MARYLAND STATE HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION

PROJECT PLANNING DIVISION

ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING SECTION

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT FOR THE STATE OF MARYLAND, NEEDS ASSESSMENT REPORT

MDOT
MARYLAND DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION
STATE HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION

Project Number SP124B4J

November 2024

AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT FOR THE STATE OF MARYLAND

NEEDS ASSESSMENT REPORT

Project Number SP124B4J

Prepared for:

MARYLAND DEPARTMENT
OF TRANSPORTATION
STATE HIGHWAY
ADMINISTRATION

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November 2024

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Maryland Department of Transportation State Highway Administration (SHA) has requested a Needs Assessment for an African American Historic and Archaeological Context for the State of Maryland. The goal of the project is a document that will guide the development of an African American Archaeological Context for Maryland and establish an archaeological framework for recording and researching African American sites, particularly for transportation and other Section 106 compliance projects.

Recent scholarship and advocacy support the development of context studies and other research tools focused on African American archaeological sites. In 2022, the Black Heritage Resources Task Force, formed by the Society of Black Archaeologists, the American Cultural Resources Association, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and the Society for American Archaeology, conducted a study of diversity and racial inclusion in archaeology and historic preservation, and developed recommendations for the recordation, study, and evaluation of historic properties to improve our understanding of the African American past (Franklin et al. 2022). Among these recommendations are several that apply specifically to archaeological resources:

1) Cultural/ethnic association should be required when recording archaeological sites;
2) Cultural/ethnic associations should be identified using a combination of resources, including archival materials and oral histories/community-level resources;
3) Information about architectural/above-ground resources should be used in the interpretation of nearby archaeological sites;
4) States should develop statewide historic context studies for archaeological resources; and,
5) Resource evaluations should consider potential association with multiple racial/ethnic individuals or groups (for example, many site types associated with European Americans also include African Americans).

Several of these steps are already standard practice in Maryland for archaeological research and recordation, and the Maryland Statewide Preservation Plan, Heritage 2031, also acknowledges a need to prioritize communities that are underrepresented in historic preservation in the state as its first goal (Ziehl et al. 2024). However, there are no statewide historic context studies for archaeological resources associated with the African American past in Maryland. There are also no studies or recommendations specific to transportation agencies, despite the large number of archaeological studies initiated by transportation departments across the country.

SHA requested A.D. Marble's assistance in creating an initial framework narrative document focused on African American archaeological resource types dating from 1650-1940; a general site typology for sites that include an African American occupation; a database of known African American sites; and a GIS layer compatible with Medusa and ArcGIS Online (AGOL) to make the sites easily searchable. This document forms a basis for further research with the goal of more fully identifying and correctly classifying archaeological sites with an African American component(s) in the future.

Lisa Kraus, SHA, acted as the principal investigator and primary author of the report, with assistance from Jennifer Falchetta and Frank Mikolic. John Milligan, Samantha Muscella, and

Christine Gill assisted with background research and data gathering. Amadeus Zajac, and Nathan Scully aided with the GIS tasks associated with the project.

2.0 ORGANIZATION OF THIS STUDY

This document includes a review of the current data available for Maryland archeological sites and architectural resources in Section 3. Available information from sites that have been recorded with African American cultural associations have been compared to population data in Maryland for the nineteenth century. Additional comparisons include quantity of sites per county and archaeological site locations with architectural resource locations. This project utilizes GIS to display sites and structures in relation to their locations and the data associated with each entry. An analysis of the present archeological and architectural data shows that African American associated places are underrepresented throughout Maryland.

Section 4 presents a list of proposed Periods of Significance for African American archaeological sites in Maryland. Establishing periods of significance for African American sites will help researchers identify and evaluate these resources appropriately.

Section 5 includes a proposed Site Typology for African American archeological sites. The Site Typology may help researchers identify and compare similar sites and identify areas of the state where certain site types may be underrepresented.

Section 6 provides a summary of this document and recommendations for the development of an African American Archaeological Context for Maryland.

Included in this project is a collection of resources that will be used for further research and can be shared with others researching African American history in Maryland. The resources include a bibliography of scholarly works pertaining to the archaeology and architecture of African Americans in Maryland and the United States spanning a period from the seventeenth century to the present (Appendix A) Also included is a database of existing archaeological sites and architectural resources that are currently identified in Medusa as containing an African American component (Appendices B and C). A preliminary list of local historical organizations and museums has also been compiled, as these institutions contain archival materials and information pertaining to the African American experience in Maryland (Appendix D).

3.0 EXISTING DATA AND RECORDATION PRACTICES

3.1 Available Archaeological Data

The Maryland Historical Trust (MHT) maintains archaeological data for the state of Maryland and makes it available to qualified researchers through Medusa, the state's web-based Cultural Resource Information System, the Archaeological Synthesis Project (a searchable database of archaeological sites with more extensive excavations, i.e., Phase II or Phase III compliance excavation or academic research), and through the MHT library.

As of March 20th 2024, there are 14,894 archaeological sites recorded in Medusa (Figure 1). Of those, 38.3% (n=5,700) include historic components. Of these historic sites, only 9.6%, or a total of 548, record an African American ethnic association. Ethnic association appears as a choice on the Historic Data Section of the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (Archaeology) form.

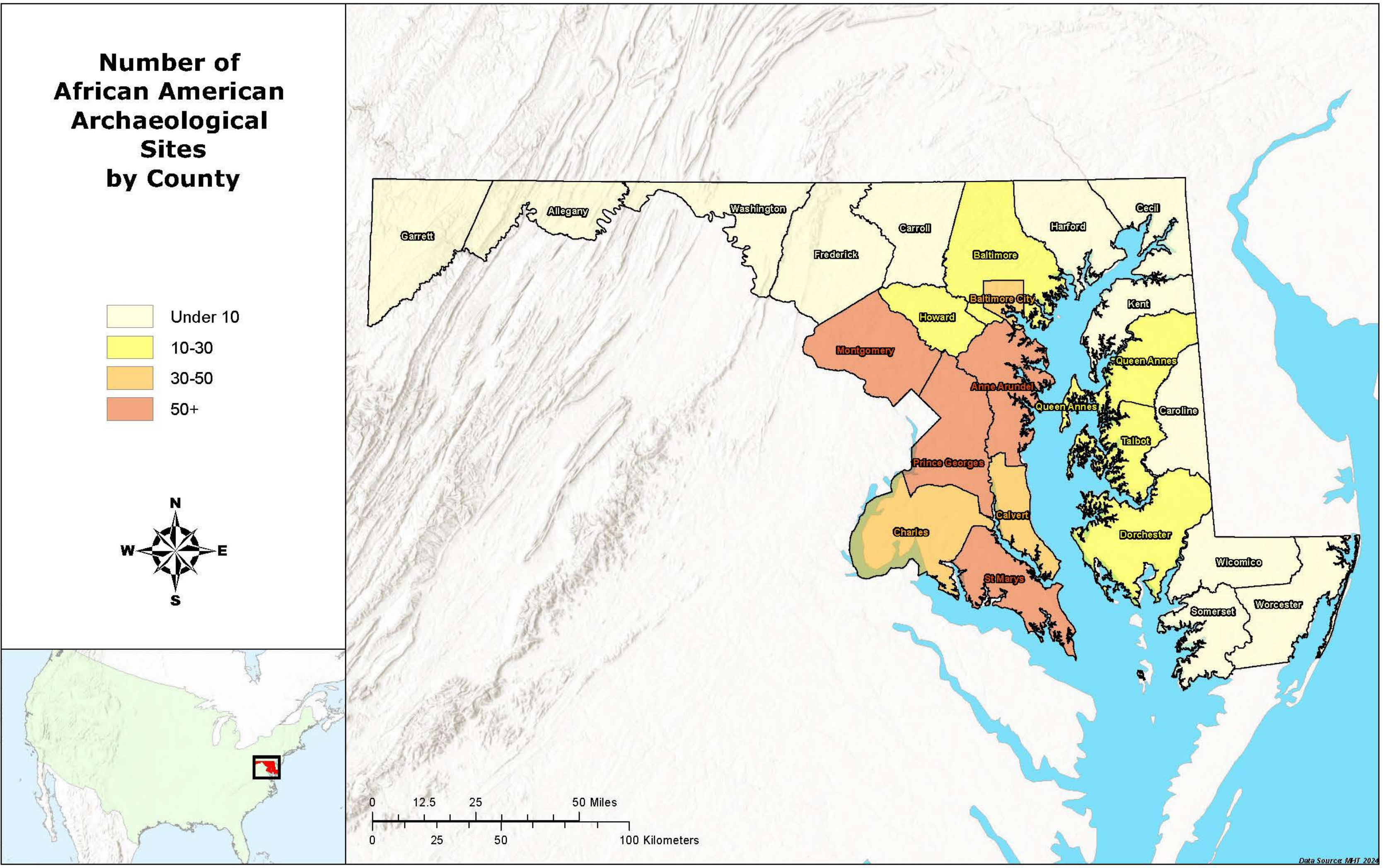
The Archaeological Synthesis Project Database offers an option to search "potential slave-related sites," which comprise 151 of the total 1364 sites included in the database; there is no option to search by African American ethnic association in general.

Maryland's data on archaeological sites related to the African American past is comparable to data available at the national level. As of 2022, less than 6% of the approximately 95,000 historic properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nationwide were archaeological sites (Hanson et al. 2022), and approximately 0.06% are African American archaeological sites (Frear 2021; Hanson 2022; McDonald 2004; NRHP 2024).

Table 1 below shows the number of known African American sites in each county/city. Anne Arundel County, including Annapolis City (which is sometimes separated) has the most sites recorded with an African American ethnic association at 127 of the 945 total historic sites (13.5%). Baltimore City has the highest percentage of African American sites, at 38 of 205 total sites (18.5%). Montgomery County numbers 52 African American sites, 17.6% of its total historic-period sites, Prince George's County has 79 (15.5%) and St. Mary's County has 52, accounting for 15.2% of its historic-period sites.

Several counties record fewer than ten African American sites: Garrett (n=0), Caroline (n=1), Kent (n=2), Worcester n=2), Allegany (n=3), Carroll (n=3), Somerset (n=5), Harford (n=6), Cecil, Frederick, Washington and Wicomico (n=8 each; Figure 1).

In MHT's analysis of Archaeological Synthesis Project data (McKnight 2019), the author cautions that the majority of archaeological sites in Maryland were identified and excavated during compliance projects; that is, research on most of Maryland's archaeological sites has historically been driven by development pressure. Sites are concentrated in areas where there is significant development, and where legislative requirements mandate archaeological survey (McKnight 2019: 4-5), not necessarily where the archaeological potential or past populations were high.


Number of African American Archaeological Sites by County
Under 10
10-30
30-50
50+
N
W
E
S
Garrett
Allegany
Washington
Frederick
Carroll
Baltimore
Harford
Cecil
Baltimore City
Howard
Kent
Montgomery
Anne Arundel
Queen Annes
Queen Annes
Caroline
Talbot
Prince Georges
Calvert
Charles
Dorchester
Wicomico
St Marys
Somerset
Worcester
0
12.5
25
50 Miles
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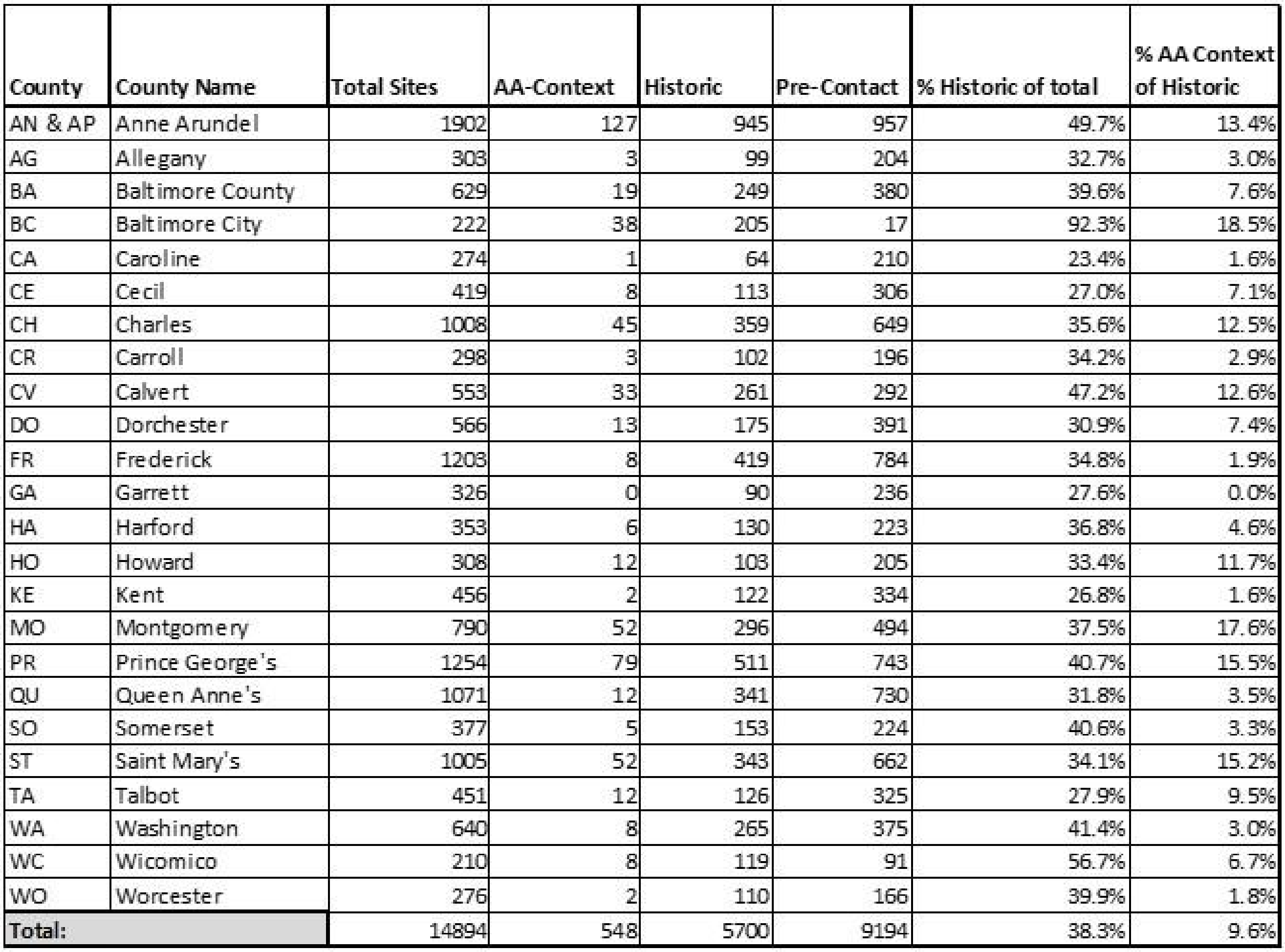
25
50
100 Kilometers
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 1. Number of African American Sites by County

Table 1. Known African American Sites in Each Maryland County/City



County	County Name	Total Sites	AA-Context	Historic	Pre-Contact	% Historic of total	% AA Context of Historic
AN & AP	Anne Arundel	1902	127	945	957	49.7%	13.4%
AG	Allegany	303	3	99	204	32.7%	3.0%
BA	Baltimore County	629	19	249	380	39.6%	7.6%
BC	Baltimore City	222	38	205	17	92.3%	18.5%
CA	Caroline	274	1	64	210	23.4%	1.6%
CE	Cecil	419	8	113	306	27.0%	7.1%
CH	Charles	1008	45	359	649	35.6%	12.5%
CR	Carroll	298	3	102	196	34.2%	2.9%
CV	Calvert	553	33	261	292	47.2%	12.6%
DO	Dorchester	566	13	175	391	30.9%	7.4%
FR	Frederick	1203	8	419	784	34.8%	1.9%
GA	Garrett	326	0	90	236	27.6%	0.0%
HA	Harford	353	6	130	223	36.8%	4.6%
HO	Howard	308	12	103	205	33.4%	11.7%
KE	Kent	456	2	122	334	26.8%	1.6%
MO	Montgomery	790	52	296	494	37.5%	17.6%
PR	Prince George's	1254	79	511	743	40.7%	15.5%
QU	Queen Anne's	1071	12	341	730	31.8%	3.5%
SO	Somerset	377	5	153	224	40.6%	3.3%
ST	Saint Mary's	1005	52	343	662	34.1%	15.2%
TA	Talbot	451	12	126	325	27.9%	9.5%
WA	Washington	640	8	265	375	41.4%	3.0%
WC	Wicomico	210	8	119	91	56.7%	6.7%
WO	Worcester	276	2	110	166	39.9%	1.8%
Total:		14894	548	5700	9194	38.3%	9.6%

The typical sequence of research in compliance archaeology affects available site data. Phase I identification surveys are usually completed prior to in-depth archival research, since detailed research is only required if a site may have further significant data potential, and is advanced to Phase II evaluation. Site forms are submitted at the end of Phase I survey, and therefore usually prior to the research that would make identification of potential ethnic affiliations possible. Site forms are not consistently updated to reflect research done after the Phase I inventory level.

Variability in the extent and intensity of archaeology and historic preservation practices at the local level also affects the regional variability of the data. Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties have relatively strong local legislative requirements for archaeology, and have dedicated county archaeology programs. Montgomery County's Parks department includes archaeologists, although there are no protections included in local ordinances for archaeological resources at the county level. In Annapolis, the University of Maryland's Archaeology in Annapolis program has excavated over 40 sites in the Annapolis Historic District since 1981, and in St. Mary's County, the anthropology program at St. Mary's College of Maryland and the St. Mary's National Historic Landmark designation likely account for the relatively high number of archaeological sites recorded there. The presence of county archaeology programs and/or university anthropology programs could account for the overall higher number of sites recorded in each of these locations, and for the more detailed archival research that allows researchers to identify ethnicity associations for each site.

The influence of local archaeology programs is especially apparent in Baltimore City, where the percentage of African American archaeological sites aligns almost precisely with the historical percentages of African American residents in the city. Baltimore's Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP) can require archaeological survey only on city-owned properties and properties that are designated as local historic districts or landmarks, and the number of projects driven by Section 106 compliance are few. Nearly all the sites in the city were identified by universities, avocational projects conducted by organizations such as the Archaeological Society of Maryland, and the Baltimore Center for Urban Archaeology, which operated from 1983 to 1997.

There may be more African American sites in the Medusa data than is immediately apparent. MHT advises that sites flagged as having African American ethnic associations are accurately identified as such, but those without that affiliation noted should be considered unknown, and many more recorded sites are likely to include data relevant to African American history (Jen Chadwick-Moore, personal communication, 4/2/2024).

The identification and study of African American sites in Maryland is also made challenging by the absence of clear typological categories for these sites. Appendix B is a database of known African American sites in Maryland. Comparative research is certainly possible among these sites, but a researcher cannot currently search Medusa by site type and time period. If, for example, someone wanted to study all known free African American farmsteads dating to the second half of the nineteenth century, they would have to review every site form in the database to identify sites that might be relevant to their research. This issue is explored more fully in section 5.0, Site Typology.

3.2 Sites to Population Comparison

While acknowledging the various limitations of the available data, biases and underrepresentation issues are evident in a comparison of African American associated sites and historical African American populations in each county.

For example: the census enumerated 4,572 enslaved and 213 free African American residents in Frederick County in 1800; the combined total of Black residents (4,785) represents 15% of the total population of 31,523 residents, of which 26,478 were White (Williams et al. 1967: 219). In 1840, there were 2,985 free Black inhabitants and 4,445 enslaved individuals comprising 23% of the population along with 24,791 White residents, but only eight historic archaeological sites, or 1.9% of all historical sites within the county, are designated with African American ethnic associations.

Even with the understanding that longer historic-era occupation would lead to a higher concentration of sites, and increased development in any given area would lead to more recorded sites, there are some places where it is difficult to make sense of the disparities in these data.

Table 2, below, compares the historical population drawn from the 1850 US Census for Maryland, broken into European-descended White and African-descended Black populations, to the percentages of African American-associated archaeological sites and architectural resources (where data is available). Note that in 1850, neither Garrett County nor Howard County had been formed, but were part of Allegany and Anne Arundel Counties, respectively. The year 1850 was selected because of the availability of the census data, and because it appears representative of Maryland's population in the nineteenth century.

Table 2. Maryland Population Compared to Recorded Archaeological Sites and Architectural Resources (U.S. Census Bureau, 1850)

County	Total White Residents	Percentage of White Residents	Total Black Residents (Free and Enslaved)	Percentage of Black Residents	Percentage of African American Associated Archaeology Sites (of total Historic-period sites)	Percentage of African American Architectural Resources (for counties where data is available)
Allegany	21633	95%	1136	4.9%	3% in Allegany, 0% in Garrett	
Anne Arundel	16542	51%	15851	48.9%	13.4% AA, 11.7% for Howard County	
Baltimore (Co + City)	174853	81%	35793	16.6%	7.6% County, 18.5% City	
Calvert	3630	37%	6016	62%	12.6%	
Caroline	6096	60%	3596	39.5%	1.6%	
Carroll	18657	90%	1949	9.4%	2.9%	
Cecil	15472	81.6%	3467	18.3%	12.6%	
Charles	5665	35%	10497	64.9%	12.5%	
Dorchester	10747	57%	8130	43%	7.4%	
Frederick	33314	81.2%	7673	18.7%	1.9%	
Harford	14413	74.4%	4943	25.5%	4.6%	3.33%
Kent	5616	49.3%	5770	50.6%	1.6%	5.16%
Montgomery	9435	59.4%	6425	40.5%	17.6%	
Prince George's	8901	41.3%	12648	58.6%	15.5%	
Queen Anne	6936	47.8%	7548	52.2%	3.5%	4.45%
St. Mary's	6223	45%	7475	54.5%	15.2%	
Somerset	13385	59.6%	9071	40.3%	3.3%	10.08%
Talbot	7081	51%	6727	48.7%	9.5%	
Washington	26930	87.2%	3918	12.7%	3.0%	
Worcester	12401	65.7%	6458	34.2%	1.8%	4.5%

Comparisons between the total Black residents and the number of sites with recorded African American associations reveals a deep disparity, particularly in counties where African Americans made up the majority of the historical population. There are many intertwined reasons for the disparity between historically documented African American populations and the number of sites shown in the current data.

African American historic sites are underrepresented nationwide due to a complex history of racial segregation, discriminatory practices in the preservation of historical landmarks, a lack of focus on Black narratives in historical interpretation, and the legacy of systemic racism that limited access to public spaces like parks and historical sites for African Americans, leaving their stories largely untold (Hurst 2016).

There has also been a pervasive bias in preservation efforts across the country. The process of identifying and preserving historical sites has historically been dominated by White perspectives, leading to a disproportionate focus on stories and places related to White experiences (Cep 2020; Hurst 2016; EJI 2020).

Disparities in funding and advocacy for Black historical and archaeological sites are also an issue. Efforts to preserve African American heritage sites often receive less funding and political support compared to sites focused on other demographics (Cep 2020; Kaufman 2004).

The lack of emphasis on African American heritage sites resulting from these intersecting factors likely contributes to the low number of African American archaeologists and preservation professionals. In 1997, a survey of more than 5,000 members of the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) found that 98% of the respondents (approximately 1,700 people) stated their ethnicity as European American or White, and only two identified as Black (Franklin 1997). The small number of Black American archaeologists was largely attributable to the common racist barriers to higher education in general, but Franklin (1997) also pointed to African Americans' desires to pursue professions with the potential for greater economic and social mobility and opportunities that responded more immediately to the needs of Black communities (Franklin 1997: 800). Over the last 27 years, other scholars have continued to explore the relative dearth of Black archaeologists (Agbe-Davies 2007; Odewale et al. 2018). Demographic data collected by the SAA in 2003, 2010, and 2015 found that "the percentage of people who identify as African Americans has remained at less than 1% of the total number of American archaeologists, growing at a slow pace of 0.1% roughly every five years" (Odewale et al. 2018).

Although archaeology as a field remains slow to diversify, recent studies have shown that there are concrete steps that can help attract people from all backgrounds to archaeology and other preservation fields, including public outreach, culturally diverse teaching, affordable field programs, and proactive mentorship (Heath-Stout 2019). In the National Park Service's Cultural Heritage Needs Study, Ned Kaufman notes that the National Register of Historic Places, as well as most if not all state and local preservation lists, fall short of presenting the full diversity of American history (Kaufman 2004). This is clearly true in Maryland as well.

3.2 Architectural Resources

The Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties (MIHP) also records architectural resources in Maryland. As of June 6th, 2024 there were a total of, 49,042 architecture MIHP locations on Medusa. An examination of standing architectural resources can help interpret comparable archaeological sites where no standing structures are present. Historic structures and their grounds may hold archeological potential, the study of which can shed light on other archaeological sites and the architectural property itself. Historic structures can also be used to determine what types of archeological sites may be located nearby; for example, a farmhouse may indicate that a barn, corn crib, garage, tenant house or other such structures may have once been present and may exist archeologically.

The current version of the MIHP Architecture form (2019) does not have any specific questions or options that relate to the ethnic affiliation of an architectural resource, although that information may be evident for well-documented properties. As a result, the database of architectural resources in not searchable by ethnic affiliation. To resolve this issue, MHT staff are currently working on the Architectural Survey Data Analysis project, to extract information such as ethnic associations from the forms to create a searchable database (personal communication, Chadwick-Moore, 2024).

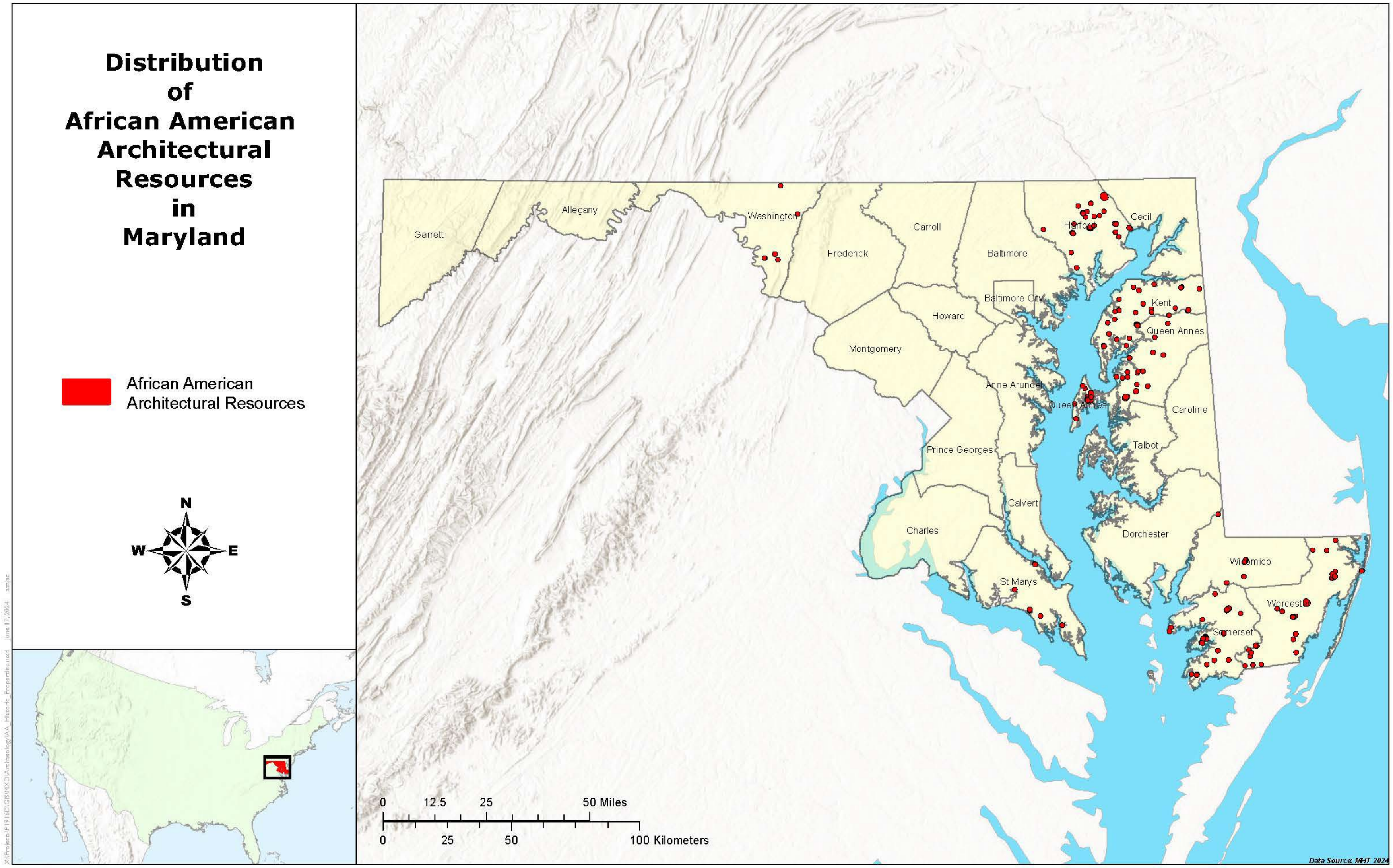
As of this writing, the task has been completed for five counties: Harford, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, and Worcester. Of these, Somerset County has the highest number of African American-associated architectural properties at 66; Harford and Kent both have 38; Worcester has 36; Queen Anne's has 35 (Table 3; Figures 5 through 9). As with archaeological sites with African American ethnic associations, the numbers do not seem to proportionately reflect the population of African-descended people in these counties through time. For example, Somerset County contains the highest identified number of African American-associated structures (65, or about 10% of the total), but only five African American-associated archaeological sites out of a total of 377 (1.3%). However, the 1850 census records 3,483 free and 5,588 enslaved Black individuals, comprising 40% of the total population of the county. In 1860, the census recorded 4,571 free and 5,089 enslaved Black individuals, 38% of the total population of 24,993 (U.S. Census Bureau 1850, 1860; See Table 2, above).

When compared to the population data in Tables 1 and 2, the quantity of architectural resources with African American cultural associations does not appear to fully reflect the population of African descended peoples in those counties through time.

Table 3: Historic Structures in Five Counties

County	AA Association	Total Structures	Percent of Total
Harford	36	2,702	1.33%
Kent	38	736	5.16%
Queen Anne's	35	787	4.45%
Somerset	65	645	10.08%
Worcester	32	711	4.50%

MHT's Architectural Survey Data Analysis project is a positive step toward making information about existing sites available to researchers, and will provide archaeologists with key information to build upon as they consider the archaeological potential of locations in or near African American-affiliated places included in the MIHP for architecture. A cursory examination of the data that have been sorted to date shows that some of these places are also archaeological sites, but most have never been investigated archaeologically. These places could offer new avenues of research or provide context for other archaeological sites. For example, there have been (until recently) very few archaeological examinations of historic Freedmen's towns or other African American communities. Some of these towns, or individual buildings within them, are documented on the MIHP. Two recent archaeological projects, Witnesses of Wallville at the Jefferson-Patterson Park and Museum (Glass et al. 2024) and the examination of the Dorsey Site as part of the grassroots Sugarland Ethno-History Project (Tetrault and Johnson 2024), have used archaeology in concert with architectural history and oral histories to add meaningfully to the understanding of these important places.


Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Maryland
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Harford
Cecil
Baltimore City
Howard
Montgomery
Kent
Queen Annes
Anne Arundel
Queen Annes
Caroline
Talbot
Prince Georges
Calvert
Charles
Dorchester
St Marys
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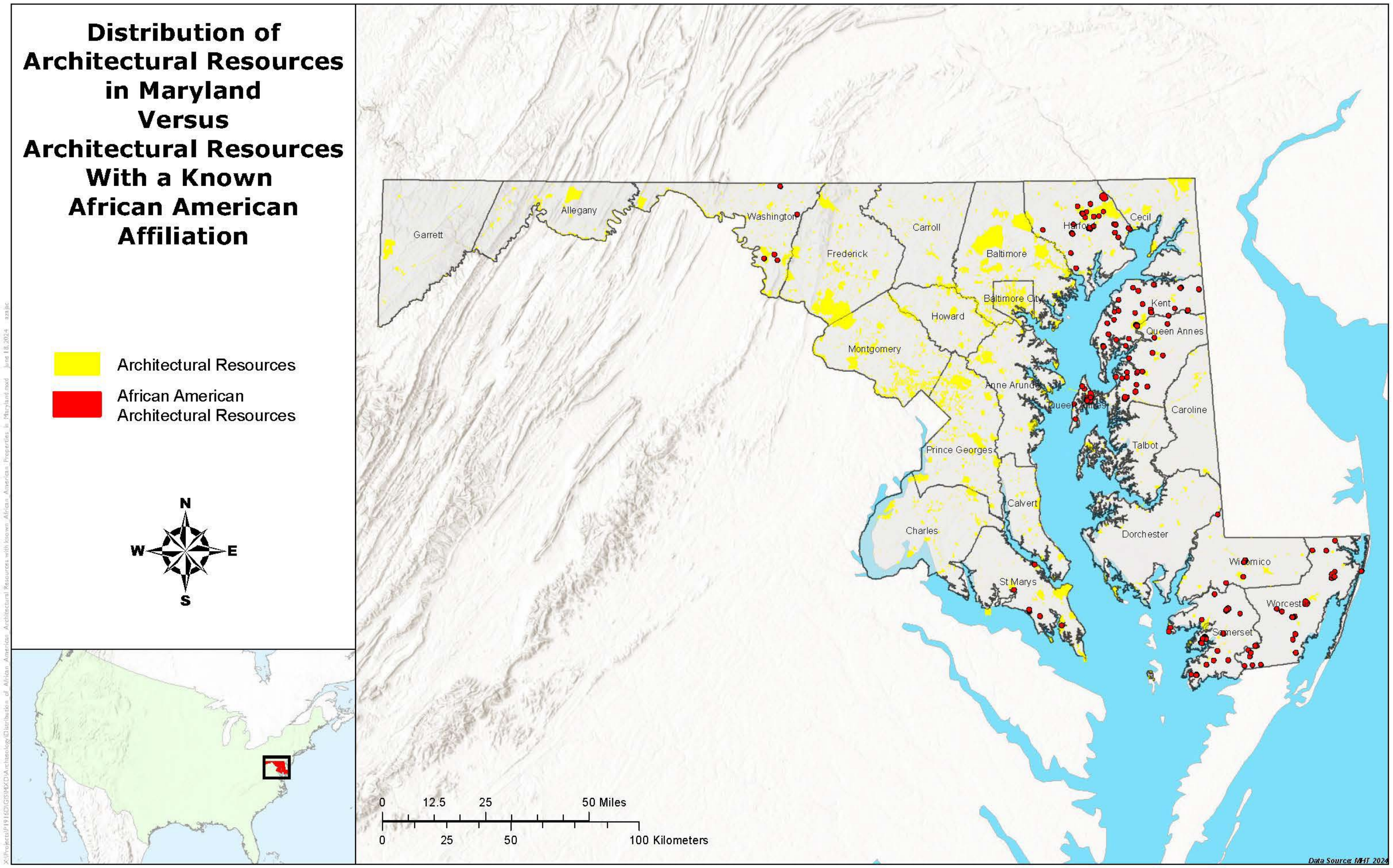
0 25 50 100 Kilometers
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 2. Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Maryland


Distribution of Architectural Resources in Maryland Versus Architectural Resources With a Known African American Affiliation
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Montgomery
Queen Annes
Anne Arundel
Queen Annes
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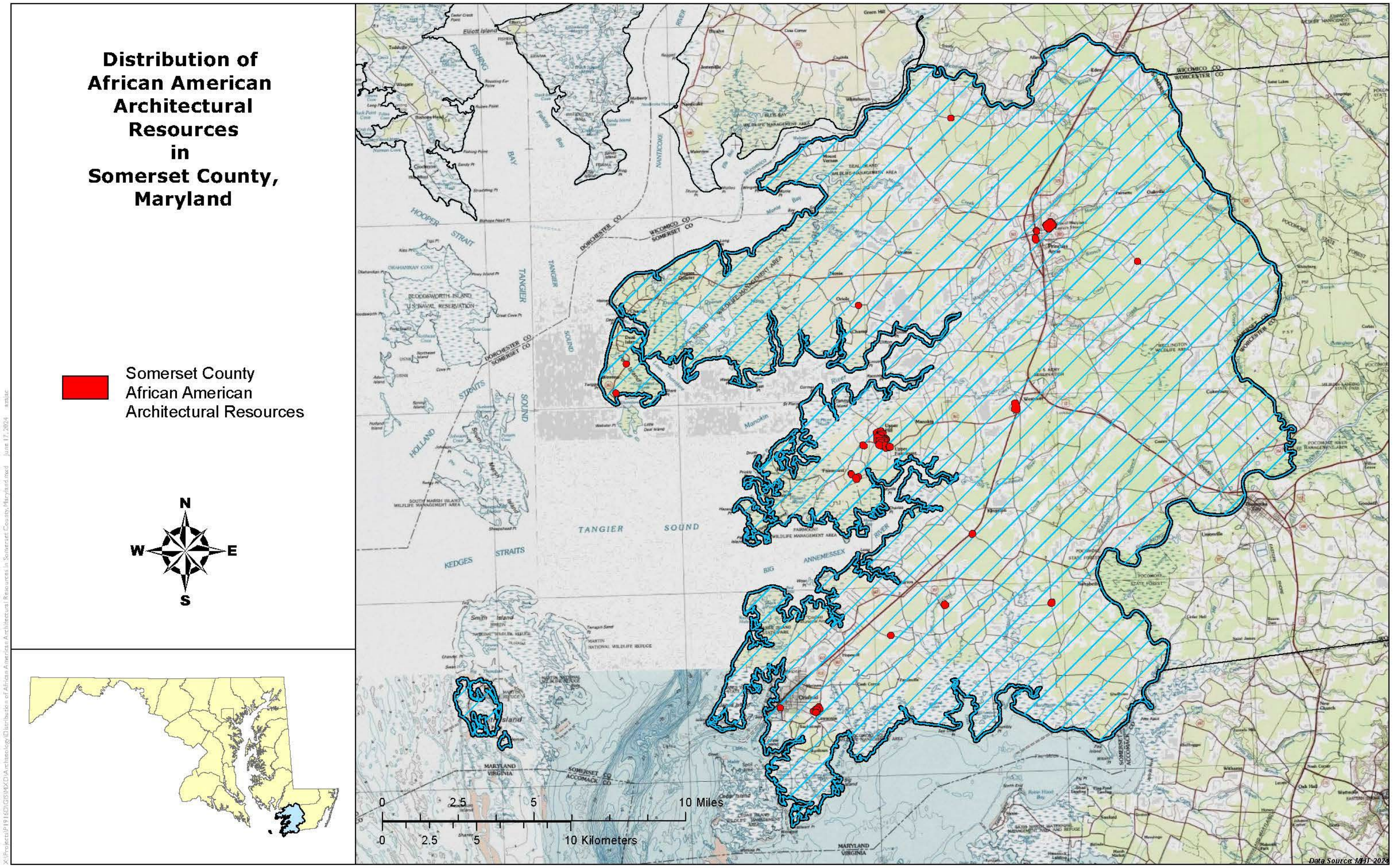
Figure 3. Distribution of All Architectural Resources and Known African American Architectural Resources in Maryland


Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Somerset County, Maryland
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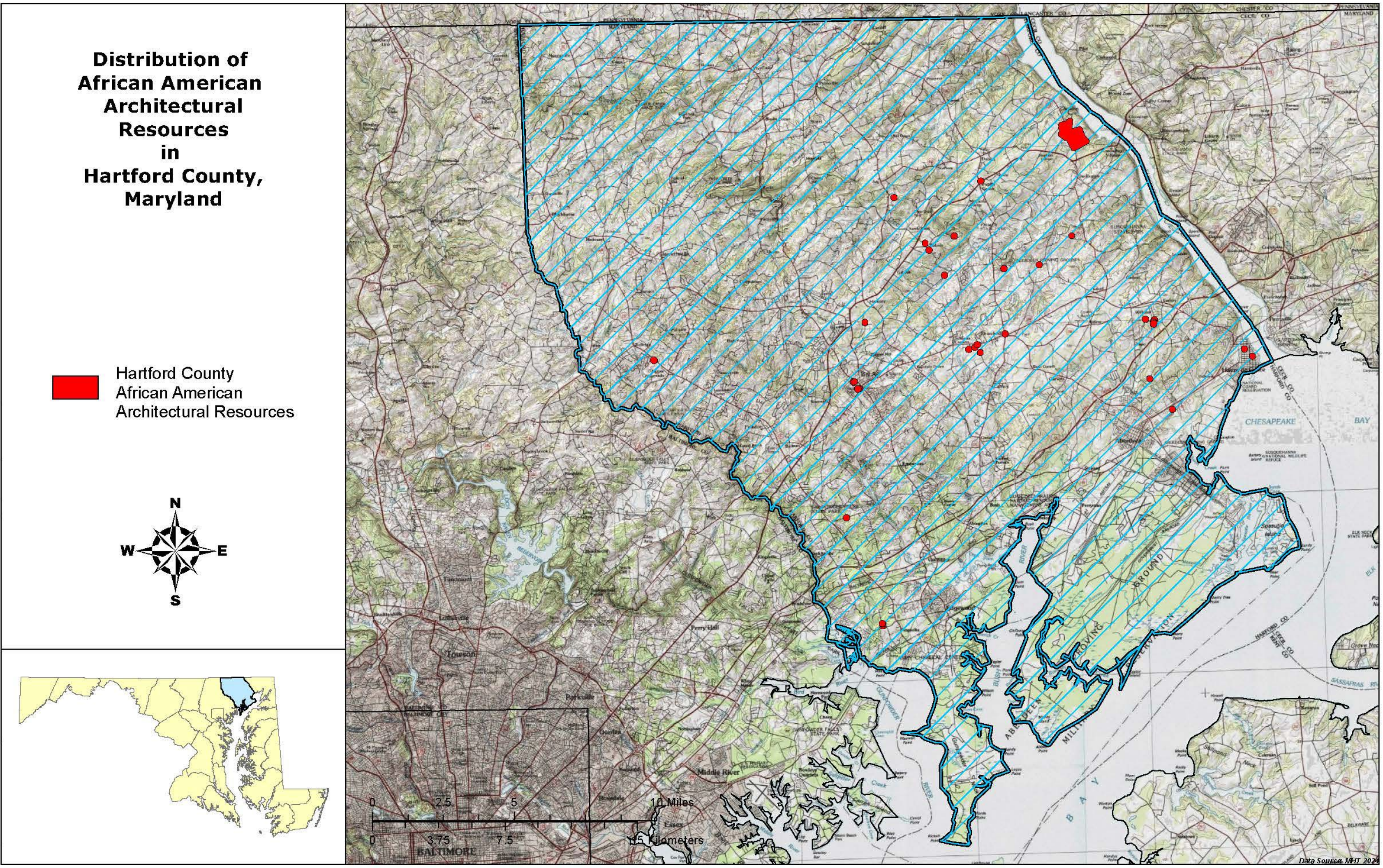
HOLLAND STRAITS
HOOPER STRAIT
TANGIER SOUND
FISHING BAY
NANTICOKE RIVER
BIG ANNEMESSEX RIVER
DORCHESTER CO
SOMERSET CO
WICOMICO CO
WORCESTER CO
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
SOMERSET CO
ACCOMACK CO
Princess Anne
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 4. Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Somerset County, Maryland


Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Hartford County, Maryland
🟥 Hartford County African American Architectural Resources
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BALTIMORE
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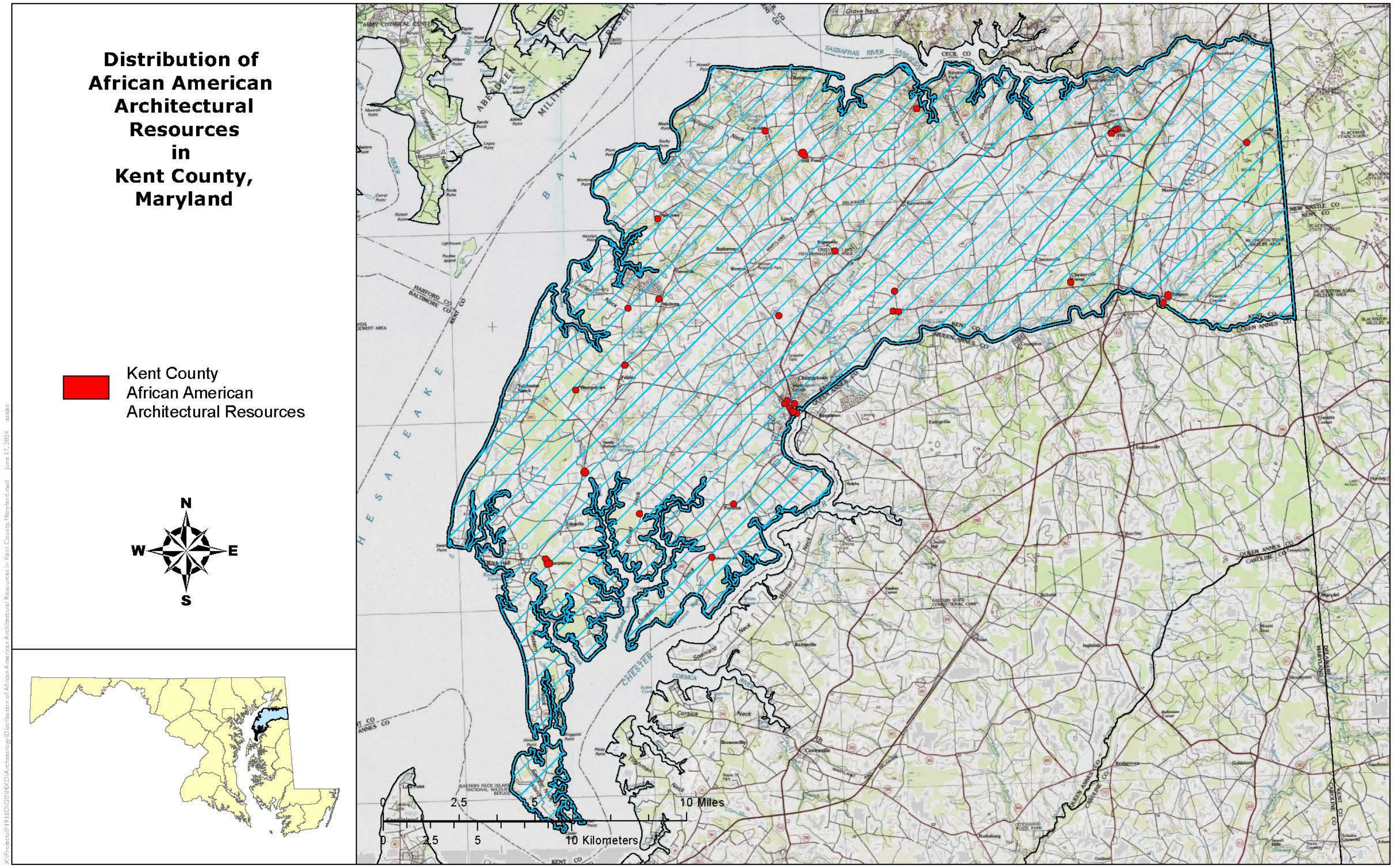
ABERDEEN PROVING GROUND
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 5. Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Harford County, Maryland


Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Kent County, Maryland
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NEW CASTLE CO
KENT CO
QUEEN ANNES CO
CAROLINE CO
HARFORD CO
BALTIMORE CO
CHESTER
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Figure 6. Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Kent County, Maryland

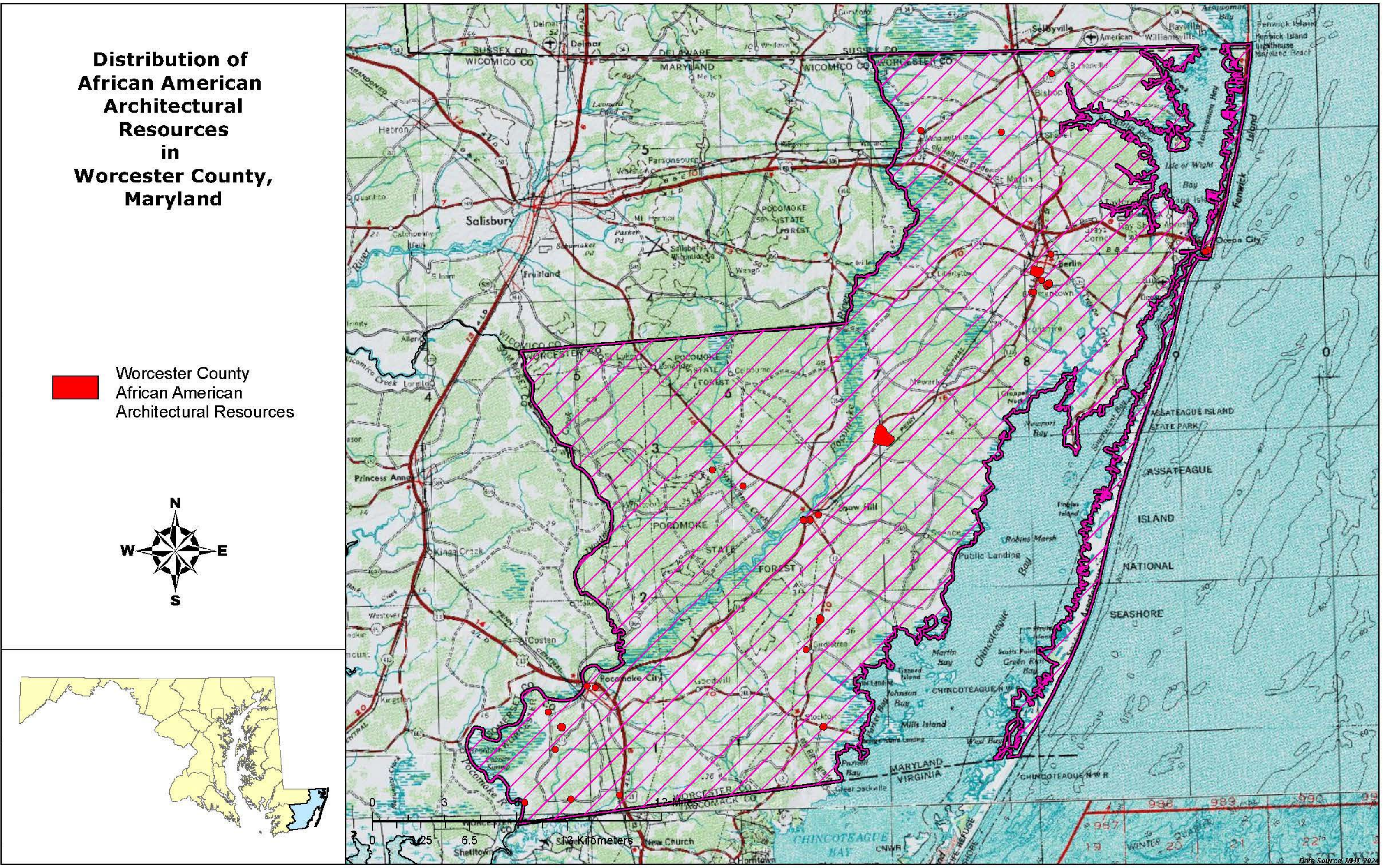
Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Worcester County, Maryland
🟥 Worcester County African American Architectural Resources
N
W
E
S
0
3
12 Miles
0
3.25
6.5
13 Kilometers
Salisbury
Berlin
Ocean City
Snow Hill
Pocomoke City
Stockton
Girdletree
Public Landing
Chincoteague Bay
Assateague Island National Seashore
Fenwick Island
Selbyville
Delmar
Princess Anne
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
DELAWARE
WICOMICO CO
WORCESTER CO
SUSSEX CO
SOMERSET CO
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 7. Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Worcester County, Maryland

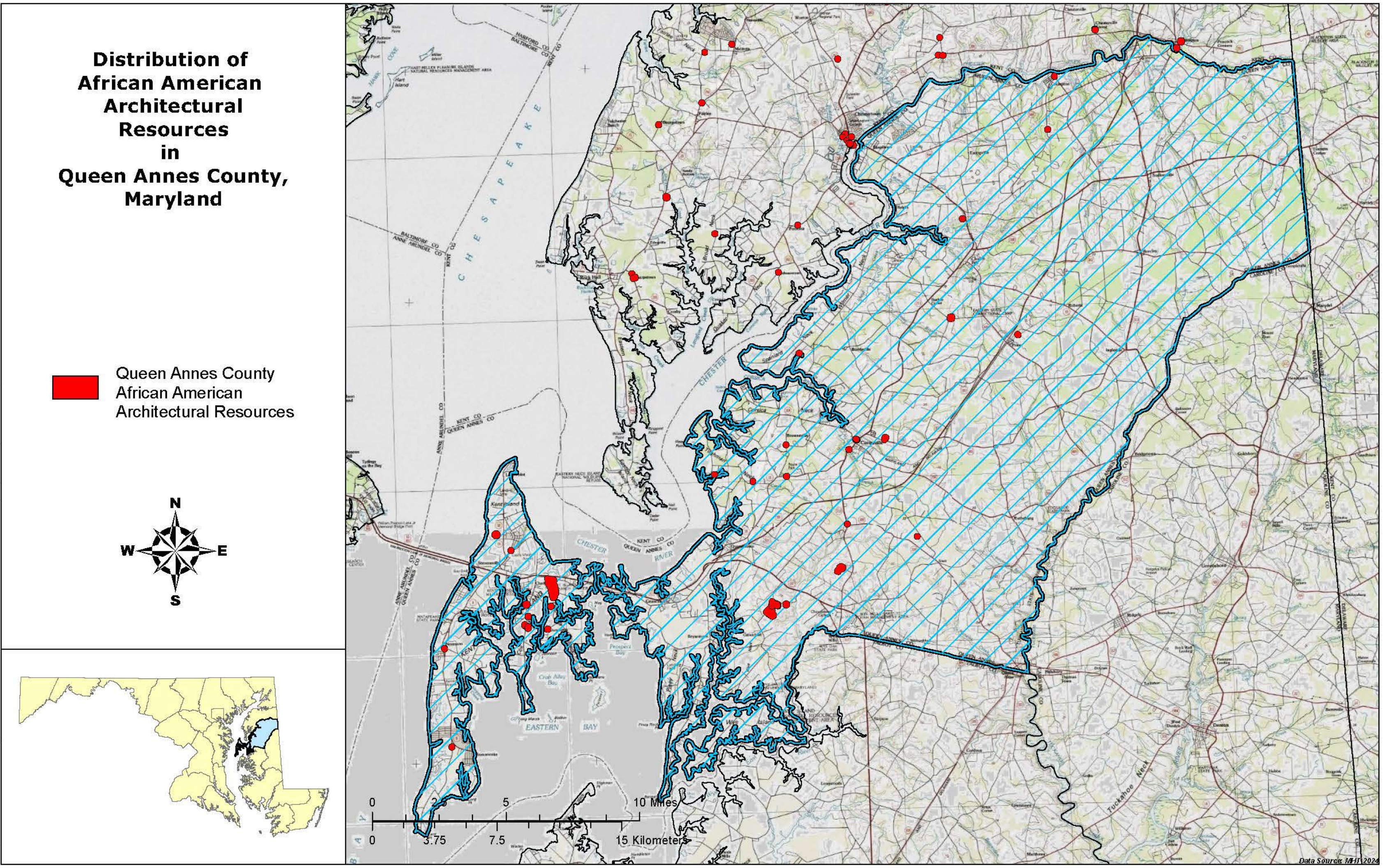
Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Queen Annes County, Maryland
🟥 Queen Annes County African American Architectural Resources
N
W
E
S
0
2.5
5
10 Miles
0
3.75
7.5
15 Kilometers
CHESAPEAKE
CHESTER
EASTERN BAY
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 8. Distribution of African American Architectural Resources in Queen Anne's County, Maryland

4.0 PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE IN AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY IN MARYLAND

Evaluating the significance of African American sites using the standard methodologies for evaluation, excavation, and analysis that have been applied so far in the United States has led to the widespread dismissal of many African American sites as "insignificant" with respect to the NRHP, and for compliance work beyond the identification (Phase I) stage. Scholarship concerning African American sites evaluated during compliance projects (Hanson et al. 2022; McDavid et al. 2013; Palmer 2012) notes that this problem is common in the cultural resource management and regulatory processes of most states. Interpretations and analyses of material culture and the physical features and spatial attributes of an African American sites often fail to consider their potential importance through a lens of race, making African American sites less likely to be identified, or determined eligible for listing in the NRHP.

To develop an African American-specific site context, identifying key periods of significance and interpretive themes is critical. (Franklin et al. 2022; McDavid et al. 2013; Palmer 2012). The following are proposed broad periods of significance that speak to overarching legal, political, economic, and social themes in African American history in Maryland. This is not intended to be an exhaustive or specific history; it is a provided for consideration and comment in developing a statewide context for African American archaeological resources in Maryland, and potentially as a model for historic contexts to be used in compliance reports.

4.1 1634-1675: Origins of Slavery in the Early Maryland Colony

When the first European colonists arrived in the colony of Maryland in 1634, a plantation system that relied on enslaved labor was already established throughout the Atlantic world. Despite slavery's importance to the economies of other New World colonies, the practice was not widespread or enshrined in law in Maryland in the early seventeenth century. Indentured English and Irish servants outnumbered enslaved Africans until the 1690s. People of African descent comprised a relatively small minority (around 10%) of the colony's population, and not all were enslaved; some labored as indentured servants and others were free (Maryland State Archives [MSA] 2007).

One example of such a person is Mathias de Sousa, a man described as a "molato" in colonial records, who arrived as an indentured servant to the Jesuits accompanying the colonists. De Sousa had served out the period of his indenture by 1638, and he became a mariner and fur trader. In 1641, he commanded a trading voyage to the Susquehannock Indians, and in 1642 was master of a small cargo vessel belonging to the Provincial Secretary, John Lewger. De Sousa also participated in the 1642 legislative assembly of freemen. This would possibly make Mathias de Sousa the first man of African descent to participate in an Assembly in colonial America (Bogen 2001).

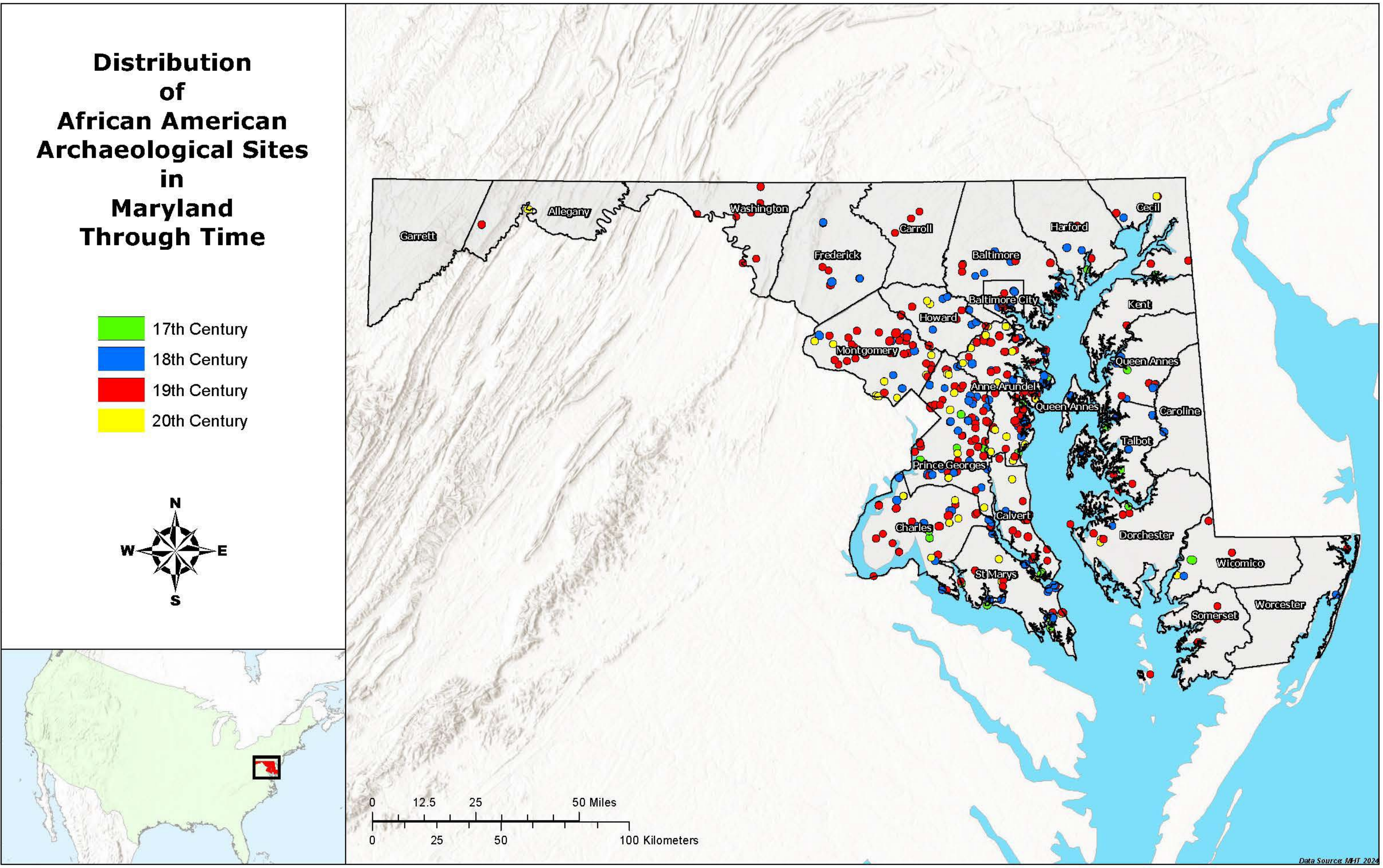
Distribution of African American Archaeological Sites in Maryland Through Time
🟩 17th Century
🟦 18th Century
🟥 19th Century
🟨 20th Century
N
E
S
W
Garrett
Allegany
Washington
Frederick
Carroll
Baltimore
Harford
Cecil
Baltimore City
Howard
Montgomery
Kent
Queen Annes
Anne Arundel
Queen Annes
Caroline
Talbot
Prince Georges
Charles
Calvert
Dorchester
St Marys
Wicomico
Somerset
Worcester
0 12.5 25 50 Miles
0 25 50 100 Kilometers
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 9. Distribution of Archaeological Sites in Maryland Through Time

Another early Black settler, John Baptiste, successfully petitioned the Maryland Provincial Court for his freedom in 1653 (Kimmel 1971:25). Living and working alongside White indentured servants and trading among themselves and with others (both free and enslaved), these early colonial residents accumulated property. In 1676, Thomas Hagleton, who was born in Africa but spent time in England, won his freedom in court (MSA 2007). Others purchased their liberty or were manumitted by their enslavers. Free Black people also migrated into the colony from Virginia (Kimmel 1976; 25-33).

These legal routes to freedom were no longer available in the late seventeenth century, as economic, social, and political changes in Maryland led to the formalization of slavery through a series of laws in the 1660s. In 1689, following a revolt against the powerful Calvert family, Maryland planters took control of the colony, consolidated their grip on political power, expanded their landholdings, and increased their need for laborers. At the same time, economic and political developments in Europe disrupted the supply of indentured servants, and the end of the English Royal African Company's slave trade monopoly in 1698 made it easier for Maryland planters to obtain and enslave Africans. The enslavement of African people grew rapidly, and enslaved Africans replaced white indentured servants as the primary source of plantation labor (MSA 2007).

Archaeological sites of this period are few (148 sites are recorded in Medusa for the period between 1630 and 1675, accounting for only 0.9% of all sites in Maryland), but have the potential to shed light on the development of processes and practices of slavery and racialization of identity in the early days of the Maryland Colony, as well as on the resistance to these forces, and could therefore speak to the theme of domination and resistance. Such sites may be especially interesting in terms of cultural continuity and change. Several works by Christopher Fennell (2000; 2003; 2007) illustrate the importance of the processes of cultural change, and suggest new ways to account for the fluid, multi-layered, and hybridized lives of creolized peoples. Fennell nods to previous work done in creolization and acculturation, which enabled archaeologists to begin to understand the ways that people change their cultures, but he goes further in exploring the processes between these end points. Ethnogenic bricolage, as he terms it, entails a creative process in which individuals raised in different cultures interact in new settings, often at the geographic crossroads of multiple diasporas (Fennell 2007:9), as is certainly the case in colonial Maryland.

4.2 1675-1800: Tobacco Economy

As tobacco production grew in importance and profitability, enslaved Africans were brought to the colony by force in greater and greater numbers. Fewer than 1000 Africans arrived in Maryland between 1619 and 1697; but between 1700 and 1775, that number grew to nearly 100,000. By 1755, about one third of Maryland's population came from Africa, mostly from the interior of the continent (MSA 2007).

The large-scale cultivation of tobacco shaped the experience of Black people in Maryland culturally, socially, and physically. Most agricultural laborers worked and lived in quarters that were dispersed across the landscape, their design shaped by agricultural demands rather than by the needs of families. Tobacco exhausted the soil, so these quarters had to move frequently. The mobility of the slave quarters and the small size of units of production meant enslaved workers were always on the move, and were often forced to live separately from their families (Kulikoff 1986; Main 1982).

Despite these conditions, enslaved people formed families and extended kinship networks, and created communities. African Americans created their own societies, different than those of Africa and different than that of their enslavers, but connected to both. The unique character of African American life could be seen in all aspects of culture. Evidence from archaeological sites of this period shows that enslaved communities found ways to assert their collective identity, create bonds among themselves, and reestablish links to remembered, recreated, or reinvented African customs. In her work on Wye House in Talbot County, Beth Pruitt has called the result of African American assertions of identity in plantation settings “countercolonial landscapes” and points out that while White plantation owners cultivated reputations as scientific gardeners and wrote extensively on tobacco cultivation, the enslaved workforce brought knowledge and skill to work of farming and gardening as well (Pruitt 2015:13-14).

4.3 1775-1820: Revolution and the First Emancipation

The American Revolution again transformed the lives of African Americans in Maryland. Although slavery survived the Revolutionary War, the institution changed as Maryland became a state in the new Republic. At the same time, black Marylanders continued to challenge slavery and seek their own liberty.

In early November 1775, Virginia’s royal governor, Lord Dunmore, threatened to arm slaves who helped him suppress colonists who challenged his authority. Several enslaved African Americans had initiated contact with Dunmore about a month before the proclamation, offering their services forces should fighting break out. After Dunmore fled Williamsburg in June, hundreds of enslaved people joined him as he tried to maintain a military base in and around Norfolk. In November, Dunmore formally issued a proclamation making good on his threat to make soldiers and free men of the enslaved men of Virginia (LaRoche 2007: 95-96). Fewer than one thousand people escaped under the governor’s edict, but by the end of the American Revolution, some five thousand enslaved people from the Chesapeake region had escaped to the join the British forces (LaRoche 2007:96).

American military officers and politicians were slow to recruit either enslaved or free African Americans. Maryland’s tobacco planters had invested heavily in slavery, and they were reluctant to surrender their human property or to take actions that might threaten the institution of slavery. By 1780, however, military necessity forced them to reconsider. Unable to recruit enough white soldiers for Continental and state service, the Maryland legislature agreed to accept enslaved volunteers, provided they had their owners’ permission. The following spring, Maryland lawmakers subjected free blacks to the draft (La Roche 2007; Quarles 1996).

Other changes wrought by the war transformed enslaved life. The disruption of international tobacco markets forced planters to diversify to compensate for the lack of trade. In the absence of British manufactured goods, enslaved workers made barrels, wove cloth, and became metalsmiths. Some hired out their own labor. Planters also turned from tobacco to the production of cereal crops, growing corn and other grains. Mixed farming required fewer laborers than tobacco monoculture, encouraging enslavers to sell, hire out, or even free some of their enslaved workers (Kulikoff 1986; Walsh 1993; 2003).

In several northern states, slavery was seen as contrary to the liberties and natural rights for which the war was being fought. Some New England states adopted immediate emancipation: Vermont's 1777 constitution explicitly outlawed slavery and in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a series of judicial interpretations during the 1780s declared the institution in violation of the bills of rights contained in their new state constitutions. A policy of gradual emancipation was adopted in Pennsylvania in 1780, and Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1784, but not until 1799 and 1804 in New York and New Jersey. This legislation provided for those born into slavery after the act to be freed at a certain age (21 in Pennsylvania and 28 in New York), so that enslavers would still receive years of free labor as compensation for their ultimate loss of "property." Slavery was excluded from the territories north and west of the Ohio River. British Canada harbored several thousand formerly enslaved people freed by British forces during the Revolutionary War (Dunn 1983; Fehrenbacher and McAfee 2002; Jones 2018).

Antislavery advocates tried to eliminate slavery in Maryland following the successes in New York and New Jersey, but without success. Nonetheless, manumissions in the state increased during the 1780s, and grew even more numerous when, in 1790, the legislature allowed slaveholders to free their slaves by will as well as by deed (Whitman 1997). Successful escape became easier as the number of Black people enjoying freedom grew. The greatly enlarged free Black population aided friends and relatives in the purchase of their liberty and, when that was not possible, would assist escape attempts (Franklin and Schweninger 1999; Whitman 2007).

Newly freed people, inspired by the liberation rhetoric of the Revolution, pressed for greater civil and political rights, publishing a plea for freedom on May 15, 1783 in the Maryland Gazette a few months before the removal of the United States capital to Annapolis (MSA 1783; Whitman 2007).

In Baltimore, Thomas Brown, a free Black man, campaigned for the Maryland House of Delegates. Although he was defeated, Brown's bid for office suggests the powerful impact of the American Revolution. In a letter to Baltimore's voters, Brown drew attention to his military service (Quarles 1996:300).

By the end of the eighteenth century, slavery remained deeply entrenched in Maryland, and pro-slavery advocates continued to be a powerful force in the state's economic and political processes. Fearing that the presence of free Blacks could pose a threat to the extant white supremacy in the state, legislators enacted a series of laws that limited black civil and political rights. In 1796, the General Assembly prohibited free Blacks from testifying in freedom suits. That same year, the legislature passed strict vagrancy laws, allowing county governments to sell unemployed free Blacks into terms of servitude and to apprentice their children to white planters. In 1802, the General Assembly passed an amendment to the State constitution formally limiting voting rights to Whites only (Bogen 1990:401-402; Jones 2018; Phillips 1997).

Archaeological sites of this period reflect both the resistance to and the reification of the institution of slavery in Maryland. Free Black communities began to grow in urban centers like Baltimore, while in rural areas and particularly in large plantation settings, enslavers reacted to threats against slavery and the potential for escape to the North by asserting even greater control and increasing surveillance (LaRoche 2007). These measures, and resistance to them, are reflected in the archaeological remains associated with enslaved plantation landscapes. As Delle (1998:146) has written, archeologists should examine social and material spaces to understand local systems, negotiations of power, and the ways in which the manipulation and control of space was used to create and reinforce systems of oppression, which were in turn resisted. Other authors have pointed out that spatial analysis of landscape design and the arrangement of slave housing can reveal racist ideologies (Epperson 1990), the creation and enforcement of "difference" or "otherness" (Epperson 1997, 1999), social relationships, power relationships, and security motives (Agorsah 1999, Armstrong 1990, and a desire to highlight one's wealth and status (Schein 2006:77). The spatial arrangement of plantation features can also indicate the social order of the estate's occupants (Joyner 2003:13). For example, the slaveholder's residence may be large and dominate the landscape while the slave quarters are located behind or to the side of the main house in deferential, but observable, positions.

4.4 1800-1865: Rise of the Interstate Slave Trade/Maryland Diaspora/Abolitionism and the Underground Railroad

The abolition of slavery in the northern states encouraged many enslaved people to seek freedom, and thousands of Black Marylanders had settled in the northern United States and Canada by the middle of the 1800s. Other Black men and women settled in the new African colony of Liberia. But not all Black Marylanders left the state voluntarily. Most were forcibly deported and relocated to the Deep South as part of the domestic, or interstate, slave trade (LaRoche 2007).

Prior to 1820, if enslaved people were moving from state to state, they usually did so with their White enslavers, as new land became available following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. As White migration slowed after 1820, the demand for labor in the Deep South did not decrease correspondingly.

Slave traders responded to the ever-increasing demand for enslaved labor in the deep South, forming cross-country partnerships to separate the tasks of purchase, transport, and sale. They purchased their own ships to allow for a regular and predictable schedule of deliveries; they established permanent headquarters with private jailing facilities; and they emphasized their ability to conduct transactions in cash. The largest slave traders also made use of local agents to handle the most disgraceful task of separating recently purchased children from their mothers and husbands from their wives. This interstate market functioned entirely to maximize profits at every stage, and it represented the most blatant form of capitalistic exploitation in the South (Bancroft 1996; Deyle 2009; Gudmestad 2003:184; Tadman 1989).

This trade was deeply feared, hated, and resented by enslaved people, who were torn away from their homes and families, and it was the focus of much agitation by abolitionists. Even many planters disliked (or claimed to dislike) the practice, which undercut their paternalistic pretensions; how could they claim to be the guardians of their slaves' welfare when they were treating them as saleable commodities? But the economic imperatives were so strong that the trade thrived despite the controversy. As the nature of agriculture in the Upper South changed, planters wanted to reduce their enslaved workforces (Tadman 1989). Many planters were shifting away from tobacco, a crop that required a great deal of labor, and using their land for less labor-intensive businesses such as raising cattle and sheep, growing wheat, or even timbering. Faced with a declining need for agricultural workers and the demand for laborers in from the newly cleared lands in the south and west, many planters set aside their scruples and sold their "excess" slaves (Bancroft 1996:14).

White enslavers reasoned that the disruption of the lives of African American families and individuals was minimal and temporary; presuming that Blacks were inferior emotionally and intellectually allowed them to depict themselves as paternalistic protectors even as enslaved families were torn apart (Tadman 1989).

The early abolition movement in North America was fueled both by enslaved people's efforts to liberate themselves and by groups of White settlers, such as the Quakers, who opposed slavery on religious or moral grounds. Though the ideals of the Revolutionary era invigorated the movement, by the late 1780s it was in decline, as the growing southern cotton industry made slavery an ever more vital part of the national economy. In the early 19th century, however, the abolitionist movement was reinvigorated in reaction to Congress' passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, the tightening of codes in most southern states, and the horrors of the interstate slave trade. One of its most eloquent voices was William Lloyd Garrison, a crusading journalist from Massachusetts, who founded the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* in 1831 and became known as the most radical of America's antislavery activists. The persistent threat of being forcibly separated from family members as part of the new interstate commerce also became a powerful motivation for self-liberators and those who helped them on the Underground Railroad (LaRoche 2007; Tadman 1989).

4.5 1861-1865: Civil War and Emancipation

The arrival of federal soldiers during the first year of the Civil War presented Maryland's enslaved population with numerous opportunities to escape from bondage. As soon as Union troops arrived in Maryland, refugees began to flee enslavement, and enslavers worried about the possibility of insurrection. But the Lincoln Administration, eager to keep Maryland in the Union, remained committed to the preservation of slavery in the state through 1862 (LaRoche 2007).

Some federal officers were sympathetic towards the state's pro-slavery stance, but most lost patience with residents who seemed more concerned for their human property than for the Union. They grew increasingly reluctant to return fugitives to their secessionist enslavers. Freedom seekers known as contrabands were valuable military laborers and servants, and soldiers recognized their importance to the cause. Soldiers assaulted and intimidated enslavers who came into their encampments searching for fugitives (LaRoche 2007:120).

When Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia in April 1862, Maryland freedom seekers found another safe harbor. Enslaved people from the countryside flocked to Washington, where they found employment with the army and navy and in military hospitals. It was a short step from employing refugees to freeing them and allowing them to serve as soldiers in federal ranks, which Abraham Lincoln did in his Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863. Lincoln excluded Maryland from the proclamation, but the president's edict nonetheless emboldened the state's enslaved populations. Before long, Black men from Maryland had their chance to enlist in the Union army (LaRoche 2007; Quarles 1996).

Federal recruiters demanded access to the state's Black population, enlisting enslaved men by the thousands. Enslavers opposed the enlistment of the people they regarded as their property, despite the promise of reimbursement for their losses. Still, the policy found many White supporters, as Black men who enlisted counted towards the state's draft quotas, thus sparing some White men from the draft. Farmers with smaller holdings who employed free Black workers had little liking for a policy that enlisted their workers while leaving the planters' labor force intact. By late 1863, many advocates of slavery had conceded that the institution could not be saved and grudgingly began to accept its demise. The willingness of Black Marylanders to exchange slavery for military service proved them right. Given the opportunity, enslaved men filled the ranks of Maryland's segregated regiments. In November 1864, Maryland ratified a new constitution prohibiting slavery (LaRoche 2007; Quarles 1996).

Emancipation was not the end of the long story of slavery in Maryland. Every aspect of social, political, and economic life in Maryland was built upon and depended on enslaved labor. Enslaved people helped build the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad. They cared for and taught the children of their White enslavers. The determination of Black men and women to maintain their humanity in the face of great inhumanity and force others to accept it transformed not only their lives but also the lives of all Marylanders.

Maryland was an important theater of the Civil War and as will be discussed below in the Site Typology section, every Civil War site has some significance to African American history. In addition to the sites of major battles, there are historic places and archaeological sites that speak to the African American experience in more specific ways. One such site is Camp Stanton (18CH305), and another is the Contraband Camp at Point Lookout, which has not (yet) been identified archaeologically.

4.7 1865-1880: Reconstruction Era

Maryland lawmakers initially made moves to improve conditions for African Americans prior to the war's conclusion. In 1864, the state's Union Party, a fragile coalition united in their opposition to secession, rewrote the state constitution to free enslaved Marylanders. They also passed a registry law that disenfranchised a large number of Confederates. It appeared, at first, that Maryland might move toward a meaningful state of equality. Not only had they abolished slavery, but they had also ensured that Confederates would not regain power to shape the state's post-war era (Jones 2018; Phillips 1997; Rockman 2009).

The federal government's efforts complemented Maryland's steps towards racial equality. Because it did not secede from the Union, Maryland was not subject to the rules of federal Reconstruction, but neither was the state left to find a way forward on its own. Agents of the Freedmen's Bureau assisted Black Marylanders in labor disputes, helped some get out of prison, provided legal assistance, and played a role in establishing an education system for African Americans (Guy 1997). Though the Freedmen's Bureau had not accomplished all that it set out to achieve, it helped many African Americans adjust to life in the post-Emancipation United States. African Americans in Maryland also benefited from legislation passed at the federal level. In particular, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 enabled African Americans to contest prejudicial laws by guaranteeing "full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property" (Congress 1866).

By 1866, Maryland's Democrats were back in power and quickly curtailed this promising start. The state's governor, Thomas Swann, struck a deal with Democrats to overturn the registry law, enabling ex-Confederates to vote. Republicans suffered in elections, and in 1867, the Democratic majority wrote a new version of the state's constitution that did little for Black Marylanders beyond allowing them to bear witness against Whites in court. The new constitution did not extend the franchise to Black voters, but it did shift the power to the state's southern (and more conservative) counties by counting the entire population, including disfranchised African Americans, to establish disproportionate representation in the General Assembly. In 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau ceased operations in Maryland. A powerful tide of White supremacy effectively ended anything resembling Reconstruction in Maryland (Guy 1997; Halpin 2019).

During the period of Radical Reconstruction, a time when black men were elected to public office and exercised their franchise throughout the South, Maryland's Democratic Party effectively shut out African Americans from the political process. White Maryland politicians refused to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The first Black Marylander to cast a vote following Emancipation did not do so until 1870, after the United States adopted the Fifteenth Amendment (Jones 2018; Phillips 1997; Rockman 2009).

Black Marylanders found pathways to freedom despite the significant political obstacles they encountered. Activists engaged in acts of civil disobedience, and later filed lawsuits, to protest segregation on public transportation. Others founded a shipyard cooperative to help employ Black dockworkers who lost their jobs after White gangs launched violent attacks against them and their employers. Some, like Isaac Myers, sought to organize workers into Unions. Black Marylanders also helped found independent political organizations, like the Colored Border States Convention, to pressure the federal government to intercede on their behalf. Finally, numerous Black Marylanders participated in building an education system for Black children (Jones 2018; Phillips 1997; Rockman 2009).

Black Marylanders' experiences during the Reconstruction Era helped establish a tradition of independent reform. During the 1880s this tradition would be transformed by Harvey Johnson and the men and women who joined him in forming the Mutual United Brotherhood of Liberty, one of the first post-Emancipation civil rights organizations in the country. The Brotherhood's use of protest and test-case litigation established a model for other civil rights organizations in the future (Halpin 2019).

4.8 1880-1965: Jim Crow to Civil Rights

Between 1880 and 1929, African Americans in Maryland saw new opportunities and difficult reversals. After the Civil War, three Constitutional Amendments laid out a promise of freedom, equal protection, and political power. In the years that followed, local, state, and federal elected officials often failed to protect the rights of Black citizens, or actively worked against their interests (Halpin 2019; Smith 2012).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Black citizens fought to fulfill the promise of the Fourteenth Amendment through organizing, protest, and legal action. Examples of this work are found in two of the most significant civil rights organizations in Maryland's history: the Brotherhood of Liberty, established in 1885, and the Baltimore branch of the NAACP, established in 1914 (Halpin 2019; Smith 2012).

The promise of equality and political power met stubborn and violent resistance as White Americans promoted the ideology and politics of White supremacy following the end of slavery. The 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson case codified the legal separation of Blacks and Whites and created the Jim Crow era, and across the country, White Americans embraced segregation, while the Democratic Party pursued an aggressive strategy of disenfranchising Black voters in the South (Smith 2012).

Black activism and White reactions were central to the electoral politics of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century Maryland, including a statewide push for the disenfranchisement of Black voters in the early 1900s and national debates over women's suffrage in the 1910s. Segregation shaped how Black households occupied homes, organized civic groups, and used public space. Widespread discrimination affected the experiences of workers, students, and teachers coping with unequal schools and salaries. The Brotherhood of Liberty and the NAACP both tackled a wide range of issues criticizing injustice everywhere from steamships to schools to prisons and police stations (Smith 2012).

There are numerous African American sites from this time period recorded in Maryland, and several have the potential to shed light on issues specific to segregation and the struggle for Civil Rights, such as Crownsville State Hospital, a segregated mental hospital in Anne Arundel County; any of the tenant houses that have been recorded as African American places of residence and work; African American towns, meeting halls, churches, or schools; and factories and canneries where African American people worked and protested. Several examples are discussed at greater length in the Site Typology below.

5.0 SITE TYPOLOGY

Although typologies can have the effect of flattening the inherent nuance and ambiguity of archaeological data, they are essential in databases to make the data searchable. Without a fixed site typology, it is impossible to determine which types of sites are underrepresented in the archaeological record, to identify and compare sites of similar types, and therefore to evaluate the importance of sites. We therefore propose a site typology for African American sites in Maryland.

The following site types represent major categories of sites relating to African American archaeology that have been, or could be, recorded in Maryland. This typology does not cover the full range of site types that could exist; for example, this typology only considers terrestrial sites in Maryland. There may be submerged coastal or underwater sites related to African American lives and experiences. Other sites that do not fall neatly into the groupings below include canals, roads, or other infrastructure built by free or enslaved Black people; prisons; or lynching sites.

This document presents the following site types for the proposed site typology:

- Plantations, Slave Markets, and other Antebellum Sites
- Farmsteads, Tenancies, and Rural Freedmen's Communities
- Urban Homes, Free Black Communities and Neighborhoods
- Underground Railroad/Self-Liberation Sites and Routes
- Schools, Hospitals, and other Institutions
- Churches and Cemeteries
- Military Sites
- Fraternal or Mutual Benefit Organizations
- Sports/Parks/Entertainment/Public Spaces

1) Plantations, Slave Markets, and other Antebellum Sites

Archaeological excavations of plantations in Maryland began in the 1930s, mainly as a means of reconstructing plantation layouts and architecture. Archaeologists did not initially consider the ways that archaeology could contribute to the understanding of the lives and culture of enslaved African Americans (Singleton 1990:70-1). The Civil Rights and Black Power movements, in concert with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, influenced the development of African American archaeology as a discipline (Ferguson 1992; Franklin 2010:102; Singleton 1995:121). These movements and legislation legitimized the study of African American history and culture as relevant to the understanding of American history. Direct participation of Black organizations and preservation groups in some of the earliest archaeological excavations of African American sites helped to push development of African American archaeology in the United States, as these groups and organizations took special interest in preserving the legacy of the Black past (Singleton 1995:121:120-1).

The plantation economy defined enslaved life in the early colony and, later, the state, from the seventeenth century into the nineteenth, and archaeological studies of planation sites across Maryland have helped to shed light on an array of topics, generally falling into the broad categories of everyday living conditions, status differences, domination and resistance, and cultural and racial identities (Singleton 1995).

According to data available in Medusa and in the Synthesis Project database, there are 169 archaeological sites that have "plantation" included in their site type description, and of those, 101 include an African American ethnic designation. A thorough discussion of the scope and diversity of the plantations, which existed in every county in Maryland, and the archaeological investigations that have occurred, is beyond the scope of this document; however, it is worth noting that the majority of archaeological studies have focused on the tobacco plantations of Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. Notable exceptions include L'Hermitage/Best Farm (18FR792) in Frederick County, and Ferry Hill Plantation (18WA476) in Washington County.

There appear to be no plantation sites that have been identified in Allegany or Garrett Counties, but this may be an issue of the manner of recording rather than an absence of such sites. The James Drane House (G-II-B-010; 18GA303), located near Accident, Maryland, was established as a tobacco plantation by James Drane in or around 1801, and according to the MIHP form for the property, he enslaved six people who were engaged in tobacco agriculture. The site form for this resource does not include "African American" in the ethnicity designation, but this should certainly be included.

Black Oak Bottom Farm (AL-VI-E-219), located between Keyser, West Virginia, and Rawlings, Maryland, was a large farm owned by the McCarty family, who enslaved 55 people in the early 19th century, and moved them frequently between their property at Black Oak Bottom and other enterprises in Virginia (McGovern 2012: 410). There is no corresponding archaeological site file, and no mention of the enslaved people is included in the MIHP architecture form.

Although no slave markets have been excavated to date in Maryland, Maryland was a hub of the interstate slave trade during the first half of the nineteenth century, with most of the slave markets concentrated in Baltimore. There are a few former slave market locations with aspects of the historical built environment still standing, including Lexington and Broadway Markets in Baltimore, and the George Kephart House in Frederick County, located northeast of Tuscarora.

Baltimore Heritage maintains a story map of sites associated with the Baltimore slave trade, including hotels, offices, public markets, and jails (Messick 2022). Notably, it includes a history of the notorious Woolfolk Slave Pen.

Austin Woolfolk was one of the first major slave traders in Baltimore, beginning as a 19-year-old in 1816. Like most traders at that time, he started with informal transactions in taverns and hotels. Once he acquired enough people to sell South, he forced them to march, chained together, over a thousand miles to Georgia, where his uncle sold them to local planters. Eventually, he expanded his operation with saturation advertising in newspapers and by distributing handbills throughout the region searching for people to buy. He also employed a network of agents who scoured local farms and plantations for prospective “stock.” Finally, he built a residence and slave jail at Pratt & Cove Streets (near present day Martin Luther King Boulevard). By setting up his business at a fixed location, he gave his trade an air of respectability. The idea of creating a jail/pen for the purpose of collecting and holding people for sale was a new concept at the time. This idea, and his business model, were emulated by the largest firm of human traffickers in the country, Franklin & Armfield in Alexandria (Messick 2022).

Another Franklin & Armfield associate, George Kephart, got his start in the interstate slave trade by purchasing people from Frederick and Montgomery counties, according to Frederic Bancroft’s *Slave-Trading in the Old South*: "Early in the (eighteen)thirties a small trader, living near a little ferry on the upper Potomac, was searching for slaves throughout Montgomery and Frederick counties, Maryland. He knew all the country roads, the names and the financial condition of most of the slaveholders. He was regularly at certain taverns and stores in Fredericktown and Rockville to get letters from or to meet persons that had been attracted by reports of his liberal offers. And he promptly inspected all proffered slaves" (Bancroft 1996:64).

Several sources attest that Kephart had one or more jails on his farm in Frederick County. In his history of the Alexandria slave jail located at 1315 Duke Street, Benjamin Skolnik (Skolnik 2021) recorded that “(Kephart) also notes that the new dwelling house is ‘completely finished to the garret, with a basement story for servants.’” This suggests that Kephart imprisoned enslaved people at his home before trafficking them to Alexandria for sale or transportation. A 1928 history of Carroll County mentions that, “Mr. Kephart was probably the largest slave dealer in the county. He had two underground jails built where he kept the unruly, as well as a brick jail above ground” (Grove 1928: 92). Although the George Kephart house was evaluated for listing in the National Register and determined not eligible for its architecture, history, or associations with notable people, there may yet be archaeological remains of Kephart’s business on the property.

2) Farmsteads, Tenancies, and Rural Freedmen's Communities

Though the vast majority of free and enslaved African Americans performed agricultural work before the Civil War, very few Black Marylanders owned or benefited from the land they farmed before emancipation. Many operated as tenants, leasing farmland from former enslavers or other white landowners (Blair 2024). The Howard County Department of Recreation and Parks has recently explored such a site, the Mount View Tenant site (18HO304), in West Friendship (Palich 2023), which was farmed by the Willis and Bennet families in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Fischer Site (18AN500) is another example from Anne Arundel County, occupied by tenant farmer Daniel Simons and his family in the early 20th century.

White oppression severely thwarted Black land acquisition across the state. For the few, mostly free Black men who managed to become landowners, their acquisitions were modest in size, usually just a few acres, and only in the rarest cases approaching a county's average farm size. Despite these challenges, Maryland's antebellum Black-owned farms often became anchors for postbellum free Black towns (Blair 2024: 4-5).

In the years after the Civil War, newly free African Americans acquired land and established communities across the state. Freedmen's communities played a vital role in the support network for African Americans following emancipation. In rural areas, these communities were composed of multiple households, usually related by blood, marriage, or former plantation relationships. Most freedmen's towns included a church or churches, a Freedmen's Bureau school, fellowship halls or fraternal organization lodges, and stores, all of which can leave both architectural and archaeological footprints (Blair 2024; LaRoche 2007).

Examples of such communities include Rossville and Chapel Hill in Prince George's County, Unionville and Copperville in Talbot County, Upper Hill in Somerset County, Sugarland, Boyds, and Martinsburg in Montgomery County, and Mill Swamp, Mt. Zion/Lothian, and Bacontown in Anne Arundel County. Montgomery, Anne Arundel, and Prince George's Counties all have extensive historical resources about their Freedmen's Towns, but in other counties, there is little available documentation. A notable example is San Domingo in Wicomico County, established by free African Americans in the early 19th century; only the local Rosenwald School has been identified as an architectural resource. One archaeological site, the Zion United Methodist Church (18WC56), has been recorded in the San Domingo community, but has only been subject to a non-systematic surface collection; no systematic subsurface exploration has been conducted.

Some of these towns and their individual resources (schools, churches, homes, and other buildings) are recorded as architectural resources in the MIHP, but there has been no archaeological survey of any of these towns as of 2024, although some individual properties within the towns have been explored, like the Basil and Nancy Dorsey House in Sugarland (18MO777), the Love and Charity Hall in Martinsburg (18MO741), and the Rebecca Lodge No. 6 of the Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham (Abraham Hall) at Rossville (18PR410).

3) Urban Homes, Free Black Communities and Neighborhoods

There have been relatively few archaeological explorations of free Black homes, communities, and neighborhoods in towns and cities throughout Maryland, perhaps because development in the 20th century has destroyed many of these sites, or because successive occupations of sites over the years can make it difficult to differentiate occupations and ascribe artifacts clearly to specific residents. There are some interesting exceptions, however. In a joint project between Morgan State University and the University of Maryland, historians and archaeologists explored The Hill Community in Easton, which was centered mainly along Hanson and Dover Streets. The Hill Community was first established by free African Americans in the 1780s. Sites explored as part of The Hill project include the Bethel AME Church (18TA441), the James and Henny Freeman site (18TA445), and the Talbot County Women's Club site (18TA439).

In Hagerstown, Maryland, archaeologists explored the 417 Jonathan Street cabin (18WA631), an urban residence within the larger African American community of Hagerstown, which was historically centered along Jonathan Street. The Jonathan Street Neighborhood includes many historic sites, like the home sites of the Moxley brothers. Robert, Joseph, and Perry Moxley lived at 335 N. Jonathan Street, and started a popular band in 1854. In 1863, the entire 11-member band joined the First Brigade of the U.S. Colored Troops. Another important site was the Harmon Hotel at 226 N. Jonathan Street, built by African American entrepreneur Walter Harmon in the early twentieth century (Bowman 2020). The Asbury United Methodist Church (WA-HAG-231) is also located on Jonathan Street. Founded in 1818, it is the oldest African American Church is Hagerstown (Bowman 2020).

The Snow Hill Archeological Site (18CE158) was the location of a free Black community established circa 1843 just to the east of Port Deposit in Cecil County. The site is significant as an example of a free Black town established before the Civil War that endured into the late 19th century. Martenet's Map of 1858 identified Snow Hill as a "colored" community, and shows eight residents, a sawmill, and an African Methodist Episcopal Church. The Atlas of Cecil County (1877) shows the Methodist Church, some 20 homes and 46 lots. The residents were skilled artisans, mechanics, merchants, and laborers, although the majority of the site was not tested during the archaeological survey carried out in 1982, so little can be said about this community based on the archaeological record (Lebo 1982). The Snow Hill Archaeological Site is a rare example of an archaeological historic property listed in the NRHP (listed on April 27, 1984).

In Baltimore, the Ship Caulkers' Houses, located at 612 and 614 S. Wolfe Street (18BC185) stand as the last visible remnant of a free Black community that thrived in Fell's Point during the first half of the nineteenth century. The 1850 tenants of 614 S. Wolfe Street were the Jones family, a free African American household headed by Richard and Rebecca Jones. Baltimore City Directories show that the Jones family had been living at this address since at least 1842, and that they lived in the vicinity from an even earlier date. Richard Jones is listed as a caulker in the census; he was one of many Black ship caulkers living in Fell's Point. Other Black caulkers who lived in the houses between 1840 and 1860 include John Offer (1840-1841), Henry Scott (1851-1854), and John Wittington (1853-1854) (Groesbeck 2023).

Baltimore's Black ship caulkers maintained a near-monopoly on the caulking trade during the first half of the nineteenth century, offering them some leverage in a racist system that would otherwise have left them at a severe disadvantage. Their wages were less than White workers, but significantly higher than the average Black worker's wage in Baltimore. White shipyard owners tolerated and benefited from the Black caulkers' dominance of their trade, because Black workers were paid lower wages and they worked in the owners' yards with the understanding that they would boycott new shipyards and suppress competition (Groesbeck 2023).

Within the limits of the freedom they possessed, this group of free Black caulkers created a community to help and support each other. They formed a trade union and, through it, a beneficial society to provide aid to members who fell on difficult times such as unemployment, injury, or sickness. This community also formed the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society, a literary and debating society that was held in its members' homes (Groesbeck 2023).

4) Underground Railroad/Self-Liberation Sites and Routes

Maryland was the home of many famous events and people involved in the Underground Railroad, including internationally prominent abolitionists like Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass, and there are numerous resources including archaeological sites, cultural landscapes, and architectural resources that speak to their experiences (Blockson 1987; Bordewich 2006; Bradford 2006; Clinton 2005). There are also dozens, if not hundreds, of less well-known people and events associated with flights to freedom in Maryland, and in this section we will discuss some of them, as well as potential steps to identifying new sites in the future.

The National Park Service maintains the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom, which lists sites with a verifiable connection to the Underground Railroad (UGRR) across the country, including several sites in Maryland (NPS 2024). The sites span the Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, and Central Maryland. Some of the 97 identified sites related to the UGRR in Maryland include recorded archaeological sites and structures, while others do not.

Some of the Maryland sites are associated with people who provided assistance and places of refuge for people freeing enslavement. One example of this type of site is the Jacob and Hannah Leverton House (CAR-77), located near Preston, Caroline County. This was the home of Arthur W. Leverton, an agent of the Underground Railroad who was active from 1848 until 1859. Leverton's role in the UGRR was revealed in early January of 1858, when a family of freedom seekers were captured, jailed, and interrogated and Arthur Leverton was connected to the escape. Leverton fled Caroline County shortly after his part in the escape was revealed, as a large mob of angry pro-slavery advocates posed an immediate threat to his life. Daniel Hubbard, a free Black ship carpenter who lived nearby, was also involved in assisting freedom seekers and he, too, was identified and forced to flee (Guida 2007). The Leverton farm was one of several properties owned by Quakers and free Blacks in the area that collectively formed a haven for self-liberators in this area, comprising about 1000 acres. Although the Leverton Farm is recorded in the MIHP and listed in the NRHP, no archaeological investigation has included the farm or surrounding properties.

Other sites are associated with the freedom seekers themselves, like The Henry Massey Escape Site, known historically as Stoopley-Gibson Manor or White's Heritage (QA-222), located in

Chester, Queen Anne's County. This Kent Island plantation was the site of the 1849 escape of Henry Massey. Massey was born on the property around 1835, and was fourteen when he successfully escaped to the North.

After the death of Massey's enslaver, James Bright, Massey resolved to escape before his family could be sold apart, and in October of 1849 he fled Kent Island and settled in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Massey was later identified as a fugitive and arrested in Harrisburg on September 23rd, 1854. Two days later, Massey went before U.S. Commissioner E. D. Ingraham in Philadelphia for sentencing under the conditions of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Despite national press coverage, doubts as to Bright's claim, and legal representation by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Massey was forcibly returned to Stoopley-Gibson on October 5th, 1854. Massey's story was recounted in *The Fugitive Slave Law and its Victims*, a prominent abolitionist publication that denounced the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law (May 1856).

The 148-acre former plantation was developed in the early 21st century and is now known as the Gibson's Grant subdivision. Archaeological testing was conducted prior to the development of the subdivision.

Some sites are associated with the means of escape for freedom seekers, like President Street Station in Baltimore. President Street Station is a railroad station built in 1850 as part of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad (PW&B), on which construction commenced in 1838 to connect Baltimore to Philadelphia. The original transportation office and depot, built between 1840 and 1842, were razed in 1850 to build the present station house. Both with and without the aid of employees of the PW&B Railroad, the facilities were used by several abolitionist groups and individuals to escape or aid others in escaping slavery. President Street Station is recorded as an archaeological site (18BC124) and is listed in the NRHP.

The C&O Canal is also recorded as a route to freedom, based largely on accounts of freedom seekers who used the canal, its towpath, or the Potomac River as part of their escape routes. John Curry, fleeing enslavement in North Carolina, described his trip along the canal towpath before passing into Pennsylvania (Romain 2021: 22). Franklin Blackford recorded the capture of five people fleeing slavery along the towpath; he returned them to enslavement for a bounty (Green 1961). These accounts, along with the numerous advertisements for runaways that mentioned the C&O Canal, show that the canal was both a transportation route for fugitives escaping slavery and a destination point. The C&O Canal National Historical Park runs 184.5 miles from Georgetown in Washington DC to Cumberland in Western Maryland. At Hancock, the canal is less than two miles from Pennsylvania, and at Cumberland, less than five miles, a proximity that certainly would have aided escapes. During the period of the canal's construction, advertisements for runaways indicate that many freedom seekers sought employment as canal builders to both finance and facilitate their flight (Romain 2021). The C&O Canal is recorded with numerous entries in the MIHP for both architecture and archaeology, is listed in the NRHP, and is a National Historical Park.

The C&O Canal is the westernmost site included in the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom; no other sites are recorded west of Hagerstown, but there are some resources that indicate there may be significant sites associated with the UGRR in western Maryland.

In the late nineteenth century, Wilbur Siebert, a history professor at Ohio State University, became interested in documenting the people, places, and routes of the UGRR. Siebert launched a study to identify and interview as many participants or witnesses of the UGRR as he could find. Siebert's research resulted in a book, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*, originally published in 1898, and includes accounts concerning Western Maryland, particularly Allegany and Garrett counties (Siebert 2006). WHILBR, the Western Maryland Historical Library, maintains extensive digital collections online and has many resources to research African American history in the region, including information about the UGRR in Western Maryland.

Narratives of freedom seekers are another resource that may help identify both sites and routes important to the history of the UGRR. Jim Pembroke's story, *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, published in 1849, describes his early life at Rockland (WA-II-102), an estate south of Hagerstown belonging to the Tilghman family, and his escape from slavery in Maryland. After his escape from Rockland at age 21, Pembroke changed his name to James William Charles Pennington. He became a minister for Presbyterian churches in New York and Hartford, was elected a delegate to several international abolition conventions, wrote one of the first histories of Africans in America in 1841, lectured widely, led the struggle to desegregate New York City's public transit system, fought for the rights of Blacks to vote, and supported education and assistance to the newly freed after the Civil War (Pennington 1849).

The Documenting the South project at the University of North Carolina has digitized all separately published autobiographical works written by enslaved or formerly enslaved people and maintains a searchable online reference at https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/chronautobio.html. *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938* contains more than 2,300 first-person accounts of slavery. These narratives were collected in the 1930s as part of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, later renamed Work Projects Administration (WPA). At the conclusion of the Slave Narrative project, a set of edited transcripts was assembled and microfilmed in 1941 as the seventeen-volume *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves.* The collection has since been digitized and is available at the website of the Library of Congress.

5) Manufacturing, Industry, and Business

The majority of archaeological sites relating to the role of African Americans in industry, manufacturing trades, or businesses relate to the study of industrial or plantation slavery. There are several examples associated with Maryland's early ironworks, or "iron plantations," including Northampton Furnace, Dorsey's Forge, Elkridge Furnace, and Catoctin Furnace.

Charles Ridgely owned the Northampton Furnace (18BA165; 18BA624) north of Towson beginning around 1760, and the operation, which included a sawmill and flour mill, continued into the early nineteenth century. The labor conditions and workforce at the Northampton Ironworks were largely representative of other colonial ironworks: the furnace was located in a then-rural area close to water and abundant timber supply. The labor force included enslaved laborers, indentured servants, hirelings, and free laborers. Ridgely and the ironworks company held enslaved populations, but both groups worked at the ironworks, along with enslaved people who were hired to the ironworks on a limited basis (Chidester 2004: 53-54; McGrain 1985: 268).

Free Black laborers were hired from the surrounding population on a seasonal basis, often for skilled work, such as moulding. Despite the fact that many of the Northampton Ironworks' laborers were indentured or enslaved, labor unrest was not uncommon. Attempts to escape were frequent, if not often successful. Many of the enslaved laborers tried to escape into Baltimore, where they might be hidden among free African Americans in Fell's Point. (Chidester 2004: 54).

Dorsey's Forge was founded in 1761 on the north bank of the Patapsco River by Caleb Dorsey, an ironmaster who was also involved in several other iron forges and furnaces. At least nine skilled enslaved workers were at Dorsey's Forge in 1787, including forgemen, blacksmiths, a miller, a waggoner, a carpenter, and a fineryman (Chidester 2004: 54).

Catoctin Furnace (F-6-45) relied on a workforce of enslaved individuals to operate the iron furnace and carry out domestic and agricultural tasks, but relatively little is known about the African Americans who labored there or their descendants, compared with the furnace's later, predominantly white workforce. Genetic testing of human remains from the Catoctin Furnace African American cemetery (18FR323) has helped to identify descendants of these early African American ironworking families.

The Elkridge Furnace (HO-367) was a major site of industrial slavery in early America. One of the largest iron furnaces during the eighteenth century, its operation was conceived by its original owner, Caleb Dorsey, a prominent tobacco plantation owner, to maximize profits using a combination of enslaved, indentured, and convict labor. The furnace operated using this predominantly unfree labor system from 1755 until 1822. One archaeological site associated with African Americans at Elkridge Furnace has been identified: 18HO308, the Elkridge Furnace Plank Buildings.

African Americans worked in agricultural mills, oyster processing and packing plants, canneries, and in many other industrial settings from the middle of the nineteenth century onward, although few of these sites are documented archaeologically (Chidester 2004).

Smaller businesses, especially in urban settings, may be difficult to document because many people worked out of their own homes. This was especially true of women and children, who were key participants in the workforce during the nineteenth century, even if the specific nature of their work, at the individual level, was not well documented in written records from that time. From the early 1800s and throughout the Industrial Revolution, the presence of women and children in the workforce is acknowledged through the various legislative attempts to restrict working ages for children and conditions for workers of all ages and sexes (Crewe 2018: 298; Cunningham 2000: 420).

For example, the laundry business was, for free African American women in Baltimore, an occupation that allowed them to work for themselves and under their own supervision – an appealing prospect when most other available work required adult Black women to forego their autonomy and labor under the supervision of White employers. In 1817, African American women made up 77 percent of laundresses in the Baltimore city directory (Rockman 2009: 130).

The market expanded throughout the nineteenth century, and by 1840, laundresses and washerwomen accounted for 83 percent (440 of 526) of African American female heads of households with occupations listed in the city directories. The laundry business made a decent living possible; some of the wealthiest free women of color in Baltimore made their livings as laundresses. Rachel Coale, for example, owned the most valuable house on Moore Alley, and her $250 of personal property put her above the median wealth for both men and women, Black and White, in Baltimore's tenth ward (Rockman 2009: 130). The laundry business likely employed other family members, who might be employed hauling firewood, heating irons, and delivering finished laundry to customers.

The Caulkers' Houses in Fell's Point, Baltimore (18BC185), were occupied by at least two African American laundresses: Mary Brado in 1822 and Ruth Daniel in 1872, and archaeological data from the site reflect the home's use as a place of business (Shellenhamer and Kraus 2019).

African American businesses can be identified through city directories, as well as through guides to businesses and services friendly to African American customers, like the Negro Traveler's Green Book (commonly known as "the Green Book").

The Green Book was created and published for African American travelers by New York City mailman Victor Hugo Green in response the pervasive discrimination and violence of the Jim Crow era that made it difficult or even impossible for the Black traveling public to move around the country safely. Green's guide, published from 1938-1967, included service stations, hotels, restaurants, and entertainment venues, and was updated regularly with information from travelers and businesses. A recent project to map remaining Green Book sites across the country lists 100 architectural resources associated with Green Book sites in Maryland (UVA 2024).

6) Schools, Hospitals, and Other Institutions

There were few opportunities for African Americans to pursue formal education prior to the Civil War, but there are some examples in Maryland. A small number of free Blacks in Baltimore attended the Wells Free School, established around 1845 using money left expressly for that purpose by Nelson Wells, a free Black Quaker who lived and worked in Baltimore in the late nineteenth century (Putney 1977:238-240). Among the ship caulkers in Baltimore's Fells Point neighborhood, the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Association met in various homes throughout Fells Point to educate members in reading and writing, mathematics, religion, and debate. Frederick Douglass was one beneficiary of this organization (Groesbeck 2023). Sunday Schools at Black churches were another antebellum avenue to education. The Dallas Street Church's Sunday School was the first Sunday School in the eastern half of Baltimore City, and its first anniversary celebration was attended by Frederick Douglass in 1831, while he was still enslaved (Groesbeck 2023).

Following the Civil War and Emancipation, churches, charitable organizations, and the Freedmen's Bureau worked together to establish schools for the newly freed slaves in the state.

Churches sponsored schools, northern philanthropists such as George Peabody and John F. Slater offered funds for education, and the Freedmen's Bureau helped newly freed slaves with rations, supplies, and assistance in building and staffing schools.

In August, 1864, the Baltimore Association for the Moral and Educational Improvement of the Colored People was created, and by the following year seven schools had been established in the city (Bruegger 1988:308). By 1865, over 2,400 students attended day and evening classes at eight Baltimore schools, with many more students seeking to attend than could be accommodated. The number of students had almost doubled by the following year (Putney 1977: 243-244). By 1867, the Board of Commissioners for the Public Schools took over the education of African Americans, in compliance with an ordinance passed by the Baltimore City Council (Putney 1977: 244).

During the early twentieth century, the Rosenwald fund provided Black communities with access to education. Booker T. Washington and his Tuskegee Institute and Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck, and Company, collaborated to create the fund, which supported school construction as well as homes for teachers. To be eligible for assistance, communities had to provide funds equal to or greater than the amount provided by a Rosenwald grant, though the funds could be matched through the donation of labor, land, or supplies. Between 1918 and 1932, 156 Rosenwald Schools were constructed in 20 Maryland counties. Approximately 50 of these schools remain today, and have been documented in a NRHP Multiple Property Documentation Form prepared between 2010 and 2014, supported by an Underrepresented Communities grant from MHT (Pearl 2014).

Hospitals and other institutions are another historically significant site type that could be interpreted archaeologically, though none have been explored to date in Maryland. Medical care for African Americans was segregated, just as schools and other institutions were. In most small communities, medical care for African Americans took place in the home, or in separate wings of hospitals that served both Black and White citizens. In Baltimore, the first African American hospital was opened by Dr. G.W. Kennard in 1885. Kennard's hospital, located on Ensor Street between Monument and Madison Streets, included a church, doctor's office, chemical laboratory, and drug dispensary. Despite efforts by the building's owner to raise funds for restoration of the building, Kennard's hospital was sold and demolished in 2018 (Simms 2018).

Provident Hospital, opened in 1894, began in a private residence at 419 Orchard St., and provided both medical treatment and training for Black nurses and doctors. The hospital was founded by African American physicians a year after the founding of the first Black owned and operated hospital in the country, Provident Hospital of Chicago. Within two years it moved to a larger site at 413 W. Biddle Street (Walden and Jackson 1967).

Unlike medical facilities created by and for African Americans through the support of local Black communities, Crownsville State Hospital (AA-961) was established by an act of the Maryland General Assembly on April 11, 1910 as a segregated facility for African American people deemed mentally ill. Before Crownsville was created as "The Hospital for the Negro Insane in Maryland," some African American patients were "treated," or at least held, at other state institutions, including the mental hospitals at Springfield, Spring Grove, and Montvue, but most Black patients were sent to almshouses and jails (Reed and Harris 2022). Although the rationale for creating a segregated mental health facility for African Americans was to improve the conditions of their care, this was not the outcome at Crownsville; a long history of abuse, experimentation, and neglect based in racial prejudice is the institution's primary legacy (DeVise 2005).

The built environment at Crownsville has been evaluated, and several archaeological surveys have included portions of the property, but to date, there have been no intensive archaeological examinations of the property, and only one site, described as a scatter of precontact and historic artifacts (18AN541), has been recorded at the facility.

7) Churches and Cemeteries

The church was a central institution in African American life before and after the Civil War (Foner 2005:86-87). Clarke (1983:8) notes that African American schools and benevolent societies, including fraternal organizations and insurance companies, had their origin in the African American church. After the war, African Americans established their own churches (Foner 2005:87). Communities pooled their resources to build churches and pay ministers and, by the end of Reconstruction, they had largely withdrawn from White-dominated churches (Foner 2005:87). African American churches often emphasized the equality of humankind and provided a platform to affirm congregants' belief in a better future. The churches also offered leadership opportunities for African Americans that were unavailable to them elsewhere (Kreisa et al. 2010:99). Congregations frequently constructed schools in association with their church, and before separate school buildings were completed, churches offered a space for schooling as well as for social and political gatherings (Foner 2005: 87).

Church buildings may be significant as architectural resources or as archaeological sites in and of themselves, but they are also often the last visible remnant of African American communities that have dispersed or otherwise vanished from the landscape. One example of this is St. Stephens AME Church (HO-235) in Howard County. St. Stephens was established in 1874 on land donated by William and Susan Jackson, who lived nearby. The community where the Jacksons lived was likely part of the Howard Family Homeplace for Free Slaves (HO-639), located immediately south of the church. The Howard Family Homeplace, according to the MIHP architecture form on file, was the location of a cabin belonging to William Henry Howard, who was manumitted by the (White) Howard family around 1856. Several other free families also settled on the property.
Although a modern office complex has been built immediately adjacent to the Howard Homeplace, archaeological remains of this free community are still present along Deep Run, just west of the new business park, including road traces, building foundations, and artifacts eroding from the slopes along Deep Run. No archaeological work has occurred at the Howard Homeplace as of 2024.

The Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church (AA-2572) is located along Dorsey Road west of Ridge Road, between Dorsey and Harmans. In the nineteenth century, the Ridge Road intersection was known as Shipley's Corner, named for the Shipley family who farmed nearby. In 1872, the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad was constructed to the east, with a new stop along Dorsey Road named Harman's Station. Growth shifted east, and a small town, known today as Harmans, grew up around the station (Manning 2022). Meanwhile, Black landowners moved into the area around Shipley's Corner. The 1880 census shows a handful of independent households. Some of the people listed in the census are listed as laborers, but the census records farmers as well, suggesting they worked their own land. By 1900, the Black population had grown to about 16 families, most of whom rented their homes and worked as laborers on nearby farms. Many of the children were listed as attending school (Manning 2022).

The community was physically divided when MD Route 713 was constructed in the 1980s, and at that time, the last two houses associated with Shipley's Corner were abandoned and demolished (Charles Mundell, pers. Comm., 2022). Archaeological surveys of the area surrounding Mount Pilgrim Church were conducted in 1989, and sites 18AN1334, 18AN1335, 18AN1336, 18AN1337, and 18AN1338 were recorded. All five sites were classed as "late 19th-early 20th century refuse disposal." A vacant 19th-century home was noted on the site form for 18AN1337, but the house was not documented or considered as part of an archaeological site. According to the site file data these five sites, none were considered to have subsurface integrity or significant archaeological potential, and none were recommended for additional work. All have since been destroyed by the construction of modern apartment complexes. It is hard to read these brief, sparse forms as anything other than a failure to document the historic settlement of Shipley's Corner, and it should be noted that churches cannot exist in the absence of a community to serve.

Like churches, cemeteries are important community sites that serve as places of remembrance and connection with ancestors. African American cemeteries have helped to document the history of slavery and the African diaspora, the establishment of communities, and familial connections. Many cemeteries are recorded in the MIHP as archaeological sites (316 records appear in a search for "cemetery" among archaeological records), and many more as architectural resources (480 records).

Several county governments maintain databases of historic and family cemeteries, including African American cemeteries. In 2021 and 2022, a multi-agency Working Group was formed among the Maryland Historical Trust, the Maryland Center for African American History and Culture, non-profits, local governments, and the public to study issues concerning the preservation of African American cemeteries in Maryland. The Working Group developed several recommendations for improving the identification, preservation, and commemoration of these important sites. Two examples provided in their report are the Laboring Sons Memorial Ground in Frederick and the Laurel Cemetery in Baltimore, two historic African American cemeteries that were destroyed by the cities of Frederick and Baltimore, respectively, and are the subject of collaborative work to research and restore these burial places. Figure 10 shows the distribution of African American churches and cemeteries in Maryland.

8) Military Sites

African Americans have participated in every North American conflict since the first enslaved Africans were brought to the American colonies, and there are numerous known and potentially discoverable archaeological sites related to this history.

During the French and Indian War, African Americans were part of General Edward Braddock's expedition and road-building campaign from Fort Cumberland to Fort Duquesne. In 1754, the year before Braddock arrived in the colony, Virginia passed a law to levy soldiers, provided the men were able-bodied, not otherwise employed, and neither indentured nor enslaved. The law allowed free Black men to be drafted into military service, provided they were not armed. Some free Black men were drafted into Braddock's service by the levy, while others enlisted voluntarily (Bowman 1970: 59).

Braddock initially assigned these men to serve as batmen, servants to officers who had no assistants, and they contributed manual labor throughout the expedition and construction of the military road. Toward the end of the campaign, Braddock ordered all the batmen to arm themselves with flintlocks and join in the combat, which they did (Bowman 1970: 59). There is therefore evidence that African Americans contributed to the construction of Braddock's Road (18AG241, 18GA314, WA-II-308, WA-II-1173).

During the Revolutionary War, Maryland was the only southern state that enlisted enslaved people (to substitute for White men who could not or would not fight), but free Blacks served in every state. In many regiments, Black soldiers were relegated to non-combat roles, building defenses or driving wagons. It is difficult to estimate the total number of Black soldiers who served in the Revolution, because race was not always recorded in muster rolls (Quarles 1961: 51-58). Only one document formally tallying Black soldiers is known to exist, "Return of the Negroes in the Army" from August, 1778. Based on this document, there were 95 Black Marylanders serving, less than 2% of all Maryland troops (Scammel 1778). However, the Flying Camp, which served July-December 1776, had at least five Black soldiers, and others enlisted during the 1780s (Quarles 1961: 60-66). Sixty African American soldiers from Maryland are listed by name in the Daughters of the American Revolution's book *Forgotten Patriots* (Grundset 2008). Although Maryland has relatively few archaeological sites related to the Revolutionary War, there may be encampments, such as the Bush Iron Furnace and Revolutionary War Camp (18HA346) or Hollingsworth Tavern in Elkton (CE-255), that have an African American association.

Maryland was a significant location during the War of 1812, and African Americans served in most battles on both the British and American sides. Charles Ball, an enslaved man who self-liberated after being sold south to South Carolina, returned to Maryland to be near his family, working at various small farms in Calvert County. When the war began in 1814, Ball could have secured his freedom by joining the British, but he chose to stay and enlist under Commodore Joshua Barney, one of many African Americans who served in Barney's Chesapeake Flotilla (Sheads 2011). Ball worked as a seaman and a cook in the Chesapeake flotilla, serving at the Battles of St. Leonard's Creek, the Battle of Bladensburg (PG: 68-134; 18PR1025), and at the defenses in Baltimore.

The British offered freedom to any enslaved person who joined their military and relocation to other British controlled land, primarily to the Canadian Maritime Provinces and Trinidad in the West Indies. Many enslaved African Americans in the Chesapeake region – between 550 and 700 – fled slavery to join the British forces. For the British, this enhanced their numbers and disrupted the local economy and social order (LaRoche 2007; Quarles 1996).

African Americans from the Chesapeake region were assigned by the British to the Colonial Marines, a special unit composed of the formerly enslaved. Training for these marines was segregated, but they received identical training, pay, and equipment as their White Royal Marine counterparts. The Colonial Marines saw action at the Battle of Bladensburg, Baltimore, and Fort McHenry (B-8; 18BC13).

At Hampstead Hill (18BC180) in modern Patterson Park, Baltimore, both free and enslaved African Americans helped build fortifications in advance of the attempted British invasion of the city. At the Battle of North Point (18BA456), Captain Samuel Sterrett led the 5th Regiment of the Maryland Militia against the British. The 5th Regiment included at least one identified free Black man, Nicholas Brice, a resident of the Lower Patapsco Neck (eastern Baltimore County). Captain Sterrett also resided in the Lower Patapsco Neck, and while most members of the Sterrett family were enslavers, Samuel Sterrett was a member and onetime president of Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes and Others Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Historian Stephen Xavier Lee argues that there may have been other African Americans in Sterrett's regiment, given his abolitionist leanings and the relatively large population of free African Americans living in the area (Lee 2024).

Several significant battles of the Civil War occurred in Maryland, and every Civil War site is enormously important to African American history; however, in addition to the sites of major battles (Monocacy, Antietam, South Mountain) and dozens of skirmishes and other actions, there are several locations that speak to the African American experience more specifically. One such site is Camp Stanton (18CH305). Camp Stanton was established in Benedict, Charles County in October 1863 for the recruitment and training of African American soldiers. These men went on to fight in the Union Army as part of the 7th, 9th, 19th, and 30th regiments of the United States Colored Infantry. The camp closed in March 1864 (Cochran et al. 2016).

After the Baltimore Riots of 1861, Camp Belger was established at Druid Hill, due to its strategic location at a high point overlooking the city and near the Northern Central Railroad. The 114th and 150th New York Infantry Regiments occupied this camp beginning in March of 1862. At least fifteen regiments eventually encamped near what is now the intersection of Madison and North Avenues (Mitchell 2007: 358).

In July 1863, Camp Belger was renamed Camp Birney when Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton assigned Gen. William Birney to recruit African Americans for U.S. Colored Troops (USCT) regiments (Mitchell 2007: 422). In addition to recruiting from the local population, Birney freed 16 enslaved people from a slave jail on Pratt Street when they promised to enlist (*The Liberator*, Boston, Massachusetts, August 21, 1863: 2). He organized the 7th USCT at Camp Birney, as well as the 4th and 39th USCT in 1864.

In Southern Maryland, Point Lookout was the site of a "contraband" camp, where thousands of African Americans took refuge under the auspices of Union soldiers and the military hospital near the Point Lookout lighthouse. Many were fleeing slavery in Virginia, but others came from surrounding St. Mary's County. Some of these refugees found jobs as military service staff or laborers for the Confederate prisoner of war camp at Point Lookout (Shifflett 2020: 1-10). An archaeological site associated with the circa 1830 lighthouse, hospital, and Confederate prisoner of war camp has been identified (18ST61), and a historical marker located along MD 5 in Scotland commemorates the contraband camp, but there may be archaeological remains of the contraband camp located in the vicinity as well. The camp was initially located in a small patch of woods just north of the hospital, according to accounts from the period (Shifflett 2020: 29), but by 1863 new frame barracks had been constructed. The contraband quarters can be seen in a lithograph of the Point Lookout complex from 1864, and are shown in an 1865 plan for the sale of buildings at Point Lookout (Shifflett 2020: 30; 55-56).

9) Fraternal and Mutual Benefit Organizations

Mutual aid societies and fraternal orders were another means for newly freed African Americans to build and uplift their communities. Benevolent organizations fostered a sense of community and provided benefits such as education and financial support to Black communities after the Civil War (Skocpol and Oser 2004). Skocpol and Oser (2004) present an overview of the role of such organizations within the African American communities nationwide, while Doyle (2007) discusses the role of benevolent fraternal lodges in rural Black communities, and many of the points raised apply to more urban areas as well. These organizations generated and sustained social networks that reinforced local bonds and created links with other localities, states, and regions. Many of the societies paralleled White organizations, while others were distinctive to the Black community. Black women tended to play a more active role in these organizations than White women did, and a higher proportion of African Americans were engaged in the societies than their White counterparts (Skocpol and Oser 2004:372).

Several architectural resources are associated with mutual aid and fraternal organizations across the state, and some of the older fraternal organization buildings and locales have been explored archaeologically. Investigations at these sites have the potential to teach us how the fraternal organization model was adapted for Black communities, and how African Americans created community through these institutions. Examples include Love and Charity Hall in Martinsburg (18MO741), the Rebecca Lodge No. 6 of the Benevolent Sons and Daughters of Abraham (Abraham Hall) at Rossville (18PR410), Morningstar Tabernacle No. 88 and the Moses Hall & Cemetery (18MO782), The Golden Gilt Lodge (18BA553), and the Odd Fellows Lodge (18MO757).

10) Sports/Parks/Entertainment/Public Spaces

During the Jim Crow era, segregation pervaded all aspects of Black life, including entertainment. As a result of racist segregation policies, African Americans created their own resort facilities, organized their own sports teams, built their own parks, and attended concerts and dances in exclusively Black venues. Several of these spaces and places have been documented in Maryland, as architectural resources and as archaeological sites.

Highland Beach in Anne Arundel County was established in 1893, offering well-to-do African American families a sanctuary for relaxation and leisure. During an era marked by racial segregation in private summer resorts and seaside retreats, affluent Blacks in the mid-Atlantic sought refuge from prejudice. They sought their own vacation destinations as race relations soured in the aftermath of Reconstruction. Increasingly, waterside landings refused to accommodate their parties and excursion streamers denied them first-class accommodations. White businessmen oversold tickets and created overcrowded conditions on steamboats. This prompted Charles Douglass, the son of abolitionist Frederick Douglass, to acquire 40 acres of property along the

Chesapeake Bay and subdivide it into 104 lots which he sold to various friends among the African American professional class, laying the foundation for what would later become Highland Beach. Several properties in Highland Beach have been recorded in the MIHP, and the Douglass summer house (AA-721) is listed in the NRHP. No archaeological investigations have occurred within the community as of 2024.

Henry's Hotel (WO-324), constructed ca.1895, is one of the oldest surviving properties in Ocean City and the last hotel in Ocean City to serve African Americans during the period of strict racial segregation (Touart 1990:2). Henry's Hotel was owned and operated by Charles T. and Louisa Henry, an African American couple from Berlin, Maryland (Touart 1990:2). The Henrys purchased the building in December 1926 and opened it as "Henry's Colored Hotel" the same year (Touart 1990:5). The building is located approximately three blocks from the Atlantic Ocean shoreline and distanced from the cluster of historically White-only hotels along the Ocean City Boardwalk.

Wilmer's Park (PG:86B-37) is an 80-acre park in Brandywine, Prince George's County, that was a major stop on the Chitlin Circuit from the early 1950s through the 1960s. In addition to a stage for musicians and a dancehall, Wilmer's Park boasted a restaurant, motel, baseball and football fields for Negro League teams, picnic areas and playgrounds. The park has not been redeveloped, and has high potential for archaeological evidence of the property's African American history (Patterson 2009).

In 1894, an African American owned company, The Notley Hall Association, opened an amusement park on the shores of the Potomac, near Washington, D. C. A steamship line brought residents from the city to the park, which featured a dance pavilion, bowling alley, swings and a shooting gallery. The site of Notley Hall (18PR311) has been explored archaeologically, and many of the features of the amusement park were identified, including the dance hall, multiple other buildings of uncertain function, and a pier (Baumgartner-Wagner 1986).

Two African American ballfields are recorded as archaeological sites in Anne Arundel County: The Untouchables Ballfield (18AN1657), which served a women's softball team, and Hot Sox Field (18AN1492), where the Galesville Hot Sox, a semipro Negro League baseball team practiced and played. Archaeological testing at the Hot Sox field determined that heavy use of the park has likely destroyed any archaeological data associated with the use of the field by the Negro League baseball team. The Untouchables Ballfield has not been subject to excavation, but is documented extensively in the site form, and includes information from Tammi Carroll Hall, a resident of the nearby Mt. Zion community who played softball with the Untouchables at the ballfield.

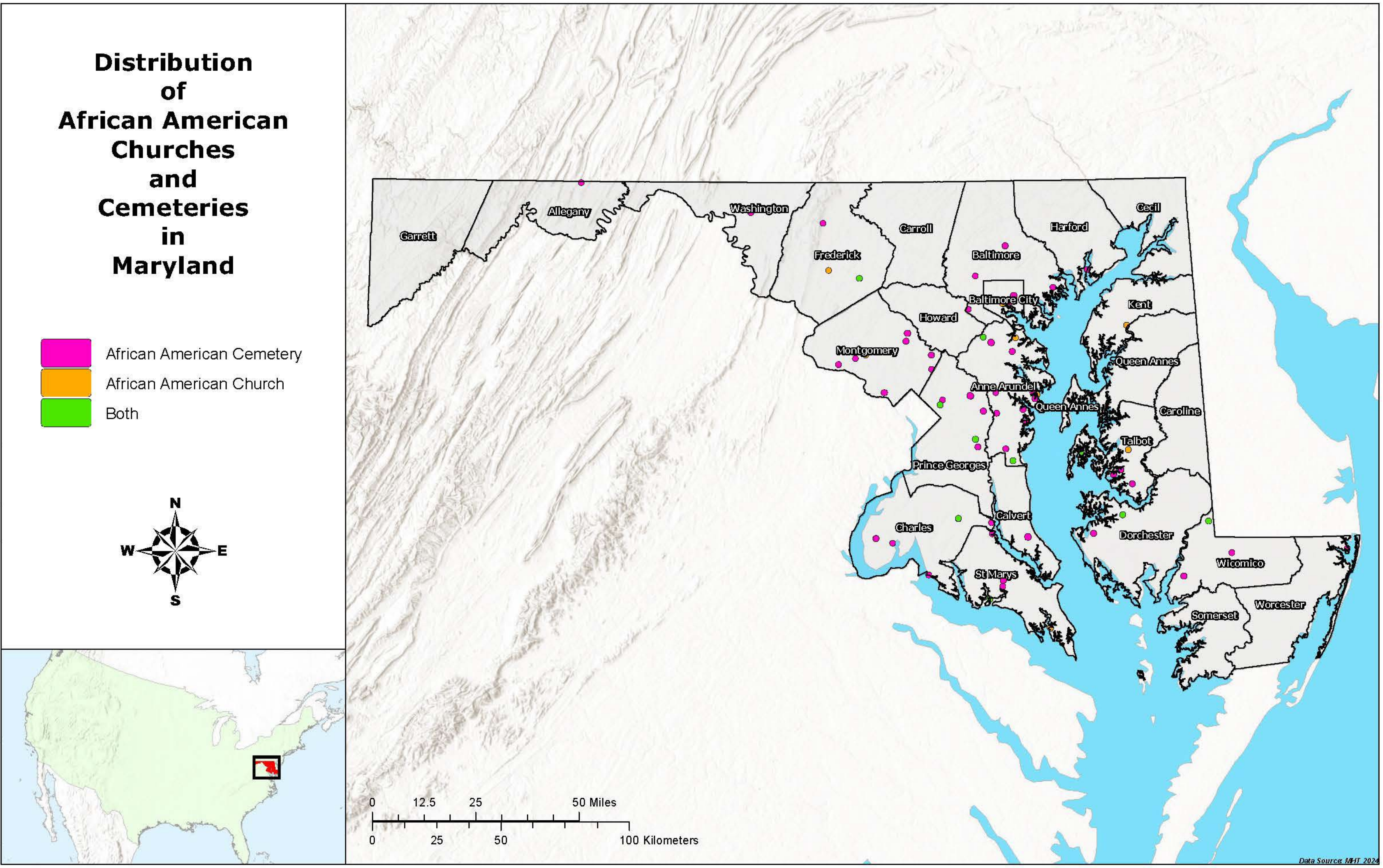
Distribution of African American Churches and Cemeteries in Maryland
African American Cemetery
African American Church
Both
N
W
E
S
Garrett
Allegany
Washington
Frederick
Carroll
Baltimore
Harford
Cecil
Baltimore City
Howard
Montgomery
Kent
Queen Annes
Anne Arundel
Caroline
Talbot
Prince Georges
Calvert
Charles
Dorchester
St Marys
Wicomico
Somerset
Worcester
0
12.5
25
50 Miles
0
25
50
100 Kilometers
Data Source: MHT 2024

Figure 10. Distribution of African American Churches and Cemeteries

6.0 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The goal of this project was to develop a practical framework to help researchers toward better interpretation and evaluation of African American archaeological sites in Maryland. The project has three major components which the authors hope can be used as standalone resources: the compiled GIS data for all known African American archaeological sites in Maryland; proposed Periods of Significance for African American sites in Maryland, and the Site Typology. What follows is a discussion of each of these components, and some of the key aspects that readers can take away from this document.

The first component of this project is a database of African American archaeological sites in Maryland. The database is presented in Appendix B of this document. While this database is extensive, it is not comprehensive, since the "Ethnic Affiliation" section of the Maryland site form has only been available since 1986, and the ethnic affiliation of a site is often not identified, as discussed in Section 3.0, above.

Many architectural or above-ground resources in Maryland have an association with the Black past (Appendix C). Some of these places are also archaeological sites, but most have never been investigated archaeologically. These places could offer avenues of research, or simply provide context for other archaeological sites. There are some notable fields of underrepresentation related to archaeological research on African American sites. For instance, there are very few sites in Maryland known to be associated with African American businesses, medical facilities, or entertainment, none associated with antebellum slave markets (although these markets were prevalent historically), and several counties across the state have fewer than ten documented archaeological sites associated with the Black past. Many sites were initially identified and excavated in the 1980s or 1990s, and the work was limited or is now dated. Many new perspectives and frameworks have been introduced into African American archaeology since that time, and a fresh look at some of these sites would be worthwhile.

Section 4.0 includes Periods of Significance related to Black history in Maryland. The goal of this summary is to provide an historical and thematic framework for better identification and evaluation of archaeological sites that speak specifically to the Black experience in Maryland.

Section 5.0 outlines a proposed Site Typology for African American archaeological sites in Maryland, based on the archaeology sites database. In the same way that the National Register of Historic Places outlines different thematic criteria that can form the basis for evaluations of significance, this document describes nine categories that correlate directly to site types named in the database, or that are likely to exist, and that relate to important themes of Black history in Maryland. Section 5.0 also discusses each proposed site type, and how well historical and archaeological sites are represented within them. There may be site types that have not been identified here, but the authors have attempted to make the thematic categories sufficiently broad to encompass major aspects of Black history and the types of places that may be significant to Black communities.

One major trend that was immediately clear in the analysis of existing data was that in places where well-established research archaeology programs exist, or where such entities have historically carried out archaeological research, there are more known African American sites. Where the majority of archaeological work was driven by development and carried out by CRM firms, the percentages of African American sites in comparison with other site types, even in places with significant historical populations of African Americans, were lower.

The reasons for the underrepresentation of African Americans in the archaeological record are varied and ingrained in various aspects of modern archaeological practice: archaeology as a discipline was both slow and late in pursuing an understanding of America's diverse Black pasts; there are relatively few anthropologists and archaeologists of color; and as at least one archaeologist discussing the practice of compliance (or cultural resource management/CRM) archaeology in Georgia has noted:

"CRM investigations of African American sites have been one dimensional, emphasizing the American and neglecting the African. CRM analyses that focus on African American socioeconomic status as measured by Euromerican indices or that view cultural change using simplistic and outdated models of acculturation … are meaningless at best and at worst, demeaning. CRM archaeology must study African American sites within a cultural perspective and must take into each project a knowledge of African cultural behavior as a fundamental context for understanding. While recognizing that the cultural legacy of Africa is both rich and diverse … historical archaeologists working on African diaspora sites must bring an understanding of African peoples, histories, and cultures to their analysis and place less reliance on analytical techniques developed for Euromerican cultures" (Joseph 2004).

In an exploration of ways to improve the practice of African American archaeology in compliance contexts, another author argues that "CRM archaeology will only be improved from the inside. Government is not going to supply the resources. Since 'they' are not going to do it, we the practitioners must" (Praetzellis 2011: 326).

But government agencies – particularly transportation agencies - are a major driver for CRM archaeology across the country, and most efforts to be inclusive of diverse viewpoints and experiences come through government agencies, government-funded grants, and laws enacted by governments rather than through the private sector. In the paragraph immediately following the statement quoted above, Praetzellis (2011) goes on to describe two successful efforts to improve CRM archaeology, both conducted by state government institutions.

Certainly CRM practitioners can and should strive to do better when it comes to identifying, interpreting, and evaluating African American sites, but government agencies can and should do the same, and ensure that contractors are held to a high standard when working with these important resources.

The development of the Site Typology revealed several important trends: first, that the MHT has, since at least the 1980s, advocated for African American archaeological sites to be nominated to the NRHP. Archaeologists working in county government and at Maryland colleges and universities have conducted excellent research and completed comprehensive site forms where diligent efforts have been made to identify and record ethnic associations.

This work has also shown counties where the African American past has not been adequately explored, and suggests possible avenues of future research into the African American past. If a statewide African American context is pursued, this Site Typology should be expanded with more developed case studies, perhaps focused regionally, incorporating the diligent work of the several Maryland counties that have created local African American contexts. If this typology can be agreed upon as accurately representing Maryland's African American sites, it may also be incorporated into site forms to make information about the African American past more accessible for comparison and evaluation.

A full archaeological context for African American sites in Maryland should be focused on improving the quality of work performed on African American sites in Maryland, particularly in settings where there are clear historical shortcomings, i.e. in compliance projects.

Next steps should include an exploration of methodological best practices, including an examination of projects that have successfully included meaningful collaboration with descendant communities at various stages of compliance archaeology; further research and discussion to better define or expand the Periods of Significance and Site Typology presented in this document; a thorough review of case studies for well-researched and documented sites in Maryland to serve as comparative models for future research; and expanding the GIS database to include known African American towns, schools, and churches that have not been explored archaeologically, but which are likely to contain important archaeological resources. This last recommendation is of particular importance for transportation departments since, as shown in case studies in this document and in current scholarship (Archer 2020), there is a history of the disproportionate effects of highway construction on communities of color throughout the twentieth century. While some such resources are already recorded in Medusa (Figure 10), this is by no means a complete accounting, and additional research should be undertaken to identify more of these sites. A geographic tool that identifies the locations of historic African American communities will make it easier to identify potentially significant archaeological resources related to those communities early in the process of transportation planning.

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