

African American Archaeology

Newsletter of the African American Archaeology Network

Number 4

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Editor's Notes

The response we have gotten on the last issue of the newsletter has been very encouraging. We've received reactions to the Editor's Notes, one potential logo for the masthead, and positive comments about addressing issues relevant to our field and not just dispensing information. We hope to continue the newsletter this way.

In the last newsletter, I raised two questions about African American archaeology. 1) Is it possible for researchers to obtain an "emic" (insider) perspective of the community being studied when practitioners are overwhelmingly European American? 2) How can present-day descendents of the community being studied inform this research? One reader responded by suggesting that African Americans are no more equipped than European Americans to provide insights into understanding the archaeological record of slavery because they "have not experienced slavery and would have trouble relating to slavery times in a valid framework".

My intention in raising these questions was not to suggest present-day African Americans can always inform archaeological research from actual experiences. Perhaps the use of the term "emic" was ill-advised. While no living African American has actually experienced enslavement, most African Americans have experienced racism, discrimination, segregation, disenfranchisement, as well as other forms of oppression. These experiences, along with beliefs, values, practices, and behaviors handed down from generation to generation, inform the many ways in which African Americans perceive their history and culture. The point is that African Americans can offer perspectives that are different from European Americans. A recent exhibit on the archaeological research of a black neighborhood in Annapolis, Maryland recognized this. In it, archaeologists' material culture studies of the recovered artifacts were contrasted with interpretations obtained from community interviews.

African American perspectives can inform archaeological research in other ways --from the formulation of research questions to the presentation of results. At present, a great deal of African American archaeology suffers from a Eurocentric bias, not just because most archaeologists are white, but rather because the questions posed of the archaeological record are often of more interest to white Americans than black Americans. For example, in archaeological studies of slavery there is the tendency to overemphasize slaves' access to fine china and high quality objects while ignoring the circumstances surrounding their acquisition or use. One wonders what compromises or conditions slaves had to endure in order to buy objects or get them from slave owners. Certainly, the quality of ceramics and quality of life are not the same thing. Even the search for material evidence of an African heritage can be viewed as a white preoccupation. Too often, sites lacking such evidence are dismissed as unimportant. Unimportant for whom? Certainly not for the people who once lived and worked at those sites, or for the descendents whose heritage is preserved there. These sites are no less black for the lack of "Africanisms" and represent the material and social reality for many African Americans both in the past and the present.

At sites without "ethnic" artifacts and where the total artifact inventory is small, another prevalent interpretation is that these assemblages represent conditions of material poverty and not ethnicity. Although wealth influences the nature of the archaeological record, a problem with this interpretation is that other possibilities like recycling practices, the substitution of objects, or other forms of discard are most often not considered. More significantly, should the taste of European Americans for the accumulation of material goods, primarily those from the middle and upper classes, be used as the standard for evaluating others?

How do archaeologists develop research questions which are important and meaningful to the concerns of African Americans? We could follow the lead of Mark Leone who asked the black community of Annapolis in several public fora, what it was that they wanted to learn from archaeological excavations in Annapolis. We could also involve black scholars who have knowledge in the area to be studied. Additionally, we need to begin thinking of relevant questions that go beyond the mere identification of "ethnic" objects, high status or low status sites, or artifact patterns. We need to stop reducing human behavior to potsherds, and try to understand the social context in which whole pots were used. Only when we move from the object to the relations that surrounded it will we have made significant progress.

African Americans may have no direct experience with slavery, but perspectives drawn from the black community can enrich archaeological research. The questions we ask of the archaeological record are social statements. The viewpoints of the black community need to be incorporated in African American archaeology if the results of archaeological research are truly going to contribute to piecing together the multi-cultural heritage of all Americans.

Announcement

Regional Editors Wanted

As one astute reader noticed, we currently lack a number of Regional Editors for the newsletter. If we truly want to be a forum on the archaeology of the African diaspora we need, at very least, editors for the Western United States, Southwest, and the Caribbean. We welcome volunteers for these positions. Please contact the editors.

Museum News

"After the Revolution" Reinstalled at the National Museum of American History

"After the Revolution: Everyday Life in America, 1780-1800" has been reinstalled at the Smithsonian Institution's, National Museum of American History in Washington, DC. The exhibit explores the diversity and conflict in the everyday lives of ordinary Americans who lived in the first two decades after the American Revolution. The various components focus on different groups selected to represent American society. Significantly, the exhibit tries to present an inclusive social history of the period by considering the lives of the poor and middling, Africans slave and free, and Native Americans.

One section of the exhibit, entitled "African Americans in the Chesapeake," portrays the creation of an African American culture by enslaved Africans. Beginning with a summary of salient characteristics shared by the various West African groups that made up the majority of slaves brought to America, the portrayal includes discussions of the slave trade, the role of African-Americans as plantation laborers and craftsmen, and the issue of slave resistance and rebellion. A large portion of the depiction of African American lifeways is based on the results of archaeological excavations at various Virginia plantations: Monticello, Kingsmill, Carter's Grove, and Mount Vernon. Artifacts, photographs of the ongoing excavations, historical depictions and architectural reconstructions from these sites are included, along with colonowares excavated in South Carolina, to illustrate current interpretations of the material aspects of slave life.

Exhibits on African American Life in Annapolis

Archaeology In Annapolis and the staff of the Banneker-Douglass Museum have produced two exhibits on African American life in Annapolis, Maryland, supported by a grant from the Maryland Humanities Council. Both exhibits pair analytical studies of functional classes of artifacts undertaken by students at the University of Maryland, College Park with oral history interviews from black Annapolitans. The contrast provides varied perspectives on the material history of the black community. Artifacts from the excavations in Annapolis are featured.

The first exhibit, "The Black Experience in Maryland Through Archaeology," is currently on display at the Banneker-Douglass Museum until July 15th. The second, "The Archaeology of Black Life in Annapolis: Bottles, Buttons, and Bones," has been installed in the Shiplap House, the main exhibit space for the Historic

Annapolis Foundation. Following its run at the Banneker-Douglass Museum, "Black Experience" will move to the Shiplap House where both exhibits will remain on display until Christmas.

Two exhibits were developed in order to reach the broadest number of people. The Banneker-Douglass exhibit has attracted a largely African American audience of school-groups and adults. Many of the visitors are from the local community. The Shiplap exhibit, draws most of its visitors from tourists and Annapolis' large boating population. In an attempt to further involve the local community, the organizers have arranged for a number of talks and lectures on Archaeology In Annapolis' research in African American archaeology.

National African American Museum Recommended for the Smithsonian Institution

In May, an advisory committee to the Smithsonian Institution recommended the establishment of a National African American Museum on the National Mall in Washington, DC. The committee's recommendation, which was later approved by the Smithsonian's Board of Regents, would place the museum in the Arts and Industries Building. That building currently houses the Experimental Gallery, 1876 Centennial Exhibition, and administrative offices. It is hoped that by using an existing facility the Smithsonian will both be able to save money and open the museum by 1995.

As planned, the museum is intended to serve as a center for research on African American life. According to a press release issued by the Smithsonian's Office of Public Affairs, the museum's collections would concentrate on: "the art and material culture of African Americans; 20th century objects relating to blacks in the civil rights and labor movements in the United States; images of African Americans in the media; and works of art by African Americans."

Exhibit On Colonoware Ceramics Planned

Theresa Singleton and Mark Bograd received a grant from the Women's Committee of the Smithsonian Institution to develop an exhibit on colonoware ceramics for the National Museum of Natural History. They have also received funding from the James Smithson Society to produce a brochure to accompany the exhibit. Colonowares from South Carolina and Virginia produced both by African and Native Americans will be featured and the exhibit is planned to open January 15, 1992. Singleton and Bograd are currently looking for objects, images, and documentary references for use in the exhibit. Suggestions are welcomed from the newsletter's readership. Please contact them by July 15th at the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, MRC 112, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560; (202) 786-2442.

Research Notes

A Note on a 19th century Description of Below-Ground "Storage Cellars" Among the Ibo
Anne Yentsch

Since William Kelso's excavations of slave quarter's in Virginia in the 1970's, Chesapeake archaeologists have been finding rectangular "root" or "storage cellars" beneath slave houses [See also John Sprinkle's Research note in the last issue of this newsletter about a document describing the contents of a slave chest -ed.]. for years the question has been whether this mode of storing goods developed in response to slavery or was of African origin. Evidence is now appearing which suggests the latter. Below-ground storage cellars were described by an English sea-captain visiting the African kingdom of Bonny in the early 19th century. Captain Crow wrote as follows: "most of the hard articles such as lead and iron bars, chests of beads, and marcelas (a kind of coin), they bury under the floors of their houses. Much valuable property is secreted in that way."

The quote may be a "pirated one," actually first written in a description of Nigeria by Captain John Adams (London 1823). Captain Crow's executors were not historically-oriented editors! Bonny, the imperial capital of the Ibo, was located on the coast of Calabar, northwest of the Bight of Biafra, a region of West Africa which supplied many slaves for the Chesapeake region. In *Tobacco and Slaves*, Alan Kulikoff presents data (Table 34, p. 32) which shows that the geographic origin of slaves entering Port York, Virginia from the Bight of

Biafra was 60% between 1718-1726 and 44% from 1729-1739. This would include some 7,600 individuals, although the actual numbers of people of Ibo ethnic origin entering the Chesapeake from West Africa throughout the 18th century were much higher. James Africanus Beale Horton (*West African Countries and Peoples* 1868, p. 164) observed there were dialectic differences in language among them, but that "when in a foreign country or when away from their home all are Egboes." This might be taken as evidence that the custom of buried storage areas inside a domestic shelter existed in the countryside as well as in the town of Bonny, and it is possible that a more thorough search of the documentary record would turn up additional descriptions of the practice.

Crow, Hugh (edited by the Executors)

1830 *Memoirs of the late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool Comprising a Narrative of His Life Together with Descriptive Sketches of the Western Coast of Africa, particularly of Bonny.* G. and J. Robinson, Liverpool (Frank Cass & Co., Ltd. 1970 facsimile).

From the Archives

Every so often, references in documents are found that provide interesting information related to African American life and material culture. We encourage the submission of extracts from documents along with a one paragraph set-up and full reference information. Longer treatments will be considered for the Research Note section of this newsletter.

Slave-made Ceramics and Cultural Interaction

While working on the exhibition "Before Freedom Came: African American Life in the Antebellum South" that opens in July at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Kym Rice, Curator of the exhibit, came upon the narrative of former slave Henry Clay in one of the volumes of WPA narratives edited by George Rawick. At the time of the interview, Clay was then living in Oklahoma. The extract printed below is interesting for a number of reasons. It indicates that at least some slaves were firing ceramics in the chimneys of slave cabins. Further it seems to indicate, at least on this plantation, that pots were made by children and possibly supervised by the plantation mistress. The narrative is also suggestive about the nature of cultural interaction between blacks, Native Americans, and whites in the 19th century. Additionally, it also contains information about slave cabin architecture and foodways.

...[T]hen Old Master's boy Tom Cheet marry a part Creek woman and I go to live with them. They settle south of where Muskogee is now about two miles from the Honey Springs town. That was a good plantation, too, and they had good double log houses and lots of stock.

I lived in a cabin with a stick and mud chimney, and I had to keep putting out the fire where it set the sticks of the chimney until I daubed it all good with red clay.

Mistress had me help the children of the other slaves to make pots because I was good at it. We made good clay pots and I have made hominy in them like the Creeks make lots of times. We would make the pots and hang them in the chimney to bake, sometimes a whole week, then pick out the ones that didn't crack.

I was a great fellow with the Master's children because I would make them clay marbles. Roll them and bake them like the pots, and the children and the grown negroes too would play "sevens" with them on Sunday.

It seem like the slaves in the Creek country had a better time than most of the negroes in Louisiana, too. They played more and had their own church and preachers (p. 113).

Rawick, George P. (Editor)

1977 *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography.* Supplement, Series 1, Volume 12 - Oklahoma Narratives. Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies No. 35. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut.

Regional News

DELMARVA

Maryland

Archaeology In Annapolis - Archaeology In Annapolis is a collaborative archaeological research project between the University of Maryland, College Park, and Historic Annapolis Foundation. In nine years of excavation, archaeologists and students have conducted 8 major excavations and over 20 smaller excavations covering 300 years of Annapolis history.

Recently, Archaeology In Annapolis has undertaken archaeological research in the history of African American Annapolitans. Blacks have been significant contributors to the development of the city of Annapolis, making up a third of the city's population since the 1700's. In 1850, one quarter of the city's free population was African American.

In the summer of 1989, the project conducted a three week test excavation on the Gott's Court site. Gott's Court was a neighborhood of apartment buildings rented African American semi-skilled and unskilled laborers from 1906 to the 1940's. The stratigraphy was undisturbed and future excavations are planned there.

In 1990, Archaeology In Annapolis conducted a much larger excavation at the Franklin Street site. This site was a neighborhood of single family houses surrounding the Mt. Moriah African American Methodist Episcopal Church. Documentary research among land deeds shows that a number of the properties on Franklin Street were owned by free African Americans in the early 1800's. Our excavations revealed that the archaeological record of this neighborhood is intact and goes back 200 years.

This area continues to be important to the African American community. The first Mt. Moriah A.M.E. Church was built here in 1813. A subsequent building was erected on the site in 1874 which now houses the Banneker-Douglass Museum and the Maryland Commission on Afro-American History and Culture.

Archaeology In Annapolis opened the Franklin Street site for two weeks at the end of September to participate in the Kunta Kinte Commemoration and Heritage Festival and share its research with the African American community. Dr. Mark Leone of the University of Maryland presented a lecture to some 600 area high school students and nearly 400 visitors toured the

excavation and visited displays describing archaeological research in Annapolis.

Currently, Archaeology In Annapolis has worked with the staff of the Banneker-Douglass Museum to mount an exhibit on black life in Maryland as understood through archaeology. Artifacts from excavations in Annapolis are featured in the exhibit.

Elsewhere in Annapolis, limited excavations are being conducted at 163 Duke of Gloucester Street, a lot with a standing mid-19th century house. Documentary research revealed that the owner of the house was John T. Maynard, a free African American listed in the 1860 census as the property owner and head of household. The excavation uncovered what is probably a mid- to late-19th century root cellar. Limited excavations have uncovered an impressive array of 19th century household articles which will help build a more solid material reference base for learning about African American history in Annapolis.

Virginia

Charles Gilliam Site (44PG317) - During the winter of 1989, Virginia Commonwealth University's Archaeological Research Center excavated the main dwelling, two outbuildings and the yard of this site located in Prince George County, Virginia. In 1817, Charles Gilliam inherited this property from his father. The Gilliam family were free African Americans who owned slaves during the 1820's and 1830's. After Charles died in 1866, the property was divided into equal portions among his five children. His daughter Susan, who received the parcel containing the excavated house and outbuildings, continued to occupy the site until her death in 1917.

Research conducted as part of this project included extensive comparative ceramic analyses of ceramics dating to both Charles' and Susan's occupations of the site, a survey of the extensive collection of 19th century photographs showing domestic architecture in Virginia on file at the Valentine Museum in Richmond, and comparative documentary research conducted by Philip J. Schwarz which examines the economic situation of free blacks in Prince George County throughout the 19th century. Robin Ryder served as the Principal Investigator for the project. A report is forthcoming and will be on file at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in Richmond. Papers concerning

this research were presented by Robin L. Ryder at the 1990 and 1991 annual meetings of the Society for Historical Archaeology.

Monroe House Site (44PW80) - Virginia Commonwealth University's Archaeological Research Center is currently conducting excavations of the yards and outbuildings associated with this site in Prince William County. Robin Ryder is the Principal Investigator for the project. The main dwelling house was listed on the National Register for Historic Places before being torn down during the 1970's. The site has been extensively tested by amateur archaeologists. The Monroe site was a farmstead owned and occupied by middle income whites from the fourth quarter of the 18th century to the 19th century, The family owned slaves through part of their occupation.

To date, two possible slave dwellings have been located. Evidence for the first consists of post-hole and mold features as well as 18th century European ceramics and colonoware. A 19th century cobble yard feature appears to overlay this structure. The second possible slave dwelling also contains colonoware along with first and early second quarter 19th century European ceramics. This structure was built on a foundation of unmortared local stone. Although fieldwork has not yet been completed, preliminary examination of the colonowares recovered from the site indicate that two different types are present, one associated with the 18th century occupation and the other with the 19th century occupation.

For further information about either the Monroe or Gilliam sites please contact Robin L. Ryder at the Virginia Commonwealth University Archaeological Research Center, 1814 W. Main Street, Box 3029, Richmond, VA 23284.

Monticello - Anna Gruber recently completed a Master's thesis on the archaeology of slave life at Monticello for the Department of Early American History at the University of Delaware. Entitled, "The Archaeology of Mr. Jefferson's Slaves," the study examines the archaeological and documentary evidence associated with three slave quarter sites in order to understand more about the material life of the slaves who occupied the dwellings. Located on Mulberry Row, these three quarters housed house slaves, their children, and some of the plantation's trained craftsmen from the early 1790's until the 1820's to 1830's. Excavations yielded direct evidence of slave lifeways which establishes Jefferson's home in its proper context as

a working plantation dependent on slave labor. Gruber's analysis also addresses issues central to the field of plantation archaeology --paternalism, acculturation, and ethnicity. The thesis is on file at the University of Delaware.

MIDWEST

Ohio

Stature Variation Among American Civil War Soldiers - Marilyn Orr, Paul Sciulli, Myra Gesen and Kolleen Butterworth have undertaken a study investigating stature variation among American and foreign born males from the first half of the 19th century and to evaluate the social and environmental factors responsible for the differences. Males (n=4453), ages 16 through 45 from the lower socio-economic levels, were surveyed. Data was drawn from the Ohio Historical Society's archives of the Adjutant General's Civil War muster roll from the Tod Barracks in Columbus, Ohio.

Documentation of recruits consisted of name, age in years, stature to an 1/8th of an inch, complexion, color of eyes and hair, place of birth, occupation, and race. Anyone not considered "white" was listed as "colored." Besides African Americans, use of the term colored included Asians and Native Americans. These data were hand-copied from the roster and coded onto data sheets and evaluated at The Ohio State University. Of the 4453 men evaluated, 2472 were Euro-American, 261 were African American and the remaining 1820 were foreign born.

Comparisons showed that Euro-American recruits were significantly taller than either African American or foreign born recruits. African American recruits, however, were significantly taller than a comparable cohort from West Central Africa. In general, results from these analyses indicate that even lower socio-economic American born males, both black and white, were taller than parent populations in Africa and Europe respectively. The better nutrition of native born 19th century Americans appears to account for their greater stature.

SOUTHEAST

South Carolina

Rose Cottage - Since December 1990, AF Consultants have been studying the development of colonial and early antebellum landscapes at Rose Cottage, a former rice and cotton plantation near Charleston, South Carolina. The property is now managed by

the U.S. Department of Agriculture which is funding the research.

Preliminary survey of approximately 15 acres has identified at least two domestic sites which appear to be associated with a highly nucleated mid-18th to early 19th century plantation settlement. One site yielded artifacts suggestive of middle to upper status residence, while the other reflected an assemblage typical of a slave residence.

Although very sketchy, historical documents for this period suggest that the property was purchased during the mid-1700's by Thomas Hutchinson, a prominent planter and public official who ultimately acquired over 5,000 acres in South Carolina and Georgia. The Rose Cottage property was willed to his grandson, Thomas Chiffelle, who may have enlarged it before selling 802 acres in 1816 to Thomas Seabrook of Charleston. Rose Cottage remained in the Seabrook-Dupont family until the late 1890's, when it was sold for phosphate mining and timber.

An 1811 plat of the plantation property depicts a settlement on this property, located adjacent to mostly abandoned tidal rice fields. Adjacent plantations from 1798 to 1820 were engaged in subsistence (corn, timber) farming, as well as mixed rice and cotton cropping during this period, suggesting that the shift from rice to cotton as a primary coastal staple crop was well underway by 1800.

The entire settlement appears to have been abandoned during the first quarter of the 19th century. However, 19th century historical documents indicate that the property supported a large slave population at least until emancipation. It is likely that a dispersed pattern of worker settlement accompanied the rice-to-cotton shift, accompanied by relocation of slave houses at Rose Cottage.

Description of archaeological features, artifact patterns, and historical data is now underway to determine National Register eligibility for the two sites. A final report is anticipated in early summer 1991. Interested persons can contact the Principal Investigator, Dr. Lesley Drucker at AF Consultants, 6546 Haley Drive, Columbia, SC 29206.

Tennessee

Hermitage - Archaeological excavations conducted at Andrew Jackson's home, The Hermitage, during 1990 focussed on the examination of slave quarters within the "North Field." Three cabins were

exposed and excavated. Cabin 2 originally was examined by Samuel Smith in 1976, and the 1990 excavations were carried out under the field direction of Jeffrey Jobe. Excavations confirmed that the cabin's superstructure was of brick resting on a heavy limestone block foundation. This foundation measured 39.5 by 19.5 feet, and an internal crosswall indicates that the structure was divided into two equally sized rooms. Fireplaces were identified at both ends. Although only limited excavation was undertaken within this structure in 1990, a brick lined root cellar measuring 2 by 4 feet was exposed adjacent to the east end of the structure and adjoining the hearth base. Artifactual material indicates that this cabin was occupied in the antebellum period and into the immediate postbellum years.

Cabin 3 was excavated under the field direction of Nancy Brighton, and appears to be similar in size and construction to Cabin 2. The foundation of this structure is more substantial than that of the other cabin and the chimney and hearth in this structure are internal, as opposed to the attached external chimney revealed in Cabin 2. A root cellar was exposed in Cabin 3, however, this brick-lined chamber differed from the one exposed in Cabin 2 in that it was larger and divided into three compartments. It is possible that this division was intended to provide greater protection to stored food from mice and rats, or perhaps to indicate individual storage units. Unlike Cabin 2, the artifacts indicate that Cabin 3 was entirely occupied in the antebellum period.

Excavations at a third structure, designated KES for the initials of the supervising archaeologist Kevin E. Smith, yielded architectural remains whose function is as yet uncertain. These included a pit cellar measuring 10.5 by 4.5 feet and fragments of burnt clay with stick impressions suggestive of a catted chimney. A series of post impressions were disturbed by rodent burrowing, but suggest that this was a post-in-ground structure. The superstructure may have measured 12 by 12 feet as indicated by the post stains. The structure is presumed to predate Cabins 2 and 3, thus offering the potential to examine culture change among Jackson's slaves.

While the 1990 excavations produced a number of artifacts with great interpretive value, one deserves particular comment. It is a small brass charm in the shape of a human hand clenching its fist around a circled length of copper wire. This is the second artifact featuring this motif at the Hermitage. The other was identified by Smith in

1976, who suggested that this symbol could be traced to the Islamic "Hand of Fatima" (the prophet Mohammed's daughter) as a talisman with the power to protect its bearer from the evil eye. The detail and imagery of the 1990 clenched fist would appear to clash with Islamic proscriptions against realistic depictions of living things, perhaps suggesting an evolution in the beliefs and associations surrounding this symbol

over time. The presence of both artifacts does suggest the presence of non-Christian religions or religious elements at the Hermitage. A more complete report of the 1990 field season at the Hermitage is available by contacting Larry McKee, Archaeologist, Ladies' Hermitage Association, 4580 Rachel Lane, Hermitage, TN 37076.

Other News

Contributions from South Carolina Archaeologists Wanted

COSCAPA (Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists) is looking for participants for a synthesis project on South Carolina archaeology. The purpose is to develop new questions and perspectives to guide future archaeological research in the state. Thematic volumes are planned that will provide historic contexts for preservation efforts. Papers may be regional, but should be synthetic in scope. Linda France Stine, Lesley Drucker, and Martha Zierden are editing the volumes related to historic periods.

The first volume is on the historic archaeological landscape. Papers are invited to address the concept of the landscape as a place where social and physical interactions articulate. A second volume on social inequality is also being planned. For more information call Drucker (803) 787-4168, Stine (803) 777-8170, or Zierden (803) 722-2996.

1992 Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting in Kingston, Jamaica

The Society for Historical Archaeology will be celebrating its 25th anniversary by meeting in Kingston, Jamaica, January 8-12, 1992. The theme of this year's conference is, "500 Years of Change: Contact and the Consequences of Interaction." Papers, however, are not restricted to this theme and can be expected to cover the full range of interests in historical archaeology. For more information about the conference please contact Douglas Armstrong, Program Chair -SHA '92, Anthropology Department, 308 Bowne Hall, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244-1200.

Papers Presented at the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference 1991

A number of papers presented at the annual meeting of the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference held in Ocean City, Maryland this past April related to African American archaeology.

"Reflections of the Inarticulate: African American Archaeology on the Upper Delmarva Peninsula." Wade P. Catts, University of Delaware Center for Archaeological Research.

"'Arthursville': An Antebellum Black Settlement in the Lower Hill District of Pittsburgh, PA." Arthur Fox, Ronald C. Carlisle, and Barbara Gundy, University of Pittsburgh Department of Anthropology Cultural Resource Management Program.

"You Are What You Eat: The Slaves of Portici Plantation." Jacqueline Hernigle, National Park Service.

"Tenancy and the Sully Plantation." Richard Sacchi, Fairfax County Park Authority.

"Real or Ideal: Archaeology and Gender on a North Carolina Farmstead." Linda France Stine, University of South Carolina, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

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