

# Literature Review

The following chapter examines some of the available literature relevant for researchers of antebellum Prince George's County. This literature review is not a comprehensive compendium of all applicable sources, but rather a bibliographical aid. Researchers are likely to uncover sources relevant to their investigations not listed here; similarly, new works are continuously being produced. The section below provides lists of potentially useful primary and secondary sources, organized topically. Several of the sources are discussed more fully in the following sections.

## Topical Reference Lists

The following section contains topically organized lists of sources available to individuals conducting slave-related research in Prince George's County, Maryland. For primary sources, the lists provide the document, source, and/or collection name as well as its location. For secondary sources, the name of the work and author is provided with the publication date in parenthesis.

### **Primary Sources, circa 1650–1775**

Listed below are primary sources relevant to the colonial history of Prince George's County, Maryland.

*Located in the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland:*

- *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly.* Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/legislative.html>
- *Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court.* Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/courts.html>
- *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland.* Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/>
- *Proceedings of the Provincial Court.* Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/courts.html>
- *Proceedings of the Court of Chancery.* Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/courts.html>

- *Maryland Land Records*. Archives of Maryland Volume 80. Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/land.html>
- *Court Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696–1699*. Archives of Maryland Volume 202. Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/html/>
- *Hanson's Laws of Maryland, 1763–1784*. Archives of Maryland Volume 203. Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/00203/html/index.html>
- *Maryland State Papers–Black Books, 1636–1785*. MSA Number S987-1 through S987-20
- *Maryland Gazette, 1728–1839*. Or on-line at <http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc4800/sc4872/001007/html/index.html>
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Bonds), 1739–1812*. MSA Number C1168-1
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Chattel Papers), 1709–1784*. MSA Numbers C1174-1 and C1174-2
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Deeds), 1712–1781*. Or on-line at <http://www.mdlandrec.net> (password required)
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Land Commission Papers), 1724–1778*. MSA Numbers C1235-1 through C1235-4
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Land Commission), 1716–1721*. MSA Number C1236-1
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Land Records), 1696–1780*. MSA Numbers C1237-1 through C1237-27
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Plats from Land Records), 1699–1834*. MSA Number C2389
- *Prince George's County Court Records (Road Papers), 1747–1850*. MSA Number C1292
- *Prince George's County Register of Wills (Inventories), 1696–1787*. MSA Numbers C1228-1 through C1228-10. Selected inventories available on-line from the George Mason University, Center for History and New Media at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/>

## ***Primary Sources, 1776–circa1864<sup>1</sup>***

The primary sources produced after American independence varied considerably from those kept under colonial rule. Accordingly, the following list focuses on primary sources relevant to Prince George’s County history from the American Revolution through 1864, the year that Maryland ratified a new state constitution that outlawed the practice of slavery. Portions of several important primary sources from this period, including census information, chattel records, and runaway slave advertisements have been made available on-line by the Maryland State Archives Slavery Commission.

*Located in the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, Maryland:*

- *Censuses, 1776 and 1778.* MSA Numbers S1419-1 through S1419-17. Includes free black entries
- *United States Census, 1790–1860.* Accession Numbers M2053-1 (1790), M2056-4 (1800), M2061-1 (1810), M2066-4 (1820), M4723-1 (1840), M1499-2 (1850), and M7223-2 (1860). No census available for 1830
- *United States Census (Agriculture Schedules), 1850 and 1860.* Accession Numbers M5164-2 (1850) and M5167-1 (1860)
- *United States Census (Slave Schedules), 1850 and 1860.* Accession Numbers M1505-6 (1850) and M7230-3 (1860)
- *Federal Direct Tax List, 1798.* MSA Number M1440
- *Prince George’s County Court Records (Chattel Papers), 1785–1851.* MSA Numbers C1174-3 through C1174-15
- *Prince George’s County Circuit Court Records (Chattel Papers), 1852–1865.* MSA Number C1175-1
- *Prince George’s County Court Records (Deeds), 1782–1851.* MSA Numbers C1198-4 through C1198-21
- *Prince George’s County Circuit Court Records (Deeds), 1851–1875.* MSA Number C1199-1
- *Prince George’s County Court Records (Land Commission Papers), 1779–1847.* MSA Numbers C1235-5 through C1235-20

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<sup>1</sup> A wealth of primary sources specific to Prince George’s County is available for the period between the American Revolution through the end of the Civil War. Although no one set of records provides a clear picture, used collectively and in concert, much can be discerned about agriculture and slaves. In particular, freemen and slave census records analyzed in conjunction with agriculture schedules provide important information at both the district and countywide level. In several cases, these records can be used to assess the activities in which slaves engaged on particular plantations.

- *Prince George's County Circuit Court Records (Land Records), 1851–1865.* MSA Numbers C1238-1 through C1238-9
- *Prince George's County Register of Wills (Inventories), 1696–1793.* MSA Numbers C1228-11 through C1228-31. Selected inventories available on-line from the George Mason University, Center for History and New Media at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/>
- *Prince George's County Commissioner of Slave Statistics (Slave Statistics), 1867–1869.* MSA Numbers C1308-1 through C1308-3
- *Prince George's County Commissioners of the Tax (Assessment Papers), 1786–1828.* MSA Number C1159-1
- Callcott, Margaret Law (Ed.), *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert, 1795–1821.* (1991)

### **Primary Sources—Maps**

Historic maps, particularly when used in conjunction with other primary sources, can provide a powerful tool for researchers. Some of the more accessible Prince George's County maps are listed below.

- J.H. Colton, *Delaware and Maryland, 1855.* On-line searchable version available through the Maryland State Archives, [http://www.mdslavery.net/html/mapped\\_images/mapsindex.html](http://www.mdslavery.net/html/mapped_images/mapsindex.html)
- Augustine Herman, *Virginia and Maryland as it is planted and inhabited this present year 1670.* Available on-line from the Library of Congress, American Memory. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>
- Robert M. Kirby, Earle D. Matthews, and Moulton A. Bailey, *Soil Survey of Prince George's County, Maryland* (1967)
- Louise Joyner Hienton, Prince George's County Land Grants, 1696. Map Located in Back Cover of *Prince George's County Heritage: Sidelights on the Early History of Prince George's County, Maryland from 1696 to 1800.* Maryland Historical Society. Pridemark Press. Baltimore, Maryland (1972)
- Simon J. Martenet, *Map of Prince George's County, Maryland* [1861]. Reproduced by the Prince George's County Historical Society in *Atlas of Prince George's County, Maryland – 1861.* (1995)
- John Smith. *Virginia* [1606]. Available on-line from the Library of Congress, American Memory. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>

## **Secondary Sources—General Slavery**

Slavery remains one of the most investigated aspects of American history. The types of works produced vary considerably in scope and focus. Several general works on slave history with large temporal and geographic reaches are listed below.

- Ira Berlin, *A History of African American Slaves* (2003)
- Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998)
- John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (1972)
- John. B. Boles, *Black Southerners, 1619–1869* (1985)
- Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South: The Emergence of a Reluctant Nation* (1975)
- Eric Foner, *Short History of Reconstruction* (1990)
- John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantations* (1999)
- Eugene D. Genovese, *The Slaveholder's Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820–1860* (1995)
- Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (1999)
- Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877* (1993)
- Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (1979)
- Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *American Negro Slavery: A Survey of Supply, Employment and Control of Negro Labor as Determined by the Plantation Regime* (1918)
- Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956)
- John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (1998)

### **Secondary Sources—Tobacco, Economic History**

Listed below are a handful of works that discuss economic history; most focus on tobacco, the most important export from the Middle Atlantic region.

- T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (2005)
- T. H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution* (1985)
- John J. McCusker, *Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (1991)
- Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (1984)

### **Secondary Sources—Chesapeake History/Slavery**

A sample listing of historical works discussing the history of the Chesapeake Bay region is included below.

- Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Editors), *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (1988)
- James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake* (1994)
- Allan Kulikoff, “The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture,” *Journal of Southern History*. Vol. 45, No. 4 (1979)
- Allan Kulikoff, “Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700–1790.” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 35, No. 2 (1978)
- Edmond S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ideal of Colonial Virginia* (1975)
- Philip D. Morgan, *Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (1998)
- Daniel Blake Smith, *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth Century Chesapeake Society* (1980)
- Donald M. Sweig, “The Importation of African Slaves to the Potomac River, 1732–1772,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 42, No. 4 (1985)
- Thad W. Tate, and David L. Ammerman (Editors), *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics* (1979)

- Lorena S. Walsh, “The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 58, No. 1 (2001)
- Lorena S. Walsh, “Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Subregionally,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. Vol. 56, No. 1 (1999)

### **Secondary Sources–Maryland History/Slavery**

The list below contains several works concerning the history of the Maryland colony and/or the State of Maryland.

- Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole’s World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (1991)
- Barbara J. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (1985)
- Russell R. Menard, “The Maryland Slave Population, 1658–1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Volume 32, No. 1 (1975)
- Donald G. Shomette, *Lost Towns of Tidewater Maryland* (2000)
- Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862–1864* (2004)

### **Secondary Sources–County History/Slavery**

Relatively little historic literature has concentrated specifically on Prince George’s County history. However, these pieces contain some of the best and most relevant information for county researchers.

- Louise Joyner Hienton, *Prince George’s County Heritage: Sidelights on the Early History of Prince George’s County, Maryland from 1696 to 1800* (1972)
- Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George’s County, Maryland*. Doctoral Dissertation. (1976)
- Susan G. Pearl, Marina King, and Howard S. Berger, *Historic Contexts in Prince George’s County: Short Papers on Settlement Patterns, Transportation and Cultural History* (1991)
- Steven Sarson, “Distribution of Wealth in Prince George’s County, Maryland, 1800–1820,” *Journal of Economic History*. Vol. 60, No. 3 (2000)

- Alvin Thornton and Karen Lesla Williams Gooden, *Like a Phoenix I'll Rise: An Illustrated History of African Americans in Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696–1996* (1997)
- R. Lee Van Horn, *Out of the Past: Prince Georgians and Their Land* (1976)

### **Secondary Sources—Cultural History and Slave Folklife**

Late in the twentieth century, interest in cultural expressions and the folklife of slaves and other historically under-recorded groups intensified. These works deviate from more traditional histories in their choice of subject matter as well as their often innovative use of primary sources.

- Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (1996)
- Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (1974)
- Julie Roy Jeffrey. *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (1998)
- Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (1977)
- Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South* (1978)
- Anna M. Speicher, *The Religious World of Antislavery Women: Spirituality in the Lives of Five Abolitionist Lecturers* (2000)

### **Secondary Sources—Architecture and Archeology**

Works regarding regional formal and vernacular architecture, as well as archeological studies, help with the understanding of intra-plantation spatial organization and utilization.

- Michael Bourne, Orlando Ridout V, Paul Touart, and Donna Ware, *Architecture and Change in the Chesapeake: A Field Tour on the Eastern and Western Shores* (1998)
- Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800* (1992)
- Garrett Fesler, Utopia Sites. On-line at the Digital Archaeological Archives of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>
- Henry Chandlee Forman, *Maryland Architecture: A Short History from 1634 Through the Civil War* (1968)



- Jillian E. Galle and Amy L. Young (Editors), *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective* (2004)
- R.H. Jamieson, “Material Culture and Social Death: African-American Burial Practices,” *Historical Archaeology*. Vol. 29, No. 4 (1995)
- Julia A. King and Douglas H. Ubelaker (Editors), *Living and Dying on the 17<sup>th</sup> Century Patuxent Frontier* (1996)
- George W. McDaniel, *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People’s Culture* (1982)
- E.G. Medford (Editor), *The New York African Burial Ground History Final Report*. Available on-line at [http://www.africanburialground.gov/ABG\\_FinalReports.htm](http://www.africanburialground.gov/ABG_FinalReports.htm) (2004)
- Timothy Riordan, *Dig a Grave Both Wide and Deep: An Archaeological Investigation of Mortuary Practices in the 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Cemetery at St. Mary’s City, Maryland* (2000)
- Aaron E. Russell, “Material Culture and African American Spirituality at the Hermitage,” *Historical Archaeology*. Vol. 2, No. 31, (1997)
- Patricia Samford, “The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, Vol. 53, No. 1 (1996)
- Patricia Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia* (2007)
- Theresa A. Singleton and Mark D. Bograd, *The Archaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas* (1995)
- John Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (1993)
- John Vlach, *The Planter’s Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings* (2002)
- Anne Elizabeth Yentch, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology* (1994)

## **Discussion of Selected Primary Sources**

The term “primary sources” pertains to all historical data generated contemporaneously with the events under investigation. Traditionally, the term was applied almost exclusively to documents such as censuses, official reports, personal correspondences, diaries, etc. However, recent research has expanded this view to encompass an ever-increasing number of cultural products such as songs, poetry, popular literature, art, and everyday material culture. The net effect of this more inclusive approach is the recognition of individuals and

groups traditionally under-represented or completely excluded from traditional primary sources. For example, the historical community widely touted Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture, Black Consciousness* (1978) for its innovative use of sources in examining the historical development of African-American culture, in particular his interpretations of negro spiritual songs. Future examinations of Prince George's County slave-related topics will likely expose new sources and new methods of approaching the existing record.

### **Colonial Documents**

For the period before the American Revolution there are numerous documents that provide information germane to the study of slavery in Prince George's County. Some of these include the Proceedings of the General Assembly, Court Records Prince George's County (1696-1699), Proceedings of the Charles County Court (for pre-1696 information), and Proceedings of the Provincial Court. These documents are available on the Internet through the Archives of Maryland On-line. Several other highly informative documents are only accessible at the Maryland State Archives. These include Prince George's County Black Books, probate inventories, wills, and land records, as well as parish birth, death, and marriage records.

Probate records offer some of the best information for researchers, historians, archeologists, architectural historians, and genealogists alike. These records provide an inventory of items possessed by an individual at the time of death (Figure 2). Inventories are generally thorough and often include furniture, cooking implements, firearms, agricultural tools, amounts of grains, quantities of tobacco, farm animals, etc., as well as indentured servants and slaves. On larger plantations, assessors often distinguish on which "Quarters" within a plantation items were located. This information can be exceptionally useful to researchers, in particular to archeologists. The data provide indications about the geographic division of the plantation. The distribution of economic activities conducted on a plantation can be determined, as can the human resources dedicated to these activities. Because these records often document occurrences of "negro bedding" and cooking pots, it is possible to ascertain how slaveholders divided their labor force. Similarly, this information may hold significant implications for understanding the formation and development of slave family networks. Allan Kulikoff (1976) utilized these records as a means to determine fluctuations in the value of commodities such as tobacco, grains, and slaves.

It is, however, incumbent upon the researcher to take caution in the application of these data. For example, the amount of any agricultural items present on a plantation varied seasonally. The agricultural calendar dictates that stocks of corn, as an example, will be greater in September or October than in May or June owing to the mid- to late-summer harvest for that crop. Similarly, the probate inventory for an individual who died in January or February may contain a large amount of tobacco compared to one taken in July or August. In this instance, the former planter died in the period when most of

|                                  |     |    |    |   |                                 |      |
|----------------------------------|-----|----|----|---|---------------------------------|------|
| 11 Cows                          | 6/6 | 3  | 11 | 6 | 1 Old Ox                        | 10   |
| 1 Ram                            |     | .. | 6  | 6 | 1 new rope Traces with Harness  | 2 6  |
| 27 Various Grade Sows & Pigs     |     | 10 | 16 | 7 | Wearing hose                    | 11 8 |
| 20 Hogs                          | 3/  | 3  |    |   | 7 narrow Bells                  | 11 8 |
| 16 Sucking pigs                  | 6/  | .. | 8  |   | 3 new England Axes              | 15   |
| 1 2 years old Blacue Colt        |     | 15 |    |   | 3 narrow D°                     | 7 6  |
| 1 Chan Horse                     |     | 10 |    |   | 1 Adze                          | 1 8  |
| 1 Bay Horse 6 years old          |     | 6  |    |   | 2 old Broad Axes                | 4    |
| 2 Bay Horses a wof               |     | 20 |    |   | 3 old plain Hooks & Bills       | 4    |
| 1 Black Horse                    |     | 2  |    |   | 1 D° Crow                       | 6    |
| 1 Spane Horse Coll 2 yrs old     |     | 2  |    |   | 1 D° Sizer                      | 1    |
| 1 D° 2 yrs old                   |     | 1  | 10 |   | 2 D° Augers                     | 1    |
| 1 Bay Mare                       |     | 1  | 10 |   | 1 Drawing Knife                 | 1    |
| 1 Riding Horse                   |     | 12 |    |   | 1 old Smiths Hammer             | 1    |
| Negroes &c                       |     |    |    |   | 1 D° Coopers Adz                | 1    |
| 1 Negro man name Compy           | 7/5 | 40 |    |   | 2 D° D° Axes                    | 2    |
| 1 D° name Peter Carpenter        | 43  | 62 | 13 | 4 | 3 D° Chisels                    | 1    |
| 1 D° D° Carroll                  | 38  | 53 | 6  | 8 | 1 D° Gauge                      | 6    |
| 1 D° D° Loman                    | 32  | 53 | 6  | 8 | 1/2 Compases                    | 6    |
| 1 D° D° Luke                     | 34  | 53 | 6  | 8 | 1 Saw reel                      | 6    |
| 1 D° D° Raa                      | 24  | 53 | 6  | 8 | 1 old hand saw                  | 2    |
| 1 D° D° Aaron                    | 17  | 53 | 6  | 8 | 1 Curving Knife                 | 2 6  |
| 1 D° Wench Frank                 | 38  | 46 | 13 | 4 | 2 old Spades                    | 4    |
| 1 D° D° Nee                      | 28  | 46 | 13 | 4 | 2 dog Pickles                   | 3    |
| 1 D° D° Pop                      | 16  | 46 | 13 | 4 | 2 old Chisels                   | 4    |
| 1 D° Boy Jim                     | 14  | 40 |    |   | 1 Ring Bowser                   | 6    |
| 1 D° D° Jupiter                  | 15  | 40 |    |   | 1 Ballas 2/4 Axes & 1/2 Sullers | 2    |
| 1 D° D° Tony                     | 12  | 33 | 6  | 8 | In the Red Room                 |      |
| 1 D° D° Tom                      | 12  | 33 | 6  | 8 | 1 Bed Bolster & Pillows         | 3    |
| 1 D° D° Matt                     | 6   | 24 | 13 | 4 | 1 Man Bed                       | 10   |
| 1 D° Girl Ann                    | 13  | 38 | 6  | 8 | 1/2 Superfine Blankets          | 1 10 |
| 1 D° D° Kate                     | 11  | 33 | 6  | 8 | 1 old Blanket                   | 7 6  |
| 1 D° D° Sel                      | 4   | 20 |    |   | 1 Quilt                         | 12 6 |
| 1 D° D° Jen son Eyes             | 4   | 2  | 13 | 4 | 1 All Curtains & basket cloth   | 1 15 |
| 1 Chan & Harness                 |     | 6  |    |   | 1 Bra stow & Coze               | 7 6  |
| 1 Sams with Ropes                |     | 5  |    |   | 2 velvet Chairs                 | 1    |
| 1 Card Shop with Iron            |     | 6  |    |   | 1 Dressing Desk & Looking Glass | 3    |
| 1 Common D°                      |     | 1  |    |   | 1 Small black leather Trunk     | 2 6  |
| 3 old Harrow w/ hoes             |     | .. | 15 |   | 2 window Curtains               | 12 6 |
| 1 D° Trivet hoe with wooden work |     | 1  | 6  |   | In the Blue Room                |      |
| 1 New bed pillow                 |     | 12 | 6  |   | 1 Bed Bolster & Pillows         | 3    |

Figure 2: Sample Page from the Inventory of Thomas Hollyday, 1767

his tobacco crop had been processed but awaited export. Conversely, the latter planter would have died after the sale of the previous season's crop, but before the current crop had matured in the fields.

Using this hypothetical example, the two planters may in actuality have had nearly identical economic and social profiles, though their inventories would suggest some degree of disparity. Thus, while inventories provide an excellent means of identifying trends in crop prices over time, their utility in calculating crop yields, productivity, and the degree to which individual planters relied on a particular crop is problematic.

As with other records, probate inventories gain interpretative power through their use in concert with other contemporary records such as wills or land records. Similarly, records not directly associated with the subject of an investigation can be useful if carefully applied. This method assumes that individuals living at the same time, occupying similar geography, of a similar socio-economic class, and/or engaged in similar activities possessed similar, if not shared, experiences. For example, archeologists investigating an eighteenth-century plantation in a tobacco-growing region of Prince George's County may encounter a paucity of primary documentation for that particular property. However, these records may exist for a neighboring, contemporary landowner of similar social standing, with a similarly sized labor force. It is reasonable to assume that these individuals owned similar possessions, in similar proportions. Making such inferences should be limited and clearly noted.

Although many colony-wide primary sources, such as the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly are available through the Archives of Maryland On-line, the majority of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents specific to Prince George's County have not yet been digitized. These records can be accessed only by visiting the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis. Archivists possess the best knowledge regarding the holdings at the Archives and can be an indispensable resource.

### ***United States Census***

The first U.S. census was taken in 1776 in order to help with the collection of revenues necessary to fund the American Revolution. The second census, of 1778, primarily served as a means to enforce the mandate that all free males sign oaths of fidelity to the new nation. These records provide the names of heads of household and the county and hundred in which they resided. A combined index of names recorded in the 1776 and 1778 censuses is available on-line from the Maryland State Archives (MSA 2006a). It should be noted, however, that the 1776 census included only certain portions of, rather than the entire, county (Kulikoff 1976).

Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution of the United States, which outlines the role and composition of the House of Representatives, mandates that an enumeration of the population be taken every ten years. The first census was

taken in 1790 and one has followed every decade since. Over the course of time, however, the information contained within the census has steadily grown. The census records most pertinent to the study of slavery include the nine taken between 1790 and 1870. The 1790 census provides only the name of the head of family, the number of free white males over the age of 16, the number of free white males under the age of 16, the number of free white females, and the number of slaves. These records are organized by county.

The subsequent censuses of 1800, 1810, 1820, and 1840 further divide free white males and females by age: under 10 years old, 11–16 years old, 17–26 years old, 27–45 years old, and over 45. The 1830 census is not available for Prince George’s County. In addition, these censuses count the population of free persons of color, excluding Indians and others who were not taxed. Similar divisions are provided for the free black and slave populations. The next two censuses contain two additional parts extremely informative to researchers of slavery, slave schedules, and agricultural schedules. The slave schedules list the number of slaves owned by an individual as well as their age, sex, and complexion (black or mulatto). The agricultural schedules express the output of individual farms and plantations, listed by owner, agent, or manager. The schedules list amounts of specific grains, dairy, and manufactured goods produced as well as a cash value for the property. Censuses taken between 1800 and 1870 are organized by county and by electoral district within the county.

### ***Tax Assessments***

At the end of the Revolution, the new American government faced dire economic circumstances. Accordingly, assessing property value and collecting taxes assumed great importance. The United States conducted the first direct tax assessments in 1783; these records are not available for Prince George’s County. Fortunately, however, the 1798 federal tax assessments survived and are available at the Maryland State Archives. This early assessment details real property holdings, including brief descriptions of structures located on individual plantations.

Building descriptions often express building materials, normally brick or wood frame, and provide structural dimensions. The assessment is not limited to primary residences; barns, and other outbuildings are described with varying detail. Assessors regularly evaluated slave quarters. Most entries for these “negro houses” lack detail; given what is known about the architecture of slave housing, these likely represent log structures. It is possible, if not likely, that many structures went unlisted. Distant outbuildings may have gone unnoticed; considering the purpose of the assessment, to levy taxes, property owners may have been less forthcoming about their possessions. In particular, outlying slave quarters may not have been considered significant in the overall assessment. Nonetheless, the 1798 assessment provides the most complete documentation of the distribution of properties throughout Prince George’s County.

Later, annual tax assessments lack the details recorded in 1798. However, the assessments enumerate individual slave holdings and provide broad age and sex divisions. Assessors divided slaves into children under 8 years old, adolescents between 8 and 14, adult males between 14 and 45, adult females between 14 and 36, and adult males and females over the ages of 45 and 36, respectively. Assessments also determine the value of individual slaveholdings. Because taxes were assessed on an annual basis, the records can be used to chart the general economic health of the county and document the development of specific plantations. Despite the limitations imposed by the broad age and sex divisions, the tax assessments remain informative for general demographics within the slave community. Organized by the hundreds within the county, the assessments also illuminate a degree of intra-county slave distributions.

### ***Slavery Commission***

The Maryland State Archives, Slavery Commission has digitized and made available through its website numerous valuable sources. Records include Census Slave Schedules for 1850 and 1860, the entries of black freemen in the general censuses for 1850 and 1860, selected Chattel Records, selected Inventories, newspaper runaway slave advertisements, and jail records for captured slaves. Although some care must be used in the application of the various data from this site, as a result of the selected nature of the records, they nonetheless provide a powerful tool for researchers of Prince George's County slavery, both on a broad as well as a narrow, site-specific basis.

### ***Slave Narratives***

During the Depression, the Roosevelt administration devised numerous federal programs designed to create jobs. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and Tennessee Valley Association (TVA) are probably the most recognizable of these "New Deal" initiatives. However, this period coincided with a renewed interest in traditional lifeways of rural America. Acknowledging that by this time the number of individuals with personal memories of life in slavery was diminishing, the Federal Writer's Project conducted interviews with former slaves; these *Slave Narratives*, organized by the state in which the interviews were conducted, are available from the Library of Congress, American Memories Website. Due to the period of their collection, these accounts speak only to the years immediately prior to emancipation and generally rely on childhood memories. Furthermore, interviewers consisted mostly of white men questioning former slaves residing in the South in the 1930s. During this time, active racism became codified; Jim Crow laws throughout the region institutionalized racial discrimination. Some respondents continued to reside in the same localities in which they were kept in slavery. Their neighbors possibly included the descendants of their former masters or overseers. Accordingly some have questioned whether the circumstances of the interviews resulted in guarded responses. Nonetheless the interviews provide a unique record of the final period of American slavery.

## **Maps**

Historic maps are of great significance to understanding the social, economic, political, and cultural history of Prince George's County. Historic maps showing the development of the hundreds system, the political division of the county prior to 1848, helps in the understanding of the political geography of the county and is essential to understanding the economic data available through pre-1848 tax assessments. Louise Joyner Hienton (1972:37-53) provides hundreds maps, and explanations of the changing boundaries, in *Prince George's County Heritage*. Coexisting for a time with the hundreds division, census data utilized intra-county electoral district divisions. The most widely known electoral map of the county, the 1861 Martenet map, shows the division of the county into electoral districts during the 1860 election and is easily available through either the Library of Congress American Memory website, or through the Maryland Archives On-line Beneath the Underground website. Several other regional maps are also available from the Library of Congress.

Perhaps the most important map to understanding the historic character of Prince George's County is the *Soil Survey* (Kirby et.al, 1967). The general soils map illustrates the distribution of the ten major soil associations found in Prince George's County. Traditionally an agricultural economy, suitability to various crops dictated agricultural output, a direct determinant of wealth and, as a result, social status. As slavery played an integral role in the historic development of the county, soils play a significant role in intra-county racial composition. Because different soil types are better suited to a variety of crops, an understanding of soils also helps determine the range of agricultural activities in which individuals engaged.

## **Popular Works**

Historically, individuals produced works for popular consumption. Often these works profess a message or agenda; in their time, they represented propaganda pieces that targeted specific audiences in order to affirm a point of view. These works represent primary documents as they were generated during a historic period by individuals involved in specific causes. Although care must be taken to separate relevant information from the author's advocacy, popular works remain important primary documents. With so few first-hand accounts from slaves about their experiences, Charles Ball's *Slavery in the United States* (1837) and *Fifty Years in Chains* (1859) join Frederick Douglass' *Narrative* (1845) and *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) to provide individual portraits of enslaved life. Similarly, David Walker's *Appeal* (1830) demonstrates efforts within the black community to directly confront the institution of slavery. The historic significance of Walker's *Appeal* is evident from the number of slave states that banned its sale.

## **Discussion of Selected Secondary Sources**

Secondary sources consist of works written about a topic after it occurred, generally by a nonparticipant. For the study of slavery in Prince George's County, these include, but are not limited to, histories, dissertations, academic articles, newspaper articles, and archeological and architectural technical reports. These sources prove valuable for a host of reasons; however, care must be taken in acceptance of them and the purpose of authorship considered when applying them to research.

### ***Broad History of American Slavery***

Volumes have been written on the topic of American slavery; the topic ranks among the most intensely researched aspects of American history. The manner in which authors treated the subject largely reflected the prevailing attitudes of the time of their construction. In the early-twentieth century, Ulrich Phillips was arguably the most influential historian of American slavery. He and students following the "Phillips School" of thought considered slavery a generally unprofitable and inefficient system of economic and social organization. These historians argued that masters provisioned their slaves well and exercised restraint in punishment. Racially deterministic currents, notions that races possessed varied intellectual and physical capabilities that dictated social potential, coursed throughout works generated in this historic tradition.

Events of the mid-twentieth century, perhaps most notably the rise of totalitarian regimes and their application of racial determinism as justification to commit genocide, profoundly altered the study of slavery. Operating under an assumption of racial equality, works such as Kenneth Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* (1956) sought to completely refute the work of Phillips and his students. This stage in the history of slavery highlighted the profitability of slavery for white southerners and the violence characteristic of the institution. Racial stereotypes, however, replaced racial determinism in such works as Stanley Elkin's *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (1959). Elkins argued that slavery infantilized slaves and that this led to the development of the "Sambo" slave stereotype and promoted a concentration camp analogy for the slave's psychological reactions to enslavement.

Several later historians refuted Elkins' contentions of slave docility. These researchers, "found it necessary to focus far more than they previously had on the slaves as subjects in their own right rather than as objects of white treatment," deciding that, "Elkins erred in depicting a world in which slaves had no 'meaningful others' aside from their masters" (Kolchin 1993:136, 138). As time progressed, historians increasingly recognized expressions of autonomy in the slave community. Significant works include Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll: The World of the Slaves* (1974), and John Blassingame's *The Slave Community* (1972). These historians, and those working within their genre, "abandoned the victimization model" (Kolchin 1993:137) of their predecessors.



Although attempting to address the breadth of American slavery, these works tended to reflect slavery as it existed in the Deep South on large, nineteenth-century cotton and sugar plantations, owing to its large primary resource base.

Contributions in the later twentieth century and beyond continued to examine the role of culture in the institution of slavery as well as the notion of agency, defined as the degree and manner to which slaves exerted autonomy in their lives. An increased focus on temporally and regionally specific manifestations of American slavery represents an important and relatively recent development in slave studies. Often, historians compare geographically disparate yet contemporary manifestations of American slavery. Works such as *Slave Counterpoint* (Morgan 1996), *Many Thousands Gone* (Berlin 1998), and *Generations of Captivity* (Berlin 1998, 2003) illustrate regional variations of the practice of slavery. Other works, including *Black Majority* (Wood 1974), *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (Fields 1985), and *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs* (Brown 1996) opt for greater focus on one particular time and place.

### ***Prince George's County Slavery—History***

Allan Kulikoff's (1976) doctoral dissertation, "Tobacco and Slaves: Population, Economy and Society in Eighteenth Century Prince George's County, Maryland," represents the most extensive, academic investigation into Prince George's County slavery and tobacco agriculture. This demographic analysis explored the full range of primary sources relevant to county history from the late-seventeenth century through pre-Revolutionary period. Kulikoff applied this information to social and economic trends; his attempt to integrate the sparse slave records from the period provides meaningful hypotheses regarding slave culture and slave life.

The voluminous individual and collaborative works of Russell Menard, Lorena Walsh, and Lois Green Carr are sources essential to the understanding of colonial life in Southern Maryland. Similarly, Louise Joyner Hinton's (1972) *Prince George's Heritage* contains valuable information about the social elite of the county during the eighteenth century as well as the aforementioned maps.

Generally, the topic of slavery in Prince George's County, Maryland, remains an under-investigated historical topic, in particular for the period between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. Substantive primary sources exist but have largely not been examined in depth, but rather incorporated into large, state-wide studies such as Barbara Fields (1985) *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* or Charles Wagandt's (1964) *The Mighty Revolution*.

### ***Prince George's County Slavery—Architecture***

Secondary literature pertaining to the architecture of slave quarters includes George McDaniel's *Hearth and Home* (1982), which examines the stylistic changes and cultural influences in nineteenth-century slave housing. Although

focusing on Southern Maryland tenant and slave housing, the text draws from examples across the eastern United States and relates similarities with African traditions. *Back of the Big House* (1993), John Vlach's seminal work on plantation architecture, delves into spatial organization and plantation aesthetics. This work is integral to understanding plantation architecture from the slave's perspective. Earlier works, such as those by Henry Chandler Forman (1968), remain significant; however, they generally focus on the grand plantation manor houses.

## **Useful Websites**

Numerous websites contain useful information for researchers of slavery in Prince George's or of specific historic properties in the county. Widely available information includes both primary and secondary sources, as well as technical reports and architectural site forms. Genealogical services may prove valuable because relationships between families constituted an important aspect in the historic social development of the county. Although it may not be possible to conduct all research remotely, a considerable amount of documentation exists on-line.

## **Primary Sources**

State and federal governments, educational institutions, and private organizations make numerous primary sources available on-line. These websites provide researchers with on-demand, remotely accessible data and are often invaluable resources. However, utilizing web-based research requires a degree of caution. In order to avoid bias or outright inaccuracy, it is incumbent upon researchers to consider the reliability of the entity responsible for the content of a given website.

The Maryland State Archives (<http://www.msa.md.gov>) is among the most useful websites for researchers of agriculture and slavery in Prince George's County. Within this site, individuals can link to the "Reference and Research" website, which provides information regarding the physical location of documents and microfilm held at the archives. The ability to identify and locate sources prior to visitation enables researchers to more efficiently utilize the limited reading days during which researchers have access to holdings at the repository. Likewise, the State Archives website links to the Archives of Maryland On-line, containing over 700 volumes of state records including the proceedings and acts of the General Assembly, provincial land records, court documents, and an incomplete set of images of the *Maryland Gazette* from 1728 to 1839. The *Virginia Gazette*, available through the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (<http://www.pastportal.com/browse/vg>), is an excellent companion to the *Maryland Gazette* images available from the Archives of Maryland On-line.

Additional records relevant to slavery in Prince George's County can be found through the Maryland State Archives Slavery Commission site. Services available include a searchable database (<http://ww2.mdslavery.net>) possessing

numerous primary sources relevant to slavery in Prince George's. Slavery Commission documents include Prince George's County Slave Schedules for 1850 and 1860, Slave Census information for 1840, inventories that included slave property, slave chattel records, runaway slave advertisements, jail records, penitentiary records, and slave jail records. George Mason University's Center for History and New Media (<http://www.chnm.gmu.edu>) publishes numerous historical works through its website. Particularly useful is its "Probing the Past" site (<http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory>), which contains selected examples of probate inventories from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, several from Prince George's County, Maryland.

The Library of Congress, American Memory Site, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html> contains a range of sources such as congressional records, historic maps, slave narratives, presidential correspondence, and photographic images. Within the American Memory site, the "Narratives of Washington and the Chesapeake Bay Region, circa 1600-1925," provide a "virtual local history bookshelf" for the region and include several historical, popular works. Although the veracity of earlier, popular works can be questionable, they are indispensable to the cultural historian. More relevant to the preparation of this document, the Library of Congress also provides the "Slave Narratives" on-line. These records contain some of the only first-hand accounts of former slaves held in Prince George's County.

Although no major Civil War battles occurred in Prince George's County, the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/browse.monographs/waro.html>) and *Navies in the War of Rebellion* (<http://cdl.library.cornell.edu/moa/browse.monographs/ofre.html>) can be useful. These records, known collectively as the Official Records, or simply "ORs," consist of all remaining military reports from the Civil War, including those of units stationed in and around Prince George's County. Cornell University provides searchable versions of these potentially valuable resources.

Other sites offer primary sources with broader, temporal or geographic focus. Included in this category is the University of North Carolina's website, Documenting the American South (<http://docsouth.unc.edu>). This site contains numerous primary accounts from persons directly associated with slaveholdings. Although none of the documents are specific to Prince George's, narratives written by Charles Ball (Charles County) and Frederick Douglass (Eastern Shore and Baltimore) discuss slavery. Similarly, sites such as that of the private genealogical firm Price and Associates make its searchable database of indentured servants publicly available, <http://immigrantservants.com/search/advanced>. Virtual Jamestown, a cooperative venture between Virginia Tech, the University of Virginia, and the Virginia Center for Digital History at the University of Virginia, maintains a similar database as well as images of labor contracts, public records, newspaper articles, and a range of other primary documents (<http://www.virtualjamestown.org/>).

## **Secondary Sources**

Several on-line resources also contain scholarly and/or professionally authored articles relevant to local or regional history that may speak either directly to topics in Prince George's or may provide comparative information. Similarly, articles can inform researchers of how others have approached various issues.

The most expansive database to access articles published in professional, mostly peer-reviewed, journals of the social sciences is JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org>). JSTOR owns volumes of scholarship such as *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Economic History*, *The Journal of Southern History*, and *The Journal of Negro History*, to just name a few. A paid subscription is required to access holdings; memberships in professional organizations, such as the American Historical Association, offer reduced subscription rates.

Certain professional organizations make their journals or newsletters accessible to members or the general public. Relevant organizations include the Society for Historical Archaeology; articles published in its journal, *Historical Archeology*, are available for download from its website (<http://www.sha.org/verity.cfm>). Researchers can search past issues for specific words and phrases. Likewise, the African Diaspora Archeology Network (<http://www.diaspora.uiuc.edu/research.html>) posts its quarterly newsletters on-line. Finally, the Prince George's County Historical Society website (<http://www.pghistory.org>) contains several articles of local interest.

## **Miscellaneous Websites**

Various other sites can be useful for cultural resources investigations in Prince George's County with potential slave components. These include sites with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data layers and sites with information regarding architectural resources. Because historically several Prince George's families intermarried, creating social networks, genealogical sites may be useful for establishing interfamilial relationships.

- Operated by the M-NCPPC Planning Department, PGAtlas is a GIS system that can be found at <http://www.pgatlas.com/website/mncppc/default.aspx>. Ownership and purchase information can be attained for specific properties throughout the county. Furthermore, current property boundaries can be layered with current and historic aerial photographs. These overlays illustrate changes in land use; often demolished, historic structures appear on older aerial images, which is extremely beneficial for archeologists and researchers of historic landscapes.
- Maryland Architectural Inventory site files are accessible through a link provided on the homepage of the Maryland Historical Trust, <http://www.marylandhistoricaltrust.net/>. The information available for specific architectural resources varies considerably.

- The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS), <http://www.daacs.org/>, contains information on excavated sites in the Chesapeake Bay region with known or suspected slave components. Although the DAACS system currently contains no Prince George's County slave sites, the information from other locations provides valuable comparative data.
- The Maryland Historical Society, <http://www.mdhs.org/>, publishes numerous works concerning the pre-Civil War period in Maryland; many pertain directly to Prince George's County history.
- Although there are countless on-line genealogical services, the African-American Genealogical and Historical Society, <http://pgcm.aahgs.org/>, may have better information about resources in or about Prince George's County than will more generic sites. Family Search, <http://www.familysearch.org/>, maintained by the Church of Latter Day Saints, provides a considerable amount of genealogical information, including links to the data of relatives and census entries and, unlike most genealogical services, is provided without a fee.

