environment. Eventually, they settled into the land and routine of producing the crop, which required experience, good judgment, and precise timing to turn a profit. It also required a labor force that worked intensively all day and throughout the year. In the Federal WPA slave narratives, Mrs. M.S. Fayman, who was formerly enslaved in Kentucky, explained that:

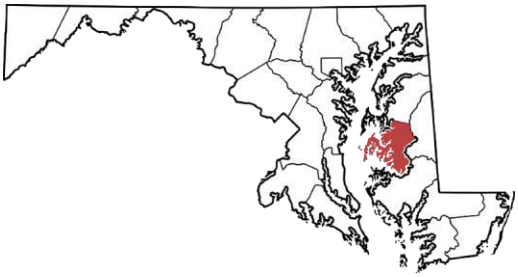


Figure 1: Talbot County, Maryland on the Chesapeake Bay

> *There was located on the top of the large tobacco warehouse a large bell, which was rung at sun up, twelve o'clock and at sundown, the year round. On the farm the slaves were assigned a task to do each day and in the event it was not finished they were severely whipped. While I never saw a slave whipped, I did see them afterwards, they were very badly marked and striped by the overseers who did the whipping.* (Applewood Books 2006).

This brutal schedule was maintained for the sake of the colonists' profits in the Atlantic agricultural market. Although it did not require the same number of laborers as the rice plantations of the South, the work was labor intensive for most of the year (Morgan 1998). The plants, from sowing to harvest, took around half of the year to grow, and then it was necessary to cure the leaves for transport.

In the Chesapeake, the tobacco economy and the pursuit of maximum production created the demand for increased amount of land, workers, and the knowledge of the best ways to manage care for the plants. Tobacco could be fickle, needing particular weather conditions and frequent checking for disease. Those working with the plant needed to read the land and the climactic changes well or risk losing a large percentage of the year's income on the whims of nature (Russo and Russo 2012:55). Much of the credit for this knowledge and skill tends to go solely to the plantation owners, rather than it being shared with the enslaved labor who worked most directly with the crops. The popular persona of the "founding gardeners" (Wulf 2012, for example) owes much to the reliance on the historical record when constructing the history of these plantations, where the narrative is dominated by the slaveholders' accounts of agricultural management.

In a 1784 letter to G.K. van Hogendorp, Thomas Jefferson focused on the many steps and perils in the process of profitable tobacco cultivation in Virginia. He explained that the labor begins in April, when planters seed growing beds. In May or June, they move the small plants to the prepared fields where they will grow. While the tobacco matures, it must be tended to throughout, removing the top buds, the suckers at the roots, and the under leaves to promote the best possible growth. By August or September, the leaves are ready for harvesting. They are cut with their stems and hung upside down, sheltered from the elements, in order to cure. After enough time for the leaves to dry has passed, they could be packaged for shipment. Jefferson warns of the dangers of insects, diseases, or extreme weather at any point in the plant's maturation, saying "Perhaps the root may be parched in the first instance [very dry weather] and rotted in the second [very wet weather], so that the supplies of nourishment are stopped. If the tobacco be so near it's maturity as that it may be cured, the remedy is to cut it: if too green to be cured, the case is desperate and the labour of the year lost" (Boyd 1953 [1785]). In the end of this process, access to Chesapeake waterways in Talbot County provided access to England, the main trading partner for American tobacco in the seventeenth-century. The marketed product was packed into bundles and placed in hogshead barrels, which were rolled to the waters and sent to Europe on English merchant ships. These so-called "adventuring" merchants came to the Chesapeake with cargos of merchandise from the homeland that they then offered for trade with the immigrant tobacco growers (Russo and Russo 2012:57).

Jefferson's account provides a "top-down" description of this demanding work. It is removed from the labor and physical process. It is from first-hand accounts of formerly enslaved people that it is possible to understand the harsh conditions of what this tobacco farming economy entailed for the labor. Richard Macks, who was enslaved in Charles County, Maryland recalled:

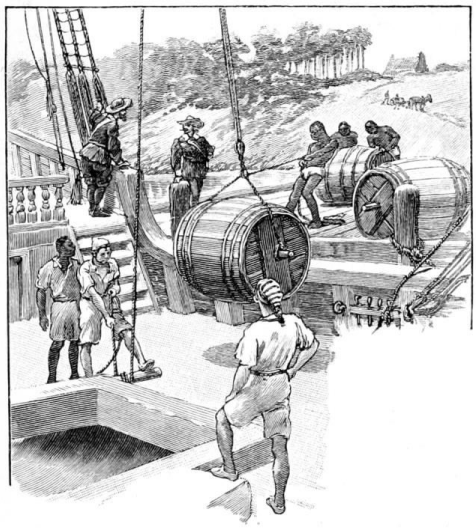


Figure 1: Illustration of the loading process for hogheads of tobacco

> *In Charles County and in fact all of Southern Maryland tobacco was raised on a large scale. Men, women and children had to work hard to produce the required crops. The slaves did the work and they were driven at full speed sometimes by the owners and others by both owner and overseers. The slaves would run away from the farms whenever they had a chance, some were returned and others getting away. This made it very profitable to white men and constables to capture the runaways. This caused trouble between the colored people and whites, especially the free people, as some of them would be taken for slaves. I had heard of several killings resulting from fights at night.* (Applewood Books 2006:55).

The system that was created from these demands—of men, women, and children—became rooted in racial animosity and the dehumanization of the work force to justify this treatment of people for greater profits.

As the tobacco economy grew worldwide, high demand for the labor to keep pace with production of the plant increased, and the colonists turned progressively more to slavery rather than indentured servitude. Tobacco cultivation leeches the soil of nutrients, depleting the natural richness found on the Eastern Shore. For a lucrative seventeenth-century tobacco plantation, it was necessary to possess land not only for

the tobacco crop, but also for feed for animals, and for old fields to lie fallow to replenish the soil. Over time, only those with large amounts of land in order to rotate the crop and a steady labor force to maintain it could compete on the already saturated market (Russo and Russo 2012:59). Since this need extended beyond the available labor of indentured servants, as early as 1619, traders began to sell enslaved individuals from Africa to work in the Chesapeake (Breen and Innes 1980:19). In 1637, Lord Baltimore corresponded with Richard Kept, the secretary of Virginia, to furnish his new estate of St. Mary's in Maryland. Of Kemp, he requested the purchase of "ffortye neate Cattle, ten Sowes, fforty Henns and Ten Negroes" (quoted in Russo and Russo 2012:66). In the latter half of the seventeenth century, nearly all of the enslaved labor coming into the Chesapeake was born outside of the United States, coming mostly from the West Indies. Some of that population was born on the islands, never knowing Africa, though others had only been in the West Indies a short time (Kulikoff 1986:319).

In the 1680s, however, traders increasingly brought enslaved people directly from Africa to the Chesapeake, bringing with them the customs, beliefs, and attitudes that colonists stereotyped into the "typical" African (Kulikoff 1986:319-320). According to Allan Kulikoff, "These Africans seemed to Englishmen to be the strange, libidinous, heathenish, and disobedient people they believed typical of black people" (Kulikoff 1986:320). For those who were born in Africa, many were transported from East-Central regions of Africa, from the area of Senegambia to Benin to Calabar, where tobacco was already established by colonizers. These areas

were surrounded by British colonies where the slave trade crept most successfully into the continent and provided an outlet to the coast for slave ships (Yentsch 1994:179).

Depending on local conditions and trading routes, ships that carried enslaved people came from varying locations throughout time. These trends can be accessed through the ships' manifests, which recorded passages throughout the Atlantic world. From this, we can begin to narrow down the regions from which the enslaved populations in the Chesapeake, particularly Wye House, came. Rather than a monolith of enslaved Africans, we can begin to think in terms of certain cultures and unique practices. This is important, as an archaeologist researching the past of the Atlantic Slave Trade, in order to avoid the homogenization of enslaved people, as was the case at the time. While it is rare to reach the level of the individual in an archaeological study, it is important to acknowledge the specifics and generalizations when possible.

The racial boundaries of the early United States were fluid and changing, but slavery created a structure where these categories became a vital aspect of status and identity. Colonists imposed the stereotype of the "typical" African, generalizing and dehumanizing the whole of the continent in an attempt to justify their enslavement for the purposes of free labor and to distinguish them from the European enslavers. With this, it was necessary to establish the differences in race, particularly as it applied to the law. This led to the creation of the racial categories that have been ingrained into much of Western society and are still in effect today. Although at first the main

difference between those from Africa and those from Europe was religion, the conversion of African slaves to Christianity and the complexities of miscegenation meant that those in power needed to legally establish an African "other" that could be unquestionably enslaved. In 1664, following similar action in Virginia, Maryland delegation voted for a law that decreed "all Children born of any Negro or other slave shall be Slaves" (quoted in Russo and Russo 2012:68-69). In cases of "mixed" birth, children of an enslaved woman were born as slaves. Perry Lewis, who was born on the Eastern Shore to an enslaved mother said, "As you know the mother was the owner of the children that she brought into the world. Mother being a slave made me a slave." This firmly established who could be free and who could not over generations, developing a system of oppression that provided little hope for future freedom for those held in bondage and their children.

In describing the duplicity of these laws, Frederick Douglass comments on his uncertain parentage. He was certain that his father was a white man, having gathered this from everyone he knew, but he did have not the means to find the truth:

> *The whisper that my master [Aaron Anthony] was my father, may or may not be true; and, true or false, it is of but little consequence to my purpose whilst the fact remains, in all its glaring odiousness, that slaveholders have ordained, and by law established, that the children of slave women shall in all cases follow the condition of their mothers; and this is done too obviously to administer to their own lusts, and make a gratification of their wicked desires profitable as well as pleasurable; for by this cunning arrangement, the slaveholder, in cases not a few, sustains to his slaves the double relation of master and father.*

As an adult, he came to understand the full horror of what the laws would have meant beyond his own life for enslaved women and the lack of ownership of their bodies and children.

Aaron Anthony's "wicked desires" were part of a larger system by which White men held dominance over enslaved women's bodies and simultaneously bolstered their own enslaved population. As Douglass recognizes, these laws for the children of enslaved women were written in this way for this reason. The intersections of race and gender resulted in unique expectations, responsibilities, and hardships between enslaved men and women. From the beginning of their captivity, African women were objectified and sexually abused (White 1999:63). Oftentimes, women were reduced to their abilities to bear children. After the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade, it was the responsibility of women to sustain slaveholders' labor force, and they had little choice in when to have children, with whom, and what happened to those children after birth (Stevenson 1996).

As Chesapeake colonists sought to impose an identity on enslaved Africans to define themselves against, they also developed an identity separate from Europe. Although they acknowledged themselves to be from the British Isles and to maintain a certain degree of shared English, Irish, or Welsh heritage in the seventeenth century, they also developed unique identities based on colony. Virginians and Marylanders, though from the same origin and separate from enslaved Africans, saw themselves as decidedly different (Russo and Russo 2012:13). The worlds formed on Chesapeake

plantations, then, were ones of multiple cultures and negotiated identities. A sense of place or identity resists simplicity. Race, gender, spiritual beliefs, and nationality each feed into an individual's concept of self and the affiliation, opposition, dominance, or subjugation to and of others. In short, identities are complicated. Black and White, though often considered a social dichotomy, were not entirely separate in the United States in terms of values, practices, and understandings about the world (Breen and Innes 1980:23). The plantations, beginning in the time when fortunes were made by English colonists in the tobacco market and continuing through Emancipation, were the landscapes through which these cultures and identities coexisted and influenced one another.

One aspect of these constructed identities comes in the form of naming traditions. The practice of European-American owners stripping their slaves of African-descended names and forcing English ones upon them was twofold. One, it created a sense of patriarchal ownership over the other human being. To have control over their names and to give them ones commonplace within the English-descended family served to give the enslaved individual a child-like role. The names were often diminutive forms of English ones, the nick-names that a child would have. After a study of enslaved populations in Middlesex County, Virginia, Kulikoff found that those who were born in the colonies to African-born slaves were given the diminutive nick-names of English names, which they kept through their adult lives. These were names such as Jack from John, Will from William, Betty from Elizabeth, and Moll from Mary (Kulikoff 1986:326). On the other hand, many slave owners also chose to

use uncommon names, such as place names—Glasgow, York, etc.—or names from classical literature and history—Hercules, Hannibal, etc. (Sobel 1987:157-158). In doing so, the names also served to separate the enslaved person from the free, marking them as "other."

Morgan (1998) claims that fewer than 5% of enslaved people in Middlesex County, Virginia retained African names in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and was quickly declining in popularity (451). Kulikoff agrees that this was rare. Some, though not many, names of enslaved individuals in this population showed evidence of an Akan tradition—coming from today's regions of Ghana and the Ivory Coast, though their influence spread to other West African cultures—of naming individuals after the day of their birth. These names were then Anglicized so as to be acceptable in the new American society. These names include Cuffy, a word for Friday; Jacko, derived from Quacko, a word for Wednesday; Juba, a word for Monday; and Jemmy, derived from Quame, a word for Saturday (Kulikoff 1986:325). What resulted was a combination of English and African naming conventions, so intertwined that for many enslaved people on record, it is difficult to know from which culture the name may have derived. To take an active role in the process of naming, enslaved people would often take the English name given to them and shorten it in an unconventional way or alter the pronunciation to make it their own (Kulikoff 1986:159).

Enslaved people were not passive in this creation of their identities; rather, those taken from the various regions of Africa and the West Indies, with different languages

and cultures, were active in the creation of a uniquely African-American identity over time. Social practices were not simply forced upon them by European and they were not simply maintained directly from Africa. Instead, there was a syncretization of European and African traditions into something particular to the American context. (Kulikoff 1986:317-318). In these ways enslaved people could keep some kind of possession, albeit not a physical one, through the trauma of the Middle Passage.

In opposition to Kulikoff and Morgan, Anne Yentsch (1994) found a great deal more names of possible African heritage in the enslaved population at the Calvert estate in Maryland. Yentsch arrives at 40% for the amount of "African" names and suggests that the number could be as high as 80% when taking into account the English names that sound similar to African-derived ones—such as Jack from Jacko. Yentsch hypothesizes that where one finds more names in the historical record of potential African origin, one could also expect to find other material culture related to African origins in the archaeological record (Yentsch 1994:177). This idea should be approached with caution. Though it may be that the presence of more "African-sounding" names suggests the presence of other observable customs and practices retained from Africa in the archaeological record, this implies that an "African" identity was expressed to either a greater or lesser degree by individuals in the same quantifiable ways between plantations or regions.

In seeking the African origins of slave names, often the only documentation of these individuals in the past, researchers are asking a particular question of the scant historical record in which they appear: what remains of Africa? This is a question that

present-day African Americans have asked of Archaeology in Annapolis researchers and one that this dissertation explores, while also acknowledging the complexity and multiplicity of identity. At the Wye House Plantation, though there are a few names that could be tied directly to Africa, the expression of this separate identity from European tradition is also found in the archaeological record. The research questions at the heart of this dissertation focus on the connections of inhabitants of the plantation—both European-American and African-American—to the cultural practices of their homelands in the construction of identities. The evidence of these connections and identities are found in a combination of the historical documentation and material culture.

Figure 3: Dilworth map (1858). Lloyd properties at the time are highlighted in blue. Dot represents Wye House.

Wye House History

As an immigrant from Wales, Edward Lloyd I arrived in Virginia in the mid seventeenth-century. As a Puritan non-conformist, he did not support the Church of England, which labeled him as a separatist at home. When he ran afoul of Virginia law in 1649 by refusing to attend the parish church, he moved again to Talbot County, Maryland on the Eastern Shore. Though the county had not yet been established, the Maryland colony offered a safe

haven for Lloyd and other Puritans under the Maryland Toleration Act passed that year (Speckart 2011:23-24). He brought the name Wye with him from his home country of Wales and gave it to his new land. The Wye River, which separates England from Wales, became the namesake of the Wye River that helps to create a northern border for Talbot County (Harrison 1915:317). He settled the Wye House Plantation sometime in the 1650s at the county's geographic center, with immediate access to the Wye River and, therefore, the Chesapeake Bay and all of the international trading routes it offered.

His house was situated near the cove that cuts into the property, and like many others of his class, Lloyd used his land to build his fortune on international tobacco sales (Speckart 2011:21). This original house is no longer standing, but a visitor to the plantation can see the raised walkways, possible boxwalks, and building remnants that were included in the previous designs of the landscape. A brick cottage overlooking the agricultural activity of the plantation still stands today, and this may have been the kitchen addition of an early—possibly first or second—iteration of the main house. These architectural and landscaping elements of the plantation have been written and rewritten over the land throughout time. This creates the same effect as a palimpsest—like the text from a page that has been erased and written over, though the previous versions still faintly show through. The Wye House Plantation has remained in the same family for twelve generations; however, this unbroken stream of ownership does not mean that the property has remained the same. Physically and conceptually, the landscape is still changing in the present.

In 1695, the Wye House passed to Edward Lloyd I's son Philemon Lloyd (1646-1685). From there followed Edward Lloyd II (1670-1718), Edward Lloyd III (1711-1770), Edward Lloyd IV (1744-1796), Edward Lloyd V (1779-1834), Edward Lloyd VI (1798-1861), Edward Lloyd VII (1825-1907), Charles Howard Lloyd (1859-1929), Elizabeth Key Lloyd Schiller (1897-1993), Mary Donnell Singer Tilghman (1919-2012), and Richard Tilghman (Weeks 1984; Tilghman 1967 [1915]). When the estate passed to Edward Lloyd IV in 1770 (Speckart 2011:190), his redesign and modernization of the landscape in the years after his inheritance demonstrated his desire to establish himself unquestionably as the new master of the estate. It is during this time that the currently standing greenhouse, called the Orangery later, was erected on the property and the entire axis of the plantation shifted ninety degrees (Forman 1967). The mansion house was rebuilt farther inland, leaving behind the expanse of land called the Long Green. As researchers in the present, we get the name of the Long Green from the autobiographies Frederick Douglass. The Long Green in the late eighteenth century was an industrial center of the plantation, where the slave quarters, carpenter's shop,

Figure 4: Wye House mansion, taken 1963 by the Historic American Building Survey

blacksmith, and stables were located near the river. These buildings are labeled on maps of the property (Fig 4) and mentioned by Douglass. After the 1780s, the house was no longer in the midst of these outbuildings on the plantation or facing the direction of the boats coming in and out from the Wye River. This is the house that still stands today.

By the time Edward Lloyd IV came into control of Wye House, many farmers had gone into debt due to a lack of land or successful production to meet the demands of the tobacco market. The Lloyds had diversified their crops so that the nutrient-depleted soil could be restored in between tobacco growing seasons. In addition to tobacco, they took full advantage of their vast land-holdings by adding corn and wheat to the rotation of internationally-shipped produce. Lloyd shipped his tobacco to firms in England and Scotland, and he sold the corn and wheat to millers and merchants both locally on the Eastern Shore and in Baltimore and abroad (Russo 1992:69).

It is during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that I focus much of my attention, since the modifications made by Edward Lloyd IV exemplify European ideologies and an attempt to maintain cultural connections with England. It is also the period in which we have access to the most historical documentation of the enslaved lives on the plantation, through census records of the enslaved individuals and the writings of Frederick Douglass. After Edward Lloyd IV's death in 1796, the Wye House plantation and assets came under the control of his wife, Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd and his son, Edward Lloyd V. It is during this time, the 1820s, that Frederick

Douglass lived there. From 1770 to Emancipation and the years after, Wye House was in the midst of changing cultures, identities, and landscapes. Because I am interested in the relationships with nature on the plantation, the ideologies that describe them, and how these ideologies connected to both European and African cultures, this time of alteration on the landscape is both appealing and informative.

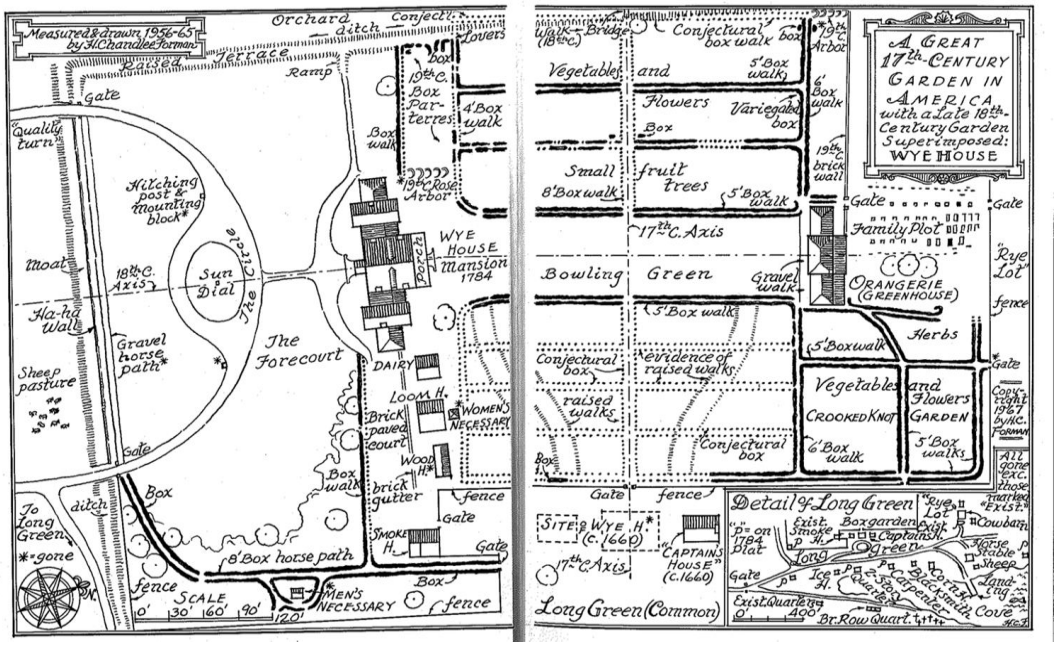


Figure 5: Henry Chandlee Forman's map of Wye House, drawn 1956-65

The most useful visual resource for the changing landscape of Wye House is a map drawn by Henry Chandlee Forman between 1956 and 1965. There is little knowledge of his source, but it is thought that he based his illustration on an older sketch, as well as his personal familiarity with the plantation (Forman 1967). The drawing exemplifies the nature of landscapes as palimpsests, explicitly stating in the map's epitaph that the landscape is "A Great 17th Century Garden in America with a late 18th Century Garden Superimposed." The drawing visually creates the sense of

the seventeenth-century ghost of a landscape showing through the later gardens. It demonstrates the way in which the entire orientation of the plantation shifted when Edward Lloyd IV built the new mansion. The initial central axis shows that the house and garden were oriented ninety degrees from the present-day alignment, and Forman's map shows the evidence of the raised walkways from this previous plan. It also demonstrates the ways history can skew our present-day interpretations of a landscape. Forman's map is not to scale, and in the way he represents space, the Lloyds are a dominant presence on the landscape over the enslaved laborers. The Long Green makes up a small fraction of the map in contrast to its actual size. Instead the mansion and forecourt dominate the center of the map, shoving the industrial buildings and slave quarters into a corner.

Figure 6: "Dungeon" or middle walk in the Wye House gardens, 1904

It has been common for historians to describe the Wye House Plantation with nothing more than nostalgic sentiments and a glorification of the Lloyd family. In the 1907 *House & Garden*, Edith Dabney uses the Wye House as an example of "Quaint Houses of the South." The descriptions reiterate the ways in which such houses are preserved in order to serve as monuments of a bygone era, attempting to freeze them in time. She says, "The house is essentially Colonial, large and harmonious in every

detail, and the massive building with its flanking of one story wings bespeaks the days of long ago" (Dabney 1907:25). Although the generations of the Lloyd family have taken care to maintain the gardens, the account ignores the significant changes that have taken place on the landscape from the eighteenth century to the time of writing, insisting that "The grounds are to-day as they were two centuries ago; nothing has been touched to the detriment of old-time grandeur, and this superb estate with its vast lawns, great trees, and old flowers, serves as a model par excellence for all that is truly Colonial" (Dabney 1907:26). Tellingly, this overlooks the fact that Emancipation and downsizing of labor resulted in the steady disappearance of quarters and work buildings in the early twentieth century, effectively erasing the signs of slavery from the plantation.

The landscape that is visible today is much changed from the eighteenth-century garden drawn by Forman. As Forman notes on his map, the buildings on the Long Green no longer exist on the present-day landscape. At the time of Dabney's writing, there was an active process of neglect of this aspect of the plantation, and it continues at many historic houses today. Not only does this process overlook a large majority of the history of this landscape, it marginalizes the heritage of African-American descendants living in the nearby towns. Instead, this landscape is hidden under the ground and in the history passed down through descendants.

From documentary evidence, most of what we know about slave life at Wye House comes from the autobiographies of Frederick Douglass, who created a visual representation of the landscape of slavery through his writing. Douglass provides, as

Rice (2012) puts it, a "counter-memory" to the historical narrative of the Lloyds. As someone who escaped from slavery, Douglass is a singular voice, speaking for those who did not escape, could not write, and did not share their experiences on a large scale. As a historical archaeologist, I use Douglass' experiences at Wye House as a way of contextualizing the archaeology from the enslaved perspective and shifting the narrative weight away from the Euro-centric story of "great trees" and "old flowers." This is a story that values vast lawns and architecture over those who built them. Those trees and flowers, the landscape of the plantation, did not belong only to the Lloyds. The history of Wye House without slaves, without complex and entangled cultures, the empty landscape, is the one I attempt to combat with this dissertation.

Wye House Slavery

Though the history of the Wye House plantation is well-documented from the perspective of the Lloyd family, it is far from the only perspective. Missing from much of the history of Wye House—and from its present-day landscape—is the enslaved labor that built and maintained the gardens and greenhouse. When Frederick Douglass describes the plantation, he says that "there were numerous other slave houses and huts, scattered around in the neighborhood, every nook and corner of which was completely occupied" (Douglass 1855). The history of Wye House is only complete with them included. Excavating there now, the Long Green is significantly quieter without the village of people Douglass described, but the vast lawns described above were never as empty as Dabney's portrayal would have us believe. Though

there are Lloyd descendants, tenant farmers, and caretakers there today, it is easy to fall into the illusion that the remaining buildings and gardens are timeless and always fully-formed. A visitor to the plantation today would not see the Long Green teeming with life as Frederick Douglass described, but would see the preserved buildings of the Lloyds.

The Lloyds were usually not directly involved in the on-the-grounds operations of the plantation's agricultural fields. Instead, there was a hierarchical system in place on the landscape, and the Lloyds were at the top. Under the Lloyds' direction, there were clerks, stewards, overlookers, overseers, and head gardeners. Each had particular administrative responsibilities and a position along the chain of command that connected the free White elite planter to the enslaved Blacks (Russo 1992:71). The overlooker, who supervised the overseer and reported to the steward, would have been responsible for keeping stock of the plantation's inventory: measuring the produce for storage, use, or sale; receiving deliveries shipped to the plantation; ensuring the proper cultivation of crops; and keeping an accurate record of farming equipment, livestock, and enslaved people (Russo 1992:72). These three were often recorded within the same book. It would have been the overlooker who managed the list of names from which we came to know who was enslaved on the Lloyds' plantations, recording their names, ages, and descriptive comments about health and occupations. In examining the names as people instead of property, there is some information we can gain.

In 1770, Edward Lloyd IV's overlooker kept detailed records of the enslaved people at the Wye House plantations and other properties owned by Lloyd on the Eastern Shore, including Sweats, Davis's, Forrest, 400 Acres, and White House. These were recorded in what was called the *Book of Hands* or *Book of Negroes*. It was in this year that Edward Lloyd III passed his estate to his son and split the property he held, which included people held in bondage, between Lloyd IV and his siblings. The lists present an image of slavery that is at once humanizing and demeaning. The records are found in the account books that include the slaves among the inventory with cattle and farming utensils. Yet, these are rare documents in the sense that they provide first and family names for enslaved people, which the national census lacked. This provided an individuality beyond the slaveholding family. With their names, we can see families, who endured under a horrific system of oppression. These names were passed on generation after generation, and are visible in the towns surrounding Wye House today, connecting past to present. The records that have been transcribed by historians Amy Speckart and Jean Russo span from 1770 to 1834—from the death of Edward Lloyd III to Edward Lloyd V. They contain the names of over 500 individual men, women, and children at Wye House, called Home House in the Lloyd's records. All individuals have first names and ages, and many have family names, familial relationships, and other notations.

From the records, we find that the division of property at Edward Lloyd III's death and the purchase of slaves from indebted planters left his eldest son with a total of 76 enslaved individuals, who lived at the Home House or one of four other

properties he inherited. According to Jean Russo, of the people enslaved by Edward Lloyd IV, which was evenly divided between men and women, 40% were children, 10% were elderly, and 20% were domestic servants or specialized craft workers. The rest (30%) worked in the agricultural fields (Russo 1992:78). There were 33 of these individuals at the Wye House Plantation in 1770 (Table 1). This population was more heavily skewed toward middle-aged men than at the other properties. Out of 33, 67% were men and 33% were women. 24% were children under the age of 15, 61% were between the ages of 15 and 49, and 15% were 50-years old or older. 39% were domestic servants or specialized craft workers. Because Wye House was the home center of the planting family, this may account for the need for more working-age individuals and those with specialized skills.

Table 1: 1770 Census. The names of enslaved individuals in Edward Lloyd IV's records in 1770. The occupational notes help us to understand the roles of these individuals on the plantation, and their names, first and last, tell us about familial relations and possible geographical origins.

Name	Age in 1770	Notes
Anthony	36	
Antigua Jemmy	75	
Ben Gooby	36	carpenter
Bett Gooby	10	
Charity Gooby	37	
Cooper Natt	38	
Cuffee	45	sailor
Davy	10	with Old Sue
Dick Ungle	13	
Dick Ungle, old	70	
Doll Gooby	7	
George Cooter	17	
Harry	17	oxen boy
Harry Roberts	23	
Harry	27	tailor

House Jacob	33	
Jack Cole	37	wheelwright
Jack Kenting	54	
Jack Wapping	49	cooper
Jim Cooper	20	sailor
Moll Cole	47	
Moll Shaw	47	house servant
Molly Gibson	45	
Ned	25	ship carpenter
Old Jack	50	
Old Sue	50	chicken woman
Patience	35	
Peg Shaw	22	house servant
Peg Shaw's Barnett	4	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	19	
Peg Shaw's Bett	1	
Rachel	14	with Cooper Natt
Tom Gooby	9	

In 1834, the population at Wye House alone had ballooned to 151 enslaved people. There were 47% men and 53% women. 44% were under the age of 15, 40% were between the ages of 15 and 49, and 14% were 50 years-old or older. 11% were domestic servants or specialized craft workers. It is possible that this demographic shift represents a change to a more natural or self-reproducing population. With the end of the Atlantic Slave Trade in the early nineteenth century, fewer enslaved people would have been imported from elsewhere, and plantation owners instead relied on reproduction to sustain the enslaved population. This is characterized by more equal gender ratios and more individuals of non-working ages (Skolnik 2012).

The notes alongside the names provide additional information about individuals' lives, but they are written entirely with the work that the individual

performs on the plantation in mind. From the perspective of the overlooker and slaveholder, their worth is reduced to the amount of money that was spent to purchase them and their ability to work to make profit. In some cases, this is described through the person's skill or occupation at Wye House, for instance with Ben Gooby the carpenter, Jack Cole the wheelwright, or Old Sue the chicken woman. Sometimes this is reflected names, either as a nickname or a surname that was then passed down to children, like House Jack, Nurse Henny, Sailor Ned, Sall Baker, or Green Cooper. Most notable for this dissertation, there were four men listed as gardeners, named Big Jacob, Little Jacob, Kitt, and Stephen. This allows us to place names to at least part of the skilled gardening labor force at Wye House.

Tellingly, individuals are also noteworthy according to the overlooker based on their ability to still work or not in old age or after injury. Emanuel Baker, Franky Baker, George Cooter, Isaac Copper, Betts Cornish, Tom Gooby, Dick English, Jim Long, Jacob Prissy, Doll Roberts, Isaac Roberts, and Abram Schooner are all designated as "past labor" while variously between the ages of 40 and 70. Although some of this can be attributed to old age, the younger among them, including Harry Sutton at the age of 34, were likely unable to work due to a lifetime of overwork. The comments make it clear that the lives of the enslaved laborers were difficult and dangerous. Some injuries are made explicit, such as with the name Blind Sam or when Jenny Bandy lost an arm in 1796, but others are vaguer. At age 21, Anna Hill is described as "crippled; good for nothing" and Henny Wapping, Judith, and Old Sarah are all dismissed as "useless." After injury or the point where one is considered "past

labor," these names nearly always disappear the following year or soon after. This demonstrates the way in which these individuals were seen to be expendable in the plantation system, their only worth tied to the labor they produced (see Appendix A for full lists).

Frederick Douglass' name does not appear in the censuses taken by the Lloyds, but instead on a list made in 1826 by the man who officially owned him, Aaron Anthony, who was employed by Edward Lloyd V. Here he appears as Frederick Augustus, his full name being Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. He changed this to Frederick Douglass after his escape to freedom. He is listed as being nine years old, and listed along with brothers, sisters, and cousins whom he barely knew. In *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Douglass writes that upon being brought to the Wye House by his grandmother:

> *Grandmother pointed out my brother PERRY, my sister SARAH, and my sister ELIZA, who stood in the group. I had never seen my brother nor my sisters before; and, though I had sometimes heard of them, and felt a curious interest in them, I really did not understand what they were to me, or I to them. We were brothers and sisters, but what of that? Why should they be attached to me, or I to them? Brothers and sisters we were by blood; but* slavery *had made us strangers.* (Douglass 1855:48).

Other sisters, younger than Douglass, are listed in the census as Kitty, Arianna, and Arian. He may never have known who they were. Part of what makes these lists so powerful is that they provide the familial connections that were lost in slavery (Skolnik 2012). From them, it is possible to create an extended family tree (see Appendix C), some of which Douglass was aware of, but most of it would have been completely unknown to him. He writes about his grandparents, mother, aunt, and

some of his siblings, but knowledge of the rest was taken from him by the system of slavery, which did not value connections of family. Even still, there are no fathers recorded in the lists, except for Isaac Bailey, Douglass' grandfather, who was a free man. Although some familial networks can be restored by these historical records, this system fundamentally disrupted the patrilineal lineage.

In addition to connections between people, we can also draw lines between people and places. Because the records list multiple properties and multiple years, we can see movement from one Lloyd property to another, creating intersecting paths of people split up and coming together on the Eastern Shore. This demonstrates the process of how families were systematically divided. Edward Lloyd IV was conscious of the optimal size for a work force on the plantation, and sought to maintain a certain population to manage the crops, but not overcrowd the quarters. In the censuses, there are individuals that are recorded as "out" or it is noted that they are moving to another Lloyd property. In other cases, the names simply disappear from the Wye House census and reappear on a different property. Edward Lloyd IV would intentionally move women and children, or just the children on their own, to other plantations when the population on one grew too high to maintain optimal agricultural production (Russo 1992:79). He maintained a careful control over the population, resulting in the doubling of agricultural workers at Wye House during his tenure. This is the same technique practiced by Lloyd's relatives-in-law, the Tayloes at Mt. Airy (Dunn 1990).

This further disrupted the familial relationships of enslaved people and maintained a system by which mothers were separated from their children and these

emotional attachments disrupted. Douglass laments his loss of family, explaining that this one of the greatest cruelties of slavery. He was taken from his mother as an infant and given to his grandmother to raise, which he explains was a commonplace and purposeful practice:

> *It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired out on some farm a considerable distance off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.* (Douglass 1845).

This destruction of familial bonds was not only emotionally traumatizing, but also violent. In describing a scene from Baltimore, Maryland where enslaved people were taken from the ships to be auctioned off, "Parson" Rezin Williams adds greater force to the dehumanization of separating families from one another. He explains:

> *It was a pitiful sight to see them, half naked, some whipped into submission, cast into slave pens surrounded by iron bars. A good healthy negro man from 18 to 30 would bring from $200 to $800. Women would bring about half the price of the men. Often when the women parted with their children and loved ones, they would never see them again.*

Despite the horrifying reality of parents and children being torn apart for the benefit of plantation owners at any time, the records at Wye House do show the presence of family names passed on over generations. These surnames, such as Roberts, Copper, and Demby become prevalent family names that have endured as connections to the present-day descendant community.

The names in the records also provide us with information about individuals' origins. In 1770, a 75 year-old man called Antigua Jemmy lived at Wye House. Eight

years later, at age 83, he was sent to a different Lloyd property. On the census, it is denoted as a New Park, and may refer to Lloyd's Recovery or Lloyd's Park. A year after that move, Antigua Jemmy was no longer listed among the names of the hands. His origins before he came to Talbot County are expressed in the name he possessed, Antigua being an island in the West Indies. Additionally, the name Jemmy was derived from *Kwámè*, the Akan name for a male born on a Saturday. Also in 1770, a name at Wye House is listed as Cuffee, a name likely derived from *Kofí,* the Akan name for a male born on a Friday. At the end of the eighteenth century, there were at least three women on the Lloyd plantations using Cuffee as a surname. In the 1790s, there was a girl named Affy on one Lloyd plantation, likely coming from *Afua*, the Akan name for a female born on a Friday. By 1834, a boy at Wye House had Affey as a surname.

These names are passed on through generations, and while this does not mean the bearer held a greater "African" identity than those who did not have such names, it does demonstrate the ways in which traditions were preserved, altered, and repeated over time. It also helps us as researchers to understand where the enslaved people from Wye House were coming from originally. Ships from the West Indies came into Oxford, Maryland, down the road from Wye House, in the early eighteenth century, and directly from Africa by 1742 (Preston 1985:11). From the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (Emory University 2009), by the mid-eighteenth century, a majority of the ships carrying slaves into ports like Annapolis and Oxford in Maryland

traveled from Senegambia or the Bight of Biafra, though there were some that came from Sierra Leone and West-Central Africa.

To go from the traditional, Lloyd-dominated narrative of Wye House to one in which the landscape is populated by Frederick Douglass and all of the names recorded in the inventories, it is important to understand the ideological differences between the different groups' experiences. The enslaved people of the plantation would not have seen or moved through the landscape in the same manner as the plantation owners and their guests. Dell Upton (1988) describes the differences in Black and White cultural landscapes on the plantation. The landscape of the plantation owners and their honored guests consisted of social barriers to pass through that create an "articulated processual landscape" (Upton 1988:364). These barriers represented the exclusivity of particular spaces. Because the enslaved were not a part of the audience, they could circumvent the barriers, but at the same time, they were not privy to the same connections and movements through the cultural landscape as the privileged. While free whites could find refuge and pleasure in the constructed nature of the gardens and grounds, for the slaves, it was a constant reminder of the restrictions placed upon them.

Although it was the slaves who built and maintained the gardens and greenhouses on the Wye House landscape, this is a particular space that was not meant to be enjoyed by them. While certain slaves worked in the gardens, others were not allowed within the space. Douglass describes this exclusivity when he relates how famous an attraction the garden was—with visitors coming from all of Maryland to

see it—but how some slaves would be severely punished for entering particular sections or giving in to the temptation to pick its fruit:

> *The colonel [Edward Lloyd V] had to resort to all kinds of stratagems to keep his slaves out of the garden. The last and most successful one was that of tarring his fence all around after which, if a slave was caught with any tar upon his person, it was deemed sufficient proof that he had either been into the garden, or had tried to get in. In either case, he was severely whipped by the chief gardener. (Douglass 1845:28)*

There were strict restrictions on place and movement through the landscape, but the interaction—physically, mentally, spiritually—with nature may have provided an opportunity for resistance for enslaved individuals. Descriptions of this landscape are not found in historical records, and it is in the realm of the archaeological and archaeobotanical evidence in this dissertation to illuminate this aspect of the Wye House.

Conclusion

The historical background of Wye House is often overpowered by the story of the Lloyds as original colonists in Maryland. While this is an important part of the history of this region, it ignores the African-American heritage on the plantation. Both colonists and those that they enslaved were reforming identities in the Chesapeake. Though there is little historical documentation overall of the Black individuals who lived and worked on the plantation during slavery, the censuses taken by the Lloyds allow us to put names to the past and begin to hypothesize where they came from and what traditions they brought with them. In doing so, this allows me as an archaeologist to contextualize the archaeological and archaeobotanical remains,

which are the bulk of this dissertation's evidence, from the perspectives of those who handled, created, and cultivated those objects and plants in the past. The historical record alone is not enough, and must be joined with material culture for a more balanced narrative.

The historical context presented here is important to locate this dissertation in time and space. The contact between enslaved Africans and European colonists on Chesapeake plantations in this time resulted in a particular recombination of practices, beliefs, and identities that became unique to the United States. Individuals maintained connections with their homelands and identified themselves in opposition to other social groups. The context of the Wye House Plantation within the Chesapeake serves as a backdrop for the ways that Blacks and Whites interacted with the environment around them and retained cultural traditions that can be seen through the excavated materials.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Frameworks

Just as I position the Wye House within its geographical and historical contexts, I also position myself within theoretical discourses. This dissertation draws on a post-colonial framework that looks at the landscape, gardens, and artifacts at the Wye House plantation from a transatlantic perspective. The implantation and appropriation of both people and plants in the age of European expansion were forms of imperial control that shaped the world and environment as we understand it today. A study of gardening in the historical period must use this perspective in order to acknowledge the myriad cultural linkages between the colonizer and the colonized.

This influences interpretations in two ways. First, by widening the scope of garden studies to encompass landscape practices on a global scale, it allows the researcher to draw connections that were previously overlooked due to geographical difference. Second, it recognizes the contributions of more than the traditionally key actors in the shaping of gardening practices. Beyond a Eurocentric view of the colonizing powers as the sole shapers of the landscape, a transatlantic perspective understands the multiplicity of ways in which landscapes may be experienced, analyzed, and encoded. The process of colonization and resistance involves the spatial and social reordering of the landscape through natural materials, mapping, objects, classification, and subversion.

The culturally-constructed dichotomies that emerge in this framework are those of the natural and the supernatural, scientific and spiritual, and Black and White, all of which are culturally-defined categories that play out in colonizing

powers and resistance on the landscape. Importantly, an examination of these false dichotomies reveals that the plantation exists in the liminal space between these categories. It is the product of the struggle, tensions, and negotiations between multiple cultural points of view. These categories are culturally created and navigated, including by archaeologists in the present. It is important for us to understand the ways in which ideas of science, nature, order, and control are different from the past to the present and from culture to culture. On the plantation, or any place in which ideologies come into contact and conflict, these ideas become entangled, overlapped, and altered in a process of syncretization. In this chapter and the literature review that follows, I situate myself within my own cultural and academic ideologies.

Here, I position the plantation landscape as a "space of otherness," an in-between stage upon which the members of multiple social categories experience, create, and subvert social orderings. This is useful in understanding power relations on the Wye House Plantation, and the ways in which structures of control could be resisted by the enslaved. I then place the enslaved people on the plantation as part of a diaspora, which is also a kind of in-between state. A theory of diaspora examines culture and material culture from a global and transnational perspective. With both the Lloyds and the enslaved people coming to the plantation from various locations, this perspective in needed to understand how multiple cultures interacted on and with the landscape.

This research also belongs within a framework of public archaeology. The project was developed within a movement toward inclusion of non-archaeological

communities in the present and calls for greater attention to African-American heritage in the field. Drawing from a critical theory perspective, public or community archaeology acknowledgements that others' knowledges and connections to the past are valuable additions to archaeological research. The involvement of descendants in this dissertation is explored in greater depth in Chapter 7.

Spaces of Otherness

The primary way in which I analyze the garden spaces at Wye House are as a space of otherness, that is, a space in between accepted categories in which social change and ordering occurs. There are multiple culturally-constructed dichotomies at play on the landscape of the plantation, and it is by examining these dichotomies critically that we can see the processes of colonization and resistance, ordering and reordering.

In order to understand the function of the gardens as spaces of ordering, I draw on Foucault's *Of Other Spaces* (1967). Foucault proposes the concept of the heterotopia, which he defines as spaces of otherness, which are spaces that represent a mirrored image of society. Heterotopias can be located in the real world, but also exist as spaces outside of reality. Foucault presents the analogy of his reflection in the mirror; it is at once real, and unreal. There are five principles of heterotopias: the first is that they are universal and exist as privileged spaces or as spaces of deviation from that privilege. Second, the function of a particular heterotopia changes within a culture over time. Third, heterotopias bring together several normally incompatible spaces into juxtaposition. In this way, they can represent an entire world within the

site. For this he uses the examples of a garden, library, or museum. The fourth principle is that heterotopias do not necessarily correspond to natural time—that is, they may contain within them objects which represent many time periods, or they may harken back to a particular time by memorializing a bygone era. Lastly, entry into a heterotopia is not granted freely, it is instead gained from the proper procedure or invitation (Foucault 1967).

Foucault's principles of heterotopia may be applied to the gardens and greenhouses of the Colonial Chesapeake gentry. As demonstrated by Frederick Douglass in Chapter 2, gardens could be restrictive spaces for the enslaved population, with trespass into particular areas carrying the severe threat of violence. Additionally, the third, four, and fifth principles are of particular note. The third principle, that heterotopias contain seemingly incongruous objects within a single sphere, is seen in the collection of plants from all around to world, which were then arranged and ordered in particular ways in the landscape. A global economy of commercial seeds and plants fed the consumerist desires of greenhouse owners to own rare and foreign flora. These entrepreneurial seedsmen brought foreign seeds and bulbs—fetishized as exotica or curiosities in the making—into a capitalistic exchange with between explorers of distant lands and local gardeners (Sarudy 1998: 65).

The fourth principle of the heterotopia is that it is not only paradoxical in space, but also time. This may be seen in the greenhouse architecture at the Wye House Plantation, which not only mirrors the Georgian architecture of the Wye House mansion, but also makes use of Palladian windows, a style influenced by Greek and Roman architecture. Architectural literature, such as two of Palladio's influential

volumes, were in the Lloyd family library (Wolf 1969:91). In the gardens and architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the elite of the emerging nation employed classical precedents in their designs in order to harken back to the Roman republic and to ideas of status, wealth, and education (Sarudy: 1998:49; 147). Additionally, Kryder-Reid (1994) explains that colonial elite used neoclassical imagery intentionally to draw upon the power of the past. Anne Yentsch (1990) exemplifies this as she describes the process of analyzing the excavations of the orangery at the Calvert House in Annapolis, Maryland. The defining feature of the Calvert Greenhouse was the hypocaust system, a dry-air heating system first developed by Romans. Yentsch concludes that by emulating the Romans, the Calvert family expressed classical learning and knowledge.

The fifth principle is that access to the heterotopia is only granted through invitation or ritual. On a plantation landscape, where there were strictly defined social classes of land-owning Whites, overseers, indentured servants, and enslaved Blacks, it is not difficult to see how entry to the greenhouse could be restricted or controlled. While laborers worked and even lived in the greenhouses, the visitors to the plantation were granted a particular access to a greenhouse and take on the social role of guest; the laborers who work there are not included among the intended audience for the display.

In *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia & Social Ordering* (2002), Kevin Hetherington uses Foucault's heterotopia—coupled with other theoretical conceptions of the spaces of "otherness"—in order to understand the emergence of modern social ordering, that is, the way in which people understand the place of themselves and

others in the modern world. Hetherington rightly notes that the heterotopia has since been approached by other social theorists under different names—among them Homi Bhabha's third space and Henri Lefebvre's representational spaces.

In *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre proposes a triadic process of space, where space is produced in an interaction between "representations of space," "spatial practice," and "representational spaces." The representations of space are the dominant ideologies of the space. These mask the spatial practice—that is, the way in which the space was produced. Coming from a Marxist perspective, Lefebvre conceives of spaces as being reproduced and the labor rendered invisible in much the same way that Marx saw the reproduction of class structure and commodities in capitalist societies (Hetherington 2002:22; Lefebvre 1991:33). Representational spaces are where resistance to the hegemonic structure of the representation of space occurs and marginalized or traditionally muted groups and ways of thinking create meaning within the space (Hetherington 2002:23).

The dominant ideology within the garden—exemplified by control, order, and hierarchy—masks the spatial practices, that is, the workers who constructed and maintained the landscape. In order to provide the illusion of the artificial arrangement as natural, the evidence of laborers in plantation gardens are often ignored in the historical record, and at times, actively destroyed. In one case, Charles Carroll from Annapolis, Maryland removed all evidence of the working force from his eighteenth-century garden. In doing the archaeology of this time period, Kryder-Reid found that:

> *The labor to produce and maintain the garden was made invisible: all evidence of the stone masons and their workshed torn down, the slaves and their wheel barrows were housed elsewhere, and the "functional" out-*

> *buildings were placed out of sight to the west of the house. (Kryder-Reid 1994)*

The intention was to produce the impression of a "self-generating" nature, unrelated to the labor. This is also the case at the Wye House Plantation, where the buildings where enslaved people lived and worked on the Long Green have been neglected on the landscape and in the historical record. Representational spaces, however, serve to make the spaces of representation and the spatial practices visible. For Lefebvre, representational spaces are where resistance by marginal groups occurs (Lefebvre 1991). By analyzing the material culture on the plantation from the enslaved perspective, this creates a representational space.

In *The Location of Culture* (1994), Bhabha offers the idea of the "third space," where the creation of new cultural identities occurs in the active process of hybridity between the colonized and the colonizer. In *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*, however, Jill H. Casid (2005) cautions against seeing Bhabha's hybridization as merely the product of colonization, instead of one of its primary techniques of reordering and subsuming a social landscape (Casid 2005:1). In this way, the colonized and colonizers are not simply passive and oblivious participants in an inevitable process, but rather active decision-makers in the pursuit of dominance and subversion.

Hetherington uses these ideas in conjunction to create the idea of the heterotopia as a space of alternate ordering, suggesting that the spaces of "otherness" are the spaces in which the continuous process of social ordering and reordering takes place, representing the tensions, contradictions, and multivocal understanding of the

modern world. The identity found in Chesapeake gardens and greenhouses is neither the Euro-American tradition—as the colonizer—nor the African tradition—as the colonized—but a negotiation between them (Bhabha 1994:36; 112). The analyses of material culture on plantations must take this process and multiplicity into account rather than assuming that cultures developed in isolation.

To examine resistance and express the agency of oppressed or marginalized people, I and other archaeologists have also turned to Michel de Certeau's *Practices of Everyday Life* (1984). According to de Certeau, tactics are an individual action of opposition or subversion within a space. Using tactics, an individual may reappropriate power (de Certeau 1984). There is precedence for viewing the landscape of the plantation in the same manner as de Certeau envisioned "the city" in which institutions of power define the environment through the use of strategies (Burton 1997; Hauser 2011). These strategies ensured "control over space, time, and social interaction—and from the vantage point of the documents that reveal its location and operation, there was little room to maneuver for the agents that operated within it" (Hauser 2011:165). These strategies involved the emotional, psychological, and physical violence by which enslaved people were oppressed, overworked, separated from family, injured, and murdered.

However, according to de Certeau, within this environment there is opposition against those with power in the form of tactics. The purpose of tactics, as employed by those without power, is to subvert the system and turn elements of it against itself, and this can be seen in the enslaved laborers in plantation systems (Burton 1997:50). When slaves disobeyed rules, "accidentally" broke tools, practiced banned religions,

or hid property in root cellars, they were able to express a limited amount of control over their occupied spaces.

This framework is useful at the Wye House Plantation, where there are several instances of hidden caches of spiritual objects through which the enslaved people subverted the Lloyds' control over the landscape. Although the gardens at Wye House were designed to demonstrate the power of the Lloyd family, alternative perspectives of the landscape allow for alternative modes of social ordering.

Diaspora

The enslaved Africans and African-Americans at Wye House belonged to the larger African diaspora. A diaspora is a theoretical concept that describes the processes of a fragmentation and reconstitution of an ethnonational community after separation from a homeland. The patterned process that emerges in diasporic communities begins with a traumatic disconnect from the homeland and massive migration to multiple other countries. The global complexity of the reformation of the identity outside of the homeland comes from what Gabriel Sheffer refers to as the "triangular relationship" between homeland, hostland, and diasporic kin in other nations (Sheffer 2006:122). Individuals brought to the hostland find themselves both alienated or racialized and actively maintaining elements of a separated cultural identity. Through this separation—both voluntary and involuntary—multiple national identities have to be negotiated to form a new sense of community.

An "ethnonation" here is used in contrast to a nation-state, which has geographical and political boundaries, whereas as the communities of a diaspora

transcend physical demarcations to create a transnational—and in the case of this dissertation, transatlantic—ethnic identity (Tölölyan 1996). Originally coming from the Greek word to scatter or sow, it has been traditionally associated with the Jewish loss of homeland and dispersion around the world. The word's origins did not immediately imbue it with the negative connotations of suffering and exile, but rather referred to the Ancient Greek expansion and colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean (Cohen 1997:2). According to diasporic scholar Khachig Tölölyan, "For the Greeks, 'diaspeirein' was originally an abrupt but natural process, the fruitful scattering away of seeds from the parent body that both dispersed and reproduced the organism" (Tölölyan 1996:10). The razing of Jerusalem added a sense of fragmentation to the Jewish scattering, a break from the religious and political center of the community that reverberated through generations. In its association with the Jewish migrations, the word diaspora came to represent feelings of loss, suffering, and exile. The way in which the Jewish people reconstituted their culture and identity outside of the homeland became the prototypical example of the formation of a diasporic community.

For scholars, the word mostly held this limited attachment to the Jewish people with the additional inclusion of the movements of Greeks and Armenians as examples that closely related (Tölölyan 1996:9). The Armenian people suffered invasions from neighboring nations from antiquity up to the early twentieth century, in which the Turkish forces killed what may have been half of the Armenian population. Throughout the deportations and exile, the survivors of the repeated traumas retained their language and religion (Cohen 1997:44-45). It was not until the

1960s that social scientists began to more widely apply the term, and it was not until the 1990s that they made efforts to develop a working definition and theory. These changes in the academic world have come about due to societal changes in thinking about transnational identities (Tölölyan 1991:4). The use of the word has therefore expanded to include the migrations of many global communities, even moving into mainstream vocabulary. For that reason, it has become important for social scientists to pull back the layers of ambiguity that have accumulated and enter into a discourse on the meaning of diaspora and its guiding theories.

Although diaspora scholarship sits underneath a transnational umbrella, it is necessary to set it apart from the other migrations, such as immigration, as a unique concept. Gabriel Sheffer (2006) calls for a clear distinction between transnational communities and diasporas. Though the two are related, Sheffer defines five elements of diasporic communities that contrast with other transnational migrations: that the diasporic identity is dependent on shared cultural interests such as myths, religious beliefs, or customs; that the diasporic community develops communication networks and organizations that transcend state boundaries; that they maintain a sense, in some way, of loyalty to the homeland; that they actively contribute to the homeland, hostland, and international networks; that they strategically organize as a community to enact policies (Sheffer 2006:132). For Tölölyan (1996), diaspora is distinctive through the extent to which the community maintains a separate identity in the hostland and engages with the homeland and related communities in other countries.

This definition still leaves room for ambiguity and for a subjective interpretation of the degree to which a transnational community engages in these

practices, and therefore whether or not it constitutes a diaspora. James Clifford (1994) warns that it can be problematic to create a model-type by which all transnational migrations are judged. This effectively places particular elements on a scale or more or less important to a diasporic community and places communities on a scale of more or less diasporic. He also notes that throughout time and varying circumstances a diasporic identity may increase or decrease in popularity (Clifford 1994:306). He encourages the perspective that, being a social concept, the definition of diaspora must allow for flexibility and fluidity if it is to describe a social condition. For the purposes of this dissertation, the African diaspora describes the process of the trauma of the slave trade and the reconstitution of identities and cultural practices throughout the Atlantic. The English colonizers of other countries—including the United States—though not constituting a diaspora in accordance with the accepted definition of a painful expulsion, also maintained a transatlantic connection to their homeland and forged new ethnonational identities in the New World. The enslaved laborers at Wye House were part of a diaspora, while the Lloyds were not.

From the many expulsions and massacres of the Jewish and Armenian peoples, to the cruelty and dehumanization of the Atlantic slave-trade, the Great Hunger and migration of the Irish, or the ethno-religious exiles of the Indian or Zoroastrian diasporas, the shared sense of community of a diaspora begins with a shared trauma and loss. What follows is the purposeful isolation and forced alienation in the host country, which results in a communal identity. This can take the form of physical enclaves such as Chinatowns (Voss and Allen 2008) or the Irish neighborhoods of Five Points, New York (Brighton 2009), or from the active refusal

to assimilate to the religious, cultural, or linguistic norms of the host country across generations. The community as a whole blends its myths of the homeland, passing these stories and cultural traditions down the generations, continuously "returning" to this shared heritage, assuring the survival of a distinct identity. In this way, a simulacra of the culture of the homeland is created and the identities of those within the diaspora shaped in a liminal space of not-quite-belonging. By the very nature of the experience, the reconstitution of the culture will not be a simple reproduction of that which was in the home country, but a blending of myth and memory that becomes a powerful rallying point around which the community can pivot.

As the diasporic community reconnects with the homeland, multiple national identities have to be negotiated. For example, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Parsis in India became invested in the welfare of Iranian Zoroastrians, and founded the Iran League. This group of Parsis added an Iranian national identity to their sense of self and worked to maintain a connection with the homeland. They encouraged speaking out for the rights of Iranian Zoroastrians, trade with Iran, lectures about the country, and heritage tours for Parsis to experience the homeland first hand. Eckehard Kluke refers to this time in Parsi history as a "historical and national reorientation" (Kluke 1974:142-144). This turning back toward the homeland, even after generations of separation, and a shared sense of community are integral for the continuation of a diaspora.

In the social identities of the African diaspora, a sense of movement is at the forefront of the reconnection. In this case, "movement" is meant in the physical, cultural, and political senses. Political movements united the goals of the

transnational community, and in some cases, the longing to recreate an African homeland. In the early twentieth century, Marcus Garvey rallied followers for the Universal Negro Improvement Association, whose objective was to relocate members of the African diaspora to Liberia and found an "Africa for Africans." Through this movement, Garvey sought to create a united identity and self-image among many disparate people and locations (Gates 2011:265).

The desire to return or reconnect to a homeland in a diaspora is not always physical. Kim Butler (2001) explains that a desire to actually return to the homeland is not necessary for a diasporic identity, arguing that relationships with the homeland are complex and different for various groups, sometimes not allowing for repatriation. Instead, a maintained connection with the homeland can be expressed in many different cultural, emotional, and artistic forms (Butler 2001:205). Butler represents the diasporic consciousness or self-awareness as a wheel. The hub of the wheel works as the homeland, while the spokes serve as a visual representation of the scattered diasporic communities. Their connections with the homeland and with each other create the completed wheel (Butler 2001:208). Identifying as kinsmen or sympathizing with the plights of Africans and African descendants binds these groups to the homeland and to each other, creating an awareness of their shared transnational experience. For the local communities of Easton and Unionville around Wye House, even for those who are not biologically related to the enslaved people on the plantation, there is still a sense of communal loss, suffering, and spiritual connection.

One of the first uses of the term "diaspora" as applied to the global African-descended communities is credited to George Shepperson (1969), though the concept

of such a community consciousness can be found in early African-American writings. Through authors such as W.E.B. Du Bois, readers found the formation of a collective homeland—a reaction to the shared trauma of an oppressed past and ongoing oppressive present. While there was and still is much heterogeneity in the African diaspora, a body of literature and pooling of experiences aided in the creation of a cultural simulacra and shared community (Mintz and Price 1992:14). The double consciousness described by W.E.B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*, being the "twoness" felt by African-Americans who strive to be part of a national American identity while racialized as something "other," describes well a similar sense of "multiple belongings" felt in any diasporic community. (Tölölyan 1996:7-8).

The academic study of the African diaspora in the social sciences began with studies and debates on race, whose impacts are still felt in research today. During the first half of the twentieth century, the main concern of anthropologists—a majority white—was in the classifications of cultures and people through perceived differences (Mintz and Price 1992:13). *Human Typogeny* (1937), an article written Aleš Hrdlička, called for a greater understanding of the human as an organism. Toward that end, Hrdlička described the morphological, physiological, and pathological differences within the range of human variability. His 1937 article focused on the typology of skulls, faces, chins, noses, and parts of the skeletal structure. This tendency toward differential forms of the body is what Hrdlička called human typogeny. The types presented in the article show the interest of early physical anthropologists in creating taxonomic structures for human differences. In pointing out these differences,

Hrdlička hoped to highlight the importance of understanding how these variations are produced in an effort to better understand ourselves as humans.

By understanding the differences between races, some early anthropologists hoped this understanding would actually alleviate racial tensions, but their results further perpetuated human differences, normalizing race as a “scientific” fact. In *The Negro as a Biological Element in the American Population* (1939), W. Montague Cobb, an early African-American anthropologist, separated the "Negro" as a distinct and divergent component of the American population. The article discussed the admixture of the “Negro,” tracing lines of ancestry and the intermingling of "blood," and took note of physical advantages and mental abilities. Cobb’s (1943) argued that race is a biological reality and that the social problems that have arisen have been due to a lack of knowledge about it. Wilton M. Krogman (1948) agreed with this concept, and divided humans into four races. Krogman and other anthropologists of his time supported the idea that these subdivisions of people, these races, were actually different subspecies of humanity. Each of these “scientific” studies of race was fueled by the already-held belief of other races as being different—inferior—to whites, which had been used as justification for slavery and dehumanization.

This insistence on race as a biological fact or the separation of African Americans as subspecies in the social science institutions of the early twentieth century was fundamental to the continuation of the African diaspora in that it created a separation and difference that was institutionally imposed on members of a group that are perceived by outsiders to be homogenous. It is often the case that the homogenizing gaze of the hostland plays a role in the formation of a diasporic

consciousness, racializing a group of people in order to marginalize and alienate it. This cultural construction of race and alienation has the additional effect of creating solidarity among the diaspora, as was already the case with worldwide African communities during enslavement (Butler 2001:207). This sense of kinship despite differences is a necessity in the creation of the imagined community of a diaspora and ensures the survival of the community as an imagined cultural unit throughout generations. (Butler 2001:192).

Melville Herkovits, too, operated within this period of anthropology during which the discipline was attempting to grapple with the concept of race and human differences. While other anthropologists of his time sought to understand perceived racial differences through biological variation—creating a scientific racism that naturalized race and often justified the treatment of African Americans in the United States—Herkovits approached the issue from a cultural and historical perspective in *African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief* (1937) and *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). Herskovits supported an "encounter model" to understanding African-American heritage, wherein an "African culture" and a "European culture" came together in New World colonies and produced the African-American culture as it is understood in a modern-day context, a process he called syncretization. He searched for similarities between the cultural codes of Africa and those in the United States as a way of disproving the "catastrophism" of scholars such as E. Franklin Frazier, who believed that such codes or symbols could not have survived the trauma of the Middle Passage and slavery. The cultural codes, African "survivals," or "Africanisms" that Herskovits sought also became a goal of archeologists, who

wanted to understand how the material culture of the African diaspora manifested through syncretization in the New World.

Public Archaeology

The orientation of this dissertation toward a history of Wye House that is inclusion of African-American heritage comes from its situation within a publically-oriented program. It addresses needs of present-day descendant communities to connect and heal from a traumatic past. A framework of public or community archaeology is one that acknowledges multiple ownerships of history and strives toward inclusion and multivocality.

Public archaeology brings the construction of the past out of the sole governance of other archaeologists and into an accessible sphere of local or global communities. In doing so, it forces archaeologists to reflexively examine why their projects would be relevant to another audience and how they could be received and used. The focus is not just on the past, but the lived relationships in the present between various stakeholders (Matthews et. al 2011:484). By letting others—an immense and diverse audience—in as active participants in the archaeological process, public archaeology necessarily joins many different understandings of history and objects together. This calls into question the single authentic past or a static interpretation of artifacts. Public archaeology is a performance of interpretations that can take many forms—guided tours, printed materials, interviews, web-based outreach, museum exhibits, presentations, community meetings, etc.—and involve varying levels of collaboration. Public archaeology's guiding principles have

had an effect on the methods of many public institutions and archaeologists in the last few decades.

The term "public archaeology" first came into common use as a synonym for Cultural Resource Management (CRM). McGimsey (1972) writes that "There is no such thing as 'private archaeology'" in reference to the work carried out by state and federal agencies, believing that the findings of archaeological inquiry have applicability to all people as an investigation into humanity's past (McGimsey 1972:5). His concern lay with the funding and development of state-level programs to protect archaeological resources. Without an invested public to lobby for legislation or provide adequate funding, the resources would be lost. Therefore, it is the responsibility of archaeologists to connect with the public and amateur archaeologists to ensure that research is ethically and completely done to salvage endangered archaeological materials and information (McGimsey 1972:14). The public served is not necessarily the one solicited for support, but rather the public in the future, for whom the historical resources are preserved as relevant pieces of humanity's shared history. Miller (1980) acknowledged that different publics may be served by archaeology differently. For that reason, archaeologists needed to be flexible and reconsider the academic goals of archaeology and their applicability in every case. In the years since this early definition of the term, public or community archaeology has acquired the sense of translating archaeological work to the public in the effort to educate about its value in the present (Jameson 1997).

In the projects and presentations within archaeology and the interpretation of material culture, there are fluctuating degrees of collaboration. Public archaeology is

related to other methodological approaches such as civic engagement, activist archaeology (Stottman 2011), and social justice (Shackel 2007), which explicitly share authority with communities with the purpose of enacting change. The web of terms that results from conceptually mapping out these approaches would reveal that they are not discrete and bounded, but rather overlapping and fluid. For some, archaeology that is translated for public consumption is not enough to fulfill the moral obligation of the archaeologist to communities.

At its most basic definition, returning to the CRM model of public archaeology, the project simply needs to involve the public in some way. Jeppson (1997) discourages this mode of thinking and promotes a "people's" archaeology rather than a "public" archaeology. Public archaeology, as it has often been practiced, involves "cracking open the door of the past a little wider," whereas a people's archaeology would challenge social and political power dynamics and advocate for more shared control over historical production and resources (Jeppson 1997:65). She also argues that what we know as public archaeology itself should constitute more than the translation and presentation of archaeological information. More than interpretation as a "discrete, bounded, contribution launched from the scholarly realm," public archaeology should be part of a shared process of multiple interpretations and the production of new knowledge (Jeppson 2011:653).

Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2008) propose the "Collaborative Continuum" to demonstrate a possible framework for understanding the range of community involvement. Collaboration is conceived as being at the far end of a continuum of practices, in which it is defined by mutually-defined goals, complete

access to information, and full stakeholder engagement and voice in the research (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:11). As collaboration with stakeholder groups increases, archaeology produces more inclusive and ethically-sound archaeology that benefits not only the archaeologists, but also the stakeholder communities. Collaboration creates new interpretive frameworks based on Foucault's critique of the power/knowledge dynamic and the acknowledgement of archaeological work as a social, political, and economic process. Despite the founding of archaeology and anthropology within a history of colonialism and exploitation, more collaboration can help to build an environment of reciprocity, mutual respect, and multiple modes of knowledge production (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:19).

Public archaeology, with its focus on reflexivity and social contexts, has examined how archaeological projects can be framed to highlight the struggles of the working-class (Chidester and Gadsby 2009), the enslaved (LaRoche and Blackey 1997), and the otherwise marginalized who have previously had little voice in the historical narrative. The driving force behind much of this reframing in archaeology has come from the increased collaboration with Native American groups. Robert Kelly (2000) asserts that the purpose of archaeology is to end racism, and the means to accomplishing that goal is through better education.

Overall, public archaeology is a more inclusive and open method of conducting research that has various and lasting impacts on descendants, local communities, and archaeologists. Edwards-Ingram's (1997) call for inclusivity of diverse community groups begins by acknowledging that both archaeologists and

members of the public have versions of the past that they wish to be recognized in the face of the dominant history. A misconception on the part of archaeologists is that the separation of African-American archaeology implies that only an African-American public would be interested and that it will be relevant for all African Americans. Public education for archaeology should resist the artificial divisions between "here" and "out there" and strive toward unity and inclusivity. While I do not think my research at Wye House reached full inclusivity and collaboration, the Archaeology in Annapolis project was founded on many of the principles of this archaeological reframing.

Conclusion

The primary concern of historical archaeology as a discipline is the understanding of the processes of globalization, capitalism, and the development of modernity, which aids in the task of understanding complex social structures such as power hierarchies and racial inequalities (Little 2007). As such, historical archaeology is well suited to a critical examination of the Wye House Plantation from a perspective that understands the shaping of the gardens and landscape within a historical, cultural, and transatlantic context.

The theoretical frameworks of this dissertation characterizes plantations as "spaces of otherness" in order to examine the process of social ordering and reordering, colonization and resistance. This process creates particular forms of material culture that are a recombination of the cultural codes of a diaspora. Although this research is localized on a single plantation on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, its

landscape, vegetation, people, and artifacts must be placed within the history of the Atlantic slave-trade, the formation and racialization of the African diaspora, and the wide-reaching ramifications this had on the shaping of the modern world and its ideologies across national borders and continents.

This research has a direct impact on the lives of descendants today, many of whom feel a strong familial connection—in a spiritual and biological sense—to those who were enslaved at Wye House. This is timely and relevant work for a descendant community who is tired of having a past that is largely silenced in historical narratives and a present that is marginalized.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

This dissertation draws from bodies of literature that work toward understanding the combination and recombination of cultures on the plantation landscape. I consider the landscape of the plantation as a form of material culture, pulling from human geography and landscape archaeology to understand the ways in which people interact with the environments around them. The landscape of Wye House—including its spatial arrangements, gardens, structures, plants, and surrounding areas—is a source of analysis of cultural practices.

Then I describe the archaeological work in general that has been done within a diasporic framework. This includes the material research in the United States within the African diaspora. This body of literature is necessary to contextualize and compare the material culture excavated at the Wye House Plantation. I draw from sources that examine African-American material culture and experiences in the United States, especially within plantation spaces for comparative purposes with the Wye House Plantation. I also use sources that describe the ideology behind European gardening practices, particularly as they relate to colonial expansion and science. These bodies of literature serve to contextualize the archaeological and archaeobotanical materials recovered at Wye and understand the ways in which different people would have interacted with the world around them.

Landscape as Material Culture

The artifacts, botanical materials, and the landscape itself of the Wye House Plantation that are considered in this dissertation are forms of material culture. Most importantly, as material culture, these can all be interpreted from a multiplicity of perspectives. Material culture can be defined as the codified physical products of shared beliefs, knowledge, ideologies, and societal expectations. In *In Small Things Forgotten*, James Deetz expresses the concept as "the product of our thoughts, as that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior" (Deetz 1996:35). It is this definition that I use in my examination of landscapes and gardens. The tangible characteristics of the world are structured, ordered, manipulated, and transformed by cultural activity, resulting in an environment altered by knowing or unknowing designers. As architects of the landscape, John Dixon Hunt refers to the activities of human beings as "exterior place-making," the creation of a cultural location in which to set ourselves (Hunt 2000:2).

As a material culture viewed by human geographers, archaeologists, and historians, the interaction with the landscape can be understood as a primary way in which people both express and absorb cultural ideas. It is a means of marking territory, improving health, and making visibly forged identities. It is conquered, changed, and set as stage for human activity and politics. It is a form of capital, a producer and display of wealth and power. It is a record of history, a dynamic natural and cultural palimpsest. It is used to transmit ideas, dictate behavior, and connect places to shared experiences. Using a combination of natural materials and artifacts,

landscapes and gardens are both social constructions that embody cultural understandings and ideological stances on nature, humanity, art, science, and the relationships between each of those.

Organic materials and formations of landscapes, as products of culture, may be used as artifacts in material culture scholarship. Landscapes, as built environments, exist in both the physical and social realms. The origins of the English word "landscape" demonstrate this duel manifestation and the way in which the concept is understood from a European perspective. The Dutch *landschap* or *landskip* is the prospect or depiction of land, a moment of two-dimensional scenery that can be captured through artistry (Hunt 2004:14). In this sense, the landscape is a picture detached from the observer and made to be experienced and valued through its physical aesthetics, like a landscape painting. The German *landschaft*, however, refers not to a geographical proximity or sight, but rather shared social or agricultural production practices and values (Cosgrove 2006:53-54; Stewart 1996:11). This brings a cultural dimension to the word. Although the landscape can, and is, studied in the physical sense, it is also what Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove call a "cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring, or symbolising surroundings" (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988:1). Taken together, landscape is both the physical environment and also the cultural ways in which that environment is seen, understood, depicted, and altered.

The concept of landscape archaeology, understanding the spaces occupied and formed by people as data to be interpreted, developed out of the fields of geography, landscape architecture, sociology, and material culture studies. With increasingly

critical environmental studies, it has become more important for the scholars of culture to acknowledge the interaction between people and the totality of their built environments. In an essay originally published in 1980, Thomas Schlereth pointed out the need for historians to examine nature, plants, and landscapes as documentary evidence. He explains how the terrain and vegetation of the American landscape at the time of European colonization played a significant role in the routes of explorers, plans for battles, and memorialization of historical events (Schlereth 1990). Nature and culture are intertwined as the decisions that people made in the past were heavily influenced by the way in which they saw and understood the environment around them, and the environment was in turn altered by those decisions. Schlereth refers to the practice of incorporating this perspective into interpretations of the past as "above ground archaeology," borrowing the phrase from John Cotter (1974), who used it to encourage students of American material culture studies to look beyond the buried material past at the full spectrum of data available to them (Cotter 1974:268).

Important to the concept of landscape as cultural products are the ideas of space and place. Anthropologically, these terms have different meanings, which have been used to describe the ways in which people influence, interact, and understand their environment. For many anthropologists and social theorists, space exists as something neutral and unbounded, a "blank environment" from which place is derived. The cultural connections made with particular, named, and altered environments gives way to communally understood place. In *The Morphology of Landscape*, Carl Sauer (1925) promoted within the science of geography an emphasis on the phenomenological experience of a landscape, contributing greatly to the

concept of the "cultural landscape." According to archaeologist Chris Tilley (1994), space may be defined as a medium for action, while place is a context with distinct values and meanings. Place, then, is something that must be understood phenomenologically, from the perspective of lived, physical, and sensory experiences.

Following the call of James Deetz for archaeologists to acknowledge the need for a comprehensive theory and methodology of landscapes (1990:1), historical archaeologists have developed an interdisciplinary methodological arsenal for landscape studies, working closely with paleoethnobotanists, landscape architects, geographers, and architectural and garden historians (Miller and Gleason 1994; Harmon et al. 2006). Using the sociocultural theory that comes from a training in anthropology, many American historical archaeologists have looked at the social and symbolic implications of landscapes and gardens, particularly in how they have been used to shape and display identities (Baugher and Cunzo 2002). At Maryland estates, archaeologists have shown how the manipulation and control over nature through the use of optical illusions (Leone 1984) and the technological advancements of greenhouses (Yentsch 1990) worked to established prestige. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid (1994) discusses how eighteenth-century American gardens were not just a display of wealth, but also of scientific and worldly knowledge and a way to present a desired social identity of gentleman or scientific gardener. She explains that by drawing upon imagery of the past in the construction of gardens, such as neoclassical architecture and heroic figures, homeowners were using the powers of myths in the landscape. Kryder-Reid points out that gardens are particularly powerful as artifacts in that they

are three-dimensional spaces in which the subject moves and constantly experiences cultural structures in ways directed by the surrounding landscape construction.

One of the most influential works regarding these types of formal gardens is Mark Leone's work on the William Paca garden in Annapolis, Maryland. Drawing from Althusser's theory of ideology, Leone used Marxist concepts of power, hierarchy, and domination to explain why Paca built his garden in the way that he did and how it functioned within the larger society (Leone 1984). The rules which governed Paca's garden were the rules of the Georgian Order, which contributed to a belief that knowledge, observation, and an understanding of perspective illusions were representative of a command of nature by human beings. The concept of the Georgian Order was developed by Henry Glassie (1975), who explains that the symmetrical Georgian architecture in the Chesapeake was a sign of order and control over human behavior and nature—over all of reality. He claims, "The remnants we have to study are displays of control over two kinds of energy—over natural substances and spaces, over human will and ability" (Glassie 1975:162). The ideals of the Georgian Order were closely tied to concepts of capitalism and who had the right to power. These gardens were designed by rich, white, land-owning, well-connected males whose goals displaying these gardens were to either maintain their status within the society of their peers—at the top of a social hierarchy—or to simulate the power and position that they desired. The careful arrangement and control of time and space was a signifier in the Annapolis elite community that demonstrated how Paca saw himself and wished others to see him (Leone 1984).

This perspective was significant in bringing a critical materialist view to landscape studies, which analyzes material culture from a class- and power-based perspective. However, it does not allow for the multiple ways in which others could view and experience material culture. Though Paca was expressing a dominant ideology in the way he designed his Annapolis garden—keeping in line with the cultural expectations of his desired social group—it is only one partial interpretation. Missing from this is the different possible codes from which material cultures are created and read. Ian Hodder (1986) and Mary Beaudry et al. (1991) responded to this analysis by arguing that material culture analysis is an active and dialectic process.

William Paca's intended audiences were not the only people to walk through the garden and his intended message was not the only way to translate the landscape. Instead, there are negotiations between dominant and subversive ideologies that play out through the relationships between multiple social groups, ideas, and the built environment. While it is true that Paca and many of his guests would have likely subscribed to the dominant ideology, and read the landscape in this same way, there were others who lived on these estates—such as the enslaved laborers—who may have experienced an entirely different social and physical landscape. Meanings are shifting and fluid, and the same material culture may be used for different purposes, some of them to resist and challenge a dominant cultural practice. For example, the twentieth-century punk movement and the materials of safety pins represent an everyday object that takes on new value and meaning when seen in a particular context (Beaudry 1991:166). It is misrepresentative of the complexity of the past for archaeologists to assume that there is only one possible reading of a landscape—that

of the elite owner. This way of thinking leads to a reproduction of the elite perspective in archaeological understandings and writings of the past in the present.

For the scholar of landscapes, the theoretical concept of the palimpsest is particularly useful for this multiplicity, especially when examining evidence through time, as an archaeologist does. A palimpsest is a superimposition of activities overtime, originally referring to practice of scraping ink from parchment in order to inscribe over it. As the previous layer is imperfectly erased, it is faintly visible through the consecutive inscriptions. The changing of landscapes and the continuous build-up of soils on an archaeological site can also be viewed as a palimpsest. Geoff Bailey (2007) recognizes that palimpsests have been used as a concept in archaeology and other disciplines for several decades, though it has only been since the 1980s that archaeologists have begun to shift in viewing the successively layered nature of their work as less of a hindrance and more of an opportunity for unique perspective (Bailey 2007:203).

To add to the already well-established metaphor, Bailey contributes two important ideas. One is that there are many different kinds of palimpsest effects, including a "palimpsest of meaning." This is the effect upon an artifact that develops a succession of meanings over time, through multiple ownerships, uses, and interpretations. Included within this is the meaning placed upon it by the archaeologist, bringing the additive layers of the palimpsest all the way to the present (Bailey 2007:208-209). The second is the idea of time perspectivism, which posits that, just as the analysis of a landscape changes depending on the geographical scale the researcher uses, so too does the "time resolution" change an interpretation (Bailey

2007:200-201). The depth of time as seen through the palimpsest should be refined by the researcher to whatever scale will best bring into focus the subject of study. The time scale of this dissertation includes the present, because the ways in which the archaeologists and descendants interact with the history of this research have greatly determined its research questions, methodologies, and interpretations.

Within the Wye House Plantation landscape, the formal gardens and garden-related buildings are prominent both physically and culturally, and are the focus of much of my research. The garden is a unique construction of the landscape that reveals much about the cultural ideas of the relationship between mankind and nature, which makes it a particularly interesting subject of the material studies of landscapes. Although both landscapes and gardens are bounded in various cultural perspectives, what distinguishes the garden from a European perspective is the definite and defining sense of enclosure. As with the word landscape, the origins of "garden" in English provide insight into its deeper cultural meanings in European societies. Its earliest uses point to the words *jardin* in French, meaning an enclosure, and *gart* in Old English, meaning a yard space or a cleared and enclosed piece of land. This is the truth of what a garden is to the plantation owner: it is a separation of space that transforms the land into someplace else, something which is culturally codified as different from the rest of nature. To garden scholar Anne Leighton, "A garden, to be a garden, must represent a different world, however small, from the real world" (Leighton 1986:6). My garden and landscape research at Wye House is fundamentally informed by this perspective of these places as cultural productions and constructions of worldviews.

Archaeologies of Identity and Diaspora

To make sense of the ways in which identity is visible in the archaeological record, archaeologists have drawn from the social theories of the larger context of social studies, including looking to Pierre Bourdieu (1977). Using Bourdieu's *habitus* and understanding of the structures of power, archaeologist Siân Jones (1997) explains that objects are necessarily constructed through the structures and embodied knowledge of culture. *Habitus* allows for the reproduction of the codified symbols exhibited by material culture, along with the agency for humans to manipulate the symbols within the system over time. It is the interplay between the structures and the manipulations that creates a social sense of self (Jones 1997:91). Jones also points out that the transformations of identities are active processes that take place in different social contexts according to the interests of social actors. This is relevant to the study of diasporic identities, which undergo reproductions and dynamic changes in different locations and throughout time.

According to Lynn Meskell (2002), it is the task of historical archaeologists—given the studies of race, class, gender, heritage, and selfhood that are relevant to the modern world—to disentangle the complex issues of embodiment and identity through material culture (Meskell 2002:284). Meskell notes, like others, that there is an inherent political aspect to the archaeological investigations of social identity, saying that "in extreme circumstances, it forms a locus for extrapolation to contemporary questions about origins, legitimacy, ownership, and ultimately, rights" (Meskell 2002:287). A diaspora, being a situation where ethnonational identities are

often keenly and even consciously negotiated between multifaceted motivations, would certainly count as an "extreme circumstance."

Much of the archaeological work on diaspora in the United States has come out of the study of the African diaspora. However, as the list of diasporas studied by academics has grown in recent years, and the archaeological work in this sphere too has expanded. Teresa Singleton (1999) explains that the history of African-American archaeology in the United States has shifted from "moral mission" to "social action." The former has the primary aim of including disenfranchised groups in the historical narrative, while the latter examines the complex and dynamic systems of social structures, like race and ethnicity, and African Americans are acknowledged as active agents in the production of diasporic culture and consciousness (Singleton 1999:5). A social action analysis becomes a means to expose the roots of inequalities and challenge them as a form of social justice in the home or hostlands. As diasporic scholarship is intertwined with political statement, so too is archaeology (Epperson 2004).

Other diasporic studies in archaeology include the immigrant Chinese populations in the United States. Barbara Voss and Rebecca Allen (2008) excavated Overseas Chinese community sites—as related to a transnational migration, if not a diaspora—and work toward an understanding of how identity is negotiated through material goods. The authors warn against an acculturation model, in which the ethnic identifiers of artifacts are used to determine the degree to which an immigrant community has assimilated into the dominant culture. This overlooks not only the complexity of identity expression, but also implies that the contact between two

cultures invariably sees one absorbed into the other. Instead, the authors promote models such as adaptation, creolization, and hybridity, which do not ignore the ways in which the immigrant communities also influence and alter the dominant culture (Voss and Allen 2008:19). Voss and Allen also acknowledge the positive contributions that a transnational approach in archaeology can have on present-day heritage organizations, as they have seen through their sustained collaboration with the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project (Voss and Allen 2008:20).

Likewise, the archaeological excavations of the Irish diaspora, both in Ireland and the United States have involved descendent community members and the ways in which material symbols have come to represent the diasporic consciousness (Orser 2007; Brighton 2009). Charles Orser's excavations in Ballykincline held a strong relationship with the descendants of the Irish tenants who were evicted from their lands in the mid-nineteenth century, the Ballykincline Society. The Society, which is stretched across the United States, felt a particular resonance with a thimble excavated from the site that was inscribed with the words "forget me not," encapsulating the way in which a diaspora carries on in the memories and social identities of generations throughout time. Orser points out the sense of community that forms from a shared heritage, explaining that from the United States to County Roscommon, there is a transatlantic feeling of being "cognitively linked" (Orser 2007:100).

In the United States, Stephen Brighton (2009) has examined the way in which symbols of Irish and American ethnicities are incorporated into a unique diasporic identity in the Five Points tenements in New York. The negotiation between

immigrant and citizen played out in the iconography found on artifacts, as American symbols joined Irish nationalist symbols. The trends in the display of heritage demonstrates a maintained connection with the homeland and a reconstitution of culture outside of the homeland. Brighton finds that a revival in Irish ethnic pride in the United States—and therefore the overt display of Irish symbols on items such as pipe bowls—corresponded to a Gaelic revival movement in Ireland (Brighton 2009:150-151).

A study of diaspora using archaeological methods is fundamentally a study of identity and the way it manifests in material culture, connecting the past to the present-day diasporic community. Through a vast and growing body of African diaspora literature, coupled with the larger field of the social sciences, it is possible to find the patterns or signatures of a diasporic consciousness. It is important to note, however, that the translation of cultural beliefs or practices from Africa to the New World is not exact, and the expression of identity is dynamic. The new identity of diasporic groups is constantly negotiated within the particular homeland, with individuals and groups deciding which elements, symbols, or traditions of their former country to preserve and how to incorporate those of the host society. The same symbols may take on different meanings in different locations and different materials may take on the same meanings.

One such pattern is in spiritual beliefs, and the ways in which African Americans—who were often forced to hide such beliefs in enslavement—used iconography and ways of understanding the spiritual realm. As Euro-Americans attempted to convert the enslaved to Christianity throughout the diaspora, the

religious beliefs of both groups were changed. Andrew Apter (1991) expresses the "evolving synthesis" of African religious identities through Herskovits's proposed syncretic paradigm, arguing that cultures in contact and conflict go through processes of resistance and revision in the formation of new dominant ideologies (Apter 1991:253). Apter cautions, however, against a conflation of African religions and promotes an understanding of the variety and dynamism of spiritual beliefs as they crossed the Atlantic.

Enslaved Africans brought systems of belief with them to the New World, and these practices survived by existing in an underground, concealed way. Within domestic spaces, particular materials—constructed and natural—drawing from the core symbols of West African religions were placed or buried in a pattern of locations for use as protective charms, spirit bundles, or caches (Wilkie 1995; Chan 2007; Galke 2000; Stine et al. 1996; Brown and Brown 1998; Fennell 2007). Usually found and repurposed items, these symbols or metaphors would have held a clear meaning to those within the social group. Many of these practices would have come from combinations of cultural and religious traditions of the Kongo kingdom in West Central Africa and Yorubaland in West Africa, which influenced practices in Brazil, Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the United States, and other sites of slavery across the Atlantic (Falola and Childs 2005). Yoruba, Bakongo, and a combination of the beliefs, symbolism, and material practices of each with the religions in the hostland manifested variously as Obeah in Jamaica, Vodou in Haiti, Santería in Cuba (Burton 1997), Candomblé in Brazil (Voeks 1997), and Hoodoo in the Southern United States.

There is an established but still growing literature of the materiality of folk magic in the United States, deriving from both European and West African traditions (Battle-Baptiste 2010; Birmingham 2014; Brown and Brown 1998; Cofield 2014; Davidson and McIlvoy 2012; Fennell 2007; Galke 2000; Hazzard-Donald 2012; Klingelhofer 1987; LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Leone and Fry 1999; Manning 2014; Merrifield 1998; Samford 1996; Stine et al. 1996; Thompson 1998; Wilke 1995). It can be difficult to assign race or ethnicity to archaeological materials when the occupants of a space are unknown or varied, particularly since many folk magic or spirit practices of European-American, African American, and Native American people overlapped or were adapted and combined throughout the Atlantic (Lucas 2014:106). British and Irish beliefs in witchcraft and popular magic also traveled to the New World, and also imbued particular objects with the powers to protect, harm, or force certain outcomes in the future. These traditions likely influenced each other, and it is only by considering the full contexts of the finds that it may be possible to draw interpretations of identity. Even still, it is important to acknowledge the multivalency of objects.

It can also be difficult to ascribe individual intention to archaeological materials. However there exist oral histories, art and folklore studies, and present-day analogies throughout the African diaspora that help archaeologists to interpret objects deliberately placed in particular circumstances as being part of a larger set of practices called “conjure,” “doctoring,” “rootwork,” or “hoodoo” among other names (Hazzard-Donald 2012; Leone and Fry 1999:374). These practices were not imported in a static manner to the United States, but rather developed into an African-American

tradition that continues to see similarities with yard art decorations in the present-day American South (Gundaker 2005; Westmacott 1992).

While it can be problematic to draw direct correlations between practices over long periods of time or great distances as though they were not dynamic and ever-changing, it is possible to make reasoned speculations about the potential origins of material practices. "Conjure bottles," which are concealed in the doorways or walls of a house, have been excavated from a former slave house at the Juan de Bolas Plantation in Jamaica (Reeves 1996) and in Virginia and North Carolina slave quarters (Samford 1996). The use of vessels such as gourds, bottles, bowls, cloth or any other material that could contain significant objects within it is well documented as an important component to the Bakongo cache or *minkisi* in traditional African practices (Young 2007). In bringing particular objects together and containing them, it is possible to direct spirits for the purposes of protection, healing, or harm. Although the materials and even intentions may not have been the same from one continent to the other, the similarities of the practices suggest the continuation of aspects of this tradition.

A theory of the archaeology of diaspora relies on the premise that social identities are produced and seen in the creation, reproduction, and exchange of material culture. The collective history of the community creates a shared "language" that is used and recognized in symbols by other members of the diaspora, called cultural codes or authentic markers (Brighton 2009:22). This process is variously called creolization, syncretization, hybridity, or "ethnogenic bricolage." The latter, coined by Christopher Fennel, describes the way in which cultural agents in new

locations combine and display material emblematic expressions or symbols from the homeland (Fennell 2007:9). Because identities are fluid and historically situated, archaeological research can draw conclusions about changes in relations between homelands, host countries, and international exchange networks based on artifacts that carry such codes.

African-American Material Culture

My interpretations at the Wye House Plantation in regards to the enslaved people are informed by the literature of diaspora in general (Sheffer 2006; Tölölyan 1996; Clifford 1994; Cohen 1997) and the African diaspora specifically (Gomez 2005). This "Black Atlantic" (Gilroy 1993) or transatlantic literature is vast and varied, focusing on the spread of people and ideas in art, literature, religious practices, music, and medicines from West African regions to the New World. Of particular interest to archaeologists has been how people manifested these ideas in physical objects, shedding light on the ways in which cultural concepts underwent a process of syncretization under slavery. (For overviews of African diaspora archaeology past and present please see: Barnes 2011; Fennell 2011; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et. al 2005; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Ogundiran and Saunders 2014; and Orser 1998).

Because of the tangibility of objects and because of the ways in which archaeology can ask questions about those not usually included in the historical record, the field—more so than history alone—is well equipped to provide these connections. The "authenticity" of material culture gives these artifacts a kind of

power. The awe-inspired feeling produced from being in the presence of original or "authentic" objects from the past may be understood as a form of sympathetic magic (Evans et. al 2002:72-73). Sympathetic magic relies on the premise that particular materials have power intrinsic to them based on contact. In the case of artifacts, it is a contact with a historical event or period for which it is being used that gives it power. This power may then be enacted on the natural world or people who come in contact with it, bridging the distance in time between the person and history (Evans et. al 2002:73). This aspect of material culture is important for archaeologists to understand in working in contexts that deal in traumatic elements of the past. Only recently have archaeologists begun to examine the cultural understandings and cues of the materials of plantations from the perspective of enslaved labor, which greatly expands the possible interpretations and meanings in the present.

Archaeologists look to patterns in the signs and emblems of the material record in order to contextualize artifacts, understanding the cultural meanings and cues. From this, the literature forms a grammar or lexicon for understanding materials found on plantation contexts. The first archaeological studies of the experiences of African and African-descended populations in the United States were grounded in the study of slavery. Charles Fairbanks' investigation of the slave cabins at the Rayfield Plantation (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971) and the Kingsley Plantation (Fairbanks 1974) were followed by John Otto at the Cannon's Point Plantation (Otto 1980). Both archaeologists, in the context of the Herskovits and Frazier debate and the burgeoning humanistic studies in archaeology, sought to understand the dimensions of plantation life and status through a comparison between the African-American and Euro-

American material deposits. Following the tradition of Melville Herskovits, the early researchers of African-American history tried to find the "African" within the plantation and post-emancipation landscape, and this is an interest that has remained in the field. This has taken the form of investigations such as mortuary practices (Handler 1997; LaRoche and Blakey 1997), inscribed symbols on ceramics (Meyers 1999; Ferguson 1992:115), and buried caches representing West African spirit practices (Birmingham 2014; Chan 2007; Fennell 2007; Galke 2000; Klingelhofer 1987; Leone and Fry 1999; Wilkie 1995).

In addition to the search for "Africanisms," by exposing the roots of ideologies such as racial disparity, historical archaeology has present-day social implications. For historical archaeologists, Black and White, uncovering the stories of slavery, segregation, and discrimination in African-American history through artifacts provides a means to discuss racial inequality in the present. For Paul Shackel (2011), working in the New Philadelphia community in Illinois, the archaeology of this free and integrated town was a means to bring a difficult past back into public memory. By making communities aware of the injustices committed in the past, rather than erasing or forgetting them, it is possible to promote social change in the present.

In these kinds of "social action" approaches to archaeology (Singleton 1999), archaeologists of the African diaspora have engaged with modern communities, challenging the concept of "descendent community" to include those who may not be familial relations, but are part of the diaspora. The excavations at the African Burial Ground in New York (Jeppson 2011; LaRoche and Blakey 1997) demonstrated the degree to which members of the community could be mobilized and engaged to

preserve an endangered site of African-American heritage. The archaeological excavations, which exhumed over 400 burials in a six-acre area, brought together public officials, architects, lawyers, religious leaders, concerned citizens, and archaeologists to challenge the construction efforts that were damaging the remains and the research design that paid little heed to the significance of the land as a burial ground for eighteenth century slaves (LaRoche and Blakey 1997:85-86). After a struggle for intellectual control, Howard University archaeologists eventually led excavations and developed research questions that took into account the place of the African Burial Ground within the larger diaspora (LaRoche and Blakey 1997:87).

The researchers at the Burial Ground used this context to interpret grave goods as connecting to West African symbols. For example, a string of blue and white beads tied at a woman's waist signified a particular status in West African communities (LaRoche 1994). Tack heads arranged on one coffin were interpreted to resemble the Akan symbol *sankofa*. The sign, meaning the process of remembering the past to prepare for the future, became an apt symbol for the community's remembrance of the site (LaRoche and Blakey 1997:95). Not only did the excavations provide information on eighteenth-century burial practices for enslaved Africans and call attention to the overlooked history of slavery in the North, it also demonstrated the ways in which politics and racial tensions play out in the present day.

In such excavations, museums and archaeologists have worked with local communities to promote discussion about race and slavery without giving precedence to the stories of the archaeologists. At a workshop after excavations at the African Burial Ground in New York City, public programming made way for a

transformation of what constitutes public archaeology. Patrice Jeppson (2011) argues that what we know as public archaeology should be more than the translation and presentation of archaeological information, but rather should be part of a shared process of multiple interpretations and the production of new knowledge. Jeppson explains that after a workshop at the African Burial Ground, she came to understand that a story about archaeology is not at the center of social meanings about the past. She found in viewing community responses to the excavations that the narratives that archaeology can create are not just "about us," and that there are many hidden meanings to places and objects that may not be at first obvious to the archaeologist (Jeppson 2011: 654).

The materials recovered from the archaeological studies of the African diaspora have an important role in the present for descendants of the enslaved to find some kind of healing or reconciliation with the past. Objects are able to help people feel connected to the past. This is reflected in the memorials held for those who suffered through the Middle Passage and the important role that objects have played. Ruffins (2006) explains how beginning in the 1990s, the material culture held and used by enslaved ancestors were significant contributions to museum collections for black audiences to communally grieve (413). In 1998, Mount Clare became a stopping point on the Interfaith Pilgrimage of the Middle Passage, a journey through the landscape of the slave trade. The participants marched through Baltimore and made a point to stop at Mount Clare because of the artifacts of slavery found in its archaeological assemblage (Shane 1998). The objects became powerful symbols for the slave history on the estate and, beyond that, the history of slavery in the United

States. Members of the African diaspora on this pilgrimage, who may not necessarily hold a familial relationship with the slaves at Mount Clare, felt a connection to this shared heritage.

As a field that studies the global processes in the modern world, historical archaeology has also turned to Africa, other colonized nations, and the Atlantic Ocean itself to investigate the worldwide nature of the African diaspora. Since the 1980s, Africanist Merrick Posnansky (1999) has called for a more global approach to African-American archaeology, explaining that it is a detriment to the field to ignore the growing body of West African material culture literature (Stahl 2004; DeCorse 1999; Ogundiran and Falola 2007) when studying the roots of African-American practices. In order to further map and understand the global networks of the diaspora, others have investigated other slave colonies (Meyers 1999; Weik 2004) or the wrecks of slave ships in the Atlantic (McGhee 2007) in order to understand the physical movements of people within the global community, adding to the sense of dispersal of the diaspora.

A development in historical archaeology in the past few decades has been the reaction against the preoccupation with slavery and victimization, noting that African-American history should not be limited to the trauma of its enslavement. Archaeologists have therefore turned to the narratives of freedom and agency, choosing research designs that frame materials in terms of the quest for equality and citizenship. These materials include those from maroon sites (Weik 1997), where those who escaped slavery founded their own settlements; the Underground Railroad (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008; LaRoche 2013); and the lives of newly-freed African

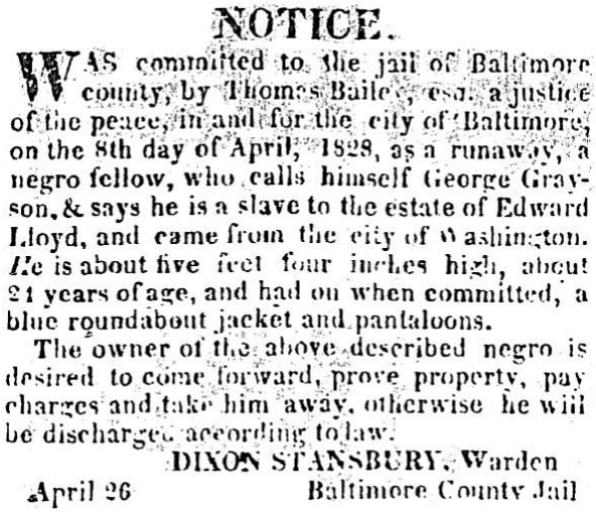
Americans as citizens and consumers in the face of racism (Mullins 1999; Barnes 2011).

This attention to agency also takes the form of a study of the ways in which resistance and rebellion to subjugation and cruelty played a role in slave life on the plantation. Examples of resistance could be small, everyday tactics of disruption, escape from the plantation, or outright revolt. Though it was limited, enslaved laborers had some power in which to disrupt the workings of the plantation, thereby decreasing the profit that the plantation owner won from their agricultural efforts. Enslaved workers could break equipment, "misunderstand" instructions, or intentionally slow the pace of their work in order to exert control (Kulikoff 1986:325; 409; Scott 2008). Within the system of slavery, such rebelliousness was both dismissed as a symptom of an "unbroken" slave by white planters and feared as a potential instigation for violent uprisings. One visitor to the Eastern Shore in 1747 described the obstinacy of those who had been newly forced into slavery: "let an hundred Men shew him how to hoe, or drive a Wheelbarrow, he'll still take the one by the bottom and the other by the Wheel" (quoted in Kulikoff 1986:325). Narratives of resistance promote a humanizing perspective of slavery and demonstrate the ways in which slave owners' power was not absolute. For this reason, this dissertation looks not only at what was *done to* enslaved people at the Wye House Plantation, but what the enslaved people *did*.

There is also documentation of enslaved individuals running away, sometimes with the aid of the surrounding swamps and wilderness of plantation landscapes (Cowan 1998). This not only shifts the story to one of agency, but it also shifts the

way in which historians and archaeologists perceive the landscape. To enslaved people, the swamps and forests held much different meanings of potential hope and freedom than to others on the plantation. During the Revolutionary War, the temptation to join the British in return for emancipation was great. The loyalist Governor Dunmore's Emancipation Proclamation in 1775 granted freedom to those who could make it to the British ships along the Virginia coasts. It is unclear exactly how many enslaved individuals ran away in order to join Dunmore that year or when the British ships returned in 1777 and 1781, but they numbered in the several hundred (Mullin 1972:136). In the Lloyds census records, a man named Jack Cole was "abducted by the British" from White House Plantation—another Lloyd property in addition to Wye House—in 1781, a euphemistic way of describing his successful escape.

Though Jack Cole was able to get away, others were not as successful, and with patrollers actively looking for African-Americans, both free and enslaved Blacks feared capture or recapture. When enslaved individuals ran away, slaveholders would post notices in the newspapers with a description and an offer of reward. Likewise, when a suspected enslaved person was caught, notices were posted for the owners to claim their "property." One such notice



NOTICE.

WAS committed to the jail of Baltimore county, by Thomas Bailey, esq. a justice of the peace, in and for the city of Baltimore, on the 8th day of April, 1828, as a runaway, a negro fellow, who calls himself George Grayson, & says he is a slave to the estate of Edward Lloyd, and came from the city of Washington. He is about five feet four inches high, about 21 years of age, and had on when committed, a blue roundabout jacket and pantaloons.

The owner of the above described negro is desired to come forward, prove property, pay charges and take him away, otherwise he will be discharged according to law.

DIXON STANSBURY, Warden
April 26 Baltimore County Jail

Figure 7: Notice in the *Easton Gazette* to Edward Lloyd IV about the escaped slave George Grayson.

from the *Easton Gazette* in 1828 advertises the capture of an escaped slave named George Grayson, with the request that Edward Lloyd IV come to Baltimore to "prove property, pay charges and take him away."

The violence of slavery, both psychological and physical, was a way to ensure that a system of human subjugation remained intact. Some signs of disobedience were immediately treated with extreme brutality for fear that any defiance would lead to a breakdown of the existing power structure. In describing the savagery with which one overseer dealt with perceived insubordination at Wye House, Frederick Douglass writes:

> *Mr. Gore once undertook to whip one of Colonel Lloyd's slaves, by the name of Demby. He had given Demby but few stripes, when, to get rid of the scourging, he ran and plunged himself into a creek, and stood there at the depth of his shoulders, refusing to come out. Mr. Gore told him that he would give him three calls, and that, if he did not come out at the third call, he would shoot him. The first call was given. Demby made no response, but stood his ground. The second and third calls were given with the same result. Mr. Gore then, without consultation or deliberation with any one, not even giving Demby an additional call, raised his musket to his face, taking deadly aim at his standing victim, and in an instant poor Demby was no more. His mangled body sank out of sight, and blood and brains marked the water where he had stood.*

There was no recourse for Demby or any others to fight back and there were no consequences for the overseer Mr. Gore. The tragedy that Douglass witnessed clearly demonstrates the power relations between Black and White, enslaved and free on the plantation. Enslaved Africans and African-Americans could, at any moment, be threatened, injured, or killed by masters or overseers without hope for justice.

As a young child at Wye House, the gruesome murder of Demby was not the only time that Douglass was faced with the horrors of what it meant to be a slave. His Aunt Hester was routinely and severely beaten by another Lloyd overseer, Aaron

Anthony, who was suspected of being Douglass' father. After she was accused by Anthony of going out in the evenings with a man named Ned Roberts, who the overseer warned her not to see, Douglass describes the whipping that followed:

> *Before he commenced whipping Aunt Hester, he took her into the kitchen, and stripped her from neck to waist, leaving her neck, shoulders, and back, entirely naked. He then told her to cross her hands, calling her at the same time a d——d b—-h. After crossing her hands, he tied them with a strong rope, and led her to a stool under a large hook in the joist, put in for the purpose. He made her get upon the stool, and tied her hands to the hook. She now stood fair for his infernal purpose. Her arms were stretched up at their full length, so that she stood upon the ends of her toes. He then said to her, "Now, you d——d b—-h, I'll learn you how to disobey my orders!" and after rolling up his sleeves, he commenced to lay on the heavy cowskin, and soon the warm, red blood (amid heart-rending shrieks from her, and horrid oaths from him) came dripping to the floor. I was so terrified and horror-stricken at the sight, that I hid myself in a closet, and dared not venture out till long after the bloody transaction was over.* (Douglass 1845)

This is representative of the "hell of slavery" that Douglass relates as part of an everyday nightmare for enslaved people. The ownership that Anthony took over Aunt Hester's body, his justification for his cruelty underscores further disturbing abuse. From the perspective of an adult in writing his autobiographies, Douglass looks back on these instances that were so terrifying as a child with renewed revulsion. He describes his aunt as "a woman of noble form, and of graceful proportions, having very few equals, and fewer superiors, in personal appearance, among the colored or white women of our neighborhood" (Douglass 1845), and realizes that the interest Aaron Anthony took in Hester's whereabouts, the jealousy that he felt in Ned Roberts, was likely a result of Anthony forcing himself on her sexually. Douglass does not make this accusation openly in *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), but instead remarks, "Why master was so careful of her, may be safely left to

conjecture." Her likely rape is an occurrence that Douglass ascribes to a larger system of dehumanization and possessiveness of slave masters toward enslaved people.

The census records kept by Aaron Anthony and the Lloyds add another angle of tragedy to Douglass' story. Anthony's records, called "My Black People," show that Douglass' Aunt Hester was 17 years old in 1826, when Douglass himself was listed as nine years old. In the same year, a Ned Roberts is listed in the Lloyd records at the age of 16. He does not appear in the records for Wye House or other Lloyd plantations after that. With Anthony's animosity in mind, his sudden absence is alarming. This enslaved young man disappeared from the historical record, and there is little way of knowing if he was sold to another plantation, beaten in a similar manner to Hester, outright killed like Demby, or successfully escaped. It is because of this constant threat to body and life that the resistance of many enslaved people took the more subtle form in hidden core symbols and meanings that granted a more individual and immediate control over one's life or protection from harm.

Using historical and ethnographic understandings of West and West Central African spirit practices, historical archaeologists have found that there is a significant pattern in these buried caches found in the United States and elsewhere in the New World that represent a mediation of a spirit world through particular materials. Important to the interpretation of these objects are the commonality in the materials from which they are made, their color, arrangement, or placement within a space. For example, the caches often include quartz crystals, iron nails, beads, or coins and were usually found below entryways and/or in the formation of a cosmogram (Fennell 2007; Galke 2000).

Because these objects are generally found and re-purposed, they went uninterpreted by archaeologists, who did not recognize the significance, for a long time. A hidden quartz crystal found at Mount Clare was not considered remarkable until the artifacts were revisited. In 1993, George C. Logan continued the site's analysis and noted the similarity of the crystal to those found in other West African spirit caches throughout the Southeast (Logan 1995; Moyer 2010:83). With the growth of African-American historical archaeology, the pattern of use for these objects in ritual practices was more documented, enabling Logan to recognize the connection.

Mark Leone and folklorist Gladys-Marie Fry (1999) provide the context for this realization, as in the early 1990s researchers combined archaeology, folklore, and Works Progress Administration (WPA) slave narratives to form a better understanding of spirit caches. The authors explain how materials such as crystals, including those found similarly under the kitchen by Archaeology in Annapolis at the Carroll family's town home in Annapolis, were used by African and African-American enslaved people to conjure and control the spiritual realm (Leone and Fry 1999:372-373). By comparing the WPA narratives and excavated archaeological materials in the Chesapeake, Leone and Fry created a list of objects in deliberate placements for archaeologists to more closely examine when excavating these particular contexts—namely crystals, stones, pins, nails, buttons, coins, discs, white ceramics, glass, and beads. While these are the usual and mundane finds of a domestic archaeological site, it is their grouping together and spatial arrangement within the site that draws attention to their ritualistic use.

Other finds in Annapolis show that traditions adapted from West African spirit practices were hidden, but established in the city in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. In addition to a cache in the Carroll House—consisting of quartz crystals, a faceted glass bead, a polished black stone, and fragments of ceramics underneath an overturned bowl—there were also bundles or caches excavated under a sidewalk on Fleet Street (Deeley et al. 2013) and in the formation of a cosmogram under the east wing floor of the Brice House (Harmon and Neuwirth 2000). Under Fleet Street, there was a concretion of objects that was deliberately placed into seventeenth- and eighteenth-century gutter. X-ray imaging showed that it was a purposeful collection of lead shot, straight pins, nails, and a stone axe that had been placed into a leather bundle. The archaeologists attributed to the influence of West Central Africans brought from the Congo and Angola coasts to the Chesapeake between 1720 and 1800 (Deeley et al. 2013:240-241).

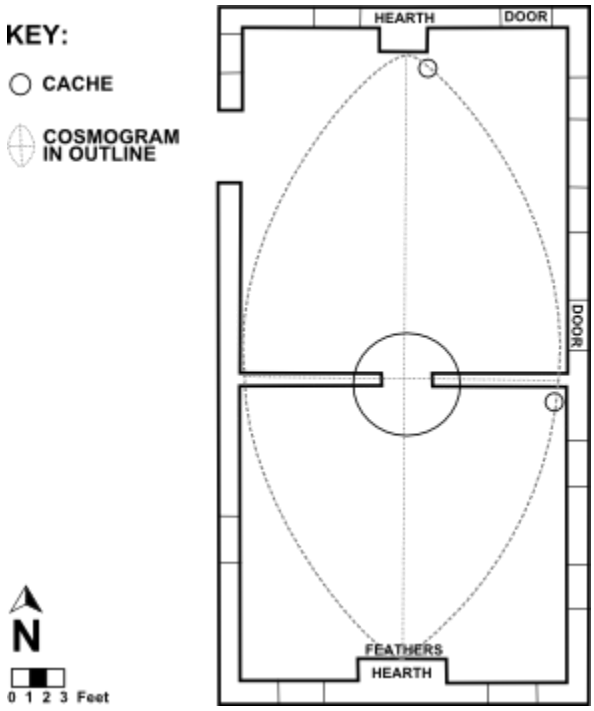


Figure 8: East wing of the James Brice House in Annapolis, Maryland, with the locations of buried caches interpreted as form of a Bakongo cosmogram.

In the east wing of the James Brice House, also in Annapolis, there were multiple caches oriented throughout the room along edges and entryways. On either sides of the wing, which was a block divided into two rooms, there were hearths.

Each hearth which revealed objects buried deliberately. In front of the northern hearth was a pile of doll parts, while the southern hearth revealed feathers. Along the eastern wall, where the wing was divided into the two rooms, there was a pierced coin. Its counterpart on the western wall was likely destroyed or disturbed due to construction. Finally, in the center of the wing, there was a stratified cache that had been added to or renewed into the late nineteenth century, after Emancipation. The earliest assemblage consisted of a perfume bottle containing a seed, shells, buttons, and used matchsticks (Harmon and Neuwirth 2000; Deeley et al. 2013:242).

These finds demonstrated that there existed a hidden landscape beyond the conventional histories of the "big houses," the sanctified spaces in which traditions from West and West-Central Africa survived the Middle Passage and evolved in a new American context (Leone and Fry 1999:384). This movement led to other reinterpretations of material culture from the perspective of African traditions. Leland Ferguson (1992) proposed that the handmade Colono Ware pottery found on American plantations was not solely the product of Native Americans or Euro-Americans, as was previously argued. Rather, the ceramics were a product of creolization that included a process of pottery-making brought over by enslaved individuals from Africa. The underlying "grammar" of artifact production, one that included incised crosses representing the Bakongo cosmogram—a graphic depiction of the universe of the living and the dead as represented by a wheel and cross—on pottery bowls, provided evidence of an African and African-American origin (Ferguson 1992:113-114). This marking did not contain the same cultural meaning to archaeologists until their understanding broadened to include the symbols of the

African diaspora, and this altered interpretations of the uses and intentions of the bowls.

Christopher Fennell builds on this to describe this incised cross, the "abbreviated expression" of the cosmogram, as an example of an "instrumental symbol" (Fennell 2007:34). On the continuum of core symbols of a diaspora, what he calls instrumental symbols, and what Sherry B. Ortner (1973:1340) calls "elaborating symbols," are individual expressions of cultural meaning that are put into action for an immediate purpose or communication. "Emblematic symbols," on the other hand—or "summarizing symbols," for Ortner (1973:1339)—are fuller renderings of cultural ideas and metaphors that represent an identity or belonging to a particular cultural and/or religious group (Fennell 2007:29). Taken together, the interpretation of the buried caches at the Brice House is that they form two crossing axis, or an intersection, which connect this practice to the Bakongo cosmogram. Under the floor of this house, some of its occupants used objects to construct an emblematic symbol in order to signify their belonging to an identity.

Understanding the core symbols or grammar of the African diaspora is vitally important for an archaeologist working within African-American contexts. While it is impossible to know for sure the intentions of the creator of material culture, and symbols and metaphors may have a multiplicity of meanings, there are possible connections to draw. By recognizing the cultural circumstances in which certain materials or signs are found in the archaeological record, we begin to understand the patterns and systems of meanings present in the diaspora (Fennell 2007:30). Ignoring potential meanings from the enslaved people's perspective only further marginalizes

their history by privileging the—often White—archaeologist's worldview. Recognition of "African American vernacular practices" focuses the telling of the history on the ways in which the power imbalances of race, conflict, and interaction in the United States shaped enslaved individuals' lives and expressions of culture (Gundaker 1998:4).

The spiritual practices of the African diaspora also reveal systems in which plants and other materials with certain properties are used for medicine and ritual, which suggests alternate interpretations for landscapes. From this perspective, the gardens and nature of plantations become not just places for the ordering and control of natural wonders by the plantation owner, but also places for ordering, control, healing, and protection—physically, emotionally, and spiritually—by enslaved laborers (Barnes and Ben-Amos 1989; Covey 2007; Edwards-Ingram 2005; Voeks 1997).

Within the Yoruba tradition, every physical object, both natural and created, contains within it a metaphorical spirit, called *ase*. How that spirit behaves or can be manipulated or influenced depends on the properties of the object (Drewel 1989:203). This creates an ontology for the material world with a different understanding from the European one. Within the plantation landscape, these materials can be classified and interpreted in a multiplicity of ways depending from what cultural traditions the observer is coming. For example, the iron farming implements used by enslaved laborers to build the industry of plantations can be understood as symbols of their forced toil. In addition, they also take on an association with the Yoruba deity Ogun, who is associated with the forge and iron implements, both as weapons and

agricultural tools (Barnes and Ben-Amos 1989:55). There is a pantheon of Yoruba deities or spirits, called *orishas*, who are associated with certain materials, shapes, plants, and objects. In seeing and moving through the same landscape, the Lloyds and the enslaved people would not have viewed or understood it in the same ways. Instead, the objects, plants, gardens, and landscape at Wye House can be interpreted from multiple cultural perspectives (Skolnik and Pruitt 2013).

River pebbles are another type of object that embody *ase,* and are associated with the Yoruba river goddess Oya (Drewal 1989:241) or Yemoja (Awolalu 1979:46). The white pebbles that constitute the graveled walkways that surround the buildings on the Wye House Plantation may have held an alternate meaning for enslaved laborers. As the enslaved people experienced the landscape, the combination of the white pebbles and buildings filled with iron—such as the greenhouse or blacksmith's shop—could have represented a balancing of the spiritual world, the "hot" and the "cool," with the white river pebbles stoking the heat of iron (Drewal 1989:244). The two materials, their colors, properties and associated *orishas* balance each other in such a way that builds the power of each. Analyzing the landscape from this perspective, the buildings lose their solely Euro-American cues, and are transformed through an alternate set of cultural meanings and symbols.

The intentional placement of materials in strategic locations on the plantation follows a logic in terms of each object's metaphoric meaning and properties. Material culturalists have looked at themes such as motion, containment, and flash manifesting in present-day African-American gardens and yards in the forms of found objects such as wheels and tires, bottles and boundaries, and mirrors and light bulbs

(Westmacott 1992; Gundaker 2005; Sills et al. 2010; Thompson 1998). Though the designs of slave gardens are not well documented, these practices may have foundations in plantation landscapes. Within plantation spaces, some slaves were permitted to keep gardens, or did so anyway out of sight of the plantation house, and through their gardening practices, aspects of African traditions developed into a uniquely African-American gardening tradition that has a continuation in the gardens studied today (Gundaker 2005). Through oral history interviews, these gardens and the improvised objects within them are interpreted as a means of stressing themes of self-sufficiency, resilience, and sanctuary (Westmacott 1992). These researchers have added to the understood lexicon of symbols in gardens and yards, for example an object representing circular motion—fans, clocks, wheels, etc.—being understood to recall the cycles of time and nature (Gundaker 2005:31).

Robert Farris Thompson, in examining African-American yard art, found that there were certain categories of physical items that invoked significant ideas. One was a sense of motion, symbolized by wheels, tires, and hubcap ornaments. These are circular objects that can become an emblematic symbol of the Bakongo cosmogram, with its timeless movement from birth, death, and rebirth, and a means of sending malevolent spirits away from the space. Another is a sense of containment, characterized by bottles, jars, and jugs, which can be used to entrap, confuse, or entertain the spirits. A third is figuration, an object representing a person using anything from a doll to a root that resembles a human or part of a human. Finally, Thompson also identified "medicated" yards, in which protective herbs were planted

surrounding the house, near the door, or in the four corners, which could be used to heal the body and guard the spirit (Thompson 1998:45).

The gardens and gardening practices of the enslaved, though known to exist, have largely been ignored until recent years. Judith Carney (2010) calls these dooryard gardens the "nurseries of the dispossessed," where planting methods and experimentations of African origin played out on plantations (Carney 2010: 105). Judith Carney and Richard Rosomoff (2011) provide the global perspective of gardening knowledge so necessary in dealing with worldwide colonialism and the slave trade. Most importantly, they draw attention to the agency of the enslaved when it comes to knowing the useful medicinal properties of botanicals and the successful implementation of various gardening techniques in the New World. As European powers divided and carried African people around the world, they also carried the plants, seeds, and gardeners (Carney and Rosomoff 2011:66). These plants, expertise, and the ability to adapt to the flora of the new environment provided nourishment, medicine, and spiritual well-being to enslaved individuals who were familiar with them (Carney and Rosomoff 2011).

In this way, plants of African origins, such as hibiscus, bananas, and okra, penetrated plantation societies and became staples of Southern cooking and greenhouse displays (Carney and Rosomoff 2010). The uniquely Southern cuisine is a hybrid product of this (Tang 2014). While African-American plant uses influenced that of plantation owners, Euro-American gardening practices also may have likewise altered ways in which the slaves used the land, for instance, introducing ornamental plants from the formal plantation garden to slave gardens (Westmacott 1992:18). To

study and discuss one tradition without the other separates the two as though they were not fluid, intertwined elements of the same landscape, which is not the case.

Ywone Edwards-Ingram (2005) has acknowledged that the natural world was a means of resistance and reversal of power as they relate to the ability to control one's own body, life, and death—particularly in terms of those plants that aided in health, abortions, suicide, or the death of another individual (Edwards-Ingram 2005). Knowledge of poisons was a threat or perceived as a threat to the White plantation owners and their families. Though the amount of power held by enslaved individuals was limited, considered to be the property of another rather than an autonomous being, a knowledge of plants' effects on the body meant having some control over others' lives and the life of oneself, even if that meant using suicide as a means to escape slavery.

An area in which the literature is lacking is in a gendered analysis of the gardening aspect of the African diaspora in the past. The importance of gardening tradition is expressed by Alice Walker in *In Search of Our Mother's Garden*s, when she suggests that one way in which African-American women could express creativity and artistry was through gardens and passing on their gardening knowledge (Walker 1974). James Clifford notes that "Diasporic experiences are always gendered. But there is a tendency for theoretical accounts of diasporas and diaspora cultures to hide this fact, to talk of travel and displacement in unmarked ways, thus normalizing male experiences" (Clifford 1994:313). Robin Cohen, too, remarks on this exclusion, explaining how there is even the masculine imagery of sowing seed found as a metaphor in the origins of word "diaspora" (Cohen 1997:177). Exceptions

may be found in Janet Wolff's (1995) research on gendered travel or in Sandhya Shulka's (2001) analysis of gender and sexuality in the South Asian diaspora. Where the literature has addressed this is in how the yard spaces of the enslaved people on plantations have been interpreted as being women and children-dominated spaces (Battle-Baptiste 2010) and in the medicines used by women (Edwards-Ingram 2005). Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2010) claimed that these yards and garden spaces were actively shaped by women to be extensions of the house in order to create a safe domestic place within the plantation, particularly through a ritualistic sweeping of the yard.

To those looking at the manifestations of African-American gardening or yard decorations today, particularly for European-descended archaeologists, the found objects and materials may seem at first chaotic or disjointed, but the placements and interactions are intentional. They reveal a cultural patterning that can also be tied to African-American quilting or jazz rhythms. In an analysis of African-American textiles, Elsa Barkley Brown (1989) found that there was a visual connection between the "off-beat patterning" or "multiple rhythms" found on African-American quilts and the polyrhythms and improvisation of jazz music or the gumbo ya ya creole language spoken in New Orleans. These connections are useful for archaeologists to recognize and understand the rhythmic substructure and sense of improvisation that is woven into much of the material culture of the African diaspora. The common use of wheels (tires), metallic objects to create flashes, borders, and painted colors are used in a particular and patterned way. Like in jazz and quilts, the importance of the objects is in their creative composition. Interestingly, the jazz composer Anthony Braxton was

found to draw composition diagrams for his pieces, visual representations of the songs, that utilized pictures of some of the same materials found in the African-American yard art tradition, such as tires (Gundaker 2005:145, transcribed from Graham Lock, *Forces in Motion: The Music and Thoughts of Anthony Braxton*).

Though the attention to African-American yard spaces and botanical heritage is a step in the right direction toward greater inclusion (Heath and Bennett 2000), there is still a woeful lack of literature on West African formal gardens or landscape practices in general. Grey Gundaker (2012) claims that this is a systematic and long-standing exclusionary practice. According to Gundaker, the field of garden design and landscape studies has fallen far behind other disciplines such as anthropology and sociology in the inclusion of African contributions. Many historical records of African-built gardens were described by Europeans in travel journals, and these have been skewed by cultural misunderstandings or biases. John Goody's (1993) *The Culture of Flowers*, concludes that flowers are unimportant in West African cultures and that West Africans have no recognition for them, in contrast with most of the rest of the world. Even today, Gundaker found that her colleagues expressed surprised that Africans and African Americans "had landscapes" to study at all (Gundaker 2012).

As a result of these assumptions in the present, there is a vast and established body of literature for European gardening practices that overshadows its African counterparts. Neil Norman and Kenneth Kelly (2004) attempt to combat this exclusion by analyzing landscape constructions around a Hueda palace at Savi. They claim that built ditches surrounding the palace served a similar function to European

formal gardens in that they legitimized political authority. Rather than view these landscapes in terms of European values, however, it is important to examine different cultural perspectives of gardens. Dumbarton Oaks has also attempted to redress this exclusion through the 2013 Garden and Landscape Studies Symposium, where the theme was "Cultural Landscape Heritage in Sub-Saharan African."

Goody's mistake was in assuming the same taxonomy of nature in West Africa as exists in European-descended cultures. On the contrary, West African societies did place importance on flowers, but not in the same ways. Gundaker (2012) explains that in West African landscapes there is juxtaposition between the wilderness and the settlement, the former being "hot" and the latter being "cool." This is similar to the separation of European landscapes into degrees of "wild" and "civilized," however flowers were viewed as part of the wilderness. The wild provides diversity, sustenance, and new ideas, but also represents danger and the sometimes unpredictable powers of the spirit realm. To bring a flower from the forest into the yard could potentially disrupt the balance. This balance between the two is important in West African designs of landscapes, which must "mediate between the two responsibly" (Gundaker 2012).

This literature is necessary in the interpretations of the materials recovered at Wye House. Buried caches of objects have been discovered in three locations at two slave quarters, and the grammar of these objects and their placement can only be understood in the material language of the African diaspora. The plant ontology of African-Americans demonstrates that this landscape was not simply used for the pleasures of the White planter class.

Colonizing Control and Scientific Gardening

Though there are similarities and overlap between the ways in which European- and African-descended people viewed and interacted with nature, different cultures develop unique gardening traditions. For Euro-Americans, there was the expectation that human beings and the rest of the natural world are separate, and their interactions are characterized by the ideas of improvement—humans improving nature and nature improving humans—separation, and hierarchy. The eighteenth century saw an increased interest in empirical science, experimentation, and the control over nature, and the elite looked to enlightenment principles of philosophy, rationality, and scientific inquiry in the founding of the new Republic, which defined the ways in which Euro-American colonists gardened.

In the European past, the idea of the garden has been understood as part of a triptych of landscapes called the three natures, dividing nature into progressive stages of human involvement. The first two natures come from Cicero in the first century BC Roman Republic, who used "second nature" to denote the agricultural fields, developments, and urban infrastructure created by cultural activity. This demarcation necessarily leaves a primary nature that is the "unspoiled" wilderness where the supernatural spirits, raw materials, and untamed wildlife reside (Hunt 2000:33-34). Using this framework, the sixteenth century Italian Bonfadio introduced the third nature, the highest level of human control and manipulation, which is the garden. Taken as a whole, Bonfadio saw these three successive arenas as an allegory for the advancement of mankind from wilderness to civilization (Hunt 2000:73).

During the Industrial Revolution in England in the nineteenth century, health and nature were a concern as pollution and sprawling cities isolated the working classes from green spaces. At this time, the style of wilderness gardens, championed by William Robinson in *The Wild Garden* (1994 [1870]), became popular as a method of social and moral reformation and improvement of health. By purporting to emphasize natural elements and design over the artificial, the wilderness garden was thought to be a "panacea" or cure-all for citizens, who had become strained under the systems of industry and capitalism (Helmreich 1997:103-104). The social reformist thinking of the time taught that the exposure to such "natural" influences could create a citizen that was more moral and upstanding. In this gardening tradition, there is a cycle in which humans improve nature and nature improves humanity.

Beginning with the sixteenth century botanical gardens became attached to Italian universities as places of experimentation and learning. There was an interest in collecting and manipulating species of plants from around the world, creating a microcosm of the universe or "a place where heaven and earth intermingled in a close symbiosis" (Tongiorgi Tomasi 2005:103). These gardens were a space for science as well as for the spiritual or supernatural, a place for capturing and expressing all aspects of the known universe—the four elements of earth, water, fire, and air; animal, vegetables, and minerals; and knowledge of geometry. In creating this microcosm of the cosmic order, human beings mapped out the hierarchical order that led to the divine (Lazzaro 1990:10).

As time went on, the Age of Reason began to divorce scientific gardening from its religious origins, though gardens remained associated with Edenic nature.

Specimens that were unusual for their color, mutations, or faraway origins were particularly prized and sought out, fostering a culture that worked to study, define, and impose a human order on nature, placing themselves at the top of the new hierarchy rather than the divine (Knellwolf 2002; Tongiorgi Tomasi 2005). As they created a paradise to rule over at home, this process also corresponded to the spread of European powers as colonizers around the world to transform the landscapes of tropical islands into utopias (Grove 1996). Humankind had the chance to become the stewards of Eden again, and from this came the belief that these new worlds needed improvement and care (Grove 1996:13).

During this time, scientific or philosophical societies grew out of the desire to understand the natural world through experimentation and investigation. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, colonial and early American gardeners corresponded with their enthusiastic counter-parts in England, trading ideas and specimens or ordering books and scientific equipment from London—which shows their identity as still connected to the homeland—and establishing themselves as intellectual equals (Wright 2002:226; Kealhofer 1999:72). For elite "curious" gentlemen, these intellectual pursuits were a means of legitimizing aristocratic status among peers (Brockway 2002:69).

What began as the botanical garden laboratories of the sixteenth century became the implantation of one cultural and physical landscape into another. According to Richard H. Grove, "the gardens themselves acquired a meaning as symbols of an economic power capable of reaching and affecting the whole biological world. As landscape 'texts', they signified a particular type of ecological control that

had not previously been available" (Grove 1996:75). For the British colonizers in the India, Africa, New Zealand, and elsewhere, it became part of the "improvement" of the land to strip it of its original identity and implant a British national aesthetic, complete with flora from the homeland. The large-scale reshaping of the colonial landscapes served to make the "empire as rooted and natural as rural England was supposed to be" (Casid 2005:8). As understood from Bhabha's hybridity, however, this is not a one-way process. At the same time, the flora that was collected from the colonized places was then implanted into the colonizing homeland. The British and colonial landscapes was likewise altered, with the introduction of new species that were integrated into the gardens and greenhouses of the wealthy.

The quintessential British landscape of the early eighteenth century was defined by that of Lancelot "Capability" Brown. The keys to Brown's designs were in open spaces and the harmonious unity of one element to the next, guiding the observer down a meandering path. According to Jill Casid, this is precisely the reason the Brownian landscape was used both abroad and to incorporate the exotics that had been returned to England:

> *Brownian landscaping technique worked to disappear from sight the visually unassimilable. Introduced species that would announce themselves as such were hidden by disguised walls. Those exotic trees that would meld were arranged into naturalistic clumps so as to appear as if they had always been there. (Casid 2005:52)*

Brown's methods became part of a formalized system of gardening, from which the landscape architecture field developed and multiple different ideas for the best improvement and order of the land were in contention.

"Rationality," according to this way of thinking, is something that only human beings possess and improve nature by imposing it on the natural world. These ideas of control and order are foundational to the formal gardening tradition. Formal gardening was a school of gardening design which viewed the landscape as a harmonious element of the house. Reginald Blomfield, late nineteenth-century English landscape architect, supported the formal gardening approach, calling it "the architectural treatment of gardens, for it consists in the extension of the principles of design which govern the house to the grounds which surround it" (Blomfield 2009 [1892]:2). As this brought the ideals which organized the spaces within the elite private household outside and imposed them onto nature, it therefore also brought nature within the direct control of the domestic site, effectively enclosing the landscape in a visible and obvious way. In a way, the entire plantation becomes a part of the garden, which is a part of the house. One visitor to Mount Clare in Baltimore, Maryland in 1770 wrote that:

> *the House…stands upon a very High Hill & have a fine view of Petapsico River You step out of the Door into the Bowlg Green from which the Garden Falls & when You stand on the Top of it there is such Uniformity of Each side as the whole Plantn seems to be laid out like a Garden... (quoted in Sarudy 1998:48)*

The formal elements of this method of gardening, in which there is the most manipulation of natural materials, characterizes the third nature for plantations.

A major dialogue within the landscape architecture field was how to define the ideal aesthetic of formal gardens. On one hand, for the British, the vast lawns of "Capability" Brown were the definition of beauty. William Hogarth, however, in his eighteenth century *The analysis of beauty: written with a view of fixing the fluctuating*

ideas of taste, extolls the view that nature should imitate life in order to be beautiful (Hogarth 1772). In his analysis of beauty, Hogarth very closely ties the understanding of the human form and anatomy to the qualifications of the beautiful. For him, it is necessary to study the science of the human body in order to grasp the natural forms which make it beautiful. The serpentine lines and variety that Hogarth finds naturally in the body can then be applied to the art of landscaping.

In combining knowledge from diverse fields of study—anatomy, art, landscaping—Hogarth promotes the attempt to create a gardening profession in which it is necessary to draw upon a wide set of knowledge. The observer would have to be conversant in these various subjects in order to fully appreciate the design. In this way, the profession of garden designing becomes restricted to those with a particular kind of education. Richard Payne Knight, a fellow garden designer agreed, saying that "As all the pleasures of intellect arise from the association of ideas, the more the materials of association are multiplied, the more will the sphere of these pleasures be enlarged" (Knight 1988 [1805]:348). In the combination of cultural cues, and the understanding of those cues by the viewer, the garden is fully appreciated. This attempts to limit the viewership of the gardens to only the elite that have been educated in this tradition.

The discussion of "beautiful," which became defined by the open, meandering designs of Lancelot "Capability" Brown, led to the definitions of the "sublime" and the "picturesque." *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* by Edmund Burke (1998 [1757]) defines the sublime through the emotions that it brings out in the observer, namely terror and astonishment. The

beautiful, for Burke, is the exact opposite. Like Brown's designs, beauty is ordered and calming. Emerging from this debate is the picturesque, which Uvedale Price (Price 1988:354) or William Gilpin (Hunt 1992:5) view as the combination of the sublime and the beautiful as defined by Burke. Price explained that the picturesque is predicated on variety and intricacy—the latter being a way of ordering the landscape so as to conceal particular elements, encouraging the curiosity of the observer. It allows for aspects of astonishment and roughness, but not without marriage to the smoothness of beauty.

This definition contributes to the word's connections to the quaint, pleasing, or charming countryside landscape paintings. In imitation of paintings, it brings the carefully balanced composition in color, light, and subject into the three-dimensional world. The concealment or juxtaposition used in the picturesque, however, is also a means to mask labor, violence, and the harsh ugliness of the slavery that built the landscape. As Casid (2005) notes, the portrayals of the picturesque plantation betray the subjugating ways in which colonists ordered and arranged people, not just plants, on the landscape. In landscape paintings where the artist uses picturesque techniques, the signs of slave life are skewed or broken in such a way that they are made to appear a natural part of the landscape (Casid 2005:12). In a process that Casid refers to as "picturesque imperialism," the foreign or exotic "other" is made familiar and under the colonizing control through placement on this landscape. The ownership and power that colonists claimed over Black bodies on plantations contributed to visual ideal of enslaved people being naturalized as property.

Combining literature analysis, art, and landscape studies, John Conron (2010) uses Frederick Douglass' accounts of the psychological and physical horrors of slavery to demonstrate the effects of picturesque values on the people of the plantation. Douglass' autobiographies use juxtaposition and conflict to show the ways in which the institution of slavery deforms both slaveholders and enslaved people. For slaveholders, even once gentle and kind people, were forced to develop cruel and hardened traits to participate in such a system. For enslaved people, they were on one hand filled with anger, revulsion, and fear, but had to mask those emotions under submissiveness and contentedness or face even more violent consequences (Conron 2010:226-227). The contradictions in the picturesque landscapes, which are used to create a pleasing and naturalizing effect, mirror the contradiction or hypocrisy of slavery in the United States.

In this way, the picturesque landscapes of American plantations were a stage upon which expected roles were performed and assigned. John Dixon Hunt (1992) has written extensively on the picturesque garden and the ways in which it was culturally employed and understood in Europe. Like theaters, they were settings that promoted "discovery, disconcertion, and confusion" (Hunt 1992:68). Aspects of the gardens were constructed to provide "scenes," "actions," or movement through a "plot." The people within are actors in the drama. While the variety of the picturesque was a departure from rigid rules or restraints, giving freedom to pursue creativity and the unexpected, this freedom was only granted to the role of the homeowner and guests. The homeowner could claim and perform the role of the tasteful gardener and

the master of nature, but this performance conceals the labor that actually worked the land.

With the increased exploration and movement of plant specimens in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for botanical gardens, and the increased passion for classification, another form of colonizing control arose in what Londa Schiebinger (2004) refers to as "linguistic imperialism." Not only did bioprospectors scour new lands for useful medicinal plants, but they also imposed a particular botanical nomenclature on indigenous plant classifications, stripping them of their attached cultural place and knowledge. Schiebinger relates the loss of social identity through naming to the process of slave owners denying their slaves names of African origins or with familial ties (Schiebinger 2004:195-196). The naming convention of botany developed in the eighteenth century—and still used today—is the Linnaean system, based on plant taxonomy and derived from Greek and Latin root words. All other languages, according to Linnaeus, were "barbarous," and unfit for inclusion in scientific classification. This ensured that the study would remain exclusively the domain of those who could read the classical languages—educated European men (Schiebinger 2004:224). Science, far from being unbiased, naturalizes the way in which we categorize the modern world, prioritizing particular systems of classification and ordering over others.

European cultures also developed classifications of plants separate from the science-based Linnaean system, according to shape, size, and color. It was believed by some that these physical characteristics were clues provided by God as to the particular ailments that the plant would cure (Covey 2007). This belief, known as the

"doctrine of signatures," developed in the European Middle Ages as part of the lexicon of healers and herbalists. Recorded in German in the long-winded *Signatura rerum: or The signature of all things: shewing the sign, and signification of the severall forms and shapes in the creation: and what the beginning, ruin, and cure of every thing is; it proceeds out of eternity into time, and again out of time into eternity, and comprizeth all mysteries* by Jakob Boehme (2007 [1621]), the text provided connections between the plant's properties and the way it would affect the body. For example, because saxifrage breaks through stones as it grows in the ground, the "doctrine of signatures" held that saxifrage is useful for treating kidney stones (Bennett 2007:247). Just as African and African Americans on the plantation would have brought their own cultural understandings of nature, plants, and healing, so would have the Lloyds. Oral history and historical records from the UK and Ireland also demonstrate the system of medicinal uses for plants that may have influenced the Lloyds' perceptions of nature at Wye House (Allen and Hatfield 2012).

The ways in which the natural world became classified by European cultures is best seen in looking at the history of collecting and curiosity cabinets—a philosophical predecessor to the museum and greenhouse—which emerged as a practice during a time of social and intellectual revolution. The wunderkammern, which translates to a room, cabinet, or other space of curiosity and wonder, developed through the sixteenth-century practice of bringing together an arrangement of physical objects for display. Beginning in the Renaissance, collecting wonders of the natural world was a way to capture, classify, and impose an order on the universe (Knellwolf 2002). The collections embodied the developing modern world,

representing worldwide travel and exploration, colonization, a globalized economy, the newly formalized science of natural history, and the creation of a consumer culture in which people became owners and customers of objectified material culture. Curiosity about newly discovered continents and the processes of nature led to the development of natural history as a science of classifying the observable world.

The arrangements tended to classify objects in accordance with emerging understandings of the biological groupings of nature—genera and species, as it was popularized by Linnaeus and developed through history as an ordered means of studying the natural world. Their juxtapositions of natural and artificial created a space where reality was challenged and redefined. Objects from all around the world, arranged in such a way as to highlight their diversity and peculiarity, transported the viewer to a place that is neither here nor there, the present nor the past.

Sir Francis Bacon used the collection of curios and "particulars" as the foundation of scientific data, to understand the materials that were outside his previous grasp. By possessing a range of these categorized objects, one gained knowledge (Swann 2001: 60). Bacon believed that the collection of oddities and exotica, in juxtaposition with the objects of everyday life, would allow for a rigorous study and reclassification of the world. The draw of the exotic and "other" and the desire to possess, contain, and understand it is characteristic of the owners of curiosity cabinets.

Sixteenth and seventeenth-century European collectors consumed curious objects, constructed an identity through them, and "creatively inhabited their rapidly expanding world of material things" (Swann 2001:6). Collections were in turn

consumed, and this contributed to a prestige exchange. The concept of collecting and prestige relied on the premise that accumulating and displaying an impressive collection of natural or historical rarities increased one's knowledge of the world, and therefore status in the intellectual society of the Renaissance—and later, the Enlightenment. Prestige was gained in two ways. When a person of high status visited an individual's collection, adding his name to the ledger for future visitors to see, this increased the individual's status. Meanwhile, in visiting the collection of a person of high status, the individual established himself as discerning and learned. In this way, collectors and collections were then also collected and displayed for the other members of society (Swann 2001:27; Conley 2006).

A new social order emerged from the Renaissance culture of collecting that allowed a social mobility that had been previously unavailable to those of a lower class. In the course of his intellectual pursuits, the individual could establish an identity and status that was traditionally denied to those born without it. Those employed to amass the collection for their elite employers were elevated for their abilities and discernment (Swann 2001: 35-37). The curiosity cabinet was used to "constitute alternative constructions of status" (Swann 2001:89). The hobby allowed a rearrangement of social hierarchies by creating a form of social power that was not entirely derived from an inherited status, but rather from the authority gained in possession of knowledge about the material world (Swann 2001:90).

These wunderkammer evolved into the modern museum during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but continued to operate on many of the same principles. The Philadelphia Museum, established by Charles Willson Peale—a contemporary of

Edward Lloyd IV—as an expansion of his personal collection of wonders, was not only a "world in miniature," but also the world as Peale wished it to be in the context of eighteenth-century ideals (Sellers 1980; Hart and Ward 1988). He advertised his museum, functioning as a cabinet of curiosities, to the public:

> *Mr. Peale, ever desirous to please and entertain the Public, will make a part of his House a Repository for Natural Curiosities-The Public he hopes will thereby be gratified in the sight of many of the Wonderful Works of Nature which are now closeted but seldom seen. The several articles will be classed and arranged according to their several species (Pennsylvania Packet, July 7-November 12, 1786, quoted in Sellers 1980:23).*

The stuffed and mounted "natural curiosities" were physically arranged in the room with the "lowest" organism at the bottom and moved upwards with complexity. The specimens were classed in accordance to the Linnaean system, with the portraits of humans representing Homo sapiens at the top of the hierarchy (Sellers 1980:60; Hart and Ward 1988:394). The museum embodied ideals of order, harmony, and hierarchy, but also exposed particular contrasts. Aside from the natural wonders, it also included mechanical inventions, meant to inspire awe in the abilities and ingenuity of humans and the efficient harmony of automated progress. Additionally, humans are separated from the rest of the collection in that they are represented through pictures rather than a physical presence on display (Hart and Ward 1988:394). Despite Peale's desire to include embalmed specimens of human beings in his display, this idea was dismissed as impractical and, though not mentioned outright, likely offensive. Within the room is the contrast between the natural and the artificial as well as between humans as part of nature and humans elevated above nature.

Like Renaissance collections of its kind, the operation of Peale's museum allowed the promotion a new social order. His democratic ideals held that his amassed wonders should be available to the curious "everyman," not just to the Chesapeake elite. Drawing from the ideals of the Enlightenment and the American Revolution, Peale believed that in exposing the ordinary citizen to this knowledge and ordered nature, this would lead to improvement and education of the masses (Hart and Ward 1988:396). Again, it is knowledge in addition to inherited status or wealth that is valued in these alternate spaces.

The harmony and order that characterized Peale's museum was also expanded to the eighteenth-century homes and landscapes in the form of formal gardening as part of the dominant ideology of the Georgian Order. The curiosity cabinet of the previous age is brought out into the garden in the form of the greenhouse, an element of the formal garden that often mirrors the Georgian architecture of the house. This complete enclosure of nature in the form of the greenhouse reflects the inclusion of the immediate landscape in the reordering and dominance of the natural world. The act of enclosing the collection of plants in a glass building also signifies complete authority over them. It represents total ownership of nature, since "from the early modern period Western notions of land ownership have pivoted on the idea of enclosure" (Knellwolf 2002:11). Within the carefully controlled space of the greenhouse, gardening experts could rearrange nature in accordance to principles of order and aesthetics and use their knowledge to cultivate plants accustomed to tropical climates or bring fruit to bear out of season.

Fervor for gardening and greenhouses became a part of the standard for high society and the expectation was for the elite to use their gardens as laboratories for the improvement of gardening and agriculture (Sarudy 1998:105). These "scientific gardeners" competed with one another and shared their ideas and specimens, creating a social network in the pursuit of botanical knowledge. In past research, greenhouses, like wunderkammern, have been examined as means for the owner to control nature, gain prestige, and reflect a social identity as a knowledgeable gentleman (Conley 2006; Sarudy 1998; Yentsch 1990). A majority of this literature, with the exception of Barbara Sarudy (1998), emphasizes the ways in which the owner shapes the landscape and neglects to discuss the labor force that built and maintained the gardens and greenhouses. She not only describes the gardening practices of the economic elite, but also the craftsman, whose gardens used many of the same principles, but on a smaller scale.

Through the progress of modern technology, the impracticalities of obtaining and keeping plants from disparate areas of the world were overcome. The invention of the Wardian case by the Englishmen Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward in 1829 allowed merchants to also offer plants for sale that would otherwise have perished on the journey. The cases—essentially terrariums for the transport of tropical plants by ship—allowed Ward to send plants to Australia and back, and despite the extreme conditions and range of temperatures, the plants survived (Hershey 1996:277; Brockway 2002:86-87). This opened up new opportunities to increase the range of living exotic plants that could be brought to root in greenhouses. Additionally, the greenhouse hypocaust, a system of flues that carried warm air throughout the

building, were employed at the greenhouses of Wye House, Mount Clare in Baltimore (Weber 1996), and The Calvert House in Annapolis (Yentsch 1990). These mechanisms, harkening back to the Roman Republic, kept controlled temperatures in different areas of the structures, allowing plants that need differing heats to thrive within the same enclosure and ripen only when the owner desired.

When it came to establishing the new nation of the United States, the government chose to associate itself with the ideals of the Roman Republic through its designs of landscapes and buildings. The Colonial gentry of the Chesapeake, too, chose to use Classical statues and elements in their gardens as a means of displaying wealth, education, and legitimized power (Sarudy 1998:15). Although there is no evidence of such statuary in the gardens at Wye House, the aesthetic is evoked through the classical architecture on the property and architectural manuals present in the Lloyd library. The library contains far fewer pieces of classical literature than other contemporary plantation owners, but it does contain some, including translations of Homer and Sophocles (Wolf 1969:89). It also contains volumes of Palladio's architectural manuals, which inspired the designs of the Wye House mansion and greenhouse in the late eighteenth century.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed here is an attempt to bring together the concepts of nature and ordering from different traditions—African and European—that converged on plantations. Though a Yoruba sense of the world is characterized by *ase,* a European sense of the world is defined by colonialism and the separation of nature

into an imposed hierarchy. The materials excavated at the Wye House plantation have to be interpreted with the understanding that certain objects and natural elements took on meanings of resistance, healing, and protection that may not have been recognized by the European-American Lloyds. The formal garden and greenhouses should be interpreted with an understanding of the European history of gardening and colonial control, but with the acknowledgement that the same landscape could also be viewed from a West African perspective with different cultural categories.

Where this dissertation adds to this literature is in the combination of multiple cultural contexts from which to interpret the plantation landscape. The worlds inhabited by Blacks and Whites at the Wye House plantation were in many ways intentionally separated, but also overlapping and entangled. One cannot fully understand the place or its artifacts without considering them together and in dialogue with one another.

Chapter 5: Archaeological Evidence

For this dissertation, I use the archaeological and archaeobotanical remains from the standing greenhouse, hothouse, and one of the two most recently excavated slave quarters at Wye House. Additionally, the library collection at Wye House houses many of the eighteenth and nineteenth century agricultural texts that have informed my understanding of the Lloyds' knowledge and practices at the time. Employing the literature on African and African-American material culture, I draw connections between religious practices and motifs found in the African diaspora and the material culture recovered from Wye House. Interpretations of intentionally-placed objects in the greenhouse and the slave quarter as part of West African spirit practices adds to an understanding of the ways such practices and beliefs were adapted to the environment of Southern and Mid-Atlantic plantations in general and the Wye House specifically. The gardening buildings, the experimentation within them, and the caches hidden by enslaved people to direct the spirits represent the individuals on the plantation exercising their influence over the environment around them. While the Lloyds attempted to control the plantation through scientific gardening, the enslaved people resisted this control by subverting the system with their own influence and understanding of the landscape.

Archaeology in Annapolis has been excavating at Wye House since 2005. Archaeologists focused on the north Long Green in the initial excavations and interest in the greenhouse led to the discovery of a slave quarter attached to that structure. The reports of excavations conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis include:

Archaeological Excavations on the Long Green (18TA314), 2005-2008, Talbot County, Maryland, 2009 (Blair et al. 2009b); *Phase II Archaeological Testing on Wye Greenhouse (18TA314), Talbot County, Maryland, 2008 Report* (Blair et al. 2009a); *Phase II Archaeological Testing on the Interior of the Wye Greenhouse (18TA314), Talbot County, Maryland, 2009 Report* (Blair and Duensing 2009); *Shovel Test Survey at Wye House (18TA314), East Cove / South Long Green, April 2011* (Skolnik 2011); *Phase II Archaeological Testing of the Hothouse Structure (18TA314), Talbot County, Maryland, May 2012* (Pruitt 2013). In joining the project in 2011, I took part in the excavations of the hothouse and two additional slave quarters. The reports of these slave quarters are in progress.

Each of these reports has attempted to understand the buildings and material remains in the context of enslaved Africans and African-Americans living and working on the plantation at Wye House. Some enslaved individuals at Wye House could have, and likely did, come from the West Indies or directly from West Africa. It is important to understand, however, that it can become problematic to assign a more or less "African" value to the materials discovered on the plantation or to the identities of the enslaved people, despite potential origins. Practices and beliefs certainly survived the Middle Passage, but the ways in which they were altered and adapted to the New World are varied and complex. There is not necessarily a direct one-to-one correlation between the meanings of signs, symbols, and objects in West African cultures and religions, and those found on the Chesapeake plantation. Through a comparison of archaeological and ethnographic evidence throughout the

Atlantic, there are possible patterns of meaning that do emerge, and can help archaeologists to interpret material culture in the context of the diaspora.

While much of the attention of the history of Wye House has been on the white male Lloyds, the archaeological evidence opens up possibilities of significant contributions and presence on the landscape by others who lived there. The multiple gardening buildings and imported materials on the plantation suggest that the Lloyds cultivated an identity of "scientific gardeners" in keeping with their elite status. This identity, however, would not have only belonged to Edward Lloyd, but also to his wife, Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd and the enslaved workers. This chapter also shows that there are connections between materials found at Wye House and the larger African diaspora, deriving from combinations of West African religions. Through the archaeological evidence at Wye House, we see the agency of the women and enslaved individuals who lived there.

Methodology

Graduate students in the Archaeology in Annapolis project carried out excavations at the Wye House greenhouse from October 27 to November 24, 2008 and from July 8 to July 20, 2009. The first excavations placed seven test units along the perimeter of the building and in the attached shed. The second excavations placed three test units in the southern main room of the greenhouse. Excavations of the hothouse were carried out on weekends in May 2012 by a rotating team of current and former archaeologists from the Archaeology in Annapolis project. These excavations consisted of two units along the northern wall of the structure, to the

southeast of the greenhouse. For the 2011-2014 summer field schools, the focus was on two newly discovered slave quarters (Skolnik 2011). These were located on the south Long Green and across Lloyd Creek directly to the east. The quarter on the Long Green is denoted as "2-story Quarter" on the Forman map. The quarter across the creek is recorded as "Br. Row Quarter." These two structures were excavated by undergraduate field school students under the supervision of Archaeology in Annapolis graduate students.

The excavation of an arrangement of objects under the 2-story Quarter western wall and doorway in 2014 necessitated a more rigorous mapping procedure than usual. With each stratigraphic level of this arrangement, the units were recording using a 3-D laser scanner. This allowed the mapping of all physical points within the space, preserving details that might be otherwise lost in photographs or hand drawings. This data is stored by Archaeology in Annapolis for future processing and analysis.

All excavations were conducted according to natural stratigraphy, using trowels and shovels. Elevations were recorded using rulers and line-levels, with all measurements taken from the highest corner of the unit. Each unit was excavated until reaching sterile subsoil. All soils recovered from excavation units were screened through a 1/4" mesh wire screen and all artifacts recovered were processed, cataloged, and analyzed by University of Maryland undergraduate and graduate students in the Archaeology in Annapolis lab in College Park, Maryland.

Greenhouse

On the landscape of Wye House today, there is one surviving greenhouse which stands directly behind the mansion. This building's tall Palladian windows would have shown off the decorative, edible, and medicinal plants maintained inside for any visitor to the house to see. It was an expectation and a necessity for the Lloyds to keep such a structure as part of their garden complex to maintain their status as planter elites in the Chesapeake. According to Kenneth Lemmon, who wrote a history of the "curious gardeners" of the Georgian and Victorian eras in Great Britain:

> *Throughout the horticultural writings of the time, too, there was the fact, made patently plain, that any gentleman worthy of the name would obviously have a conservatory, attached to his 'humble' mansion, and greenhouses, stoves, forcing-houses and frames in his garden. After all, imagine a gentleman without glasshouse ranges! As soon hear of one without his carriage and pair!* (Lemmon 1962:84)

Though Frederick Douglass goes into great detail about the gardens and Wye House, the only mention of the greenhouse is in passing, along with several other buildings on the plantation. He writes:

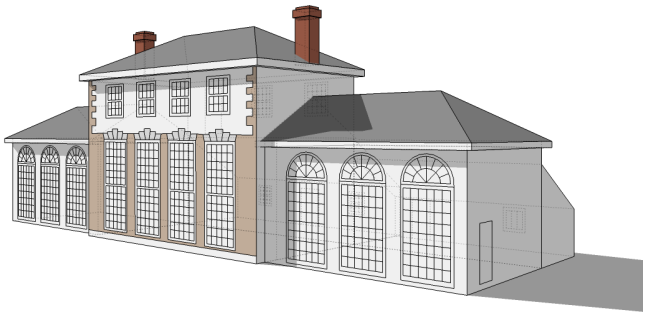


Figure 9: Digital recreation of the façade of the standing greenhouse at Wye House, developed by Beth Pruitt from the architectural schematics drawn by Henry Chandlee Forman (1963).

> *The great house was surrounded by numerous and variously shaped out-buildings. There were kitchens, wash-houses, dairies, summer-house, green-houses, hen-houses, turkey-houses, pigeon-houses, and arbors, of many sizes and devices, all neatly painted, and altogether interspersed with grand old trees, ornamental and primitive, which afforded delightful shade in summer, and imparted to the scene a high degree of stately beauty.* (Douglass 1855:67)

Given the importance of a greenhouse to the status of the Euro-American wealthy in this time, and given the in-depth description that Douglass provides for the rest of the garden, it is odd that he passes over the gardening buildings without a second glance. He does mention greenhouses in the plural, indicating that the standing greenhouse today was one of multiple gardening structures in the past. Douglass' aversion to the building may have been caused by the social barriers put up by Edward Lloyd V while Douglass was enslaved at Wye House. Since most enslaved people were not permitted to enter certain areas of the garden, particularly areas where they could eat the growing fruit, he may have skirted around the building in his writing as he had to

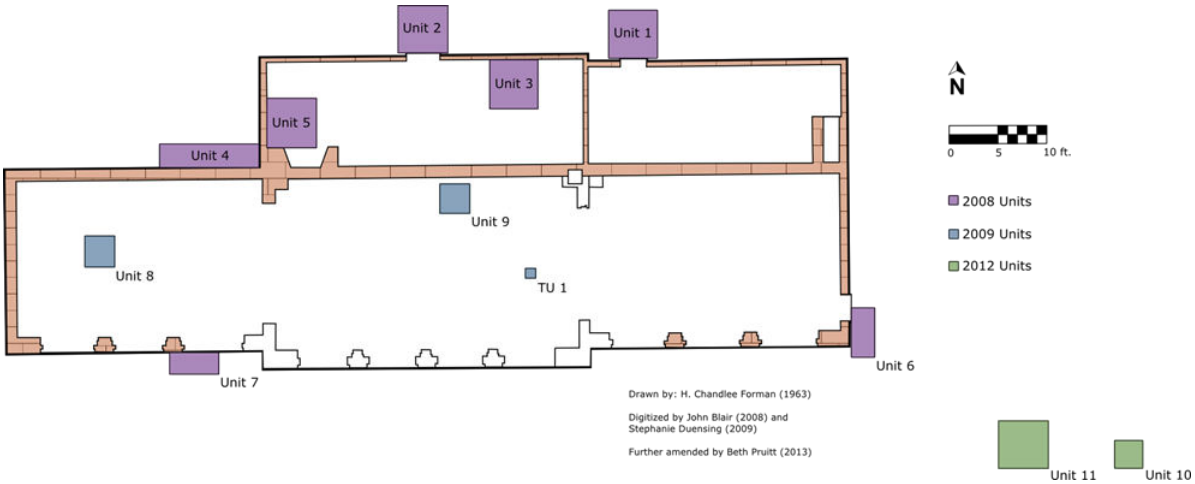


Figure 10: Locations of excavations in and around the Wye House greenhouse. Unit 2 is located just outside the doorway of the attached quarter. Units 10 and 11 straddle the northern wall of the hothouse.

on the landscape. It is also possible that the buildings were simply unimportant to him, and were not a part of the mental landscape he recalled decades later. Just because they were a noteworthy and necessary addition to the garden for European-Americans, it may not be the case in Douglass' experience.

Excavations in 2008 and 2009 focused on the greenhouse interior and exteriors, and provided a significant basis for our understanding of the construction and modifications of the structure as well as the domestic life of the enslaved living in the attached northwest shed. In fall 2008, archaeological excavations conducted by Archaeology in Annapolis focused on the exterior of the building and the interior of the northwest shed of the greenhouse, and those in summer 2009 consisted of three units within the south room, which is the main cultivating and showing room of the greenhouse. These greenhouse excavations focused on establishing a chronology for the greenhouse construction phases, collecting soil samples for archaeobotanical analysis, and interpreting the discovered caches as a manifestation of West African spirit practices. Both investigations collected and analyzed pollen taken from soil samples in these areas, the findings of which are reported in *An Analysis of Pollen Recovered from the Greenhouse at Wye House Plantation, Easton, Maryland* (Jacobucci and Trigg 2010), which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

As it exists today, the greenhouse is a two-story brick building with a main block and two 26-foot wings to either side. The front of the building, with tall windows across, faces to the south and to the back porch of the mansion. Attached to the back of the greenhouse is a shed that contained domestic items, leading Blair, Cochran, and Duensing to conclude that it had been a slave quarter (Blair et al. 2009a). A wood-burning furnace in an adjoining room in the back would have been used to heat a hypocaust system running throughout the walls of the wings and underneath the floors. According to family history, the second story of the greenhouse

was used as a billiard room in the eighteenth century, serving as an entertaining and leisure room for Edward Lloyd IV and his guests.

The researchers of the greenhouse excavations, John Blair, Matthew David Cochran, and Stephanie Duensing, used the Lloyd family ledger books and archaeological data to provide dates for the building and alteration phases of the standing greenhouse. The reports from these excavations concluded that there were three main building phases. In the first, a main two-story building with 6-foot truncated wings was constructed around 1775, including the attached quarter. The archaeological materials associated with the construction phases of the building's main block provide a TPQ (*Terminus Post Quem*—meaning the earliest possible date the associated materials could have been deposited) of mid-1770s. In particular, the archaeologists recovered English pearlware, which was produced in England in the 1770s at the earliest, from a builder's trench for the main block (Blair et al. 2009a:150). Allowing for the importation of pearlware to Wye House from England at this time, this gave the archaeologists an earliest date for the original construction around 1775.

According to Blair, Cochran, and Duensing, in the second phase, the hypocaust system and longer wings were built around 1784. The reasoning behind this date comes from the 1770-1791 ledger entry that refers to payment for "building hothouses" (Lloyd Papers 1770-1791). The researchers took this to mean building the hypocaust system in the greenhouse, since the construction of the hypocaust—consisting of a furnace and hot-air flues—effectively turned the greenhouse into a hothouse (Blair et al. 2009a:155). The earliest date for this modification would then

be before 1785. The archaeology along the greenhouse façade suggested that there were major changes to the building in the 1780s, which seemed to further support this hypothesis. A second look at these records, however, pushes the construction of the hypocaust to a later date (Pruitt 2013).

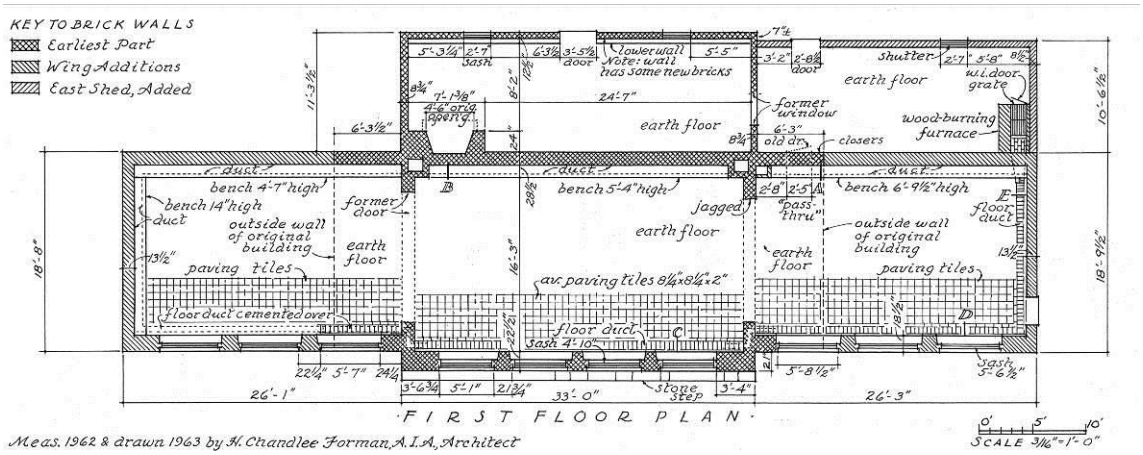


Figure 11: Measurements and drawings by Henry Chandlee Forman of the standing greenhouse at Wye House (1963).

The final phase of construction, around 1820, was a brick enclosure for the furnace. The date comes from fragments of whiteware found in a builder's trench associated with this brick enclosure. The TPQ for whiteware in the United States is typically 1820, which means that the construction for this addition could not have been before then. The archaeological record also suggests that there may have been an earlier, less permanent enclosure around the furnace before this addition, such as a wooden shed (Blair et al. 2009a:84). This provides a good basis for a chronology of the greenhouse structure, but further review of the historical records suggests that it requires some revision.

Federal tax records from 1798, which contain a description of each building on the Wye House Plantation after the death of Edward Lloyd IV, indicate that there

were multiple greenhouse and hothouse buildings operating concurrently on the plantation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Reviewing the historical records in the context of having at least one hothouse on the plantation, it now seems more likely that the ledger entry refers to a separate hothouse rather than to the greenhouse's modification. This is also supported in that the 1798 tax records list the two greenhouse structures as "1 Green House 33 by 16 feet 2 Story on […] of Brick with 4 windows" and "1 Green House 1 Story Brick 36 by 10 feet with 10 windows" (Maryland State Archives 1798). This first greenhouse listed has the same dimensions, stories, and windows as the main block of the current greenhouse, according to measurements by Henry Chandlee Forman in 1962 (see Fig. 3). His drawing, from 1963, records the dimensions of the main block of the standing greenhouse as about 33 by about 16 feet. If the greenhouse in the records is the same as the one standing and measured by Forman, the building in 1798 did not include either short or long wings, or the heating elements that it does today. Therefore, the hypocaust was not added to the building in 1784, as concluded in the previous reports, but at a later date.

There is mention of the East Wing of the greenhouse in 1814 from the Aaron Anthony Cash Accounts (Lloyd Papers 1813-1816:50):

> *20 November 1814. Frisby Kirby*
> *A Bill of Carpenters Work of the East Wing of Green House $151.50*

This indicates that there were wings of some kind added to the building in or before 1814. However, it is unclear if this refers to the full wings with the hypocaust or to the earlier, truncated wings. In 1822, an entry for the payment of the brickmason

Daniel Kenney to repair the flues of the greenhouse indicates that the hypocaust system was certainly in place by then (Lloyd Papers 1817-1823:147). The additions and furnace must have been built between 1798 and 1822 at the latest. This means that Edward Lloyd IV was not alive to see the implementation of the hypocaust system in the greenhouse. It is unclear who oversaw the modifications to that structure, though with a knowledge of the greenhouse at Mount Airy and communications with female relatives with similar interests, it is not out of the question that Elizabeth Lloyd played a part in its construction.

On Lloyd's death in 1796, the property passed to his wife, Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd, the daughter of John Tayloe II of Mount Airy. Mount Airy in Virginia is also home to an eighteenth-century greenhouse, and Elizabeth Lloyd may have continued to maintain an active interest in the greenhouse structures at Wye House after her husband's death. Her continued involvement is evidenced by her payments to William Booth, a seedseller, for "Sundrys for your Garden at Wye House" and the upkeep of repairs to the greenhouse and hothouse in the years after 1796 (Lloyd Papers 1750-1910):

> *4 March 1798 Robert Key 106 1/2 days work repairing Green house and buildings at Wye of which 16/10 ½ pd by Mrs Lloyd at 8/4 per day £44.7.6*

Despite Mrs. Lloyd's contributions to the garden at Wye, it has been her husband who has received the most attention as a scientific gardener. According to Barbara Sarudy, it was not uncommon for the ladies of the house to be in control of the greenhouse and kitchen gardens, though they were often not charged with the management of the gardens in their entirety (Sarudy 1998:83). Despite this commonly

female involvement in the greenhouse, scientific gardening is often categorized as a male-dominated pursuit. Ann B. Shteir (2006) sheds light on the historical omission of women as scientific gardeners by tracing the changes in gender attitudes in gardening and botany through the iconography of the goddess Flora in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. She examined the frontispieces of botanical books and discovered a trend in the way in which nature is symbolized. In these illustrations, Flora, the Roman goddess of flowers, had related women, fertility, and the "Mother Nature" mythos to the pursuit of botanical knowledge.

Figure 12: Woman picking flowers in the garden at Wye House c. 1900.

Over time, however, the use of female icons to represent abstract concepts began to fall out of fashion in England—an attempt to associate the masculine with an increasingly empirical, practical science and separate it from the French rhetorical, "feminine" form of science (Shteir 2006:17). Through this study, Shteir found that a decline in the use of Flora and feminine imagery in botanical books corresponded to a shift in the study of nature from a philosophical, poetical endeavor to a scientific and technical one. Shteir concludes that "Languages of nature that formerly had resonated with symbolic meanings were challenged by technical scientific vocabularies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and one result was the erasure of symbols associating

women with science" (Shtier 2006:5). Though at one time the study of gardening and the dominion over nature may have been linked to the feminine, this ideology was undergoing a significant change during Mrs. Lloyd's lifetime. What was once considered a female province had become male, and this gendered ideology remains with us as researchers today. Until encountering the historical records, it had not occurred to me to think of Elizabeth Lloyd as having an interest in scientific gardening and improvement of the greenhouse.

Archaeologists such as Carmen Weber (1996) have recognized the absence of a discussion of women in the scientific gardening pursuits of the eighteenth century and noted that they are often overshadowed in the historical record by their male counterparts. In looking at the connections between the Lloyd family and their relative, Margaret Carroll from Mount Clare, Weber discovered that the similarities between the two estate's greenhouses may reflect an exchange of knowledge and ideas between the women of this extended family. Both families were in possession of Phillip Miller's *Garden Dictionary*, but the architectural similarities between the two structures extend beyond Miller's advice. For example, the gardener at the Wye House seemed to favor some of the same practices that Margaret Carroll employed—an older hypocaust system design, for example—and the placement of the furnace for the hypocaust are identical, despite no direction on that matter from the Dictionary (Weber 1996:39-41).

Mrs. Lloyd's likely involvement in the scientific gardening pursuits at Wye House allows us to shift the focus away from a male-dominated story. In telling the history of botanical experimentation and early scientific gardening, it is important to

acknowledge other possible contributions rather than assuming that the interest belonged to only White men. Though Edward Lloyd may have been a scientific gardener, it is equally likely that his wife held as much interest and knowledge in the gardening practices at Wye House as he did. Additionally, in looking past the Lloyds entirely, the ones who maintained and controlled the gardens and greenhouses most fully were the enslaved laborers who worked there.

Greenhouse Quarter

When the Lloyds looked to the greenhouse from the back porch of their home, they saw the façade, not the inner-workings of the furnace and quarter in back. It is through archaeology that we can come at the building from the other direction. In 2009, Blair, Cochran, and Duensing identified the northern attachment of the greenhouse as a domestic quarter that was occupied between 1790 and 1840. The interpretation was based on a fireplace, wooden floor, and the assemblage of ceramics and personal items that resembled those discovered in slave domestic excavations on the Long Green (Blair et al. 2009a:156). The yard outside of the quarter attachment showed evidence of being swept. Although it is difficult to ascribe a gender to a task that happened in the past, it is likely that an enslaved

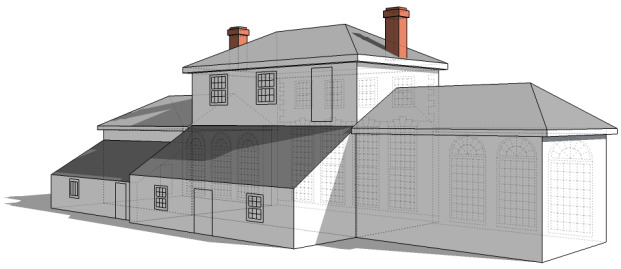


Figure 13: Digital recreation of the back of the greenhouse at Wye House, developed by Beth Pruitt from the architectural schematics drawn by Henry Chandlee Forman (1963). The quarter is the closest attachment while the furnace room is behind it.

woman was the one who swept the yard (Battle-Baptiste 2010). It is also likely that those living in this attachment were responsible for the care of the plants housed in the structure. It is necessary to acknowledge the skills and understanding of enslaved laborers who worked in the greenhouse. Running the hypocaust system would have required keeping different sections of the building at different temperatures, since plants grown within it demanded various intensities of heat to flourish.

The heat within the building, particularly after the introduction of the hypocaust system, would have been incredible. On the upper floor of the building, on the southern wall there are etchings of the Lloyd family and their guests' names in the walls—an eighteenth and nineteenth century equivalent to graffiti. One mark simply reads, "It's hot." The building's heat would have varied not only within the building, but also throughout the year and in accordance to what plants were inside, at times reaching excruciating working temperatures. *Annals of Horticulture* (1850) In describing how to force *Nymphaea rubra* to bloom in a greenhouse, the same manual the encourages keeping the internal temperature of the building above 80 degrees Fahrenheit, which could get above 100 degrees when accounting for the additional heat from the sun (287). For the gardeners who managed the furnace that kept these temperatures, likely enslaved, their proximity to the fire would have meant they suffered from the greatest exposure to the intense heat. Their labor kept the fire burning and the plants growing, and while they did not necessarily leave their marks in writing on the walls, they did so in other ways.

An important contribution of the greenhouse excavations was the discovery of possible West African spiritual practices in the greenhouse as seen from a spirit

bundle or cache buried outside of the doorway and placed in the brick furnace of the hypocaust structure. These objects, hidden from view and placed in the entryways of the building, can be interpreted in many different ways. Here I consider the symbolic uses of such objects in West African religions and the possibilities for who used them and why these objects were secreted in these locations.

Figure 14: Chert projectile point, colorless quartzite projectile point, and brass or copper button found outside of the greenhouse quarter doorway.

Outside of the doorway to the quarter, underneath a brick patio surface, Blair, Cochran, and Duensing uncovered intentionally buried objects connected to spiritual practices. The cache included a colorless quartzite projectile point, a chert projectile point, and a copper- or brass-plated button placed under the doorway in a nineteenth century context (see Fig. 6). The objects were laid flat and in a row just outside of the entryway, which indicates that they were not discarded haphazardly. The archaeologists interpreted these found and repurposed objects as being placed deliberately to direct spirits away from the entrance (Blair et al. 2009a:168). Versions of this tradition have continued into the present day. While conducting oral history interviews on African-American gardens and yard spaces, Grey Gundaker took note of the improvised objects that serve to denote the entrances to yards. Separation between exterior and interior is important, and creates a transition between two worlds that necessitates mediation (Gundaker 2005:121). It is

particularly important that the doorway to the greenhouse slave quarter opens north onto the Lloyd family cemetery, which places the bundle in between the living area and the home of the spirits of the dead. Frederick Douglass describes the superstitions that revolved around this area of the plantation and the intense aversion that many enslaved people felt:

> *Superstition was rife among the slaves about this family burying ground. Strange sights had been seen there by some of the older slaves. Shrouded ghosts, riding on great black horses, had been seen to enter; balls of fire had been seen to fly there at midnight, and horrid sounds had been repeatedly heard. (Douglass 1855:68)*

Douglass explains that those enslaved workers at Wye House believed that people who owned slaves were destined for Hell, which meant that the tortured souls in the Lloyd cemetery needed to be deflected from the entryways to protect the living spaces of families.

In addition, when the Tilghmans reconstructed the furnace that powered the hypocaust and repaired the flues, stone mason Drake Witte discovered that a stone pestle (see Fig. 7) had been cemented into the keystone position. Placed in this hole when the furnace was constructed c. 1798-1822 and discovered in 2010, the pestle has caused a great deal of speculation from

Figure 15: Pestle discovered in the keystone position in the greenhouse furnace.

Archaeology in Annapolis researchers. It is possible that this object was deliberately placed there by one of the enslaved workers who built and maintained the hypocaust. In past interpretations, the pestle could indicate an object calling on West African spirits (Leone 2011).

When interpreting either of these finds, it is important to consider all of the likely possibilities for its purpose and placement. In conversation with the Tilghmans, it is clear that prehistoric artifacts such as the Native American projectile points and pestle were frequently discovered by their family and workers on the plantation in the past while tilling the agricultural fields. These artifacts were collected, kept, and valued as special. Many are still displayed in the family's kitchen. In much of medieval Europe, prehistoric lithics were known as *ceraunia* or "thunderstones," and believed to be natural phenomenon formed and brought to earth from the lightning strikes of storms (Goodrum 2008; McNamara 2007). Due to their curious shapes and meteorological origins, the popular folklore of Southern England held that keeping such a stone in a house protected the building from lightning (McNamara 2007:289).

For sixteenth-century naturalists, the task of recording and categorizing *ceraunia* was complex, since the stone objects considered within this classification ranged in colors and shapes from spheres to wedges to hammers (Goodrum 2008:448). Included in this would have been the formed oblong shape of the stone pestle. With the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century emergence of the antiquarian study of these stones, however, the belief shifted to an understanding of the artifacts as human-made creations from the past. The comparison between stone tools discovered to be in use by Native Americans and the wealth of *ceraunia* found in

ancient contexts in Europe allowed this new branch of study to conclude that the lithics did not come from the sky, despite considerable "scientific" and folk knowledge that had been recorded to the contrary (Goodrum 2008).

It is possible that the object was hidden in the greenhouse by a member of the Lloyd family or one of the European-American gardeners as a protective charm against lightning strikes. Aside from thunderstones, there are objects common to Western European folk magic that were imported from British (Merrifield 1988) and German (Fennell 2007) traditions, such as witch bottles or concealed shoes. These have been found in the contexts of Chesapeake households and at times it can be difficult to assign a race or ethnicity to the practices (Manning 2014; Fennell 2007). However, because of its concealed placement within a space dedicated to the work and daily lives of enslaved people, and the many possible associations within West African religions between the pestle, other hidden objects, and established spiritual beliefs, it appears to be much more likely that the deliberate action was on the part of the enslaved laborers. While the concept of the thunderstone is present among Native Americans during European colonization, there is no record of the English belief in the supernatural properties of thunderstones being transported and enacted in European-American contexts in the New World. However, there is an abundance of archaeological evidence of Native American artifacts collected and discovered in African-American slave contexts on United States plantations. Like the original interpretation, all of the elements of the caches hidden in the greenhouse—the stone pestle, quartzite and chert projectile points, and brass button—can be interpreted from the symbolism of West African spirit practices.

Archaeologists have discovered prehistoric artifacts in similar contexts of slave living quarters, sometimes attributing the presence of such objects to religious practices of the African diaspora (Birmingham 2014; Wilkie 1995; Chan 2007; Klingelhofer 1987). At the *L'Hermitage* slave village site in Frederick, Maryland, researchers found a rhyolite projective point, a quartzite pestle fragment, and a 1794 silver Spanish half reale together, however they were not uncovered *in situ,* making it difficult to know if they were placed in a particular location or arrangement (Birmingham 2014:85). Excavations in the west yard of Royall House slave quarters in Medford, Massachusetts uncovered a Late Archaic Period stone pestle (Chan 2007:158-159). At the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana, excavations of African-American households recovered Native American projective points in the trash middens throughout each period of occupation, while no such discoveries were made in the refuse piles of the European-descended households. Laurie Wilkie (1995) suggests that these objects were discarded after their use or purpose as a charm had passed. A previous resident and farmer at the Oakley Plantation had explained that his grandmother collected the lithics he found in the fields, though he did not know for what reason she wanted them. In the New Orleans area, however, flint materials and projectile points are even today valued for their protective powers as personal charms or a component of charm bags (Wilkie 1995:143).

The pestle in the greenhouse furnace may have held similar protective powers for the enslaved people living in the quarter and working in the greenhouse to tend the plants. Herbalists, those who possessed the curative and supernatural knowledge of herbs and plants held a powerful position in many religions of the African diaspora

such as Yoruba, BaKongo, and Condomblé. The pestle, which has an association with the crushing and grinding of plant materials for medicinal and spiritual purposes, may have taken on supernatural powers through its use and association with such ritual practices. By retaining the magical elements from its use, the pestle then becomes a powerful conduit itself, a container for a spirit, or a symbol for magic and conjuring (Chan 2007:159). By placing such an item in the furnace, this may have protected the chimney flues from access by unwanted spirits or lent its power to those in the building.

The quartzite material, as in the colorless quartzite projectile point found outside the doorway of the greenhouse quarter, seems to be of symbolic significance in spirit bundles or caches. Other discoveries of caches have often found the same material present, indicating that the objects are not chosen at random, but rather with a pattern and symbolic design in mind. At the Carroll House in Annapolis, Archaeology in Annapolis researchers uncovered a cache gathered under an overturned pearlware bowl and hidden under the floor of the northeast corner of the room of a workhouse where enslaved individuals labored in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dating the cache to between 1790 and 1820, the objects under the bowl consisted of twelve pieces of quartz crystals, a faceted glass bead, a polished black stone, and fragments of ceramics depicting scenes of water, which represents a barrier between worlds in some West African traditions (Galke 2000).

It may be impossible to completely understand the meaning and intention behind the objects found in the Wye greenhouse, though an examination of the Yoruba religion and its symbols can provide significant clues. The original

explanation for the pestle in the furnace was to call upon Yoruba *orishas*, possibly Ogun or Shango. Ogun is associated with iron and the forge, perhaps with the hypocaust furnace standing in for the forge of a blacksmith. It is easy to imagine that the furnace that powered the hypocaust system of the greenhouse could serve as a forge evocative of Ogun. However, archaeological and ethnographic evidence do not support pestles being used in a tribute to that particular *orisha*. Like the European belief, there is also an understanding stemming from the Yoruba tradition that lightning strikes produced misshapen stones—the Neolithic axes and pestles—called thunderstones. These were associated with Shango, the *orisha* of thunder, lightning, and fire. Rather than Ogun, the pestle may have been used to invoke Shango, using the thunderstone within a furnace to relate thunder and fire.

The cache under the doorway of the quarter can also be tied to other symbols of the Yorbua religion. The projectile points could invoke the piercing weapons in association with Ogun or the arrows of Oshosi, who is the *orisha* of the hunt. Meanwhile, the brass button could call upon Oshun, since brass jewelry is often used in shrines or charms for her. As a Mother-goddess figure, Oshun is associated with rivers. While Ogun, Oshosi, and Shango are male, "hot," and war-like, Oshun is feminine, "cool," and a balancing influence to these counter-parts. These *orishas* are protectors, directing unwanted spirits away from the entryways of the doorway and the chimney and guarding the structure and its inhabitants from the souls in the Lloyd cemetery. Importantly, the individual or individuals who hid these caches may not have practiced the Yoruba religion specifically nor had the intention of calling these particular spirits. Instead, the symbolic power of these objects within the African

diaspora may have originated there or in similar beliefs (Bascom 1993; Murphy and Sanford 2001). Rather than having the same meanings that they would have across the Atlantic, these objects became part of a tradition with particular symbols and uses within the United States.

These objects show a belief system that ties to the African diasporic experience in the New World, as well as the limited agency of the enslaved people to respond to and influence their immediate environment. The creativity of these tactics was immensely inspiring to descendant Mrs. Lowery:

> *I have been lucky enough to go to Wye House and see where the projectile points that relate to the religious life of the enslaved were found, and to see that they were creative enough to bring their religion from Africa, to continue practicing it, and at the same time, be skillful enough to hide the evidence in such a way that they could continue to practice their religion without the owners finding out, because I don't know what would have happened if they had known that at the time.* (Lowery 2013)

Knowing or not knowing about these hidden caches plays an important role in these deposits, both then and today. For the enslaved people who were aware of these materials and what they were meant to represent, they could have provided a symbol for control and subversion of the plantation's power systems. In walking through the doorway, over the objects, individuals who were involved in the secret were conferred with a comfort and protection. Even today, the objects continue to provide such comfort. For Mrs. Lowery and other descendants, the materials that relate to the religious lives of their ancestors help to create a spiritual connection with the past.

Hothouse

Federal tax records and the Lloyd family ledger books provided the historical data necessary to determine that there were additional, concurrent gardening structures to the one that stands in the present day at Wye House. One of these structures was a hothouse in operation at Wye in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to the 1798 federal direct tax record, there were two greenhouses and one hothouse that were used simultaneously. The hothouse is recorded in the direct tax as being "16 x16 feet, 1 Story Brick with 4 wind[ows]" (Maryland State Archives 1798). A ledger from 1770-1791 additionally notes the payment received by workers for building hothouse structures:

> *12/85-3/87 William Eaton, joiner*
> *building hot houses, repairing green house, work on main house £157* (Lloyd Papers 1770-1791:250)

A second entry notes:

> *4 July 1786. By acct his work done in Building Hot Houses + repairing G House as per Bill of Particulars by A Bryan this day*

These repairs to the greenhouse could account for the archaeological evidence of changes to the building façade in the mid-1780s, rather than the construction of the hypocaust as originally interpreted. It is interesting that the ledger makes note of a plurality of hothouses. So far, there is only archaeological evidence for one hothouse structure, but the historical record suggests that there was at least one other. From the Business Papers of Arthur Bryan (1784-c. 1800), there is an entry in 1792 for the destruction of a hothouse. It reads:

> *The hothouse is now taking down to furnish bricks for the chimney to the House.* (Lloyd Papers 1784-1800)

Bryan Haley's ground penetrating radar analysis reported in *A Geophysical Survey of Portions of the Wye House Grounds, Talbot County, Maryland* (Haley 2009) provided the location of a 16x16 ft. structure near the standing greenhouse. Haley's report shows the structure beginning to take shape at a depth of 1.14 feet and seeming to solidify around a depth of 1.49 feet. It shows the northwest corner of the structure to be approximately 15 feet east and 10 feet south of the standing greenhouse's southeast corner. On this landscape in the present day, there is a small ridge along the northern edge of this GPR anomaly on the ground surface, with a slight slope toward the south. It was on this basis that excavators in May 2012 decided on the location for two units to the southeast of the greenhouse in an attempt to straddle the northern wall. In addition to me, the excavators were John Blair, Amanda Tang, Jocelyn Knauf, and Kate Deeley.

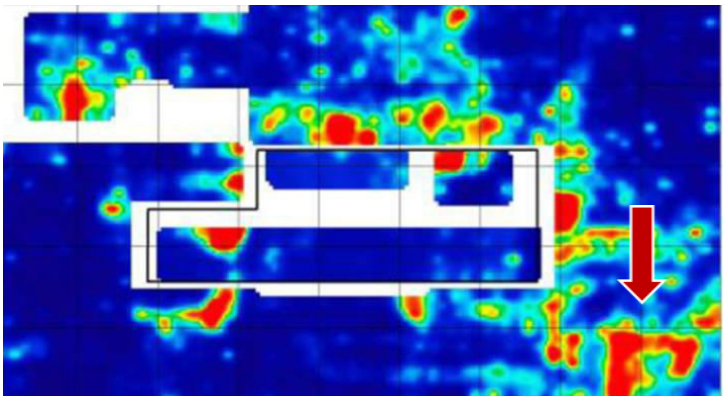


Figure 16: Ground penetrating radar showing an anomaly southeast of the stranding Greenhouse at a depth of 1.49 feet.

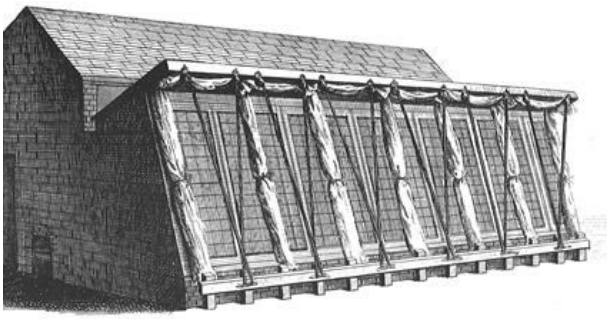


Figure 17: Contemporaneous hothouse heated by a furnace in the rear shed and a system of flues. Published in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopedie* (Diderot and d'Alembert 1760, reproduced in Woods and Warren 1988:58).

Hothouses are similar structures to greenhouse, but with the addition of an artificial heating element on top of the heat provided by the sun. Through the use of stoves, hot-beds, hypocausts, and warming pits, gardeners were able to achieve far higher temperatures and more closely regulate the climates inside the structures of hothouses. Along with greenhouses, hothouses became permanent and necessary fixtures of elite gardens. According to William Speechly, gardener and the author of *A Treatise on the Culture of the Pine Apple and the Management of the Hot-House*, "Hot-houses are found by experiences to be of so much importance, that no garden is esteemed complete without one" (Speechly 1779, quoted in Woods and Warren 1988:61). The structures were widespread in Europe by the mid-eighteenth century, and a great deal of literature was dedicated to their proper construction and use (Woods and Warren 1988:61).

Similar to greenhouses, hothouses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mostly consisted of brick and glass frames. As scientific gardeners gradually understood the relationship between the construction and heating processes for creating an artificial environment, they experimented in order to achieve optimal climates for temperamental tropical plants. Authors published advice on using the angle of the glass and position of the plants to provide higher temperatures to those that needed it (Hix 1974:16). The architect of the hothouse at Wye may have followed similar advice, providing us with an idea of what the building may have looked like. A northern wall of brick and a sloping glass frame may explain the slope of the present-day ground.

The Lloyds had an obvious interest in identifying with the scientific gardening community based on the books contained and displayed in their home. Included in the Lloyd family library are two books of particular note: *The Hot-House Gardener, or the General Culture of the Pine-apple* by John Abercrombie and *Every Man his own Gardener: Being a new…Gardener's Kalendar* by Thomas Mawe and John Abercrombie (Wolf 1969:103-104). Mawe emphasizes the use of a hothouse for bringing fruit out of season, including instructions for the cultivation of cucumbers, strawberries, grapes, melons, citrus, and pineapples (Mawe and Abercrombie 1782). These are many of the same plants described by Douglass at the garden at Wye House.

Figure 18: Bricks uncovered *in situ*, which represent the remains of the brick wall foundations of the hothouse.

In the 2012 hothouse excavations, there was a high prevalence of brick and mortar (48% of the total artifacts recovered), flatglass (21% of the total artifacts recovered), and earthenware flower pots (91% of the total ceramics recovered). Bricks discovered *in situ* in a line running east-west and brick rubble running across the two units suggests that we did locate the remains of a northern brick wall (see Fig. 10). The types of materials recovered in the excavations and the building's dimensions lends support to the hypothesis that the structure excavated is the 16x16 ft. Hothouse described in the 1798 federal tax records. Although artifacts that could be dated were relatively few, the destruction of the building was associated with 1

sherd of undecorated ironstone—which appeared in American contexts after 1842—and 1 sherd of blue underglaze transfer-printed whiteware—which was popular 1830-1860. This places the demolition of the hothouse after 1830.

Aside from needing the brick for other uses, the construction and tearing down of multiple Greenhouse structures gives form to the interest in scientific gardening held by the Lloyds. These buildings are indicative of a period of time, the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, of great botanical experimentation at Wye House. The Lloyds and the gardeners on the plantation were actively involved in learning the best conditions for various plants. Although the hothouse provided additional heating elements, it was not as large and did not provide the variability that the greenhouse did after the addition of the hypocaust system. Preliminary trials of plants on a small scale in the hothouse could have allowed the gardeners to learn the necessary environmental conditions. After the greenhouse was effectively turned into a hothouse through the hypocaust, the excavated hothouse was no longer needed. With the furnace in place by 1822, the building became obsolete or impractical to keep up by the mid-nineteenth century, when it was destroyed.

There were two postholes along the perimeter of the building, just under the northern wall. This indicates that the hothouse at Wye House was possibly constructed using a hotbed technique described in eighteenth-century gardening books, such as *Every Man his own Gardener*, found in the Lloyd library. The authors recommend staking the area around which the hotbed is to be created, then laying a bed of dung within the boundaries of the stakes. This will begin to naturally produce heat. Once this is completed and the dung has fermented, the frame can be

constructed around it (Mawe and Abercrombie 1782:2). *A General Treatise of Husbandry & Gardening* by Richard Bradley, a contemporaneous manual to *Every Man*, additionally suggests laying pebbles on the bottom of a brick-lined pit as a foundation for the hotbed to better maintain the heat (Bradley 1726:281). This could explain the high concentrations of peagravel—small white river pebbles—in the destruction levels.

Any layers of the hotbed laid for the hothouse were not stratigraphically intact at the time of excavations, and have likely been churned up in the destruction of the building. Aside from the small patches of ash in the nineteenth-century context of the inside of the building, there was no other evidence that the hothouse was heated by a furnace or stove. At the time of writing, and without further archaeological investigation, the main artificial heating element appears to have been a hotbed.

In both units, levels dating to the destruction of the building and before contained items that may relate to the caches discovered in the 2008 excavations of the Greenhouse connected to West African spirit practices. In Unit 10 in the 2012 excavations, dating to the eighteenth century, archaeologists recovered nails, chert, two lumps of iron, and a stone pestle. In Unit 11, there were nails, fragments of chert, a single piece of quartz, two lumps of iron, and a stone pestle in the destruction rubble. It seems more than a coincidence that these same materials are found together in the rubble of a second gardening structure when quartz, chert, and a pestle were also found in purposeful deposits in the greenhouse. Due to the thorough destruction of the building, any intentional arrangement of the items has been disrupted. Finding

them in association, however, suggests a possible relationship between the objects in a manner that has been observed previously at Wye House.

In addition, the building's materials could have held alternative meanings for the enslaved laborers. The white river pebbles that lined the floor of the hothouse had the literal task of containing the heat from the hotbed so that the temperature of the building would be steady for the plants. In the Yoruba tradition, the stones would have also represented the cooling influence of the river and river goddesses. This relates to the juxtaposition of "hot" and "cool" elements in West African landscapes designs.

Additional Quarters

With the descriptions from Frederick Douglass of a landscape teeming with life and the records from the Lloyds including numerous enslaved people at Wye House, the previous Archaeology in Annapolis excavations had yet to uncover the number of quarters necessary to house so many people. Henry Chandlee Forman's map of the landscape depicts two quarters, one on the Long Green labeled "2-story Quarter" and a second across Lloyd Creek labeled "Br. Row Quarter." Frederick Douglass described quarters on the plantation:

> *Here were human habitations, full of the mysteries of life at every stage of it. There was the little red house, up the road, occupied by Mr. Sevier, the overseer. A little nearer to my old master's, stood a very long, rough, low building, literally alive with slaves, of all ages, conditions and sizes. This was called "the Longe Quarter." Perched upon a hill, across the Long Green, was a very tall, dilapidated, old brick building—the architectural dimensions of which proclaimed its erection for a different purpose—now occupied by slaves, in a similar manner to the Long Quarter* (Douglass 1855).

Previous excavations on the north Long Green were thought to have uncovered these buildings, though it is now our interpretation that these two quarters are the ones depicted on Forman's map. Douglass' description and Forman's drawing appear to be at odds, one depicting a square two-storied dwelling while the other speaks to a "long, rough, low building." It is possible that Douglass is describing another building. Alternatively, the building recorded by Forman as seen by his sources looked entirely different in Douglass' time. This second hypothesis is supported by the archaeology.

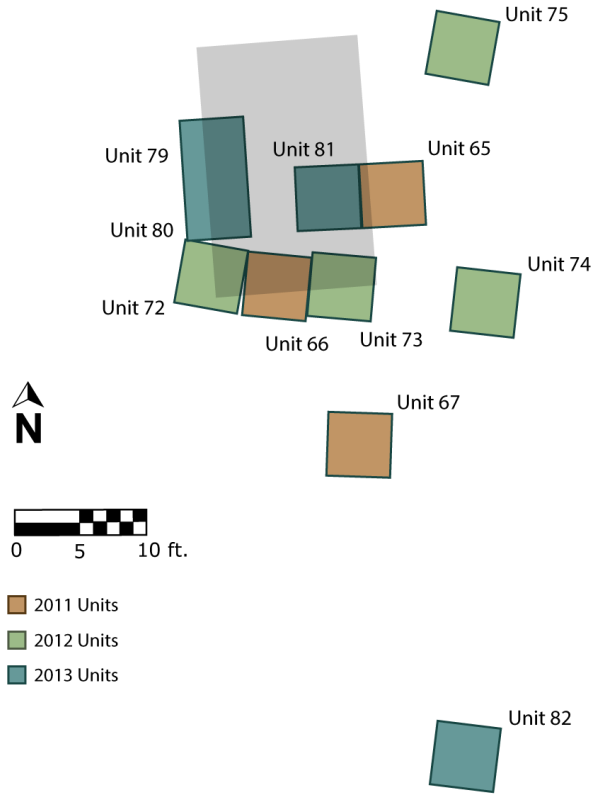


Figure 19: Excavations units of the slave quarter on the south Long Green.

In 2010, Benjamin Skolnik combined the spatial information from Forman's map, an early twentieth century aerial photograph, LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) data, and present-day satellite imagery in order to discover the present-day locations of these two quarters. The map depicts these structures and their general relatedness to the rest of the landscape, but it was not drawn to scale. The photograph, taken sometime around 1920, shows piles of rubble or building debris in the areas where these buildings would have stood. Finally, the LiDAR map of the area showed the small variations in elevation that could provide clues as to the location of the foundations. Through a process of

georectification, Skolnik was able to stretch the map and photograph so that they could be overlain onto the LiDAR and satellite images. Doing so provided a narrowed area in which to look for the two slave quarters. After completing an STP (Shovel Test Pit) survey of these areas, the concentrations of building materials and domestic artifacts proved that Skolnik's estimated location for the quarters was correct (Skolnik 2011).

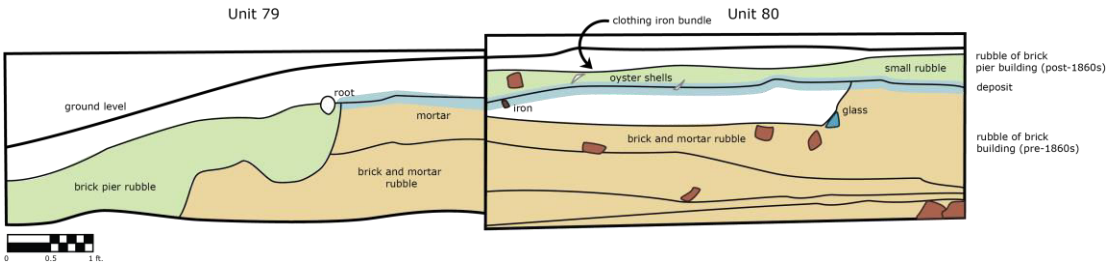


Figure 20: The eastern walls of the excavations units along the eastern wall of the structure, showing the chronology of the two buildings and two caches.

The location of the 2-story Quarter on the south Long Green was the site of two successive buildings. The first was a brick building dating to before the 1860/70s. The second was a brick pier building erected sometime after the Civil War. One pier of the structure, supporting the middle of the western wall, cut into the destruction levels of the first building. The earlier brick building was likely that described by Douglass, while the other, made of wood and raised onto brick piers, could have been the one drawn by Foreman. The chronology of the buildings shows that similar hidden arrangements of objects as seen in the greenhouse were also used to protect this area of the landscape. The first building was characterized by brick rubble and refuse fill largely consisting of broken glass. Resting on top of this rubble underneath the door area, lying flat across two excavation units, was an extensive surface of

arranged objects—blue bottle bases, white marble circles, crushed metal cans, and an iron wheel.

The arrangement was located along the west-facing entryway to the structure, but under the raised floor of the brick pier building. In a line from north to south, there was a large blue bottle base; white marble that appeared to be shaped or broken into circular segments; crushed metal cans; an iron cart wheel resting on top of a circle of whole bottles and plates; crushed blue glass bottle fragments in a circle; and further to the west, two small blue bottle bases, one of which had a molded cross on one side. Since the arrangement of circular objects was laid flat it indicates that they were not part of the jumbled destruction fill above (from the destruction of the second building) and below (from the destruction of the first) this deposit. The interpretation of this cache of circular objects is that it was placed under the floor during the construction of the second building as a way of consecrating the structure and protecting the inhabitants, who were likely free African-Americans who continued to live on the plantation after Emancipation.

To the south of these circular objects, there was a deposit of iron farming tool from the same time period. Under the southwest corner of the building were two pitchforks crossing each other. Under the southern wall were buried tools that included a hoe blade, a wood splitter, and a shovel head. Some of the tools are broken, but others were deposited in working condition. These tools may have connected to the larger arrangement under the doorway as part of a whole cache that effectively encompassed the structure with protection. In this context, the iron farming implements used on the plantation take on a different meaning.

In Yoruba, Ogun or a related spirit is associated with iron, and particularly the iron of weapons and farming or smelting tools, called the "tools of Ogun." In the New World and the Old, they become emblematic for the *orisha*, and were used as symbols by herbalists and practitioners calling upon his power. In Benin, miniature representations of Ogun contained swords, hammers, arrow tips, and hoe blades, among other blacksmithing, farming, or warring tools (Barnes and Ben-Amos 1989:53-55). Within the United States, hoe blades and possible hatchet blades were found under the doorways of three slave quarters at the Kingsley Plantation in Florida. Additionally, there were an iron axe heads buried under the fireplace and along the southern wall and an iron hoe blade underneath the doorway of a slave quarter on the Couper Plantation in Georgia (Davidson and McIlvoy 2012:142).

The practice of placing charms within a newly built house is found in contemporary ethnographic resources from Yoruba, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Angola, and the modern-day Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, and Benin (Davidson and McIlvoy 2012:138). Though in their West African counterparts, these charms could also include freestanding charm in the middle of rooms, the practice of concealment under the entryways of the house would be more likely to be discovered in an archaeological context.

The level above this arrangement is distinguished by another layer of rubble, this time from the destruction of the second building. Modern wire nails (common after 1880) found in Unit 79 and yellow ware (popular 1860s-70s) found in Unit 80 just above the deposit indicate that it was likely placed after the Civil War.

Interestingly, the destruction level of the second building also contained a Civil War button, possibly from a returning soldier.

After the second building was torn down, another cache of objects was placed within its fill. This cache was a small pile of objects arranged so that they supported each other. This consisted of a wedge-shaped clothing iron, an oblong shaped stone, and an oyster shell. Iron wedges and oyster shell were also discovered in BaKongo spirit bundles at the Levi Jordon Plantation (Brown and Brown 1998). The pile with the clothing iron at Wye House was arranged after and on top of the destruction of the second building sometime before 1920, by which time the structure was gone. It represents a continuation of this tradition after Emancipation by those who tore the building down.

Figure 21: Cache deposited on top of the destruction of the second building.

The meaning of the wheel and the variety of circles could have its origins in the BaKongo cosmogram. The cross is a symbol of crossing pathways and transitions or transformations, while the wheel symbolizes the movement of those transitions, like the arcing path of the sun. This symbol was brought to the American South and used in simplified forms during and after slavery (Thompson 1998; Ferguson 1992). Grey Gundaker noted uses of the wheel in present-day African-American yard art,

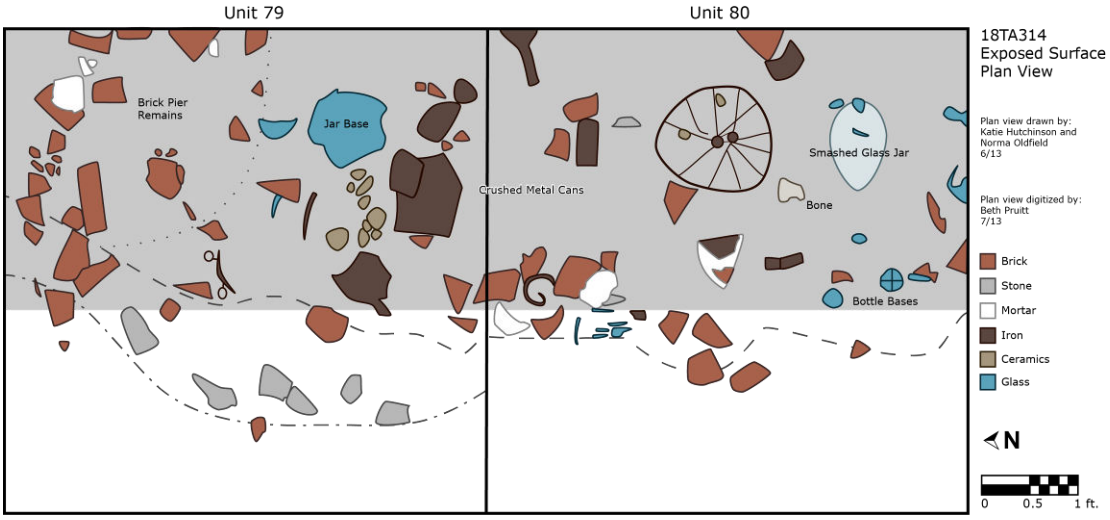


Figure 22: Map of the arrangement under the entrance to the south Long Green quarter, drawn when it was first uncovered in 2013, facing east. The shaded area represents where the inside of the building would have been.

Figure 23: Arrangement under the entrance to the south Long Green quarter, facing west.

interpreting the object as being complementary to both Christian and BaKongo traditions. The wheel, representing the turn of the earth and soul's path from life to death, is a symbol for salvation. The early twentieth-century Christian song "Mary Wore Three Links of Chain" contains the verse, "The wheel turned over and the earth

turned around. All my sins were taken away, taken away" (Gundaker 2005:195). The African American spiritual "Ezekial Saw the Wheel," derived from the Biblical story of Ezekial's vision of heavenly beings, contains "Ezekiel saw the wheel; Way up in the middle of the air." The other circular objects present in the arrangement seem to point to a West African interpretation, though this does not preclude the African Americans at Wye House from using Christian symbols or identifying with the Christian religion.

The glass bottle bases and fragments in the deposit are all a certain color of blue. The color and shine of the glass may be evocative of water, which within the BaKongo cosmology is the pathway between the world of the living and the world of the spirits. The circle, the crossroads, and blue water would have been closely tied symbols. In African-American Southern tradition, blue is an important color in keeping away malevolent spirits, taking the form of personal amulets, beads, house moldings, and bottles hung from trees (Stine et al. 1996:64). The particular bright green-blue hue of the bottles found at Wye House is known in the present-day South as "haint blue," a haint being a restless soul that would be kept away by the color, as it emulated the barrier of the water that they could not cross. In looking at the arranged refuse in this way, it becomes clear that they were chosen and intentionally placed under the building. The transition from outside the house to inside, from slavery to freedom, from the destruction of one building to the erection of another, is well represented in the choices of circular objects.

Although the interplay between the BaKongo cosmogram and the Yoruba association with iron tools necessitates the combination of two different West African

traditions at Wye House, this is not unlikely. Enslaved people came together from many locations and combined their customs and beliefs. The "curer's cabin," located at the Levi Jordon Plantation in Brazoria, Texas, contained four deposits at the cardinal directions related to both BaKongo and Yoruba religious materials. In three deposits, the objects consisted of those that were interpreted as deriving from the

Figure 23: Excavating two pitchforks from the Long Green quarter in 2012.

BaKongo tradition—small iron wedges, mirror fragments, oyster shell, quartz crystals, iron nails, and white ash. The fourth deposit, however, consisted of two iron kettles, one inside of the other and wrapped in chains. This particular arrangement of objects is interpreted as coming from the Yoruba religion as a shrine to Ogun. This is supported by historical information about the religion as practiced in West Africa and the adaptation of these shrines to New World settings such as Cuba and Brazil (Brown and Brown 1998).

Invoices from Oxley, Hancock, and Co. in London to Edward Lloyd IV demonstrate that many of the iron farming implements used in the agricultural

production at Wye House were imported directly from England. On April 27, 1793, Lloyd ordered from London:

> *...1 dozen garden Rakes*
> *1 dozen best garden sythes completely fitted for use in every respect*
> *1 dozen best garden hoes sorted* (Lloyd Papers 1718-1799)

While Lloyd's consumer practices tie these objects back to England, the African-American laborers on the plantation, enslaved and eventually free, repurposed them into religiously charged symbols that tie to the African diaspora.

Conclusion

The archaeology at Wye House provides a basis for greater understanding of the history of the gardening practices on the plantation and the influence over the landscape by both the Lloyds and the enslaved people. The historical and archaeological evidence of the greenhouse and hothouse give us insight into the experimentation conducted by the Lloyds. Edward Lloyd IV may very well have taken on the identity of a scientific gardener, given the gardening literature in his library and the trial-and-error approach to the gardening buildings. Without overshadowing the contributions of others to eighteenth and nineteenth-century gardening practices, it is also likely that Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd and the enslaved laborers possessed knowledge and expertise in scientific gardening as well.

The archaeological record can additionally illuminate the ways in which African Americans on the plantation held control over the natural and supernatural elements of the landscape. The objects found in the living quarters excavated, both in the greenhouse and on the Long Green, demonstrate that there was a continuous—if

hidden—spiritual tradition that connects to the African diaspora that was practiced during slavery and after Emancipation at Wye House. These improvised objects of protection and power show that, as the greenhouse and hothouse—and the plantation landscape as a whole—symbolized the Lloyd's overt control over the natural world, the hidden landscape within it held influence over the spiritual aspects of nature.

Chapter 6: Wye House Gardens

In addition to the archaeological evidence, this dissertation relies on the information provided by archaeobotanical evidence. The presence of certain plants in particular locations and time periods at Wye House promote an understanding of the landscape over time and the use of nature among both the free and enslaved inhabitants. The same soil excavated to uncover an archaeological record also contains fossilized plant remains from the past. Palynology, the study of pollen, has found that the hard shell of some pollen grains preserve them in the ground. Archaeology started to identify these grains for use in dating and analyzing environmental changes over time beginning in the early twentieth century (Bryant and Holloway 1983:192). The morphology, or shape, of the grains in different plant families, genuses, and species are unique, allowing the palynologist to in some way identify them.

How broadly or specifically the grains can be identified with certainty depends on preservation, and the level of degradation can depend on environmental conditions and age of the sample (Dimbleby 1985). It also depends on how distinctly the pollen of one species within a family or genus looks from another. Using the artifacts from the stratigraphy of each unit, it is possible to date the pollen recovered, creating a chronology of plant use in and around the gardening buildings and living quarters at Wye House. The soil samples collected from the Wye greenhouse main room, attached quarter, and hothouse help us to imagine the past as populated by

living plants that were purposefully chosen, gathered, cultivated, consumed, and otherwise used by living people on the plantation.

Perspectives of the landscape come not only from identifying the species that existed from purposeful cultivation or gathering, but also in understanding how nature played a role in the everyday lives of both Euro- and African-Americans. The cultural ideas of time, space, nature, medicine, and the spirits converge on the plantation and play out in the plants that once grew there. Through nature, the inhabitants found the means to eat, cure, protect themselves, and gain prestige.

This chapter explores the ways in which multiple groups of individuals viewed and used the landscape at Wye House as seen through gardening practices and use of plants. The Lloyds used the land to exert control over nature, maintain a connection with England, and display their wealth and status as scientific gardeners. Enslaved workers on the plantation would have made use of the nature around them to maintain spiritual and physical well-being, which are closely related, by experimenting with the environment that was available to them. This is significant in that the growing archaeological literature on West African spirit practices on American plantations has previously ignored the importance of botanical materials to these assemblages. Although the preservation of the fossilized pollen limits the potential interpretations, there are many ways in which the palynology can inform an understanding of plant use in enslaved contexts. Through plants and gardening, both African Americans and European Americans in the United States maintained cultural connections to their previous homes. In both European and African traditions, certain

plants can take on magical powers or methods of healing, and at times these traditions intersect.

Methodology

Both of the 2008 and 2009 excavations in and around the Wye greenhouse collected and analyzed pollen taken from soil samples in the southern main room of the building as well as the attached slave quarter. Dr. Heather Trigg of the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Massachusetts, Boston collected the samples, the findings of which are reported in full in *An Analysis of Pollen Recovered from the Greenhouse at Wye House Plantation, Easton, Maryland* (Jacobucci and Trigg 2010). Trigg collected soil from the wall profiles of test units 1, 8, and 9 in the greenhouse main room and Unit 3 in the greenhouse quarter. A surface sample was also analyzed in order to compare other samples for cases of possible contamination. Altogether, 19 samples were processed and analyzed by Dr. Trigg and Susan Jacobucci. While there were only two samples recovered from Units 8 and 9, there were 10 samples taken and analyzed from the stratigraphy of Unit 1, which provides a rich set of data for the full history of this area. For this reason, poor preservation of pollen in Unit 9, and a lack of dateable artifacts in Unit 8, I use only the samples recovered from Unit 1 from the greenhouse main room to compare with Unit 3 in the quarter.

During the 2012 hothouse excavations, I collected 14 soil samples for pollen analysis. I took samples from each level of the southern walls of both Units 10 and 11, representing the inside of the hothouse. Due to time constraints, I took only one

soil sample from the northern walls of each unit for comparison to the southern wall. After scraping away the exposed dirt of the profile, soil samples were taken using a trowel cleaned with distilled water and placed into 4x6" plastic bags. I sent these samples to Dr. John Jones at Archaeological Consulting Services, Ltd. for analysis, of which he analyzed 10 in *Analysis of the Pollen from Wye House* (Jones 2014). The remaining four were taken from levels that dated to the same time periods as other samples, and so were preserved in case there is future use for them.

The data from these samples are used in conjunction with the historical record for this chapter's analysis. The Lloyd family ledgers provide another thread of evidence for the plants that were bought and managed in the Wye House gardens. Letters between Edward Lloyd IV, his wife Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd, their son Edward Lloyd V, and seedsellers and merchants in England, as well as invoices for the purchase of plants fill in more of the history of garden management at the plantation. Additionally, the autobiographies of Frederick Douglass, the life history of Joseph Sutton, and the oral histories of the WPA Slave Narratives provide many different perspectives of gardening and landscapes at Wye House, on the Eastern Shore, and in the American South in general.

The Gardens at Wye House

When Edward Lloyd IV came into control of the Wye House Plantation in 1770, he modernized the landscape through the inclusion of scientific instruments and improvements that would have been in keeping with trends from England. The greenhouse he commissioned contained technologies for plant cultivation, including a

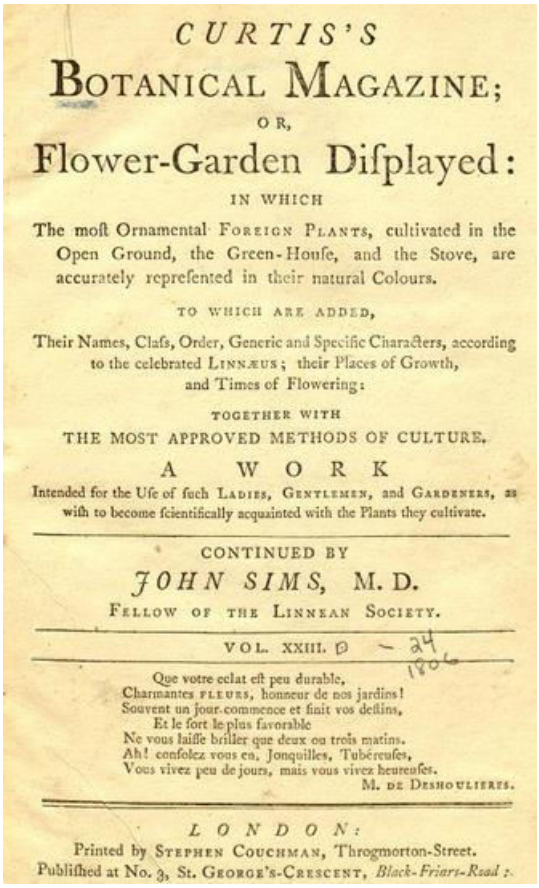
furnace to heat it, a water pump to irrigate, and a thermometer for the precisely regulated care of exotic plants (Lloyd Papers 1774-1787). Within the carefully controlled space of the greenhouse, gardening experts could rearrange nature in accordance to principles of order and aesthetics and use their skills to cultivate plants accustomed to tropical climates or bring fruit to bear out of season. Frederick Douglass describes in detail the variety of edibles produced in the gardens in his autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*. He writes of the garden that it is:

> *The tender asparagus, the succulent celery, and the delicate cauliflower; egg plants, beets, lettuce, parsnips, peas, and French beans, early and late; radishes, cantelopes, melons of all kinds; the fruits and flowers of all climes and of all descriptions, from the hardy apple of the north, to the lemon and orange of the south, culminated at this point.* (Douglass 1855:108-109)

This would have granted the Lloyds a greater social standing in the Chesapeake elite circles, since to maintain such a garden would have taken skilled indentured and enslaved gardeners and heavy investment. According to Conley's (2006) analysis of the Winterthur estate greenhouse range, the greenhouses served two functions in terms of gaining social power. Owning a particularly exotic plant or having the ability to produce food or flowers out of season gave the owner higher esteem. Rivalries existed among land owners to out-do each other in this regard. Additionally, having a greenhouse on the estate provided an illusion of self-sufficiency. Owners could grow a variety of food, even during winter.

Through the Lloyds' consumption and gardening practices, they maintained a connection with Great Britain, although they were several generations removed from Wales. Even after the American Revolution, they continued to export goods grown at Wye House and import the means of keeping the plantation up to the standards of the

Chesapeake elite—everything from agricultural tools, gardening manuals, seeds, plant cuttings, and stylistic trends came from England to Wye House. From Oxley, Hancock & Co. of London, Lloyd ordered one dozen garden rakes, one dozen garden scythes "completely fitted for use in every respect," and one dozen garden hoes in a letter from 1793. Plants from all over the world converged on this landscape. From the Lloyd's records, we know that Edward Lloyd IV bought turnip cabbage from the Cape of Good Hope and requested winged-podded sophora, a plant native to New Zealand, "to be taken from the Apothecaries Garden at Chelsea," England. In the same letter from Edward Lloyd IV to Oxley, Hancock & Co. in 1793, Lloyd writes, "If there has lately been introduced into the gardens near London any curious plants worth sending have them put up with directions how to treat them" (Lloyd Papers 1718-1799). The "curiosity" expressed by the plants is a commodity in the culture and time of the Lloyds, one that they can afford to acquire and display.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Que votre eclat est peu durable,
Charmantes FLEURS, honneur de nos jardins!
Souvent un jour commence et finit vos destins,
Et le sort le plus favorable
Ne vous laisse briller que deux ou trois matins.
Ah! consolez vous en, Jonquilles, Tubéreuses,
Vous vivez peu de jours, mais vous vivez heureuses.
M. DE DESHOULIERES.
LONDON:
Printed by STEPHEN COUCHMAN, Throgmorton-Street.
Published at No. 3, St. GEORGE'S-CRESCENT, Black-Friars-Road.

Figure 25: Cover of the 1806 edition of *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* "in which the most ornamental foreign plants, cultivated in the open ground, the green-house, and the stove [hothouse], are accurately represented in their natural colours."

The Lloyds also obtained their plants and advice from other merchants and experts such as John and John Field in London, William Booth in Baltimore, and Upton Scott in Annapolis. Upton Scott, a physician who had been born in Ireland,

was the Lloyds' contact with the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. Scott would offer to buy specimens from *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, a catalog of illustrated plants for purchase, on behalf of the family and have them shipped to Wye House. In writing to Edward Lloyd V in 1806, he says, "Inclosed I have sent you a List of very beautifull Flowers, selected from the Botanical Magazine, which, if they can be obtained + added to your Collection will greatly increase its value + contribute to your Amusements" (Lloyd Papers 1706-1819). Scott's expertise, tastes, and connections are used by the Lloyds in order to increase the value and prestige of their landscape.

The Lloyd family library in 1796, the year Edward Lloyd IV died, contains a variety of British gardening manuals and treatises (Table 2). These books, geared toward a standardization of gardening practices and encouragement of improvement, consist of architectural, agricultural, and botanical recommendations. In his description of the Lloyd library, Wolf (1969) notes the unusually large proportion of books (40%) dedicated to agriculture in the natural sciences and the arts when compared to contemporaries (Wolf 1969:89). Though not an exhaustive list, the library includes:

Table 2: Selected agricultural works found in the record of the Lloyd library in 1796, the high percentage of which demonstrates an interest in the best gardening and agricultural practices.

1759	Philip Miller's *The Gardeners Dictionary*
1759	William Ellis's *The Practical Farmer, or The Hertfordshire Husbandman*
1760	Philip Miller's *Figures Of the most Beautiful, Useful, and Uncommon Plants*
1764	John Randall's *The Construction and Extensive Use Of a newly invented Universal Seed-Furrow Plough*
1765	Adam Dickson's *A Treatise of Agriculture*
1766	Thomas Collins Overton's *Original Designs of Temples, And other ornamental Buildings for Parks and Gardens*
1767	Thomas Mawe's *Every Man his own Gardener. Being a new . . . Gardener's Kalendar*

1768	John Gilson's *The Fruit-Gardener, Containing the Method of Raising Stocks*
1769	*The Complete Grazier: or, Gentleman and Farmer's Directory*
1769	*The Complete Farmer... By a Society of Gentlemen*
1771	James Meader's *The Modern Gardener, or Universal Calendar*
1771	Arthur Young's *The Farmer's Letters to the People of England*
1776	Luner, Stanfoin, and Bennett's *The Improved Culture of the three principal Grasses*
1778	Thomas Mawe and John Abercrombie's *The Universal Gardener and Botanist*
1778-90	Andrew Wright's *The Present State of the Husbandry in Scotland*
1779-86	Joseph Priestley's *Experiments and Observations relating to various branches of Natural Philosophy*
1779	James Meader's *The Planter's Guide; or, A Pleasure-Gardiner's Companion*
1779	Gilbert Brookes's *The Complete British Gardener*
1780	John Trusler's *Practical Husbandry; or the Art of Farming with a certainty of gain*
1785	William Marshall's *Planting and Ornamental Gardening*
1789	Thomas Mawe and John Abercrombie's *The Hot-House Gardener, or the General Culture of the Pine-apple*
1789	Lazzaro Spallanzani's *Dissertations relative to the Natural History of Animals and Vegetables*
1790	George Swayne's *Gramina Pasua: or, A Collection of specimens of the Common Pasture Grasses*
1795	Archibald Cochrane's *A Treatise shewing the Intimate Connection that subsists between Agriculture and Chemistry*

The concept of a "scientific gardener" and the way in which such an image would play a role in Lloyd and his descendants' construction of the garden are integral to the understanding of their relationship with the landscape. The idea behind scientific experiments on nature on the plantation was to discover optimal growing conditions for the best production. This had implications for both formal gardens and agricultural productivity. Phillip Miller, who was the chief gardener of the Chelsea Physic Garden or Apothecaries Garden, wrote multiple gardening manuals found in

the Lloyd library. From them, we can make connections between the items and plants that the Lloyds ordered and the recommended practices coming out of England.

Although the archaeological excavations have not found material evidence of them, the Lloyds did order bell jars or bell glasses from England, requesting from Oxley, Hancock & Co. on January 17, 1792 three dozen "best largest sized Bell Glasses for Garden use." At the same time, Lloyd ordered one ounce of cauliflower seed (Lloyd Papers 1791-1888). The jars would have been placed over the plants as they grew during the colder months in order to keep the frost from disrupting their growth. In *The Gardener's Dictionary*, Philip Miller provides this advice for the gardener planting cauliflower:

> *[T]hen plant your Plants, allowing about two Feet six Inches Distance from Glass to Glass in the Rows, always putting two good Plants under each Glass, which may be at about four Inches from each other; and if you design them for a full Crop, they may be three Feet and an half, Row from Row: but if you intend to make Ridges for Cucumbers or Melons between the Rows of Cauliflower-plants (as is generally practis'd by the Gardeners near* London*), you must then make your Rows eight Feet asunder.* (Miller 1754, emphasis on "London" in original)

Miller's emphasis on keeping trend with those in London shows that this was desirable for those in the rest of Great Britain and abroad. In ordering their seeds, gardening implements, and manuals from England, the Lloyds maintained a connection across the Atlantic and kept up with the latest practices and advice of the scientific gardening experts of the times. This helped them to maintain the identity of Chesapeake elite planters, whose prestige was still drawn from Great Britain.

In addition to the construction of the greenhouse around 1775 and the hothouse after 1784, Edward Lloyd IV also oversaw a dramatic re-orientation of the entire landscape. In the early 1780s, the mansion was rebuilt away from the Long

Green, orienting with the greenhouse rather than overlooking the industrial center of the plantation. The gardens too, were then reoriented to this new north-south rather than east-west axis and were built to surround and seclude the house. Weeks notes that "This seclusion, this separation from commercial chaos, must have appealed to the Lloyds, and the appeal was probably as much political and psychological as aesthetic" (Weeks 1984:62). In the mid-to-late eighteenth century, attitudes toward nature were changing in England. The solitude of country life became appealing, and the concept of being surrounding by the natural elements became desirous rather than frightening (Girouard 1978:218). Edward Lloyd IV's redesign of the landscape followed this trend, surrounding the house with gardens, and ensuring that the Wye Plantation was maintaining a connection with the latest English fashions.

Related to these changing ideas about nature was the emerging embrace of the picturesque within landscape architecture. Uvedale Price explains that the picturesque is predicated on variety and intricacy—the latter being "that disposition of object which, by a partial and uncertain concealment, excites and nourishes curiosity" (Price 1794:98). At the time that Edward Lloyd IV came into his ownership of the plantation, the trend in England was moving away from axial planning and toward the development of a dynamic, informal gardenscape of the picturesque. According to Mark Girouard, "They no longer thought in terms of rigidly intersecting axial vistas, each neatly ending in a terminal feature. They liked to see buildings in a series and from a variety of constantly changing angles" (Girouard 1978:211). An element of curiosity and discovery of a constructed wilderness drove the designs of landscapes toward disappearing and reappearing views and compartmentalized gardens that gave

the impression of an informal walk through nature. The landscape at Wye embodied these ideas through tall hedges and covered walks, and continued to preserve this aesthetic up through the early twentieth century. Edith Dabney, writing in 1907, notes that "These hedges reach the remarkable height of twenty-five feet, forming with their interweaving branches, veritable pleached alleys so seldom seen in America (Dabney 1907:25). This retreat into nature, both in the relocation of the house and in the gardening designs kept the landscape in keeping with the current trends.

Photographs taken by McHenry Howard provide glimpses of how this garden may have looked while employing these principles. One picture, taken in 1904, shows the gravel and box walk to the east of the house, looking north to the east end of the greenhouse (see Figure 3). Only a small portion of the greenhouse is visible to the view of the observer, obscured as it is by hedges and ivy. This image exemplifies the "partial and uncertain concealment" of which Prince spoke.

Figure 26: Corner of greenhouse as seen from a gravel and box walkway, taken in 1904.

The picturesque being a negotiation between the tamed, beautiful environment and the wild, sublime nature, it also represents a mediation between liberty and safety (Repton 2010 [1794]:13). This is best seen in the Lloyds' use of a ha-ha, or belt, in front of the mansion. Promoted by the French Dezallier d'Argenville and the English Humphrey

Repton, the ha-ha is a hidden trench that allows the livestock—such as the sheep and cattle that grazed at the Wye Plantation—to remain enclosed without obstructing the vista from the house. This allows both the sense of boundary, since the animals are kept from the house and manicured front lawns, and the infinity of the road leading away from the house, into the wilderness beyond. This also exemplifies the three natures of Bonfadio within the vista, with the house and gardens representing the third nature, the agricultural fields and grazing animals in view as the second nature, and the infinite forests beyond as the first.

Although the gardens at Wye House were controlled by the Lloyds and influenced by their continued relationship with England, they were not the only ones to inhabit, use, and take ownership of them. Douglass describes the nature of the plantation as being very much a part of his world, rather than something that belonged only to the estate owners:

> *Carriages going in and retiring from the great house, made the circuit of the lawn, and their passengers were permitted to behold a scene of almost Eden-like beauty… The tops of the stately poplars were often covered with the red-winged black-birds, making all nature vocal with the joyous life and beauty of their wild, warbling notes. These all belonged to me, as well as to Col. Edward Lloyd, and for a time I greatly enjoyed them.* (Douglass 1855:67-68)

From this perspective, it is important to understand that it was not only the Lloyds and European-Americans who were held in high regard from demonstrating skill and knowledge in gardening.

Although there is no archaeological or historical evidence yet of slave gardens in the yards at the Wye House Plantation, it was common for enslaved people to keep garden plots to supplement diet and even income. This was a responsibility that generally fell to the women on the plantation, this being a traditional role for women

in some West African societies (Yentsch 2004:204). Douglass explains the way in which his own grandmother's talents in the garden gave her significant status in the region:

> *She was a gardener as well as a fisherwoman, and remarkable for her success in keeping her seedling sweet potatoes through the months of winter, and easily got the reputation of being born to "good luck." In planting-time Grandmother Betsey was sent for in all directions, simply to place the seedling potatoes in the hills or drills; for superstition had it that her touch was needed to make them grow* (Douglass 1882:2).

Douglass gives his grandmother the respected title of gardener, and makes it clear that her abilities were valuable to many others. Though he credits some of her fame to superstition, it is plain that she is skillful and knowledgeable. Although enslaved laborers would have existed under a system that controlled their bodies and movement, there were ways that they could claim the landscape as their own.

Fundamental to the understanding of the physical and cultural landscapes of the enslaved is the concept of control and surveillance. Douglass's recollections depict "Old master's house, a long, brick building, plain, but substantial, stood in the center of the plantation life, and constituted one independent establishment on the premises of Col. Lloyd" (Douglass 1855:66). The center of which Douglass speaks is not of the plantation as a whole, but rather of the plantation life of the enslaved. The Captain's House, where his "old master" lived, located in a position to see the slave quarters on the Long Green, would have been an ever-present reminder that they were being watched by the overseers.

Despite the threat of surveillance, the enslaved at Wye developed a hidden landscape filled with meaning particular to them. In *Praise the Bridge that Carries You Over*, the recorded oral history of Joseph Sutton, he relates his memories and

experiences growing up on the Eastern Shore and the stories passed down to him from his grandparents. His relatives had been enslaved at Wye House, and he describes one instance in particular that adds complexity to Douglass' description of the restrictions on the gardens. In talking about a man he knew who was enslaved and working in the house at Wye, he says:

> *They tried to get the most intelligent ones in the house; old man John Copper, he was very intelligent. He was one that learned how to read and never went to school. And Colonel Lloyd's brother started him off. He used to go down in the garden and hide, and set and carry the books down there.* (Krech 1981:4)

Not only did the young John Copper discreetly enter the gardens, but he did so in order to hide another illicit activity—learning to read. For him, it was a space of refuge, empowerment, and resistance, where he could challenge the systems of inequality.

Figure 27: West side of the Wye House gardens, taken in 1904.

Douglass describes those that were in charge of the Wye House gardens, a "scientific gardener, imported from Scotland (a Mr. McDermott) with four men under his direction." There are census records that the Lloyds took annually of the enslaved people, and those records include specialized skills. They list four enslaved gardeners in 1796, before Douglass' time, but perhaps working until he arrived as a child. They were named Big Jacob, Little Jacob, Kitt, and Stephen. Kitt and Stephen were middle-aged at the end of the eighteenth century, but the two Jacobs were young and may have been assistants to Mr. McDurmott. In

order to maintain the gardens at Wye House and the multiple glass gardening buildings, the gardeners would have required incredible skill and knowledge about the diverse plants under their care. These men were experienced scientific gardeners and experts. Though they may not have been able to exercise the same level of control over the garden design as the Lloyds, they were the ones who worked with and understood the plants. Within the same space, multiple groups were experiencing and taking some ownership of the landscape. That these men were titled as gardeners shows that these skills and knowledge distinguished them on the plantation.

This renown and expertise, though it made them valuable to the Lloyd family, did not substantially benefit the enslaved laborers. Any misfortune could still result in the threat of violence. In 1777, a Virginian named Landon Carter noted in his diary that the strawberry patches, which were tended to by an enslaved gardener, also contained flowers and weeds. He wrote "My gardiner now 5 days weeding his Strawberry beds and not yet half done them. They must be well whipt" (Sarudy 1998:87). The Lloyds appropriated the labor, skill, and knowledge of their enslaved gardeners to maintain their own standing, but for the enslaved gardeners it did little to improve their physical situation.

Palynology Results

The results of the pollen analysis from soil samples showed the diversity of plants in and around the gardens throughout time. The enslaved who stayed in the greenhouse quarter likely worked in the greenhouse and gardens, so evidence of many plants appears in both the main room and quarter. However, there were distinct

differences in type and quantity between the greenhouse and the quarter. Additionally, the pollen evidence can help to add to the archaeological record in terms of the use of the hothouse and its relationship to the greenhouse.

It is important to keep in mind that the environment plays a significant role in the ways pollen grains are preserved, and therefore the number of grains from different species that can be identified in samples today. The attached greenhouse slave quarter, with its small windows and one door, would likely not have as much windborne pollen as the greenhouse main room, with its many tall windows that would have been opened on warm days. Mawe and Abercrombie's instructions in *The Hot-House Gardener, or the General Culture of the Pine-apple,* on the other hand, advise the gardener to open the windows to the hothouse only on warm and particularly windless days, which suggests that there may not be too much invasion from external, windborne pollen in these structures.

It is also important to note that certain species of plants have pollen that is more or less easily blown by the wind and more or less easily preserved. This can influence the raw numbers of grains counted, meaning that more grains do not necessarily mean a proportionally greater amount of that plant existed there. The absence of a type of pollen also does not indicate that the plant was not there in the past. There are several instances of specimens that appear in the historical record as growing at Wye House, though the pollen does not appear in the archaeobotanical record.

The standing greenhouse was constructed around 1775 and fitted with a furnace and hypocaust system at the turn of the nineteenth century. The hothouse was

constructed around 1784, and would have been in use until after the modifications to the greenhouse, at which time the greenhouse had greater control and heat and the hothouse was no longer necessary. It was torn down sometime around the 1830s. From the pollen evidence in the hothouse, we know that the Lloyds were using this building to experiment on a small scale with certain plants. A small amount of citrus was present in the hothouse before the construction of the hypocaust, at which time it was moved to the greenhouse as evidenced by the citrus pollen appearing there afterward (Jones 2014:13; Jacobucci and Trigg 2010). Meyer lemon—a hybrid between oranges and lemons—trees are still growing the fruit in the greenhouse today. Grains from the Apiaceae family, which includes carrots, parsley, and celery, also appear in the hothouse first and later in the greenhouse in higher quantities. In general the pollen shows a much greater variety of plants in the greenhouse than in the hothouse. With the larger structure and a more precise means of heating it, there were greater possibilities for the plants that the Lloyds could maintain. This helps to confirm the hypothesis that the hothouse was torn down after the construction of the hypocaust system and the greenhouse then served as a means of cultivating a variety of plants on a larger scale. In both gardening and agriculture on the plantation, the Lloyds strove for the most effective and productive methods.

The pollen also lends support to the hypothesis that the hothouse was heated using a hotbed made from manure, as suggested in the gardening manuals in the Lloyd library and the construction of the building found in the archaeological record. In his analysis of the pollen, Dr. John Jones discovered that during the time the hothouse was in use, there was distinctly more grass pollen inside of the building than

the outside. This seems unusual, unless the grass pollen was deposited in the form of animal manure, which was introduced in order to heat the structure (Jones 2014:14).

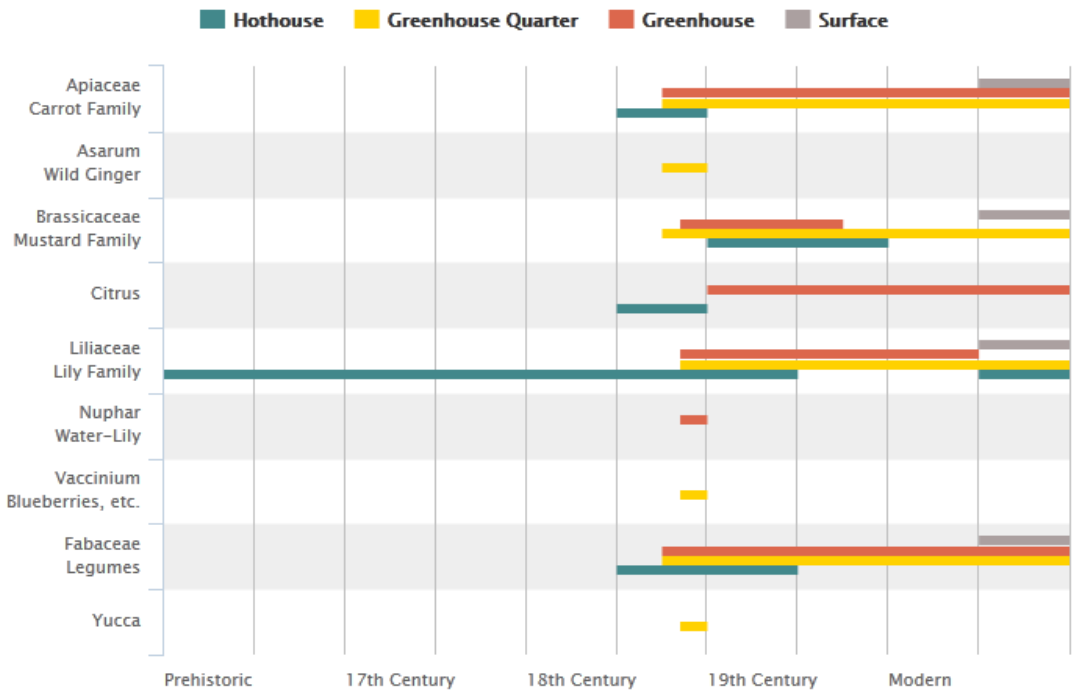

Figure 28: Selected pollen from the hothouse, greenhouse, attached quarter, and surface samples. This chart shows the presence or absence of grains in each location throughout time.

The greenhouse was home to fruits and vegetables that could be made to grow all year round due to the artificial environment and used to stock the kitchens during the winter. At times, the historical record can aid in narrowing down the type of plants that appear in the archaebotanical record. For example, Rosaceae pollen appears in significant amounts in the greenhouse, though also in the quarter to a lesser extent, during the mid-eighteenth century. This family of plants contains roses, cherries, strawberries, and many other flowers and fruits. In a letter from Edward Lloyd IV to Oxley, Hancock & Co. on August 8, 1791 he requested nectarine, peach, and filbert trees, “not less than four Trees of each sort which I beg may be handsome healthy well grown Trees and that they are put up in the best manner to preserve them

on the passage and if possible to be shipped in time to reach this by the first of March next after which time it is very Precarious their doing well." Nectarines and peaches are also in the Rosaceae family, which means these trees may account for the pollen found in the greenhouse, helping to narrow down the possibilities.

Also within this family is *Prunus lusitanica*, called "Portugal laurel," which was shipped to Wye House in 1799 from Baltimore. This plant is a relative to the cherry and the berries are edible, though the leaves to contain cyanide. It is important to note that the categories of edible, ornamental, practical, and medicinal are not mutually exclusive, as many plants have multiple uses. Water lilies, though ornamental, were also used in Wales and other parts of the UK as a treatment for burns (Allen and Hatfield 2004:70). It is also important to understand that many plants that are considered medicinal are additionally mildly poisonous. It is the dose or amount taken that makes the difference between cure and death.

There was also evidence of ornamental flowers such as water lilies, geraniums, and irises, though these are native to the Chesapeake environment and not unexpected on the landscape (Jacobucci and Trigg 2010). It is interesting, however, that there is no evidence of geranium or water lily pollen inside or outside the hothouse. They also do not appear in any pre-1775 samples, which suggests that they were introduced by Lloyd occupation rather than found naturally on the property. If water lilies were kept within the greenhouse after its construction, it is possible that the water pump listed in the gardening inventories was used to maintain the necessary moisture for such a plant.

The presence of certain pollen in the attached quarter, but not in the greenhouse demonstrates the ways in which the enslaved may have made use of local vegetation for food, medicine, and chores. In the quarter, there is the family *Vaccinium*—which includes blueberries and cranberries—as well as wild ginger, and these plants did not appear in the pollen samples from the greenhouse main room. These foods could have been gathered from the local environment and used to supplement the usual diet. Other plants found in the quarter, such as yucca, possess leaves and fibers that have practical household uses. Many plants could have been used by both the enslaved workers and the Lloyds. Boneset (*Eupatorium*), found in both the quarter and the greenhouse, was used by enslaved individuals as an emetic or to cure fevers and colds (Covey 2007:84) and by the British to treat animals (Allen and Hatfield 2004:351).

In order to make use of these plants to maintain the control and health of the body, mind, and spirit, practitioners would have experimented with the environment. The experimentation of both the Lloyds and the enslaved population may have come from different traditions and maintained different cultural associations, but their purposes were not at odds and their medicines at times overlapped.

Cultural Uses of Plants

Both African-American and Euro-American traditions of plant use for healing and medicine have been collected and published by researchers. Particularly useful in this dissertation has been *Medicinal Plants in Folk Tradition*, which is a catalog of first-hand accounts of folk medicine in Great Britain and Ireland collected by David

Allen and Gabrielle Hatfield (2012). Slave narratives, collected by the Federal Writer's Project in the 1930s, also wrote down what had been an oral tradition of medicine, healing, and use of the wild apothecary by enslaved African Americans. In conducting interviews with ex-slaves from throughout the South, the project was able to preserve the experiences and knowledge of a class of individuals whose stories were ignored and marginalized in the United States. From both of these sources, it is possible to see ways in which both the Lloyds and enslaved individuals could have seen or used the nature around them for food and holistic well-being.

Some plants may have been specifically ordered by the Lloyds because of their cultural significance—such as the prestige that comes from owning exotic plants—or their medicinal uses. The Lloyds ordered "wall flowers" from William Anderson and Co. in London in 1782. This plant is also known as treacle mustard (*Erysimum cheiranthoides* in the Brassicaceae family) or English wormseed, and was thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to kill worms in children (Allen and Hatfield 2004:117). In the same shipment, Edward Lloyd IV also requested 100 tulip seeds and 50 colored hyacinth seeds, two plants that have famous histories of inspiring high cultural value and high prices among wealthy gardening enthusiasts. Lloyd had specifically requested that these flowers be "double flowered," a cherished mutation that increased the number of petals on the plant as well as its status as a symbol of wealth, science, and human "improvement."

It is well supported by the WPA narratives that there was a known pharmacopeia that was necessary for enslaved people to take care of the ailments and injuries due to overwork or cruelty. The same plants that the Lloyds valued for their

social prestige could have been put to use by the enslaved gardeners in other ways. The citrus trees grown in the hothouse and then the greenhouse were status symbols, but the slave narratives also reveal that lemons were not only valued as a source of vitamin C, but were also used for a variety of ailments, including: corns, fever, indigestion, sore throat, poor circulation, ringworm, and inflammation (Covey 2007:101). James V. Deane, from Maryland, stated that "The slaves had herbs of their own, and made their own salves" (Applewood Books 2006:9). Additionally, Richard Macks, from Charles County, Maryland, recalled that, "When the slaves took sick or some woman gave birth to a child, herbs, salves, home liniments were used or a midwife or old mama was the attendant, unless severe sickness Miss McPherson would send for the white doctor, that was very seldom" (56). The knowledge of which plants can heal and cure, what dose to take, and how to prepare it was a necessary component to survival for enslaved people on the plantation.

The slave narratives show that burdock was used in African-American folk medicine to treat gout (inflammation), rheumatism, and dropsy (forms of swelling). Burdock is also used as a diuretic, antibiotic, and an anti-inflammatory. Slave narratives talk about burdock roots being soaked in whiskey to treat unspecified illnesses or mixed with citrate of potash for scrofula-an infection of the lymph nodes (Covey 2007:85-86). One man, Mark Oliver from Mississippi, claimed that "'Nothing better for the cramps than bur vine tea'" (quoted in Covey 2007:86), bur vine being a phrase which likely referred to burdock. Additionally, burdock was also associated with the Yoruba *orisha* Oshun (Karade 1994). The plant was not only significant among the African-American population, but would have also had a tradition in Great

Britain. According to Allen and Hatfield's catalog of British and Irish folk medicine, the plant was also well known and widely used in eighteenth-century UK and Ireland as "a forceful cleanser of the system and consequent eliminator of boils and skin complaints" (Allen and Hatfield 2012:281).

Across the creek from the Long Green, there was the second quarter, the old brick building on the hill. This was denoted as the "Br. Row Quarter" by Henry Chandlee Forman. It is located next to the agricultural fields, and overlooking the slave burial grounds in the distance. Since Emancipation and up to today, this area has been used as a dumping grounds for the plantation. A silage ditch, which runs through where the building would have been, was an easy place to unload discarded agricultural waste. This disturbance over time has resulted in a site that is not well intact archaeologically, making it difficult to compare with the Long Green quarter. Looking at the landscape today, however, there is a clearing among a rectangle of trees, which may indicate the general boundaries of the foundations. Most interestingly, the plant burdock grows in large quantities along the edges of where this building stood, possibly indicating the purposeful planting of a garden. These plants have continued to thrive into the present day.

The Malvaceae family of plants, whose pollen appears in both the greenhouse and attached quarter, was used in the UK, Ireland, and parts of Africa to cure blood-poisoning. Plantain leaves—referring to the weed, rather than the banana-like fruit—were mentioned in both the slave narratives and in Allen and Hatfield's catalog as being useful as a poultice to stop bleeding, both for humans and for horses' legs (Allen and Hatfield 2012:108; 247; 354).

The slave narratives contain something like recipes for the treatment of body and spirit. There was a tradition, passed down generations, of the procedures and practices associated with physical and spiritual healing. The herb doctors, grannies, conjurors, and other respected keepers of botanical wisdom learned their craft from others. These were often, though not exclusively, women (Hazzard-Donald 2012:137). Many were taught from an older generation of enslaved practitioner, but also from Native Americans, who would have known and experienced the effects of the local pharmacopeia. Harriet Collins from Texas was asked to recall her mother's knowledge of medicine in the slave narratives, and responded that, "'My mammy larned me a lot of doctoring what she larnt from old folks from Africy, and some de Indians larnt her...All dese doctorin' things come clear from Africy, and dey allus worked for mammy and for me too'" (quoted in Covey 2007:76). This means that the practices developed in the United States were not transported directly from Africa, but instead underwent a unique transformation determined by the knowledge brought through the Middle Passage, the herbs locally available, and the knowledge encountered here that was held by Native Americans. The recipes are not entirely African, but African-American.

Though there were those who were regarded as experts in this practice, these medical practices were also understood and performed by anyone, children raised with the knowledge that certain plants were useful and should be gathered from the surrounding landscape as part of the regular seasonal routine. Dulcinda Baker Martin from Kentucky recalled that:

> *When us was chillun, us went root en herb gatherin', ter git things fer de winter medicine. Us uster gather wild cherry bark, horshradish root,*

> *dand'line root, hickory bark, mullen, penny-royal, poke root, en poke berries, en de Lord knows what--things I clear fergit. Chicken gizzard skin was saved fer medicine, en I reckon goose grease is still used fer lots of things, even en dis day en time. (quoted in Covey 2007:77)*

These particular resources and others appear again and again in the slave narratives for various uses. They come in certain combinations, taken at certain times or for certain ailments, and together create a book of recipes for ways to treat the diseases, pains, and emotional ailments jointly shared by enslaved individuals forced to work on plantations throughout the South in the nineteenth century. Potatoes were carried in pockets to cure rheumatism according to narratives from Arkansas, Missouri, and South Carolina (Covey 2007:107). The leaves of oranges could be mixed with whiskey in order to create a tea to treat those afflicted with yellow fever according to Rose Mosley in Arkansas (Covey 2007:169). The families of each of these plants are found in either or both of the quarter and greenhouse at Wye, where they would have been grown purposefully by the Lloyd family or cultivated individually from the surroundings by the enslaved people and brought to the quarter.

Medical practices not only involved natural elements, but also non-plant materials. The materials themselves hold a certain power over illnesses and spiritual well-being that relied on a belief of the influence of the object over the natural and spiritual realms in order to heal the afflicted. Many elements could work together to create a bundle—also called a "jack" by some interviewees—which could be worn as a preventative measure against diseases and harm. Willis Easter from Texas explained the process for creating such a bundle, saying that, "'For to make a jack dat am sho' good, git snakeroot and sassafras and a li'l modest one and brimstone and asafetida and resin and bluestone and gum arabic and a pod or two red pepper. Put dis in de red

flannel bag, at midnight on de dark of de moon, and it sho' do de work'" (quoted in Covey 2007:140). These specifications add a mystical component to the creation of a cure. The plants, the color of the cloth, the type of cloth, and the time of night work together to create the necessary treatments.

In Frederick Douglass' autobiographies, he places such practices near the Wye House Plantation, demonstrated that the enslaved people in the area used similar healing methods. When Douglass was sixteen, working in the fields of Mr. Covey's farm near St. Michael's, his beatings became so severe that he sought protection from an older enslaved man, whom he considered a trusted advisor:

> *He [Sandy Jenkins] was not only a religious man, but he professed to believe in a system for which I have no name. He was a genuine African, and had inherited some of the so called magical powers, said to be possessed by African and eastern nations. He told me that he could help me; that, in those very woods, there was an herb, which in the morning might be found, possessing all the powers required for my protection... (Douglass 1882:170)*

The man instructed Douglass to take the root of that plant and wear it on his right side at all times. By doing so, no white man would be able to hurt him. These practices using symbolic materials and meaningful plants were known during Douglass' time and linked directly to Africa. Whether or not Mr. Jenkins was a "genuine African," he held this identity for Douglass and enacted it through his knowledge and practices.

Thomas Foote, a free man in Maryland, describes how his mother, also free, learned to treat illness and injury from a white doctor named Dr. Ensor. He recalls one instance in which a run-away slave came to his mother for help. Like Sandy Jenkins to Douglass, Foote's mother provided the man with a bundle or jack. While on the run, he was eventually caught:

> *He had been there for treatment of an ailment which Dr. Ensor had failed to cure. After being treated by my mother for a time, he got well. When this slave was searched, he had in his possession a small bag in which a stone of a peculiar shape and several roots were found. He said that mother had given it to him, and it had the power over all with whom it came in contact.* (Applewoods Books 2006:15)

The peculiarly-shaped stone, which was also a common element to house charms described in the previous chapter, was also employed here for its protective and curative powers.

The traditions of the African diaspora reveal patterns in the ways in which plants and other materials are used for medicine and ritual, which suggests alternate interpretations for the landscape. From this perspective, the plantation garden becomes not just a place for the ordering and control of natural wonders, but also space for healing and protection. Particular plants, though chosen by greenhouse owners for the qualities that make them exotic or rare, may hold entirely different meanings for the enslaved working in the greenhouse. *Ase*—the metaphysical control over the spiritual world—manifests itself through particular qualities in physical objects: "Thus Yoruba define and classify plants used in medicines by taking into account their odors, their colors, their textures, their responses when touched, and their effects upon those who touched them" (Drewal 1989:203). Additionally, Robert Voeks (1997), in a study of Yoruba magic and medicine in Colonial Brazil, found that many of the necessary characteristics of plants existed on both sides of the Atlantic. Voeks concluded that the physical elements necessary to continue spiritual practices would not have been difficult to find within a new landscape (Voeks 1997:162). Previously, archaeologists have not engaged with this literature in the same way as

the lexicon of re-purposed objects in caches. Both botanical materials and non-plant items are vital components for protection and health.

Through his ethnographic research in Brazil, Voeks found that long blade or spear-like leaves are associated with the aggressive and warring gods, such as Ogun. The pollen of the plant Sagittaria—which was found in significant quantities in the greenhouse slave quarter in eighteenth and nineteenth century contexts, though not in the greenhouse or modern samples (Jacobucci and Trigg 2010)—is known colloquially as arrowhead for the shape of its blade-like leaves. In African-American folk medicine, this plant was also worn by babies as a means of drawing out the pain and fever of teething (Covey 2007:78). In parts of England, the Sagittaria held other protective properties, both supernatural and medicinal, with oral history from Devon claiming that a tea made from the leaves, when taken in the spring and autumn, would bring strength (Allen and Hatfield 2004:319).

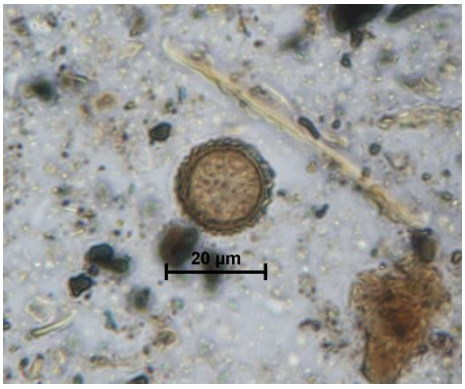

Figure 29: Microscopic pollen grain of Sagittaria.

Figure 30: Botanical illustration of Sagittaria. By Otto Wilhelm Thomé from *Flora von Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz* (1885)

Conclusion

Within the same landscape of the Wye House Plantation, there would have been multiple but entangled conceptions of space, time, nature, healing, and spirits. The plantation had different paths and boundaries for the enslaved and free people. The swamps and forests surrounding the property that described an unkempt first nature to the Lloyds was a source of food and medicines for the enslaved laborers. Even the same places, such as the greenhouse and hothouse, could have held plants that were understood and used by different people in many different ways.

Both Euro-Americans and the African-Americans kept connections with their homelands when it came to understandings about humans relationships with nature. Found objects discovered through archaeology and plants discovered through archaeobotany would have been used in conjunction as a means of maintaining control over the natural and supernatural worlds, as well as one's own well-being. For the Lloyds, their connections were maintained to Great Britain through the agricultural tools, plants, seeds, and manuals they obtained through overseas contacts. Edward Lloyd IV and Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd also stayed in keeping with the gardening trends in England through their modernization and reorientation of the plantation landscape.

We ascribe the title "scientific gardener" to Edward Lloyd and to Mr. McDurmott in relation to their work in outdoor laboratories like the greenhouse and hothouse, but much less often do we use the phrase in relation to folk medicine. This says more about us now than it does about them then—what we consider to be science and what we do not, or more importantly, *who* we consider to practice science

and *who* we do not. Health has physical, mental, and spiritual components to it, and enslaved individuals looked to nature and other materials in particular combinations to maintain a sense of holistic well-being. In looking at the Wye House landscape in this way, we populate the space with active users of plants—gardeners, practitioners of medicine, and experimenters drawing from different cultures across the Atlantic.

Chapter 7: Archaeology in Annapolis in the Community

The Archaeology in Annapolis project at the University of Maryland prioritized community involvement when beginning its excavations at Wye House, to varying degrees of success. The project was conceived as a publicly-oriented program in the City of Annapolis, Maryland, and the desire to connect with non-archaeologists continued on the Eastern Shore. There is a community of descendants who live in the towns surrounding the plantation, and the property is still under the ownership of the direct descendants of the Lloyds. Before and after Emancipation, freed African-Americans established the towns of Unionville and Easton, and many of their descendants still live in this area today. They are readily interested in the archaeological work conducted at Wye House and their engagement has been crucial to its values and successes.

The descendants of the Lloyds and the enslaved people were actively involved in shaping the research questions pursued by Archaeology in Annapolis researchers. From the beginning, the project engaged with community members to understand how archaeology could answer their questions about the past. Since starting research at Wye House, I have presented at community meetings, given public tours, attended Juneteenth (Emancipation anniversary) celebrations, and co-created a museum exhibit and a public panel discussion. Each of these events influenced how I understood the importance of the material culture and ways of history-making at Wye House. This project and its decisions did not exist in isolation, but rather as part of the growing acknowledgement within archaeology that there are present-day implications to our research.

Archaeology in Annapolis

The Archaeology in Annapolis project was founded in 1981 through the University of Maryland, College Park, in collaboration with the Historic Annapolis Foundation. Its purpose, under the direction of Dr. Mark Leone, has been to work within the communities of Annapolis to incorporate archaeological research with a shared understanding of the past (Leone et al. 1987:285). From its inception, Archaeology in Annapolis used critical theory to develop public programming for visible and informative excavations. Stemming from a Marxist understanding of the reproduction of inequalities through ideology, critical theory has been used as a justification for the need for more publically-engaged archaeology. Critically examining the ways in which archaeological knowledge is produced and used exposes power relations and the particular historical and social position of conclusions about the past (Leone et. al 1987).

As a rejection of the positivist focus on the creation of "objective" universal laws of human behavior popular in the 1960s, a critical theory approach considers the subjective and particular processes of knowledge production and attempts to demystify or expose ideologies. For Potter (1994) a former Archaeology in Annapolis graduate student, critical theory enriches the archaeological work in Annapolis by encouraging a concern for the social context in which archaeologists make their interpretations. This is a self-reflective approach to the presentation of research, a rejection of positivist thinking, and the use of archaeological knowledge for the denaturalization of dominant social ideals.

From this, Logan and Leone (1997) stressed the integration of African-American heritage in Archaeology in Annapolis programs and tourism initiatives. In 1988, the Archaeology in Annapolis project formed a collaborative relationship with the Banneker-

Douglass Museum to explore ways in which the program could present African-American history through public site tours and events.

When first conceived, the excavations conducted in Annapolis were within ready access of the public eye, since they were located on public streets. In 2001, Archaeology in Annapolis expanded to include excavations on Maryland's Eastern Shore at Wye Hall, a separate establishment from Wye House. The research at the Wye House Plantation began in 2005 with the permission of the late Mrs. Tilghman, an eleventh generation descendant of the Lloyds. Although the excavations on the Eastern Shore were a dramatic shift from those in Annapolis, since they were located on more isolated, private lands, the importance of public engagement still informed the research.

Wye House Community Engagement

From the beginning, it was the desire of both Mrs. Tilghman and the archaeologists to place an emphasis on the lives of the enslaved population. Richard Tilghman, her son and the current generation to own the property, and his wife Beverly also expressed interest in the history of the greenhouse and gardening at their home. In addition to the engagement of the present-day Lloyd-descendants, Dr. Leone encouraged the involvement of descendant communities in the nearby town of Unionville in the development of research questions for the project. Attending service at the St. Stephens AME (African Methodist Episcopal) Church in Unionville and meeting with its congregation, Dr. Leone and Archaeology in Annapolis graduate students noted a particular emphasis on the daily lives, agency, and religious practices or spiritual beliefs of their enslaved ancestors. They wanted to understand if and how the enslaved people at

Wye House contributed to a story of freedom. These questions shaped the direction of the dissertation by steering the research toward the spiritual lives and agency of the enslaved people.

These meetings, along with the Tilghmans' concerns, led to early excavations on the northern area of Long Green, where there were most likely slave quarters and work-related buildings. From 2005 to 2008, excavations uncovered three buildings, which were interpreted as two slave quarters and an overseer's house (Blair et al. 2009b). Excavations in 2008 and 2009 focused on the greenhouse and archaeobotanical recovery (Blair et. al 2009a). From 2010 to 2014, the main focus of excavations was on two slave quarters, one on the Long Green and the other across the cove from the first. In 2012, archaeologists excavated a hothouse adjacent to the standing greenhouse (Pruitt 2013). The early research questions from descendants of both the enslaved and the Lloyds directly informed the direction of this dissertation, which combines the gardening elements of the plantation with religious practices.

Throughout the process of conducting archaeological research at Wye House, the project has formed personal connections with members of the local and descendant community. Beginning in 2012, Archaeology in Annapolis also excavated in downtown Easton at the request of the community and Morgan State historic preservation professor Dr. Dale Green. Once again on more visible, heavily trafficked properties, this signaled a return to the community oriented approach used in Annapolis. This relationship between the descendant community and archaeologists, connecting the past to the present, and well as Wye House to its surrounding towns, has strengthened the relevancy of this work. Although there have been tours at the Wye House Plantation for descendants, it is still a

private home, which limits its availability. The artifacts from Wye House excavations, however, are largely portable. This has led to numerous opportunities to bring the archaeology to the public, collaborate with the local community, and develop public programming around the research conducted at Wye House.

Summer excavations at the Home of the Family of the Buffalo Soldier (Jenkins and Skolnik 2013) and Juneteenth celebrations, both in the historically Black neighborhood called The Hill in Easton, were excellent platforms to discuss the history of the town and its connection to Wye House while also displaying previously excavated materials from the plantation. This became part of the larger Hill Project, which is a multi-partner historic preservation endeavor that includes historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, historic preservationists, and community members. The stories shared by residents in holding and discussing Wye House artifacts solidified the importance of a community revitalization effort around African-American heritage. Out of this public visibility built a plan for an exhibit of Wye House dissertation research at the Academy Art Museum, which is located just on the outer edge of the Hill neighborhood.

From August to October 2013, the Academy Art Museum displayed the *Joint Heritage at Wye House* exhibit. The display presented historical information and materials such as artifacts, faunal remains, and photographs of African-American workers at the plantation at the turn of the twentieth century. The exhibit contained the dissertation work of the three doctoral students working for the Archaeology in Annapolis project, with the goal of focusing on the joint contributions of the Lloyds and the enslaved laborers to the plantation. Despite these intentions, we failed to produce an exhibit that was not overshadowed by the Lloyds' narrative, which demonstrates the

ways in which these stories of the great old buildings are perpetuated by museums and archaeologists today.

In contrast to the archaeologists' goals, the framework of the museum professionals at the Academy Art Museum was grounded in the decorative arts. The Academy Art Museum's focus, like many art and historic house museums, stems from the development of such museums out of the art history and architectural professions. In contrast to academic historians, this led to a focus on the aesthetic and visual materials in museum institutions over historical analysis (Hobbs 2001: 41). The announcement of the exhibit in the Academy Art Museum Magazine begins with:

> *Wye House is a very rare example of a colonial era building that is still occupied by the descendants of the original owners. The bulk of the current home, one of the finest examples of Palladian-style architecture in America, was constructed circa 1790 by Edward Lloyd IV. It served as the hub of an extended agrarian estate that included houses and farms throughout Talbot County.* (Academy Art Museum 2013)

Though credited to Dr. Leone, the article was entirely re-written by the museum staff, and did not represent the archaeological team's understanding of the plantation or the contributions of our research. It emphasizes the importance of Wye House as the architectural tastes of the white owners. Tellingly, it echoes the sentiments of Edith Dabney and her praise of the colonial charm of Wye House quoted in Chapter 2.

Stuart Hobbs (2001) notices this same preoccupation in the brochures for historic house museums, noting that "it seemed difficult for guides not to privilege aesthetics over history. House museum staff celebrated the decorative arts of an idealized artisan past and gave visitors an education in elite good taste" (Hobbs 2001: 40). The curator of the Academy Art Museum was most concerned with obtaining the antiques and other

materials owned by the Lloyd family in order to display them in the exhibit. The historic and archaeological interpretations of the enslaved lives were secondary at best.

On October 12, 2013, on the last weekend of the exhibit, archaeologists and descendants of the former slaves at Wye House came together for a public panel discussion called *Telling Our Untold Stories: Interpreting a Shared Past at Wye House Plantation* hosted by the Frederick Douglass Honor Society. The event was inspired by comments made by descendant Harriette Lowery in a video interview that appeared in the exhibit when she said, "I'm hoping that it [the exhibit] will allow a continued conversation on race. If it would have just done that, it would have done a lot, because we tip-toe around it so much, and I am so tired of tip-toing around it" (Lowery 2013). Patrick Rogan, who designed the exhibit, and I expressed our agreement with this statement and asked Mrs. Lowery and other descendants to come together for such a conversation.

With permission, the event took place at the Academy Art Museum, which made it convenient for those who had not yet seen the exhibit. The participants were three archaeologists who had excavated at Wye House—Kate Deeley, Tracy Jenkins, and I—and three descendants—Harriette Lowery, Carlene Phoenix, and Gloria Roberts Wemberly. Each of these women has delved into their pasts to understand their personal genealogies and histories. Mrs. Lowery is descended from the Demby family. Mrs. Phoenix traced her ancestry back to Henry and Hester Shields. Mrs. Wemberly is descended from the Roberts family, of whom there were many enslaved at the Wye House Plantation. Mr. Rogan is a White local artist and a member of the Frederick Douglass Honor Society. He led the event and asked the panel discussants questions. The original purpose of the panel was to have an honest conversation about race and the

overlooked aspects of the exhibit that Mrs. Lowery wanted. The racial imbalances within archaeology were blatantly obvious from the panel, as each of the representatives of Archaeology in Annapolis was White.

Mr. Rogan asked the archaeologists and the descendants on the panel to answer questions about the excavations at Wye House in a personal way. His intent was to turn around the usual script that archaeologists use in addressing the public. Often, archaeologists are asked to present "factual" information about the history and process of archaeology while descendants are asked personal questions about their lives and feelings. It was significant that these questions caught the archaeological team off-guard and made us uncomfortable. We are well-versed in the information that we have discovered through our excavations, but are not accustomed to addressing our personal feelings and attachments to the history and artifacts.

Though this was a beneficial exercise, where the panel discussion fell short of its intended goals was that there were no questions directly about race or the imbalances of the exhibit. Unknown to the participants, the Museum sent an invitation to the event to their museum membership list, a largely White demographic. This changed not only the size and demographics of the audience, but also the tone of the discussion in general. It did not become the frank conversation that Mrs. Lowery was hoping for, but rather a celebration of the exhibit and its importance both to the archaeologists and the descendants. We "tip-toed" around the issue of race in Easton again. That frank conversation is still one we are trying to have.

The experiences of African Americans on the Eastern Shore, like in most of the country, remained violent and oppressive after Emancipation. Joseph Sutton, in recalling

an attack on a Black man in Copperville, near Wye House, at the end of the nineteenth century echoes the way in which Douglass described William Demby's murder. A White man, Mr. Lewis, hit Isaac Deshields on the head with a stick for coming near his property. Sutton says:

> *They had a trial over it, didn't do a thing. They let the white man off. Got up there and said men was comin from Longwoods, they sold whiskey at Longwoods then at all time of night, say, and it just had worried Mr. Lewis. Say and that's what they did, say prowlin through there nighttime...Right after that, the man went blind. The blow on this head blind him. And he suffered before he did die, because he didn't get what he should have to eat and didn't get as much.* (Krech 1981:63).

Sutton provides this as an example, but indicates that this was just one of many cases with the same outcome. There was no justice for the life of Isaac Deshields and none for others who died as a result of continued brutality against African American lives. Issues of systematic racism and violence against Black bodies shaped the racial relations in the United States and the effects are still experienced today. Future discussions of Wye House history with the descendant community have the potential to be a stage on which to discuss these present issues, but they have not been yet.

Both the exhibit and the public panel fell short of their intended goals, but were still influential in shaping how I approached this dissertation. Descendants' connections with this history and their deeply personal associations with the material culture have helped me to interrogate the ways that I approach the plantation landscape and the community as an "outsider." A significant aspect of the panel discussion was the focus on family and a spiritual connection to the past. Integral to this was the reading of the names of the enslaved by their descendants in order to memorialize them and lay them to rest. Harriette Lowery and Carlene Phoenix contacted their church congregations in

Unionville and Easton to attend and take part in the discussion and present the names. As descendants read aloud the names of their ancestors, it was expressed several times that it is important to have a representative voice for members of the family—in a biological and spiritual sense—when no one else is available. This made me re-think the way that the census books were displayed in the exhibit. While to me, having the names present was enough. For the descendants, however, to respect these individual's names necessitated a voiced performance. Rather than still and lifeless books, to the local community these were whole people whose spirits existed in the present as a tangible connection to the past.

Comments from descendants also prompted me to examine the academic language that we used in the exhibit, and how certain words are inappropriate for the intended public audience. In Mrs. Lowery's interview in the exhibit, she pointed out the problematic use of "negotiation" in terms of the cultures of Euro-Americans and African Americans on the plantation. As Mrs. Lowery rightfully pointed out, as used outside of academia this word implies an equality that was completely absent in slavery. Enslaved people generally did not have the social capital to negotiate on equal footing. In contrast, to an anthropologist, the word "negotiation" is used to convey a tension between entities within a system of uneasy and unequal power. Central to this dissertation is understanding the ways in which the cultural practices of White plantation owners and enslaved Africans and African Americans came into contact at Wye House as seen through the material and historical record. In this process of contact, practices and materials, customs and ideologies, were influenced and altered on both sides. The result of this is an active and continuous process of negotiation. Using this word outside of an

academic setting, however, can come across as misunderstanding the power dynamics between the slaveholders and the enslaved people.

The use of this material culture as a means of dealing with the trauma of the past has been powerful and informative. Mrs. Phoenix, who had visited our excavations in the past and handled artifacts that we had recovered from Wye House, felt a strong connection to the objects and landscape. Going to the Wye House Plantation, visiting the slave burial ground on the property, and touching the artifacts was a moving experience for her. It felt, she explained, like a "family reunion." For Mrs. Lowery, it was important that this history is discussed with openness and honesty, expressing that "the silence does no one any good." At the panel discussion, she shared that as she grew up, her family did not want to talk about their history, especially in regards to slavery, preferring instead to look to the future rather than the past. This was frustrating to her, and it was not until she began to delve into the history of her ancestors and Wye House herself that she felt an alleviation from this frustration. As an archaeologist and an outsider in the community—in terms of geographic location and race—I do not have sole ownership of the history or material culture of this plantation. I can provide my interpretations, as I have done in this dissertation, but ultimately there are an infinite number of ways in which others can claim, use, and interpret this past. The ways in which community members have used these artifacts, documents, and history to understand their lives and their families' pasts have been vitally important as a healing process.

Conclusion

This dissertation, though using the material culture of the past, has implications for communities in the present. For them, this past is not dead and gone, but very much a part of their present and future. In balancing the narrative weight of the historical record so that the Lloyds and the enslaved people on the Wye House Plantations are both visible, this research works toward redressing the exclusion of African-American heritage in this history. The public archaeology foundations of Archaeology in Annapolis meant that the involvement of the community was expected from the beginning. Although it was not always a fully collaborative success, the experiences were beneficial to both archaeologists and descendants. Their connections with the material culture influenced how I understood the importance of the research in the present and the need to continuous push toward greater collaboration and inclusion.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Future Directions

Conclusions

Like many colonial-era plantations, the Wye House Plantation's historical record is dominated by its elite owning family. In the historical narrative and on the present-day landscape, the lives and contributions of marginalized people are muted. In examining material culture in addition to historical sources, it is possible to develop a more complete understanding of the plantation's past, present, and future. This dissertation has used the Lloyds' historical accounts, archaeological evidence, archaeobotany, Frederick Douglass' autobiographies, and the landscape itself to understand the ways in which the plantation can be viewed from multiple perspectives. It is impossible to know with certainty the beliefs or understandings of plants and objects that individuals had in the past. However, the model of this research challenges the way in which archaeologists default to an assumed European-derived interpretation.

Based on the agricultural and gardening manuals in Edward Lloyd IV's library, as well and the archaeological and historical evidence of multiple greenhouse buildings on the property, the Lloyds constructed an identity of scientific gardeners in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With a social reordering in this time that valued curiosity and scientific reason over born status, this was an important social identity within the Chesapeake elite to legitimize authority. With two greenhouses and two hothouses on the landscape, the Lloyds were able to experiment with plants in controlled environment. The archaeological and archaeobotanical

evidence that citrus was grown in the hothouse until the installation of the hypocaust in the greenhouse—at which time they were moved to the larger building—demonstrates testing on a smaller scale. This represents a particularly European cultural conception of human beings' place within nature as superior and in control.

The Lloyds, even after the Revolutionary War, maintained their ties with England in multiple ways. They purchased their agricultural equipment, gardening manuals, seeds, and plant specimens from overseas. They obtained advice through books and letters from the prestigious experts in London. They kept up with the latest trends in England, as demonstrated by the modernization of the plantation by Edward Lloyd IV. Despite being several generations removed from Wales, the Lloyds—as part of an elite class of Chesapeake gardeners—kept cultural connections with the English gentry as a way of demonstrating prestige. This connection was a significant aspect of their identity as European-Americans and Marylanders.

The enslaved laborers at Wye House also maintained certain cultural practices from their homeland generations later. In connection with traditions from the African diaspora, archaeological evidence of caches or spirit bundles hidden in the greenhouse structure and Long Green slave quarter show that the enslaved people used certain objects to call upon the power of protective forces. Derived from Yoruba belief, the pestle in the furnace of the greenhouse may evoke the *orishas* Shango or Ogun. The former is representative of thunder, lightning, and fire, while the latter controls iron and the forge. The arrangement of the two projectile points and brass button under the doorway of the greenhouse quarter likewise mediates between the physical and spiritual worlds in order to protect the living space from the tortured

dead of the Lloyd cemetery. Under the western entryway of the slave quarter on the south Long Green, a large arrangement of circular objects might connect to the BaKongo cosmogram, symbolizing the circular motion of time and transition. The iron agricultural implements along in the southwest corner and along the southern wall represented the tools of Ogun. These objects are all chosen and placed deliberately, drawing on cultural cues and following a pattern of such findings on plantations in the Chesapeake and elsewhere in the United States.

The landscape at the Wye House Plantation represents a space of social reordering. The cultures of European-Americans and African-Americans existed in conjunction and communication with each other, resulting in the syncretization or hybridity of new cultural traditions. The landscape of the Chesapeake was claimed and altered by British colonists and enslaved captives, each of whom drew from cultural backgrounds, knowledge, experience, and skills in agriculture and gardening. They were not, however, able to equally move through or influence this landscape, and the power struggles between oppressors and the oppressed played out through control over enslaved peoples' spaces, bodies, and lives and the resistance to that control. The Lloyds in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries valued a way of seeing the garden as a microcosm of the universe that could be enclosed and structured in accordance to the Georgian Order. This gave them control over nature and a stage on which to display their wealth and discernment among the Chesapeake elite that would be appreciated by others educated in similar traditions and techniques.

For enslaved Africans and African-Americans, the landscape also presented the means to display their cultural identities, though not in the same overt ways that

were available to the Lloyds. Instead, the practices and beliefs that the enslaved people brought with them through the Middle Passage were translated or reconstructed to fit their circumstances and recombined from multiple West African traditions. Their knowledge of farming and plants were put to use in caring for the gardens and glass gardening buildings and in the agricultural fields. Not just unskilled labor, some enslaved people were highly valued for their gardening expertise, without which the plants would not survive.

These same plants that were chosen by the Lloyds could have been viewed and used differently by the enslaved population. The pollen remains indicate that the enslaved people supplemented their diets with naturally-growing vegetation that they gathered from the surrounding landscape. They used plants that were useful for physical, mental, and spiritual well-being despite the physical restrictions placed on them. The plants on the landscape and in the Wye House gardens present alternate interpretations when examined using a West African taxonomy, which understands particular shapes, colors, and textures to have certain meanings that were different from the Lloyds' understandings.

The archaeological and archaeobotanical materials at Wye House do provide evidence for a landscape of resistance for the enslaved men and women. Though it was necessary to keep these symbols hidden, for those who knew of their meaning, the caches represented a control over the physical and spiritual worlds that could not be taken away. The descendants at the St. Stephen AME Church wanted to understand how their ancestors lived and the ways they may have contributed to a story of freedom. In constructing its landscape, in using the plantation's nature and

surrounding environment for food and curing, the enslaved people demonstrated, like Frederick Douglass, that this place belonged to them as much as to the Lloyds. Though the resistance may not have been apparent on the surface, these material remains show a claim for the agency and liberty to protect one's body and place on the landscape.

In looking at the Wye House landscape as a multitude of populated, dynamic places in which all inhabitants contributed to its construction, we are able to balance the traditionally marginalizing narratives of the past. In constant struggle and negotiation, the Euro-Americans and African-Americans at Wye House each brought their ideologies about the nature that surrounded them into practice every day. These ideologies and practices are evident through the landscapes that they made and used, the historical records, and the buildings and objects they left behind. All of the inhabitants at Wye House influenced and were influenced by the landscape in complex ways that were cultural, scientific, and spiritual. Our traditional narrative of Wye House, one in which the stories of enslaved laborers are silenced, are inadequate to understanding the full history of the plantation. The re-ordering of the Wye House landscape allows for multiple interpretations instead of a single Euro-centric narrative and combats the erasure of African-American heritage in Talbot County.

Future Directions

There is potential for this research to expand in the future, particularly in its engagement with the descendant communities in the towns surrounding Wye House. The history discussed in this dissertation largely jumps to the present soon after

Emancipation, leaving a gap in how racial relations shaped the formation of these towns and the continuation of practices and identities into today. To make this research more collaborative, there are opportunities to continue working the The Hill project and to incorporate more of the oral histories of the community. The themes of landscape, gardening, spirituality, silencing, and survival are still essential to the pressing issues in Easton in the present day. I intend to work more closely with descendants of both the enslaved people and the Lloyds to strengthen their voices in this work. Their personal perspectives and their extensive knowledge of the history of this plantation and the surrounding towns will greatly add to the next stage of research.

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Appendix A
Enslaved Laborers at Wye House 1770-1834

Name	Age	Date Recorded	Notes
Anthony	36	1770	
Antigua Jemmy	75	1770	
Ben Gooby	36	1770	carpenter
Bett Gooby	10	1770	
Charity Gooby	37	1770	
Cooper Natt	38	1770	
Cuffee	45	1770	sailor
Davy (with Old Sue)	10	1770	
Dick Ungle	13	1770	
Dick Ungle, old	70	1770	
Doll Gooby	7	1770	
George Cooter	17	1770	
Harry Roberts	23	1770	
Harry	17	1770	oxen boy
Harry	27	1770	tailor
House Jacob	33	1770	
Jack Cole	37	1770	wheelwright
Jack Kenting	54	1770	
Jack Wapping	49	1770	cooper
Jim Cooper	20	1770	sailor
Moll Cole	47	1770	
Moll Shaw	47	1770	house servant
Molly Gibson	45	1770	
Ned	25	1770	ship carpenter
Old Jack	50	1770	
Old Sue	50	1770	chicken woman
Patience	35	1770	
Peg Shaw	22	1770	house servant
Peg Shaw's Barnett	4	1770	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	19	1770	
Peg Shaw's Bett	1	1770	
Rachel	14	1770	w/ Cooper Natt
Tom Gooby	9	1770	
Anthony		1773	
Ben Gooby		1773	
Ben		1773	boy
Charity Gooby		1773	
Cooper Natt		1773	
Cuffee		1773	

Daniel		1773	boy
Dick Negro		1773	sailor
Doll Gooby	10	1773	
Emanuel		1773	
Frank Gooby		1773	boy
George Cooter		1773	
Harry Roberts	26	1773	
Harry		1773	
Isaac		1773	child
Jack Cole		1773	
Jack Kenting		1773	
Jack Kinnamont		1773	
Jack Wapping		1773	
Jack		1773	child
James		1773	boy
Jim Cooper		1773	
Jupiter		1773	boy
Kitt		1773	
Matts		1773	
Moll Shaw	50	1773	house servant
Molly Gibson	48	1773	
Negro Jack		1773	
Nurse Henny		1773	house servant
Old Sucky		1773	house servant
Old Sue		1773	
Patience		1773	
Peg Shaw		1773	house servant
Peg Shaw's Barnett		1773	
Peg Shaw's Barnett		1773	house servant
Sailor Abram		1773	sailor
Sall Shaw		1773	house servant
Simon		1773	boy
Smith Matt		1773	
Town Harry		1773	
Violet's Neeley		1773	
Virginia Harry		1773	
W---		1773	boy
Jack		1774	
Virginia Harry		1774	
Anthony		1781	
Davy (with Old Sue)	21	1781	
Dick Ungle		1781	
Jack Cole		1781	
Alice's Esther		1787	adult

Alice's Jack	9	1787	
Alse	34	1787	
Baker Isaac	35	1787	
Beck Cornish	15	1787	
Beck, 400 Acres		1787	
Beck, young		1787	adult
Beck's Dick		1787	
Beck's Tom	25	1787	
Bett Wapping		1787	
Big Jacob	20	1787	gardener
Bishop		1787	house servant
Charity Gooby		1787	house servant
Chloe		1787	
Cooper Natt		1787	
Cow Rachel	30	1787	
Daphne	37	1787	house servant
Davis's Sam	19	1787	
Emanuel		1787	sawyer
Emanuel		1787	adult
English Dick	31	1787	
Esther Pumpkin		1787	
George Cooter		1787	
Harry Roberts	40	1787	
Henny Cook		1787	house servant
Henny, 400 Acres		1787	
Henny, little		1787	house servant
Ibby's Beck		1787	
Isaac Copper		1787	house servant
Jack Cole		1787	
Jack Kinnamont		1787	
Jack Kinnamont		1787	
Jack Rose		1787	infirm
Jack Wapping		1787	
Jack		1787	adult
Jack		1787	boy
Jacob, Little		1787	gardener
Jenny Bandy		1787	
Jenny, Lame		1787	
Jenny, New Negro		1787	
Jenny's Suck		1787	
Jerry		1787	boy
Joice		1787	
Joice's Jack		1787	
Kitt		1787	

Kitt's Sall		1787	
Lucy		1787	adult
Marena		1787	house servant
Matt's Molly		1787	adult
Matt's Molly		1787	woman
Matts		1787	
Moll Shaw	64	1787	
Molly Johnson		1787	
Nan Copper		1787	house servant
Nan Gleaves		1787	
Nan		1787	girl
Nat's Sarah		1787	
Nurse Henny		1787	house servant
old Sam Pickett	57	1787	game minder
Old Sarah	60	1787	
Old Sue		1787	adult
Patience		1787	
Peg Shaw		1787	house servant
Peg		1787	adult
Peg Shaw's Barnett		1787	house servant
Peg Shaw's Sam	10	1787	
Peter		1787	house servant
Pris's Poll		1787	adult
Pris's Will		1787	
Priss		1787	
Rachel Shaw		1787	
Rachel		1787	girl
Rose		1787	
Sailor Abram		1787	
Sailor Matt		1787	
Sailor Stephen		1787	
Sall Cuffee	13	1787	
Sall Wilks		1787	house servant
Sam Wapping Jr	21	1787	
Sam Wapping Sr.		1787	caring for hogs
Sam Wapping Sr.	45	1787	house servant
Sarah's Esther		1787	adult
Sibby		1787	
Sibby's Beck (Williams)		1787	girl
Smith Bob		1787	
Smith Matt		1787	
Solomon	20	1787	
South River Tom	21	1787	
Tom Gooby		1787	

Toney Smith	16	1787	
Watt	13	1787	
Will Cooper		1787	
Will Moscow		1787	
Alice's Esther		1788	
Alice's Jack	10	1788	
Alse	35	1788	
Baker Isaac	36	1788	
Beck, 400 Acres		1788	
Beck's Dick		1788	
Beck's Tom	26	1788	
Bett Wapping		1788	
Big Jacob	21	1788	gardener
Bill Johnson		1788	
Bishop		1788	house servant
Blind Sam	27	1788	
Charity Gooby		1788	house servant
Chloe		1788	
Cooper Natt		1788	
Cow Rachel	31	1788	
Daphne	38	1788	house servant
Doll Gooby	22	1788	
Emanuel		1788	sawyer
English Dick	32	1788	
Esther Pumpkin		1788	
George Cooter		1788	
Harry Roberts	41	1788	
Henny Cook		1788	house servant
Henny, 400 Acres		1788	
Henny, little		1788	house servant
Isaac Copper		1788	house servant
Isaac Roberts		1788	
Jack Cole		1788	
Jack Kinnamont		1788	
Jack Rose		1788	infirm
Jack Wapping		1788	
Jacob, Little		1788	gardener
Jenny Bandy		1788	
Jenny, New Negro		1788	adult
Jenny's Suck		1788	
Jerry		1788	
Jim		1788	boy
Jim [Sam Shaw?]		1788	boy
Joice		1788	

Joice's Jack		1788	
Judith		1788	
Kitt		1788	
Kitt's Sall		1788	
Marena		1788	house servant
Matts		1788	
Molly Johnson		1788	
Nan Copper		1788	house servant
Nan Gleaves		1788	
Nat's Sarah		1788	
Old Sam Pickett	58	1788	game minder
Old Sarah	61	1788	
Old Sue		1788	
Patience		1788	
Peg Shaw		1788	house servant
Peg Shaw's Barnett		1788	
Peter Pumpkin		1788	
Peter		1788	house servant
Pris's Jacob	11	1788	
Pris's Will		1788	
Priss		1788	
Rachel Shaw		1788	
Rachel		1788	girl
Rose		1788	
Sailor Abram		1788	
Sailor Matt		1788	
Sailor Stephen		1788	
Sall Cuffee	14	1788	
Sall Wilks		1788	house servant
Sam		1788	boy
Sam Wapping Jr.	22	1788	
Sam Wapping Sr.	46	1788	house servant
Sibby		1788	
Smith Bob		1788	
Smith Matt		1788	
Solomon	21	1788	
South River Tom	22	1788	
Tom Gooby		1788	
Toney Smith	17	1788	
Walt		1788	
Will Cooper		1788	
Alice's Jack	14	1792	
Alse	40	1792	
Baker Isaac	40	1792	

Beck Cornish	20	1792	
Beck Wapping	40	1792	care of poultry
Beck Wapping's Will	12	1792	
Beck's Dick	32	1792	
Beck's Tom	30	1792	
Ben Gooby Jr.	10	1792	
Bett Gooby	33	1792	
Big Jacob	25	1792	
Bishop	20	1792	house servant
Blind Sam	31	1792	
Bob	7	1792	
Charity Gooby	55	1792	
Chloe	29	1792	
Cooper Natt	48	1792	
Cow Rachel	35	1792	
Daphne	42	1792	house servant
Davis's Sam	24	1792	
Emanuel	40	1792	
English Dick	36	1792	
Esther Copper	22	1792	
Frank	35	1792	
Frank's Nelly	6	1792	
Frank's Polly	3	1792	
George Cooter	35	1792	
Henny Wapping	65	1792	cook
Henny Wapping 2nd	10	1792	
Henny, little	20	1792	
Isaac Copper[?]	28	1792	
Isaac Roberts	30	1792	cooper
Jack Cole	60	1792	
Jack Kinnamont	45	1792	
Jack Rose	35	1792	
Jack Kenting's Peg	12	1792	
Jack Wapping Jr.	22	1792	
Jacob Copper	25	1792	
Jacob, Little	24	1792	
Jenny Bandy	51	1792	
Jenny, Lame	50	1792	
Jenny's Sam	29	1792	
Jn Lucy	1	1792	
Joice	38	1792	
Joice's Dick	12	1792	livery
Joice's Jack	16	1792	
Joice's Will	6	1792	

Judith	49	1792	
Kitt	48	1792	
Kitt's Harry	12	1792	
Kitt's John	6	1792	
Kitt's Suck	21	1792	
Lucy	25	1792	house servant
Lucy's Betsy	0	1792	3 mos.
Lucy's Job	0	1792	6 mos.
Lucy's Phebe	5	1792	
Lucy's Stephen	3	1792	
Mable	12	1792	
Marena	30	1792	house servant
Marena's Mary Hill	9	1792	
Marena's Sall Hill	15	1792	
Mary	3	1792	
Matt Copper	20	1792	
Molly Cooter	21	1792	
Nan Copper	23	1792	
Nan Gleaves	29	1792	
Nan Copper's Henny	0	1792	7 mos.
Nan Copper's Henny	0	1792	7 mos.
Nan Copper's Priss	4	1792	
Nan Copper's Sam	6	1792	
Nan Gleaves' Fanny	0	1792	3 mos.
Nan Gleaves' Solomon	4	1792	
Nat's Sarah	48	1792	
Nurse Henny	40	1792	
Old Sam Pickett	62	1792	
Old Sarah	65	1792	
Patience	50	1792	care of poultry
Peg Shaw	40	1792	
Peg	11	1792	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	25	1792	livery
Peg Shaw's Charlotte	8	1792	
Peg Shaw's Milly	5	1792	
Peg Shaw's Sam	14	1792	
Peter	30	1792	
Pris's Jacob	15	1792	
Pris's Will	19	1792	
Priss	50	1792	
Rachel Shaw	20	1792	
Rachel's Betts	16	1792	
Rose's Alice	10	1792	
Rose's Harry	6	1792	

Rose's Sam	4	1792	
Sailor Abram	30	1792	
Sailor Matt	32	1792	
Sailor Ned	14	1792	
Sall Cuffee	28	1792	
Sall Gleaves	10	1792	
Sall Gooby	30	1792	
Sall Wilks	28	1792	kitchen
Sall Wilk's Henry	8	1792	
Sall Wilks' Bill	0	1792	7 mos.
Sall Wilks' Dick	0	1792	7 mos.
Sall Wilks' Polly	6	1792	
Sall Wilks' Suck	4	1792	
Sam Tobey	35	1792	cooper
Sam	0	1792	3 mos.
Sam Wapping Jr.	26	1792	
Sam Wapping Sr.	50	1792	
Sibby		1792	
Smith Bob	30	1792	
Smith Matt	50	1792	
Solomon	25	1792	
South River Tom	26	1792	
Stephen	43	1792	
Suck's Polly Gibson	1	1792	
Tom Gooby	33	1792	
Tom	8	1792	
Violet's Rose	29	1792	
Watt	18	1792	
Will Cooper	22	1792	
Will Moscow	25	1792	
Alice's Jack	15	1793	
Baker Isaac	41	1793	
Beck's Dick	33	1793	
Beck's Tom	31	1793	
Big Jacob	26	1793	
Blind Sam	32	1793	
Davis's Sam	25	1793	
Emanuel	41	1793	
English Dick	37	1793	
George Cooter	36	1793	
Isaac Copper[?]	29	1793	
Isaac Roberts	31	1793	
Jack Cole	61	1793	
Jack Kinnamont	46	1793	

Jack Rose	36	1793	
Jack Wapping Jr.	23	1793	
Jacob Copper	26	1793	
Jacob, Little	25	1793	
Jenny's Sam	30	1793	
Joice's Jack	17	1793	
Kitt	49	1793	
Matt Copper	21	1793	
Natt		1793	from Forrest
Old Sam Pickett	63	1793	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	26	1793	
Peg Shaw's Sam	16	1793	
Peter	31	1793	
Pris's Jacob	15	1793	
Sailor Abram	31	1793	
Sailor Matt	33	1793	
Sailor Ned	15	1793	
Sall Cuffee	29	1793	
Sam Tobey	36	1793	
Sam Wapping Jr.	27	1793	
Sam Wapping Sr.	51	1793	
Smith Bob	31	1793	
Smith Matt	51	1793	
Solomon	26	1793	
South River Tom	27	1793	
Stephen	44	1793	
Tom Gooby	34	1793	
Toney Smith	22	1793	
Watt	19	1793	
Will Cooper	23	1793	
Will Moscow	26	1793	
Alice's Jack	16	1794	
Alse	41	1794	
Baker Isaac	41	1794	
Beck Cornish	21	1794	
Beck Wapping	41	1794	
Beck Cornish's Polly	0	1794	6 mos.
Beck's Dick	33	1794	
Beck's Tom	31	1794	
Ben Gooby Jr.	11	1794	
Bett Gooby	34	1794	
Big Jacob	26	1794	
Blind Sam	32	1794	
Charity Gooby	56	1794	

Chloe	30	1794	
Cooper Natt	48	1794	
Cow Rachel	36	1794	
Daphne	43	1794	
Davis's Sam	25	1794	
Emanuel	41	1794	
English Dick	37	1794	
Esther Copper	23	1794	
Esther	1	1794	
Esther's Isaac	0	1794	4 mos.
Frank	36	1794	
Frank's Nelly	7	1794	
Frank's Polly	4	1794	
George Cooter	36	1794	
Henny Wapping	66	1794	
Henny Wapping 2nd	11	1794	
Henny, little	20	1794	
Isaac Copper[?]	29	1794	
Isaac Roberts	31	1794	
Jack Cole	61	1794	
Jack Kinnamont	46	1794	
Jack Rose	36	1794	
Jack Kenting's Peg	14	1794	
Jack Wapping Jr.	23	1794	
Jacob Copper	26	1794	
Jacob, Little	25	1794	
Jenny Bandy	52	1794	
Jenny, Lame	51	1794	
Jenny's Sam	30	1794	
Jn Lucy	2	1794	
Joice	39	1794	
Joice's Dick	14	1794	
Joice's Jack	18	1794	
Joice's Sam (Saul)	2	1794	
Joice's Will	7	1794	
Judith	50	1794	
Kitt	49	1794	
Kitt's Harry	12	1794	
Kitt's John	7	1794	
Kitt's Suck	22	1794	
Lucy	31	1794	
Lucy's Betsy	1	1794	1.5 yrs
Lucy's Job	3	1794	
Lucy's Phebe	6	1794	

Mable	14	1794	
Marena	30	1794	
Marena's Mary Hill	12	1794	
Mary	4	1794	
Matt Copper	21	1794	
Molly Cooter	22	1794	
Nan Copper	24	1794	
Nan Gleaves	30	1794	
Nan Copper's Henny	2	1794	
Nan Copper's Priss	5	1794	
Nan Copper's Sam	7	1794	
Nan Copper's Suck	0	1794	6 mos.
Nan Gleaves' Fanny	2	1794	
Nan Gleaves' Solomon	5	1794	
Nance Wapping	0	1794	6 mos.
Nat's Sarah	49	1794	
Nurse Henny	41	1794	
Old Sam Pickett	63	1794	
Old Sarah	66	1794	
Patience	51	1794	
Peg Shaw	41	1794	
Peg	13	1794	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	26	1794	
Peg Shaw's Charlotte	9	1794	
Peg Shaw's Marena	1	1794	
Peg Shaw's Milly	6	1794	
Peg Shaw's Sam	17	1794	
Peter	31	1794	
Pris's Jacob	16	1794	
Priss	51	1794	
Rachel Shaw	21	1794	
Rachel's Betts	17	1794	
Rose	10	1794	
Rose's Alice	11	1794	
Rose's Harry	8	1794	
Rose's Sam	5	1794	
Sailor Abram	31	1794	
Sailor Matt	33	1794	
Sailor Ned	16	1794	
Sall Cuffee	30	1794	
Sall Gleaves	10	1794	
Sall Gooby	31	1794	
Sall Wilks	29	1794	
Sall Wilk's Henry	9	1794	

Sall Wilks' Bill	2	1794	
Sall Wilks' Dick	2	1794	
Sall Wilks' John	0	1794	6 mos.
Sall Wilks' Polly	7	1794	
Sall Wilks' Suck	5	1794	
Sam Tobey	36	1794	
Sam	1	1794	1.5 yrs
Sam Wapping Jr.	27	1794	
Sam Wapping Sr.	51	1794	
Smith Bob	31	1794	
Smith Matt	51	1794	
Solomon	26	1794	
South River Tom	27	1794	
Stephen	44	1794	
Suck's Polly Gibson	2	1794	
Tom Gooby	34	1794	
Tom	9	1794	
Toney Smith	22	1794	
Violet's Rose	30	1794	
Watt	20	1794	
Will Cooper	23	1794	
Will Moscow	26	1794	
Alse	42	1795	
Baker Isaac	42	1795	
Beck Cornish	22	1795	
Beck Wapping	42	1795	
Beck Cornish's Dick	5	1795	
Beck Cornish's Polly	4	1795	
Beck's Dick	34	1795	
Beck's Tom	32	1795	
Ben Gooby Jr.	12	1795	
Bett Gooby	35	1795	
Big Jacob	27	1795	
Blind Sam	33	1795	
Charity Gooby	57	1795	
Chloe	31	1795	
Chloe's Solomon	4	1795	
Cooper Natt	49	1795	
Cow Rachel	37	1795	
Daphne	44	1795	
Davis's Sam	26	1795	
Doll Gooby	30	1795	
Doll Gooby's Charity	3	1795	
Doll Gooby's Sall	1	1795	

Doll Gooby's Sam	7	1795	
Emanuel	42	1795	
English Dick	38	1795	
Esther Copper	24	1795	
Frank	37	1795	
Frank's Nelly	9	1795	
Frank's Polly	6	1795	
George Cooter	37	1795	
Henny Wapping	67	1795	
Henny Wapping 2nd	11	1795	
House Jack	13	1795	
Isaac Copper[?]	30	1795	
Isaac Roberts	32	1795	
Jack Cole	62	1795	wheelwright
Jack Kinnamont	47	1795	
Jack Rose	37	1795	
Jack Wapping Jr.	24	1795	
Jacob Copper	27	1795	
Jacob, Little	26	1795	
Jenny Bandy	53	1795	
Jenny, Lame	52	1795	
Jenny's Sam	31	1795	
Jn Lucy	5	1795	
Joice	40	1795	
Joice's Dick	15	1795	
Joice's Jack	19	1795	
Joice's Will	8	1795	
Judith	51	1795	
Kitt	50	1795	
Kitt's Harry	13	1795	
Kitt's John	9	1795	
Kitt's Suck	23	1795	
Lucy	32	1795	
Lucy's Betsy	3	1795	
Lucy's Job	4	1795	
Lucy's Matts	0	1795	4 mos.
Lucy's Phebe	10	1795	
Lucy's Stephen	6	1795	
Marena	31	1795	
Marena's Mary Hill	11	1795	
Mary	7	1795	
Matt Copper	22	1795	
Molly Cooter	23	1795	
Nan Copper	25	1795	

Nan Gleaves	31	1795	
Nan Copper's Henny	4	1795	
Nan Copper's Priss	7	1795	
Nan Copper's Sam	10	1795	
Nan Copper's Suck	3	1795	
Nan Gleaves' Dick	0	1795	6 mos.
Nan Gleaves' Fanny	4	1795	
Nan Gleaves' Solomon	5	1795	
Nat's Sarah	50	1795	
Natt	15	1795	
Nurse Henny	42	1795	
Old Sam Pickett	64	1795	
Old Sarah	67	1795	
Patience	52	1795	
Peg Shaw	42	1795	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	27	1795	
Peg Shaw's Charlotte	9	1795	
Peg Shaw's Marena	3	1795	
Peg Shaw's Milly	7	1795	
Peg Shaw's Sam	18	1795	
Peter	32	1795	
Pris's Jacob	17	1795	
Priss	52	1795	
Rachel Shaw	22	1795	
Rachel Shaw's Bett	1	1795	
Rachel's Betts	18	1795	
Rose's Alice	13	1795	
Rose's Harry	9	1795	
Rose's Sam	7	1795	
Sailor Abram	32	1795	
Sailor Matt	34	1795	
Sailor Ned	17	1795	
Sall Gleaves	11	1795	
Sall Gooby	32	1795	
Sall Wilks	30	1795	
Sall Wilk's Henry	11	1795	
Sall Wilks' Bill	4	1795	
Sall Wilks' John	2	1795	
Sall Wilks' Polly	9	1795	
Sall Wilks' Suck	7	1795	
Sam Tobey	37	1795	
Sam Wapping Jr.	28	1795	
Sam Wapping Sr.	52	1795	
Sibby's Beck (Williams)	17	1795	

Smith Bob	32	1795	
Smith Matt	52	1795	
Solomon	27	1795	
South River Tom	28	1795	
Stephen	45	1795	
Suck's Polly Gibson	4	1795	
Tom Gooby	35	1795	
Toney Smith	23	1795	
Violet's Rose	31	1795	
Watt	21	1795	
Will Cooper	24	1795	
Wye Molly's Fanny	13	1795	Fanny Cornish
Alse	54	1796	house servant
Beck Cornish	23	1796	
Beck Wapping	43	1796	
Beck	10	1796	
Beck Cornish's Dick	6	1796	
Beck Cornish's Polly	4	1796	
Beck, 400 Acres	22	1796	
Beck's Dick	35	1796	
Becks Tom	34	1796	
Ben Gooby Jr.	13	1796	
Bett Gooby	36	1796	
Big Jacob	28	1796	gardener
Bill, Annapolis	11	1796	
Blind Sam	36	1796	almost blind
Charity Gooby	63	1796	house servant
Chloe	38	1796	
Chloe's Solomon	5	1796	
Cooper Natt	66	1796	
Cow Rachel	38	1796	
Daphne	50	1796	
Davises Sam	27	1796	
Doll Gooby	31	1796	
Doll Gooby's Sall	3	1796	
Doll Gooby's Sam	8	1796	
Emanuel	48	1796	sawyer
English Dick	39	1796	
Esther Copper	25	1796	
Esther's Emanuel	0	1796	infant
Esther's Isaac	3	1796	
Frank	47	1796	
Frank's Nelly	11	1796	
Frank's Polly	8	1796	

George Cooter	43	1796	carpenter
Henny Wapping	80	1796	useless
Henny Wapping 2nd	14	1796	
House Jack	14	1796	
Isaac Copper[?]	34	1796	house servant
Isaac Roberts	43	1796	carpenter
Isaac	52	1796	sawyer
Jack Kinnamont	52	1796	cooper
Jack Rose	38	1796	sawyer; cripple
Jack Wapping Jr.	25	1796	wheelwright
Jack, young	10	1796	
Jacob Copper	28	1796	shoemaker
Jacob, Little	26	1796	gardener
Jenny Bandy	56	1796	lost an arm
Jenny, Lame	56	1796	
Jenny's Sam	32	1796	
Joice	41	1796	
Joice's Dick	16	1796	
Joice's Sam (Saul)	6	1796	
Joice's Will	9	1796	
Judith	60	1796	useless
Kitt	58	1796	gardener
Kitt's Harry	15	1796	
Kitt's John	10	1796	
Kitt's Sam	21	1796	
Kitt's Suck	24	1796	
Lucy	36	1796	
Lucy's Job	5	1796	
Lucy's Phebe	11	1796	
Lucy's Poll	1	1796	infant
Lucy's Stephen	8	1796	
Marena	32	1796	
Marena's John Hill	6	1796	
Marena's Mary Hill	13	1796	
Marena's Sall Hill	18	1796	
Matt Copper	23	1796	shoemaker
Molly Cooter	24	1796	
Nan Copper	26	1796	house servant
Nan Gleaves	30	1796	
Nan Copper's Henny	5	1796	
Nan Copper's Poll	1	1796	
Nan Copper's Priss	8	1796	
Nan Copper's Sam	11	1796	
Nan Copper's Suck	3	1796	

Nan Gleaves' Fanny	5	1796	crippled
Nan Gleaves' Solomon	6	1796	
Nat's Sarah	51	1796	sickly
Natt	16	1796	
Ned	13	1796	
Nurse Henny	50	1796	
Old Sam Pickett	72	1796	game minder
Old Sarah	70	1796	useless
Patience	58	1796	
Peg Shaw's Barnett	28	1796	house servant
Peg Shaw's Charlotte	12	1796	cripple
Peg Shaw's Marena	3	1796	
Peg Shaw's Milly	9	1796	
Peg Shaw's Sam	19	1796	
Peg's Poll	19	1796	
Peter	40	1796	house servant
Pris's Jacob	19	1796	
Priss	53	1796	
Rachel Shaw	23	1796	
Rachel Shaw's Bett	3	1796	
Rachel's Betts	19	1796	
Rose's Alice	14	1796	
Rose's Harry	10	1796	
Sailor Abram	33	1796	
Sailor Harry	13	1796	
Sailor Matt	40	1796	maimed
Sailor Ned	19	1796	
Sall Gooby	36	1796	
Sall Wilks	39	1796	
Sall	0	1796	infant
Sall	36	1796	house servant
Sall Wilk's Henry	13	1796	
Sall Wilks' Bill	5	1796	
Sall Wilks' John	3	1796	
Sall Wilks' Polly	11	1796	
Sall Wilks' Suck	9	1796	
Sam Gooby	0	1796	infant
Sam Tobey	52	1796	carpenter
Sam Wapping Jr.	29	1796	
Sibby's Beck (Williams)	18	1796	
Smith Bob	33	1796	lame
Smith Matt	65	1796	crippled
Solomon	28	1796	
South River Tom	31	1796	

Stephen	45	1796	gardener
Suck's Betts	1	1796	
Suck's Polly Gibson	5	1796	
Tom Gooby	36	1796	
Toney Smith	24	1796	
Violet's Rose	34	1796	
Watt	23	1796	
Will Cooper	25	1796	
Peg	15	1796	bequest
Abram Copper	19	1805	
B. Cornish's Kate	8	1805	
B. Cornish's Rachel	6	1805	
B. Cornish's Sall	4	1805	
B. Gooby's [Jim?]	10	1805	
B. Rose's Beck	10	1805	
B. Rose's Bill	3	1805	
B. Rose's Rachel	7	1805	
B. Rose's Sall	1	1805	
B. Wapping's Sall	10	1805	
Baker Isaac	52	1805	
Barnett	37	1805	
Beck	12	1805	from Wye Town
Beck's Dick	43	1805	
Becks Tom	42	1805	
Betts Cornish	32	1805	
Betts Gooby	45	1805	
Betts Wapping	62	1805	
Betts Cornish's Emanuel	1	1805	
Betts' Rose	22	1805	
Big Jacob	37	1805	
Bill Cooper	34	1805	
Bill Wilks	14	1805	
Cook Dick	25	1805	
Cooper Natt	69	1805	
Cow Rachel	47	1805	
D. Gooby's Betts	7	1805	
D. Gooby's Mariah	2	1805	
D. Gooby's Rachel	10	1805	
Davis's Jim	36	1805	
Dick Cornish	15	1805	
Doll Gooby	40	1805	
Easther Copper	34	1805	
Emanuel	52	1805	
English Dick	47	1805	

Frank	47	1805	
George Cooter	47	1805	
Hager	21	1805	female
Hager's Betts	2	1805	
Harriott	17	1805	
Harry Kinnamont	17	1805	
Henny Marshall	9	1805	
Henny Wapping	21	1805	
Henny's Betts	3	1805	
Henny's Bob	21	1805	
Henny's Dick	1	1805	
Isaac Copper	40	1805	
Isaac Copper	11	1805	
Isaac Roberts	42	1805	
Jack Kinnamont	18	1805	
Jack Wapping	35	1805	
Jack Kinnamont Sr.	57	1805	
Jacob Copper	37	1805	
James Copper	20	1805	
Jenny Body	63	1805	
Jenny Body's Frank	11	1805	girl
Jenny's Sam	41	1805	
John Lewey	15	1805	
Joice	50	1805	
Joice's Bill	18	1805	
Joice's Henry	8	1805	
Kitt's Harry	23	1805	
Kitt's John	19	1805	
Little Jacob	35	1805	
Long Jim	47	1805	
Marena	41	1805	
Mary Hill	21	1805	
Milly	19	1805	
N. Copper's Henry	5	1805	
N. Copper's Isaac	7	1805	
N. Copper's Marena	9	1805	
N. Copper's Poll	11	1805	
N. Copper's Suck	13	1805	girl
Nan Copper	35	1805	
Nancy Marshall	10	1805	
Nelly	19	1805	
Nelly's Bill	6	1805	
Nelly's Ennels	2	1805	
Old Charity	67	1805	

Old Sam Pickett	74	1805	
old Sarey [Vi?]nton	77	1805	
P. Shaw's Charlotte	18	1805	cripple '96
Phill	24	1805	
Poll Cornish	13	1805	
Priss Copper	17	1805	
Priss's Jacob	27	1805	
R. Shaw's Anna	8	1805	
R. Shaw's Betts	11	1805	
R. Shaw's Margret	3	1805	
R. Shaw's Peter	6	1805	
R. Shaw's Tom	0	1805	[infant]; 6 months
Rachel Shaw	32	1805	
Rose	41	1805	
Rose's Alice	23	1805	
Rose's Harry	21	1805	
S. Hill's Anna	0	1805	[infant]; 6 months
S. Hill's Easther	6	1805	
S. Hill's Henry	3	1805	
S. Hill's Marena	8	1805	
Sailor Abram	42	1805	
Sailor Black Harry	22	1805	
Sailor Matt	44	1805	
Sailor Ned	27	1805	
Sailor Yellow Harry	16	1805	
Sall Bentley	30	1805	
Sall Gooby	42	1805	
Sall Hill	20	1805	
Sall Roberts	12	1805	
Sall Bentley's Bill	6	1805	
Sall Bentley's Sam	1	1805	
Sall Wilks' John	12	1805	
Smith Bob	42	1805	
Solomon Gleves	19	1805	
Solomon	37	1805	
South River Tom	40	1805	
Stephen	55	1805	
Suck	31	1805	
Suck's Betts	12	1805	
Suck's Fanny	2	1805	
Suck's Jacob	8	1805	
Sucks Poll	15	1805	
Tom Gooby	45	1805	
Toney	33	1805	

Watt	31	1805	
Abram Copper	35	1822	
Abram Schooner	58	1822	
Amey Hill	9	1822	
Anna Copper	1	1822	
Anna Hill	17	1822	cripple
Anna Shaw	24	1822	
Anna Maria of Beck	4	1822	
Barnet Sampson	53	1822	
Barnet Bently	12	1822	
Beck Rose	26	1822	
Beck Wapping	15	1822	
Betty Rose	0	1822	young [infant]
Betts Cornish	48	1822	past labor
Betts Gooby	51	1822	
Betts Roberts	22	1822	
Betts Rose	39	1822	
Betts Shaw	27	1822	
Bill Bently	22	1822	
Bill Cooper	50	1822	
Bill Cooper	15	1822	
Bill Nelly	22	1822	
Bill Reason	34	1822	
Bill Rose	19	1822	
Bill Wapping	7	1822	
Bob Smith	58	1822	
Cate Cornish	24	1822	
Charity Demby	1	1822	
Charles Copper	5	1822	
Charles Kellum	14	1822	
Charles Skinner	10	1822	
Charles Wapping	2	1822	
Charlott Johnson	0	1822	[infant] born March 1, 1822
Charlot Williams	1	1822	
Daniel Gibson	1	1822	
Daniel Johnson	2	1822	
Dick Becky	59	1822	
Dick Cornish	5	1822	
Dick Cornish	31	1822	
Dick Husky	17	1822	
Dick Inglish	59	1822	
Doll Roberts	56	1822	past labor
Easter Copper	51	1822	
Emanuel Baker	68	1822	past labor

Emanuel Cornish	18	1822	
Emanuel Wapping	13	1822	
Ennalls Kellem	18	1822	
Ennals of Beck	2	1822	
Fanny Cornish	16	1822	
Fanny Gibson	18	1822	Hopewell
Fanny Roberts	4	1822	
Frank Cornish	27	1822	female
Franky Baker	63	1822	past labor; female
George Cooter	63	1822	past labor
Green Cooper	7	1822	
Harriott Cornish	11	1822	gone
Harry Kitt	39	1822	
Harry Rose	38	1822	
Harry Schooner	32	1822	
Harry Sutton	38	1822	past labor
Henny Marshall	25	1822	
Henny Wapping	37	1822	
Hennyetta Copper	4	1822	
Henry Cooper	19	1822	
Henry Gibson	15	1822	
Henry Kellem	1	1822	
Henry Sampson	4	1822	
Henry Sutton	1	1822	dead
Henry Thomas	0	1822	[infant]
Henry Williams	7	1822	
Hester Ann Skinner	4	1822	
Isaac Copper	56	1822	past labor
Isaac Copper	27	1822	
Isaac Copper	23	1822	house servant
Isaac Copper	5	1822	
Isaac Roberts	58	1822	past labor
Isaac Roberts	1	1822	
Jack Kinnamont	34	1822	
Jacob Bromell	53	1822	
Jacob Bromell	14	1822	
Jacob Prissy	43	1822	past labor
Jacob Suck	24	1822	
Jacob Williams	4	1822	
James Colvert	4	1822	
James Copper	36	1822	
James Washington	0	1822	[infant]
Jane Demby	4	1822	
Jim of Beck	7	1822	

Jim Bently	7	1822	
Jim Inglish	26	1822	
Jim Long	63	1822	past labor
Jim Pomp	27	1822	
Jim Shaw	14	1822	
Joe Roberts	16	1822	
John Bracco	10	1822	
John Greenwood	1	1822	
John Henry	5	1822	
John Kitt	35	1822	
John Sampson	2	1822	
John Skinner	17	1822	Hopewell
John Wapping	9	1822	
Johnson Bromell	3	1822	
Kitty Cox	1	1822	
Mable Skinner	15	1822	
Margaret of Beck	10	1822	
Margaret Copper	15	1822	
Margaret Shaw	9	1822	
Maria Bently	10	1822	
Maria Roberts	18	1822	
Maria Skinner	12	1822	out
Maria Williams	0	1822	[infant]; 1 month
Maria Ann Roberts	0	1822	[infant]; 1 month
Mary Demby	6	1822	
Mary Hill	37	1822	
Mary Rose	15	1822	
Mary Sutton	4	1822	
Mary Ann Cooper	0	1822	[infant]
Mary Ann Gale	0	1822	young [infant]
Merena Copper	25	1822	
Merena Copper	9	1822	
Merena Sutton	0	1822	[infant]
Merana Yellow	27	1822	
Milly Cooper	4	1822	
Milly Roberts	35	1822	
Nancy Bently	15	1822	
Nanny Copper	51	1822	
Ned Roberts	12	1822	
Ned Schooner	43	1822	
Nelly Beck	29	1822	
Nelly Kellem	35	1822	
Nelly Shaw	6	1822	
Nero Billy	68	1822	Davis's

Perry Roberts	6	1822	
Peter Schooner	22	1822	
Phillis Cornish	6	1822	
Polly Copper	27	1822	
Polodore Peaca	4	1822	
Prissy Copper	33	1822	
Rachel C[oa?]l	63	1822	
Rachel Cooper	3	1822	
Rachel Cornish	22	1822	
Rachel Shaw	48	1822	
Richard Cooper	0	1822	young; [infant]
Rose Sutton	56	1822	
Rosetta Skinner	6	1822	
Sall Baker	26	1822	
Sall Bently	47	1822	
Sall Cornish	20	1822	
Sall Gooby	57	1822	
Sall Hill	39	1822	
Sall Rose	17	1822	Hopewell
Sally Johnson	0	1822	[infant]
Sam Bently	17	1822	
Sam Jinny	58	1822	to Hopewell
Sam Picket	7	1822	
Sam Shaw	45	1822	
Suck Gibson	48	1822	
Sucky Copper	29	1822	
Tom Badger	13	1822	
Tom Becky	58	1822	
Tom Gooby	61	1822	
Tom Toddy	16	1822	
Toney Smith	49	1822	
Walter Gibson	1	1822	
Walter Woofted	47	1822	
Westly Kellem	8	1822	
Westly Roberts	8	1822	
William Wilks	30	1822	
Abram Copper	36	1823	
Abram Schooner	59	1823	past labor
Amey Hill	10	1823	
Anna Copper	2	1823	
Anna Hill	18	1823	cripple
Anna Shaw	25	1823	
Anna Maria of Beck	5	1823	
Barnet Bently	18	1823	

Barnet Sampson	54	1823	
Beck Nelly	30	1823	
Beck Rose	27	1823	
Beck Wapping	16	1823	
Betsy Rose	0	1823	[infant]; 6 months
Betts Cornish	49	1823	past labor
Betts Gooby	52	1823	
Betts Roberts	23	1823	
Betts Rose	40	1823	
Betts Shaw	28	1823	
Bill Bently	23	1823	
Bill Cooper	51	1823	
Bill Cooper	16	1823	
Bill Nelly	23	1823	
Bill Reason	35	1823	
Bill Rose	20	1823	
Bill Wapping	8	1823	
Bob Smith	59	1823	
Cate Cornish	25	1823	
Charity Demby	2	1823	
Charles Copper	6	1823	
Charles Kellem	15	1823	
Charles Skinner	11	1823	
Charles Wapping	3	1823	
Charlot Johnson	1	1823	
Charlot Thomas	0	1823	[infant]; born June 10
Charlot Williams	2	1823	
Daniel Gibson	2	1823	twin
Daniel Johnson	3	1823	
Daniel Shaw of Beck	0	1823	[infant]
Dick Becky	60	1823	
Dick Cornish	6	1823	
Dick Cornish	32	1823	
Dick Husky	18	1823	
Dick Inglish	60	1823	
Doll Roberts	57	1823	past labor
Easter Copper	52	1823	
Ellen Copper	0	1823	[infant]; born February 10, 1823
Emanuel Baker	69	1823	past labor
Emanuel Cornish	19	1823	
Emanuel Wapping	14	1823	
Ennalls Kellem	19	1823	
Ennals of Beck	3	1823	
Fanny Cornish	17	1823	

Fanny Roberts	5	1823	
Frank Cornish	28	1823	female
Franky Baker	64	1823	past labor
George Cooter	64	1823	past labor
Green Cooper	8	1823	
Harriott Cornish	12	1823	gone
Harry Kitt	40	1823	
Harry Rose	39	1823	
Harry Schooner	33	1823	
Harry Sutton	34	1823	past labor
Henny Marshall	26	1823	
Henny Wapping	38	1823	
Hennyetta Copper	5	1823	
Henry Cooper	20	1823	dead
Henry Gibson	16	1823	
Henry Kellem	2	1823	
Henry Sampson	5	1823	
Henry Thomas	0	1823	[infant]; 6 months
Henry Williams	8	1823	
Hester Ann Skinner	5	1823	
Isaac Copper	57	1823	past labor
Isaac Copper	28	1823	
Isaac Copper	24	1823	
Isaac Copper	6	1823	
Isaac Roberts	59	1823	past labor
Isaac Roberts	2	1823	
Jack Kinnamont	35	1823	
Jacob Bromell	54	1823	
Jacob Bromell	15	1823	
Jacob Prissy	44	1823	past labor
Jacob Suck	25	1823	
Jacob Williams	5	1823	
Jacob Robens Copper	0	1823	[infant]
James Colvert	5	1823	
James Copper	37	1823	
James Washington	0	1823	[infant]; 6 months
Jane Demby	5	1823	
Jim of Beck	8	1823	
Jim Bently	8	1823	
Jim Inglish	27	1823	
Jim Long	64	1823	past labor
Jim Pomp	28	1823	
Jim Shaw	15	1823	
Joe Roberts	17	1823	

John Bracco	11	1823	
John Greenwood	2	1823	
John Henry	6	1823	
John Kitt	36	1823	
John Lucy	0	1823	[infant]; born May 4
John Sampson	3	1823	
John Wapping	10	1823	
Johnson Bromell	4	1823	
Kitty Cox	2	1823	
Mable Skinner	16	1823	
Margaret of Beck	11	1823	
Margaret Copper	16	1823	
Margaret Shaw	10	1823	
Maria Bently	11	1823	
Maria Roberts	19	1823	
Maria Skinner	13	1823	
Maria Williams	1	1823	
Maria Ann Roberts	1	1823	
Mary Cooper	1	1823	
Mary Demby	7	1823	
Mary Hill	38	1823	
Mary Rose	16	1823	
Mary Sutton	5	1823	
Mary Williams	0	1823	[infant]
Mary Ann Gale	0	1823	[infant]
Merena Copper	26	1823	
Merena Copper	10	1823	
Merena Sutton	0	1823	[infant]; 6 months
Merena Yellow	28	1823	
Milly Cooper	5	1823	
Milly Roberts	36	1823	
Nancy Bently	16	1823	
Nancy Copper	52	1823	
Ned Roberts	13	1823	out
Ned Schooner	44	1823	
Nelly Kellem	36	1823	
Nelly Shaw	7	1823	
Perry Roberts	7	1823	
Peter Roberts	0	1823	[infant]; born December 8
Peter Schooner	23	1823	
Phillis Cornish	7	1823	
Polly Copper	28	1823	
Polodore Peaca	5	1823	
Prissy Copper	34	1823	

Rachel Cape	64	1823	
Rachel Cooper	4	1823	
Rachel Cornish	23	1823	
Rachel Shaw	49	1823	
Richard Cooper	0	1823	[infant]; 6 months
Rose Sutton	57	1823	
Rosetta Skinner	7	1823	
Sall Baker	27	1823	
Sall Bently	48	1823	
Sall Cornish	21	1823	dead
Sall Gooby	58	1823	
Sall Hill	40	1823	
Sally Johnson	0	1823	[infant]; 6 months
Sam Bently	18	1823	
Sam Picket	8	1823	
Sam Shaw	46	1823	
Suck Gibson	49	1823	
Sucky Copper	30	1823	
Tom Badger	14	1823	
Tom Becky	59	1823	
Tom Gooby	62	1823	
Tom Toddy	17	1823	
Toney Smith	50	1823	
Walter Gibson	2	1823	twin
Walter Woofter	48	1823	
Wesley Kellum	9	1823	
Wesley Roberts	9	1823	
William Wilks	31	1823	
Abram Copper	37	1824	
Abram Schooner	60	1824	dead
Amey Hill	11	1824	
Anna Copper	3	1824	
Anna Hill	19	1824	cripple
Anna Shaw	26	1824	
Anna Maria of Beck	6	1824	
Barnet Bently	14	1824	
Barnett Sampson	55	1824	
Beck Nelly	31	1824	
Beck Rose	28	1824	
Beck Wapping	17	1824	
Betts Cornish	50	1824	past labor
Betts Gooby	53	1824	
Betts Roberts	24	1824	
Betts Rose	41	1824	

Betts Shaw	29	1824	
Betty Rose	1	1824	
Bill Bently	24	1824	
Bill Cooper	52	1824	
Bill Cooper	17	1824	
Bill Nelly	24	1824	
Bill Reason	36	1824	
Bill Rose	21	1824	
Bill Wapping	9	1824	
Bob Smith	60	1824	
Cate Cornish	26	1824	
Charity Demby	3	1824	
Charles Copper	7	1824	
Charles Kellum	16	1824	
Charles Skinner	12	1824	out
Charles Wapping	4	1824	
Charlot Johnson	2	1824	
Charlot Thomas	0	1824	[infant]; 6 months
Charlot Williams	3	1824	
Daniel Gibson	3	1824	twin
Daniel Johnson	4	1824	
Daniel Shaw of Beck	0	1824	[infant]; 3 months
Dick Becky	61	1824	
Dick Cornish	7	1824	
Dick Cornish	33	1824	
Dick Husky	19	1824	dead
Dick Inglish	61	1824	
Doll Roberts	58	1824	past labor
Easter Copper	53	1824	
Ellen Copper	0	1824	[infant]; 9 months
Emanuel Baker	70	1824	dead
Emanuel Cornish	20	1824	
Emanuel Wapping	15	1824	
Ennals of Beck	4	1824	
Ennals Kellum	20	1824	
Esau Cox	0	1824	[infant]; born May
Fanny Cornish	18	1824	
Fanny Roberts	6	1824	
Frank Cornish	29	1824	female
Franky Baker	65	1824	past labor
George Cooter	65	1824	past labor
Green Cooper	9	1824	
Harry Kitt	41	1824	
Harry Rose	40	1824	

Harry Schooner	34	1824	
Harry Sutton	35	1824	dead
Henny Wapping	39	1824	
Hennyetta Copper	6	1824	
Henry Gibson	17	1824	
Henry Kellem	3	1824	
Henry Sampson	6	1824	
Henry Thomas	1	1824	
Henry Williams	9	1824	
Hessy Sutton	0	1824	[infant]; born March
Hester Ann Skinner	6	1824	
Isaac Copper	58	1824	past labor
Isaac Copper	29	1824	
Isaac Copper	25	1824	house
Isaac Copper	7	1824	
Isaac Roberts	60	1824	past labor
Isaac Roberts	3	1824	
Jack Kinnamont	36	1824	
Jacob Bromell	55	1824	
Jacob Bromell	16	1824	
Jacob Copper	0	1824	[infant]; 3 months
Jacob Johnson	0	1824	[infant]; born March
Jacob Prissy	45	1824	past labor
Jacob Sucks	26	1824	
Jacob Williams	6	1824	
James Colvert	6	1824	
James Copper	38	1824	
James Washington	1	1824	
Jane Demby	6	1824	
Jim of Beck	9	1824	
Jim Bently	9	1824	
Jim Inglish	28	1824	
Jim Long	65	1824	dead
Jim Pomp	29	1824	
Jim Shaw	16	1824	
John Bracco	12	1824	out
John Greenwood	3	1824	
John Henry	7	1824	
John Kitt	41	1824	
John Lucy	0	1824	[infant]; 8 months
John Sampson	4	1824	
John Wapping	11	1824	out
Johnson Bromell	5	1824	
Kitty Cox	3	1824	

Mable Skinner	17	1824	
Margaret of Beck	12	1824	
Margaret Copper	17	1824	
Margaret Shaw	11	1824	
Maria Bently	12	1824	house
Maria Roberts	20	1824	
Maria Skinner	14	1824	
Maria Williams	2	1824	
Maria Ann Roberts	2	1824	
Mary Cooper	2	1824	
Mary Demby	8	1824	
Mary Hill	39	1824	
Mary Rose	17	1824	
Mary Sutton	6	1824	
Mary Williams	0	1824	[infant]; 6 months
Mary Ann Gale	1	1824	
Merena Copper	11	1824	house
Merena Copper	27	1824	
Merana Sutton	1	1824	
Merena Yellow	29	1824	
Milly Cooper	6	1824	
Milly Roberts	37	1824	
Nancy Bently	17	1824	
Nanny Copper	53	1824	
Ned Roberts	14	1824	
Ned Schooner	45	1824	
Nelly Kellem	37	1824	
Nelly Shaw	8	1824	
Perry Roberts	8	1824	
Peter Roberts	0	1824	[infant]; 8 months
Peter Schooner	24	1824	
Phillis Cornish	8	1824	
Polly Copper	29	1824	
Polodore Peaca	6	1824	
Prissy Copper	35	1824	
Rachel Ca[w?]	65	1824	dead
Rachel Cooper	5	1824	
Rachel Cornish	24	1824	
Rachel Shaw	50	1824	
Richard Cooper	1	1824	
Rose Sutton	58	1824	
Rosetta Skinner	8	1824	
Sall Baker	28	1824	
Sall Bently	49	1824	

Sall Gooby	59	1824	
Sall Hill	41	1824	
Sally Johnson	1	1824	
Sam Bently	19	1824	
Sam Picket	9	1824	
Sam Shaw	47	1824	
Suck Gibson	50	1824	
Sucky Copper	31	1824	
Tom Badger	15	1824	Hopewell
Tom Becky	60	1824	
Tom Gooby	63	1824	
Tom Toddy	18	1824	
Toney Smith	51	1824	
Walter Gibson	3	1824	twin
Walter Woosted	49	1824	
Wesley Kellum	10	1824	out
Wesley Roberts	10	1824	
William Wilks	32	1824	
Abram Copper	39	1826	
Ann Maria of Beck	8	1826	
Anna Copper	5	1826	
Anna Hill	21	1826	crippled; good for nothing
Anna Shaw	28	1826	
Anny Hill	13	1826	
Barnet Bently	16	1826	
Barnet Sampson	57	1826	worth but little
Beck Nelly	33	1826	
Beck Rose	30	1826	
Beck Wapping	19	1826	
Benjamin Roberts	1	1826	
Betsy Rose	3	1826	
Betts Cornish	52	1826	infirm; attends only to poultry
Betts Gooby	55	1826	infirm
Betts Roberts	26	1826	
Betts Rose	42	1826	
Betts Shaw	31	1826	
Betty Cooper	1	1826	
Bill Bently	26	1826	
Bill Cooper	54	1826	
Bill Nelly	26	1826	
Bill Reason	38	1826	
Bill Rose	23	1826	sold
Bill Wapping	11	1826	
Billen Cooper	19	1826	

Cate Cornish	28	1826	
Charity Demby	5	1826	
Charles Copper	9	1826	
Charles Kellum	18	1826	
Charles Skinner	14	1826	
Charles Wapping	6	1826	
Charlote Johnson	4	1826	
Charlote Thomas	1	1826	
Daniel Gibson	5	1826	
Daniel Johnson	6	1826	
Daniel Shaw	2	1826	
Dick Becky	63	1826	good for his age
Dick Cornish	9	1826	
Dick Cornish	35	1826	
Dick Inglish	63	1826	past labor
Dick Loockerman	21	1826	
Doll Roberts	60	1826	blind, good for nothing
Easter Copper	55	1826	unable to work except as [?]
Elena Copper	1	1826	
Emanuel Cornish	22	1826	
Emanuel Wapping	17	1826	
Ennals Kellum	22	1826	
Ennels of Beck	6	1826	
Ezekel Cooper	1	1826	
Fanny Cornish	20	1826	
Fanny Roberts	8	1826	
Frank Cornish	31	1826	female
Franky Baker	67	1826	
George Cooter	67	1826	past labor
Green Cooper	11	1826	
Harry Kitt	43	1826	has a rupture
Harry Rose	42	1826	
Harry Schooner	37	1826	
Henny Wapping	41	1826	good for very little
Hennyetta Copper	8	1826	
Henry C--y	1	1826	
Henry Gibson	19	1826	
Henry Kellum	5	1826	
Henry Sampson	8	1826	
Henry Thomas	3	1826	
Henry Williams	11	1826	
Hester Ann Skinner	8	1826	
Isaac Copper	60	1826	unable to labor
Isaac Copper	31	1826	

Isaac Copper	27	1826	house
Isaac Copper	9	1826	
Isaac Roberts	62	1826	past labor
Isaac Roberts	5	1826	
Jack Kinnamont	38	1826	
Jacob Bromell	57	1826	good for his age
Jacob Bromell	18	1826	lame
Jacob Copper	2	1826	
Jacob Greenwood	1	1826	
Jacob Johnson	1	1826	
Jacob Sucks	28	1826	
Jacob Williams	8	1826	
James Colvert	8	1826	
James Copper	40	1826	
James Thomas	1	1826	
James Washington	3	1826	
Jane Demby	8	1826	
Jim of Beck	11	1826	
Jim Bently	11	1826	
Jim Pomp	31	1826	
Jim Shaw	18	1826	
John Bracco	14	1826	
John Greenwood	5	1826	
John Henry	9	1826	
John Kitt	43	1826	
John Sampson	6	1826	
John Wapping	13	1826	
John Henry Cooper	2	1826	
Johnson Bromell	7	1826	
Kitty Cox	5	1826	
Mable Skinner	19	1826	
Marena Copper	29	1826	
Marena Sutton	3	1826	
Margaret of Beck	14	1826	
Margaret Copper	19	1826	
Margaret Shaw	13	1826	at house
Maria Bentley	14	1826	
Maria Roberts	22	1826	
Maria Skinner	16	1826	
Maria Williams	4	1826	
Maria Ann Roberts	4	1826	
Mary Baker	1	1826	
Mary Cooper	4	1826	
Mary Demby	10	1826	

Mary Hill	41	1826	
Mary Rose	19	1826	
Mary Sutton	8	1826	
Mary Williams	1	1826	
Mary Ann Gale	3	1826	
Merena Copper	13	1826	
Merena Copper	29	1826	
Merena Yellow	31	1826	
Milley Roberts	39	1826	
Melly Cooper	8	1826	
Nancy Bently	19	1826	
Nancy Copper	55	1826	infirm
Ned Roberts	16	1826	
Ned Schooner	47	1826	hearty for his age
Nelly Kellem	39	1826	
Nelly Shaw	10	1826	
Perry Roberts	10	1826	
Pete Schooner	27	1826	
Peter Roberts	2	1826	
Phillis Cornish	10	1826	
Polly Copper	31	1826	
Polodore Peaca	8	1826	
Prissey's Jacob	47	1826	infirm; does little work
Prissy Copper	37	1826	
Rachel Cooper	7	1826	
Rachel Cornish	26	1826	
Rachel Shaw	51	1826	unable to work
Richard Cooper	3	1826	
Rose Sutton	60	1826	attends to poultry
Rosetta Skinner	10	1826	
Sall Baker	30	1826	
Sall Bentley	57	1826	crippled hand but [?]
Sall Gooby	61	1826	good for her age
Sall Hill	43	1826	infirm
Sally Johnson	3	1826	
Sam Bently	21	1826	house
Sam Picket	11	1826	
Sam Shaw	49	1826	good for his age
Suck Gibson	52	1826	unable to work
Suckey Copper	33	1826	
Tom Becky	62	1826	good for his age
Tom Gooby	65	1826	past labor
Tom Toddy	20	1826	
Toney Smith	53	1826	infirm

Walter Gibson	5	1826	
Walter Woosed	51	1826	worth but little
Wesley Kellum	12	1826	
Wesley Roberts	12	1826	
William Wilks	34	1826	
Abraham Copper	47	1834	
Amy Hill	21	1834	
Anna Cox	5	1834	
Anna Shaw	36	1834	
Anna Thomas	5	1834	
Anna	6	1834	from Timber Creek
Anny Hill	29	1834	cripple
Arianna Johnson	3	1834	
Barnett Bently	24	1834	dead
Barnett Samson	64	1834	dead
Beck Rose	38	1834	sickly
Beck Wapping	27	1834	
Ben Johnson	32	1834	
Benjamin Roberts	9	1834	out
Beth Cornish	60	1834	
Beth Rose	57	1834	
Beth Rose	11	1834	to go out
Betsy Copper	2	1834	
Betty Cooper	9	1834	
Bill Sloop	23	1834	
Charity Demby	13	1834	
Charles Cooper	2	1834	
Charles Kellum	26	1834	
Charles Skinner	20	1834	sloop
Charles Skinner	1	1834	dead
Charles Thomas	17	1834	
Charles Wapping	14	1834	
Daniel Cox	3	1834	
Daniel Johnson	14	1834	
Dick Beckey[?]	71	1834	
Dick Cooper	10	1834	
Dick Cornish	43	1834	
Dick Cornish	17	1834	
Dick Lockerman	29	1834	
Doll Roberts	68	1834	blond
Ealey Sutton	6	1834	
Easther Copper	63	1834	
Eliza Cooper	5	1834	
Ellen Copper	10	1834	

Emanuel Cornish	30	1834	
Ezekiel Cooper	9	1834	out
Fanny Cornish	28	1834	
Fanny Roberts	16	1834	
Frances Baker	5	1834	K
Franey	1	1834	from TN
Frank Cornish	39	1834	
Franky Baker	75	1834	
Green Cooper	19	1834	
Harriot Demby	3	1834	
Harriot	2	1834	from TN
Harry Rose	50	1834	
Henny Wapping	48	1834	house
Hennyetta Copper	16	1834	house
Henry Kellum	13	1834	
Henry Priss	15	1834	small
Henry Roberts	7	1834	
Henry Samson	16	1834	house
Henry Seney	9	1834	out
Henry Sloop	27	1834	
Henry Thomas	11	1834	sloop
Heply[?] Cooper	5	1834	
Hester Skinner	16	1834	
Isaac Copper	68	1834	
Isaac Copper	35	1834	shoemaker
Isaac Copper	35	1834	house
Isaac Roberts	13	1834	
Jacob Bromell	26	1834	
Jacob Cooper	10	1834	
Jacob Johnson	9	1834	out
Jacob Priss	55	1834	infirm
Jacob Priss	8	1834	
Jacob Suck	36	1834	
Jake Affy[?]	8	1834	out
Jake Williams	16	1834	
James Copper	48	1834	
James Gibson	5	1834	
James Johnson	5	1834	
Jane Demby	16	1834	
Jane M. Roots	1	1834	
Jim Bently	19	1834	
Jim Shaco[?]	26	1834	sloop
Jim Thomas	9	1834	out
John Bracco	22	1834	

John Cooper	10	1834	
John Griffin	19	1834	
John Henry	17	1834	
John Johnson	8	1834	
John Katt	51	1834	sloop
John Samson	14	1834	house
John Sherman	2	1834	
Johnson Bromell	15	1834	layer[?]
Joseph Copper	1	1834	
July Anna	1	1834	
Kitt Gibson	24	1834	
Kitty Cox	13	1834	
Laf--tta Williams	8	1834	out
Lyddia Cooper	1	1834	
Mable Skinner	27	1834	
Margaret Williams	21	1834	house
Maria Bently	22	1834	
Maria Copper	7	1834	
Maria Roberts	30	1834	house
Maria Roberts	7	1834	
Maria Skinner	4	1834	
Maria Williams	12	1834	to go out
Mary Demby	18	1834	
Mary Gale	13	1834	house
Mary Hill	49	1834	
Mary Johnson		1834	
Mary Roberts	7	1834	
Mary Rose	27	1834	
Mary Sutton	16	1834	dead
Mary Williams	10	1834	
Mary Anna Kellum	5	1834	
Merena Copper	37	1834	house
Merena Sutton	11	1834	to go out
Merena Yellow	39	1834	
Milly Cooper	16	1834	
Molly Williams	1	1834	
Nanny Copper	63	1834	
Nelly Kellum	47	1834	
Nelly Kellum	2	1834	
Peter Sloop	35	1834	
Peter Williams	7	1834	
Prissy Copper	45	1834	
Rachel Cooper	15	1834	house
Rachel Shaw	59	1834	

Retty[?] Johnson	5	1834	
Rich Sloop	16	1834	
Richard Roberts	1	1834	
Rose Sutton	68	1834	
Rosetta Nichols	4	1834	
Sall Bently	59	1834	dead
Sall Gooby	69	1834	
Sall Hill	57	1834	
Sally Baker	38	1834	
Sally Bently	7	1834	
Sally Johnson	11	1834	to go out
Sally Poney[?]	13	1834	
Sally Ann Gibson		1834	
Sam Bently	29	1834	house
Sam Picket	19	1834	
Sharlotte Johnson	11	1834	to go out
Sharlotte Thomas	10	1834	
Suck Gibson	60	1834	
Suckey Copper	41	1834	
Tom Bookey	70	1834	
Tom Goby	73	1834	
Toney Smith	61	1834	
Washington Roberts	5	1834	
Wesley Kellum	20	1834	

Appendix B
Pollen Grain Counts

Unit 1: Greenhouse Main (South) Room

Taxon	English	TU1 Level A	TU1 Level B	TU1 Level C	TU1 Level D	TU1 Level E (1)	TU1 Level E (2)	TU1 Level F	TU1 Level G (1)	TU1 Level G (2)	TU1 Level H
		Modern	19th-mid 20th	19th-mid 20th	19th-mid 20th	1785-1790	1785-1790	1785-1790	1785-1790	c. 1775	Pre-1775
Acer	Maple	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Actaea	Baneberry	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alnus	Alder	3	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ambrosia	Ragweed	152	206	187	0	3	2	49	33	4	0
Anacardiaceae, Rhus	Sumac	18	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Apiaceae	Carrot or parsley	5	7	11	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
Aristolochia	Birthwort	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asarum	Wild ginger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Aster	Daisy	3	4	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Carduus	Thistle	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Cirsium	Plume thistle	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Dahlia	Dahlia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Eupatorium	Boneset	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Fenestrate < 30 µm		2	7	3	0	0	3	64	45	5	0
Asteraceae, Fenestrate > 30 µm		0	1	2	0	0	3	50	17	1	0
Asteraceae, Helianthus	Sunflower	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Asteraceae, Solidago	Goldenrod	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Berberis	Barberry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Betula	Birch	10	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Brassicaceae	Cabbage or	0	6	6	0	1	0	9	3	0	0

	broccoli										
Campanulaceae, Lobelia	Lobelia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carex	Sedge	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carpinus	Hornbeam	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carya	Hickory	48	10	5	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
Caryophyllaceae	Pink or carnation	15	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caryophyllaceae, Dianthus	Pink or carnation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Castanea	Chestnut	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Celastraceae	Bittersweet	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chenopodiaceae/Amaranthus	Spinach or beet	20	34	20	0	1	3	162	90	3	0
Cornus	Dogwood	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crocus	Crocus	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daphne	(shrubs)	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	3	0
Dicranum	Wind-blown moss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Didymodon	(mosses)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Dipsaceae, Succisa	Devil's bit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dryopteris	Wood fern	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Elaeagnaceae	(trees or shrubs)	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Equisetum	Horsetail	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Fabaceae	Legume	4	5	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	0
Fagus	Beech	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fraxinus	Olive, lilac, or ash	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Galium	Bedstraw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gentiana	(flowers)	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Geranium	Geranium or cranesbill	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Humulus	Hops	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Huperzia	Firmoss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ilex	Holly	0	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Impatiens	Impatiens	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Iris	Iris	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Juglans cinerea	Butternut or white walnut	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juglans nigra	Black walnut	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Juncus	Rush	4	26	23	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Juniper	Juniper	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kalmia	(shrubs)	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Lamiaceae	(herbs)	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lamiaceae, Mentha	Mint	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Liliaceae	Lily	0	1	1	0	0	1	8	1	0	0
Lonicera	Honeysuckle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lycopodium	Ground pine or creeping cedar	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Malvaceae	Okra, cotton, or cacao	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0
Marantaceae	Arrowroot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Menyanthes	Buckbean	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Mimosoideae		0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Mimosoideae, Acacia	Thorntree	4	6	4	0	0	0	3	3	0	0

Mimosoideae, Albizia	Silk tree	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Musaceae	Banana or plantain	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Myrtaceae, Myrceugenia	Myrtle	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nuphar	Water-lily or pond-lily	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
Nymphaea	Water-lily	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Nyssa	Tupelo tree	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oleaceae	olives	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Oleaceae, Forsythia	forsythia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Orthotrichaceae	(mosses)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Osmunda	(flowering ferns)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ostrya	Hophornbeam or ironwood	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oxalis	Wood-sorrel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Palmae	Palm	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Panax	Ginseng	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Philadelphus	Mock-orange	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Phlox	Phlox	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Picea	Spruce	36	69	58	0	0	4	40	31	6	0
Pinaceae	Pine	18	24	9	0	0	0	16	5	0	0
Pinaceae, Abies	Fir	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Pinus	Pine	30	31	24	0	0	1	55	18	3	0
Plantago	Plantain (not the fruit)	0	5	2	0	1	1	7	9	0	0
Platanus	Sycamore	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poaceae, Euro-Cereal	Cereal	8	2	12	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
Poaceae, wild grasses	Grass	4	1	5	0	1	0	5	3	1	0
Poaceae, Zea mays	Maize	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Polemonium	Jacob's ladder	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Polygalaceae	Milkwort	0	0	2	0	6	5	1	3	0	0
Polygonum	Knotweed	0	3	6	0	0	5	4	2	2	0
Polypodium	(ferns)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Portulacaceae	Purslane	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Pottiaceae	(mosses)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Primulaceae, Lysimachia	Loosestrife	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Prunella	Heal-all	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ptelea	Hoptree	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pteridium	Bracken	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quercus	Oak	12	3	8	0	1	1	16	5	1	0
Ranunculus	Buttercup	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ribes	Blackcurrant or gooseberry	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rosaceae	Rose or cherry	4	5	1	0	0	0	11	2	1	0
Rumex	Dockweed	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rutaceae, Citrus	Citrus	1	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sagittaria	Arrowhead	1	0	1	0	3	3	10	14	1	1
Salix	Willow	1	3	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Sanguisorba	Burnet	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saxifraga	Saxifrage	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Scrophuliaceae, Pedicularis	Lousewort	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Selaginella	Spikemoss	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Solanaceae, Physalis	Groundcherry	2	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Spergula	Spurrey	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sphagnum	Peat moss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Stratiotes	(aquatic plants)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thalictrum	Meadow-rue	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thuja	Redcedar or whitecedar	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
Tilia	Lime tree	10	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tribulus	Puncture vine	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Trifolium	Clover	5	6	5	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Tsuga	Hemlock (not the poison)	1	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
Ulmus	Elm	11	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Utricularia	Bladderwort	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0
Vaccinium	Blueberry or cranberry	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Verbenaceae, Phyla	Fogfruit or frogfruit	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Viburnum	(trees or shrubs)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yucca	Yucca	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Unit 3: Greenhouse Quarter

Taxon	**English**	**Unit 3 Level A**	**Unit 3 Level B**	**Unit 3 Level C**	**Unit 3 Level D**
		20th-21st	**1785-1865**	**1775-1790**	**Pre-historic**
Acer	Maple	0	0	3	0
Actaea	Baneberry	0	0	0	0
Alnus	Alder	0	0	0	0
Ambrosia	Ragweed	19	2	14	2

Anacardiaceae, Rhus	Sumac	0	0	0	0
Apiaceae	Carrot or parsley	6	4	7	0
Aristolochia	Birthwort	0	0	0	0
Asarum	Wild ginger	0	0	4	0
Asteraceae, Aster	Daisy	0	1	0	0
Asteraceae, Carduus	Thistle	0	0	1	0
Asteraceae, Cirsium	Plume thistle	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Dahlia	Dahlia	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae, Eupatorium	Boneset	0	0	3	0
Asteraceae, Fenestrate < 30 µm		1	1	11	0
Asteraceae, Fenestrate > 30 µm		2	1	15	0
Asteraceae, Helianthus	Sunflower	1	0	4	0
Asteraceae, Solidago	Goldenrod	0	0	7	0
Berberis	Barberry	0	0	0	0
Betula	Birch	0	0	0	0
Brassicaceae	Cabbage or broccoli	3	1	18	0
Campanulaceae, Lobelia	Lobelia	1	0	0	0
Carex	Sedge	0	0	0	0
Carpinus	Hornbeam	0	0	0	0
Carya	Hickory	4	0	4	0
Caryophyllaceae	Pink or carnation	9	0	0	0
Caryophyllaceae, Dianthus	Pink or carnation	9	5	0	0
Castanea	Chestnut	3	1	2	0
Celastraceae	Bittersweet	0	0	0	0

Chenopodiaceae/Amaranthus	Spinach or beet	10	2	6	0
Cornus	Dogwood	0	0	0	0
Crocus	Crocus	0	0	0	0
Daphne	(shrubs)	0	1	10	1
Dicranum	Wind-blown moss	1	0	3	0
Didymodon	(mosses)	0	0	0	0
Dipsaceae, Succisa	Devil's bit	1	0	0	0
Dryopteris	Wood fern	0	1	1	0
Elaeagnaceae	(trees or shrubs)	0	0	0	0
Equisetum	Horsetail	4	0	1	0
Fabaceae	Legume	2	1	2	0
Fagus	Beech	0	0	1	0
Fraxinus	Olive, lilac, or ash	0	0	1	0
Galium	Bedstraw	0	0	0	0
Gentiana	(flowers)	0	0	0	0
Geranium	Geranium or cranesbill	0	0	0	0
Humulus	Hops	0	0	0	0
Huperzia	Firmoss	0	0	0	0
Ilex	Holly	0	1	2	0
Impatiens	Impatiens	0	0	0	0
Iris	Iris	0	1	0	0
Juglans cinerea	Butternut or white walnut	0	0	1	0
Juglans nigra	Black walnut	0	0	0	0
Juncus	Rush	0	0	1	0
Juniper	Juniper	0	1	1	0

Kalmia	(shrubs)	0	0	1	0
Lamiaceae	(herbs)	0	0	0	0
Lamiaceae, Mentha	Mint	0	0	0	0
Lilianceae	Lily	9	3	0	0
Lonicera	Honeysuckle	0	0	0	0
Lycopodium	Ground pine or creeping cedar	6	0	4	0
Malvaceae	Okra, cotton, or cacao	0	2	1	1
Marantaceae	Arrowroot	11	0	0	0
Menyanthes	Buckbean	2	0	1	0
Mimosoideae		1	0	0	0
Mimosoideae, Acacia	Thorntree	11	2	1	0
Mimosoideae, Albizia	Silk tree	0	0	0	0
Musaceae	Banana or plantain	69	9	1	0
Myrtaceae, Myrceugenia	Myrtle	0	0	0	0
Nuphar	Water-lily or pond-lily	0	0	0	0
Nymphaea	Water-lily	2	0	1	0
Orthotrichaceae	(mosses)	0	0	0	0
Nyssa	Tupelo tree	0	0	0	0
Oleaceae	(trees or shrubs)	0	0	0	0
Oleaceae, Forsythia	(flowering shrubs)	0	0	0	0
Osmunda	(flowering ferns)	3	1	1	0
Ostrya	Hophornbeam or ironwood	0	0	0	0
Oxalis	Wood-sorrel	0	0	0	0
Palmae	Palm	30	0	0	0

Panax	Ginseng	0	0	0	0
Philadelphus	Mock-orange	0	0	0	0
Phlox	Phlox	2	1	2	0
Picea	Spruce	9	3	1	0
Pinaceae	Pine	5	1	0	0
Pinaceae, Abies	Fir	2	0	0	0
Pinus	Pine	5	2	0	0
Plantago	Plantain (not the fruit)	36	12	17	0
Platanus	Sycamore	0	0	1	0
Poaceae, Euro-Cereal	Cereal	0	0	2	0
Poaceae, wild grasses	Grass	2	3	13	0
Poaceae, Zea mays	Maize	3	0	0	0
Polemonium	Jacob's ladder	0	0	0	0
Polygalaceae	Milkwort	0	0	3	0
Polygonum	Knotweed	8	13	0	4
Polypodium	(ferns)	0	0	0	0
Portulacaceae	Purslane	0	0	9	0
Pottiaceae	(mosses)	0	0	0	0
Primulaceae, Lysimachia	Loosestrife	0	0	0	0
Prunella	Heal-all	0	0	0	0
Ptelea	Hoptree	0	0	0	0
Pteridium	Bracken	1	1	2	0
Quercus	Oak	2	0	3	0
Ranunculus	Buttercup	0	0	0	0
Ribes	Blackcurrant or gooseberry	0	0	0	0

Rosaceae	Rose or cherry	0	0	4	1
Rumex	Dockweed	0	0	0	0
Rutaceae, Citrus	Citrus	0	0	0	0
Sagittaria	Arrowhead	166	37	44	2
Salix	Willow	0	1	0	0
Sanguisorba	Burnet	0	0	0	0
Saxifraga	Saxifrage	0	0	5	5
Scrophuliaceae, Pedicularis	Lousewort	1	0	0	0
Seliginella	Spikemoss	0	0	4	0
Solanaceae, Physalis	Groundcherry	0	0	7	0
Spergula	Spurrey	0	1	0	0
Sphagnum	Peat moss	0	0	2	0
Stratiotes	(aquatic plants)	0	0	0	0
Thalictrum	Meadow-rue	0	0	0	0
Thuja	Redcedar or whitecedar	7	1	5	1
Tilia	Lime tree	0	0	0	0
Tribulus	Puncture vine	0	0	0	0
Trifolium	Clover	0	0	0	0
Tsuga	Hemlock (not the poison)	0	0	0	0
Ulmus	Elm	1	0	0	0
Utricularia	Bladderwort	5	0	0	0
Vaccinium	Blueberry or cranberry	0	0	1	0
Verbenaceae, Phyla	Fogfruit or frogfruit	0	0	0	0
Viburnum	(trees or shrubs)	0	0	0	0
Yucca	Yucca	0	0	1	0

Unit 10: Hothouse North Wall

Taxon	English	Unit 10 Level C	Unit 10 Level D (Inside)	Unit 10 Level D (Outside)	Unit 10 Level F
		Mid-19th	19th	19th	17-18th
Acer	Maple	0	0	1	0
Alnus	Alder	0	0	0	0
Apiaceae	Carrot or parsley	0	0	0	0
Asteraceae High Spine		6	2	1	8
Asteraceae Low Spine		49	71	38	71
Betula	Birch	0	0	1	0
Brassicaceae	Cabbage or broccoli	0	2	0	0
Carpinus	Hornbeam	0	1	0	0
Carya	Hickory	9	8	15	22
Castanea	Chestnut	8	4	15	15
Cerealea	Cereal	0	0	0	0
Chenopodiaceae/Amaranthus	Spinach or beet	10	8	15	10
Cirsium	Plume thistle	0	1	0	0
Citrus	Citrus	0	0	0	0
Convolvulaceae	Morning glory	0	0	0	0
Cornus	Dogwood	0	1	0	0

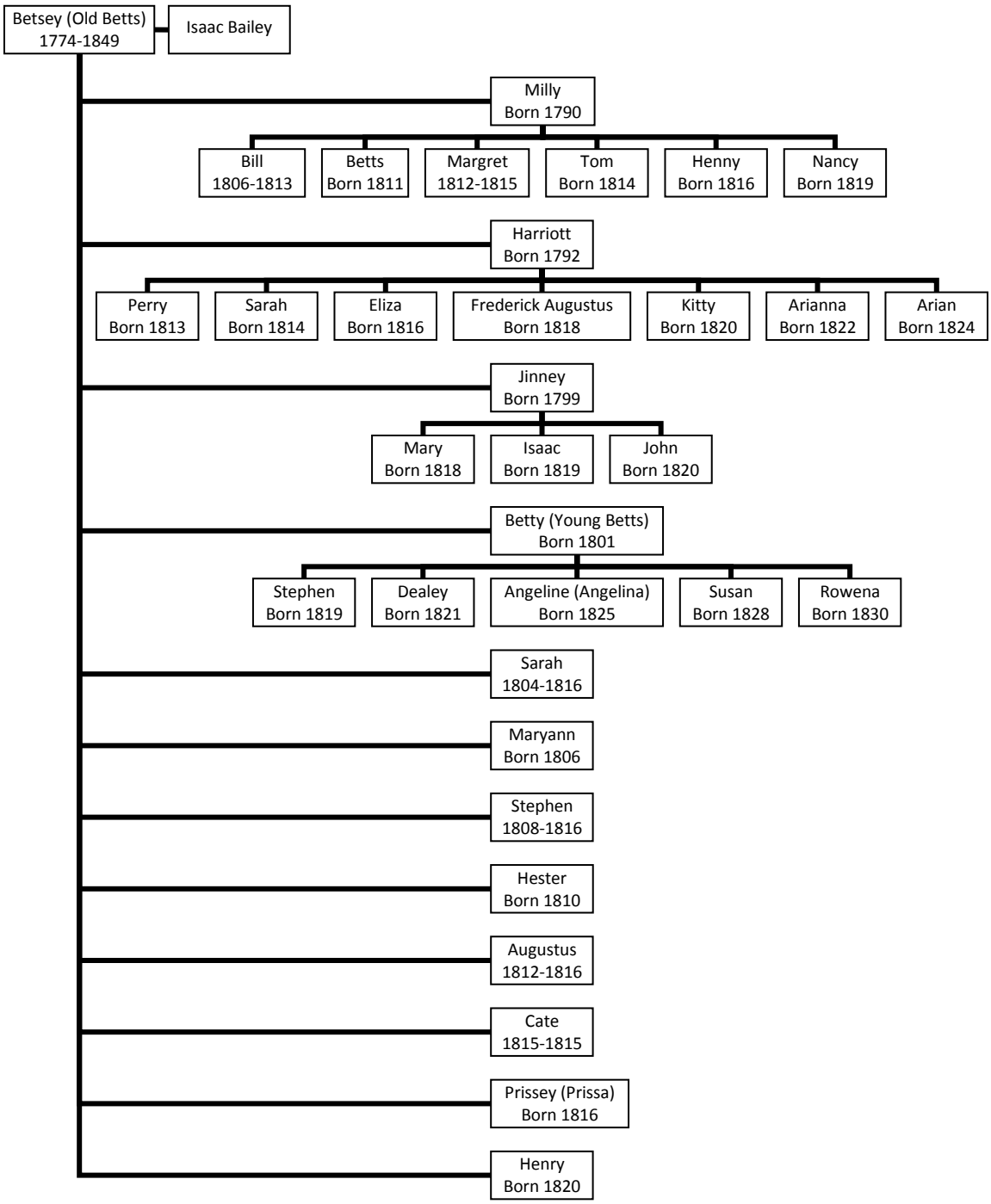
Cyperaceae	Sedge	0	0	0	0
Fabaceae	Legume	2	0	0	0
Fagus	Beech	0	0	2	1
Gleditsia type	Locust trees	0	0	0	0
Juglans	Walnut	4	0	0	3
Liguliflorae	Lettuce or dandelions	3	1	2	2
Liliaceae	Lily	2	0	0	1
Liriodendron	Tulip poplar	1	0	0	0
Moraceae	Fig	0	0	0	0
Ostrya	Hophornbeam	0	0	0	0
Pinus	Pine	25	11	20	5
Plantago	Plaintain (not the fruit)	0	1	1	1
Platanus	Sycamore	0	1	1	0
Poaceae	(grasses)	15	26	14	14
Polygonaceae	Milkwort	3	5	5	3
Prunus	Plums, cherries, or peaches	1	0	2	0
Quercus	Oak	27	40	36	30
Rhus	Sumac	0	0	1	0
Rosaceae	Rose or cherry	4	0	0	0
Salix	Willow	1	1	3	2
Solanaceae	Nightshade	0	0	0	0
Zea mays	Maize	0	0	0	0

Unit 11: Hothouse North Wall

Taxon	English	Unit 11 Level B	Unit 11 Level C	Unit 11 Level D (Inside)	Unit 11 Level D (Outside)	Unit 11 Level E	Unit 11 Level F
		Modern	Late 19th	1750-1800	1750-1800	17-18th	Pre-historic
Acer	Maple	0	0	1	0	0	0
Alnus	Alder	0	0	0	0	0	2
Apiaceae	Carrot or parsley	2	0	0	2	0	0
Asteraceae High Spine		4	0	3	4	6	2
Asteraceae Low Spine		32	49	85	65	60	42
Betula	Birch	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brassicaceae	Cabbage or broccoli	0	3	0	0	0	0
Carpinus	Hornbeam	0	0	0	2	1	2
Carya	Hickory	10	11	5	11	12	12
Castanea	Chestnut	13	16	4	12	23	11
Cerealea	Cereal	1	0	0	0	0	0
Chenopodiaceae/Amaranthus	Spinach or beet	2	14	15	15	6	7
Cirsium	Plume thistle	0	0	1	0	0	1
Citrus	Citrus	0	0	0	1	0	0
Convolvulaceae	Morning glory	0	0	1	1	1	0
Cornus	Dogwood	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cyperaceae	Sedge	0	0	1	0	0	0

Fabaceae	Legume	0	0	2	0	0	0
Fagus	Beech	0	0	1	0	1	0
Gleditsia	Locust trees	1	0	0	0	0	0
Juglans	Walnut	1	0	0	0	0	0
Liguliflorae	Lettuce or dandelions	4	0	0	0	0	2
Liliaceae	Lily	3	0	1	1	0	2
Liriodendron	Tulip poplar	2	0	1	0	0	1
Moraceae	Fig	0	0	1	0	1	0
Ostrya	Hophornbeam	2	0	0	0	0	0
Pinus	Pine	20	13	11	6	4	23
Plantago	Plaintain (not the fruit)	1	2	3	1	0	2
Platanus	Sycamore	0	1	0	0	0	1
Poaceae	(grasses)	33	27	12	12	17	21
Polygonaceae	Milkwort	4	4	1	4	1	1
Prunus	Plums, cherries, or peaches	0	1	1	0	0	0
Quercus	Oak	31	35	29	43	47	46
Rhus	Sumac	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rosaceae	Rose or cherry	0	2	2	0	0	0
Salix	Willow	5	0	0	2	0	0
Solanaceae	Nightshade	0	0	0	0	0	1
Zea mays	Maize	0	1	1	0	0	2

Appendix C
Frederick Douglass Family



Douglass' family tree constructed from the Mary A. Dodge Collection, Maryland State Archives, Special Collections, MSA SC 564-1-94. Note that there are no fathers in the diagram because there were no fathers documented in the historical record. See page 42 for discussion.