

Gibson Grove Gone But Not Forgotten: The Archaeology of an African American Church

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Abstract

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The history of the African American community in Cabin John, Maryland has never been fully explored until the community's oldest church burned down. From the ashes, came the story of a resilient community which began in the 1880's and still exists today. Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church Archaeological Project began as project to help a church rebuild its structure after a terrible fire. Utilizing a collaborative approach the project became a community archaeology project. This resulted in integrating various segments of a community that had previously limited contact with each other.

The archaeology did not yield the initial research goal results, but the information which was revealed was far more informative. The information lead to new research queries which in turn changed the direction of the project. The information obtained also gave a voice to the previously silenced African American community in Cabin John, thus illuminating their contributions to the development of Cabin John.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables ii
List of Figures iii
Chapters
 1. Introduction 1
 2. Regional Context 5
 3. Archaeological Investigations at Gibson Grove 17
 4. Public Archaeology and Gibson Grove 32
 5. Silences Revealed Cabin John’s African American Community 42
Epilogue 55
Bibliography 57
Appendices
 Appendix A. Level and Feature Descriptions 64
 Appendix B. Shovel Test Pit Records 67
 Appendix C. Master Artifact Catalogue 72

LIST OF TABLES

3.1 Phosphorus Test Results

3.2 Artifact Distribution

LIST OF FIGURES

- 2.1 1913 Map of Cabin John
- 2.2 Cabin John Hotel
- 2.3 Cabin John Park Brochure
- 3.1 Map of Gibson Grove Church property
- 3.2 Elevation Map of Gibson Grove Archaeological Site
- 3.3 Map of Gibson Grove Archaeological Site
- 3.4 Current Picture of the site
- 3.5 Picture of the tree and root system on north side of the church
- 4.1 Cemetery Clean Up
- 4.2 Community Archaeology Day
- 5.1 Circular Process of Information Gathering
- 5.2 Map of Seven Locks Road 1931
- 5.3 Map of Seven Locks Road 1959
- 5.4 Marion and Sadie Crawford
- 5.5 Financial Card of Grand United Order of Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses

Chapter 1: Introduction

The building of black communities and neighborhoods is often forgotten in the histories of cities or towns. The material traces of the actions of individuals seeking better lives, purchasing land, making homes, founding churches, participating in fraternal associations and creating community are present in everyday landscapes. Yet, segregation shaped the stories told about post-emancipation life; often silencing African American voices and shaping the ways places are remembered and forgotten. In Cabin John, Maryland, a thriving African American community grew from the purchase of small plots of land, involvement with the Morningstar Tabernacle #88 (a fraternal association), and the establishment of the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church. My dissertation explores how the practice of collaborative archaeology uncovered the history of Cabin John's African American community, brought together a once segregated community and in the process, helped the African American members of this community find their voice, which had previously been marginally recognized in the history of Cabin John.

Historical archaeology has long prided itself as a progressive discipline which studies under-documented groups. Deetz (1988:363) writes, "Archaeology's prime value to history lies in its promise to take into account large numbers of people in the past who were either not included in written record, or if they were, were included in either a biased or minimal way". Historical archaeology has been coined as the "field that gives people without a history a voice" (Little 1994:6, Orser and Fagan 1995:37-38). As LuAnn DeCunzo (1996:3) notes: "Historical archaeologists are combining sophisticated ethnographic analysis of documentary and oral historical data with their anthropologically sensitive excavation and material culture research to produce highly contextualized and nuanced studies of historical sites, neighborhood, and communities." Historical archaeology is the blend of history, science, archaeology, and anthropology interwoven to create a comprehensive view of the material culture being studied. This holistic approach allows historical archaeology to play a unique role in illuminating past events.

There is a "growing awareness on how histories are manipulated for social political ends in the form of invented traditions," (Stahl 2004:52), and as a result, archaeologists "must engage in an ethnography of historical production, tracking power and the production of both silences and mentions in the historical narrative" (Stahl 2004:52). When engaging in community archaeology, critical theorists archaeologists, reflect on what their motivation is for conducting the project and how their personal experiences influence their knowledge base and how it reflects in their interpretations of a site (Leone 1986, Leone et al. 1987, Potter 1994; Wilkie & Bartoy 2000, Palus et al. 2006). Critical archaeologists are keenly aware that "all knowledge serves interests" (Potter 1994:36). In understanding this basic principle, archaeologists acknowledge the social factors that were governing the past and have influence on the present.

The practice of archaeology has moved from "making archaeology meaningful to the public" (Judge, 1989:4) and public benefits (Little 2002) to working directly with communities (e.g., Derry and Malloy 2003, Little and Shackel 2007, Marshall 2002, McDavid and Babson 1997, Shackel and Chambers 2004, Singleton and Orser 2003). This follows a movement in which archaeologists are working to make their research relevant beyond the confines of academia. Randall McGuire (1994:182) stated, "If we recognize that the pasts we study are the pasts of living communities, then we must also recognize an obligation to serve the interests of these communities." Thereby archaeologists are addressing issues, such as racism, segregation,

and discrimination (e.g., McDavid and Babson 1997, Mullins 2003); issues that are relevant to communities impacted by the research.

This research began as a result of a fire in the First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church at Gibson Grove. In 2004, on Ash Wednesday, a fire broke out in the church building (Soladay 2004). Although the interior of the building was completely destroyed, the exterior survived. In 2008, the church raised money to renovate the church structure. However, renovation plans were halted after one of the members of the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church, a descendant of the White and Crawford families, mentioned that her family had been buried on the church property years earlier. The fact that people might be buried on the church property presented a problem for the new congregation. In order to continue with their renovation plans, the church had to have an archaeological survey conducted on the property. The Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church reached out to local archaeology entities, but they didn't account for archaeological excavations in their renovation budget. In an effort to meet their needs, I took on the project.

For this project, community refers to the biological descendants of the people who once occupied the sites, as well as present day communities who are interested in or impacted by the research (e.g., Singleton and Orser 2003). For practical purposes, community archaeology at Cabin John includes three distinct groups: (1) the current Cabin John residents who are African American and European American; (2) the members of the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church and their descendants, and (3) the members of the First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church. Each group had a stake in the community's history and each has its own agenda. The current Cabin Johners are interested in the history of their neighborhood. The descendants of the Cabin John African American community and the previous members of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church were interested in the history of the church and their families. The First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church wanted to gain more knowledge about the land they now occupy and the people, particularly the African Americans, who once lived and worshiped on that land.

I met with the First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church community frequently to discuss the project's development and to ask for their input on how it should proceed. I met not only with the church leaders but also with the church body in order to gain an accurate understanding of everyone's desires for the project. I used their concerns and ideas as guidelines for the development of the research design. Due to the unusual circumstance of the ownership of the property, I wanted the current church congregation to be left with a feeling of pride in the legacy of their new property. Though the church community was the one to reach out for archeological help, they were not the only community members with whom we, the field crew and I, were going to have to collaborate. The White family, whom were descendants of the Crawford family and White family felt moving the skeletal remains of her relatives was of highest priority. An invitation was extended to the family to visit and/or come out and volunteer with the project any time they wanted. We wanted the members of the White family to feel comfortable with the archaeologists and the work they we were conducting. In every stage of this research, components were continually added to involve the various communities in the interpretation and outcome of the project. By conducting community archaeology, the communities are no longer the "research subjects" but partners in research process.

Community archaeology at Cabin John consisted of outreach, collaboration, excavations, and public interpretation. Collaboration is a key factor, since archaeologists have an obligation to the archaeological record as well as the communities the research represents. Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and T.J. Ferguson (2008:1) state, "Collaboration in practice exists on a

continuum, from merely communicating research to descendant communities to a genuine synergy where the contributions of the community members and scholars create a positive result that could not be achieved without joining efforts (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2008:1). Community archaeology created an opportunity to ask questions which would not have been considered without the input of the communities in the archaeological investigations.

Silence was a key factor in every aspect of the archaeological investigations at Gibson Grove. As a Historical Archaeologist, I expected to find silences in the documentary record and I assumed archaeology would fill the voids. Yet, in the cases of Gibson Grove there were archaeological silences also. The lack of material culture was not the result of poor preservation, decomposition or destruction by human activity. In turn the lack of material culture gave information about how the space and landscape was utilized. The archaeological silence yielded informal and the social life in the past and dispelled presumed assumption of how church landscapes were used in the past. The archaeological silence led to a different set of inquiries around Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church and its role in the social lives of Cabin John's African American community. The inquires transitioned from the normal dialogue of explaining the burials and artifacts to explain the absences of burials and artifacts.

Gibson Grove A. M. E. Zion Church Archaeological Project objective was to recover the bodies of two children that had been buried on the Church property pre-1912. After extensive shovel- test pits and excavations units, no burials were uncovered, but to my amazement the only material culture recovered was nails, glass, siding and concrete. It is believed that the black church served as the center of social life for African Americans communities (Gatewood 2000, Skocpol et al. 2006); however, in the case of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church, the lack of material culture revealed the church was not the center of the social life. By engaging in an open dialogue with the descendants of Cabin John's African American community, I was able to confirm what the archaeology already revealed the church was not the center of social life. Through conducting the oral interviews, I uncovered the story of Moses Hall and the social history of Cabin John.

My dissertation chronicles the archaeological excavations of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church Project. Each chapter covers a different phase of the project as it happened. Chapter 2 explores the regional history of Cabin John based on archival documentation. It begins with a brief history of the establishment of the state of Maryland and then focuses on Montgomery County. The chapter explores African American life in post-bellum southern Maryland and how race played a role in the development of Cabin John's African American community.

Chapter 3 addresses the excavations of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion church property. The archaeological excavations for the project lasted approximately two months in the summer of 2008. In order to ensure an accurate survey of the church property was conducted, Phase I, Phase II, and Phase III investigations were performed and the investigations yielded no burials. During the excavation information was obtained revealing the burials would have been located in the adjacent property. The neighbor's property was part of the original church property, but was sold some years earlier.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the development of the field of Public Archaeology and how this field influenced the work conducted at Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church Archaeological. Upon the completion of excavations, the public archaeology component of the project began and continued for a year past the excavations. The public archaeology component for the site was carried out in a number of ways: public interpretation, archaeology education, and outreach.

Public archaeology was the medium through which the archaeologists and the community were able to work with each other and collaborate.

In Chapter 5, I reconstruct the history of the ten original African American families based on archives, oral history, and the archaeological investigations. This chapter is a compilation of months of intense research. I weaved together the information to produce the rich history of this community's social, religious and economic past. Their story is that of a resilient group of people who created their own institutions. Living in the segregation town of Cabin John, they had to build, established and maintained their own school, church, and fraternal association (which paid for doctor's visits and burials) in order to thrive and advance themselves and their children.

Chapter 2: Regional Context

In order to understand the history of Gibson Grove A.M.E Zion Church and the role it played in Cabin John's African American community, the regional context of the site needs to be examined. This chapter will explore the development of Cabin John out of the colony of Maryland, as well as will discuss the politics of race relations in Maryland post-bellum. The chapter will further explain how geography and economics played a role in the development of Cabin John's African American community.

All of the information contained in this chapter was obtained from archival sources. The majority of documents utilized for this chapter came from Montgomery County Historical Society collections. The documents were pamphlets, booklets, or articles written by members of the Cabin John community. The other documentary sources utilized were books which explored the history of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Location of Cabin John

Cabin John is currently located along the Potomac River within the Bethesda section of Montgomery County, Maryland. It is physically confined by the National Capital Beltway, Cabin John Parkway, and the Potomac River. The area spans about 550 acres and is roughly about four miles up-stream from Washington, DC.

The early settlers of Cabin John were farmers tied to the land and later to the commerce of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal. In the 19th and early 20th century, Cabin John turned into a summer resort area (Wells 2008). The area was established as a suburb to the District of Columbia and a place where people could build their summer homes. It also gave residents the benefit of living close to the city without the hustle and bustle of city life. Cabin John was connected to the District of Columbia by a trolley line which went shuttled between Cabin John and Georgetown (Welles 2008).

Regional History

George and Cecilius Calvert were the visionaries and founders of the colony of Maryland. George Calvert known as Baron or Lord Baltimore, had served the English Crown for several years in various offices. When he converted from the Anglican religion to Catholicism, he stepped down from his position as Secretary of State and requested to retire to private life. Despite his religious conversion, King James I held him in high regard and insisted that he take a position on the Privy Council and gave him the title Baron Baltimore of Baltimore in the County of Longford in Ireland (Russell 1907).

Lord Baltimore observed the practice of establishing British colonies in the Caribbean Island and the colony Virginia and longed to establish his own colony. He wrote a letter to King Charles I requesting a grant for the colony of Maryland in the New World. Lord Baltimore was granted the request; however he died on April 15, 1632 before the charter passed the Great Seal (Russell 1907, Andrews 1933). Cecilius Calvert, being the eldest son of Lord Baltimore and his heir became as the second Lord Baltimore. The charter for Maryland was granted on June 20, 1632 to the second Lord Baltimore and the founder of Maryland.

Before the Europeans migrated to Maryland, the area now known as Cabin John was inhabited by the Native American groups: Susquehannah, Piscataway and Seneca. The first group of European settlers landed in March of 1634 and established St. Mary's City. The settlers

to Maryland were families and single men driven by the purpose of establishing wealth. The settlers were also from various religious backgrounds such as Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Quaker and Jewish; making Maryland the first British colony to practice religious tolerance. (Russell 1907).

Father Andrew, a Catholic priest appointed by the Calvert family to accompany the first settlers, became very instrumental in Maryland's negotiations with the Native Americans in Maryland. Father Andrew learned various Native American languages in order to communicate with the inhabitants of the cities established by Maryland settlers. Father White developed a close relationship with the head chief of the Piscataway Native Americans, Kittamaquand and also established good working relationships with other Native American groups in that region. In 1742, the Maryland Legislature paid 300 pounds to the Native American confederacy; and in return the Native Americans relinquished their claims to their territories within the Maryland boundaries (Armstrong 1947).

The settlement slowly grew into other villages and towns. Maryland's economy was based on the growth and export of tobacco. Maryland was it was not subject to the restrictions and export taxes placed by the King on the others colonies because it was a proprietary colony of Lord Baltimore. Thus, Maryland was able to trade freely with whomever it pleased, which added to its economic development. Most of the colonists lived on tobacco plantations and the colony had very little urban growth (Russell 1907).

As the population of Maryland grew, the province had to be subdivided into counties. In 1695, the Maryland Assembly created its tenth county known as Prince George County. Prince George County comprised of all the land along the upper Potomac River. Moreover, a new county, Fredrick County was created covered the northern portion of Prince George County. In 1776, Montgomery County was also created which formed the southernmost portion of Fredrick County (Armstrong 1947). The newly formed towns of Cabin John and Georgetown were located in the territory of the Montgomery County.

Maryland in relation to the other states, occupied a unique position as a boarder state because it was geographically located in the middle of the northern states and the southern states. As the United States developed from dependent colonies into a unified country economic differences between the agrarian south and the industrial north began to divide the newly formed country. Maryland was a slave holding state that depended on enslaved people's labor to work the farms and plantations in the south and eastern shore; however a considerable number of industries existed in the northern portion of the state that used very limited slave labor.

Maryland, as a slave state, had the second largest free African American population in 1790 and the largest in 1840. Maryland had 62,136 free African Americans residing in the state in 1840 which equaled about 41% of the African American population (Fields 1985). Being that Maryland had such a large free population for numerous decades European Americans had sufficient time to develop their relationships with free African Americans. When African Americans in Maryland were freed on November 1, 1864 the pre-emancipation attitudes that European Americans carried about free African Americans was intensified. "For among the many difficulties black Marylanders confronted was whites' long-accustomed familiarity with and professed contempt for a large and subservient free black population" (Fuke 1999:xix).

Georgetown

In the early 1700's, several planters owned property in the southeastern portion of Fredrick County which later became known as Montgomery County. Tobacco was the staple crop for this area and many land owners earned their living from tobacco sales and export. The large amount of tobacco being grown in the region led George Gordon to petition the Maryland Assembly for a building to store harvested tobacco in 1744. He erected his warehouse the following year and three years later Maryland declared his warehouse as the location for official tobacco inspection station. This area grew naturally as a commercial location and in 1751 George Gordon and George Beall (another large land owner) petitioned to have the area created into a town. On June 8, 1751, the Maryland Assembly purchased sixty acres of land from both men and created 80 lots which became Georgetown, Maryland (Lesko et al. 1991, MacMaster 1966/1968, Robinson and Associates 1993, Crane et al. 2006).

When Congress was trying to decide whether to add the land along the Potomac River within the Federal City borders, "Georgetowners" lobbied for the idea with the understand that this decision would bring Georgetown in Federal City. By 1802, Georgetown was added to Federal City; however they were a independent municipal government with no representation in Congress. In 1871, Congress revoked Georgetown's charter and formally incorporated it to the rest of the District of Columbia, known as Federal City (Beauchamp 1998, Lesko et al. 1991).

The town of Georgetown grew as a result of the lucrative tobacco market and its proximity to the Potomac River. Georgetown functioned as the main port for Fredrick County and Federal City. It also served as the place of transshipment and export for the region beyond the Patuxent and Anacostia. The port received imports from Britain, Europe, and the West Indies and in turn exported tobacco to the same areas (Beauchamp 1998, Ellis 1966/1968).

Georgetown, though its main export was tobacco also developed a reputation around the 1760s for slave trade. Mr. John Beattie established a business on the 3200 block of O Street where he engaged in selling enslaved persons. According to the 1800 Montgomery County census the city of Georgetown had 1,449 enslaved persons and 277 free African Americans out of a total population of 5,120 residents. Slave trading remained a lucrative business until this horrific practice was outlawed by a Congressional Act in 1850. (Lesko et al. 1991).

As a bustling town, Georgetown form of slavery typified other towns of its time period in border states. Many of the enslaved persons had trades and skills and were able to "hire out" their time. The wages paid to them were given to their enslavers. Sometimes, the enslavers gave small allowances for their work. These allowances were sometimes used to buy their freedom and some gained their freedom by manumission (Lesko et al. 1991).

By 1810, the population of Georgetown's African American had grown to 1,161 enslaved persons and 551 free African Americans who lived as part of the town's total population of 4,948 (Lesko et al. 1991). The free population of Georgetown had almost doubled from the 1800 census report. Also the first school for African American children in Georgetown was established by Mrs. Mary Billings in 1810. In 1816, the first church established was called the Meeting House which later changed to Mount Zion United Methodist Church (the oldest African American congregation in the District of Columbia). Between the 1820's and the 1830's, the free African American population grew from 894 to 1,204 dropping and the enslaved population by nearly a third (Lesko et al. 1991).

During the early 1800's Georgetown experienced an economic slump as the shipping business which made it a vibrant port town had diminished. Over the years silt had begun to

build up in the area of the Potomac Channel closest to Georgetown making it impossible to navigate boats through the water. This resulted in minimal activity and trade in Georgetown, and diversion to ports in Alexandria, Virginia or northern Maryland (Crane et al. 2006).

In July of 1828, the Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal Company began construction work on the canal the same day that the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad began railroad. By 1834, a portion of the canal was opened which included lock 7-10 extending to the Cabin John area and continuing through Maryland just short of Cumberland. However, the railroad became the main form of transportation through western Maryland in 1835 because it was able to complete its system quicker than the C&O Canal Company (Robinson and Associates 1993).

By 1860, free African Americans became a thriving part of Georgetown's social setting. The number of free African Americans was in partly because tobacco was becoming less important in this region, resulting in many land owners manumitting their enslaved persons (Robinson and Associates 1993). A large population of African Americans resided in the eastern part of Georgetown known as "Herring Hill", which was home to over 200 African American families (Lesko et al. 1991). Herring Hill represented a small cross section of Georgetown's larger African American community.

On April 16, 1862, the institution of enslavement was abolished in the District of Columbia. This decision was compounded by the large influx of refugees from the Civil War which greatly increased the African American population. Between the years of 1860-1870, Georgetown's African American population increased from 1,935 to over 3,271 (Lesko et al. 1991). This steady population growth also came with an increase in schools and churches. By 1872, there were about 254 schools for African Americans located in the District of Columbia and five African American churches were founded and built in Georgetown by 1897.

Georgetown became a place where African Americans that came out of the ashes of oppression built schools, churches, businesses, and homes. It was a place in the South where African Americans in the early 1900s experienced a community renaissance. The community was thriving and people belonged to social, fraternal and benevolent organizations. They patronized each other's local African American businesses as a community and had their own health care providers; things they did not have access to just 30 years earlier ((Lesko et al. 1991).

Churches and fraternal activities were the center of African American social life (Gatewood 2000:202, Skocpol, et al. 2006). DuBois (1995 [1898]) noted that secret and beneficial organizations were next to churches in importance in African American life. According to Dubois (1995 [1898]:233),

Their real function is to provide a fund for relief in case of sickness and for funeral expenses. The burden which would otherwise fall on one person or family is, by small, regular contributions, made to fall on the group. This business feature is then made attractive by a ritual, ceremonies, officers, often a regalia, and various social features.

Fraternal organizations collected dues that funded a rich range of social activities, as well as essential services such as medical care, burials, loans, and support for deceased widows (cf., Brackett 1890: 48). National insurance companies systematically discriminated against black people in their policies until the mid-1900s, yet other means of obtaining both life and burial insurance became available to African Americans through fraternal organizations. Paul Mullins (1999) discusses the role of African American fraternal organizations, such as the Masons, in

Annapolis, Maryland. The Maryland Republic and State Capital Advertiser noted in 1875 that “Nearly every colored man in the south belongs to at least one secret society” (“A Negro Funeral” 1875 quoted in Mullins 1999:86).

According to Gatewood (2000) the number of secret and fraternal societies in the black community multiplied rapidly in the late 19th century. Being a member of a fraternal organization signified status and position in the African American community (Gatewood 2000). Rivaling churches as community institutions, many black fraternal federations became active in struggles for equal civil rights (Skocpol and Oser 2004). But by the 1920s, fraternal societies and other mutual aid institutions had entered a period of decline from which they never recovered. The many possible reasons for this decline included the rise of the welfare state, restrictive state insurance regulation, and competition from private insurers (Beito 1990).

Cabin John’s Origins: Early Landownership

From the early 1700’s until the mid 1800’s, only a few families settled in Cabin John and all were large land owners of European descent. In 1715, Captain Thomas Fletchall owned 65 acres on the east side of Captain Johns Run. Later he acquired a parcel of land twice the size on the western portion of the Run and all land became known as “Fletchalls Garden”. In 1735, John Read also purchased 100 acres which he named “Reads Delight” and sold it to Joseph White in 1784.

Joseph White bought an additional 35 acres adjacent to Reed Delight and named the property “Bite the Bitter”. In June of 1773, Thomas Beall acquired a land grant of 25 ½ acres between Fletchalls Garden and Bite the Bitter; the land parcel was referred to as Hallifax. Furthermore, Robert Peter acquired land located next to the aforementioned properties in 1802 and his property was called Carderrock (Armstrong 1947, Offutt 1995). Consequently, Cabin John developed out of Fletchalls Garden, Carderrock, Bite the Bitter, and Hallifax.

The White family in turn bought the majority of properties from the land owners until they owned almost all of the land in Cabin John. In 1844, Joseph White inherited the families’ properties from his mother and another relative. By 1845 the Whites owned all of the land that later became the main area of Cabin John and Cabin John Park development (Wells 2008).

Post Civil War

By 1864, Mr. White began to sell some of his properties. The properties were mainly sold to three individuals: Thomas Dowling, Joseph Bobinger and Thomas Tuohey. This resulted in three families determining the future of Cabin John. Thomas Dowling bought one tract from Mr. White which included a “house and numerous outbuildings” (Wells 2008). Thomas’s brother, William Dowling, also bought a piece of land in 1866 for a farm which was later named Graceland. In 1876, Thomas Dowling purchased more land and signed the deeds over to his wife Amanda Dowling (Armstrong 1947). Amanda Dowling acquired her brother-in-law’s property and bought other parcels of land until she owned a large majority of the White’s properties.

Joseph Bobinger and his wife Rosa moved to Cabin John in 1860. Joseph became the first postmaster for Cabin John; his wife operated a refreshment stand out of their home. She sold cigars, tobacco, candies and other food items to the men that worked on the bridge. She also developed quite a reputation for cakes and chicken dinners.

In 1870, the Bobinger purchased 100 acres of the White’s property on the south side of Conduit Road west of Cabin John Bridge stretching from the bridge to the river (Offutt 1995).

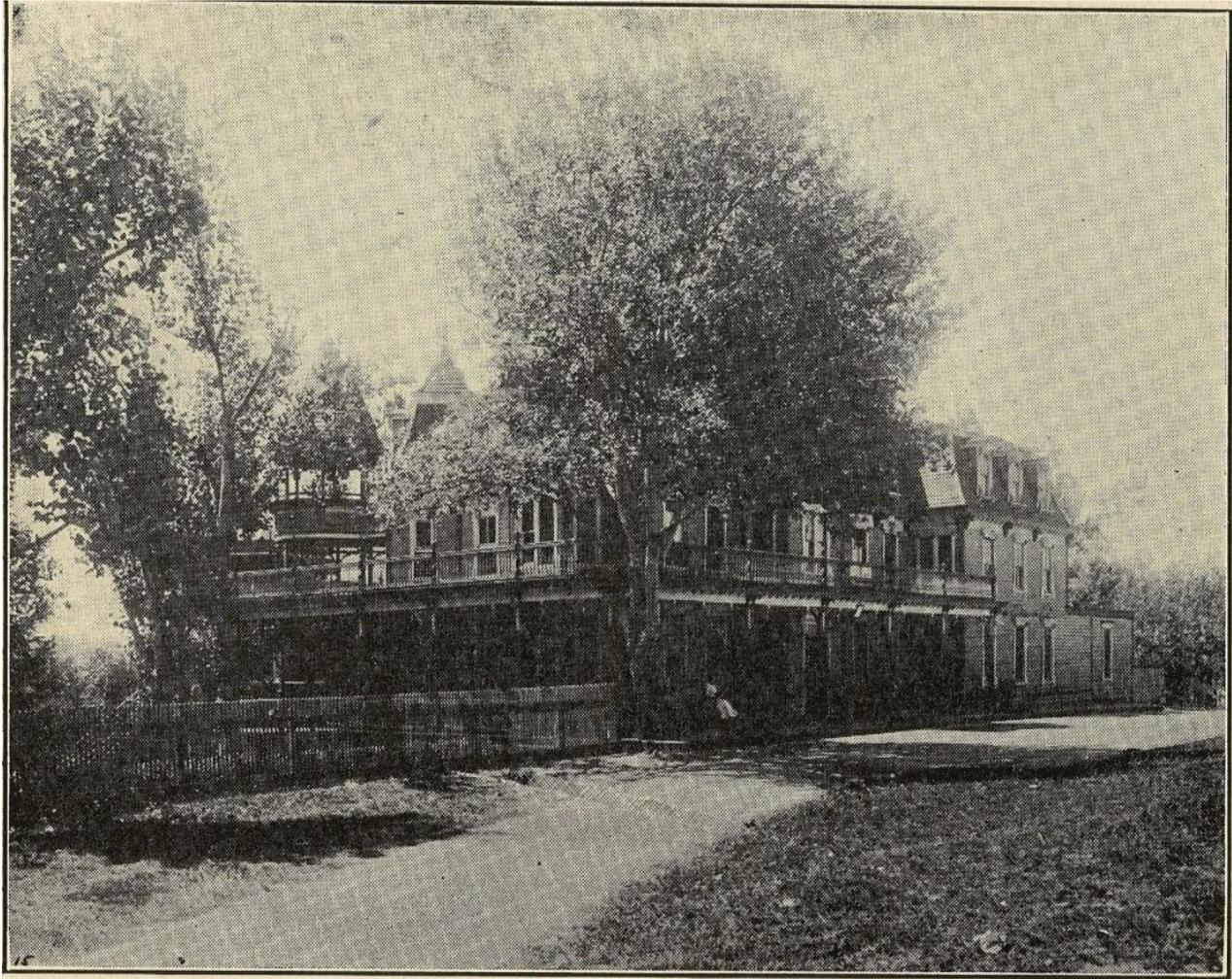


Figure 2.2 Cabin John Hotel (Tomlinson 1913)

They built a hotel which started as a 25 room structure and quickly spread to a larger building. They bought additional property to expand the business to two large banquet halls, private dining rooms, two lunch rooms, two parlors, a billiard room, a music room, a barber shop, and several bars. The family lived on the top floor and guests were not allowed to stay overnight under any circumstances. As they developed the landscape, they added an elaborate garden in the rear of the hotel so that guests could walk through and gaze upon the river. In 1900, an amusement park was added as well as a merry-go-round and a scenic railway. Joseph soon died leaving Rosa and her two sons to run the hotel. Rosa was known for hiring African Americans to work for the hotel as laundry staff, cooks, and servers. However, the hotel did not serve African Americans (Offutt 1995, Armstrong 1947).

In 1876, Thomas Tuohey bought 26 ½ acres west of the Bobinger property and south of the aqueduct. Thomas's son, Dennis Tuohey also moved into the area purchasing a section of the Carderrock property and building a home which also housed their family store (Offutt 1995).

Only one room was the store, the rest was house. The big steps out the front that went into the lunch room at the beer joint that was the entrance to the store. Now, that one big lunch room was divided up into three rooms. The store was out front; then the dining room; then the kitchen. It was a very small store, but he had a lot stuff packed in there. Where the beer joint had its bar that was considered the parlor. Which was never used. (Offutt 1995:119)

In addition to running the local store and beer joint, the Tuohey family also founded the Cabin John Fire Department (Wells 2008).

In 1880, the bulk of Mrs. Dowling's Carderrock property was sold to J.D.W. Moore. Moore owned all the land east of her 600 acre property. Where he operated a large farm and quarry for which he employed a number of African Americans.

Cabin John's African American Community

Robert and Sarah Gibson were the first African American family to purchase land in Cabin John. The Gibsons were enslaved in Rappahana, Virginia on a plantation about 10 miles from Bull Run Creek. Sarah worked as a seamstress, while her husband worked as wagon driver. The couple worked in the field when they were done with their other jobs (Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church [GGC] n.d.: a, Young n.d.). The Gibsons escaped enslavement when the Union soldiers rode through plantations at the end of the Civil War ordering enslaved persons to leave. Sarah is quoted saying on that day her family left the plantation, "slaves feared these soldiers on their rearing bucking horses, as much as they feared their master...human beings were running helter skelter, not knowing whether to obey the soldiers or run to their master" (Young n.d.:1). In the frenzy, her husband, experience the same situation on the other side of the plantation, was unable to reach Sara and the children before they left the plantation. Robert was left not knowing where to search for his family (Young n.d.).

Sarah and her children walked for miles heading north towards Washington City. By night fall, they found themselves at Bull Run Creek surrounded by other people in the same situation all scared to cross the creek (Young n.d, GGC n.d.:b). Sarah is quoted saying, "the creek was running red with blood from those that lost their lives in the battles" (Young n.d.:1). Mrs. Gibson had always looked to God for guidance and according to her, "This was the time for a little talk with Jesus" (Young n.d.:1). She asked for strength to carry on and make it over the creek safely. Holding one child in each arm for balance she crossed the creek reaching the other side safely (Young, n.d.)¹.

There was an African American church located in DC called Shiloh Baptist Church located on 18th and L street N.W. Shiloh Baptist Church did not just serve as a place of worship for African Americans; it was also a place to find their family and friends who were separated during enslavement. The Gibsons were able to reunite after ten years of time apart at the church (Young n.d., GGC n.d.:a). The Gibson family moved to Maryland to work and hired themselves out to Frank Dallon who lived on Cinnamon Tree Road not far from Potomac, Maryland. During

¹ The story of the Gibson's escape from slavery was a written account of an oral account told to Thelma Young by her aunt Sarah Gibson.

the sixteen years of working for Mr. Dallon they saved their money in order to buy a property in Cabin John.

In 1880, Mr. and Mrs. Gibson entered into an agreement with Mrs. Amada Dowling to purchase her portion of Carderrock (Montgomery County Circuit Court [MCCC] 1880). However, Ms. Dowling pulled out of their agreement and sold that same property to J.D.W. Moore during that same year (MCCC 1880). Though in 1881, Mr. Moore entered into a mortgage agreement with the Gibsons to purchase the Carderrock property from him (MCCC 1881).

It was believed that Mr. Moore created the first subdivision in Cabin John in 1885 by selling plots on Seven Locks Road (Conroy Road) to ten African American families worked for him on his farm (Armstrong 1947, Offutt 1995). Although Mr. Moore offered five acre of land many did not purchase up to five acres because each plot varied in size and price. For example, Lloyd Jackson bought his two- and- quarter acres for \$56 (MCCC 1885: a) and George and Sarilla Scott bought four-and-half acres for \$114 (MCCC 1885: b). All of the African American families' properties bordered Seven Locks Road (Conroy Road).

Another family, Charles and Christina Brown, purchased their property from J.D.W. Moore on Dec 21 of 1885 for the \$101 (MCCC 1885). Charles and Christina lived on their property along with their adopted daughter Lena Brown. The Browns operated a small truck farm off of the property. Mr. Henry Brown would take the vegetables and fruits they grew on their property and sell them at the markets in Georgetown. (Kytile 1976). Christina Brown passed away in the late 1890's and Charles Brown died in 1912 leaving Lena to manage the farm by herself. Lena being unable to maintain the farm by herself let some people stay on the property.

Ms. Lena Brown sought employment in the city to sustain herself and her property by working as a cook for a family and a boarding house in Washington, D.C. (Kytile 1976). However, as her financial situation worsened, she fell behind on her taxes and had many interested buyers tried to but her land for the amount of her back taxes. Eventually she sold the property to the Federal Government in the late 1930s. In the early 1940's, the Federal Government built two subdivisions: one for their European American employees and another for their African American employees of the David Taylor Model Basin.

The African American subdivision of 20 homes was developed on the acquired Brown property. This development brought the second wave of African Americans into the Cabin John community. It further intensified the community's segregated living dynamics as the subdivision was adjacent to the other African Americans homes on Seven Locks Road. This new community was commonly referred to as Carver Road, because of a newly created road that went in a semicircle around the subdivision from one end of Seven Locks Road to other end of Seven Locks Road. The new road was called Carver.

History of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church

In 1898, Sarah Gibson decided to donate a section of her four and half acres of land in Cabin John, Maryland to the community to build a church. Under the guidance of Reverend Wright, Gibson Grove AME Zion Church was founded by African Americans residents of Cabin John the same year Mrs. Gibson donated the land (Young n.d.).

The church was located on Conroy Road (which is known today as Seven Locks Road) and a log cabin served as the church structure. The cabin was constructed from logs harvested

from the trees located on Sarah Gibson's property. In honor of her generosity, the church was named after her, Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church. Services were held in this structure until 1923 (GGC n.d.: a).

The church served as the community's place of worship, and a place where wedding and funeral ceremonies were held. Church baptisms were performed in Cabin John creek, located about one-half miles southeast of the church, while winter baptism took place in a smaller creek that ran alongside the Gibson home (Gibson Grove 2006). A section of the property surrounding the church was also used as a cemetery; the last person was buried in 1912 (GGC n.d.:b). It was believed that two or three people were buried there.

In the early 1920's, the congregation decided to build a new church.. The church began to save money and started the building process in 1922. Sarah Gibson's grandson and a few other young men in the church formed a group who were responsible for the church maintenance and the new building project. The pastor was responsible for keeping the money saved towards the church's building project. Sarah Gibson recounted to Thelma Young,

On the big day, the boy's club hired Mr. Frank Emery and his team to meet them at the lumber yard. The pastor did not show up with the money they had entrusted to him. The hired team waited all day, the pastor has deserted them. Mr. Emery, being a white man, had no pity for them. He charged them for his days service. (n.d.:p. 2)

The money matter was a setback. However, the church recovered from it and completed the new church building in 1923. Revered N.C Stevenson served as the new pastor. It was a modest one room block with an off-center belfry located southwest of the old log cabin. (Cavicchi 2001) The new structure was built into a hill giving it more prominence and stature than the previous log cabin. It became known as the "little white church on the hill" (Gibson Grove 2006). In January of 1929, Mrs. Sarah Gibson the visionary of the church passed away. She was laid to rest in Moses Hall cemetery located adjacent to the church property (GGC n.d.:c).

Under the leadership of Reverend Robert White the congregation took on a \$30,000.00 mortgage to modernize the church in 1974. The remodeling updates included: installing central air conditioning and heat, adding indoor restrooms, and built an addition which included a kitchen and dining area. In 1986, Reverend Joseph A. Davis became the new pastor. As one of his top goals he planned to have the mortgage paid off by July 1, 1990. In 1989, an anonymous person offered to pay the remaining balance of \$12,000.00 provided their identity remained confidential. The church board voted on accepting the donation and the mortgage was paid off shortly after (GGC 1989).

In 1998, the church celebrated its centennial anniversary and was added to the list of Montgomery County's historical sites. However, the congregation had dwindled to only a few faithful members as they had problems maintaining their membership. Due to gentrification, property tax values rose greatly, thus making it hard for the congregation members to continue living in Cabin John. In 2002, Gibson Grove had its closing ceremony. During the same year, the A.M.E. Zion Church allowed a new congregation to take over the building once occupied by the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church. The new congregation became the First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church at Gibson Grove. A few members of the former congregation joined the new church after the building renovations were completed and the church was opened for service. On Ash Wednesday of 2004, a fire broke out in the church building (Soladay 2004). Although the

interior of the building was completely destroyed, the exterior was preserved. Ever since, the members of the congregation worshipped at other temporary locations in Cabin John.

Though the African American community in Cabin John remained autonomous, the ten miles proximity to Georgetown helped them maintain a close network and support system with the African American community in Georgetown.

American Land Company

In 1912, J.S. Tomlinson, CEO of the American Land Company, approached Mrs. Dowling about her Cabin John property holding. He offered \$50,000 for her property and she sold the majority of her property to the company for them to create the Cabin John Park development (Wells 2008). Tomlinson's vision was to replace the farm land with 600 new homes. In his 1913 sales brochure, Tomlinson advertised the development as, "Conveniently located and especially suited for country homes for business men, Government officials and retired capitalists" (64).

In an effort to attract the "right" people to Cabin John and maintain a community in which others would want to eventually live, Tomlinson had to be very selective about to his potential buyers. As part of his adverting brochure he noted, "To make and maintain a desirable standard for a new community means careful discrimination in many ways. That we may accomplish this is necessary to prescribe certain restrictions in connection with different features of this home building. One of these rules is that a deed or contract will not be made to a colored person" (Tomlinson 1913:42-43). By the time the Cabin John Park was being developed, the African American community in Cabin John was already well established. Tomlinson would have viewed this section of Cabin John as a threat to his effort to attract the "right" kind of people to Cabin John Park. Thus, the statement quoted in his brochure was to reassure his potential buyers that the risk identified had been mitigated.

Mr. Moore single handedly, intentionally or unintentionally created the first African American community in Cabin John. There are no records which indicate that any of the other large or small land owners in Cabin John sold any property to African Americans. In 1912, Mr. Tomlinson ensured that no more African Americans moved into the Cabin John area. Due to the European American's resentment of African Americans, the African American community remained segregated and autonomous from the rest of the Cabin John community. The Cabin John African American community never grew beyond the original property bounds sold to them originally in 1885 until 1970.

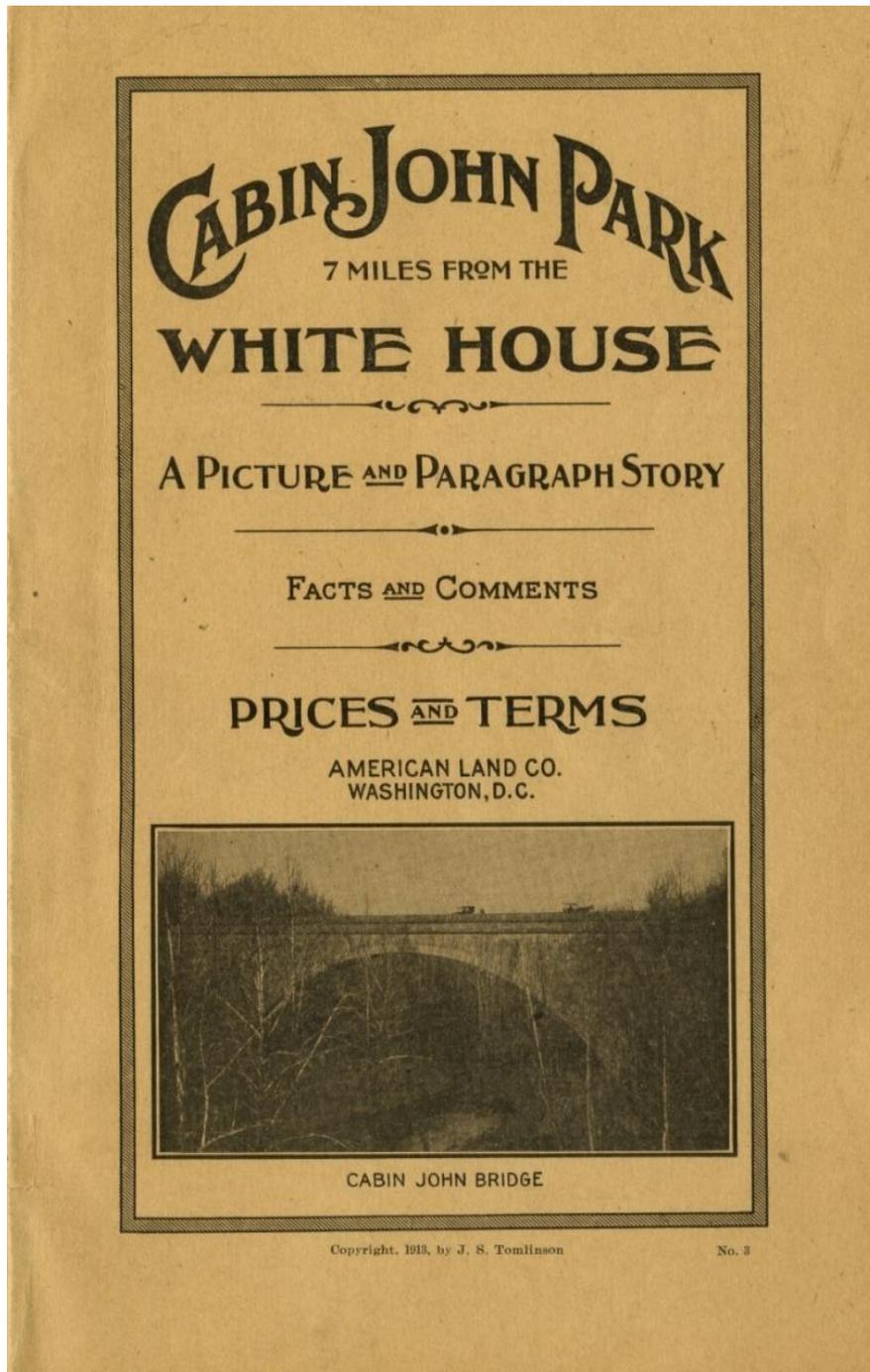


Figure 2.3 Cabin John Park Brochure (Tomlinson 1913)

Chapter 3: Archaeological Investigation at Gibson Grove

In 2008, after being displaced for four years, the church raised enough money to have the church structure renovated. However, renovation plans had to be halted because Mrs. Dove, one of the former members of the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church, a descendant of the White and Crawford families; mentioned that her family had been buried on the church property years earlier. The fact that people might be buried on the church property presented a problem for the new congregation. They reached out to several state officials to discuss what steps needed to be taken in order for them to continue with their plans for renovation. The resolution for this dilemma would prove to be archaeology.

In March of 2008, I was contacted by a District of Columbia archaeologist and asked if I would be interested in assisting with the church project. I agreed to meet with the church leaders to assess the issues and discuss what needed to be accomplished. I met with the church leaders the following month on April 16th to discuss the work expectations. I conducted a preliminary of survey of the church property and was also taken to the location of the cemetery. The church expressed they had no funds in their budget to hire a CRM firm to conduct the work and they were reaching out to the archaeology community to see if someone would perform the work for them gratis. The only other request was that they needed the work completed by the end of the summer, enabling them to stay on schedule with their renovation plans.

The following week, a grant was secured from the University of California, Berkeley to conduct the archaeological research, and the church was informed that I would conduct the archaeological investigations for the church.

The Case Study

Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church was built in 1889 and then rebuilt in 1923 at the same location (Mower and Cole 1937: Church Records Form, para. 6). The church gave me a copy of a map of the property (Figure 3.1) the map notes three graves on the church property (Page and Huff 1962). During the initial walking survey of the church property, the First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church liaison mentioned that she had been informed, of two burials were located at the back of the church near a structure which she referred to as a “privy”. After I agreed to the project, I was informed that the descendant family of the remains requested they be repatriated into the Moses Lodge cemetery.

In order to conduct archaeological excavations on the site legal permission had to be obtained from the State of Maryland. Since the church is located on private property the State did not have jurisdiction over the excavations, however, I contacted the Montgomery County archaeologist as a common courtesy to inform her of the excavations. In order to exhume remains, permission from the State’s Attorney for Montgomery County had to be granted. According to state law, any remains interred longer than 80 years could be recovered by an archaeologist without the assistance of the State’s Medical Examiner.

The State’s Attorney requested that a letter be placed in the local newspaper notifying the public of the disinterment and a letter noting the cemetery had agreed to re-inter the remains on their property. The church placed the ad in the local newspaper, *The Gazette*; the ad ran for 15 days. First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church and I drafted a letter to the State’s Attorney notifying him that we had fulfilled his requirements. The church which was in negotiations to obtain the cemetery property from the descendants of Moses Lodge who also noted that as the cemetery’s

representatives, the remains would be buried on the cemetery's property. The State's Attorney for Montgomery County granted us approval to disinter the remains of those buried on the church property in May of 2008.

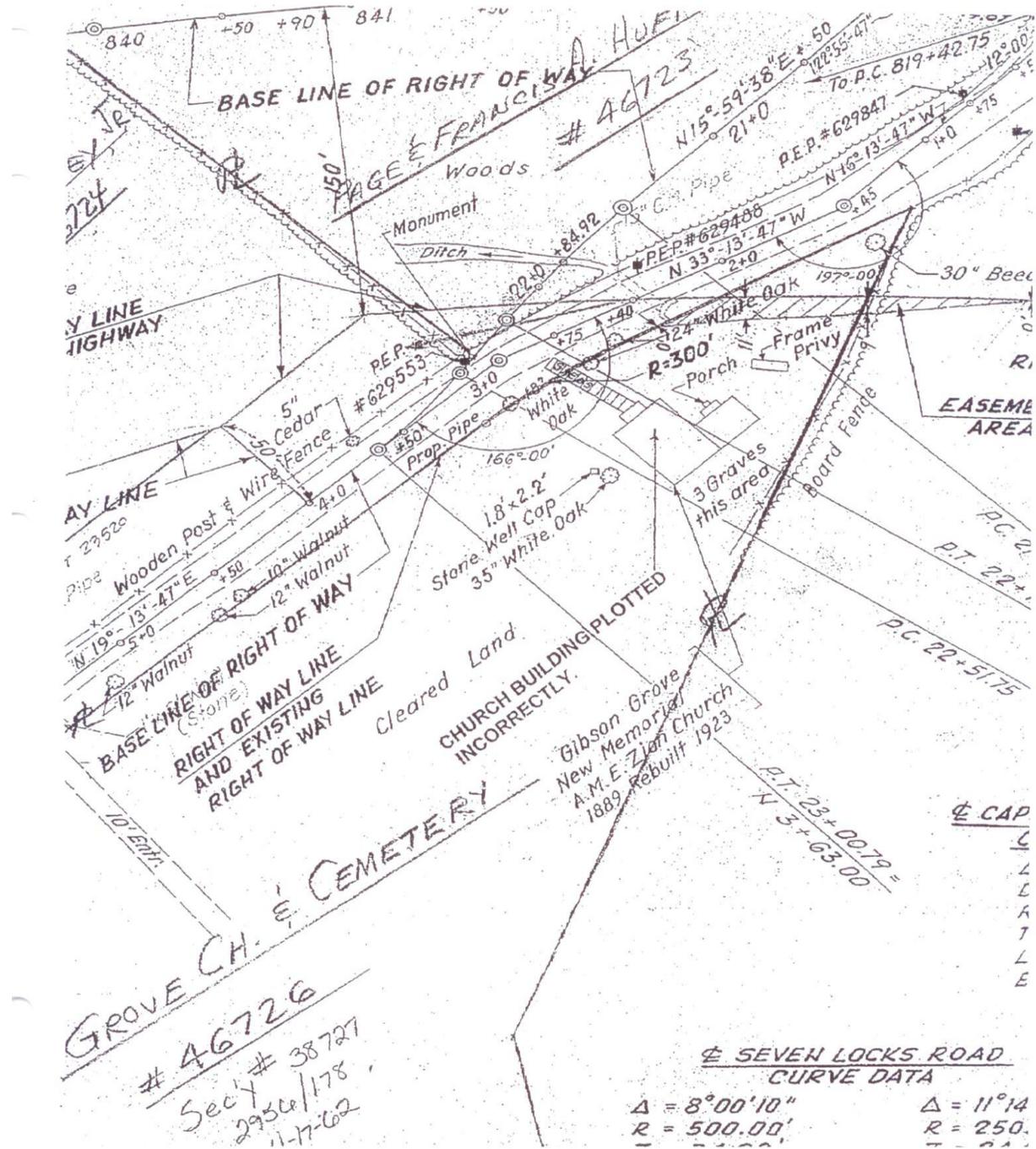


Figure 3.1 Map of Gibson Grove Church property (Park and Huff 1962)

Phase I

Before excavations were conducted, I went to the Maryland State Archives to obtain and verify background information on Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church. During my archival search, I utilized my limited knowledge of the church, its owners, and Moses Hall to try and locate any information on all three topics. I verified Sarah Gibson lived and died in Cabin John, and her family lived in Cabin John. The census records, however showed that she had a number of children which conflicted with the original oral report and I was given by the Church liaison and written accounts in the church bulletin (GGC n.d.: b). While researching information on the church, I located The Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), 1937 the church series. This work was part of a series of interviews conducted to gather information on the state's African American churches. This series included a section on Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church. In the section of the questionnaire asking about the previous building it stated, "Previous building stood on the same site as present" (Mower and Cole 1937: Church Records Form, para. 6). In addition, I located information on the Moses Lodge cemetery in the Directory of Maryland Burial Grounds (Genealogical Council of Maryland 1996). The entry on the cemetery identified its location as Cabin John, Maryland and noted the first burial was conducted in 1921. After researching the site and confirming much of the site's history, I set the first week of June as the start date of the archaeological investigations.

During the first week of June, the site was surveyed using a total station (Sokkia SET510) to record and map the site. A comprehensive walking survey of the church and cemetery properties was also conducted. The walking survey of the church property revealed the structure previously mentioned as a privy was simply an old shed. However, there was one cement post protruding out of the ground which indicated another structure preceding the shed, possibly a privy. Upon surveying the church, structure it was uncovered that the church was built on top of the hill and the foundation of the church is propped up on cement posts. None of the structural posts extended into the ground, rather wood siding was built around the cement posts to give the illusion that the building rested upon the ground. It is unclear if the addition of the church was built in the same manner. The south side of the church has a slope of about 70% making it impossible to survey. The state had built Interstate 495 on the property adjacent to the church, under the claim of eminent domain. During the construction of the interstate the land to the south of the church was graded to create a drain ditch. The hill was graded so steep that over time the south side of the church property had eroded leaving very little area to walk.

During the survey, two stones were identified as being of possible interest. The two stones were placed on each side of a large tree in the back of the church. The stones were similar to the head stones observed in the cemetery. This location was noted as a possible location for the burials. The tree would have been a small sapping and it was a much desirable location to bury people than next to a privy (which was the suggested location by the informant).

During this first week, I extended an invitation to Montgomery County's High School Archaeology Club to come out and assist with the survey. For the following two weeks I had a county archaeologist and two high school students at the site assisting with the surveying. A grid was set up across the whole site in a 2 meter by 2 meter pattern. We utilized the total station to record the site and the cross points of the site grid, which would later serve as the shovel test pit locations. Though the site is very small in scale, the process of surveying took two weeks because the students were being trained during the process on how to set up a manual grid with measuring tapes and how to use a total station.

After the site was surveyed the information was brought back and entered into the computer in order to create maps of the site. Figure 3.2 illustrates elevations in the landscape which intended use was to give clues as to where the land may have slight elevations abnormal to the rest of the landscape. Figure 3.3 illustrates the locations of shovel test pits in relation to the church structure. Due to the site's location, small scale, and potentially small grave shafts I made a decision early to conduct non-probabilistic sampling based on .5 meter squares placed every two meters across the entire site. Upon reviewing the elevation map (Figure 3.2) there were no anomalies which stood out on the landscape map and the walking survey yielded only one clue as to the location of the burials. Hence, I chose to move forward with Phase II investigations.

Phase II

During phase II numerous methods were utilized to aid the locating of the grave shafts. The process began by exploring non-invasive methods (metal detection and ground penetrating radar) of locating the grave shafts; then slowly utilized more invasive methods (soil sampling and shovel test pits) of testing based on the results of the previous test.

Oral accounts indicated two children had been interred and the map stated three persons had been interred on the church property. There was no documentation stating sex or age of the persons buried; in addition there was no information on how the persons were interred. Without knowing if the bodies were buried in coffins or shrouds; the main objective was to locate the burials in a non-invasive method. Metal detection was a technique utilized to accomplish this goal. If the children were buried in coffins, the detector would pick up any coffin ware used in the construction or decoration of the coffins.

A White's 3900/D Pro Plus metal detector was utilized to survey the site. All of the land surrounding the church was surveyed with the exception of the south side of the church due to the slope of the land. The detector picked up 36 locations where metal was present; those locations were marked with flags. There were numerous metal detections around the shed and along the perimeter of the church on the north side.

The metal detection hits did not yield any insightful information or aid in locating the grave shafts. It did backup the information that the church had suffered a fire incident in 2008. The detections around the church were probably mostly nails from the roof shingles that the firefighters removed during the fire (hypothesis proven through later excavations). The shed detections might lead to shafts; however, there was evidence that the shed structure was rebuilt over a previous structure. Thus the detection could also have been as a result of construction debris.

The metal detection did not yield as positive results as presumed. Testing was halted for a week, in order to allow an external University that was interested in using ground penetrating radar (GPR) on burial sites to come and survey the site and the cemetery. Testing stopped on Thursday in order to focus on the cemetery and bring it to a state where GPR could be conducted².

² During my tour of the cemetery with another archaeologist, we noticed approximately 50 graves which we could identify. As we conducted the walking survey there were other graves identified that were hidden under bush and brush. In addition there were newer graves placed on top of older graves. We realized that in order to re-bury the skeletal remains, we would have to identify the burials that were already located in the cemetery. Thus, we arranged a weekend during which volunteers and archaeologists cleaned the cemetery to a state where GPR could be

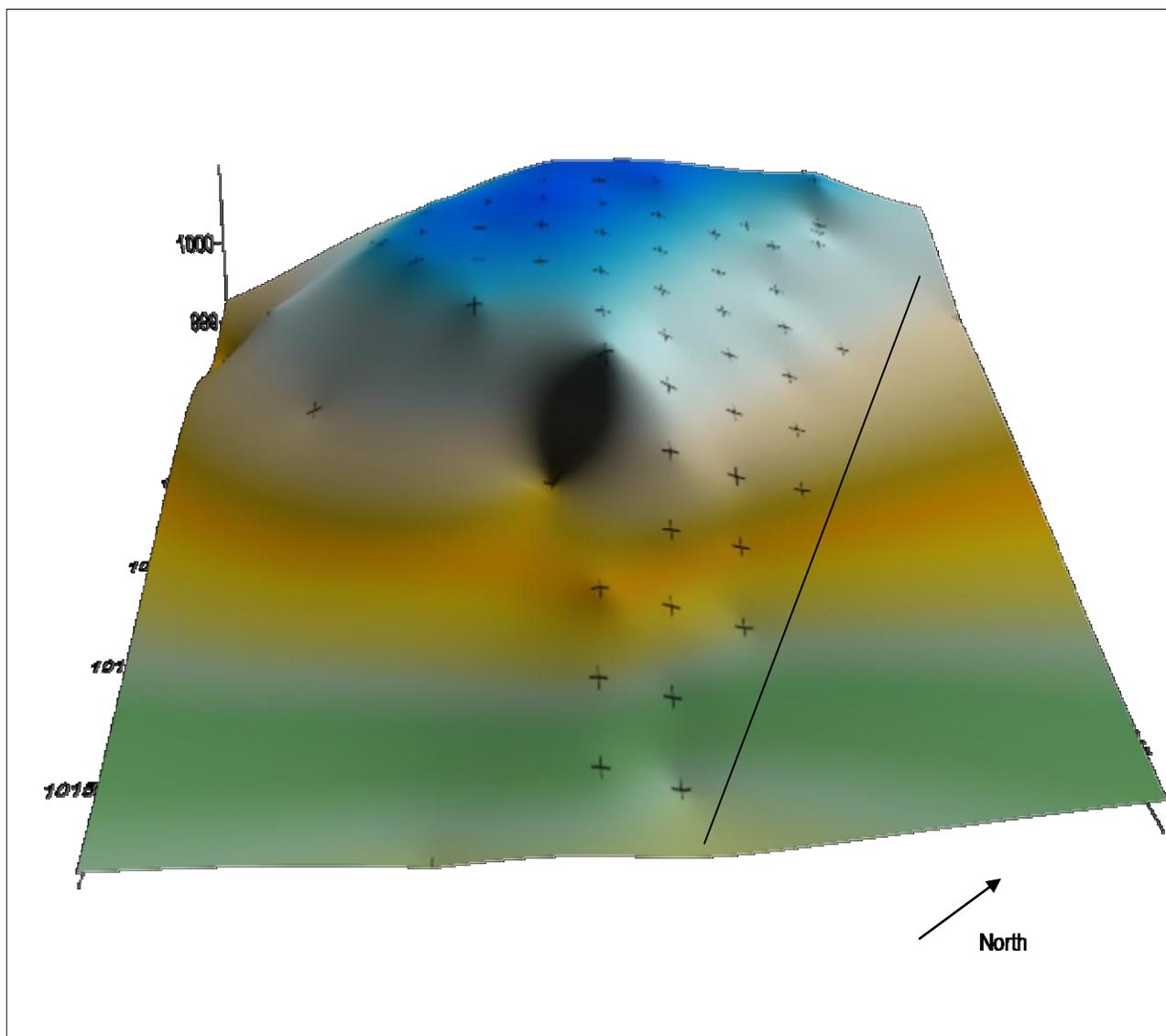


Figure 3.2 3-D view of Gibson Grove Archaeological Site ³

conducted. The following week, GPR was supposed to be utilized to delineate the burials in the cemetery. Refer to Chapter 4 for more detail on clean up.

³ The map illustrates elevations in the landscape which intended use was to give clues as to where the land may have slight elevations abnormal to the rest of the landscape. The church structure was located in the lower left portion of the map. The x represents the locations of the shovel test pit units around the church structure.

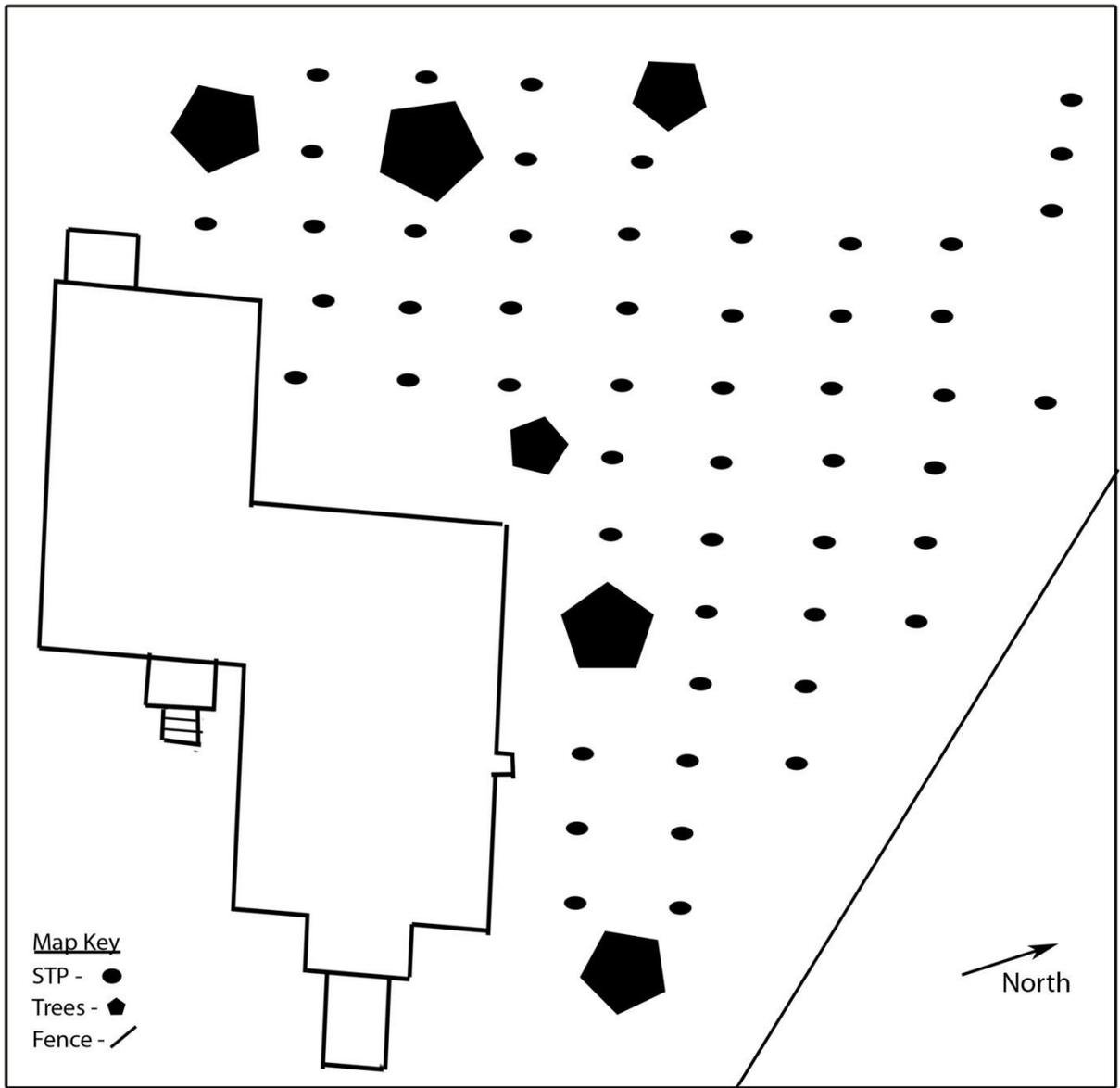


Figure 3.3 Site Map featuring the shovel test pits



Figure 3.4 Current Picture of Site

Yet, the GPR survey never took place due to scheduling conflicts. At that point, I proceeded to the next form of testing (soil sampling) in an attempt to yield the locations of the grave shafts.

The procedure of using phosphate soil testing to detect burials has been utilized by some forensic anthropologists and archaeologists with some success (Daly 1994, Tibbett and Carter 2008, Haecker and Mack 1997). This procedure was utilized by Charles Haecker and Jeffery Mauck to locate burials at the archaeological site of the Battle of Palo Alto (1997). The theory behind the procedure is that when skeletal remains decompose it releases calcium which bounds with the naturally occurring phosphorus into the soil. Once the calcium phosphate is formed within the soil, it resides in the soil for an extended period of time even after skeletal remains have been removed from the soil. Hence, soil samples are collected from the site and the phosphate levels in the soil are tested to see if the soil yields high levels of phosphate.

Since the site was divided into a 2 meter by 2 meter grid, a soil sample was extracted with an auger at every cross section point. The auger was washed before extracting each soil sample. Upon extraction, the samples were placed in a bag immediately and labeled for the lab. In addition to the samples collected from the site, a control sample was extracted from an area of the church property where the burials were known not to be located.

Before the soil could be tested, it had to be processed into a testable state. The soil samples had to be dried and all debris such as rocks, leaves, and sticks had to be removed. Once this process was completed, the soil was ready to undergo phosphate testing.

A 30 mL test tube was filled with distilled water and two Floc-Ex tablets were added to the tube. Once the tablets were completely dissolved, one teaspoon of the prepared soil sample was added to the solution. The tube was shaken for the duration of one minute. After the minute passed the tube was placed in a holder allowing for the soil to settle. The clear solution which separated from the soil was then extracted and placed into another 30 mL test tube to test the phosphate levels.

Using a pipet, 25 drops of the clear solution was transferred to a clean test tube and distilled water was added to the solution. A phosphorus tablet was added to the solution and a top was placed on the tube. The tablet dissolved in the solution and then was allowed to sit for five minutes giving the new chemicals time to mix and react. After the five minute period, the new solution was compared to a color chart to determine the phosphate levels.

The results were measured using a color chart to determine the level: a low phosphate level was light blue, a medium phosphate level was aqua blue and a high phosphate level was deep blue. Table 3.1 illustrates the results of the phosphorus test. The control sample yielded a low phosphate level result in addition to all of the samples except for two which also yielded a low phosphate. Samples line 7 point 47 and point 48 yielded medium results. These two samples were extracted from the middle of the yard space located behind the church structure. The phosphate levels for these points were higher than the rest of the site, yet they were not high enough to indicate a burial, but were noted for further investigation.

Upon reviewing the results of the metal detection and the soil tests, there were no signs or indications of the location of the grave shafts. With no new knowledge, I proceeded to conducting shovel test pit (STP) excavations. Since the grid was already established and I wanted to gain the best sample of the site, a STP was placed at every 2 meter by 2 meter cross-section. A few more shovel test pits were conducted in the yard beyond the front of the church structure to ensure the property was completely surveyed and tested. Each test pit was to be dug

a meter in depth. All soil collected was screened through ¼ inch mesh screens. Upon the completion of each test pit, the pit was backfilled.

A total of 51 shovel test pits were excavated (Refer to Appendix B for details on each shovel test pit). The shovel test pits gave an even more interesting picture of the church site. Out of the 51 shovel test pits, only 25 had artifacts. All of the artifacts were construction materials: nails, glass, siding and concrete all located in close proximity to the church consistent with artifacts one would find at a site that experienced a fire. The rest of the test units were sterile. Even more baffling was the lack of artifacts on a property, which has been in constant use for over 100 years and had no evidence of the landscape ever being utilized.

Black Churches since the early 1800's have played an important role in Black peoples' lives. Black churches helped establish schools (elementary, high school and college), were instrumental in the development of benevolent societies/mutual aid societies, and advocated for the political right of blacks (Frazier 1974, Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). "The church is regarded as the center of the black community since it not only offered religious services and instruction, but provided recreational, educational, and social services that were not available elsewhere" (Cabak et al. 1995:56).

Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church as a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination had certain obligations to the church community as mandated by the church. The A.M.E. Zion and the A.M.E. Church share similar beliefs being they were formed out of the same break from the Methodist Episcopal Church. According to the churches doctrine,

Each local church...shall be engaged in carrying out the spirit of the original Free African Society out of which the A.M.E. Church evolved, that is to seek out and save the lost and serve the needy through a continuing program of: (1) preaching the gospel, (2) feeding the hungry, (3) clothing the naked, (4) housing the homeless, (5) cheering the fallen, (6) providing job for the jobless, (7) administering to the needs of those in prison, hospitals, nursing homes, asylums and mental institutions, senior citizen's homes, caring for the sick, the shut-in, the mentally and socially disturbed, and (8) encouraging thrift and economic advancement. (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990)

Based on the doctrines of the church there should have been continuous activity on the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church property.

Prior to the excavations at Gibson Grove, two previous excavations of African American church sites had been conducted by other archaeologists. The excavations at Wayman A.M.E. Church site and the Boston African Meeting House site both yielded artifacts, which showed the churches' involvement in the community's social welfare (Cabak et al. 1995, Bower and Rushing 1980). Based on these excavations I expected to find artifacts during the shovel test unit phase which would also showed Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion's participation in the Cabin John community's lives; be it political, social, medical or educational. However, there was no material culture to support any of these activities were taking place on the property.

Table 3.1 Phosphorus Test Results

Location	Result
Control	Low
Line 1 Point 1	Low
Line 1 Point 2	Low
Line 1 Point 3	Low
Line 1 Point 4	Low
Line 1 Point 5	Low
Line 2 Point 6	Low
Line 2 Point 6	Low
Line 2 Point 7	Low
Line 2 Point 8	Low
Line 2 Point 9	Low
Line 2 Point 10	Low
Line 2 Point 11	Low
Line 3 Point 12	Low
Line 3 Point 13	Low
Line 3 Point 14	Low
Line 3 Point 15	Low
Line 3 Point 16	Low
Line 3 Point 17	Low
Line 3 Point 18	Low
Line 3 Point 19	Low
Line 3 Point 20	Low
Line 4 Point 21	Low
Line 4 Point 22	Low
Line 4 Point 23	Low
Line 4 Point 24	Low
Line 4 Point 25	Low
Line 4 Point 26	Low
Line 4 Point 27	Low
Line 4 Point 28	Low
Line 4 Point 29	Low
Line 4 Point 30	Low
Line 4 Point 31	Low

Location	Result
Line 5 Point 32	Low
Line 5 Point 33	Low
Line 5 Point 34	Low
Line 5 Point 35	Low
Line 5 Point 36	Low
Line 5 Point 37	Low
Line 5 Point 38	Low
Line 5 Point 39	Low
Line 5 Point 40	Low
Line 6 Point 41	Low
Line 6 Point 42	Low
Line 6 Point 43	Low
Line 6 Point 44	Low
Line 6 Point 45	Low
Line 6 Point 46	Low
Line 7 Point 47	Medium
Line 7 Point 48	Medium
Line 7 Point 49	Low
Line 7 Point 50	Low
Line 8 Point 51	Low
Line 8 Point 52	Low
Line 8 Point 53	Low
Line 8 Point 54	Low
Line 8 Point 55	Low
Line 9 Point 56	Low

The STP excavations revealed the soil texture and color for the site was consistent with very little variation throughout the site. The soil ranged from 10YR 4/6 silt to 10YR 5/6 silt with about 30% - 50% of the soil being small rocks. The church is located about 2 miles west of a quarry that has been in operation since the mid 1800's. Hence, the finding seemed to be consistent with the general geography of the area. Yet, what I found usual was for a site with constant occupation and 2 or 3 burials located on the property the soil did not look disturbed.

There was one material, tree root, which consistently appeared throughout all of the test pits and prove to be an even bigger problem later. There were about seven large oak trees roughly about 80 to 100 years old located on the property. The tree roots hold the hill which the church sits upon in place. They extend under the structure of the church (Figure 3.5) and the roots continue into both neighbors' yards. Many of the shovel test pits did not extend to the desired depth due to massive roots or massive root systems.

Upon completion of all the Phase II testing, I reviewed the data and it did not reveal any information indicating that people had been buried on this site. A community archaeology day was hosted at the site and the discoveries of that day further supported the Phase II findings.

Community Archaeology Day

The "Community Archaeology Day" was a day when the public was invited to come out and learn about the archaeology being conducted at the Gibson Grove site. An ad was placed in the Cabin John Newsletter "Village News" informing everyone in the immediate community of the activities. In addition, press releases were sent to all the major newspapers in the area informing them of the upcoming event. Special invites were sent to the District of Columbia Office of Preservation, Montgomery County's Parks and Planning, Archaeology Division, and the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture.

There was a full day of activities planned all around the theme of archaeology and the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion site. There was a small test pit left open (behind a rope) where people could see how an excavation unit looked. Tours of the site were conducted during the tour I explained the purpose of the excavations and described some of the artifacts which had been uncovered during the shovel test pit excavations. However, I was very careful not to give any interpretations of the artifacts and its significance. By leaving the door open for the visitors to interpret, each group of people would almost instinctively begin to tell me what they knew about the church and its property and their interpretations of the artifacts. The community day resulted in me gaining knowledge about the history of Cabin John that has not been written in books.

There was one piece of information that came out of the day that was of direct significance to the archaeological investigations. One visitor mentioned the original Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion church structure (the log cabin) was located on the current neighbor's property. This account was confirmed by three other visitors who also lived in Cabin John. Based on this information, the logical hypothesis is that the remains were also buried on that portion of the church's property which now belonged to their neighbor. Although the Phase II findings and new oral reports made a strong case that there were no burial shafts on the property, I proceeded to Phase III excavations for due diligence.



Figure 3.5 Picture of the tree and roots on the north side of the church

Phase III

The strategy for the phase III excavations was created around the hypothesis that the burials may not be located on this property, based on prior knowledge from the first two phases and the oral reports given by the community visitors. Non-probabilistic sampling was utilized to select where the test units would be placed. A total of six 1.5 meters by 1.5 meters units were excavated on the property. The locations of the units were selected based on the results of earlier testing and areas which would give an accurate sample of the site.

Unit 1 was placed in the northwest corner of the church's back yard located directly in front of the shed. The northern side of the unit runs along the property line. The west side was adjacent to the shed. The unit was cover sparsely with grass and leaves. Level A consisted of top soil sparsely covered with grass. The top soil 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown ended about 2.5 centimeters and the soil turned 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt. The artifacts located in this

level consisted of nails. Level B is 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt, this level was about 12 centimeters in depth, and nails and piece of painted wood were the artifacts recovered from this level. Level C was 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt. No artifacts were recovered from this level it was sterile. The unit stopped due to massive tree roots bisecting the unit and it was cored to a depth of 30 centimeters.

Unit 2 was located in the western most portion of the church's backyard 2 meters to the south of Unit 1. The unit is adjacent to the large tree which lines the property line. The unit was covered with bare top soil and no vegetation. Level A was covered with top soil 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown. The top soil was about 2.5 centimeters in depth and just under the top soil was 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam which contained 10% rock. Artifacts recovered include coal, brick, nails, and pieces of iron. Level B continued the 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt. However, the rock content went up to 15% and coal was the artifact recovered from this level. Level C consisted of 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown sandy silt loam with about 30% rock. There were no artifacts recovered from this level. The unit stopped at about 31 centimeters due to roots from the adjacent trees and large rocks in southwest corner.

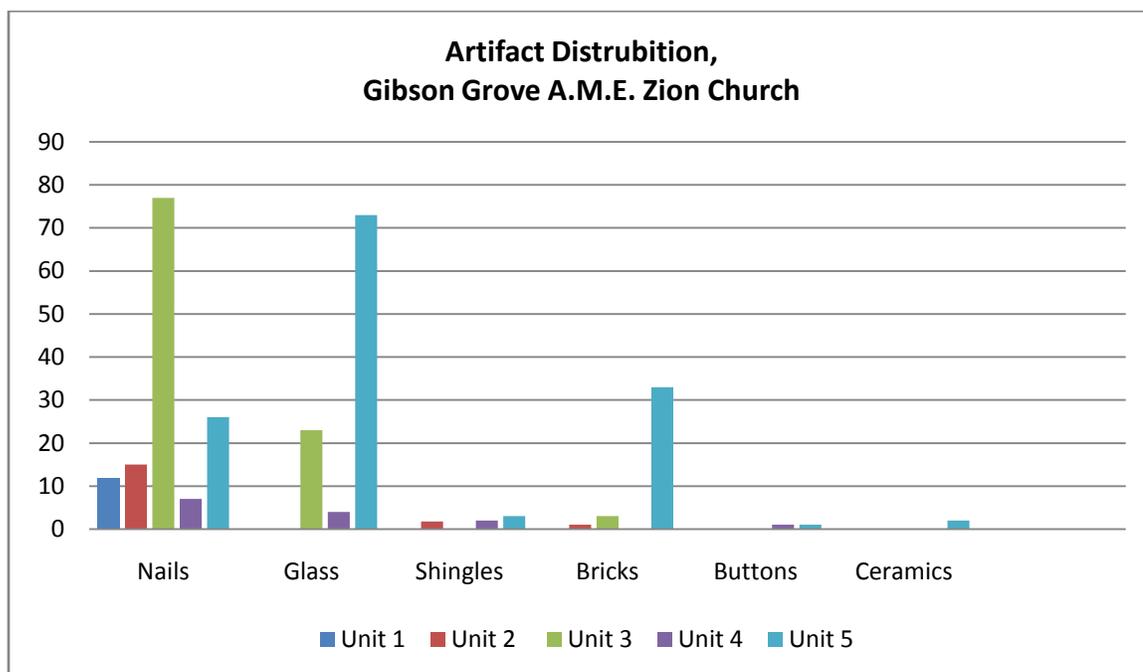
Unit 3 was located 4 meters north of the side of the church and about 4 meters south of the property line and the neighbor's fence. The unit is in the middle of the walk area from the front of the church leading to the back of the church. The unit is located on a 15% slope, covered sparsely with grass. Level A was covered with very little top soil 10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown and it was about 1 centimeter in depth. The remained of the level was 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt. Window glass, coal, brick, concrete and nails were excavated from this level. Level B continued with 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt. A piece of window glass was the only artifact in this level. The unit was excavated to 23 centimeters in depth.

Unit 4 was located adjacent to north side wall of the addition on the church. The unit's south side faced the window in the north wall. The unit located about 1.5 meters from the base of the north wall. It was covered with glass from the blown out window. Level A was covered with glass and ash. The ash seemed to be a combination of roof shingles and wood left from the church fire. Level A consisted of silt loam 2.5Y 5/4 light olive brown and schist with 10% rock inclusions. The artifacts recovered from this level were nails, wire, and coal. An iron pipe was found in the middle of the south wall of the unit which continued into the next level. The soil in level B consisted of 10 YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with 20% rock. At 16 centimeters, the soil texture changed from silt loam to hard clay. One screw and a piece of window glass were recovered from this level. The iron pipe continued into level B and went deeper. The unit was stopped at 23 centimeters due to the soil texture turning to hard clay. Feature 1 (the iron pipe) appeared about 7 centimeters into level A. It continued through level B and into what would have been level C.

Unit 5 was located on the eastern portion of the church property. It was located between a tree and old corner stone block and 9 meters north of the front stairs of the church. The unit was on a 15% slope located closer to the front of the church than unit 3. The unit was covered sparsely with grass. Level A was covered with top soil 10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown and a little grass. The soil changed 3 centimeters in depth to 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam. Numerous artifacts were recovered from this level nails, animal bone, glass, brick, coal, and cap of a flask. In level B, the soil continued with the 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam. The artifacts found in this level were coal, glass, nails, wood, wire, and President Wilson button. Level C contained 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam. The artifacts in the level were a nail,

glass, coal and brick fragments all found within the first 3 centimeters of the level. The remainder of the level was sterile. The unit was cored to 40 centimeters.

Table 3.2 Artifact Distribution



Unit 6 (trench) was placed in southern portion of the church's back yard. There are two rocks located parallel to each other on both sides of the tree. The unit was placed in front of these rock markers so that it would bisect both areas in front of the markers. The south wall of the unit is on a 10% incline. Level A was covered with a thin 2 centimeters layer of top soil 10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown. The remainder of the level was 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam. In the southern portion of the unit, bottle glass was recovered and two pieces of bottle glass were located in the northern portion of the unit as well. In level B, the soil color and texture remained the same, 10 YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam. The northern and middle section of the unit came to a halt due to a root floor at about 25 centimeters. The south portion continued. There were no artifacts recovered from this level. Level C was located beneath level B on the south portion of the unit only. The soil is 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with about 30% rock and large roots. No artifacts were recovered. Level D was located below level C on the southern portion of the unit. The soil has maintained its same consistence of 10YR 5/6 yellowish silt loam. No artifacts were recovered. In level E, the soil was 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with 30% rock. The roots are continuing through this portion of the unit; the area became smaller due to the roots. No artifacts recovered. Level F located beneath level E yielded the same soil color and texture 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with 30% rock inclusions. No artifacts recovered. The unit was cored to 95 centimeters in the southern portion of the unit.

Upon completion of the excavations two assertions became apparent. First if there were any grave shafts on the property the tree roots would have disturbed the graves so severely that they would not be detectable. The second assertion based on the types of artifacts recovered and the limited amount of artifacts, suggested there was limited use of the back portion of the church property. If the church community had utilized the property in the rear of the church, materials remains symbolizing foodways, clothing or personal effects might have been recovered. Based on my observations of the cemetery, I would expect to have found some remnants of objects placed on or around the burials site. The absences of archaeological information led me to believe that the remains had not been buried on the current church's property. Yet there was more to the story of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church than was being told by the archaeology. Hence, I chose to conduct further investigations into the history of the site by assessing the knowledge of the community.

Chapter 4: Public Archaeology and Gibson Grove

This chapter focuses on the development of field of Public Archaeology and how this field influenced the archaeological work conducted at Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church Site. Public archaeology is not a new field it has been around since the 1960's with the introduction of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) (Jameson 2004, Merriman 2004). The field has grown and development subfields. One of the subfields is community archaeology which encompasses the same components of public archaeology (just they are conducted collaboratively with member of the community). Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church Site started as a CRM site where a church needed skeletal remains moved for construction purposes and evolved into a community archaeology project, where communities were brought together and a segment of the community's history has been uncovered.

Public archaeology functions in different modalities depending on the archaeologist. For the excavations at Gibson Grove I utilized an umbrella approach for public archaeology. Though the site was in essences a CRM site, public interpretation, archaeology education and outreach where all major components in how the site was excavated and interpreted. This chapter will explore the development of public archaeology and how various archaeologists utilize the phrase to mean CRM, public interpretation, and archaeology education. It will also discuss how these concepts were put into practice at the Gibson Grove.

Public Archaeology

Public archaeology has become increasingly important over the past few years. There is no concise understanding of public archaeology or what it entails; the reason for this is that the meaning of public archaeology and its usage as changed over its existence (Merriman 2004, Jameson 1997, 2004; Little 2002, Potter 1994). John Jameson views public archaeology as a field, which is comprised of cultural resource management, public interpretation (focus on methods of conveying archaeological information to the lay public) and educational archaeology (formal classroom and less formal educational settings (2004). Jameson's description is one which has taken all of the various uses of the phrase public archaeology and compiled them into a broad general understand of the practice. Though Jameson uses public archaeology to mean all three components, there are many archaeologists that use the term to mean CRM, public interpretation, or archaeology education; but not all three together.

Cultural Resource Management (CRM) is viewed as public archaeology in that "the public element of this archaeology came to consist of archaeologist managing cultural resources on the behalf of the public, rather than entailing a great deal of direct public involvement in the work itself" (Merriman 2004:3). It was believed in the early stages of CRM that by recording, documenting and preserving the knowledge of our shared past archaeologists are essentially 'doing the will of the people'. "Public interest is generally thought to be served through the preservation of cultural resources" (Merriman 2004:3). CRM work does go further than just doing archaeology because it is preserved as what is best for the public. Laws which govern CRM work extend to public and federal owned land; however, they don't apply to privately-owned property. Yet, there are individuals who view the preservation of our cultural resources as important. These individuals concerned with preserving the past hire and work with archaeologist on their private property. Beyond the cases of individuals and their private property, CRM in the past few years has expanded to include more involvement from the public

(Blakey 1998, LaRoche 2007, Balsom 1999, Crisler Mitchell and Gleichman 1999). Part of this involvement includes public interpretation of the sites.

Public interpretation of archaeology is conveying archaeological information to the lay public. This work can be accomplished through books, websites, tours of sites, museums, lectures, etc. Though archaeologists convey the archaeological information; does not mean that the archaeologist is the authority on the interpretations of the sites history. Many archaeologists have come up with creative ways of allowing the public to take an active role in the interpretation of the material culture and how it contributes to the history of site (McDavid 2002, 2004; LaRoche 2007; LaRoche and Blakey 1997, Derry 1997, Potter 1994, Leone 2005). For example at archaeologist at President's House constructed a viewing platform. Everyday any archaeologist would be on the platform with the public discussing what is taking place archaeologically. While archaeologist would discuss the excavations the general public would have dialogues with the archaeologists and amongst themselves about the meaning of excavations and the artifacts recovered. This form of interpretation contributed to how the archaeologist interpreted the site (LaRoche 2007).

Though public interpretation is a simple concept, it is very difficult in practice. Archaeologists gained information from their excavations and in this way we (the archaeologists) are the authorities on the material culture and the context in which it was found. We then that this knowledge to the public and present it to them. Though we are the experts on when, where, and how artifacts were excavated and as scientists we can tell through analysis its function, we are not always the experts on how it functioned in the social context of where it was found. Copeland suggested a constructivist approach for letting the public participate in the interpretive process (2004). He argues that a constructivist approach is valuable in that it considers the prior knowledge and values of the viewer (public viewing the excavated artifacts). According to Copeland, the archaeologist gains knowledge from the artifact, the information is then presented to the public (in a manner which the public can give feedback), the public then takes the information and processes it based on their prior knowledge and presents their constructions or interpretations of the artifacts (Copeland 2004).

Critical theory archaeologists have discussed the process of public interpretation and its role in archaeology in great length and have argued about the benefits of this approach (Leone 1986, Leone Potter and Shackel 1987, Potter 1994, Wilkie and Bartoy 2000, Palus Leone and Cochran 2006, Wylie 1985). While some of the same ideas of the constructivist approach are used critical theorists of archaeology take it one step further in that they argue that archaeologists should be self-reflexive (Hodder 1997/ 2003) and critical of the social constructs which governed the past they are studying. Critical archaeologists take into account that they are people as well and how their personal experiences influence one's knowledge base. In addition, they reflect critically on what their motivation is for conducting the project and how it reflects in their interpretations of a site. Critical archaeologists are keenly aware that "all knowledge serves interests" (Potter 1994:36). In understanding that basic principle, archaeologists acknowledge the social ideologies that were governing the past and influence the present. Those ideologies silenced many key players in the past, yet through archaeology those key players are revealed. Through allowing their descendants to share in the process of interpreting their pasts those who where once void from history's pages are given an opportunity to tell their life stories.

With the public's growing involvement in the interpretation of archaeological sites, new and innovative educational methods can be pioneered. By education, I mean how students of

archaeology are learning to conduct public archaeology as well as educational methods used for the public. In curriculum-associated education, students of archaeology are taught through an institution how to become an archaeologist. There are large number of universities and colleges that have anthropology departments; however not all of them have archaeology divisions, and even those that do don't all teach public archaeology courses. Since public archaeology has been growing there are universities that offer courses in Public archaeology such as George Washington University and there are other universities that have established internship programs to give their students hands-on experience in working with the public like Sonoma State University. As more students join this growing field of public archaeology, traditional means of class room teaching are not enough to prepare these budding archaeologists. Field schools, which have always been a way for students to gain experience out of the class, are also taking on the task of teaching students the importance of public collaboration (Potter 1994, Cressey and Anderson 2006, Dorset 2008). Archaeology education does not just start with undergraduates; it has been extended to high school students who want to pursue careers in archaeology. For example in Maryland the Montgomery County Parks and Planning, Archaeology Division and Archaeology in the Community, Inc., both run programs for high school students interested in learning how to become archaeologists. As students are taught how to work with the public, there is a new group of students entering archaeology with innovative ways of dealing with public education.

Public Education comes in a variety of forms from traditional methods, such as books, museums, DVDs, and site tours, to non-traditional methods, such as the internet, interactive booths at archaeological sites, and volunteer excavation days. As public archaeologists attempt to include the public into the interpretive process, they create a more collaborative basis for the development of the site's history. The results of this collaborative work are products which are reflexive, multivocal, and contextual (McDavid 2002/2004). This method of interpretation creates a holistic view of the past and gives the public an opportunity to understand how the past is relevant to our present. The collaborative process is executed in a number of ways. One way of practicing this method is site tours. Site tours are traditionally given by a tour guide who is a historian trained on what to highlight and what information to give the public. At an archaeological site in Quseir, Egypt, the archaeologist took the idea and decided to work closely with the descendants and local public in order to figure out what aspects of the history are important to the public and should be highlighted in the display of the material culture from the site (Moser et al. 2002). This particular method gave the public the authority to decide what they wanted to know and tell about their past versus the archaeologist deciding for the public.

In addition to collaborative education in the forms of working together on interpretation, one other way the archaeologist educates the public is on the field of archaeology. Some archaeologists have incorporated an outreach program as a component of the archaeological project (Palus Leone and Cochran 2006, LaRoche 2007, Gadsby and Chidester 2005). Outreach is a way for archaeologists to educate the general public about the field of archaeology and how archaeology is conducted. Outreach can vary from one day "public archaeology day" to an extended children's camp. A one-day program may consist of inviting people to the site observe archaeology being conducted, while an archaeologist explains the process. Longer programs depending on the design teach the attendees the basics of archaeology and give them some level of experience working with artifacts. This form of education helps the public gain an

understanding for the importance of archaeology to the development and creation of our histories.

Community Archaeology

Community archaeology is an effort by archaeologists to take the advancements made in public archaeology and progress further. Community archaeology seeks to incorporate local people in all aspects of the archaeological enterprise (Moser et al. 2002, Marshall 2002). In order to truly understand what community archaeology entails; we need to understand what we mean by community. Terms like public and local people are very broad terms yet community represents a more intimate group of people. A community is a social group of varied size who share common characteristics and is perceived to belong to a distinct segment of society. Though a community is one unit, an archaeological site generally has more than one community which can lay historical claims to it. This is what makes community archaeology a challenging experience.

As an archaeologist seeking to incorporate the community in all aspects of the project one must address and recognize all of the communities involved. Identifying the various communities sometimes may be as easy as working with the local town members and leaders; however, in most cases it is very complicated and requires some research into the history of the site before any formal research designs are created. The initial historical research gives insight into which communities may need to be contacted about involvement in the archaeology project. One caveat is that not all communities want to be involved in bringing up their past; however, as long as an honest effort is put forth by the archaeologists to involve all communities, the archaeologists have fulfilled their responsibilities. An archaeologist has to be open to the challenges he/she will face while trying to be truly collaborative.

Because of the emphasis on collaboration, community archaeology is deeply frustrating, extremely time consuming, humbling, and challenging in unanticipated ways (Marshall 2002), but the end product is extremely rewarding. This form of archaeology creates an opportunity to ask questions of the past which would not have been considered if it were not for the archaeological investigations. It creates an avenue for communities to ask questions of the past that are relevant to their present, questions which empower silenced communities (Stahl 2004).

Community Archaeology at Gibson Grove

Collaboration

Most archaeologists give reports on community archaeology projects that had great outcomes, wonderful yet rocky community partnerships, and a wealth of material culture to help inform the community of its rich history. Gibson Grove was not that type of site. We did develop wonderful community relationships, and the project has produced some wonderful outcomes. However, it was the lack of material culture that produced this outcome.

The Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church archaeological project began as a project where the community was reaching out to archaeologists asking for help. In an effort to meet their needs I took on their project; however, I met with the First Agape A.M.E Zion Church community frequently to discuss the project's development and ask for their input on how it should proceed. I met not only with the church leaders but also with the church body in order to gain an accurate understanding of everyone's desires for the project. I used their concerns and

ideas as guidelines for the development of the project design. Due to the unusual circumstance of the ownership of the property, I wanted the current church congregation to be left with a feeling of pride in taking on the legacy of their new property.

Though the church community was the one to reach out for archeological help, they were not the only community members with whom we the archaeologists, were going to have to collaborate. The White family's desires were our highest concern, considering they were the relatives of the skeletal remains we were asked to move. The representative, with whom I worked Mrs. Dove, she gave us permission to "do what needs to be done" (Dove personal communication 2008). I extended an invitation to her and her family to visit and/or come out and volunteer with the project any time they wanted.

I digress for a moment to point out that I knew as a young African American woman who has no ties to this community, every one's concern was: why was I doing this and what was I gaining from this project? My honest answer was two things: 1) it needed to be done in order to help the church community; and 2) I thought the story of Cabin John's African American church needed to be told. It is hard as an outsider to gain others' trust. I realized that by being honest and genuine worked best for me. Many of the community members referred to me as "young lady" or "baby" sometimes to my face and others times in conversations with others. However, through working hard with them and for them, they soon began to respect me and value my role in their lives.

The church and the White family wanted the skeletal remains to be placed in Moses Lodge cemetery. A week before the excavation was supposed to start, I toured Moses Lodge cemetery. At that time, I was under the impression that this was a historic cemetery that was receiving proper care and maintenance. After a half mile uphill hike, I walked into a mini forest overgrown with plants, bushes, poison ivy and bamboo. I immediately called the church liaison and inquired about the entity responsible for the land's maintenance. The cemetery was privately owned by the Moses Lodge, and the last living member was also the older woman whose family members were buried on the church property. Basically, no one was taking responsibility for the maintenance of the land.

While surveying the seven head stones were noticeable. These headstones were professional crafted headstones with inscriptions. Yet as we walked deeper into the brush, rows of headstones made from quarry rocks were noticeable. It seemed to be about 50 or more grave markers, each in rows which extended the length of the burial ground. At one of the graves, someone had placed a decorative fence around the burial and planted a small rose bush, which has since grown wild from lack of pruning over the years. It was soon realized that in order to re-bury the skeletal remains we would have to identify the burials that we already located in the cemetery. The first step would require the cemetery to be cleaned. We looked at this task as a way to have the different communities come out and interact while also working together for a common good.

The following week I began my campaign to involve the community. I called a few of the old congregation members and an older member of the Moses Lodge in order to inform them of the archaeology project being conducted. I also asked for permission to clean and clear the cemetery for repatriation purposes. All parties agreed, and I asked them to inform some of their younger family members in case anyone wanted to volunteer to clean their older family members' graves. I went to Sunday service at the church to speak with the church congregation

about what the archaeologists would be doing on the cemetery property. An invitation was extended for the entire congregation to come out and assist with cleaning up the cemetery.

As this project increased in size so did the community size. Now that we would be conducting a cleaning project in about 15 homeowners' backyards (literally), I thought the community should be notified of what was going on. Flyers were printed and placed in 100 mailboxes of the neighbors that lived closest to the church and Moses Lodge Cemetery,



Figure 4.1 Cemetery Clean Up

informing them of the archaeologists' presence and inviting them to observe or assist with the cleanup. In addition, Montgomery County Parks and Planning Archaeology Division was contacted and asked to send out an email to all their archaeology volunteers to assist with the cleaning project.

The second weekend in June was our "clean up day." This was a chance for me to meet the community at large and ask them questions about the Cabin John area. The archaeologists and Montgomery County volunteers showed up for the cleanup. There was one home owner who came out and helped for about an hour. I was able to speak with a few of the residents through their gates. The few who talked to me through the gate informed me that they had nothing to do with the trash it was other people who trashed the cemetery. The blame for the state of the cemetery lay solely with other people. Nevertheless, no one in the community came out to assist but the one homeowner. We, the archeologists, went out the following day and cleared more of the cemetery. The church leaders and the archaeologists met to talk about the progress. In two days' time the cemetery was half cleared. The church decided to pay a company to clear the remainder of the cemetery. By the Tuesday, the cemetery was cleared. We went for a walk and were able to identify more graves and headstones.

The same week I received an email from the Cabin John Homeowners Association inquiring about the work done at the cemetery. I corresponded with the community liaison and the president and informed them about the project. They expressed concern over the cemetery being cleaned and whether or not this would encourage people to disturb the cemetery more. I explained to them that in order for us to determine where we can rebury the skeletal remains it had to be done, and we had permission from the last living owners of the property. Once they heard this, they were more at ease; it seemed they thought we were doing this without consulting the owners.

Though our main communities in which we consulted with were the church and the White family, I learned very quickly that the greater Cabin John community was also concerned with what was taking place.

Education

Through the course of the project educational components were implemented in order to further incorporate the public in the project. These educational components came in the form of a "Community Archaeology Day" and an internship program.

The "Community Archaeology Day" was a day where all the public was invited to come out and learn about the archaeology being conducted at the Gibson Grove site. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the local community and greater Maryland community were all invited to come and partake in the planned activities of the day. Community day was a success not only because it gave the community an opportunity to interact with the archaeologists, but because I the archaeologist was able to gain knowledge from the community.

The information about the original site of the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion's log cabin proved to be very helpful in the last phase of archaeological investigations. We as archaeologists can benefit from the use of what Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci (1992) calls "organic intellectuals." These are people from the community who, without formal education, are just as philosophical as traditional scholars and are valuable to anyone studying a site. The information I was given when I started the project was based on oral reports given to the church liaison by other persons. The information I had received was by people who had lived here when they

where children or whose parents had told them about the church. These same people gave names and contacts for old residents of the area to whom we could reach out and gain more information.

Upon digging a little deeper into the few historical documents I was able to find some evidence hinting to the fact that the log cabin was located next to the new church. This one piece of information changed the purpose of the project. The project's original goal was to exhume the skeletal remains and repatriate them to Moses Lodge cemetery. If there were no skeletal remains then there was no need for archaeological excavations except to prove this information true. The project slowly turned from exhuming the skeletal remains to ensuring there were none on the property. This day showed how collaborating with community can and will have an impact on all those involved.

The second educational component was an archaeological internship. Montgomery County Parks and Planning, Archaeology division has an archaeology club for high school students. Working together we were able to have three high school students come and work on the site. The students had already been trained on basic archaeological procedures that were part of being in the archaeology club. They spent two weeks out in the field working. They learned how to use the total station and how to set up a grid. Two of the students were seniors going off to college to major in anthropology. The third was a junior in high school who aspires of going to college for anthropology.

Having interns at the site was important for numerous reasons. The students who came to work at the site were local students. Discussing the history of Montgomery County and the site made the students understand that what they were working on was a part of their history. Through everyday conversation the students also realized all of the archeologists working on the site were from the area, and we each gave them a different perspective on working in the field of archaeology in the Chesapeake region. The interns gained not only valuable experience in the field, they learned as they discovered part of their own heritage, and through all of our experiences they gained mentors who offered to help them navigate through the field of archaeology.

Interpretation

In the beginning the main focus of the project was to locate the burials of the past church members and repatriate them in Moses Lodge cemetery. As an archaeologist who thinks critically about a site and its potential relevance to its community, I felt that in order to accurately interpret the site I had to reach out to the different communities which all had an interest in the interpretation.

By reaching out to the various communities that made up Cabin John's history, I uncovered a huge part of their history that has for the most part gone untold. McGuire stated, "If we recognize that the pasts we study are the pasts of living communities, then we must also recognize an obligation to serve the interests of these communities" (1994:182). The history of Cabin John that I uncovered told the story of the African American community.

I had constant contact with the church community that asked for work to be conducted on the church, and we worked together on all decisions. I engaged with the Cabin John Community Association and members of the current Cabin John community via outreach and email. On the



Figure 4.2 Community Archaeology Day (A community member talking to a volunteer)

“Community Archaeology Day,” the people touring the site were told the brief history of the church and were shown some of the artifacts from the site, yet they were not given interpretations of the materials. Many of the individuals (viewers) provided their prior knowledge of the site and thus created their own interpretations. By utilizing all of the information given, I was able to construct some bits of the Cabin John African American Community past.

In all of my conversations, everyone would mention I needed to talk various to people whose families owned the property. I reached out to Mrs. Dove and asked if I could come to talk to her. In the course of our conversation she gave me the names and numbers of as many African American Cabin Johners as she had. In the weeks that passed I went from trying to gain information on the church and Moses Lodge to learning about a thriving community which was in many ways autonomous from the rest of Cabin John. With each interview I would present the finds of the excavation and then ask questions about what was found or not found in order for

them to give me their interpretation of the site. I conducted six interviews with representatives of four families, all of whom were members of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion church.

Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh state, "Collaboration in practice exists on a continuum, from merely communicating research to descendant communities to a genuine synergy where the contributions of the community members and scholars create a positive result that could not be achieved without joining efforts" (2008). They go on to say, "Collaboration, then, is not a uniform idea or practice but a range of strategies that seek to link the archaeological enterprise with different publics by working together" (2008). I wanted my work to be relevant, relevant to the community requesting the work, relevant to the descendant community, and relevant to the greater Cabin John community. In every stage of my research, I continually tried to add components where the various communities were involved and felt like they had a role in the interpretation and outcome of the project.

Interpreting the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion archaeological site is a continual process. A process which has exceeded the original goal of cultural resource management and has grown into a project which is giving voice to a community which has long been silenced.

Integrating Cabin John

Before the introduction of archaeology, the greater Cabin John community had been segregated. The current Cabin Johners recognized there was an African American community that was once in the area, but outside of the Gibsons, none of the other families were ever discussed. Everyone knew of Moses Lodge but it was always talked about in context of the cemetery and the few meetings that were held on the property. Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church was the most recognized fixture of the once-present African American community, yet it is no longer in existence. In its place is First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church which has no ties to the community at large.

Through collaborating with all members of the community, dialogues were opened between the three segments (current Cabin Johners, past African American community of Cabin John, and First Agape A.M.E. Zion Church), which until the archaeological excavations, had very little to do with one another. Yet, by me taking a genuine interest in all the groups and working with each one of them and listening to their concerns and questions, I was able to help bridge the gaps between the groups.

Every archaeologist should share their data with the community so that everyone can gain insight from the findings, keeping in mind Maria Franklin's (1997) assertion that "...most of us has not given black society much reason to feel that archaeology should be important to them"(43). Archaeological data is essential to African American history, and as scholars working with such sites, we need to share the value of our work. There are responsibilities that come with understanding the importance of material culture studies, and how they help fill in the gaps of the written record.

Chapter 5: Silences revealed Cabin John's African American Community

Community archaeology helped reveal silences in Cabin John's history. It uncovered the voices of Cabin John's African American community that were silenced during Jim Crow and segregation. Silences in African American history shape the way neighborhoods are remembered and forgotten. In order to understand the role silence plays in history, the process of historical production has to be explored. Trouillot (1995) believed that there are four crucial moments when silence can enter the historical production process at the moment of fact creation, the moment of fact assembly, the moment of fact retrieval, and the moment of retrospective significance.

Archaeology is science created around a set of practice which serves to recover information about a given space in time. During the excavation of Gibson Grove, the archaeology revealed information about the use or lack of use of a particular space. The information gained from the excavations created a different set of oral history and archival inquires. As a participant in, and an observer of the historical production process for Cabin John, the silences became obvious. There were different absences in information between the documentary, oral historical and archaeological archives. By playing the three sources of data against on another, tacking back and forth between them (Wylie 1985), the past of Cabin John's African American communities began to emerge.

Archives are used as repositories for stored knowledge and information; they are places where documents are assembled into narrative. The assembly of data into fact is a significant factor in historical production (Trouillot 1995). Archives are institutions set up to house various bodies of knowledge depending on their focus. These institutions select bodies of information which they consider important to preserve and maintain. The selection of data which should be preserved can result in forms of silence, particularly if the documents maintained are only relevant to particular people or events.

For example, Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church was originally built during the end of the reconstruction period. The Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was hired to interview surviving ex-slaves during the 1930s. The purpose of these interviews was to learn about African Americans and their lives. In 1937, a series of interviews were conducted to find out about African American churches in Maryland. Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church was among the churches covered in this survey. The interviewers were only able to answer eight questions of the two pages of queries on the church. The standard document asked a range of basic information questions about the churches such as; Name of the church, Denomination, Date of laps, Date organized, Architecture, etc. In the process of answering the survey, the question on previous building location was answered incorrectly. It stated, "Previous building stood on the same site as present." (Mower and Cole 1937: Church Records Form, para. 6). The original church built in 1898 was located west of the current church that was built in 1923. This document was the only official document that could be retrieved on the church.

Montgomery County Historical Society serves as the local archives for information pertaining to Cabin John. The historical society has a section on Cabin John. The bulk of information contained in the Cabin John section is newspaper clippings on various events that have taken place in Cabin John. In this section, newspaper articles can be found discussing Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church nomination for historical status and the Church receiving historical status (Soladay 2004). The Historical Society has a collection of pamphlets and

booklets produced by Cabin John Association; in one pamphlet a short article was written on the Colored Schools in Cabin John and in one of the booklets two of past residents of Cabin John's African American community were interviewed (Kyle 1976, Clarke and McKinney 1976).

In 1976, Cabin John Association in celebration of the bicentennial wanted to produce a pamphlet about Cabin John. Ms. Elizabeth Kytle conducted 18 interviews of current and past Cabin John residents and turned the interviews into the book, *Time Was, A Cabin John Memory Book*. The book contains two interviews with African American residents, which is the only written text with detail information about Cabin John's early African American community. However, the texts are limited in that though the focus was suppose to be memories of Cabin John, the interviews developed more into accounts of the older women's personal lives.

The general lack of information on the African American families and the establishment of the Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church in Cabin John can be interpreted as a silence in history. The historical archives are great resources in recounting the stories of the past. However, archaeology can fill the voids left by the historical record. Archaeology differs from the archives in that archaeology focuses on the lives of people through their material culture. For archaeologists knowledge is constructed at the trowels edge (Hodder 2003). By utilizing a critical approach around the excavation of site, knowledge of the past groups (gender, ethic, and class) will be obtained.

Yet there are also silences in the archaeological record. If knowledge is at the trowels edge (Hodder 2003), what happens if there is nothing at the edge of the trowel? There are unique situations where a site is excavated and there is no material culture to be found. This form of silence tells a different story often contrary to what we as archaeologists learned prior to the excavations. On occasions the knowledge gained at the trowels edge is no knowledge and it's this type of silence, which speaks loudest about what was taking place in the past at a given time and place. The lack of material culture opened a new window of dialogue between the archaeologist and the various communities. The archaeological finding suggested that very little activity took place on the church property. This line of evidence created new conversations between the archaeologists and the communities around the use of the property. The results also created questions about the historical record and its validity.

It is known that historical records contain bias based on the social context in which they are constructed. Critical archaeology utilizes an approach, which recognizes these biases and moves beyond them to create a revisionist past, which tells a more inclusive account of the past (Leone Potter and Shackel 1987, Potter 1994, Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Archaeologists working in partnerships with communities can take the silence of archaeology and use diverging lines of evidence to further explain their finds. Oral history becomes a great tool when partnering with communities, their interpretations and knowledge can often provide insight to the archaeological record.

In order to move beyond the silence of the archaeological record; oral history can be used as a tool to help break the silence. Oral histories are viewed by many as a way of obtaining information about an historical event through one individual's personal account. Oral histories contribute to the historical production process of fact creation (Trouillot 1995). The people recounting the historical event or events are recalling information based on their memory of an occurrence. "Memory [is]...by definition a personal activity, subject to the biases, quirks, and rhythms of the individual's mind. If a remembered event is expressed verbally, the remembrance is of course slanted by the teller's choice of words and by his or her sense of how to shape a tale"

(Fabre and O'Meally 1994: 5). In addition, to account for the unconscious silences in a person's recounting of an historical event, one also has to account for the conscious silences in a person's narrative. As the person/ narrator is recounting their story of the past, they are choosing what information to tell and what information to omit based on their own biases of what is important. These oral accounts with their built in silences whether conscious or unconscious are the foundations of history making.

The accounts from the oral histories I conducted included discussions of individual African American families but very little was known about the community as a whole. The absence of information from the immediate community prompted me to seek out the descendant community of Cabin John's African American community. I began by interviewing members of the White family and as I interviewed them I asked for contact information of other families that also lived in Cabin John. With each new interview, I would ask the interviewee if they had any contact information on any of the other families. And I continued until I felt like I had a large enough sample of all the families. The interviews provided great insight to how the church property was utilized and information about the church and its congregation. With each person I interviewed, I inquired about Moses Hall and the cemetery. Yet no one was able to tell me any more than a few facts about organization. No one referred to the lodge by its name Morningstar Tabernacle #88 Grand United Order Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses, they only called it Moses Hall. Everyone stated meetings and dances were held in the hall. After several conversations, I was sure it was a small mutual aid society that the community had created. Yet in a conversation with a member she said she was initiated in the District of Columbia (S. Harris personal communication 2008).

This small piece of information hinted that Moses Hall was more than a mutual aid society and larger than Cabin John. Through weeks of research, I learned that Moses Hall was one of numerous lodges belonging to a secret African American fraternal organization. The fact that it was a secret organization explains why there was limited information on the lodge and why those who were interviewed knew little more than the name Moses Hall. The persons interviewed were all children during the time of the lodges operation (except one person). It was the forgetting or the absence of mention to the children about lodge business, which resulted in the silences now about the organization.

Through recognizing silences and using them as curves in a circular process I was able to reconstruct the Cabin John's forgotten history. Each time I encountered a void I used it as directional to go to another form of knowledge and would continue revisiting knowledge bases in a circular pattern until I discovered the missing links. Then in turn taking the newly acquired information and continuing in the cycle until the community's history was uncovered.

The information gained from the archaeology was vital in the reconstruction of the African American past of Cabin John. It would have been ideal to excavate the church and recover artifacts which would have given the story of the space and how people utilized the church space. The excavations did prove that community archaeology can be a fruitful endeavor for revealing the hidden histories, even when the archaeological practice reveals no material culture. Though the archaeology revealed the lack of social activities at the church and the oral history revealed Morningstar Tabernacles #88's role in the social lives of community; this project demands we turn an archaeological gaze to these kinds sites and further study the role of secret societies, in the lives of African Americans.

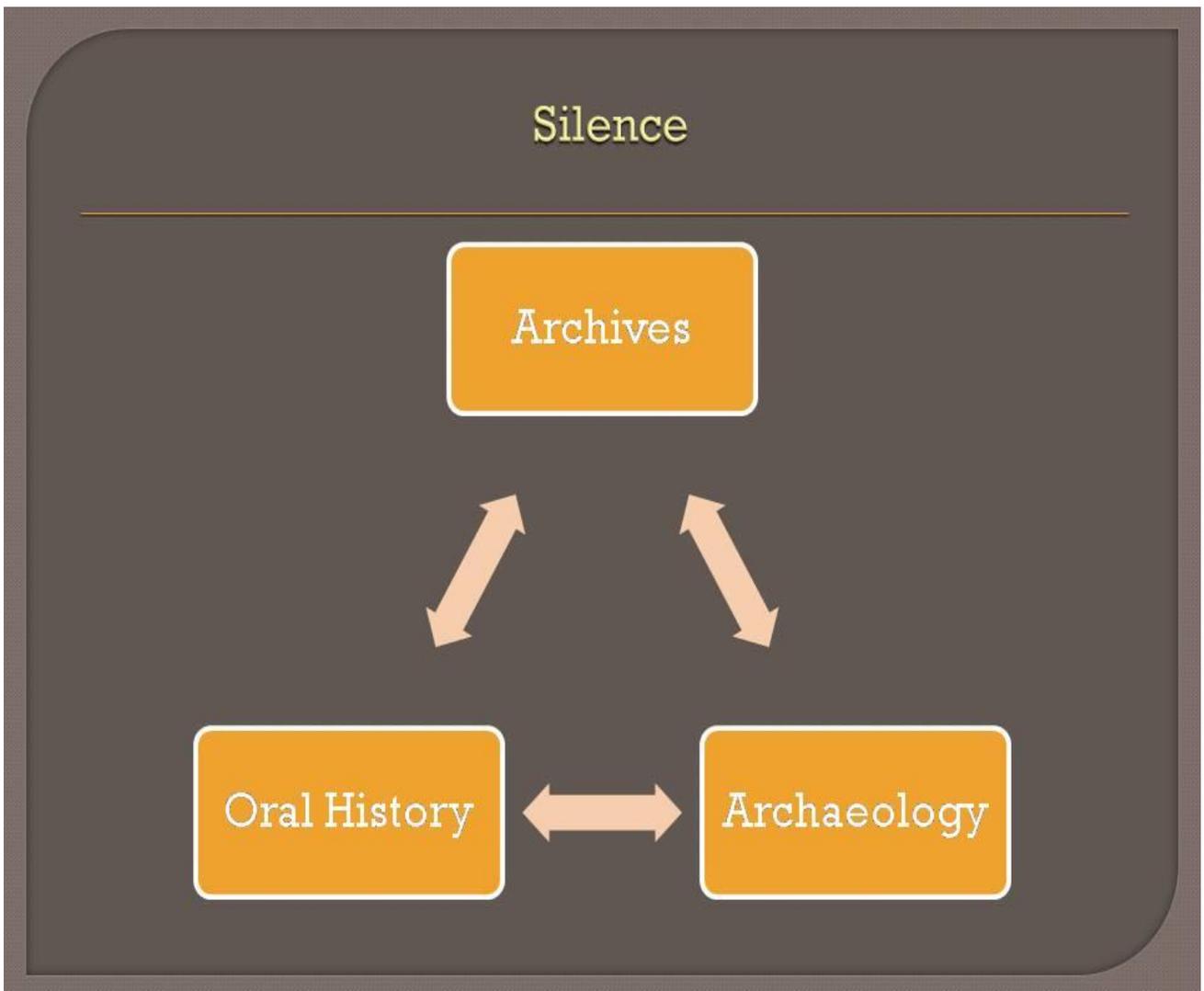


Figure 5.1 Circular Process of Information Gathering

Cabin John's African American Community

By applying the above mentioned approach I was able to revise the history of the African American community of Cabin John. All of the information obtained in the remainder of this chapter was information I obtained as a result of my archaeological excavations at Gibson Grove.

Though the Gibson family was an important part of the Cabin John's African American community, there were many other families in the area as well. The neighborhood included the Harris, the Crawford, the White, the Jones, the Scott, the Carter, the Brown, the Bowles, and the

Jackson families; the families Mr. Moore sold plots of land on Seven Locks Road (Armstrong 1947, Offutt 1995). All of the property was purchased from J.D.W Moore, during this time he was the only land owner willing to sell property to African Americans.

The African American community of Cabin John was self-sufficient; they grew their own food; built their own school and homes; and some individuals ran their own small businesses. The community was located adjacent to Cabin John Creek which was utilized as the main source of water. There were a few families which had the privilege of having wells on their property, thus relieving them of the arduous task of hauling water from the creek. In addition to the creek water, everyone had rain barrels which aided in the water collection process (P. Black personal communication 2008, S. Harris personal communication 2008). The first African Americans to move into this section of Cabin John seem to have bought their land around the early 1880's. In those early years, they began the process of community building.

The Brown Family

Charles Henry Brown purchased land from J. W. Moore and his wife Sarah Moore on April 27th 1885. Mr. Brown purchased four and a half acres of land for the sum of one hundred one dollars and fifty cents (MCCC 1885). Mr. Brown, along with his wife Christina Brown and their adopted daughter Lena Brown, resided on the on the property.

Mr. Brown operated a small truck farm on the property that his daughter Lena helped him operate. The crops grown on the farm would be sold at the markets in Washington, D.C. - Center Market, Georgetown Market, P Street Market, and K Street Market. The Browns had a diversified range of crops; cabbage, potatoes, tomatoes, broccoli, sweet potatoes, corn, peppers, watermelon, and cantaloupes. In addition to growing food, they also maintained livestock; chickens, turkeys and ducks (Kytile 1976).

The Browns, in addition to running a farm, were also active in the community. The Browns attended Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion church and at various points in their lives, served on a committee. Mr. Brown served as a trustee for the Cabin John Elementary School and also a member of Morningstar Tabernacle #88 (Kytile 1976, Clarke and McKinney 1976, Morningstar Lodge 1904).

In 1912 Mr. Brown passed away and his wife had died some years later leaving Lena to manage the property on her own. Ms. Lena Brown worked for the Cabin John Bridge Hotel as a laundress for a period of time. She then sought work in Washington, D.C. not wanting to stay in her parents' house alone anymore. She acquired a job as a cook in a private family's home and also worked at a boarding house as a dishwasher. During this time she had people staying on her Cabin John property and they "ruined" the property (Kytile 1976).

In the late 1930's Ms. Brown was going through a rough financial period. She was unable to pay the taxes on her property and attempts had been made to take the property from her (Kytile 1976). In 1940 the Federal Government decided they wanted to buy her property to build a housing development for its workers at the David Taylor Model Basin. The property was developed into a segregated community consisting of 20 houses for their African American employees (Armstrong 1947, Offutt 1995).

Ms. Lena Brown later moved back to Cabin John as an older woman and lived with the Hughes family until she died.

The Bowles Family

Jasper and Matilda Bowles purchased land from J.D.W. Moore. Jasper and Matilda had one son (Roland) and two daughters (Adeline and Alice). Mrs. Bowles worked for the Cabin John Bridge Hotel for about 18 years. She worked in the ice cream parlor, dipping the ice cream for the patricians of the hotel. In addition to working in the ice cream parlor, she was also one of the hotel's laundresses. She would load the dirty laundry in a wheelbarrow and take it to a location some distance from the main hotel building where she would wash the clothes. In some cases, if the clothes were too heavy, the laundry man would come and carry the clothes for her. She would be assisted by little girls who would wash the handkerchiefs, while she washed everything else (Kytly, 1976). There is very little known about the Bowles beyond their occupation.

Jones Family

The first members of the Jones family to buy property in Cabin John were Robert and Emma Jones. Emma and Robert were married in 1882 and they had nine children they raised in Cabin John. They had five daughters - Georgiana, Emma, Odelia, Daisy, and Ada and four sons - Edward, Robert, Clarence, and Rodney.

The Jones family was quite active in the community. Emma Jones was the local midwife and is reported having delivered almost everyone in the Cabin John African American community. She retired from this profession and passed the skill on to her daughter Odelia. (S. Harris, personal communication, 2008). Robert Jones was a trustee of the local school alongside his son Edward Jones (Clarke and McKinney 1976). In addition to their work and civic duty the Jones were very active in Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion church (Kytly 1976).

Their oldest son, Edward, married Irene Jones and they lived on his parents' property for the early years of their marriage. In 1919, they purchased property directly down the road from his parents. Irene worked from home as a laundress and Edward ran the family farm with the help of Irene. Irene's clientele was located in Glen Echo quite a distance from Cabin John. She would travel by horse and wagon to pick up her clients laundry. The clothes would be washed and ironed at her home and then she would return the laundry to her clients.

According to Irene's accounts, her and her husband had a fairly large farm. The farm was worked by both of them. They grew many of the same vegetables and fruit as their neighbors and they also raised livestock for consumption and labor purposes. She stated they, "had to buy some things, but we made preserves and jellies and things like that and that helped out a whole lot in the winter" (Kytly 1976:42). Most of the food the Jones family consumed was raised or grown on the property.

Though Ms. Jones was busy running her laundry business and tending to her family farm, the bulk of her free time was spent resting and volunteering at the church. She was a member of the stewardess board, a member of the choir, and a Sunday school teacher. When she became too old to attend church anymore, she became a member of the church's missionary society and continued to do the work of the church from home (Kytly 1976). Irene and Edward were the oldest living Jones family members which remained in Cabin John.

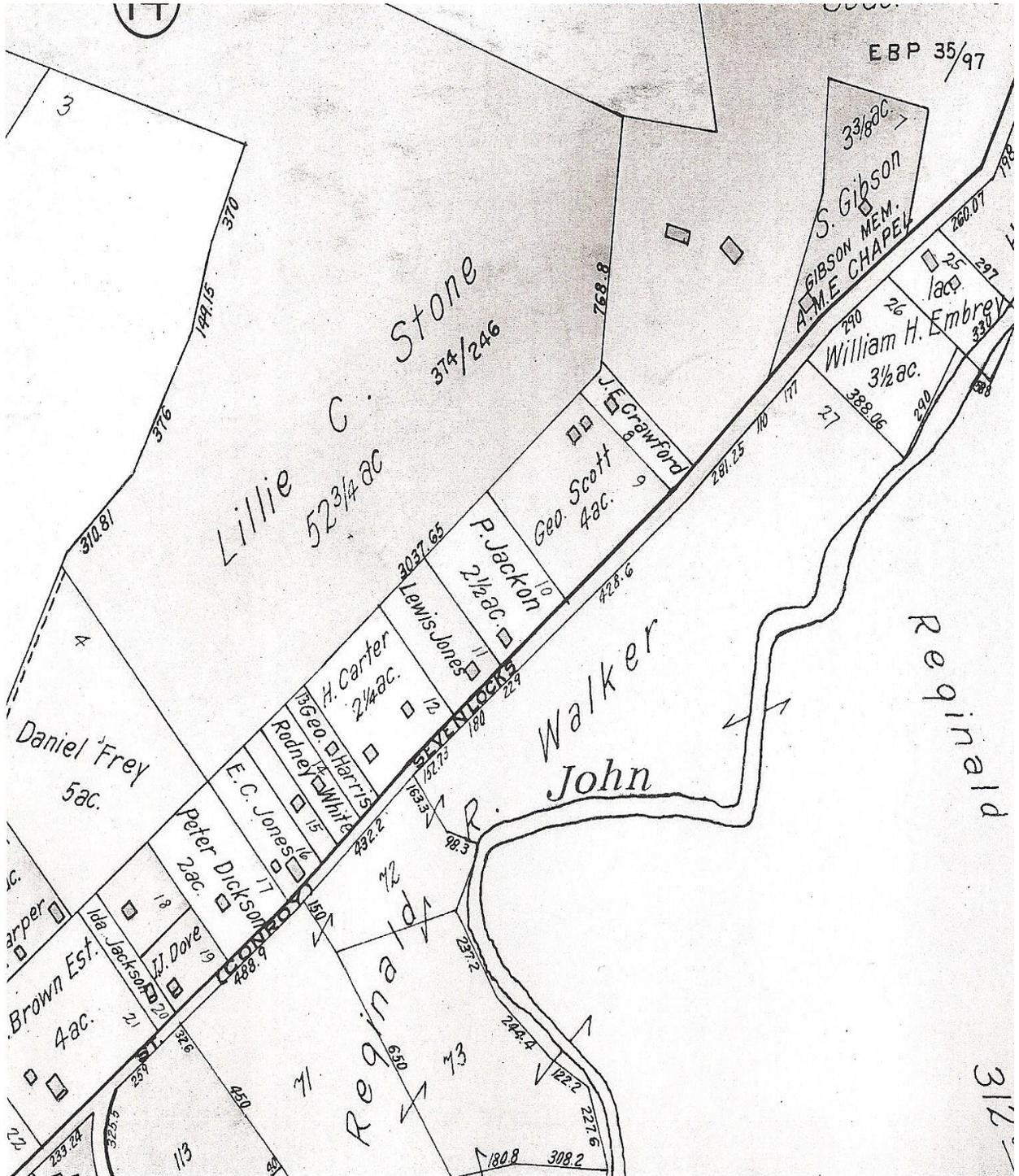


Figure 5.2 Map of Seven Locks Road 1931 (Klinge 1931)

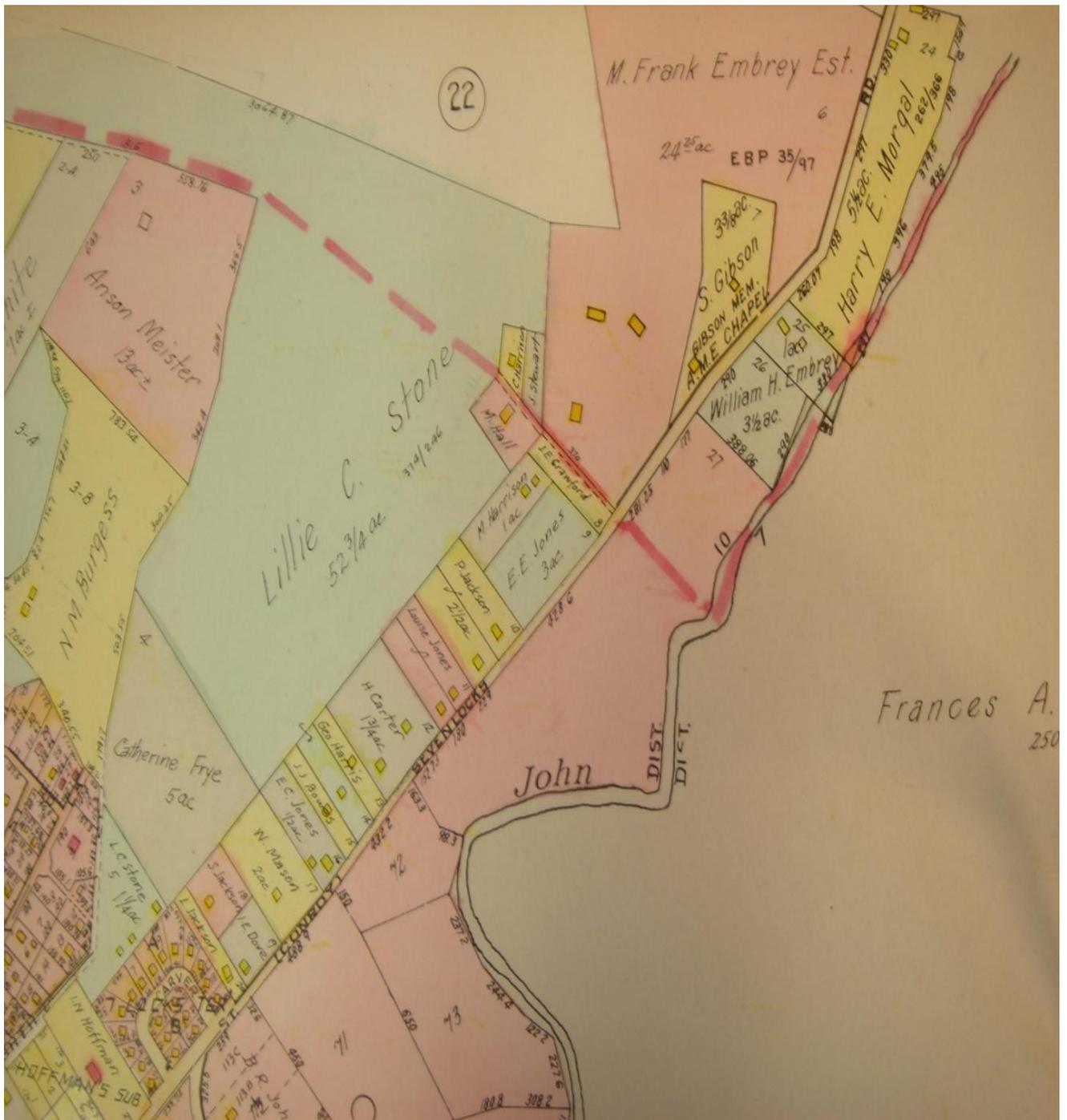


Figure 5.3 Map of Seven Locks Road 1959 (Klinge 1949)

Scott Family

George Scott purchased four and half acres from J.D.W. Moore for the sum of one hundred and fourteen dollars on June 16th of 1885 (MCCC 1885). Mr. Scott lived on this property with his wife Cyrilda and their two grandchildren Snowden Dove and Ida Dove. There is not a lot of information known about Scott family other than they were members of Morningstar Tabernacle #88 and Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church (Morningstar Lodge 1904).

Carter Family

Henry Carter purchased on May 4th of 1885 two and a quarter acres for fifty six dollars and twenty five cents from J.D. W. Moore (MCCC 1885). He resided on this property with his wife Mary Delia Carter and their three children Robert, Laia, and Hester Carter. Mr. Carter was an active member of Morningstar Tabernacle #88 (Morningstar Lodge 1904). It is unknown if his wife or children were members of the lodge also.

Jackson Family

Philip Jackson also purchased two and a quarter acres of land on May 4th of 1885 from J.D.W. Moore (MCCC 1885). He moved on to the property his wife and four year old son; they had been married four years when they made the decision to buy property. Mr. and Mrs. Jackson raised two sons Fredrick and Philip Jackson and a niece Eva Jackson, while living on their Cabin John property (Census 1900). Philip Jackson and Eva Jackson were active members of Morningstar Tabernacle #88 (Morningstar Lodge 1904). It is not clear if the parents were also members of the lodge. No references have been located to state were the Jackson family were members of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church, however it is plausible considering the proximity of their home to the church.

Crawford Family

The Crawford family was one of the largest family groups in Cabin John. James and Ella Crawford purchased land from J.D.W. Moore. The Crawford's had seven children; John, Mary, Virginia, James, Viola, Jennie, and Robert Crawford. James worked as a laborer while Ella and their oldest daughter Viola worked as cooks. However it is unknown who employed their services (Census 1910). In addition to working outside the home, the family also had a garden which they grew their own food.

The Crawford family was quite involved in the Cabin John community. The Crawford family members help build Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church. They served on various church committees over the years; Church trustee board, Sunday school teachers, Deaconess Board and choir (Clarke 1983, Gibson Grove 1976, Gibson Grove 1989). In addition to their involvement with the church, Ella Crawford was a member of Morningstar Tabernacle #88. In 1904, she was conferred as a 4th degree within the organization's hierarchy (Morningstar Lodge 1904).

Though there is limited information on the Crawford children, what is known is Robert Crawford was a golfer. He won the Colored Open Championship which was held in Washington, DC. An article on him was featured in the Washington Post (n.d.).

The Crawford family being one of the largest families in the Cabin John's African American community it was inevitable that they would intermarry with the other Cabin John families. Mary "Peaches" Crawford married Rodney White. Sadie Crawford married Marion



Figure 5.4 Marion and Sadie Crawford

Harris. Also, Hester Carter married George Harris. These three marriages made the bond between neighbors stronger by elevating it to the status of family. This larger family represented about one third of the African American community of Cabin John community.

White Family

The White family in Cabin John seems to begin with Rodney White. He was born in Maryland. However it is unknown when he moved into the Cabin John area or if he was raised in one of the communities surrounding Cabin John. Rodney and Mary White purchased land from Mr. P. Jones. Their new plot of land was located about 2 miles from the Crawford property. The Whites were married in 1923 after having their first son Rodney White Jr. The White had a total of eleven children Bernice, Jane, Nathaniel, Lucille, Aloise, Lorraine, Robert, Preston, Allen, Charles, and Rodney White. In addition to her children with Rodney, Mary had a child before her marriage named George Crawford (B. Dove personal communication 2008).

Rodney White worked as a day laborer and Mary cleaned other people homes part-time. When not working for other people, Mary devoted her time to raising her family. Rodney and Mary both spent a great deal of time taking care of their single family home and gardens. Being related to many of their neighbors meant that the White family were involved any many of the same activities as their other relatives. They attended Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church and

were activity members of Morningstar Tabernacle #88. In the case of the White family many of the children belonged to the Juvenile Division of Morningstar Tabernacle #88 (B. Dove personal communication 2008).

Harris Family

The Harris family in Cabin John begins with Mary and Charles Harris. They married in 1880 and soon after started their family. They had five children 4 sons; Elijah, Louis, George, and Marion Harris and one daughter Jessie Harris. The Harris family owned land in Cabin John however it is unclear whether they purchased land from one of the other families or if they purchased land from J.D.W Moore. It is known that the land Moses Hall was built on belonged to the Harris family, Mary Harris's home was located walking distance from Moses Hall (E. Harris personal communication 2008).

Their son, George Harris, married Hester Carter in 1917; they purchased land from P. Jones another African American land owner. Their brother Marion married Sadie Crawford which had seven children Ernest, Sadie, Raymond, Herbert, Leroy, Montgomery, and Hazel Harris. Marion and Sadie lived in Rock Spring, Maryland. Marion's mother convinced them to move back to Cabin John and build their home behind their family home (S. Harris personal communication 2008). It is unknown if their other two brother and sister ever married.

Elijah Harris is credited with running Morningstar Tabernacle #88. He served as President and Secretary of the lodge for a period of time (Morningstar Lodge 1904, E. Harris personal communication 2008). The history of Morningstar Tabernacle #88 is unclear but it is known that the Harris, White and Crawford families were all members and personally insured the upkeep of Moses Hall (the building built for the business of the lodge). All of Marion and Sadie's children belonged to the juvenile division of the lodge; Sadie their daughter mentioned she was initiated as a young adult into the adult division of the fraternal organization (S. Harris personal communication 2008). She seemed to be the only child old enough to make the transition before the organization disbanded.

Grand United Order of Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses

All the heads of the families belonged to Grand United Order Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses, a secret black fraternal organization started in 1867 by Peter Paul Brown in Morristown, PA (Widely Known Secret Society 1909). The objectives of the order were "the maintenance and education of the orphan children of deceased members, the burial of its dead, and the care and oversight of its sick and destitute" members (Walker 1880:52). Little is known about the workings of the organization, but the group started the Morningstar Tabernacle #88 in Cabin John.

The lodge was prominent consisting of Moses Hall⁴ and a cemetery. Moses Hall in Cabin John was run by Elijah Harris and the Harris, White, and Crawford families all played a large role in the upkeep of the building and the property (S. Harris personal communication 2008, A. White personal communication 2009). Moses Hall was a two level building that hosted lodge

⁴ It was common in the organization that once a lodge acquired a facility it was named Moses Hall.

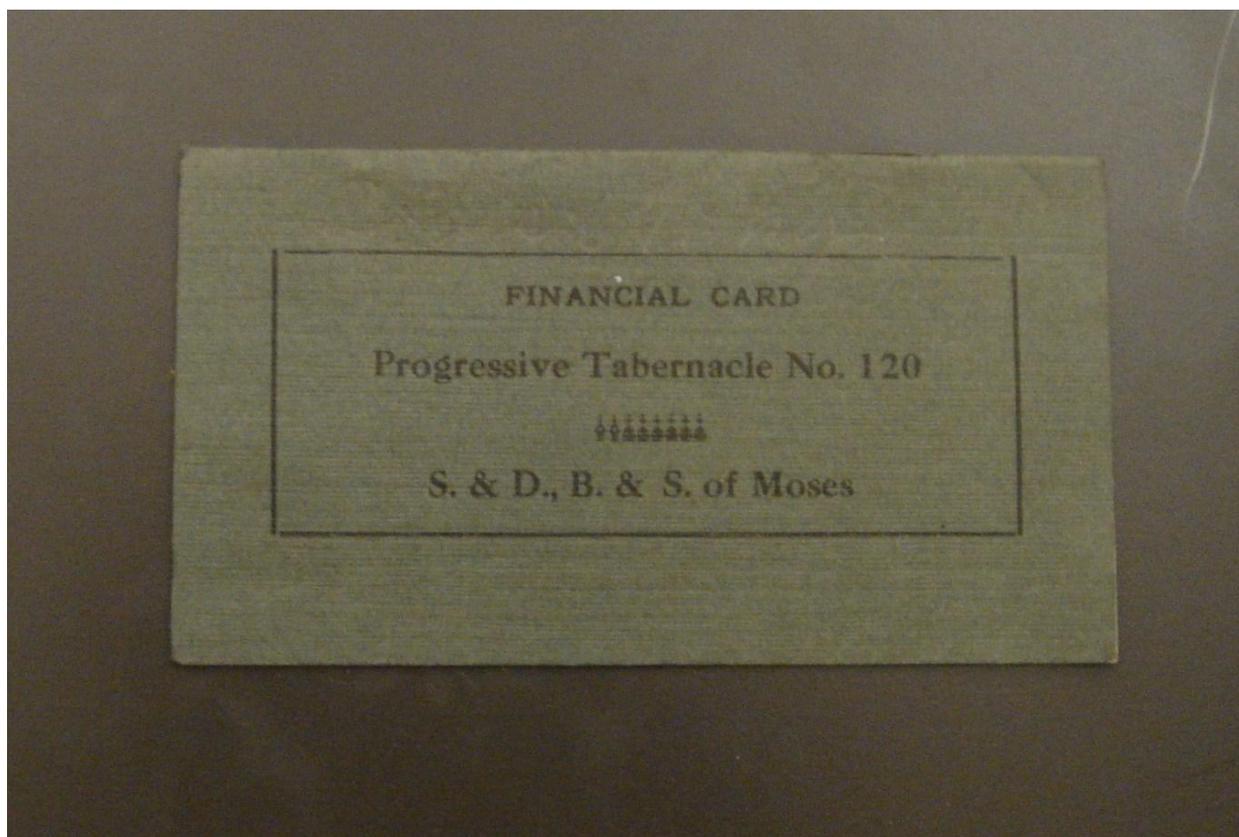


Figure 5.5 Financial Card of Grand United Order of Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses

meetings twice a month on Wednesday evenings. The lodge also hosted all of the social events, dances, and dinners (S. Harris personal communication 2008).

Everyone in the African American Cabin John community was a member of Morningstar Tabernacle #88. Each member paid dues and according to the 1904 ledger the members paid a portion of their dues every time they came to the meetings. Members of the lodge were afforded the privilege of being buried in Moses Hall cemetery, which was used from 1912 to 1970. It was not until about the 1930's when the younger generation started to move away that membership became stagnant.

In the late 1960's Moses Hall was destroyed due to fire. A neighborhood youth of European American decent, under the influence of alcohol, set the place on fire. The building was completely destroyed only a few bricks and a cemetery mark the location of the once present Hall.

Education in Cabin John

On June 12, 1880 the first school for African Americans in Cabin John was built. The school was named Moore's School (probably named after J.D.W. Moore), it was a 16 by 24 feet single room building located on Conroy Road. The original half acre site was bought for \$10. On

February 12, 1883, Montgomery County Board of Education bought another quarter of an acre for \$32.50 from J.D.W. Moore to expand the school site (Clarke and McKinney 1976).

Twenty-Eight years later a decision was made to move the school. On March 28 of 1911, the Montgomery County School Board began renting put Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church and moved the school to the church. The School Board agreed to pay the trustees of Gibson Grove \$7.72 for use of the space as a school. Once the school was moved to its new location the name changed to Cabin John Elementary School (Clarke and McKinney 1976).

The school's trustee board was made up of members of the Cabin John African American community; Edward Jones, Robert Jones, Charles Jones, Ida Dove, C.H. Brown, William Harper, James Crawford, Phillip Jackson, Robert Carter, Lloyd Jackson, and Toliver Wallace. Cabin John Elementary School was only open for 11 years and during that time, it had a number of teachers that taught at the school; Jennie Peters, Florence Johnson, William Lockett, William Ferguson, Rebecca Underwood, Estelle Brooks, and Margaret Wood. The school was shut down on January 22 of 1922 by the county superintendent. Edwin Broome, County Superintendent, went before the Montgomery County School Board and recommended the closure of the school due to low attendance. For five years following the closure, 24 children within the community of Cabin John had no school they could attend (Clarke and McKinney 1976).

Outraged and upset by the actions taken by the County School Board and realizing nothing was being done to solve the education problem, a group of enraged parents of Cabin John children went before Montgomery County School Board on February 14, 1926. During that meeting, the parents were told a new site would be purchased for a school. Yet, months passed and no new school was built. In its stead the School Board decided to rent Moses Hall out for \$5 a month rent.

The children began attending school at Moses Hall. While in attendance, they were taught by Ms. Margaret Woods. The school was only open for five years before the School Board ordered the school closed and the children moved to River Road School (S. Harris personal communication 2008). The last school to be located in Cabin John for African Americans officially closed its doors on September 8, 1931(Clarke and McKinney 1976).

Epilogue

I have spent the greater part of the past two years researching the African Americans that lived and still live in Cabin John. During the course of my research I uncovered the rich story of ordinary people who in the face of adversity built a community. I embarked on my research expecting to help a church rebuild after a fire and to exhume and repatriate the skeletal remains of two past community members. I was able to accomplish one of these tasks.

Upon completion of the excavations, it was uncovered that the skeletal remains were not present on the current church property. In addition to that revelation, I realized, with the limited amount of information obtained from the archaeological record, there was not much I could add to the story of African Americans in Cabin John. Through making the choice to pursue the history of Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion church beyond tradition archaeological methods, that choice led to new information and queries.

Being an African American woman, I have been raised in a family which always stressed the importance of church in our community and throughout my career as an academic I was taught that the black church played an important role in the African American community. Armed with my beliefs I expected to find that the church played this same role in the Cabin John community. When the archaeology proved otherwise, I pursued other lines of evidence to provide a more detailed explanation for what the archaeological record had already revealed. In talking with community members, what became apparent was that the institution which bonded the community was a secret fraternal society.

The fraternal society (Morningstar Tabernacle #88, Grand United Order Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses) provided many of the services that the community needed at the time, but could not obtain anywhere else. The society provided medical and certain aspects of financial security which were denied to African American in post-bellum Maryland. It also served as the main social outlet for the Cabin John community. Morningstar Tabernacle #88 even dabbed in the religion department, through having guest ministers speaking at their events. The larger organization owned property in Cabin John and many towns throughout Maryland. Hence, being a member of this organization created a sense of security for their members and a sense of pride that they belonged to an organization owned and operated by African Americans for their advancement.

Cabin John community thrived as a result of Morningstar Tabernacle #88. In an effort to report a complete and accurate picture of Cabin John's African American community, upon discovering the society's role in the community, I tried to locate as much information as I could on the organization. The focus of my dissertation was Gibson Grove A.M.E. Zion Church and I conducted full archaeological and historical investigations on the property. However, Gibson Grove has led me to Morningstar Tabernacle #88, Grand United Order Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses.

I want to conduct further investigations into this fraternal society and explore the role fraternal and benevolent societies played in the lives of post-bellum African Americans in Maryland. Archaeologically, I would like to go the property in Cabin John owned by the society and use a total station to recreate the building footprint of Moses Hall. This would give an accurate picture of the size of structure, which hosted all of the community's social events. In addition, I want to conduct phase I and phase II survey on the area adjacent to the old structure.

In the past few months, I located two other lodges located in Maryland (the lodge in Baltimore also had a building -Moses Hall). If the Baltimore property is still vacant, I would like to reconstruct the building footprint also and possibly conduct phase I survey on this property.

I would like to explore the archives and see if I can locate official correspondence from the organization. I have knowledge that there is documentation on the organization; however some of the correspondence on the organization and produced by the organization is housed in a private collector's collection which is not available to the public. In pursuing the history behind the organization; I would like to conduct ethnographic interviews with any living past members of the society. What remains of the organization's membership seems to be dying away with each day that passes, by collecting their stories it gives a deeper understanding of the role the society played in their lives and their community.

To date nothing has ever been published on Grand United Order Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses they have managed to remain a secret society for all of these years. I feel it is time their secret was shared with the world.

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APPENDIX A

Level and Feature Descriptions

Unit 1

This was a 1.5m x1.5 m unit placed in the northwest corner of the church's back yard located directly in front of the shed. The northern side of the unit runs along the property line. The west side was adjacent to the shed. The unit was cover sparsely with grass and leaves.

Level A – Level A consisted of top soil sparsely covered with grass. The top soil 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown ended about 2.5 cm and the soil turned 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt. The artifacts located in this level were nails.

Level B - Level B was located beneath level A, this layer is 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt. This level was about 12cm in depth. Nails and piece of painted wood were the artifacts recovered from this level.

Level C – Level C was beneath Level B. It is 10YR 5/ 6 yellowish brown silt. No artifacts were recovered from this level it was sterile. The unit stopped due to massive tree roots bisecting the unit. The unit was cored to a depth of 30 cm.

Unit 2

The unit was a 1.5m x 1.5m located in the western most portion of the church's backyard 2 m to the south of Unit 1. The unit is adjacent to the large tree which lines the property line. The unit was covered with bare top soil, no vegetation.

Level A – Level A was covered with top soil 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown. The top soil was about 2.5 cm in depth. Just under the top soil was 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam which contained 10% rock. Artifacts recovered include coal, brick, nails, and pieces of iron.

Level B – Level B located just under Level A continued the 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt. However the rock content went up to 15%. Coal was the artifact recovered from this unit.

Level C – Level C consisted of 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown sandy silt loam with about 30% rock. There were no artifacts recovered from this level. The unit stopped at about 31cm due to roots from the adjacent trees and large rocks in southwest corner.

Unit 3

Unit 3 was a 1.5m x1.5m unit located 4 m north of the side of the church and about 4 m south of the property line and the neighbor's fence. The unit is in the middle of the walk area from the front of the church leading to the back of the church. The unit is located on a 15% slope. The unit is covered sparsely with grass.

Level A – Level A was covered with very little top soil 10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown, it was about 1 cm in depth. The remainder of the level was 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt. Window glass, coal, brick, concrete and nails were the artifacts recovered from this level.

Level B – Level B continued with 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt. A piece of window glass was the only artifact in this level. The unit was excavated to 23 cm in depth; the unit was stopped due to the level becoming sterile after the first 2cm of the level.

Unit 4

The unit was 1.5m x 1.5 m, it was located adjacent to north side wall of the addition on the church. The unit's south side faced the window in the north wall. The unit located about 1.5m from the base of the north wall. It was covered with glass from the blown out window.

Level A – The unit was covered with glass and ash. The ash seemed to be a combination of roof shingles and wood. Level A consisted of silt loam 2.5Y 5/4 light olive brown and schist with 10% rock inclusions. The artifacts recovered from this level were nails, wire, and coal. In the middle of the south wall of the unit a iron pipe was found. It continued into the next level.

Level B – The soil in level B consisted of 10 YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with 20% rock. At 16 cm the soil texture changed from silt loam to hard clay. One screw and a piece of window glass were recovered from this level. The iron pipe continued into level B and went deeper. The unit was stopped at 23 cm due to the soil texture turning to hard clay.

Feature 1 – The iron pipe appeared about 7 cm into level A. It continued through level B and into what would have been level C.

Unit 5

Unit 5 is 1.5m x1.5m located on the eastern portion of the church property. It is located between a tree and old corner stone block and 9 m north of the front stairs of the church. The unit was on a 15% slope located closer to the front of the church than unit 3. The unit was covered sparsely with grass.

Level A – The level was covered with top soil 10 YR 4/2 dark grayish brown and a little grass. The soil changed 3cm in depth to 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam. Numerous artifacts were recovered from this level nails, animal bone, glass, brick, coal, and cap of a flask.

Level B – Level B is beneath level A, the soil continued with the 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam. The artifacts found in this level were coal, glass, nails, wood, wire, and President Wilson button.

Level C – The level contained 10 YR 5/4 yellowish brown silt loam. The artifacts found in the unit were a nail, glass, coal and brick fragments all found in the first 3 centimeters of the level. The remainder of the level was sterile. The unit was cored to 40cm.

Trench

The trench is a 1.5m x.5m unit, located in southern portion of the church's back yard. There are two rocks located parallel to each other on both sides of the tree. The unit was placed in front of these rock markers, so that it would bisect both areas in front of the markers. The south wall of the unit is on a 10% incline.

Level A – Level A was covered with a thin 2cm layer of top soil 10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown. The remainder of the level was 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam. In the southern portion of the unit bottle glass was recovered and two pieces were located in the northern portion of the unit.

Level B - Level B the soil color and texture remained the same, 10 YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam. The northern and middle section of the unit came to a halt due to a root floor at about 25cm. The south portion continued. There were no artifacts recovered from this level.

Level C - Level C is located beneath level B on the south portion of the unit only. The soil is 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with about 30% rock and large roots. No artifacts were recovered.

Level D – Level D located below level C on the southern portion of the unit. The soil has maintained its same consistence of 10YR 5/6 yellowish silt loam. No artifacts.

Level E – Level E soil is 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with 30% rock. The roots are continuing through this portion of the unit. The area became smaller due to the roots. No artifacts recovered.

Level F- Level F located beneath level E same soil color and texture 10YR 5/6 yellowish brown silt loam with 30% rock inclusions. No artifacts recovered. The unit was cored to 95 cm in the south portion of the unit.

APPENDIX B

Shovel Test Pit Records

Line 1

STP No: 1

Location: 1.4m E of N999.2 E999.4 Z1000.7

Depth of Unit: 35 cm

Artifacts: nail and wood

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown loose loam
- 2) 10YR 5/4 compact loam

STP No: 2

Location: 1m E of STP 1

Depth of Unit: 34 cm

Artifacts: nail and concrete

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/4 loam 30% rock
- 2) 10YR 5/6 sandy loam

STP No: 3

Location: W of N998.6 E1002.9 Z999.6

Depth of Unit: 19 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/4 loam 40% rock
- 2) Stopped due to rock

Line 2

STP No: 4

Location: E of N997 E998.8 Z1000.3

Depth of Unit: 30 cm

Artifacts: nail

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 silt
- 2) 10YR 4/6 silt 30% rock
- 3) Large root going through STP
- 4) Stopped due to large roots

STP No: 5

Location: E of N996.8 E 998.8 Z1000.35

Depth of Unit: 31 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 silt
- 2) 10YR 4/6 silt
- 3) Stopped due to roots

STP No: 6

Location: E of N999.7 E 1002.8 Z999.9

Depth of Unit: 28 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 silt
- 2) 10YR silt large root with 50% rocks
- 3) Stopped due to rock and root

Line 3

STP No: 7

Location: E of N994.9 E998.7 Z1000.5

Depth of Unit: 25 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/3 silt loam 45% rock
- 2) Stopped due to roots

STP No: 8

Location: E of N994.8 E 1000.7 Z1000.3

Depth of Unit: 26 cm

Artifacts: nails

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 mottled w/ chalky rock sandy loam
- 2) 10 YR 6/6 sandy loam
- 3) 10YR 6/6 sandy loam 70% rock

STP No: 9

Location: E of N994.6 E1002.7 Z 1000.1

Depth of Unit: 20 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 6/6 mottled w/ chalky rock
- 2) Stopped due to roots

STP No: 10

Location: E of N999.4 E1006.7 Z999.6

Depth of Unit: 29 cm

Artifacts: concrete

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 sandy silt loam 15% rock

STP No: 11

Location: E of N 994.2 E 1008.9 Z993.3

Depth of Unit: 24 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 2.5 Y 6/4 sandy loam w/ 50% rock

STP No: 12

Location: E of N994.2 E1008.7 Z999.3

Depth of Unit: 20 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 sandy silt loam
- 2) 10YR 4/5 mottled with chalky rock silt
- 3) Stopped due to roots and rock

STP No: 13

Location: E of N994.1 Z 998.9 E1010.6

Depth of Unit: 31 cm

Artifacts: nail and glass

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 sandy loam rock inclusions 10% rock
- 2) Stopped due to roots at the base

STP No: 14

Location: N/A

Depth of Unit: N/A

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) Cable wire

Line 4**STP No: 15**

Location: E of .7m N993 E996.7 Z1000.9

Depth of Unit: 30 cm

Artifacts: nut

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 sandy/silt

STP No: 16

Location: E of .8m N993 E 998.7 Z1000.7

Depth of Unit: 33cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 sandy/silt loam

STP No: 17

Location: E .8m of N992.8 E1000.7

Depth of Unit: 36cm

Artifacts: nail found on surface

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt 25% pebble
- 2) A layer of rock 8cm down white and chalky
- 3) 10YR 5/6 silt

STP No: 18

Location: E of .8m N992.7 E1002.7 Z1000.3

Depth of Unit: 37 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/3 silt
- 2) 10YR 4/6 silt 40% rock

STP No: 19

Location: E of .9m N992.6 E 1004.6 Z999.5

Depth of Unit: 32cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 3 /4 silt
- 2) 10YR 4/6 silt 25% pebbles
- 3) Stopped unit due to roots

STP No: 20

Location: E .9m of N992.4 E1006.6

Depth of Unit: 34 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt 20% pebbles and mica schist

STP No: 21

Location: E of N992.3 E 1008.6 z999.6

Depth of Unit: 33 cm

Artifacts: wire nail

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt 30% rock
- 2) 2.5 Y 5/4 hard clay loam

STP No: 22

Location: E of N992.1 E1010.5 Z999.1

Depth of Unit: 30 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 silt 20% rock
- 2) Stopped due to rocks and roots

STP No: 23

Location: E of N991.9 E1012.55 Z998.7

Depth of Unit: 40 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 silt 40% rock
- 2) Stopped due to rocks

STP No: 24

Location: E of N991.7 E1014.5 Z998.3

Depth of Unit: 45 cm

Artifacts: wire nail, window glass, button

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 silt 50% rock large cobbles

Line 5**STP No: 25**

Location: W of N991 E998.6 Z1000.8

Depth of Unit: 39 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt 30% rock
- 2) 10YR 5/6 silt 30 cm and below

STP No: 26

Location: E of N991 E998.6 Z1000.8

Depth of Unit: 42 cm

Artifacts: concrete

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt

STP No: 27

Location: E of .7m N990.7 E1002.7 Z1000.4

Depth of Unit: 38 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt
- 2) 10YR 5/6 silt 30% rock

STP No: 28

Location: E of .7m N990.7 E1002.7 Z1000.6

Depth of Unit: 36 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 silt
- 2) 10YR 5/6 silt 30% rock

STP No: 29

Location: E of N900.65 E1000.6 Z1000.6

Depth of Unit: 31 cm

Artifacts: glass

Description:

- 1) 2.5Y 4/4 silt 11 cm 40% rock
- 2) 10YR 5/6 silt/sandy 30% rock

STP No: 30

Location: E of N989.8 E1014.4

Depth of Unit: 36 cm

Artifacts: brick

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 silt
- 2) Located adjacent to chimney

STP No: 31

Location: E of N989.7 E1016.3

Depth of Unit: 39 cm

Artifacts: cut nails

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 silt 30% rock

STP No: 32

Location: W of N990.01 E1012.4

Depth of Unit: 21.7 cm

Artifacts: cut nails

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 silt loose soil

Line 6

STP No: 33

Location: E of 1.2m N989.2 E994.6 Z1000.9

Depth of Unit: 30 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 silt
- 2) Stopped unit due to roots

STP No: 34

Location: E of .8m N989.1 E996.6 Z1000.9

Depth of Unit: 37 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 4/6 silt

STP No: 35

Location: E of N989.01 E998.64 Z 1000.97

Depth of Unit: 37 cm

Artifacts: None

Description:

- 1) 1 YR 5/6 sandy/silt
- 2) 10YR 5/6 10% rock silt
- 3) 10YR 5/6 10% rock hard dry compact soil
- 4) Massive tree roots on south end

STP No: 36

Location: E of N988.8 E1000.6 Z1000.9

Depth of Unit: 27 cm

Artifacts: crystal

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/6 sandy silt
- 2) 10YR 5/6 sandy/silt
- 3) Roots stopped unit

STP No: 37

Location: E of N988.7 E 1000.6 Z 1000.7

Depth of Unit: 30cm

Artifacts: siding

Description:

- 1) 5YR 3/2 silt mica 30-40%

- 2) 10YR 5/6 sandy/silt 30% rock

- 3) Located adjacent to tree

- 4) Roots stopped unit

Line 7

STP No: 39

Location: E of N987 E998.5 Z1000.9

Depth of Unit: 27 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10YR 3 /4 silt/sand and 10% mica
- 2) Root stopped unit

STP No: 40

Location: E of N986 E1002.6 Z1000

Depth of Unit: 49cm

Artifacts: concrete, siding

Description:

- 1) 10YR 3/ 4 silt with 20% pebbles

Line 8

STP No: 41

Location: E of N985.2 E994.5 Z1000.4

Depth of Unit: 40 cm

Artifacts: coal, glass, and drywall

Description:

- 1) 10YR 5/4 silt 20% pebbles
- 2) Stopped due to rocks

STP No: 42

Location: E of N985.1 E996.5 Z1000.6

Depth of Unit: 40 cm

Artifacts: brick

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 5/4 silt 20% rocks
- 2) Stopped due to rocks

STP No: 43

Location: E of N985 E998.5 Z1000.8

Depth of Unit: 42c m

Artifacts: nail

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 5/4 silt 20 % Pebbles

STP No: 44

Location: E of N984.9 E 1000.3 Z1000.8

Depth of Unit: 23 cm

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 5/4 silt 70% rock
- 2) Stopped by rocks

Line 9**STP No: 45**

Location: E of N 983.04 E998.5 W1000.4

Depth of Unit: 37 cm

Artifacts: none

Description: 10 YR 4/6 and 30% rocks

STP No: 46

Location: W of N983 E998.5 Z1000.4

Depth of Unit: 28cm

Artifacts: concrete

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/6 and mica schist and 30% rock

Line 10**STP No: 48**

Location: E of tree 2m (bottom of hill)

Depth of Unit: 31 cm

Artifacts: siding

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 4/4 silt
- 2) Stopped by roots

STP No: 49

Location: 2m S of STP 48

Depth of Unit: 20 cm

Artifacts: coal and glass

Description:

- 1) 10YR 6/4 silt
- 2) Stopped by roots and rock

STP No: 50

Location: 4m S of STP 48

Depth of Unit: 35 cm

Artifacts: nails and coal

Description:

- 1) 10 YR 5/3 sandy loam
- 2) 12 cm layer of sand rock loam 2.5Y 6/2
- 3) 13 cm 10YR 5/3 sandy loam
- 4) 15 cm isolated pockets of 10YR 6/4
- 5) 34 cm 10YR 4/3 silt loam
- 6) Stopped due to roots

STP No: 51

Location: 5m S of STP 48

Depth of Unit: 57 cm

Artifacts: nails

Description:

- 1) 10YR 3/3 silt
- 2) 30 cm coal layer
- 3) 32 cm 10 YR 5/4 silt

Trench**STP No: 38 (line 7)**

Location: S 1.5m of tree N989.14 E996.64

Depth of Unit: N/A

Artifacts: none

Description:

- 1) Sterile Unit
- 2) Opened trench

STP No: 47

Location: N 968.8 E 1000.5

Depth of Unit: N/A

Artifacts: glass

Description:

- 1) 10YR 3 /4 sandy silt 4cm
- 2) 10YR 4/ 4 30-40% mica
- 3) 10 YR 4/6 silt and below
- 4) Opened trench

APPENDIX C

Master Artifact Catalogue

Bag #	STP	Line	Unit	Level	Feature	Item	Material	Form	Count	Comments
1	1	1				1	Nail, cut		1	
1	1	1				2	Synthetic/ Recent Material	roof shingle	3	black with white dots
1	1	1				3	Wood, building related		1	white paint on one side
2	2	1				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		10	concrete frags
2	2	1				2	Nail, wire		1	
3	4	2				1	Nail, general		1	
4	8	3				1	Nail, cut		2	
5	13	3				1	Glass, window		1	
5	13	3				2	Nail, wrought		1	
5	13	3				3	Metal, other		1	AL frag
5	13	3				4	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	concrete frags
6	15	4				1	Plant Remains, Seeds, and Nuts		1	
7	17	4				1	Nail, cut		1	
8	21	4				1	Nail, cut		1	
9	24	4				1	Glass, window		2	
9	24	4				2	Nail, cut		1	
9	24	4				3	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	WHT 2 whole button
10	26	5				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		2	concrete frags
11	29	5				1	Glass, window		2	
12	30	5				1	Brick		4	
12	30	5				2	Metal, other		1	ring
12	30	5				3	Glass, window		3	
12	30	5				4	Glass, safety		2	
12	30	5				5	Nail, wire		3	roof tack
12	30	5				6	Nail, wrought		1	
12	30	5				7	Nail, other		1	frag
13	31	5				1	Brick		1	
13	31	5				2	Glass, window		2	
13	31	5				3	Nail, cut		1	

Bag #	STP	Line	Unit	Level	Feature	Item	Material	Form	Count	Comments
13	31	5				4	Nail, wire		2	
13	31	5				5	Glass, bottle		2	
14	32	5				1	Nail, wrought		1	
14	32	5				2	Nail, wrought		1	frag
14	32	5				3	Glass, other		3	frosted
14	32	5				4	Nail, wire		1	roof tack
14	32	5				5	Glass, bottle		2	
15	36	6				1	Stone		1	crystal
16	37	6				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		2	siding
17	40	7				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		2	siding
17	40	7				2	Synthetic/ Recent Material		31	concrete frags
18	41	8				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		4	drywall
18	41	8				2	Glass, window		2	
18	41	8				3	Coal		5	
18	41	8				4	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	dry paint from a wall
19	42	8				1	Brick		1	
20	43	8				1	Nail, wire		1	
21	46	9				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	concrete frags
22	48	10				1	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	siding
23	49	10				1	Coal		4	
23	49	10				2	Brick		6	
23	49	10				3	Glass, window		5	
24	50	10				1	Coal		25	
24	50	10				2	Glass, window		6	
24	50	10				3	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	siding
24	50	10				4	Synthetic/ Recent Material		1	concrete frags
24	50	10				5	Nail, wire		4	
25	51	10				1	Coal		65	
25	51	10				2	Glass, window		3	
25	51	10				3	Nail, cut		3	
25	51	10				4	Metal, other	door	1	catch for a door

Bag #	STP	Line	Unit	Level	Feature	Item	Material	Form	Count	Comments
25	51	10				5	Nail, other		2	frag
25	51	10				6	Mortar		1	
26		3	1	A		1	Nail, wrought		3	
26		3	1	A		2	Nail, cut		2	
26		3	1	A		3	Nail, wire		3	
26		3	1	A		4	Nail, other		2	frags
26		3	1	A		5	Metal, other	fastener	1	clothes fastener
27		3	1	B		1	Wood, other		1	burnt
27		3	1	B		2	Nail, cut		1	
27		3	1	B		3	Nail, wrought		1	
27		3	1	B		4	Metal, other		1	rust ball of iron
28		5	2	A		1	Coal		13	
28		5	2	A		2	Brick		1	
28		5	2	A		3	Nail, wrought		6	
28		5	2	A		4	Nail, cut		1	
28		5	2	A		5	Nail, wire		3	
28		5	2	A		6	Nail, other		5	frags
28		5	2	A		7	Metal, iron		1	flat rusted piece of iron
29		5	2	B		1	Coal		19	
30		4	3	A		1	Glass, window		20	
30		4	3	A		2	Glass, other		2	frosted on one side
30		4	3	A		3	Brick		3	
30		4	3	A		4	Synthetic/ Recent Material		7	
30		4	3	A		5	Stone, slate		1	
30		4	3	A		6	Nail, cut		11	
30		4	3	A		7	Nail, wrought		17	
30		4	3	A		8	Nail, wire		36	
30		4	3	A		9	Nail, other		11	frags
30		4	3	A		10	Metal, other		1	flat rusted piece of iron
30		4	3	A		11	Screw		1	
31		4	3	B		1	Glass, window		1	
32		8	4	A		1	Coal		10	

Bag #	STP	Line	Unit	Level	Feature	Item	Material	Form	Count	Comments
36		10	5	B		6	Metal, other		5	wire
36		10	5	B		7	Glass, bottle		16	
36		10	5	B		8	Glass, bottle		1	BRW glass
36		10	5	B		9	Metal, other	bottle cap	2	whole cap
36		10	5	B		10	Metal, other		2	iron frags
36		10	5	B		11	Nail, other		2	frags
36		10	5	B		12	Nail, cut		2	
36		10	5	B		13	Coal		24	
37		10	5	B		1	Brick		1	whole
38		10	5	C		1	Nail, wrought		1	
38		10	5	C		2	Brick		8	
38		10	5	C		3	Coal		26	
38		10	5	C		4	Stone, slate		4	
38		10	5	C		5	Glass, bottle		5	
38		10	5	C		6	Glass, window		2	
39		10	5	C		1	Brick		3	
40		8	4	-B	1	1	Metal, other	pipe	1	iron pipe
41			Trench	A		1	Glass, bottle		11	