



OXON HILL MANOR

The Archaeology
and
History of

“A WORLD THEY MADE TOGETHER”

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“A World They Made Together”

John P. McCarthy

**Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum
and
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The last phase of archaeology at Oxon Hill Manor was halted by the financial difficulties of the company funding the work. For many years the project remained unfinished, until the Peterson Companies, as part of the National Harbor development, agreed to pay for this publication, even though the previous archaeological project was not its responsibility. John Milner Associates, Inc., was retained to prepare this booklet. John P. McCarthy, RPA, who co-directed investigations at the site with Dr. Charles D. Cheek in 1986 through 1988, prepared the text and chose the illustrations. Initial formatting of the publication was done by John Milner Associates, Inc. It was edited by the staff of the Maryland Historical Trust. The artifacts from Oxon Hill are curated at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum.

"The World They Made Together"

The subtitle of this booklet, *The Archaeology and History of a "World They Made Together"* is borrowed from Mechal Sobel's 1987 volume, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*. When it first appeared, Sobel's book was considered a stunning reinterpretation of colonial Virginia culture.

Sobel argued that enslaved Africans significantly influenced the architectural, religious, economic, and social customs of eighteenth-century Virginia. While the English planters and enslaved Africans originated in different cultures half a world apart, their close interaction in the New World (playing together as children, planter children raised by African-American nannies, planter economic, and sometimes emotional, dependence on the enslaved, etc.) brought their different "world views" into contact. Through time, each was influenced by the other, resulting in a culture distinct from that which either had previously known.

Having heard Dr. Sobel speak at a symposium on African-American culture at Colonial Williamsburg shortly following the publication of *The World They Made Together*, while excavations were ongoing at Oxon Hill, I was struck by the simple elegance and obvious truth of her argument. Upon returning to the material of Oxon Hill after 15 years, I was inspired by Sobel's insight and chose to organize this booklet around the concept that Oxon Hill was a plantation world that the Addisons and enslaved Africans made together. This is not intended in any way to diminish the brutality and inhumanity of the chattel slave economy on which planters relied, but is rather intended to recognize the important role of the enslaved in making the world of the Chesapeake plantation possible.

John P. McCarthy, RPA



OXON HILL MANOR: A PLANTATION WORLD

On February 7, 1895, the *Baltimore Sun* published the following notice:

Alexandria, Va., February 6th — Another one of Maryland's historic mansions has been destroyed. The spacious dwelling house on Oxon Hill, overlooking the Potomac, opposite Alexandria, caught fire last night, and was left a wreck by the flames at daybreak this morning. This mansion has long been one of the landmarks of the neighborhood of Washington, and with Mount Vernon, Belvoir, and Carlisle House, made up the noted mansions of the neighborhood in colonial days.

Thus it was that Oxon Hill Manor came to its end. The manor house had been the seat of a large agricultural plantation established in the late seventeenth century on a bluff overlooking the Potomac River in Prince George's County, Maryland (Figure 1). More recently, this area was the proposed site of PortAmerica and National Harbor, large commercial development projects.

Originally purchased by Col. John Addison in 1687, the estate became home to four subsequent generations of the Addison family. Col. Thomas Addison owned the property from his father John's death in 1705 until his own death in 1727. Thomas' son, Capt. John Addison, owned the property until 1764 when his son Thomas inherited it. In turn, his son, Walter Dulany Addison, inherited the property when Thomas died in 1774. The Addisons' tenure came to an end when Walter sold the manor house and most of the original property to Zachariah Berry in 1810. The Berry family sold the manor house to Samuel Taylor Suit in 1888. The property had numerous owners over the next few years until the manor house was finally destroyed in 1895.

Oxon Hill Manor, like other important colonial plantations, was created by ambitious planters and the indentured



Fig. 1. Location of the Addison plantation at Oxon Hill, Maryland, I-95 near the Woodrow Wilson Bridge.

servants and enslaved Africans they owned. This was a world they made together; a world that flourished over 200 years ago, a world that is foreign to us today; but one about which we can understand much by using the methods of history and archaeology.

Mandated by regulations requiring the identification, evaluation, and protection of significant cultural resources, including archaeological sites, during development projects, archaeological investigations began on the property in 1980. It was this archaeology that provided the first key to the world of the Addisons. This booklet tells their story, and the story of Oxon Hill Manor in the eighteenth century, in three main parts and several sidebars. It is a story of landscapes, the planter lifestyle, and the enslaved workers who made it possible.

LANDSCAPE: HOUSES AND GARDENS

The Englishmen transplanted to colonial Maryland brought with them ideas of their homeland, including an ancient landscape of roads built by the Romans, hedgerows and fields used from medieval times, and castles and manor houses belonging to the aristocracy and landed gentry. This landscape reflected social and economic realities and shaped perceptions of what was right and what was possible. It is not surprising, then, that English planters in the Chesapeake, as their wealth and social power increased, sought to create plantation landscapes that reflected their position and aspirations. The Addisons were no exception to this trend; in fact, they appear to have been among the first in the region to express their social position by building in brick.

At Oxon Hill the principal elements of the plantation landscape were the original timber-framed, post-in-the-ground house; the brick manor house that replaced it as the principal residence on the property; and the gardens associated with the brick house. It should be noted that the plantation landscape would have included many additional elements, including farm buildings and houses for overseers, indentured servants, tenants, and the enslaved. The following discussion focuses only on the principal elements from the eighteenth century, for which we have the most information.

The Earthfast House

When Col. John Addison purchased the land that would be Oxon Hill Manor in 1687, that portion of (then) Charles County was on the frontier of European settlement up the Potomac River Valley. He, or a tenant, first built an “earthfast” house - a house framed on posts set in the ground. We do not know if Col. John Addison ever resided in this house. He died without making a will (wills often include statements like “the plantation where I now dwell” or other hints of residence), and his estate inventory does not specify his residence.

The earthfast house, as revealed through archaeological excavation, measured

Maryland: Tobacco Colony

Maryland was established on June 20, 1632, when Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, became the first proprietor of the new colony under a charter granted by King Charles I. While Maryland, like other British colonies of the North American mainland, was founded partly as a religious haven, it differed in that no religion was given official status. Rather, people of any Christian faith were welcome, and any man not disqualified by other restrictions, such as age or servile status, was eligible to hold office and vote, regardless of his religious beliefs. This may not seem particularly remarkable to us today, but in the early seventeenth century it was extraordinary. The Calvert's were Roman Catholics, a persecuted minority in Britain at this time. Rather than seek a haven for Catholics alone, Cecilius, and his father before him, sought a colony that would welcome all Christians, a position they felt more palatable to the Crown. In successfully gaining a royal charter it appears that they may have been correct in this assumption.

As settlement took hold, tobacco quickly became the major export crop and primary source of income (Figure A). Most who immigrated came to the colony as indentured servants, and most were of British origin. The tobacco economy offered great promise of success, provided that one did not die too soon of malaria or one of the other diseases new to the settlers. Once a servant was free, usually after four to seven years of service, he received from his former master corn for a year, seed for the following year,

clothing, an axe, and a hoe. Once established, he could import servants to make the most of his land, which he might rent before affording a place of his own.

The manual cultivation and curing of tobacco required an immense amount of labor. The various steps included: fallowing, hilling, cutting of hills, planting and replanting, topping, suckering, weeding, cutting, picking up, removing out of the ground, hanging, striking, stripping, stemming, and prizing. Among the crops grown commercially during the colonial period, only flax and rice required more labor per unit of output than tobacco. It has been estimated that one person's labor for the entire year was needed to produce two to three acres of tobacco.

Plantations were established first along the shores of the Chesapeake and then up its major tributaries. By the late seventeenth century, the Potomac frontier was opening and Prince George's County was established from parts of Calvert and Charles Counties in 1695.

By the turn of the eighteenth century, Maryland society was still relatively homogeneous. Most planters owned between 200 and 500 acres and only a few owned five or more enslaved Africans. The most successful planters did not enjoy a standard of living dramatically different from that of the middling and lower sorts who were their neighbors. However, that soon began to change as new economic opportunities opened following the end of wars in Europe. Increasingly "second sons" of gentry families were attracted to the Chesapeake. They brought

capital and international commercial connections, and some combined cultivation of tobacco (and sometimes wheat) with mercantile trade, iron works, shipbuilding, land speculation, money lending, public offices, and professions such as law or medicine to increase their fortunes. They celebrated their success in material terms, building large brick homes. In addition, these wealthy planter families intermarried with one another. From these marriages a distinct ruling elite began to emerge. Their legacy symbolizes the colonial Tidewater for us today, but as a group they only constituted about 10 percent of the population.

The turn of the eighteenth century was also marked by a change in the composition of the plantation labor force. For various reasons the supply of indentured servants diminished, and planters increasingly turned to imported Africans to meet their labor requirements. The enslaved served for life, as did their children. Because of this, Africans were more costly to purchase than indentured servants; slaveholding became another mark of the economically successful and further separated the elite from other planters.

By the time of the Revolutionary War, a planter elite whose wealth was based on the production of tobacco by enslaved workers was well entrenched. However, as the nineteenth century began, tobacco cultivation was gradually replaced by mixed agriculture and the production of wheat. This new agriculture was more labor efficient, requiring fewer, but more skilled, hours of labor per acre, and the enslaved were increasingly emancipated.

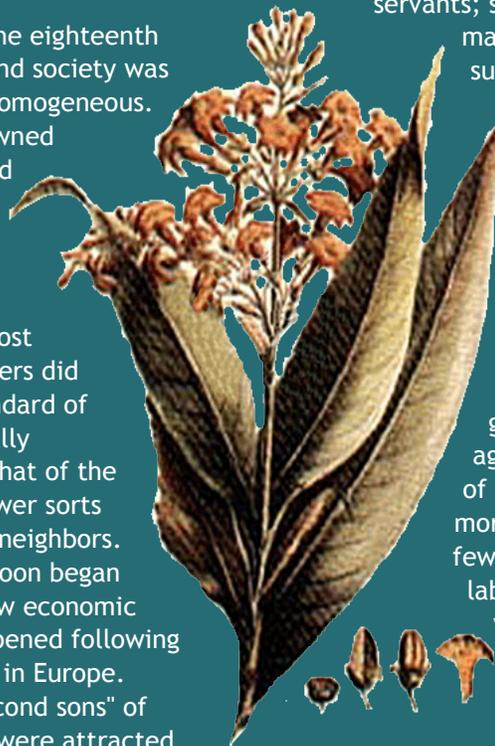


Fig. A. Le Tabac de Virginia, (The Tobacco of Virginia), by Etienne Denisse, c. 1843

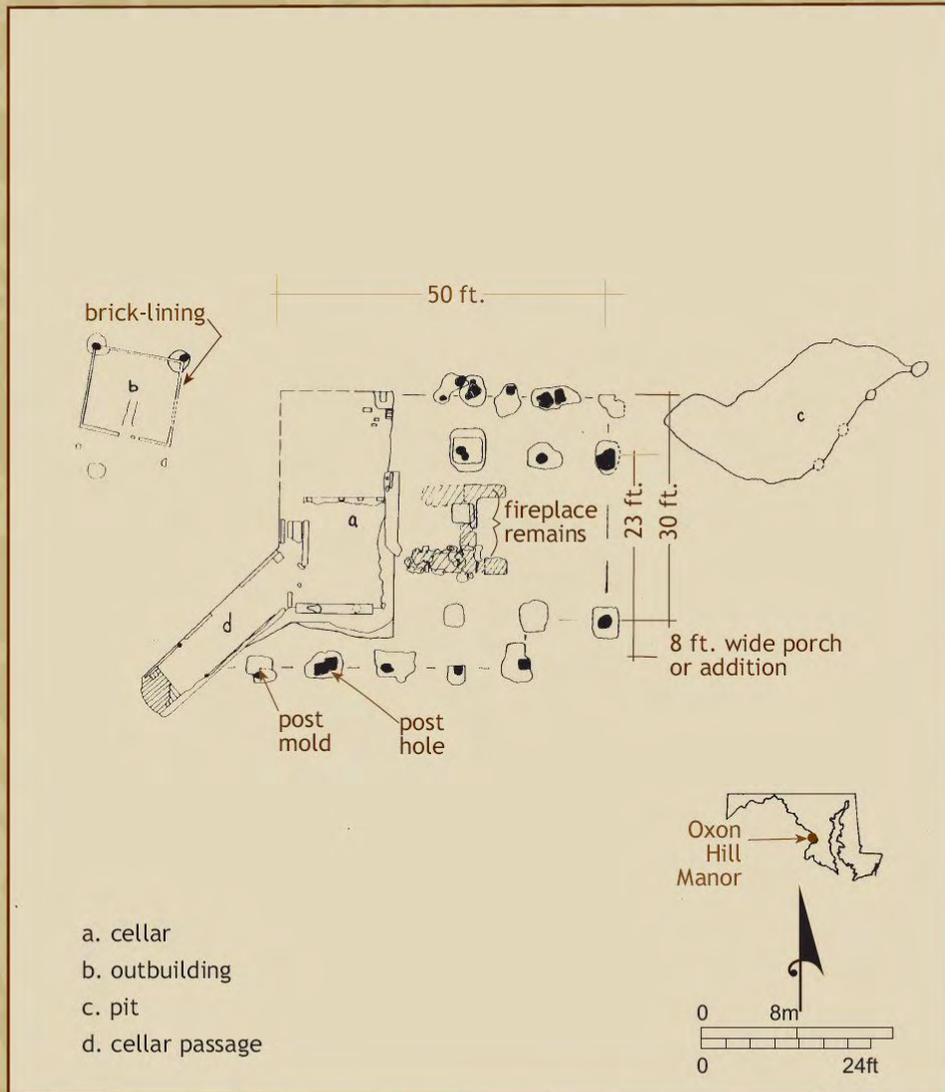


Fig. 2. Plan of the earthfast (post-in-the-ground) house as revealed by excavation.



Fig. 3. Overview of the earthfast (post-in-the-ground) house site, facing north. Note the cellar and passage on the left.

approximately 50 by 30 feet in size (1,500 square-foot footprint), although it may have only been about 23 feet wide initially (1,150 square-foot footprint) (Figure 2). It had two main rooms of about equal size, as indicated by the remains of an H-shaped pair of back-to-back fireplaces that would have divided the space. An eight-foot wide porch or gallery, or perhaps lean-to addition, may have been attached along the house's south side. It is unknown if the house stood taller than a single story. A lined cellar was present under the westernmost third of the house. Measuring approximately 30 by 15 feet, the cellar was divided into two rooms of about equal size. The north half had a brick floor, while the floor of the southern half was plank. A wood-lined passageway, about five and a quarter feet wide, extended approximately 25 feet away from the house from the southwest corner of the cellar (Figure 3).

This house was situated approximately 150 feet back from the edge of the bluff overlooking the Potomac, near the head of a spring that drained to the river. It was oriented east to west and probably faced south. A small outbuilding measuring about 10 by 12 feet was found to the northwest of the house. It was perhaps used as a dairy or meat house, based on the cooling properties of its brick-lined interior, which was depressed approximately a foot below the surrounding grade. A large, irregularly-shaped pit, likely a source of clay used in constructing or repairing the house and later filled with debris, was found to the northeast. Based on the artifacts recovered

from the fill of the cellar hole, this building appears to have burned around 1730. It may have been the "Other Store" mentioned in Thomas Addison's 1727 estate inventory.

The two-room earthfast house was common throughout the region in the seventeenth century. Such buildings had antecedents in the traditional frame buildings of England. While less durable than buildings with masonry foundations, they were not makeshift, and with maintenance could last several decades. At 50 by 30 feet, or even 50 by 23 feet, this structure is one of the larger earthfast planter's houses. While not unique, its back-to-back brick fireplaces suggest that it was not the dwelling of a tenant or servant (the less well-off often had a wood-framed, clay-lined smoke hood over their hearth, rather than fireplaces), and accordingly, Col. John Addison may well have resided here.

The Brick Manor House

Col. Thomas Addison inherited Oxon Hill when his father died in 1705. His 1727 estate inventory describes the contents of a two-story house with eight principal rooms. This large manor house is believed to have been constructed beginning in 1710 (and completed in 1711) following Thomas' return to Maryland after having visited England with his second wife, Eleanor Smith. The couple had married in June 1709. As revealed by excavation, the house measured 72 by 39.4 feet (2,837 square-foot footprint). Its cellar was divided into six spaces of roughly equal size (Figure 4). The floor of the center



Fig. 4. Overview of the brick manor house foundations, facing southwest. Note the well in the floor of the center room to the viewer.



Fig. 5. Brick-floored cellar kitchen and fireplace, facing north.

room on the house's eastern or landslide was depressed approximately two feet below that of the adjoining rooms. Scars on the exterior foundation wall at this location indicated that the room had been covered by an arched brick vault. A well was centered in the middle of the floor, leading to the interpretation that the room was used for cool storage of dairy products, fresh meats, and perhaps wine. The north end of the cellar contained a brick-floored kitchen featuring a large walk-in fireplace that had been substantially altered, probably in the early nineteenth century (Figure 5). A sketch of the house completed shortly before it burned in 1895 provides an idea of its appearance from the land side (Figure 6). If this image is accurate, it stood two-and-a-half stories tall, had seven bays (or



Fig. 6. Sketch of the Oxon Hill manor house, from Murray, "One Hundred Years Ago" (1895), facing west with the Potomac River in the background.

openings in each floor of the facade), was balanced and symmetrical in overall appearance, and was covered by a hipped roof. It is likely that the triangular pedimented gable facing the artist and the pedimented gable-roofed portico over the doorway were added sometime in the later eighteenth century. The cupola surmounting the roof appears to be a nineteenth-century addition.

Archaeology at the Oxon Hill Manor Site (18PR175)

Most archaeological investigations in North America are carried out in compliance with federal, state, and local regulations that require development projects to identify and evaluate significant historical resources, including archaeological sites, and take into account the effects of the project on those resources. Excavation and analysis of archaeological sites, called "data recovery", is one means of preserving information for the future. Archaeological investigations of Oxon Hill Manor between 1980 and 1988 included surveys that identified sites, evaluations to understand the extent and importance of the sites, and larger excavations to recover artifacts and other archaeological data (Figure B).

In 1980 Terrence W. Epperson of the Maryland Geological Survey found the Oxon Hill Manor Site during initial planning studies for improvement of the Maryland Route 210/Interstate 95 interchange. Epperson discovered that the foundation of the manor house and extensive artifact deposits were located directly within the proposed highway project alignment. The site was given the number 18PR175 under a national system developed by the Smithsonian Institution, wherein the first numerals indicate the state, based on alphabetical order (18 stands for Maryland), the following letters indicate the county (PR stands for Prince George's County), and the final numerals identify the specific site (Oxon Hill Manor was the 175th site recorded in the county). Epperson also documented the nearby Addison family cemetery (18PR176) and the Addison Mausoleum (18PR177) sites.

Richard J. Dent, then at the University of Maryland, directed an additional survey of Oxon Hill Manor in 1981. This investigation included both surface walk-over surveys and test excavations in the highway right-of-way, and an assessment of the Addison cemetery and mausoleum. Dent's team also uncovered approximately a third of the Oxon Hill manor house, including all four corners and most of the south wall. As a result of this investigation, the Maryland State Highway Administration decided to shift the alignment of the proposed highway to avoid the foundation of the house.

Silas Hurry of the Maryland Geological Survey conducted an evaluation of archaeological resources in the new alignment during the fall of 1983 and winter of 1984. This investigation was limited to the western half of the area that Dent surveyed in 1981, focusing on an area adjacent to the manor house where a retaining wall was proposed. Hurry's investigation revealed significant intact subsurface features, such as a well, post holes, and planting beds.

Hurry and Maureen Kavanagh, also of the Maryland Geological Survey, conducted an additional evaluation in the fall of 1984, focusing on the eastern portion of the proposed highway project area. This investigation revealed five areas of artifact concentrations within the eastern section of the proposed highway right-of-way.

Under contract to the State Highway Administration, Garrow and Associates, Inc. undertook large-scale data recovery excavations in the northern half of the Oxon Hill Site between January 3, 1985, and January 2, 1986. Six areas delineated by the earlier Maryland Geological Survey

work were examined. Various features, primarily representing the remains of farm outbuildings and barns, were revealed. However, two wells, one associated with the manor house, were also excavated.

In 1986, John Milner Associates, Inc. (JMA) conducted a survey and evaluation of the southern section of 18PR175, including the manor house and associated outbuildings, under the direction of Charles D. Cheek and John P. McCarthy. This area was to be part

of the proposed PortAmerica Development immediately adjacent to the highway right-of-way. This study identified 16 areas of archaeological resources associated with the plantation. In addition, the

structure of the garden terrace was investigated by trenching with a backhoe.

Beginning late in 1986 and continuing into the spring of 1988, JMA undertook data recovery excavations for the PortAmerica Development. While outlying nineteenth-century tenant residences were investigated, the bulk of the excavation focused on the 1711 manor house foundation and what was revealed to have been an earlier earthfast house.

The artifacts from 18PR175 are owned by the State of Maryland, and are stored at the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum. Photos of some of these artifacts, along with additional information about the site, can be found at www.jefpat.org.



Fig. B. Excavations at Oxon Hill took place over an eight-year period, 1980 through 1988.

A small wing is shown on the north side. By its size this was likely a kitchen or office. Excavation of this area confirmed the presence of a frame or earthfast addition connected to the north side of the main house by a passage. The 1727 inventory mentioned a passage and a three-room "shed." There was no archaeological evidence to confirm the presence of the wing shown on the south side of the house. There is only one known photograph of the interior of the house (Figure 7). It shows the entry hall and stairway. With its raised-paneled



Fig. 7. Entry hall and stairway at Oxon Hill Manor. This photograph is the only known interior view of the house.

walls, it appears to have been an impressive space. Based on this image and the other available information, Oxon Hill Manor was an early example of a "Georgian" mansion. It bears a striking similarity to the manor house at Battersea, or Harmony Hall, which still stands on the banks of the Potomac near Broad Creek just a few miles from Oxon Hill (Figure 8). Harmony Hall is thought to have been built between 1709 and 1718 by William Tyler, a carpenter, and it is quite possible that the manor house at Oxon Hill served as a model for its construction.

The Garden

The manor house landscape consisted of more than the house alone. Various outbuildings came and went over time, but the garden, as the setting for the manor house, was a more lasting feature of the plantation landscape. The brick



Fig. 8. Harmony Hall, or Battersea, Broad Creek built c. 1709 - 1718 by William Tyler.

manor house was built on an upland ridge that fell steeply to the Potomac River Valley on three sides. This location not only provided a fine view of the river below, but also took best advantage of the topography to the west of the house and toward the river for the creation of a formal garden (Figure 9).



Fig. 9. U.S. Coastal Survey Map, 1863, detail of Oxon Hill. Note the location of the manor house on a knoll that falls away on three sides.

Excavations in the area directly west of the house, on terraces on the north slope of the ridge, on a flat area immediately adjacent to the house on the south, and on a lower artificial terrace partway down the side of the south slope of the ridge, all revealed evidence that the gardens were a designed space into which the owners of Oxon Hill invested considerable resources. Various brick drains were uncovered extending from the manor house and across the garden terraces. These facilities removed potentially damaging water from the vicinity of the manor house and prevented erosion and flooding on the garden terraces.

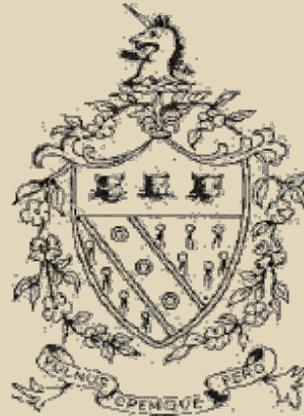
A sunken terrace had been cut out of the slope southwest of and close to the house about three feet below the ground surface. If this area had originally been the same elevation throughout, approximately 4,300 cubic yards of soil would have had to have been removed to create the sunken area. It is, of course, unlikely that this was the case; the terrace probably follows, at least in part, a natural feature of the topography. It is thought that a similar sunken terrace may have also existed on the northwest, creating a symmetrical, formal arrangement, although direct evidence for this is lacking.

The excavation of the sunken terrace seems to have involved use of an animal-pulled drag. Thirty-inch wide scars cut into the subsoil that could have been made by such an instrument were observed at four locations. In areas where fill was placed to create the terrace, it appears that the topsoil was first removed by this method. This step would have added considerably to the effort required to build the garden, but the reserved topsoil would have made it possible to establish the ground cover and garden plantings much more quickly.

Almost no dateable artifacts were recovered from the garden areas; however, the formal garden could date from as early as the original construction of the house. It was almost certainly the creation of Thomas Addison, whose 1727 estate inventory listed an indentured gardener.

Formal gardens were just becoming fashionable among the planter elite at the turn of the eighteenth century, and new gardens were added to many properties through the first decades of the century. For example, about 1716, Gov. Spotswood of Virginia had terraces carved out of a steep ravine on the grounds of the Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, and John Custis, a Virginia planter, wrote his London agent in 1717 that, "I have lately got into the vein of gardening, and have made a handsome garden to my house." Formal gardens imposed a specific order on nature and implied control over

The Addison Family of Oxon Hill



*Fig. C. Coat of Arms of the Addisons. The Latin motto, *Vulnus opemque fero*, translated as "I bear a wound and a healing" may reflect the old Saxon belief that a wound received on the field of battle could be cured by the weapon that inflicted it. A unicorn's horn was also believed to have curative powers.*

The Addisons were one of the most economically, socially, and politically prominent families of early Maryland. In England, the Addisons were members of the gentry, and while not aristocrats, were sufficiently distinguished to have a coat of arms (Figure C). The first Addison in America was Col. John Addison, born in Westmoreland, England, at "The Hill," his family's estate, on an unknown date. He was the second son of the Rev. Lancelot Addison. Both Col. John's elder brother, Lancelot, and his younger brother, Anthony, followed their father into the church, with Lancelot becoming a royal chaplain and Dean of Litchfield Cathedral, and Anthony Rector of Abington, Chaplin to the Duke of Marlborough. Other brothers, Thomas and Henry, were merchants based in Whitehaven, Cumberland, England.



Fig. D. Col. Thomas Addison, painted by Gustavus Hesselius, c. 1725. Addison Gallery, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.

Col. John immigrated to Maryland in 1674, and he served in many public posts in the colony, including on the Maryland Council (1691, 1693-1700, 1702, and 1704), and he also attained the rank of colonel in the militia. In 1677, Col. John married Rebecca Wilkinson, daughter of Rev. William Wilkinson, the first Protestant clergyman in the colony, and widow of Thomas Dent, a wealthy planter. Their son, Thomas, was born in 1679 at "Chesberton," in St. Mary's County. Col. John was a merchant and frontier trader as well as a planter, and by the time of his death in 1705 he had amassed an estate of nearly 6,500 acres, including the property that would be known as Oxon Hill, which he acquired in 1687.

Col. Thomas Addison's many public offices included service on the Maryland Council (1721-27), and he also rose to the rank of colonel in the militia (Figure D). In 1701 he married Elizabeth Tasker, daughter of Thomas Tasker, another prominent planter. She bore him two daughters, Rebecca and Eleanor, but died in 1706. Col. Thomas subsequently married Eleanor Smith, daughter of Col. Walter Smith, in 1709. The brick manor house is thought to have been built by

Col. Thomas in 1710-11 to celebrate his marriage to Eleanor. Children from this union included sons John born in 1714, Thomas born in 1715, Anthony born in 1716, and Henry born in 1717.

John Addison married Susannah Wilkinson and inherited an estate of over 3,800 acres, including Oxon Hill, upon his father Col. Thomas' death in June, 1727. John attained the rank of captain in the militia and served in a number of other public offices, including Justice of the Provincial Court and Delegate to the Provincial Assembly.

Capt. John's brother, Henry, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford (B.A. 1739 and M.A. 1741). After being ordained as an Anglican priest, he returned to Maryland to become rector of St. John's Parish at Broad Creek (just a few miles south of Oxon Hill) in 1742 (Figure E). He married Rachel Dulany in 1751. Henry took a Loyalist stance during the Revolutionary War and fled to England in 1775. He returned to Maryland in 1784 and died in 1789. While both of Capt. John's other brothers, Thomas and Anthony, received substantial lands from their father's estate, neither wed. Thomas joined the military where he enjoyed a successful career, retiring with the rank of major about 1765. He died in 1770. Anthony sought his fortune at sea, and little else is known about him.

Sons born of Capt. John and Susannah included Thomas, born c. 1740, Anthony, and John. When Capt. John died in 1764, Thomas inherited Oxon Hill. He had the property resurveyed as a 3,663-acre tract named "Oxon Hill" in 1767. He also inherited his uncle Thomas' portion of Col. Thomas' estate. This third generation Thomas does not seem to have been as politically or militarily active as his forbearers. There is no mention of a military rank in connection with his name, although he twice served as a justice on the Prince George's County Court (1761-64 and 1766-69).

Thomas married Rebecca Dulany in 1767 and their sons included Walter Dulany (born in 1769), John, Thomas, and Henry. Walter Dulany inherited Oxon Hill upon Thomas' death in 1774 (when he was only five years old). The estate was operated under the trusteeship of Thomas' brother John and Overton Carr until Rebecca and her second husband Thomas Hawkins Hanson (whom she married in 1778) brought suit against the trustees. In 1783 she was awarded a formalized dower (one-third) share of the estate, including 828 acres and the manor house. In 1783 John Hanson, President of the Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation since 1781, died at Oxon



Fig. E. St. John's Church, Broad Creek, rebuilt in 1768 on the site of the 1695 church.

Hill while visiting his nephew, Thomas. Walter Dulany Addison spent much of the 1780s in England where he received a private education. He returned to Maryland by at least 1790, as the U.S. census for that year lists him as the unmarried owner of 20 slaves.

In 1792 Walter married Elizabeth Hesselius, granddaughter of the Swedish-born portrait painter Gustavus Hesselius (who had painted Col. Thomas' portrait c. 1725). They moved into the Oxon Hill manor house the following year. Rev. Walter Dulany Addison became the first Episcopal priest ordained in America by Thomas John Claggett (the first Episcopal bishop consecrated in the United States). He was initially given charge of Queen

Anne's Parish, Prince George's County, and by about 1801 he was installed as rector of St. John's Church, Broad Creek, where Henry Addison had served before him. While Elizabeth enjoyed entertaining family, friends, and other visitors at Oxon Hill, Walter seems to have been disinterested in its management, apparently choosing to put most of his efforts into his pastoral duties. Early in his tenure at Oxon Hill he began selling off portions of the property, and in 1794 he gave 400 acres to his mother and 500 to his youngest brother, Henry. By 1797 the estate was reduced to approximately 1,500 acres.

About 1800 Walter began to make arrangements for the eventual emancipation of the enslaved Africans in his ownership. At that time he altered his will to provide freedom for men over 25 and women over 20 years of age upon his death. It appears that he subsequently proceeded with manumissions, but details are lacking. Walter and his family had quit the manor house at Oxon Hill by 1806, moving to Hart Park, a house on a portion of the land he had given his mother in

1794. He altered the house and opened a school there in 1804. Walter purchased his mother's dower rights in 1807. In 1808, at the young age of 33, Elizabeth died. Her passing seems to have brought a significant change over Walter, and the following year he moved to Georgetown to take charge of the new St. John's Church there. In 1810 he sold 1,328 acres, including the Oxon Hill manor house, to Zachariah Berry, and over the next decade he divested himself of the remainder of the estate lands in his ownership. He did, however, retain ownership of the family cemetery, to which his granddaughter reported he was a frequent visitor until his death in 1848.



What's in a Name?: Oxon, Not Oxen

When Col. Thomas Addison died in 1727 his will, dated 1722, specified that his eldest son John receive eight different tracts of land totaling 3,863 acres. The principal tract of 1,430 acres was called St. Elizabeth's. The house, now called Oxon Hill Manor, is thought to have stood on the St. Elizabeth's parcel. The name Oxon Hill only comes into use in the documents when Thomas Addison had his inheritance resurveyed in 1767 as a 3,663-acre property named "Oxon Hill."

Why Oxon and not Oxen? The reference would appear to be to a place rather than to an animal. Oxon was, and is, a common abbreviation for Oxford, the city, or for Oxfordshire, the county, in England. It is possible that John Addison had the name Oxford Hill in mind when he had the property surveyed. Why is unclear. While several members of the Addison family are known to have been educated at Oxford University and would have been, accordingly, very familiar with the city, it is not known if John spent any time there.



nature by their creators. As designed spaces, formal gardens reflected and reinforced the hierarchical conditions of colonial social life, including the fact that large numbers of enslaved laborers were typically available to build these gardens.

We do know that the southwestern terrace area was filled with soil in the early part of the nineteenth century, based on the presence of sherds of a ceramic known as whiteware, first manufactured c. 1805. It is likely that this change in the configuration of the landscape took place after the property was sold to Zachariah Berry. He may have wanted to develop a more "picturesque" or "natural" garden. Such gardens became very popular during the Early Republic, as they were associated with the Jeffersonian values of republican democracy.

THE PLANTER LIFESTYLE

As members of the planter elite, life for the Addisons focused on the management of their estates and business interests, their duties with respect to the various public offices they held, and a social life of visiting and entertaining friends and relations.

The written record documents many of the business activities of the Addisons. They bought and sold land throughout the region, grew and shipped tobacco to England, traded with Native Americans, and served as factors (merchant agents) for other planters. These activities were the source of their great wealth. As presented in the table on page 15, the wealth of the Addisons may be measured by the total value of the estate at death, total acres of land owned, and total number of enslaved Africans.

To put these numbers into some perspective, it should be noted that when the historian Gloria L. Main analyzed the distribution of planter personal wealth in Maryland between 1656 and 1719, her uppermost wealth category (of ten categories) was 800 pounds and up, into which less than two percent of the estates fell. The Addisons, even Capt. John Addison who does

not appear to have done as well financially as either his father or his son, were very wealthy men indeed.

While much of this wealth was the product of the tobacco their enslaved workers produced, the first three generations of Addisons supplemented that income by holding various public offices. These offices were not merely honorary, but entailed serious responsibilities in the administration of a growing colony. This is illustrated by the archaeological evidence pertaining to Col. Thomas Addison's duties as the commander of the Prince George's County Militia. It appears that the earthfast house was modified for at least partial use as a militia storehouse. A passage extended approximately 25 feet to the southwest out from the house's cellar. This unusual feature is very similar in form and size to passageways built as part of bombproof powder magazines in the early eighteenth century. Various firearm artifacts were recovered from this part of the site, including five flintlock mechanisms, five pistol butt plates, 12 triggers for at least three different types of guns, an English gunflint, and 35 other gun parts (Figure 10).

These items seem to be leftover replacement parts, part of the arms entrusted to Col. Addison for use by his militia troops. Most of this material was recovered from the cellar of the earthfast house, where it was apparently stored when the building burned c. 1730.

Much of a planter family's time was taken up with social duties, either entertaining guests at home or visiting others. Guests were kin, friends, and neighbors that comprised a social network of other elite members of the community. One's standing in this network was in large measure dependent on how well and how often one entertained. Describing her grandfather Thomas Addison's time as master of Oxon Hill, Elizabeth Murray wrote in 1895, "It (Oxon Hill) was also the seat of a large hospitality, in the exercise of which many friends and relations were made to share in these blessings."

The "Georgian" Manor House in the Chesapeake

Historians have noted that by the second quarter of the eighteenth century the distribution, siting, and external appearance of the principal plantation centers, the "great" or "manor" houses, had come to overtly express social values. The "Georgian" manor house reproduced established European architectural norms that were expressions of social position. Such houses embodied social formality as an assertion of local social and political control.

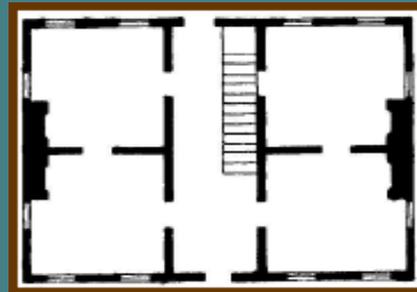


Fig. F. Typical "Georgian" floor plan of four main rooms divided by an entry/stair hall.

In the seventeenth century even relatively wealthy planters had for the most part lived in houses built on a two-room plan termed the hall/parlor plan. These houses were often impermanent buildings built using post-in-the-ground or earthfast techniques. Many were replaced by similar houses built of brick or wood frame on brick foundations. The hall/parlor house could be of a single story, but one-and-a-half- and two-story examples were not uncommon. Those who could afford to do so replaced this type of house with a much larger one featuring a four room plan, split by a central hall, usually with a prominent stairway (Figure F).

This change represented a major transformation of domestic space as the number and size of rooms was dramatically increased. The new house type's exterior presented a balanced facade of five or seven openings (bays) with a central doorway. It generally had two or two-and-a-half stories. The style reflects Renaissance classicism derived from the work of the Italian architect Palladio, and it seems, at least initially, to reflect the simple elegance of Dutch-derived classicism popular with minor gentry and emerging professionals in England.

In North America this type of house is generally termed "Georgian," but this name is really a misnomer. The essentials of the style were well-known in England by the third quarter of the seventeenth century and numerous such houses had been built by the turn of the eighteenth century. However, George I did not come to the throne until 1714. Architectural historian Daniel Reiff notes that the term's use stems from the fact that the style had its greatest impact in North America during the reign of George II (1727-60).

The earliest examples of this style in the Chesapeake region date from c.1710. Gov. Spotswood completed the transformation of the Virginia Governor's Palace in Williamsburg into a two-and-a-half story, five-bay residence and seat of government at this time, and Amber House at Jamestown, built or begun in 1710, features a four-room, central hall plan. Col. Thomas

Addison's brick manor house of 1710-11 may be one of the earliest such structures built in Maryland.

These new plantation manor houses were generally situated on the landscape so as to take advantage of any natural features or views that might have been available, and to make a monumental statement in their own right. Accordingly, they were often perched on top of hills or bluffs overlooking waterways. Rather than having a formal front and informal rear, manor houses along the Chesapeake and its tributaries tended to present a formal front on both the river side and on the land side. The river side was the public front of the house for those passing by on the water, while the land side was generally the side one first encountered when approaching the house on foot or by horse or carriage.

Beyond their imposing external appearance, one of the most important aspects of the Georgian manor house was the creation of private, family space that could be closed off from servants and visitors alike. Visitors entered into a large hallway that was not a principal living space. This was an extraordinary departure, given that with the earlier hall/parlor plan visitors entered directly into a living space. It is clear that the "Georgian" manor houses built in the Chesapeake region helped support and express the social and economic position of their builders.



The Wealth of the Addisons	Total Value of Estate (Pounds sterling)	Total Acres of Land	Total Number Enslaved Africans
Col. John Addison, d. 1705	2,676	6,478	15
Col. Thomas Addison, d. 1727	5,524	14,281	75 (includes one "Indian man." There were also 3 indentured servants)
Capt. John Addison, d. 1764	3,725	Unknown	41
Thomas Addison, d. 1774	5,565	5,133	109

The Georgian manor house brought with it specialized spaces for entertaining, parlors and dining rooms, which had not existed previously. Formal dining and tea drinking, and the genteel manners that went with them, became part of planter life. Various equipment was required to support these activities, including tea and tablewares. The estate inventories mention considerable amounts of silver plate and pewter, and the archaeological excavations recovered ceramic and glass objects. The table below shows the value of silver and pewter in three Addison households. While the value of silver plate remained fairly constant, trending only slightly downward over time, there was a marked increase in the value of pewter. The archaeology of the manor house provides a clue as to what took place.

In general, the grounds of the manor house were kept fairly free of trash, and few artifacts used by the occupants were recovered in excavations around the house. However, many artifacts were found in a well which stood off the north end of the manor house, and artifacts were also found at the earthfast house. The unlined well

contained artifacts and food bone waste that appeared to have been discarded between the 1720s and 1750s, most likely during Capt. John Addison's ownership of the property. Porcelain and refined earthenware sherds from the well included parts of 75 vessels, among them 15 tea cups and eight saucers, but only four plates. Parts of seven mugs, three large bowls, a condiment dish, and two chamber pots were also recovered. A sugar nipper, also required for serving tea, was recovered as well (Figure 11). The well also contained



Fig.11. In the eighteenth century sugar was molded into cones. These iron sugar snips, or nippers, were used to cut small chunks from the cone for use. They were an essential part of the equipment necessary to serve tea.

glass, including over 9,000 fragments of wine and spirit bottles (representing an unknown, but considerable, number of actual bottles) and parts of 12 wine glasses,

Silver Plate and Pewter	Value of Silver Plate (Pounds and shillings sterling)	Value of Pewter (Pounds and shillings sterling)
Col. Thomas Addison, d. 1727	20 / 8	24 / 0
Capt. John Addison, d. 1764	19 / 13	210 / 0
Thomas Addison, d. 1774	18 / 6	296 / 0

Flintlocks from the Earthfast House

During excavation of the earthfast (post-in-the-ground) house that burned c.1730, five flintlock mechanisms (locks) and numerous pieces of hardware and stock furniture for muskets and pistols were recovered. The firearm artifacts appeared to be leftover militia supplies that had been stored by Col. Thomas Addison as part of his military duties.

The lock was the most complex and fragile part of any gun, but it was fairly easy to replace. While one of the locks was too badly corroded to be identified as to type, the other four locks recovered represent the development of British firearms technology from c. 1625 through 1740 (Figure 10.). Three of the locks were "dog" locks, early



Fig. 10. Two of the flintlock mechanisms recovered at the earthfast house site. The uppermost is of a type dating from as early as c. 1625. The second example was made c. 1660 to 1675. These appear to be left over militia supplies that had been stored at the plantation in accordance with Col. Thomas Addison's official duties.

flintlocks whose cocks, or hammer, were held in the half-cock, or safety position, by an external latch, or "dog." Even when simply made, as were these military models, these mechanisms had a reasonably secure action, making them the preferred British lock through most of the seventeenth century. They continued to be used by the army as late as 1715. Those recovered at Oxon Hill all measured over seven inches in length, indicating that they were made for use in a musket rather than a pistol or other type weapon. All had three mounting screws, indicating that they were likely

manufactured in the seventeenth century because by the early eighteenth century two screws were deemed adequate. The locks also lack reinforcing bridles that became common after about 1700. Finally, none of the dog locks showed any indication of ordnance inspector or "viewing" marks, manufacturers' names or dates, or more than the very simplest decoration.

Each of the three dog locks was of a distinct design. One was of the type dating c. 1625 to 1650, distinguished by a laterally acting sear, a mechanism between the tumbler and trigger which allowed for release of the cock when the trigger was pulled. Shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century this design was replaced with a mechanism having a vertical action. One lock reflected design changes that took place c. 1660 to 1675: the frizzen, the piece that covered the powder pan and provided a striking surface for the flint, was pointed with a concave surface. The final dog lock exhibited design features seen just before the dog lock was replaced by the half-cockable lock, c. 1715: the powder pan was forged to the surface plate, the flint-holding jaws were rounded, and the cock was attached to the shank with a screw.

The last lock was a half-cockable model. This type had an internal mechanism which replaced the external dog. This allowed the gun to be carried at a half-cock safety position. Firing the weapon only required that the cock be pulled back to the full cock position before pulling the trigger, thus eliminating the step of releasing the cock from the dog. In battle, where seconds could be critical, this improvement represented an important technological advance. This mechanism is similar in design to that of the first series of the Long Land Pattern, or "Brown Bess" musket, first adopted by the British army in 1718 and used to about 1740, but in measuring only six and one-sixteenth inches in length, it may have been used in an officer's carbine or pistol rather than a musket. As with the dog locks, no manufacture or other marks were observed.



six tumblers, and a decanter (Figures 12 and 13).



Fig. 12. Wine bottle fragments, three bearing Thomas Addison's AT seal and one marked NR for Nathaniel Rosier, a neighbor of the Addisons at nearby Notley Hall.

The fill of the cellar at the earthfast house included artifacts that were either in the building when it burned or subsequently discarded when filling the depression. There



Fig. 13. Mid-eighteenth century stemmed wine glasses recovered from a well near the manor house.

were portions of three delftware porringers, one of which was burnt (Figure 14), and a burnt delftware plate (Figure 15).

Delftware, or tin-glazed earthenware, was the first European pottery to copy the white to bluish off-white look of Chinese porcelain. This might have been everyday tableware for a family like the Addisons.



Fig. 14. Delftware porringers. This pottery was made throughout Europe, but Holland, including the town of Delft, was a leading center.

Portions of two English slip-dipped white stoneware mugs and a Rhenish stoneware mug decorated with blue, a Rhenish stoneware mug decorated with purple, an embellished Hohr gray Rhenish stoneware jug, and a Rhenish stoneware mug having



Fig. 15. Burnt delftware plate and nearly intact wine bottle. The wine bottle is of the squat "onion" form, manufactured in England in the late 1690s to c.1710.

part of a crown cartouche were recovered (Figures 16 and 17). A complete "GR" crown cartouche was found on another Rhenish sherd recovered from the well (Figure 18). The stoneware mugs were produced from c. 1715 up to the time of the American Revolution. The Rhenish stoneware mugs were produced along the Rhine River valley from late in the seventeenth century through to about the



Fig. 16. Largely complete English slip-dipped white stoneware mugs and a Rhenish stoneware jug decorated with blue. Mugs were popular for drinking just about any beverage.

time of the Revolution as well. However, the "GR" mark on the jug with the complete crown cartouche stood for Georgius Rex, Latin for King George. The incomplete crown cartouche is not datable, since we do not know which monarch was represented. The embellished Hohr gray Rhenish jug is unusual in that it was only produced for a short time, from c. 1690 to 1710.



Fig. 17. Sherds of a Rhenish stoneware mug decorated with purple, an embellished Hohn gray Rhenish stoneware jug, and a Rhenish stoneware mug having a crown cartouche. While embellished Hohn gray Rhenish stoneware was only produced c.1690 to 1710, other Rhenish varieties were popular until the American Revolution.

Overall, the stoneware represented here was less formal than the teawares recovered from the well; they were everyday ceramics widely used for drinking just about any beverage. This material and the delftware mentioned above, if not used by the Addisons as "everyday" tableware, may have been used by other residents of the plantation, perhaps handed down from the main house, a practice documented in the archaeology of other plantations including Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

Wine bottle glass fragments were numerous and many bore the AT seal of Thomas Addison. Also present was a bottle seal marked "NR" (Fig. 12). Nathaniel Rosier



Fig. 18. A complete "GR" crown cartouche on a sherd of Rhenish stoneware. "GR" stood for Georgius Rex, Latin for King George. This refers to either George I or II and thus dates from 1714 to 1760.

was a neighbor of the Addisons at the nearby plantation Notley Hall. Wine appears to have been consumed in quantity and played an important role in the Addisons' entertaining. The practice of placing identifying glass seals on wine bottles developed in the mid-seventeenth century. That Thomas Addison had many bottles made bearing his AT mark is surely another indicator of his wealth and social status.

The small number of ceramic plates recovered, combined with the information about silver plate and pewter from the estate inventories, suggests that while the Addisons served tea from fashionable ceramics in the mid-eighteenth century, they set their dinner table more with pewter than with ceramics. According to historian Gloria Main, pewter was highly valued in the colonial Chesapeake and was a priority



Fig. 19. These brass and copper items reflect the wealth and commercial connections of the Addisons. The coin is a French Liard, a denomination equal to three deniers. Marked "LIARD DE FRANCE D," this coin was produced during the reign of Louis XIV, 1643-1715, probably in the late 1650s. Coinage was always in short supply in the colonies, so it is likely that this French piece was accepted as having a value equal to English coins of the same size. The other two objects are an early eighteenth-century belt buckle, and the top portion of a brass candlestick. Objects of this type are rare finds because the brass had value as scrap.

item of acquisition, behind only beds and iron cooking pots. Pewter cost four to six times more than similar ceramic tablewares, and it was a symbol of stability and wealth.

While no pewter was found in the excavations, several brass and copper items were recovered (Figure 19). These included the top of a brass candlestick and a brass belt buckle. A copper liard (a French coin of small denomination), probably made in the late 1650s, was also found.

Both the documents and the archaeological evidence testify that during the eighteenth century the Addisons enjoyed what was for their time a sumptuous lifestyle designed to reflect their considerable economic means and establish and maintain a high position in the increasingly differentiated social hierarchy of the Tidewater region. Yet they were not carefree aristocrats, but rather responsible leaders of a growing colony.

THE ENSLAVED

The wealth of the Addisons came largely from the labor of the enslaved, nearly all of whom were Africans (there is also mention of Tom, an "Indian man," in the 1727 inventory of Col. Thomas Addison). The Addisons' material and social success and even Oxon Hill itself would not have been possible without these workers, for Oxon Hill was a world that they quite literally built. The names of many are recorded as valuable "property" in the Addisons' estate inventories.

We do not know where they lived, with the exception of a reference in Col. Thomas Addisons' 1727 inventory to a "negroe's room" in the shed attached to the main house.

The inventories also mention "quarters," groups of buildings that would have housed the enslaved. While the homes of several nineteenth-century tenants were investigated at the Oxon Hill site, none of the eighteenth-century quarters were found. It is likely that they were remote from the manor house, near the plantation's working fields.

We also know from the inventories that some of the enslaved possessed special skills. When he died in 1705, Col. John

Pewter

Pewter is a white metal alloy. It is composed primarily of tin (90 to 98 percent) with a variety of other elements added to add strength (hardness) and improve its casting characteristics. Modern pewter generally contains between one-half and eight percent antimony and between one-quarter and two and a half percent copper. Historically, lead was a common component of pewter. Small amounts of silver, zinc, and bismuth are also common additives.

While pewter was a major component of tableware items for two centuries, it is seldom recovered in archaeological excavations. Ann Smart Martin, a specialist in historical material culture, believes that there are three reasons for this: first, pewter's durability prevented significant breakage and discard; second, broken pieces could be recast or sold; and third, if discarded, it was susceptible to decomposition in the ground.



Addison owned Dick, a mulatto carpenter. This man was one of the first known enslaved artisans in colonial Maryland. When Col. Thomas Addison died in 1727, his 31 male hands still included Dick, then listed as a mulatto carpenter and cooper (a barrel-maker). In addition, Jinny was listed as a cook. When Thomas Addison died in 1774, his estate included 27 male hands. Among these were four carpenters (Ned, George, Peter, and Harry); George, a joiner (carpenter specialized in detailed joining of wood); George, a shoemaker; Jimmy, a coachman; Peter, a tailor; and Sam, a gardener. Beck was listed as a midwife.

The archaeology of the manor house complex reflects the presence of the enslaved workforce in more than the product of their labors. Two archaeological finds are possibly the result of direct action by enslaved individuals and may reflect aspects of spirituality and religious belief. They may also reflect the ability of the enslaved to adapt European objects to new, African-influenced uses and meanings.

First, a straight-sided redware ceramic crock, probably produced in the early nineteenth century, was found buried in the floor of the southeasternmost room of the manor house cellar (Figure 20). The crock



Fig. 20. A straight-sided redware ceramic crock, probably produced in the early nineteenth century, was found buried in the floor of the southeasternmost room of the manor house cellar. The crock may have contained a protection charm.



Fig. 21. Three wine bottles were found buried together near the top of the passageway leading from the cellar of the earthfast house. These bottles had been turned upside-down so that the kicked-up bottoms faced up and could have functioned as bowls for a ritual use.

may have been placed in the ground in an effort to hide something, perhaps something of special value, or it may have contained a charm intended to protect the house or an individual. A similar feature has been reported at the Brush-Everard House in Williamsburg. There, a delftware drug jar was discovered buried in a hole cut through the packed clay floor of the kitchen.

Second, three wine bottles were found buried together near the top of the passageway leading from the cellar of the earthfast house (Figure 21). These bottles had been turned upside-down so that the concave bottoms faced up, and could have functioned as bowls. They appear to have been deliberately placed into a hole, perhaps as part of a ritual. Nothing was found in the contents of the crock, the bottle bases, or the holes into which they had been placed to provide any further clue as to their functions.

Unusual archaeological phenomena such as the ones described above are not uncommon in the Tidewater region. As archaeologists have become more attuned to look for unusually modified objects and atypical groupings of artifacts in unusual places, more are being found. Archaeologists think of these finds as unusual because they appear to involve uses of everyday things in ways that are foreign to us, ways that appear to have had spiritual meaning in the past. Both Europeans and Africans adapted everyday objects in these special ways; for

example, in England “witch bottles” were used as charms to ward off evil even as recently as the 20th century. For enslaved Africans, the spiritual meanings of things often had to be hidden from their overseers.

Spirituality permeated all aspects of life in West Africa and the lives of Africans in the Diaspora. The specifics varied from region to region and group to group, but the sacred was integrated into all aspects of everyday life: it guided daily activities, it regulated family and community relationships, and it guarded from harm. Scholars of West African traditional religions assert that the key to understanding the West African world view lies in spiritual beliefs. The spiritual beliefs of many West Africans and their descendants, enslaved in the Chesapeake, included belief in a sovereign creator and ruler of the universe, belief in divinities and ancestors who acted as intermediaries between humans and God, belief in the sacredness of nature, and reliance on practices of magic and medicine, including the use of charms and other protective devices, to influence events and people.

Some community members were believed to have special powers used to help others. Midwives, root-doctors, and conjurers provided magical and magico-medical services to others in their communities. Their activities gave solid form to African-influenced spirituality in ways that left archaeological evidence. Conjures and charms, to both protect and to harm, involved the use of objects such as crystals, bottles, or cups containing nails, pins, animal bones, and a variety of organic materials that would not survive in the archaeological record. These were commonly placed under floors, in the corners and doorways of rooms, and adjacent to houses on their exterior. Possible altars or offerings to honor ancestors containing buttons, doll parts, rings, and crystals have been found in similar locations.

The religious institutions established by the planters did not, as a rule, encompass the spiritual life of the enslaved. At first, the planters were concerned that baptism and church membership might change the legal status of the enslaved, that they might through this process become free. In Maryland this problem was addressed by the Assembly in 1664, and by 1706 five other colonial legislatures had fixed in law that baptism did not change the status of the enslaved. Religious instruction necessary to baptism was also seen as a problem; there was not much leisure time available and both the enslaved and planters had other priorities. It was also feared that the message of Christianity might incite rebellion.

In the religious excitement of the Great Awakening of the 1740s this resistance began to fade, especially with the non-conformist evangelical denominations such as the Baptists and the Methodists. African and Christian spiritualities were blended, and singing, clapping, dancing, and even spirit-possession became common elements of African-American Christian liturgy by the nineteenth century, traditions that continue into the present.

Both the English planters and the enslaved Africans arrived in the Chesapeake with baggage, not baggage that could be carried, but the baggage of culture in their minds and in their hearts. From the contents of that baggage together they built a world different from that from which they had come, a plantation world different from our own. Here we have glimpsed some of that world using the methods of archaeology and history.



Sumner Welles and Oxon Hill Manor Reborn

Sumner and Mathilde Welles purchased 245 acres of the Oxon Hill estate in 1927. They then set to work building a new Oxon Hill Manor approximately one-third of a mile from the ruins of the colonial original.

Welles, born of a wealthy New York family in 1892, was a distinguished diplomat and foreign policy analyst. In 1925 he married Pennsylvania Railroad heiress Mathilde Townsend Gerry, former wife of Senator Peter Gerry of Rhode Island.

Welles' family was closely connected to that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and he began advising the future president and other Democrats on foreign affairs in the late 1920s. He joined the Roosevelt administration in 1933, serving first as Assistant Secretary of State and Ambassador to Cuba and later as Undersecretary of State. Welles is credited with two important monuments of diplomacy: the Good Neighbor policy, which continues to be the cornerstone of U.S. - Latin American relations, and the Atlantic Charter, the template upon which the United Nations was established. Welles resigned from public service in 1943, but continued to be one of the most influential voices in the debate over America's role in the postwar world. In a stream of books, articles, and lectures, he promoted his views on almost every aspect of American foreign policy. Sumner Welles died in 1961.

French-born and -educated Washington architect Jules Henri de Sibour (1872-1938) was retained by Sumner and Mathilde Welles to design their house, the new Oxon Hill Manor. Architect to the famous and wealthy in early twentieth-century

Washington, de Sibour's other commissions included the 1904 Thomas T. Gaff House (now the embassy of Colombia), the 1924 Investment Building on K Street, and the McCormick Apartments, built 1917-22 (now the headquarters of the National Trust for Historic Preservation).

Their two-story, 49-room Neo-Georgian style brick mansion was completed in 1929 (Figure G). It successfully captured the



Fig. G. The front of Sumner and Mathilde Welles' Oxon Hill Manor, completed in 1929.

essence of a Georgian country estate in the scale of its interior spaces and the development of the site with garden vistas and long views beyond the lawns. Here the Welles entertained foreign

dignitaries and diplomats and hosted informal meetings of senior government officials. Roosevelt, too, reportedly enjoyed stealing away to Oxon Hill, to sip mint juleps on the veranda overlooking the Potomac. Welles sold the house and 55 acres of surrounding gardens in 1952.

The property, listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1978, is owned by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Department of Parks and Recreation. It has become a popular venue for weddings and other social functions.

The house suffered significant damage during a three-alarm fire caused by restoration work in early January 2004. The house reopened in October of 2007 after extensive restoration and repair.



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