Tactics, Strategies, Spaces, and Places: The Spatial Constructions of Race and Class on Virginia Plantations

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Andrew Philip Wilkins

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ABSTRACT

This research incorporates overseers into the discussion of how constructed space and social relations informed and shaped one another on colonial and antebellum Virginia plantations. Studies of plantation space and landscape often contrast slave owners and slaves in dualistic views of plantation societies. My question is how the organization, use, and meaning of spaces at multiple scales intersected with the historical constructions of race and class. I address this question through a detailed examination of plantation layouts, quarter arrangements, outdoor spaces, and architectural spaces to identify meaningful distinctions or similarities between the spaces created for and by slaves and overseers. I compare five archaeological sites that include three overseer occupations and four slave occupations, on Virginia plantations that range from early 18th-century contexts in the Tidewater to later inland Piedmont estates dating to the later 18th and early 19th centuries.

This research has revealed that the way plantation quarters were sited and organized and the way outdoor and architectural space was appropriated not only differs between the enslaved and their overseers, but over time and across agricultural regimes as well. From the imposition of representational space by plantation owners, overseers were distinguished from and elevated above the slaves whom they managed through the placement, quality, size, and arrangement of their spaces. The spatial practices seen at overseer sites in Virginia were produced by, and in turn helped form, the social relations that defined whiteness and the intersection of class differences within the white race. In appropriating outdoor and architectural spaces, slaves forged

limited and contested areas of control, economic production, and community identities through acts such yard maintenance, gardening, rearing small livestock, and carving out interior storage space on their own terms. Overseers were less invested in the appropriation and personalization of outdoor and architectural spaces. In a complex way, their inclusion in the definitions of whiteness and lower socioeconomic status placed them within a distinct set of expectations and allowances from the owner's perspective. These differences led to the development of distinct spatialities on plantation contexts that simultaneously reflected and shaped constructions of race and class.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Questions and Issues

The creation, control, and experience of spaces are central forces in human behavior. The meanings of space in architecture and landscape have been investigated in contexts of New World slavery in the African Diaspora, but predominantly as a binary contrast between slave owners and the enslaved (Upton 1985; Orser 1988; Epperson 1999, 2000; Singleton 2001; Fesler 2010). The research presented here contributes new comparative perspectives within archaeology, anthropology, and history by addressing how the organization, use, and meaning of spaces at multiple scales intersected with the historical constructions of race and class. Specifically, I ask how the conception, creation, appropriation, control, and use of space by plantation workers, both free and enslaved, functioned in colonial and early antebellum Virginia. In order to address this question, I compare historical and archaeological records of African, African American, and European American spatial practices in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Four slave and three overseer components at five archaeological sites are analyzed with detailed artifact and soil chemistry methodologies in order to evaluate and compare aspects of house-yard landscapes observable in the archaeological records of the enslaved and their overseers. Other spatial scales are also brought into consideration including the placement of sites on the plantation landscape, and smaller-scale aspects of architectural space. The local and regional contextualization of these sites within the documentary record allows a discussion of how the material culture of

space and landscape played an active role in the social construction and contestation of race and class identity within plantation society.

I contend that the uses of house-yard spaces by enslaved African and African Americans were tactical responses to the owner's strategies of control on plantations. These spaces acted simultaneously as responses to planters' exercise of power, assertions of community, family boundaries, and expressions of an African American identity. Aspects of those landscapes appear to have been shaped by the common experience of, and reaction to, enslavement. Additionally, the contrast of landscapes between free white workers and slaves was a component of the social construction of racial categories that simultaneously masked and reinforced other distinctions such as class.

Two primary themes run through this research: the nature of space as material culture and the role of space in the historical and cultural construction of social relations. Both of these themes involve forces that are more discursive than strictly semiotic or deterministic. The socio-spatial dialectic, a term coined in a thoroughly Marxist perspective by Soja (1985) in fact captures what Miller (2005:3) would term: "…the dualism of subjects and objects." In this perspective, interpretations that privilege the semiotic nature of material culture, that the ways in which the physical world reflects the intentions of humans and their social relations, place primacy on the subject. By contrast, perspectives that privilege the power of physical objects to shape and direct human action and social relations could be critiqued as overly deterministic. Instead of electing only one these positions, the concept of the socio-spatial dialectic employed by this research captures the way material culture, in this case space, is both shaped by

and helps shape human action and social relations. I cannot help but see the simultaneous nature of this discursive process when considering the fact that in order for space, or other material culture for that matter, to be an effective and instructive symbol of human intention, one must acknowledge the power of that material culture has to inform human behavior.

The discursive nature of the second theme, the cultural constructs of race and class, is captured in the way social identities are defined through simultaneous inclusion and exclusion. As expressed by Kellar (2004:6-7,10-11) in her examination of how enslaved laborers on Adrian plantation on St. John constructed cultural identity, material culture can be used to create and maintain both intragroup similarity and between-group distinctions. Kellar (2004:174) employs the terms of Douglas and Isherwood (1996) to discuss the concept of material culture serving as both bridges and fences to bind and define initially diverse groups and individuals into more cohesive communities. People defined themselves and others actively through material culture by materially constructing social groups. Thus, archaeologists and other social scientists have engaged the topic of race and class, among many other social formations and divisions, as cultural constructs that were developed and materialized within larger historical processes (Babson 1990; Epperson 1999:159; Mrozowski et al. 2000:xvi,xxi; Orser 1998, 2001).

Race is a cultural construct. The concept of races as subdivisions within human biology has a long history, inextricable from the origins of biological anthropology and anthropology in general. Some of the earliest anthropology by 18th-century Enlightenment thinkers such as Linnaeus sought to explain and classify human variation

across the globe in terms of races, usually defined by physical appearance, namely skin color, and imbued with Eurocentric ranks that assigned values and stereotypes to the groups (Brace 1982). These early views on race fell along two lines of thought: monogenic in which races had denigrated at different rates from one original source, and polygenic in which races were descended from independent sources. Both views placed human origins in Biblical terms and ranked races hierarchically. From these origins, 19th- and early 20th-century anthropologists such as Broca, Morton, Hooton and Hrdlicka in Europe, and later the U.S., propagated the notion of polygenic races, some even equating races as different species of humans (Mrozowski et al. 2000:xxi; Blakey 2001; Orser 2001:3-4).

Human variation does exist, and it is patterned. Phenotypic traits can be inherited and can be found more frequently in some human populations and less so in others. It is these traits, largely visible aspects of appearance such as skin color, which have long served as the physical characters of race and its categories. However, recent research showing that variation is largely clinal and exists at a much larger scale within any single population than between two, has been used as evidence against the biological reality of races (Weizmann et al. 1990; Templeton 1998; Shiao et al. 2012).

Both Epperson (1999; 2001) and Bell (2005) note that whiteness was not a cohesive identity in early colonial Virginia, based on evidence of shared living quarters, work groups, and events that saw the cooperation of both enslaved African and indentured European laborers such as Bacon's Rebellion. The line between the races developed through ideological and material transitions that strengthened the cohesion and perception of similarity among whites and the definition of difference to non-whites.

Starting in 1662, legal definitions were created distinguishing the status and treatment of Virginians based on the equation of freedom and race including penalties for intermarrying between races, limiting punishments on white servants, and limiting the legal rights of blacks (Rose 1976:16-21; Epperson 1999; Bell 2005:448). However, evidence of slave holding suggests that processes of racialization were active in Virginia prior to the legitimization of these processes in law (Coombs 2011). Archaeological evidence for the increasing racial division of labor in the late 17th century is often cited in the separation of bound European servants and African slave quarters (Neiman 1986; Epperson 1999; 2001).

This dissertation fits within a broader context of research in several disciplines by treating the small-scale social construction of spaces as active material culture; the original contribution of which lies in the comparative nature of my analyses. I incorporate non-plantation-owning whites, the overseers, as a third category of participant in the multivocal creation of spaces in plantation contexts. They, like the enslaved and their owners, are both audience and actors in the creation of plantation social space. The plantation as a perceived and representational social space has often been interpreted by archaeologists as a dialectic between owner and slave, representing what Upton (1985) referred to as a dichotomous pair: “White and Black Landscapes.” However, just as assumptions of a pan-African cultural heritage in past research have been critiqued for homogenizing a diverse set of West African cultures (Chambers 1997; Gomez 1998; Hall 2005; Ogundiran and Falola 2007:xx), I contend that comparisons of slave and owner mask the social and economic distinctions between a diverse range of European Americans in the past under the term “white”;

which is itself a social construct of race that was historically produced in tandem in the same spatial and temporal contexts as the “black” race (Epperson 1999). How did such diversity of class, ethnicities, and power become subsumed under a binary racial code? By comparing lower-status whites working on the same plantations as the enslaved people that they managed, and characterizing their assigned, created and appropriate spaces, I hope to move past simply contrasting the material differences between “black” and “white” material cultures. Rather, it is the historical processes of the spatial constructions of those identities that are the real object of study.

African Diaspora Archaeology

A Brief Historiography

My own research developed in the context of what is now termed African Diaspora archaeology within the larger field of historical archaeology. The labels of plantation archaeology, the archaeology of slavery, African American archaeology have most recently been subsumed in the more inclusive and globally scaled field of African Diaspora archaeology (Posnansky 1984; Singleton 1990, 1995; Orser 1998). The sites, themes, and questions posed about the archaeological record of New World slavery are the source and motivation of my own research and form the context for the contributions of this study.

Academic traditions tend to delineate fields of study, retrospectively separating plantations from the broader institutions of slavery, and North American slavery from the broader African Diaspora. No one research project can hope to encompass every aspect of the past, and so naturally scholars subdivide our topics, themes, and

questions. Yet the trajectories of archaeological research topics are entangled, as were the lives and material cultures of those that inhabited the sites where slavery existed. These entanglements make separating contexts of slavery, plantations, and larger societies a rather messy objective. The study of slavery and the African American past grew out of research first done on plantation contexts (Heath 2012a). However, research on plantation contexts has not always included investigations specifically focused on the lives of the enslaved or other non-plantation-owning individuals who lived and worked on those plantations.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the slow genesis of the field of historical archaeology was entwined with that of historic preservation and architectural history. Excavations were used, often without the involvement of trained archaeologists, to aid in the restoration and reconstruction of historic homes and landscapes. This occurred through the first decades of the 20th century at sites such as Mount Vernon, Plymouth, Jamestown, and Williamsburg associated with initial European American settlement and venerated colonial leaders (Singleton 1990; Orser 1998; Heath 2012a). Heath (2012a:21) notes that while occasional digs of abandoned plantation buildings by curious amateurs are documented in Virginia as early as 1858, excavations used for restoration goals were first employed at George Washington's plantation home Mount Vernon as early as the 1890s. Academically trained landscape architects led these early excavations and focused largely on sub-surface remains of buildings and landscape features rather than artifacts or stratigraphic relationships (Singleton 1990; Sanford 1999; Heath 2012a). In these initial decades, spaces and structures associated with enslaved African Americans were found, but were not the direct focus of research or

interpretation; though some quarters and slave-used spaces were part of restorations, including two stone duplex domestic-slave quarters reconstructed by architect Fiske Kimball at Stratford Hall based on a combination of archaeological and historical research (Sanford 1999).

One of the earliest excavations carried out by a professionally-trained archaeologist on a plantation was James A. Ford's 1930s work at Elizafield Plantation in Georgia, undertaken to determine the function of tabby ruins thought to be a Spanish mission, which Ford showed were in fact the remains of a 19th-century sugar processing mill (Singleton 1990). However, Ford's research goals were limited to the employment of archaeology to clarify historical details, and did not extend to exploring the lives of the site's occupants or the role of plantations in society.

From the 1940s to the early 1960s, projects undertaken by professional archaeologists using standardized excavation and recording methods continued to occur, for example at the plantation site of Shadwell, the home of Peter and Jane Jefferson (Kern 2010; Heath 2012a). These efforts were historically oriented studies of plantation sites typified by the work of Ivor Nöel Hume at Colonial Williamsburg and several surrounding plantations such as Carter's Grove (Heath 2012a). This work sought to understand historical events and landscapes of larger society, and methods of the period included large-scale mechanical stripping, which allowed researchers to focus on architecture and arrangements of structures on the plantation landscape. These largely descriptive and narrative studies continued to focus on plantation owners, their homes, and the built environment of formal landscapes.

A change occurred in the late 1960s, when the archaeological study of

plantations began to turn towards the study of slavery and specifically sites of the enslaved. Due to influences from the Civil Rights movement and a variety of “New” movements in the social sciences, including social history, turned attention towards the inclusive study of the diversity of the American past and away from more traditional nationalist narratives. At the same time events within the practice of archaeology added momentum to the changes: the historic preservation legislation that fueled rapid expansion of professional archaeological practice, and the processual or “new” archaeology that emphasized rigorous methods, and a more theoretically-informed anthropological approach (Singleton 1990; Ferguson 1992; Orser 1998; Heath 2012a).

The turn in plantation archaeology towards the study of slavery began with Charles Fairbanks’ 1960s work at Kingsley Plantation in Florida and Ryefield on Cumberland Island, Georgia (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1984). It was Fairbanks and his colleagues’ interest in the sites of the enslaved and their more anthropological approach to questions about African American material life and cultural retentions that set it apart from historically oriented studies focused on the big houses that had occasionally included finds related to slavery (Singleton 1990). In the southeast United States, the focus on slave quarter sites and processual methods of analysis played out in comparative studies seeking to differentiate and identify slave artifact patterns (Otto 1975). The goals of these types of analyses were to investigate the material manifestations of variation in socioeconomic “statuses” within slave societies including comparisons of slaves, plantation owners, and overseers.

In the 1970s and 1980s, excavations at plantations proliferated in Virginia and Maryland. The focus on slave quarter investigations pioneered by mid-century studies in

plantation archaeology converged with rapidly developing methodologies, discoveries, and lingering historical particularism of plantation archaeology. Work on Virginia plantations continued with the creation of permanent archaeological programs at historic sites such as Mount Vernon, Monticello, and Montpelier that undertook investigations of plantation housing and architecture, including structures inhabited by the enslaved (Heath 2012a). Advances in excavation methodology were made in the late 1970s and 1980s including plowzone sampling, artifact and soil chemistry distributions that allowed for the interpretation of landscape use, organization, and development at 17th-century plantation contexts in Maryland, specifically at St. Mary's City (King and Miller 1987; Riordan 1988) and King's Reach (Pogue 1988).

Most recently, studies concerned with African American culture have expanded to include a variety of non-plantation settings including urban contexts such as Charleston, South Carolina and Fredericksburg and Richmond, Virginia (Zierden 2010; Sanford 2012b) where townhouse configuration led to quartering slaves in multipurpose spaces such as out kitchens and carriage houses. Industrial sites that include slave labor have also been investigated, such as Brandon and Davidson's (2005) study of landscape at Van Winkle's sawmill in 19th-century Arkansas. Contexts of slavery outside the southern United States have also seen archaeological investigations including Fitts' (1996) and others' (Garman 1998; Chan 2003; Mrozowski 2010; Phillippi 2016) work highlighting the nature and structure of slave work and housing in northern United States contexts that led to unique processes of culture change, social constructions, and resistance.

Studies of free African American settlements have expanded the breadth of a

field traditionally dominated by the contexts of slavery since the pioneering work at Black Lucy's Garden (Bullen and Bullen 1945), and Parting Ways (Deetz 1977), both mid-19th-century free African American sites in Massachusetts. Recent work at the town of New Philadelphia, Illinois founded in the 1830s by free African Americans has continued to contribute to discussions of race and its development on the western frontier (Shackel 2010; Martin and Martin 2012). Excavations at the African Meeting House in Boston has led to interpretations of health, diet, and the growth of educational and community institutions within Boston's free black community (Landon and Bulger 2013). Demographics, health, and cultural practices among northern African American communities have also been investigated through the excavation of 18th- and 19th-century cemeteries including the First African Baptist Church in Philadelphia (Parrington and Kelly 1989) and the African Burial Ground in New York City (Blakey 1998; Perry et al. 2006). Other work has focused on sites associated with freed slaves including investigations of the 18th-century free Spanish-African occupation of Fort Mosé (Deagan and Landers 1999) and maroon communities from Virginia (Sayers 2016) to Florida (Baram 2012), to the Caribbean (Wiek 1997; Agorsah 1999), and South America (Funari 2003).

Contexts of plantation slavery in the New World outside the United States have been investigated most thoroughly in the Caribbean. Numerous studies have been conducted on many islands comparing pre-and post-emancipation plantation structure, housing, house-yards, ethnicity, ceramic production, and consumerism; often focusing on the complex development of creolized material culture (Armstrong 1990; Delle 1999; Farnsworth 2001; Kellar 2004; Weik 2004; Hauser 2008). Studies of plantation space

and layouts have been of particular importance in Caribbean contexts, and are discussed in more detail in Chapter II.

In the last several decades, a growing field of research has delved in to the effects of the trans-Atlantic slave trade on West African sites. This work has helped expand the traditionally North American focus of African Diaspora archaeology to a more holistic and Atlantic-based perspective (Ogundiran and Falola 2007). Sites directly related to the slave trade, such as European trading post, forts, and castles, have seen the most extensive work. In Ghana, this has included excavations at Elmina (DeCorse 2001a, 2008) that revealed the changes wrought on Akan and Mande settlements by the construction of the European trading entrêpot of Elmina Castle. The sites of Savi and Ouidah, on the coast of Benin, also saw the establishment of various European trading efforts, but were shaped distinctly by the powerful slave-exporting Hueda and Dahomey kingdoms (Kelly 1997; Monroe 2007; Norman 2008). Work has also been conducted on the complex effects on the slave trade on interior groups, such as Stahl's (2001) research on Banda. Like Stahl, Ogundiran's (2007, 2009) work in Nigeria has expanded beyond the coastal trading posts to explore the interior regions of the Yoruba.

As argued by GIjanto and Horlings (2012:134), archaeological attempts to make direct links between past communities in Africa and the New World, most specifically through a search for Africanisms, are limited by the dynamic nature of past African societies and the varied and unique contexts of New World slavery. Rather, a more productive strategy has been to explore the diversity of how people all over the Atlantic dealt with the tremendous changes wrought by the Diaspora. "The deep connections between diasporic and West African communities is not denied, but in favoring this line

of inquiry, archaeologists inadvertently deny the uniqueness and creativity of African American and African Caribbean societies…" (Gijanto and Horlings 2012:137). Heeding that call, I emphasize the unique way that space and place making functioned for the enslaved on Virginia plantations in this study, rather than attempting to draw a direct line between past spatial practices on specific quarters in Virginia and a historically blurred understanding of a variety of West African antecedents.

Current Themes

Several major themes are apparent in the research topics engaged by archaeologists working on African Diaspora contexts: the material lifeways of the enslaved and descendant communities, constructions of social divisions and inequality, and manifestations of cultural identity of African Americans (Singleton 1995; Samford 1996; Orser 1998; Kellar 2004). The description, comparison, and interpretation of material lifeways of the enslaved are the most fundamental research goals that are included in nearly all studies of plantation slavery. Some of the most prominent themes in this topic have been investigations of slave housing and space (Neiman 1978; Farnsworth 2001; Pogue 2002; Fesler 2006; Heath 2010), diet and foodways (Crader 1990; McKee 1999; Franklin 2001; Mrozowski et al. 2008; Klippel et al. 2011), market access and consumerism (Mullins 2002; Galle 2004, 2006, 2010; Heath 2004; Bloch 2015; Lee 2016; Heath et al. 2017), craft production (Heath 1988, 1996; Ferguson 1992; Mouer et al. 1999; Hauser 2008; Galke 2009; Armstrong and Hauser 2017) and spiritual items and practices (Stine et al. 1996; Wilkie 1997; Leone and Fry 2001; Fennell 2003,2007; Leone et al. 2014; Ogundiran and Saunders 2014). To say such

studies are fundamental does not insinuate that such analyses are flawed or too basic, but rather these studies go on to explore deeper interpretations and contribute to the collective of archaeological understanding about the objects and materials that were created, used, produced, and helped materialize identities by African Americans in the past.

Another prominent theme of African American archaeology is that of cultural retention and change among the enslaved. In the fields of history and anthropology, the debate between assimilation and acculturation, and the degree of African influence in American culture, dates back to the early 20th-century scholarship of Frazier (1932, 1939), who contended that the nature of the Atlantic slave trade and settlement patterns in North America led to the almost total loss of African cultural heritage and tradition among African Americans. Taking an opposing position that has seen wide application in archaeology was Herskovits (1941), who contended that numerous "Africanisms" did survive the Middle Passage and were shaping African American beliefs, behaviors and expressions in such areas as religious practices, language, and the arts. Subsequent historical and anthropological studies have largely taken Herskovits's ideas of acculturated Africanisms and developed the concept of creolization processes in African American cultures, stressing the historical development of these forms (Mintz and Price 1976; Gomez 1998; Berlin 2003), and variations of cultural synthesis and change in particular contexts of various locales, labor regimes, and time periods (Sobel 1987; Morgan 1998; Trouillot 1998; Ogundiran and Falola 2007).

An early vein of scholarship in this field of African Diaspora archaeology was efforts to identify and describe "Africanisms". However, the presence or absence of

specific creolized or African-influenced material culture on archaeological sites, the so-called study of “ethnic markers,” has been challenged in comparative research as unreliable in indicating African American occupations (Heath and Breen 2009), and as the oversimplification of past behavior as evidence for or against African American acculturation (Agbe-Davies 2007). Laurie Wilkie (2004) has argued that plantations are unique microcosms of the past that contain positive potentials for research, public education and outreach. However, she warns that studying plantations and slave contexts, which I would add includes landscape, runs a risk of continuing to segregate and “other” the history of African Americans, and distance the role of slavery to unique circumstances, obscuring its effects on modern society. She calls for research in non-slave and non-plantation contexts to broaden the scope of African American archaeology, and to show the impact of their histories on broader society. Heath (2010b) echoes these concerns in terms of studying artifacts as “Africanisms” and ethnic markers, which can also function to other the material culture and history of African Americans.

Studies of planter domination and slave resistance, particularly in the late 1980s and 1990s, included considerations of plantation landscapes theoretically as expressions of relations between planters and slaves in terms of social inclusion and exclusion (Upton 1985; Epperson 1999, 2000). Marxist and critical theory perspectives have also found rich ground in discussions of power and economics of slavery including the layout and construction of plantation landscapes in Maryland (Leone 2005), housing in South Carolina (Orser 1988) and the Caribbean (Delle 1999; Singleton 2001, 2015). More subtle negotiations of power are emphasized in studies that highlight the ways in

which slaves were able to subvert aspects of planter domination by exerting their own agency (Heath and Bennett 2000; Edwards-Ingram 2001; Leone and Fry 2001; Fesler 2010; Heath 2010a).

Most recently, the material formation of social identities has been a primary theme in historical archaeology, especially the discursive relationships between macro-scale historical factors such as colonialism and capitalism and local cultural contexts (Mrozowski et al. 2000). This scholarship has highlighted the way unique community identities were forged within the complex contexts of slavery through creolized material culture in the archaeological record in forms of pottery, pipes, personal adornment items, subfloor pits, and items thought to be associated with spiritual practices (Ferguson 1992; Mouer 1993; Leone and Fry 2001; Fennell 2007; Samford 2007; Heath 2010b).

The Archaeology of Overseers

Overseer sites comprise a crucial element of this dissertation in serving as the point of comparison to sites of the enslaved in order to investigate how space functioned in the contestation of power and construction of race and class identities. Previous studies have suggested the possibility of unique African American spatialities, namely in the construction of subfloor pits, quarter construction, living arrangements, and the maintenance of yard space as products of shared experiences and in reaction to slavery (Pulsipher 1994; Heath and Bennett 2000; Neiman 2008; Heath 2010a) and with potential African cultural influence (Anthony 1976; Westmacott 1992; Fesler 2006, 2010; Samford 2007). In this study, spatiality is defined as the socially produced

organization, use, and meanings of space (Soja 1980:210). When comparisons are drawn to European American spaces and landscapes, such as Fesler's (2010) discussion of yard maintenance practices, European American archaeological examples are drawn from the more studied contexts of elite plantation owners or contexts dating to the 17th century, as excavations of lower status European American sites dating to the 18th-century are less common. Overseer sites more congruent comparisons in both temporal period and economic class to contexts of the enslaved.

Compared to the profusion of studies of the enslaved and even plantation owners, archaeological studies of overseer sites and material culture have been more limited in number and scope. One of the earliest and most cited archaeological investigations of an overseer's site is Otto's (1975) dissertation comparing the material manifestations of planter, overseer, and slave status at Cannon's Point, a large 19th-century plantation on the Georgia coast. His comparison of the architectural and artifact remains of the three groups revealed two material commonalities: architectural size and quality was most similar between planter and overseer, and foodways were more similar between overseers and slaves. While planters and overseers certainly enjoyed a legal freedom and social status of race clearly defined as higher than enslaved blacks, the difference in economic class of overseers and slaves was less clear: "[slave's] material possessions and food resources rivaled those of white overseers" (Otto 1975:362). However, the overseer would have enjoyed a perception of authority conveyed through the publically visible aspect of his dwelling.

Otto's work, in conjunction with South's (1978) extremely influential work in artifact pattern recognition, led to several subsequent studies of overseers' sites in both

cultural resource management and academic studies that focused largely on examining the proportion of artifact types that might identify an overseer or somehow elucidate his status. Nash and Geier's (1985) report on a mitigation project in Virginia resulted in the identification of an overseer's dwelling through an extensive survey and analysis of historic maps. Several structures were identified in the excavations, and interestingly the one with the largest amount of brick architectural remnants was finally determined to be the overseer's house. Based on artifact analysis, the authors concluded with the statement that it was: "…impossible to make strict statements of the socioeconomic status of the individuals who occupied the site from wares …[that]…were used by a variety of people of differing economic and social status throughout Virginia at the proposed time periods" (Nash and Geier 1985:157).

Several theses and dissertations have been recently produced that again focus on artifact patterns (Roberts 2005; Kowal 2007) and faunal procurement patterns (Lynch 2004) between slave and overseer components of sites in Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana. Roberts' (2005) examination of an overseer's house and nearby kitchen, which he associates with the plantation owners, reveals that the very similar overseer's assemblage illustrates an example of an owner employing his relatives as overseers. Kowal (2007) discusses groups of overseers, slaves, and planters as members of communities and conducts her analysis at this scale; she finds that overseers' assemblages appear very similar to those of nearby slave quarters or kitchens, indicating a lower than expected social status for whites on those plantations. Lynch's (2004) faunal comparison of multiple slave dwellings against collections from slave, overseer, and planter sites at Hampton Plantation on St. Simon's Island,

Georgian discusses the lack of differentiation between slaves' and overseers' assemblages as evidence of cooperation and exchange between the two lower-status groups on the plantation.

In a mitigation project in South Carolina, Trinkley et al. (2005) investigated a domestic site on Bell Hall Plantation where architectural remains were extremely ephemeral and the scope of the project did not include investigations of other parts of the plantation. The authors relied on artifact patterning to address their research question of whether the mid-18th-century domestic site was occupied by an overseer. By examining the collection in groups derived from South's (1978) pattern recognition work with historic artifact assemblages, they were able to show that their site was most similar to the Carolina Slave Pattern, with slight distinctions in the proportions of certain finds such as tobacco pipes and colonoware. The authors point to the similarity of these trends to another local overseer site, Goose Creek, as evidence that the site at Bell Hall was in fact an overseer's occupation. However, it was not specified how the overseer occupation at Goose Creek was determined (Trinkley et al. 2005: 60).

This brief review of archaeological attempts to identify and interpret overseers' sites reveals a major pitfall, that basic artifact patterns in the archaeological record left by overseers are often very similar in quality and quantity to those of the enslaved people they managed, making identification through artifact patterns alone very problematic. If subtler differences between the materials of slaves and overseers did exist, the tendency of archaeologists to use traditional relative proportions of functional artifact groups has failed to detect it in most cases. More nuanced and statistically rigorous forms of comparative assemblage analysis such as Abundance Indices may

prove more fruitful in the future, as Galle (2006, 2010, 2011, 2017) and Bates (2015, 2017) have used such measures to examine market access and consumption strategies among slave contexts in Tennessee, Virginia, and Jamaica. Furthermore, when occupation by an overseer is known through the documentary record, attempts at interpretation of status and social relationships often stop at promising statements inferring that overseers shared some similarities with both slave and owner without exploring the implications of those findings. Otto's (1975:158) notion that housing remains may be more reflective of the planter's ideas than the actual socioeconomic position of overseers has been largely overlooked. Architecture and space, either extant or excavated, are among the most differentiating forms of material culture between slaves and overseers noted in most studies (Wilkins 2014).

The Sites

This dissertation examined four archaeological contexts associated with enslaved African Americans and three associated with free white overseers at five plantations in Virginia dating from the mid-18th to the early-19th centuries (Table 1, Figure 1). Site features, artifact, and soil chemical distributions serve as the principal

Table 1: List of Study Sites.

Plantation	Site	Date	Occupants	Excavators
Stratford Hall	Oval site (44WM0080)	c. 1725-1775	Overseer & Slaves	University of Mary Washington
McCartey's Plantation	Accotink Quarter (44FX0223)	c. 1726-1770	Overseer & Slaves	Thunderbird Archaeology
Poplar Forest	Wingo's Quarter (44BE0298)	c. 1774-1790	Slaves	Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest/University of Tennessee
Montpelier	Stable Quarter (44OR0249)	c. 1790-1830	Slaves	The Montpelier Foundation
Monticello	Site 17 (44AB0473)	1806-1822	Overseer	Washington and Lee University

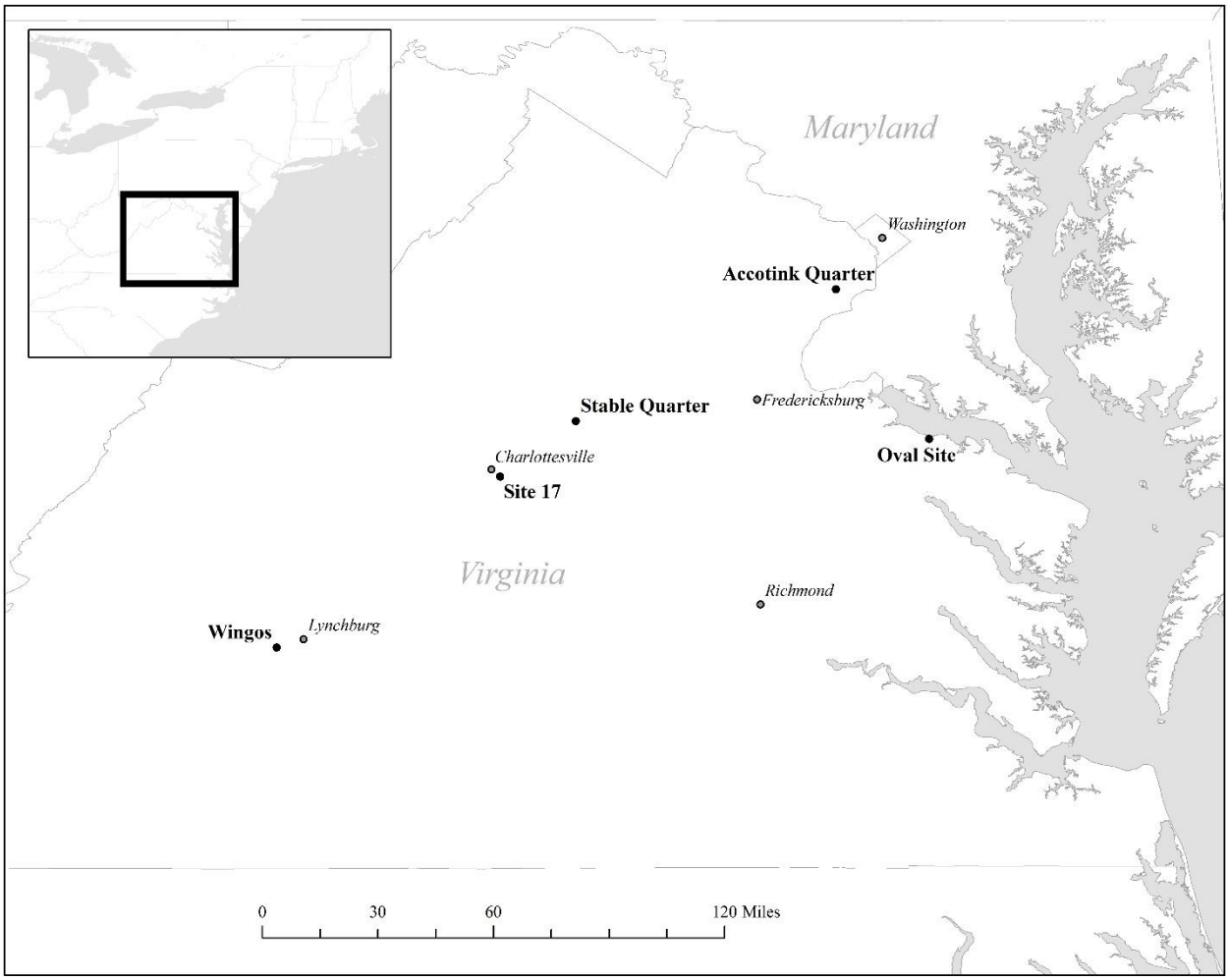


Figure 1: Location of Study Sites.

datasets used to reconstruct the micro-landscapes of overseer and slave sites. For the Accotink Quarter, Stable Quarter at Montpelier, and Site 17 at Monticello, other researchers have generously shared excavation data, artifact inventories, and soil chemistry data for me to employ in original spatial analysis. I processed and analyzed all soil samples from Wingo's Quarter (Wilkins 2013; Heath et al. 2015) and from the Oval site at Stratford Hall Plantation in Westmoreland County where I oversaw excavations and soil sampling at the site and developed the research design of incorporating overseers' sites into a comparison of plantation landscapes in Virginia (Wilkins 2009, 2010, 2011, 2014, 2015; Wilkins and Sanford 2015).

The Oval site (44WM80) is a circa 1720s to 1770 complex of earthfast[1] post-in-ground domestic and agricultural structures at Stratford Hall Plantation, the 18th-century home of the Lee family on the south shore of the Potomac River in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The Oval site was discovered during a plantation-wide survey conducted in the 1970s by the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology that located a concentration of artifacts and brick rubble that was interpreted as the location of a farm quarter complex (Neiman 1976:2-22). Beginning in 2001, the Oval site has been excavated for 12 seasons by staff and students of the University of Mary Washington (UMW) Field School in Archaeology. The site is comprised of four structures, including an earthfast house with a brick-lined basement interpreted as an overseer's house, a larger earthfast structure interpreted as a barn, and two smaller earthfast structures that include two slave quarters. While excavations recently concluded (Wilkins 2015), artifacts from UMW field schools are still being processed. Data for the site used here

[1] The term earthfast can refer to several types of construction where the framing of a building is set directly into or on top of the ground surface without stone or masonry foundations.

originates from soil chemistry sampling and artifact analysis based on a sample of the assemblage that provides chronological, type, and size information. The artifact samples come from both slave and overseer housing areas that should allow for a fruitful comparison of spaces of the two resident groups. Soil samples from the Oval site have been collected and analyzed since 2008, during and after my master's thesis research that studied the methodological and interpretive application of portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) devices for soil chemistry analysis (Wilkins 2009, 2010). No documentary evidence is known to exist that addresses the presence, function, or occupants of the Oval site; however, primary documents have been found that related to the slave population as a whole, several 18th-century overseers, and the workings of Stratford Hall Plantation generally.

The Accotink Quarter site (44FX223) is a circa 1720 to 1770 quarter in Fairfax County. 44FX223 was originally designated in 1980 as a prehistoric site; however, a reinvestigation in 2011 by Thunderbird Archeology identified an 18th-century component. Subsequent testing found the historic component was eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, and Phase III data recovery excavations prior to the site's development were conducted in spring 2012 (Sipe et al. 2013:1). The site consists of the remains of at least two structures. Structure 1 was indicated by a large cellar with a bulkhead entrance and was likely a frame dwelling with ground-laid sills, which is interpreted as an overseer's house. Structure 2 was indicated by a cluster of four subfloor pits surrounding a central hearth, and two post holes. It is interpreted as an earthfast slave quarter (Sipe et al. 2013:203,253). The structures date to the same time period and both feature high concentrations of colonoware pottery. The owners of the

plantation are well documented. Members of the wealthy McCarty family first farmed the land that after 1742 was then managed by the less affluent but aspiring Abraham Barnes (Veech 1998). Some documentary records have been identified that deal directly with 44FX223, including store accounts dating to the 1760s of Abraham Barnes' overseer, John Marvill. Other records of the plantation accounts and slaves were useful for constructing socioeconomic and historical context in this research. Soil chemical samples were collected and analyzed from feature contexts, but not the plowzone at the Accotink Quarter. Artifact data from close-interval shovel test pits, units, and features facilitated spatial mapping and comparisons between the two structures.

Wingo's Quarter (44BE0298) is a late 18th-century slave quarter once a part of Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest plantation in Bedford County. Archaeological staff from the Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest located the site in 2000 and tested it in 2001. Participants in University of Tennessee field schools conducted excavations from 2007 to 2012 (Heath et al. 2015). The site consists of a single cabin, indicated by two subfloor pits, and associated yard features. The subfloor pits are the only remaining features associated with a structure, and from these it is inferred that the overlying cabin was sill-laid. Occupation of the quarter began by 1774, but the site was abandoned by circa 1790 (Heath 2012). Soil samples were collected from nearly all excavated 5 x 5 ft. test units from both plowzone and subsoil contexts, as well as from features. Soil chemistry and artifact distributions from plowzone contexts, as well as the contents of the subfloor pits, have been the primary means of analysis and interpretation of the occupation. Historical documents indicating the location of the site within the landscape, its enslaved occupants, and the broader trajectory of the Jefferson family aided in the

contextualization of the vernacular house and yard space at Wingo's.

The Stable Quarter is a late 18th- to early 19th-century slave dwelling component of the Montpelier Mansion archaeological site (44OR0249) at Montpelier, the Orange County plantation home of James Madison. Excavated by staff from James Madison's Montpelier Archaeology Department in 2010, the circa 1790s to 1830s site consists of the remains of a two-room log structure with end chimneys and a hearth-front subfloor pit. The immediate house-yard to the front (south) of the cabin was also investigated and contains several large borrow pits and a garden area (Marshall 2011). Numerous soil samples were collected from the top surface of subsoil across the site, and the Stable Quarter was particularly useful in this analysis as it more closely corresponds temporally with an overseer's house, Site 17 at Monticello, than do the slave components at Oval site, Accotink, or Wingo's. The Stable Quarter is interpreted as housing an extended family group that likely included skilled artisans and craftspeople that may have had more autonomy in the use of their home and yard spaces than nearby domestic slaves (Marshall 2011:100). Like Wingo's, it serves as a good case study in this research for investigating and comparing potentially African American determined house-yard spaces, as opposed to those that may have been more restricted by proximity to the owner's residence.

Site 17 (44AB0473) at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello in Albemarle County, is a dwelling site interpreted to be the location of the 1806 to 1822 home of overseer Edmund Bacon and his family. The site was originally located in a plantation-wide survey conducted by the Monticello Archaeology Department, and subsequently investigated in 2009 and 2010 by field schools of the Department of Sociology and

Anthropology of Washington and Lee University under the direction of Professor Alison Bell (Washington and Lee University Archaeology Program [W&LU AP] 2010: 5-6). The site is known to be Bacon's residence through the corroboration of the archaeological finds with a survey map produced by Jefferson in 1809. The excavations included nearly 40 plowzone units and the collection of nearly 300 soil samples from plowzone and subsoil contexts. While preliminary assessments of the chemical distributions were made (Payton and Thompson 2011), a more thorough analysis and comparison with artifact distributions helped me refine the understanding of the spatial structure and outdoor use of space at this known overseer's site. As an early 19th-century overseer's context, located in the Piedmont region, Site 17 provided a temporally and geographically congruous comparative case for the Stable Quarter slave context.

Analytical Approach

A spatial analysis of these sites includes elements of architecture—the structures housing the occupants and their arrangement within the larger plantation landscape—as well as study of the use and organization of exterior yard spaces through artifact and soil chemistry distributions. Specifically, each structure's architectural construction, quality, and size are compared, as well as its situation in relation to other structures and plantation landscape elements such as roads, agricultural buildings, and the mansion house in order to interpret the social construction of the more formal, built spaces of the landscape.

Spatial distribution analyses of artifact characteristics such as type frequencies, size, diversity, and richness are combined with soil chemistry data in order to elucidate

outside uses of space, boundaries, activity areas, and their arrangements (Bon-Harper 2009; Gaylord and Wheeler 2010; Heath 2012; Wilkins et al. 2012; Heath et al. 2015). In their article promoting a more comprehensive and broadly applicable framework for the study of African American yards, Heath and Bennett (2000:44) describe several concepts and models of outdoor space. These include the characterization of outdoor space uses by Randall Moir (1987), which he termed “farmstead proxemics”. While the adherence of any context to the specifics of this model developed for post-bellum sites in Texas is not expected, concepts such as inner active yards, outer active yard, and peripheral yard spaces; and their links with certain structures, activities, occupants, and refuse patterning, will be of particular use in categorizing and comparing the outdoor spaces across the study sites in this research.

A second, more general model is taken from Amos Rappaport’s (1990:9-20) discussion of the relationship between the function of activities, their settings, and meanings. He outlined three main settings or contexts of human behavior divided by the tangible objects or structures associated with them, termed fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed features. Heath and Bennett (2000:45) note that archaeological investigations of outdoor yard spaces must move beyond permanent fixed elements such as fences, trees, pens, and other buildings to include more elusive semi-fixed features such as semi-permanent structures and objects such as woodpiles, work areas, middens, and cooking hearths. This research will seek to incorporate the archaeological remains of both fixed elements such as architectural structures and fence lines; as well as semi-fixed elements through the use of soil chemistry and artifact distribution analyses.

Anthropogenic soil chemical signatures can indicate the deposition of human and

animal tissue and waste found in occupation sites and burials, as well as organic residues deposited during food preparation, the use of fire, food consumption, agricultural fertilization, livestock husbandry, metallurgy, and refuse disposal (Cook and Heizer 1965; Holliday and Gartner 2007). Soil chemical analyses have been employed on many mid-Atlantic historical sites associated with enslaved African Americans (Heath and Bennett 2000; Neiman et al. 2000; Fischer 2001; Lawrence 2007; Fesler 2010; Wilkins 2010). Evaluating the applicability of and methodological requirement for the employment of pXRF in soil chemistry has been an ongoing area of research (Wilkins 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013; Wilkins and Breen 2011). While the primary goal and focus of the dissertation will be on the interpretive applications of understanding landscapes, this line of methodological research forms an important part of the successful employment of the techniques to understanding the sites in question.

This dissertation also uses primary historical research to build rich regional, local, and in some cases personal contexts for interpreting my archaeological findings. I have collected and studied a range of primary documentary resources on overseers, both at a larger regional scale as discussed in Chapter III, and at the local and site-specific level including contracts, diaries of owners and overseers, probate inventories, wills, store accounts, and plantation records. Primary documentary research for sites excavated by other researchers was generally done by the excavators and generously shared, so the bulk of my own localized archival research has focused on Stratford Hall Plantation. I have been able to find historical references for 15 hired overseers at Stratford from 1738 to 1783, several of whom have wills, deeds, and probates in county records; as well as payments, taxes, and store purchases listed in the sparsely

surviving records of the plantation itself. Despite the fact that definitively being able to assign any of the men directly to the Oval site is unlikely, this information is useful for creating a contextual synthesis of the cohort of overseers at Stratford as a whole.

The structure of this dissertation attempts to move logically from introductions of questions and theories, through historical context, methods, results, and discussion; all the while attempting to draw out lines of continuity in terms of the role of space in cultural manifestations in colonial plantations, especially in reference to the constructions of race and class identities. Chapter II is a discussion of the theoretical considerations of space and landscape, expanding on concepts of what space is, how it is meaningfully constructed in society, and the history of its incorporation in anthropology and archaeology. Chapter III builds the historical context of this project by focusing on the development of the institution of slavery, plantations, and the role of overseers in the Chesapeake region. This chapter includes primary historical research I have done on overseers within Virginia specifically, highlighting the distinction of roles and values found in the job between larger staple-crop regions.

Chapter IV describes the research design including specific questions and hypotheses, analytical methods, and details about the excavations and sampling conducted at east site. Chapter V presents the findings of my original analyses of the archaeological sites and their plantation landscapes. The discussion is limited in scope to low and middle-range findings of structures, spaces, and their uses in order to reconstruct the landscapes of the sites to as great a level of detail as possible.

Chapter VI then progresses to compare those reconstructions and seeks to situate the sites within both site specific and regional historical contexts. Here, the

effects of chronology, location, labor regime, ethnic origins of the enslaved, and personal backgrounds of the overseers is considered in conjunction with the similarities and differences revealed within and between the sites and occupants. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to evaluate the degree to which distinctions of race and class are apparent, and how the spaces that contain them could be active material agents of those social constructs. Chapter VII, the conclusion, discusses the scholarly ramifications of my findings, and reapplies the context of previous scholarly work to evaluate the contribution of my work at both a specific methodological level, and a broader topical level. These discussions include how well soil chemistry and more advanced artifact analysis treatments are able to assess spatial structures on sites that have in most cases been plowed, how ephemeral landscapes are able to be interpreted, and how a greater understanding of these histories and spaces contributes to the modern discussion of race as a powerful cultural construct still impacting our society.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL CONTEXTS

A Few Terms

Space

As this research seeks to address cultural constructions and social meanings of landscapes and spatial relationships, a working definition of what space is should first establish that it could be considered a part of material culture. In western philosophy, there are ambiguities, paradoxes, and a kind of ambivalence noted when thinking about space. Sayer (1985:51-52) notes that despite the familiarity and regularity with which humans encounter the concept of space, the meaning of what space is can be a complex metaphysical problem. Metaphysical definitions of space generally fall into two general camps of thought, as either an absolute or a relative concept. Absolute space, which exists outside of any constituent matter or time, is an abstract emptiness. Relative space, commonly asserted by human geographers, is comprised of the relationships between physical and imagined entities. Both definitions have their own philosophical challenges: space cannot be reduced to the objects that contain it, nor can we easily conceptualize truly empty space. Immanuel Kant, while noting the paradox between absolute and relative concepts of space, asserted that space could be thought of as a mode of organization for human experience, similar to time (Noyes 1991:34-37). To Kant, space is *a priori*- a unitary, singular structuration that is both ideal in its meaningfulness and real in its objective validity, a logical "assembly of consecutive sensory perceptions" that can be represented mathematically and geometrically (Noyes

1991:38). Thus, the social construction of both ideal and real physical spatial relationships constitutes the manipulation of an element that can be observed and comprehended in a tangible way by human beings. Archaeology can therefore investigate boundaries, organizations, and uses of space as a form of material culture as a means to address questions about past societies.

Landscape

As a concept, how then does landscape differ from space? Landscape at first consideration appears less abstract than the idea of space. In non-academic parlance, the term landscape can evoke a natural or outdoor setting, and usually at scales that are broadly considered large: ranging in scale from a physiographic region, to a scenic vista, to the areas surrounding individual structures. It is a practical and inclusive term for the natural setting of whatever the object of study might be. In artistic contexts, the term landscape refers more to the representation of natural settings, or to the background (David and Thomas 2008). For a definition of precisely what landscape means to archaeologists, archaeological publications are not particularly clear. Geographer John J. Winberry (1997) noted that the archaeologist authors contributing to an edited volume on historical landscapes did not appear to agree with the cultural geographer's definition, nor even with each other.

James Deetz's thoughts on the topic are perhaps the most generally accepted in archaeology. Landscape is an artifact, the largest type that can be studied by archaeology: "…the total terrestrial context in which archaeological study is pursued" (Deetz 1990:1). Deetz goes on to narrow the definition of cultural landscapes, those

landscapes that have been modified by human action. While this seems like a tidy definition, it in fact carries on the more generalized concept of landscape as a setting or background at a large scale, as what Deetz terms the “connective tissues” that give sites their context. The specific subfield of landscape archaeology is an outgrowth of settlement pattern studies that flourished in the mid-20th century, and has at times come to mean the study of how humans interact with the “natural” environment on a large scale.

This dissertation assumes a definition at the most inclusive level. Landscapes are the total physical entities in a given area, and space is the perception through which humans understand and express the dimensional aspects and relationships of those objects. Studies that address how human beings define, create, alter, and signify spaces at a scale within one structure or site tend to use the terms space and spatial analysis; whereas those that deal with contexts larger than a single structure or site tend to employ the term landscape and landscape archaeology. I will attempt to be clear in the following discussion of theories when synthesizing previous works as either dealing with space—as a more abstract concept of materiality and understanding, versus landscape—a category of human material culture created through the definition and creation of spaces at a relatively large scale.

Theoretical Trajectories of Space

Students tend to be engrossed in theoretical readings and discussions, often contrasting the differing perspectives and goals between individual theories and larger paradigms. We critique and reject the old in order to advance newer concepts of how

human societies and materiality function. In reality, each “New” movement or “post” reaction carries forward concepts and methods from the previous perspectives. In particular, advances in field and analytical methodology as well as lower and middle-level theory tend to survive paradigm shifts. In their drive to become scientific, processual archaeologists didn’t abandon the use of typologies or stratigraphic seriation. Nor would most post-processualists abandon research designs, screening, or interdisciplinary scientific analyses even though their goals are less nomothetic and interpretation more contextual. I have chosen to present a historiographical discussion of theoretical concepts of space and landscape. As I hope to show, the current perspectives owe much to their predecessors. Archaeology is an interdisciplinary endeavor, and the discussion below includes contributions not just from archaeologists and the social philosophers we so often cite, but also from geographers, ethnographers, architects, sociologists, and environmental psychologists; all of whom have grappled with theories of space.

Culture history, functionalism, and cultural ecology

All archaeology involves the aspect of space, and it is not constrained to any one particular theoretical paradigm. Attempting to account for spatial patterning of archaeological materials is as old as the practice of archaeology itself and has been found relevant in every theoretical perspective, particularly at the level of middle-range associations between the archaeological record and interpretations of the human behaviors that created it (Seibert 2006). Some of the earliest professional archaeology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries included attempts to plot past cultures over

geographic space. Early practitioners such as Cyrus Thomas (1898) divided North America into various cultural areas based on distinct mound shapes, artifact types, and decorative stylistic variations. Chronology was often given primacy in the organization and classification of archaeological materials in Europe. However, a lack of well-stratified sites prior to more advanced dating methods in North American archaeology led to the assumption that prehistoric societies were rather static over time, which prompted an emphasis on the description and comparison of archaeological cultures across space (Trigger 1989:122-124). Efforts to synthesize more regionally or nationally specific culture histories such as those by V. Gordon Childe (1925) in Europe and Alfred Kidder (1924) in the American Southwest included charting archaeological cultures across both time and space. Interpretations of culture change in the culture-historical period of archaeology have a uniquely spatial character, as dominant explanations for the appearance of new artifacts or groups generally included either diffusion, the movement of ideas across space, or migration, the movement of people across space (Trigger 1989:171,188).

Culture-historical approaches to archaeology are by their nature descriptive efforts that intend to map and chronicle the succession of past societies. Through the influential works of Durkheim in sociology and Marx in economic history, interest grew in the early 20th century in understanding how past peoples lived, used their tools, and how their societies functioned. This focus on the reconstruction of past lifeways was key to the functionalist approach in archaeology of the early 20th century. The germ of many analytical and interpretive topics in archaeology can be found in functionalism, including detailed artifact studies, ethnographic analogies, and experimental archaeology (Trigger

1989:270-272). Part of this movement included large-scale horizontal excavation and increased focus on features, structures, and spatial artifact distributions in order to evaluate structure function and site layouts. This kind of functionalism was championed by Walter Taylor's (1948) conjunctive approach that sought to synthesize then current emphases on intra-site analysis, detailed record keeping, provenience, and, perhaps most importantly, defining culture not as a group or people or list of artifact traits, but as the mental constructs shared by people (Trigger 1989:276-277).

Specific archaeological questions about the relationship between humans and landscape are generally traced back to the dual influence of functionalist goals of reconstructing past lifeways and the contribution of cultural ecology in studying past people's adaptation to the environment (Seibert 2006:xiv). Julian Steward's (1937) research on human settlement patterns in the southwest United States in the late 1930s is perhaps the first research to explicitly interpret both how *and why* human beings distributed themselves across space in the past (Trigger 1989:280). Steward's interpretations were based solely on human adaptation to varying environmental factors including topographic aspects of the landscape, clearly defining a dichotomous relationship between culture and nature in archaeological interpretation of spaces and landscapes that has only recently been challenged (Seibert 2006:xvi).

Gordon Willey is most often credited with initiating settlement archaeology as a thematic vein in Americanist archaeology, with his seminal study of the Virú Valley in Peru. In part inspired and guided by Steward, Willey (1953:1) defined settlement pattern as:

> …the way in which man disposed himself over the landscape on which he

> lived. It refers to dwellings, to their arrangement, and to the nature and disposition of other buildings pertaining to community life. These settlements reflect the natural environment, the level of technology on which the builders operated, and various institutions of social interactions and control which the culture maintained. Because settlement patterns are, to a large extent, directly shaped by widely held cultural needs, they offer a strategic starting point for the functional interpretation of archaeological cultures.

Captured within this quote are several important concepts that have persisted well into later studies of space and landscape. The first is that landscape is viewed as a natural element. Willey uses landscape to mean the purely natural surface of the earth distinct from "man's" culture. The second critical element in Willey's definition of settlement pattern is the use of multiple scales. While not as elaborated and hierarchical as later definitions, Willey includes prehistoric structures themselves as well as their arrangement within larger communities. Thirdly, and most importantly, Willey differs from a purely cultural ecology perspective in asserting that investigations of spatial relationships in archaeology could be used to interpret social aspects of past cultures, that settlement patterns reflected more than just ecological adaptations and that spatial relationships between sites could also do more than geographically define culture areas. Those relationships could be interpreted in themselves as artifacts of past cultures in terms of technology, economics, and social organization.

The "New" movements

In the mid-20th century, settlement pattern surveys became more common after Willey's work in Peru, and the use of ecological explanations of culture change added to functionalist reconstructions of lifeways. Neo-evolutionary explanations of change involved linear progressions of past societies based on materialist causes:

technological, economic, or environmental determinants pushed human adaptation forward in the past. Uniting these threads, which already included a trend towards cross-cultural generalizations, the highly polemic writings of Lewis Binford catapulted "New" or processual archaeology into the fore in the 1960s. The new theoretical agenda that he and his colleagues promoted also sought to explain cultures and culture change as adaptations to external forces in scientific, objective, and nomothetic ways (Trigger 1989:289-296). Settlement pattern studies only grew in number and prevalence in the processual period, as archaeologists employed increasingly quantitative methods in cross-cultural comparisons, in particular with ethnographic observations (Hodder and Orton 1976; Binford 1980; O'Connell et al. 1991; Wandsnider 1996; Seibert 2006:xiv). Spatial relationships and patterning were of particular concern to the newly important field of ethnoarchaeology, which engaged in what came to be known as middle-range or middle-level theory. Middle-range theory sought to make correlations between site formation processes in the archaeological record with specific human behaviors recorded in ethnographic observation of extant societies. A prime example of this approach, and a seminal processual publication, was Binford's (1980) "Willow Smoke and Dogs' Tails: Hunter-Gatherer Settlement Systems and Archaeological Site Formation," in which site arrangements and mobility patterns of the modern Nunamiut were used as direct analogies for the explanation of the archaeological record of past hunter-gather societies.

In addition to increased attention to site formation processes and material correlates of behavior, processualism prompted greater levels of systematization in models of settlement and subsistence patterns. Gordon Willey's original definition of

settlement pattern was refined in the processual movement by Trigger's (1968) definition of three scales of spatial analysis. From the smallest to largest scale those were: 1) the nature of individual structures, 2) the occurrence and location of structures within a site, and 3) the situation of sites across a region. Research focused on individual scales began to take on sub-field status of their own in the processual movement, with the term "household archaeology" gaining appreciation at the smallest scale. Dwellings had always been investigated in archaeology, but the quantitative and systematic approach of processualism led to the definition of households as a fundamental element of a systems theory approach that would attempt to describe culture as a network of interacting parts governed by discernable rules and laws (Trigger 1989:303; Seibert 2006:xv).

In addition to solidifying environmental and technological determinism in explaining pattern and change in the past, processualism also injected a high degree of empiricism and quantitative approaches into analyses of spatial relationships. This approach is reflected in the change from more subjective assessments of spatial arrangements to highly systematized and statistical measurements (Hodder and Orton 1976:1-7). Processual archaeology was part of a larger "New" positivist movement of the mid-20th century that affected many of the social science disciplines and resulted in a theorization of space that pushed the concept towards a more absolute, cross-cultural, constant, and abstract conception. In their reaction against the previous emphasis on early 20th-century descriptions and comparisons of regions in geography, the New Geography, like New Archaeology, sought to be more scientific and nomothetic. Space was the dimension of geography that could be quantified,

abstracted, and given causal power (Massey 1985:9). This highly quantified and objectified view of space led to ideas of spatial laws and processes. Space itself, extracted from social relations, could be a socially neutral force on human behavior. Thus, both archaeology and geography saw the rise of mathematical analyses such as Thiessian polygons, catchment areas, and frictions of distance quantified and measured in attempts to assess the influence of abstract space on the processes of subsistence systems and settlement patterns (Hodder and Orton 1976; Tilley 1994; Bruno and Thomas 2008).

The Critique: Space is Social

Like other "new" movements of the 1960s, geography was soon critiqued as having removed the social aspects of spatial constructions. By the 1970s and 1980s, human and cultural geographers began to reject the idea that natural factors were unilaterally deterministic of human behaviors, and argued that space had become overly abstracted. They argued that much of what had been taken for natural or absolute were culturally relative social constructions: "…there are no such things as purely spatial processes; there are only particular social processes operating over space" (Massey 1985:11). Rather than viewing spatial constructions and the built environment as purely particularistic or in broad cross-cultural generalizations, scholars since the 1980s have viewed the relationship between environment, however constructed, and human behavior as inexorably entangled and mutually influential (Gregory and Urry 1985; Sanders 1990:46).

The post-processual critique in archaeology came to similar conclusions about

space. “The alternative view starts from regarding space as a medium rather than a container for action, something that is involved in action and cannot be divorced from it” (Tilley 1994:10). Archaeologists in general came to question the rigidity, determinism, and anti-historicism of the processual paradigm and began to focus on less materialistic aspects of culture such as power relations, social structures, and ideology (Seibert 2006:xv). Too much variation was being found in past societies that could not be accounted for by evolutionary trajectories based on ecological determinism. Hodder’s (1982) contextual approach to archaeology is perhaps the most cited example of a post-processual treatise, stressing that interpretation of the archaeological record should be firmly grounded in the historical and social contexts of the past society, effectively rejecting the ahistorical interpretive paradigm of processualism.

Also challenged was the idea that explanations formed in positivist terms could or should be objectively neutral (Trigger 1989:328-329). More recent scholars, specifically from Marxian perspectives and relativist perspectives, argue that archaeological research should be reflexive, that our work occurs in contemporary contexts that influence the interpretations of modern practitioners. Perhaps the most fundamental changes brought about by the post-processual critique are the ideas that 1) human beings are not passive objects being acted upon by various external forces, that they have agency and can affect the trajectory of cultural change; and 2) that material culture is not merely a reflection of adaptations or social organization, but an active medium for communication and action by social beings (Trigger 1989:348). Most recently, material culture has been conceived as having its own agency; human beings produce material culture to produce, or materialize, society itself (Hodder 2003:6, 2012).

Focusing on the social aspects of past cultures and the agency of both individuals and material culture has led to a more active view of spatial analysis and interpretation in archaeology (Pauls 2006; David and Thomas 2008). The arrangement of artifacts, structures, and sites was no longer just a reflection of adaptation or social organization, but a force in social relations. More recent examinations of the organization and use of space through architecture in several disciplines have engaged in this more humanistic perspective via the influence of Edward Hall's (1968) study of human proxemics and Amos Rapoport's (1990) concepts of activity systems.

Hall, a cultural anthropologist, developed the field of proxemics in studying cross-cultural interactions and communication, which he defined as "…the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture" (Hall 1969:1). To Hall, culture is communication and proxemics is a language of space, rooted in sensory perception and "infraculture" –the sub-cultural organization of behaviors drawn mainly from animal behavior studies. From this perspective, Hall asserted that proxemic observations could be divided into three aspects: fixed feature, semi-fixed feature, and informal. Fixed-features include material manifestations such as buildings, boundaries, and city plans as well as internalized perceptions of boundaries. Semi-fixed features include movable objects such as furnishings, and informal space that involves how individuals relate to one another. Hall even charted typical interpersonal distances for modern American populations that at first appeared generalizing and normative. However, his assertions that these informal proxemic frameworks have discursive relationships between fixed and semi-fixed features and are culturally specific are the crux of his argument, and make his framework appealing

to relativist and humanistic social sciences.

> Proxemic patterns play a role in man comparable to display behavior among lower life forms, that is they simultaneously consolidate the group and isolate from others by on the one hand reinforcing intragroup identity and on the other making intergroup communication more difficult (Hall 1969:149).

Hall argued that proxemics is the materiality of space, not simply reflective of social structure but active in the construction of social relations.

Amos Rapoport (1990) refined Hall's three-part classification into fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed features for investigations of "activity systems" in interpretations of human uses of space. In this view, Rapoport saw context as critical for interpreting the meaning and function of human-defined spaces. Rapoport's fixed and semi-fixed features include architecture and furnishings that provide social cues for behavior, which Rapoport and others (Kent 1990) see in cross-cultural studies of architecture as negotiable prompts rather than material determinants. Some archaeologists have appropriated concepts of Hall's proxemics and Rapoport's activity settings into interpretations of domestic sites. Keeler's (1973) investigations of "homelots," his term for the core domestic areas of 17th-century Chesapeake plantations, employs the dynamic relation between space and activity to interpret what he saw as an evolution of organic and functional spaces to more formal yard areas that related directly to the change from a frontier setting to a more settled society by the beginning of the 18th century.

As well as conceiving of the built environment as meaningfully constructed settings containing mnemonic prompts for behavior, another contribution of sociocultural anthropology to the theory of space has been the discussion of boundaries. As Pellow

(1996:1-2) notes, boundaries are general delineations of membership defining inclusion and exclusion. They can be conceptual and physical definitions of space, social groups, and time periods. Boundaries are socially constructed, meaning they are negotiable, permeable, and dynamic. The study of the creation of and response to boundaries can reveal ambiguity, conflict, and change. The analysis of domestic yards of the Tswana, known as “lolwapa,” in modern-day Botswana by Hardie (1996) provides an example of the complex relationship between physical boundaries and their social construction. Lolwapa are defined largely through maintenance of the bounded yard surface and pathways, and can be discerned even where there are no fences or walls. The yards are subjected to ritual and kept clean in order to exert control over a small part of the external world. As Hardie (1996: 210) asserted, “The yard is perhaps viewed as the one piece of the world that the household is able to control and maintain…There is little in the wild world beyond their boundaries that they can control.” Boundaries also define group membership and serve as settings for social activities, as the lolwapa is where non-members are received and entertained but only family members are permitted within the house.

Back to Landscape

Post-processual spatial analysis is most often engaged in the field of landscape archaeology. As noted earlier, there has been some conflation of the terms space and landscape. Pauls (2006) attempts to clarify matters by arguing that landscape research in archaeology examines the interactions between physical environment, social structures, and individual experiences; whereas spatial analysis includes the specific

techniques used to investigate those relationships. The two are not in opposition or mutually exclusive. To put it another way, if landscapes are the object of archaeological enquiry—the literal collection of objects being acted upon—space is the subject. It is the medium through which those actions are applied. The phrase “landscape archaeology” developed in the processual period and was primarily concerned with ecological factors and forces that tied it to; what we now would term environmental archaeology (Patterson 2008). With the more humanistic influence of post-processualism there developed a more social approach to the study of landscape that focused on how humans conceived of, experienced, and manipulated their environments rather than simply adapted to them. Consistent sources for many of these post-processual ideas are French social philosophies that incorporate elements of structuralism and Marxism in their discussion of space as a social product.

Part of the social focus of the larger post-processual movement came from structuralism, an anthropological theory that sought to explain culture as the result of shared ways of thinking known as mental templates or worldviews. The principle advocates of this perspective in American anthropology and folklore were James Deetz and Henry Glassie (Pauls 2006). Glassie’s (1975) study of vernacular architecture in colonial and antebellum Virginia posited that culture was a pattern of thought, a mental template for material expression. The decisions that resulted from these structures manifested themselves in material culture that could be deconstructed and reverse engineered to recover the decisions being made. Deetz’s (1977) concept of the 18th-century Georgian worldview included symmetry, order, discipline, and individualism that diverged from an earlier medieval worldview evident in 17th-century material culture.

That earlier mental template was more organic, communal, and asymmetrical. Given the broad influence of Deetz in American historical archaeology, scholars in the 1980s and 1990s were often engaged in structuralist perspectives. Interpretations of the cityscape of St. Mary's City in Maryland as a Baroque model and development of individual sites as changing social perceptions of the environment (Miller 1988, 1994) are clear examples of landscape as the materialization of social structures.

A modification to the general concepts discussed above was added by Bourdieu's (1990) constructivist structuralism, which posits a dialectic relationship between form and action. The cultural structures that pattern behavior are themselves socially constructed through the practice of everyday actions. Thus, Bourdieu's concept of social space is of a mental structure, an abstract concept of one's social position in the world relative to others, understood through daily behavior, which can then manifest itself in material culture. In a study of Iron Age structures and settlement in northern Europe, Ole Grøn (1991) employs both Hall's (1969) concepts of proxemics with the concept of social space at multiple levels of analysis: within households and between households. Within a household, an individual's position communicates who is more close to whom in the dwelling, and who is dominant based on the preference of certain assigned areas. Between households, dwellings that occupy advantageous geography or are visually dominant tend to be those of leaders, and like intra-dwelling arrangements, physical distance between structures relates directly to the social distance between the members of the households or settlements (Grøn 1991: 106). In each of Grøn's case studies, centrally located and highly visible spaces are prime locations for structures of community importance, leadership, and authority figures.

Marxist perspectives in historical archaeology, as championed by Mark Leone, retained the basic tenet of structuralism that social structures are manifested in material culture and added the idea that the abstract mental template in colonial America shaping landscapes was the ideology of class hierarchy (Pauls 2006). Several Marxian scholars have added specific dimensions to the discussion of landscape and space, including Lefebvre's (1991) concept of social space. Where Bourdieu (1990) discussed the abstract structure of social space as a cognitive framework, Lefebvre focused on a more tangible conception of space in the real world of social interaction. To Lefebvre, space is neither a super-organic entity nor a collection of objects, but a social phenomenon. The construction of relationships between objects and subjects is understandable only through their interaction. Lefebvre discussed three concepts of social space: social practice, which is the unconscious but not unknowing way in which the social relations of our daily lives generate the spaces we live in; representations of space, which are our abstracted conceptions of real or planned spatial relationships such as maps and pictures; and representational spaces, which are those purposefully imbued with symbolism and intended to communicate with viewers. The three are not mutually exclusive types, but rather three approaches that can be applied to consider the social nature of any space. Lefebvre argued that these socially produced spaces are used in capitalism to create and reproduce social relations of productions while simultaneously masking those relations by communicating ideology, and thus act as a political instrument in preventing class struggle.

Edward Soja (1980) refined and defended Lefebrve's assertions, as some Marxist scholars initially critiqued his emphasis on spatial relationships as approaching

“fetishism”: giving too much deterministic weight to any one structure of class relations. Soja proposed a middle ground in which the nature of organized space is neither its own social structure nor a passive reflection of ideology, but itself a dialectically defined component of the relations of production, simultaneously social and spatial, what he terms the “socio-spatial dialectic”. The dialectic aspect of the concept is that space operates as a force of production, both expressing social relations and also reacting back upon them.

Leone (1984; Leone et al. 2010) used the landscapes of elite colonial gardens to argue that these constructions were patterned by the intent of the wealthy to instill the ideology of possessive individualism. The social elite, by merit of their position, had the power to control and shape natural elements and the way they were viewed. Leone argued that these displays were meant to communicate a masking ideology of the inherent and natural place of the elite to control lower economic classes. While not as expressly Marxian, Michel Foucault (1973) similarly saw active creation and manipulation of unequal power relations in the use of space and landscapes, particularly in the creation of surveillance and discipline mechanisms in institutional settings such as prisons, hospitals, and schools.

Marxian theory diverged from earlier processual concepts by viewing landscapes as active forces, able to be manipulated for human intentions rather than containers for environmental circumstances. However, other post-processual theories critiqued both processual and Marxian archaeological concepts of landscape as having a top-down and empirical perspective, suggesting that only one understanding of landscape is correct, and that it is shaped by the elite members of society (De Cunzo and Ernstein

2006). Pauls (2006) argues that strictly Marxian perspectives on landscapes and space tend to be deterministic, leaving no room for other members of society to act or contest elite manipulations of space, and assume the passive reception of a masking ideology by non-elites. Historical archaeologists investigating 19th-century industrial contexts in New England have employed ideas of social control in worker housing through a Marxist lens, though they have been more inclusive of the ways workers reacted to and subverted the attempted hegemony of their managers and the historical formations of class and gender identities (Beaudry 1989; Mrozowski 1991, 2006).

One of the major influences on the critique of Marxist archaeology's interpretations of landscape and space in the last twenty years derives from context-driven and relativist phenomenological perspectives, as voiced by English archaeologists such as Johnson (2006) and Tilley (1994). The English tradition of landscape study also had empirical antecedents in the 19th and 20th centuries, derived from the Romantic school of landscape study that originated with William Wordsworth's literary work (Johnson 2006). Landscape in the Romantic sense was to be appreciated, understood, and celebrated though personal observation, and rejected overly theoretical abstract constructions. However, the atheoretical, and empirical nature of this viewpoint was abandoned, but the emphasis on personal experience was retained. Tilley (1994) argued that experience in and perceptions of a landscape are relativistic, not uniform or abstract. Any one physical area can be manipulated, experienced, and perceived in a variety of ways by multiple participants. These relativist elements of phenomenology are now incorporated in to more political and post-modern theories of landscape. As summarized by Barbara Bender (2001), landscapes can be understood as highly

subjective, actively constructed, dynamic, contested between individuals and/or groups, political, and incorporating social memory.

A key concept adopted by archaeologists in this vein of thinking has been the idea of place: a dynamic and reflexive relationship between sociocultural entities, either individuals or groups, and spaces in which social meaning and identity of the people are located (Groth 1997). This relationship can be considered reflexive as the meaning and identity of the space can be tied to the people that inhabit or use the space, just as the people or group can be defined by their place. According to Casey (2008), place is a fundamental unit of lived experience for humans. Heath (2007) provides an example of this kind of individual place-making at the Poplar Forest plantation retreat of Thomas Jefferson, in which Jefferson materialized the aesthetics and representation of values he personally held as a kind of autobiographical landscape. At the community level, Kealhofer (1999) interprets the dispersed nature of 17th-century settlement in Virginia as a key variable in making specificity of place and control of space important to individual identity while group identity was more dependent on gathering places.

The ascription of meaning both individually and collectively over time involves processes of both remembering and forgetting – a selection of what is to be remembered and how (Shackel 2001). The idea that places and landscapes are dynamic implies that these relationships change over time, raising the issue of cumulative landscapes that encompass multiple sets of meaning over time (Holtorf and Williams 2006), such as the great plantation home of prominent southern families in the US masking past histories of slavery (Sanford 1999; Heath and Lee 2010). Along similar lines, other scholars have focused on the synchronic ways landscapes and places can

be differentially conceived and even contested contemporaneously by multiple groups (Bender 2001). The idea of place is the primary link between the archaeologies of landscape and post-processual interpretations of identity—a key theme in the paradigm.

Space and Landscape in African Diaspora Archaeology

Larger Scales: The Power in Plantation Layout

While the origins of African Diaspora archaeology (see Chapter I) began in a time of historical particularism in historical archaeology, some of the first to explicitly deal with concepts of space and landscape in the context of the enslaved did so at the large scale, dealing with the placement of plantations within regions and slave quarters within plantations. Interpretations of locational characteristics of whole plantations were influenced by the settlement-subsistence studies of the processual movement such as Lewis's (1985) study of plantation layouts in the low country of South Carolina. While Lewis incorporated ecological and social factors and regional history into his interpretations, his definition of landscape was framed as a human adaptation to the environment. Lewis also employed a generalized model for a dispersed settlement pattern within a larger ecological and economical frontier system.

Some of the earliest studies included structuralist interpretations from the realm of architectural history or non-archaeological studies of landscape. Dell Upton (1985) focused more on the structuring experience of plantation landscapes, noting that white owners articulated and perpetuated social hierarchies using processional viewsheds and multi-tiered levels of spatial access. At the same times and places, the enslaved traversed and conceptualized the landscape differently according to their own

experiences and interactions, even appropriating certain spaces. Ginsburg (2010) continues these themes in a consideration of what that unique conception of a “black landscape” meant for runaway slaves, not only in striking out beyond an experienced landscape into unknown spaces, but also in how knowledge of how whites conceived and used landscape could aid in avoiding capture.

Camille Wells (1993) explored how the mindset of plantation owners shaped their representations of landscape in newspaper advertisements for plantations in Virginia. Wells noted how slave quarters were contained within a hierarchy of landscape descriptions following one of two general formats that placed either the planter’s home or its setting at the top of the description and progressively moved down the order of importance through service and agricultural buildings, fields, gardens, orchards, and natural resources. In this way, these texts reflected the planters’ conception of their landscapes. Plantation owners and free white observers often described the small, crude structures of slave quarters and their surrounding yards as dirty and chaotic spaces (Edwards 1993:253). McKee (1992) argued that the consistent complaints and negative connotations of small, and from their point of view, dirty and chaotic slave quarters and yards contributed to the rise of agricultural reform movements in the first half of the 19th century. Efforts to raise structures off the ground, and provide more regular and cleaner-appearing slave housing, suggest the effect of earlier spatial practices fed into ideologies of paternalism and slave inferiority based on race (McKee 1992: 203).

Perhaps the largest group of studies on large-scale landscape archaeology includes investigations of plantation layouts by Marxian-influenced scholars that

emphasize relationships of domination and resistance in the manipulation of surveillance of enslaved African and African American labor forces. Orser (1988) focused squarely on capitalism and a study of historical materialism in his treatment of house-size and settlement clustering changes between antebellum slaves and postbellum black tenants in plantation contexts in South Carolina. The concept of alienation in less paternalistic manifestations of postbellum spaces is seen as evidence for the need to distance workers in the spatial and social relations of production more than their predecessors bound by slavery. Delle (1999) similarly engaged the spatial structure of Jamaican coffee plantations as an active force used by planters to control the dynamic negotiations of power relations between classes. Here, aspects of surveillance and view sheds from key locations, including overseer's houses, are taken not as representations of power but as the active means of control of the slave population. Singleton (2001) provides one of the more extreme cases of spatial domination in a Marxist perspective. Her examination of the Cuban barracon, a cell-like slave-housing compound that used pens and high exterior walls, suggests that the barracon exerted extreme spatial control, through both alienation and surveillance. Leone et al. (2005) provides another example of a plantation-owner, William Paca, building a house and garden that not only functioned as a communication of dominance, but also as a platform for control though surveillance.

In Caribbean contexts specifically, several critiques have challenged the primacy of surveillance in plantation layouts. Higman (1987) analyzed a collection of Jamaican sugar estates in both pre- and post-emancipation contexts using a least-cost model. He argued that movement minimization was the prime factor in locating labor residences in

order to increase efficiency of movement. Bates (2007) utilized GIS modeling of elevations and soil qualities in a similar analysis to Higman's, but argued that neither surveillance nor work efficiency drove the location of slave quarters, but rather that crop and mill works were located to maximize production and supervision of work tasks with less concern for efficiency or observation of slave's travel to and from their quarters.

The concepts of exclusion or alienation within simultaneous contexts of surveillance have also occurred in less Marxian frameworks. Epperson (1999, 2000) interpreted several large Virginia plantation layouts as resulting from the owners' efforts to establish and communicate their place atop social hierarchies, without necessarily attaining complete surveillance or hegemony. Rather, there was a dual effect, a simultaneous inclusion of enslaved structures in the larger plantation spatial constructs, and also a masking of them from more formal viewsheds. Similarly, Brandon and Davidson (2005) argue that the spatial arrangement of Van Winkle's Mill, a 19th-century sawmill complex in Arkansas, functioned similarly to southern plantations. The mill-owner's impressive house and garden were positioned overlooking the only path between industrial work area and domestic sites of slave and later freed workers. This arrangement served as both a means of surveillance and expression of social structure. While these studies are more top-down in orientation, they do challenge a more simplistic interpretation that race and hierarchy are simply reflected in a landscape.

In a study of slavery in the northern United States, Fitts (1996) argued that the landscape of enslavement in the northern colonies featured fewer numbers of slaves per owner, housed in the same dwellings as their owners, which led to a unique strategy of spatial alienation that served to create social distance in spaces of physical proximity.

Northern slaves lived and participated in daily practices such as meals and religious services in the same structures as whites, but were segregated spatially or excluded from view. Northern slaves were literally under the noses of their owners and had little chance for personal appropriations of space. Other studies by Garman (1998) suggest that the conflict-driven domination-resistance paradigm is an oversimplification of such proximate yet segregated spaces of work and life in contexts of northern slavery, which could be more accurately described as "resistant accommodation" where control of time and segregated space involved a series of fluid give and take negotiations. Work by Chan (2003) and Philippi (2016) including slave spaces on 18th- and 19th-century farms in Massachusetts and New York show just that kind of intricate an fluid relationship between the spatial nature of owners' homes and slave work and housing spaces, which were all impacted by changing work relations. Earlier 18th-century work yards around the Royall house in Medford, Massachusetts were paved and made more formal in the later 18th-century, with most work and refuse deposition then centering on the nearby slave quarter (Chan 2003:384). At the Thompson House on Long Island, a shift from enslaved to freed labor was accompanied by a transition from more heavily utilized work spaces immediately behind the house that gave way to a cleaner, more formal space. However, with work and worker housing more spatially separated into outbuildings, the freed African Americans had more autonomy (Phillippi 2016:356-366)

Smaller Scales: Agency and Identity

Scholarship of space at the scale of plantation quarter layout, including the use of space in exterior yards tend to be more involved in questions about how slaves

mitigated the conditions of slavery rather than the more top-down and conflict-driven view of domination and resistance embodied in larger scale landscape studies. While acknowledging the violence and restrictions of bondage, scholars have interpreted the appropriation and shaping of spaces by slaves as an active embodiment of ethnic and gender identities, as well as a medium of asserting some level of resistance in power negotiations (Hauser and Hicks 2007). Pulsipher (1994) considers the nature of house-yard gardens and provisioning grounds in Caribbean contexts and argues that they were not just for sustenance, but also were used by the enslaved as media of personal expression, spaces for the creation of economic resources, and even secretive spaces where measures of ownership and freedom could be exerted.

The arrangement of slave's domestic structures into quarter compounds or villages has been interpreted as reflecting a variety of factors including environmental, economic, and social forces. Higman (1987) has argued that differing arrangements or structures within quarters in the Caribbean largely reflects land availability. Where land was more plentiful slaves would be allowed to place their quarters in loose clusters. In areas where topography severely limited land suitable for either occupation or agriculture, structures were placed in rigid linear arrangements to maximize spatial efficiency. Armstrong (1990:88) was able to show that quarter structure placements could vary between plantations with similar topographic characteristics, and that at Drax Hall earlier linear arrangements were replaced later with informal clusters suggesting that the arrangements related more with different management strategies and levels of slave autonomy. Similarly, Pogue (2002) notes that George Washington took several steps at his Mount Vernon plantation to exert control over the slave population, such as

ordering previously scattered quarter structures to be moved into more rigid quarter lanes opposite overseer houses to improve control and efficiency.

Other studies suggest that quarter structure placements were part of the historical processes of class and race group construction. Neiman's (1986) investigations of the Clifts Plantation in Virginia revealed the historical development of the landscape related to changing social and economic forces. In the late 17th century, the plantation's labor was moved from lodgings in the main house to a separate quarter structure. At the same time, architectural changes reduced access to the interior of the main house, a combination that Neiman relates to changing class relations among whites and a large increase in the proportion of enslaved Africans replacing European indentured servants as laborers. This change is contextualized in historical accounts and interpreted by Epperson (1999, 2001) directly as a spatial definition of boundaries in the social construction or racial groups. Epperson (1999) also finds evidence for this concept in the slave quarters that were masked from view at Gunston Hall in Virginia, which were also arranged in symmetrical alignment with the orientation of the main house complex. This arrangement included them in the owner's representation of control and order over the landscape while simultaneously defining them as racially distinct.

A prominent theme in this scale of landscape studies in archaeology of the African Diaspora has been the house-yard, a space repeatedly asserted as a representing a unique extension of living space in small slave residential structures. Heath and Bennett (2000:44) note that while the analysis and interpretation of yard spaces had become common in historical archaeology in general during the early

1990s, African Diaspora archaeologists came to examine exterior spaces more slowly. An early example includes Randall Moir's (1987) approach to the spaces around the domestic structures in late 19th-century black tenant farm sites in Texas by systematically defining zones based on levels of activity and features such as fences and outbuildings (Table 2). Moir was able to discern a three-part definition of spaces radiating from the house: the inner active yard, outer active yard, and peripheral yard. Each space was defined by the type and density of activities and outbuildings.

Several works studying plantation landscapes in the Caribbean and Virginia in the 1990s began to consider the house-yard concept in the context of slavery. Drawing directly on the findings of Sydney Mintz's (1974) anthropological study of house-yards in the Caribbean, Armstrong (1990) investigated the domestic structures and surrounding yards at Drax Hall in Jamaica as a unified domestic space. Armstrong found spaces that included a variety of individual, family, and community activities including daily chores, food preparation, socializing, and even burials, leading him to the finding that: "[t]he house-yard pattern is typical of many West African societies, an element of continuity with slaves' African heritage" (Armstrong 1990:93). Agorsah (1999) has similarly argued that the maintenance of yard spaces in Jamaican maroon communities is based in African-derived connections between family groupings and site spatial structure.

Table 2: Yard Zones Based on Richland Creek Project Farmsteads Proxemics. Adapted from Moir (1987:231-234).

Yard	Zone	Distance from Dwelling	Features	Notes+
Active	Inner	0-6m	moderate sheet refuse and occasional swept	less intensively "used" and more intensively maintained
	Outer	6-20m	highest artifact frequencies and support structures	most intensively used but less actively cleaned
Peripheral		20m+	major agricultural structures	privies marked bounds of Active Yard

Along with these archaeological findings, ethnographic investigations have found uses of yard space by modern African Americans, manifested in modern materials, but with links both to past African American traditions as well as West Indian and West African practices. Landscape architect Richard Westmacott's (1992) ethnographic study of past and present African American yard uses, organization, and ornamentation found a tradition that was poorly documented in history and archaeology, but that tradition was active in expressing values, aesthetics, and spiritual beliefs. Yard sweeping was common by Westmacott's informants, and is one of the few behaviors he associated directly with African culture. Some of the most informative aspects of Westmacott's study are the perceptions of the yards by their owners, which include values such as the importance of family and community, independence, and nostalgia. However, few thought of their yards as vastly different from those of white Americans, other than being more vernacular.

Grey Gundaker (1993) asserts a creolized genesis of contemporary African American yards in the American south involving European, African, and uniquely American traditions. These include "localization" – the mediation of spiritual power in plantings and bottle trees; communication in signifying certain spaces and objects; and the creation of intermediary living space through activities and maintenance such as sweeping. Specifically, the idea of intermediary living space is drawn as a tradition linking modern rural porches and yards, urban alleys, Caribbean house-yards, and modern West African courtyards.

Studies of enslaved yard spaces in Virginia have picked up on these themes. A key work in translating this growing body of work on yard spaces to historical

archaeologists has been Heath and Bennett's (2000) article that provided a basis for much of the future archaeological works in the American South. Heath and Bennett's synthesis of historical and ethnographic evidence of African and African American yards indicated that the spaces were used in a variety of domestic and socially meaningful activities in a variety of settings. The authors also reviewed methodological and interpretive aspects of archaeological investigations of yards including the importance of plowzone studies and the use of behavioral models of space such as the work of Moir (1987) (Table 2) and Rapoport (1990). Heath and Bennett then applied their approach to yard studies to the Quarter Site at Poplar Forest finding evidence of clean spaces between cabins, outlying middens, and fence lines that defined shared spaces. Heath and Bennett interpreted these aspects as the slave's agency and expression in the mediation of boundaries, appropriations of place, and definition of family and community areas. Further studies at Poplar Forest continued and expanded this focus, including Fischer's (2001) detailed examination of soil chemistry in plowzone contexts at the Quarter Site. The placement of an active yard space that included household and social activities appear to have been located to avoid surveillance by plantation management (Heath 1999a:44; Fischer 2001)

Following Heath and Bennett's (2000) call for more contextualized and methodologically rigorous treatment of yards, other studies have focused on these spaces and found evidence of African American spatial practices with possible West African antecedents. Fesler's (2010) work at the Utopia quarters and Lawrence's (2007) study of the Bridgeway site, both in Virginia, interpret the clean areas in front of slave quarters as swept yards. Both scholars contrast this archaeological signature to either

socioeconomically elite European American planter sites (Upton 1985; Epperson 1999), or earlier 17th-century homelots (Keeler 1973; Stone et al. 1987; Miller 1994). Those more formal and less activity-oriented outdoor spaces do differ from contexts of the enslaved, but the wide gap in temporal and socioeconomic contexts makes the interpretations of sweeping and particular ethnic identity problematic. There is little doubt that yard sweeping is a tradition practiced by African Americans in the southern United States, and that sweeping and maintaining clean spaces occurs in the Caribbean and several West African societies, but the link between specific archaeological signatures and their uniqueness to African Americans in the past is less certain. One promising exception has been the recent comparison of enslaved African American and Native American sites, showing the utility of artifact size data for interpretations of sweeping, though there are indications of similar space maintenance behaviors between the two cultures that problematize the concept of sweeping as a uniquely African American spatiality in the past (Bon-Harper 2010; Bon-Harper and McReynolds 2011).

The concept of the African American house-yard has also been influenced by the theories of household archaeology, briefly described in the previous section as a subset of settlement systems theory in the processual movement. However, in the post-processual paradigm considerations of households moved away from the definition as an abstract unit of production and consumption. Instead they focused on contextual approaches that investigated the variation and social relations within households—investigating what households do in daily practice rather than interpreting them as components of larger adaptive systems (Brandon and Barile 2004). In particular, the

definition of who constitutes a household and how members engage with space through architecture and landscapes has been an interesting question derived from contexts of slavery. Previous definitions focused on the combination of co-residence and cooperation in daily subsistence activities, which in traditional European American concept is conflated with family units. However, in contexts of African American slavery, co-residence is not always synonymous with kin-relations or even cooperation, nor are family units restrained to only one architectural structure or even the same plantation (Anderson 2004).

The application of the household approach to African Diaspora archaeology is implicit in the investigation of house-yards, and explicitly explored in research such as Battle's (2004) analysis of outdoor space among slave quarters at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage plantation in Tennessee. Battle first notes that Jackson clearly organized and attempted to house his slave population based on European American nuclear family units, a model that is also encouraged in 19th-century agricultural journals. Furthermore, archaeologists have tended to divide slave communities according to work roles such as house servants, field workers, and skilled laborers. However, Battle asserts that neither are an appropriate conception of domestic organization. Using the household perspective, Battle bases her definition of slave's domestic organization based on cooperation in necessary daily activities. Archaeological evidence from the Middle Quarter site includes exterior brick pads and cooking areas, as well as hard-packed clean areas between cabins, leading Battle to the interpretation of this outdoor space as a slave-defined place for communal daily activities that bridge individual structures and nuclear families creating a larger quarter-based household:

> …within the sphere of the quarter, social organization likely extended beyond the single family unit to incorporate various members of families into households at different times in order to perform household-related activities. Given the burden of enslavement on their energy and time, enslaved households formed as a strategy to complete much-needed domestic tasks (Battle 2004:40).

Thus, the structures imposed by the plantation owner and the spaces between and among them, while restrictive, were appropriated into multi-family households.

Fesler's (2006, 2010) exploration of the Utopia quarter explores other appropriations of space as agency and even expressions of African cultural identity. The act of yard sweeping, or at least maintenance of cleaner areas among the several structures mentioned above, is interpreted as an act of agency by enslaved residents to utilize their place in uniquely African ways and to depart from the rigid symmetry of slaver-holder defined spaces. Fesler's (2006) interpretation of the arrangement of the quarter structures in an in-ward facing compound suggests that while built in Euro-American styles and materials, the enslaved may have appropriated the living spaces, arrangement, and exterior courtyard in African-influenced ways. Fesler analyzes the artifact assemblages from within the structures to find that certain buildings and areas within buildings appear to have been gender-specific. While the method of equating certain artifacts to gendered activities can be problematic, there appeared to be a hierarchical, gendered, and communal structure to the quarters, which Fesler suggests could represent traditional African understandings of domestic organization superimposed on the owner-imposed architecture of the quarter.

Moving to a slightly smaller scale are those studies of individual structure architecture and the use of space with rooms and features. Studies at this scale share several characteristics with the study of quarter arrangements and yards, and the

entanglement of house-yard and household among African American sites discussed above raises questions about the efficacy of separating internal and external space at such domestic sites. However, the influence of architectural history and structuralism in historical archaeology has produced several influential studies of the nature of slave and free African American dwellings. James Deetz's (1977) investigations of African American sites at Parting Ways in Massachusetts included the comparison of house plans with those found in Yoruba culture in West Africa, Afro-Caribbean housing in Haiti, and the shotgun house style of 19th-century Louisiana to suggest West African cultural influence in the formation of unique African American mindset. The shotgun house itself is regarded as an African American cultural form (Vlach 1986). More recent scholarship has challenged the concept of direct transference of African house forms. Armstrong (1990) argued in his analysis of Drax Hall in Jamaica that the Yoruba was only one of a diverse set of West African cultures, which itself contained a variety of structural forms and traditions. To Armstrong, the African Diaspora generated new and distinct forms of social and spatial organization: "…overall structural patterns of New World slave houses probably reflect a combination of African and European ideas modified in response to local conditions" (Armstrong 1990:11).

Leland Ferguson (1992) took a similar view of slave quarter architecture, expressed specifically in terms of creolization, influenced by Mintz and Price's (1976) linguistic model that frames African American culture as containing African grammars, the unconscious principles of cognition, attitude, and expectation, with European American lexicons, the material mediums of expression. Architecture of 18th-century slave quarters in South Carolina includes mud-wall construction, thatched roofs, and

small room sizes that Ferguson related to African-style housing using North American materials.

The smallest scale of spatial appropriation dealt with by archaeologists has been the interpretation of subfloor pits. Subfloor pits are a type of improvised below-ground storage feature found within the interior of late 17th- to early 19th-century slave quarters predominantly studied the Chesapeake region, though examples have also been recorded in several contexts in Tennessee and Kentucky (McKee 1992; Galle 2004; Heath 2010a). Since their discovery in the late 1960s, subfloor pits have been a topic of debate in regard to their function, rise and fall in usage, and meaning (Hatch 2009:1). However, most scholars agree that in Virginia, these pits are associated with the residences of enslaved African Americans, and served several purposes including the storage of food and personal goods (Heath 2010a). Early interpretations of pits at Kingsmill Plantation by Kelso (1984) focused on their role for storage, and suggested the possibility that the pits may have been hiding places either for contraband goods or items that could be used spiritually. McKee (1992) picked up on the theme of pits as hiding places, suggesting a relation of pits and slaves' efforts to resist or mediate the conditions of slavery.

More focused examinations of the quantity of pits in structures over time (Neiman 1997; Fesler 2004) led to the interpretation that these features were related to the degree of household formation, with the pits functioning as efficient and secure means of storage for either individuals or household groups. The general reduction of the number of pits per structure throughout the 18th century has thus been related to demographic trends. As initial quartering of non-related and non-cooperating individuals

gave way to the formations of kin-based and cooperative households, the need for multiple pits per structure declined. Though generally fewer in number per structure, subfloor pits persist in slave quarters into the 19th century (Heath and Breen 2009:4). Examinations of the morphology and contents of subfloor pits (Franklin 1997; Samford 2007) led to the discernment of several types of pits: hearth-front pits for root-crop storage, and smaller wall-side pits for personal storage. Samford's (2007) analysis of over 150 individual pit features in Virginia supported a morphological classification of function, and included several pits that she interpreted as ancestor shrines via artifact content and ethnographic comparison with Igbo cultural practices from West Africa. Samford asserts a creolization model for these specific pits as appropriations of European American materials and owner-supplied housing used in African-inspired practices.

Synthesis

Where then, does all that previous scholarship lead me? As I noted toward the beginning of this chapter, my approach to this review of theoretical perspectives of space and landscapes serves to explore how the progression of paradigms could be characterized as intersecting trajectories of punctuated progress. Each movement or theme is not a complete revocation of all previous work, but a refinement taking the concepts and methods that work and refocusing higher-level interpretive themes via lessons learned from previous scholarship.

I've never been much of a theoretical flag-waiver, and I draw on concepts from a variety of sources. Certain scholars (Orser 1988) have decried the eclectic use of social

theories in historical archaeology, as opposed to the clear, critical, and goal-oriented outlook of Marxism. I understand Orser's point—have a goal and go for it. However, I echo Knapp and Ashmore's (1999) appreciation of diversity and relativity: there is no one objective way of reading a landscape or appreciating its significance. Likewise, keeping an open mind to potentially useful contributions from a diversity of theoretical perspectives helps form a more comprehensive understanding of the archaeological record, and of the past.

There will be statistics. I have to grapple with sites containing tens of thousands of artifacts and hundreds of individual soil chemistry values. Quantitative analysis provides a firm grounding for lower level observations and middle-range links between the archaeological record, with all its biases and processes, and past human behavior. In my opinion the best interpretation is the one most solidly grounded in evidence, and statistics allow me to assess the strength of that evidence. The attentive reader will also no doubt notice my employment of spatial models, such as those developed from proxemics and activity systems of Hall (1969), Rapoport (1990), and Moir (1987). They are useful middle-range devices for drawing inter-site comparisons and highlighting similarities and difference between groups and time periods, providing a framework for discussing how specific contexts effected people's use of space.

My own application of higher-level explanations of how space works in human cultures has benefited the most from post-processual theories of landscapes as the product of multiple actors in perception, use, and manipulation of spaces. The rejection of top-down and one-dimensional social construction of space is crucial in plantation contexts, where archaeologists have noted that landscapes are more than simply the

reflection of owners' power, but are used, shaped, and conceived in different ways by multiple parties including servants, slaves, and free white employees. This dissertation does contain basic ideas from Marxian-influenced social theory that are useful, such as the very idea of class relations and Soja's (1985) ideas about the inextricable relation of societies and spaces they create, but readers will need to look elsewhere to find an unyielding adherence to the study of hegemony and masking ideologies.

Rather, I seek to understand daily practices of space, more common experiences of landscapes that in my opinion are not duping the occupants of a site into capitalist social structures, but expressing both individual and group agency as well as serving to define group identities within specific historical contexts. Identities are complex personal and social constructions including but not limited to aspects of race, ethnicity, age, gender, and class. In the context of unequal power relations, violently restrictive living and work conditions, and social instability of slavery, space was contested. Class and race identity definitions could be imposed through landscape and spatial definitions, as well as opposed. Gender, age, and ethnic identity groups may also have been asserted in the definition of spaces by the plantation labor forces outside the definitions assumed by management. It is in these ways that Bourdieu's (1990) concept of social space can be materialized on the landscape, making models such as Grøn's (1991) findings of social space materialized in prehistoric Scandinavian village layouts potentially informative for assessing the hierarchical nature of plantation quarters.

Studies of colonial representations of space have used Michel de Certeau's concepts of strategies, the planned and organized structures of power; and tactics, the individual, makeshift attempts to navigate the world in a livable way (Noyes 1991:12).

To me this concept is appropriate to plantation landscapes as well, with spatial strategies of control and subordination from the powerful landowners entangling both enslaved and free workers, who each could employ spatial tactics to both navigate, and at times reject, the strategies imposed upon them. This framework, however, is not the answer to my questions. Theoretical perspectives structure the questions we ask and shape how we explain our findings, but the real goal is to reveal how those strategies and tactics were materialized in the landscape by the actions of individuals, and how those actions affected their lives.

CHAPTER III: HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The following discussion provides a review of the historical development of slavery in Virginia, the roles and lives of overseers, and the particular plantations and people relevant to the sites utilized in the archaeological analysis. The purpose of this kind of context is to frame both larger scale trajectories and smaller scale local circumstances that shaped the landscapes, sites, structures, and features I hope to interpret. I present a targeted discussion of the places, events, and circumstances most germane to the archaeological sites at hand. As a key question in this dissertation is how race was materialized in the landscapes and places of plantation quarters, I begin with the importation of African-born slaves and how their presence came to dominate a labor force previously composed largely of indentured servants from Europe.

Scholars using recent research both in West Africa, and into the documentation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, argue that slaves on American plantations appropriated space and created places influenced by specific African cultural precedents. I combine secondary historical works on the subject with up to date queries of the *Voyages* trans-Atlantic slave trade database (Voyages Database 2013), targeted to reveal as much detail as possible about the importation of Africans to the localities in the Chesapeake that likely supplied slaves to the plantations that contain the archaeological sites included in this research. Historians have also delved into the structure and organization of slavery on plantations, and those sources provide a more general context of the daily life.

While some historical studies of overseers do exist, they are far fewer and more

generalized than those dealing with institution of slavery and life of enslaved African Americans. In order to contextualize the archaeological sites of plantation overseers included in this dissertation, I have included primary historical research on the lives, work, and social interactions of Chesapeake overseers. Finally, a combination of original primary research and secondary sources provide histories of plantations, overseers, and enslaved people related to the specific archaeological sites analyzed in this dissertation.

Slavery in Virginia

Despite the importation of African slaves to Virginia just 12 years after the landing at Jamestown, Alan Kulikoff (1986) has argued that in the 73 years of colonization in the Chesapeake before 1680, Virginia society was not yet fully racialized, and was instead more egalitarian and fluid. This is in contrast to the post-1680 "long 18th century," which Kulikoff and others (Carr and Walsh 1988; Berlin 2003) characterize as the Chesapeake's golden age of plantation slavery, patriarchy, and an increasingly hierarchical class structure. Berlin (2003) would characterize this as Virginia's transformation from a society with slaves to a slave society.

This turning point has been argued to revolve around several late 17th-century events including Bacon's Rebellion of 1676, changing cash crop prices, and decreased English emigration to the colonies; all of which led to the transition from an indentured servant-dominated to an enslaved African-dominated labor force (Morgan 1975; Menard 1977; Bean and Thomas 1979). However, more recent scholarship has argued that while significant changes in the structure of labor and importation of slaves did occur in

the Chesapeake in the late 1670s, Virginia's wealthy planters were not simply impacted by larger events, but were actively pursuing the importation of slaves, and that class and race hierarchies were already in place (Wood 1997; Parent 2003; Hatfield 2007; Coombs 2011). The great plantations of 18th and early 19th centuries where the sites of this dissertation were excavated were the result of the earlier transition to slavery of the late 17th-century in Virginia.

Origins

The first Africans known to have arrived in Virginia landed in Jamestown in 1619 aboard a Dutch privateer. Although they were purchased at the time, their status as either slaves or indentured servants is unclear (Sweig 1982:2; Coombs 2011:332). Africans named in early documents are clearly listed differently than white servants. Though English colonists knew and even sought enslaved Africans from the Caribbean, the clear legal bounds of race-based slavery in the first decades of Virginia had yet to be defined. Africans were present in early Virginia, some free, some indentured, and perhaps most enslaved. Their numbers were few in proportion to the larger population and many were transported through the Caribbean as opposed to directly shipped from Africa (Hatfield 2007:137-140). Importations of African slaves to Virginia, and the rest of the British colonies in North America, throughout much of the remaining century remained remarkably low compared to the Caribbean (Morgan 1975). Indentured servants, mainly English emigrants paying off the cost of their transportation to the colonies, initially filled the great demand for labor in the booming tobacco economy of the Chesapeake (Kolchin 1993:8-9).

Initially, the transportation of bound servants from England was undertaken at the expense of the Virginia Company, under several short-lived arrangements of working directly for the company. After 1620, the Virginia Company began transporting servants whose terms of service were sold to existing private planters in Virginia (Galenson 1984:4-6). By 1624 the Virginia Company was defunct, though the practice of transporting people to be sold to planters as indentured servants transferred readily to private merchants. The headright system, under which those that paid for the transportation of servants to Virginia were granted 50 acres of land per individual, further rewarded merchants and planters that treated servants as tradable commodities (Morgan 1977:129). These servants, typically bound for four to seven years, comprised the vast majority of agricultural labor in Virginia through the second and third quarter of the 17th century (Hatfield 2007:139). African slaves during the early to mid-17th century made up only a small percentage of bound labor in the colony, numbering perhaps between 2,000 and 3,000 individuals by the 1670s (Coombs 2011:33). However, by 1690, enslaved Africans constituted nearly 50 percent of agricultural labor in Virginia, and by the early 18th century dominated the labor force (Menard 1977:362).

The adoption of slavery helped increase the hierarchical nature of society in 18th-century Virginia, as a few wealthy families were able to create inheritable estates that gave their children serious advantages over the rest of the population. However, the explanations as to exactly why slavery replaced indentured servitude in the Chesapeake have evolved over time. In the 1970s, economic and demographic studies emphasized the reduction of available indentured servants due to a stabilizing labor market in England at the time. These explanations highlighted the contrast between the

Chesapeake and the Caribbean, where large labor forces of African slaves developed earlier and more quickly in the 17th century (Cope 1973; Morgan 1975; Menard 1977; Bean and Thomas 1979; Galenson 1984). Some studies characterized the change as simple mathematics; giving little agency to the planters who were simply reacting to supposed economic advantages of slavery over indentured servitude during a period of stagnation in tobacco prices (Morgan 1977:295-317; Kulikoff 1986:23-34).

Recent scholarship has refined the narrative of Virginia's transition to slavery. Scholars have begun to place more intent for the purchase of African slaves with plantation owners and focus more on the aspect of race. These studies note that Chesapeake elites were attempting to conserve and consolidate their wealth and power through legal restrictions on both indentured servants and slaves before larger trans-Atlantic shipments became available (Wood 1997:68-93; Parent 2003). Thus, the transition was not purely a reaction to economic or demographic circumstances. Once the availability of slave shipments rapidly increased in the 1690s, colonial planters purposefully took full advantage of the opportunity. A focus on the eventual racialized nature of the transition to slavery includes historical discussions of European cultural and ideological paradigms that allowed for some groups to be considered as viable targets of slavery, but not others. Despite deep nationalistic and denominational religious differences between Europeans during the last five centuries, Eltis (2000:57-85) argued that they still had a continent-wide conception of Christian, western Europeans as cultural "insiders," and therefore not eligible for the treatment that could be given to "outsiders" from Africa in the early modern period. Furthermore, even the earliest Chesapeake colonists would have had very successful and influential examples

of African slavery from Spanish and Portuguese colonial enterprises, as well as English plantations in the Caribbean that provided early connections to the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Hatfield 2007).

Collaborative scholarship on surviving shipping records has led to an online database entitled *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (Voyages Database 2013) that has enabled far more detailed examination of temporal and sub-regional variation in the importation of slaves to the Chesapeake (Walsh 2001; Coombs 2011). Specifically, Coombs's (2011) study further challenged the traditional history of Virginia's reluctance make the switch to slavery until demography or economic circumstances forced a reaction to the decline in white servitude or a cost-benefit decision. Coombs presented a four-stage chronology of slave adoption in Virginia. First, from 1635 to 1650 a high proportion of Virginia office-holders began acquiring at least a few slaves, though the few elite Councilors of State already had workforces that were mostly African. Then from 1650 to the late 1670s, the rise of inter-colonial slave trading and direct deliveries from Africa facilitated slave ownership throughout the county-level office-holders, but still not among the majority of non-elite planters. A third period from the late 1670s to the end of the 17th century saw the first large all-slave labor forces and the extension of slave owning to a sizable number of non-elite planters, especially in the sweet-scented tobacco growing and provisioning regions. The final phase began in 1698 with the end of the Royal African Company monopoly and included the spread of slave-dominated labor forces to the mass of non-elite planters, though Oronoco growing regions lagged behind other portions of Virginia in this final development, and did not fully reach comparable levels until the 1730s (Coombs 2011).

Overall, most recent scholarship has acknowledged that Chesapeake planters were not passive objects in the conversion from indentured servitude to slavery. A complex combination of historical, social, and economic circumstances likely collided with planters' very active efforts to consolidate their wealth and power. When slaves were available in Virginia, they were purchased over indentured servants. The most elite and wealthy did so first, as they were positioned with the means and connections to do so. They clearly imbued their slaves with legal and social distinctions from European servants that formed the basis of the social constructs of race; even before Africans slaves came to dominate the labor force.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

Trans-Atlantic shipments of slaves to Virginia occurred only sporadically in the second half of the 17th century. The frequency of voyages and numbers of slaves disembarked in Virginia began increasing in the 1670s, growing dramatically in the first decade of the 18th century to reach a height in the number of individuals disembarked in the 1730s (Figure 2). As previously discussed, Coombs (2011) showed that the wealthiest and most power office-holders in Virginia were the first to purchase large numbers of African slaves, many from the West Indies, as early as the 1630s and 1640s. The first increase in trans-Atlantic slave shipments coincided roughly with the first expansion of slave owning into the ranks of non-elite planters in the late 1670s, particularly in the region between the James and Rappahannock Rivers where sweet-scented tobacco was grown in Virginia. The regions growing Oronoco tobacco, such as the Northern Neck in Virginia, did not achieve slave-dominated labor forces by non-elite

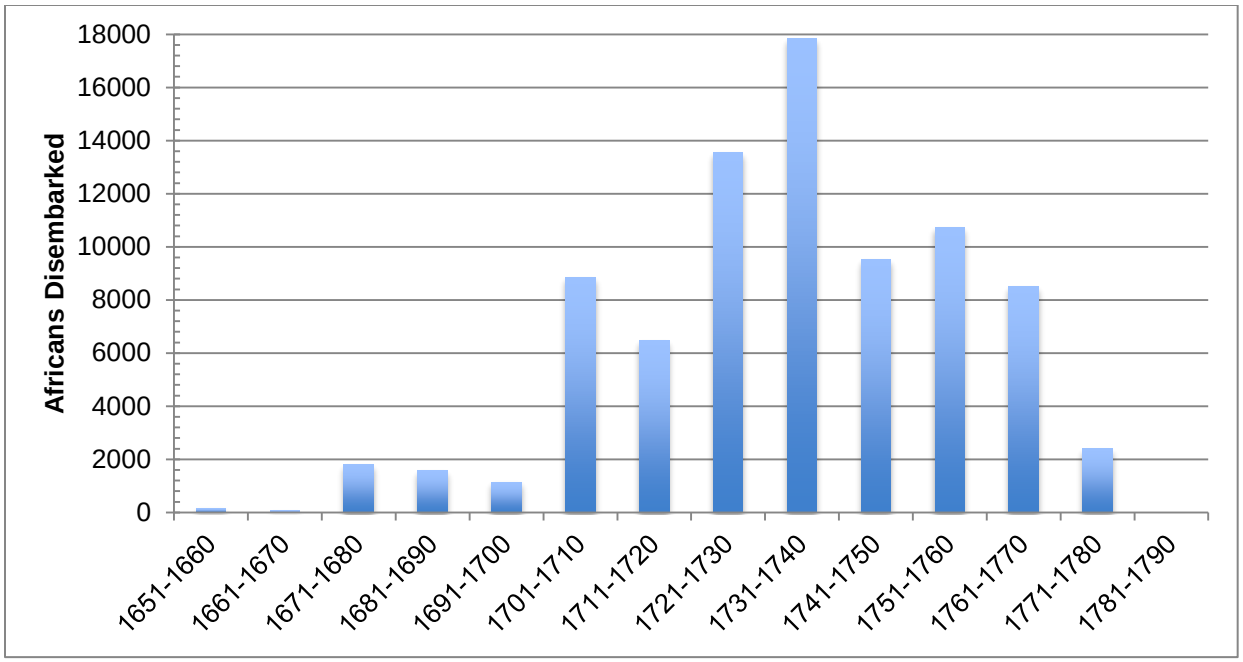


Figure 2: African Slaves Disembarked in Virginia, 1651-1790. Data from Voyages Database (2013).

planters until the height of trans-Atlantic importation in the 1730s.

The crop-based regional nature of the trans-Atlantic trade to Virginia referenced by Coombs (2011) was elaborated a decade earlier by Walsh (2001). Her analysis of the then incipient *Voyages* database was a seminal study of smaller-scale regional import trends, arguing that trading relationships between England, Africa, and the American colonies facilitated varying degrees of regional importation patterns. Studies through much of the 20th century had assumed that nature of the trans-Atlantic trade was a highly random and mixed dispersal of Africans from a variety of ethnic and political identities across numerous colonies, which prevented specific African cultural transfers or ethnic influences in America (Park 1919; Frazier 1948; Mintz and Price 1976). Historians in the 1990s working from Atlantic and Annales perspectives, such as Thornton (1992) and Hall (1992) began to argue that the trans-Atlantic trade as a whole did have patterning that would have concentrated individuals from certain regions and

ethno-linguistic groupings in various regions of the New World.

Morgan (1997) noted that several historians have found that only one or two groups came to dominate areas such as the Bambara from Senegambia in Louisiana (Hall 1992). Morgan (1997), using slave trading records complied by the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University, which would become the basis of the future *Voyages* database, summarized the preliminary findings. Some areas of the New World had slaves imported almost entirely from a single region of Africa, as was the case where slaves from the Bight of Benin dominated the Bahia region and those from West-Central Africa dominated the South-Central region of Brazil. Other areas had somewhat more mixture, with mainland North America supposedly having no one primary African supply region. Morgan (1997:128) proposed some important questions from the preliminary reassessment of the slave trade. Was it best to take a truly broad perspective or focus on particular locations? What is meant by regional or ethnic identity in terms of the origins of African slaves?

In the same edited volume, Chambers (1997) argues that aspects of ethnic or even national identity survived the Middle Passage. Specifically Igbo peoples from the Bight of Biafra were imported in large numbers to the Chesapeake and Caribbean, where a process of cultural bricolage occurred based on shared language that created a foundation of African American practices. Morgan (1997:138-139) countered that this kind of dominance of a particular group in a North American context is overstated, noting that at several times throughout the 18th century, slaves from other regions outnumbered those from the Bight of Biafra in the Chesapeake, and that heterogeneity and cultural syncretism played a larger role in places like the Chesapeake. The possible

revision of previously accepted lack of, transference, dominance, or syncretic genesis of African-based cultural practices to various New World locations based on statistics on slave importation and origin remained a complex and debated topic in the 1990s.

Gomez (1998) produced one of the studies to deal most thoroughly with the aspect of regional patterning of the slave trade in North American and its consequences from a standpoint of ethnicity and culture. His principal thesis is that across North America, African American communities transformed in a variety of ways from identities originally based on numerous African origins to a syncretic composite identity based on shared experience and the imposed concept of race. Gomez not only explored the social, economic, political, and spiritual aspects of cultures within each African region, but also evaluated how the concept of identities and ethnicities existed within each prior to enslavement. For example, within Sierra Leone Gomez (1998:89-99) noted a major division between Mande speakers and non-Mande speakers, though each includes numerous groups such as the Mende, Jallonke, Loko, Kono, Temne, Bulom, Sherbro, Gola, and so on. These classifications were variously adhered to, and primary social organization and identity likely rested in the kuwui, or village compound of several related extended family households. However, the various groups also shared many social and spiritual practices such as secretive gender-based social societies and the crucial importance of land as the medium between the living world, ancestors, and the creator. Gomez also uses colonial and antebellum newspaper advertisements and Works Progress Administration (WPA) interviews of former slaves to provide examples of events and practices in North American contexts of slavery potentially linked with African ethnic heritages.

Gomez's (1998) treatment of North American regional differences was broad, characterizing the Chesapeake as whole versus the Lowcountry, the coastal regions of Georgia and the Carolinas, or Louisiana, finding one or two principal African regional origins of trans-Atlantic slaves in each. For the Chesapeake, Gomez, like Chambers (1997), emphasized the relatively large proportion of enslaved individuals shipped from the Bight of Biafra, which both scholars asserted principally were people for the Igbo and Ibibio ethnicities. Gomez (1998:125) noted that the Igbo actually contained numerous smaller-scale polities and the larger ethnic group, while known, was not the principal basis of social identity for Igbo Africans. However, one of the principal points of Gomez's entire work is that there was sufficient cultural similarity among slaves taken from larger ethnic groups for the enslaved to communicate and understand each other's perspectives, even if they had been from politically and/or socially distinct village-groups. It is this broader bond of similar worldviews and the ability to experience and react to slavery in similar ways that translated African regional identities to African American identity in North America.

Walsh (2001) focused on temporal and sub-regional variation within the Chesapeake, where dispersed settlement pattern and lack of primacy in the larger trans-Atlantic slave trade had led others to suggest a very heterogeneous mix of African regional sources of slaves. She (2001:144) challenged the notion that many Chesapeake slaves, at least by the 18th century, were transshipped through the Caribbean, finding that shipping records suggest only seven percent of slaves disembarked in the Chesapeake did not originate in Africa from 1698 to 1774. Furthermore, she found that there was less mixing of African regional origins within sub-

regions of the Chesapeake such as sweet-scented tobacco growing areas centered on the James and York Rivers, Oronoco-growing areas including the Northern Neck, and peripheral areas such as the Eastern Shore that grew some tobacco but also produced a variety of “provisioning” goods such as naval timber, cider, livestock, and grain. The connection was not between what was produced and regions in Africa, but between which English merchants shipped those products and provided the slaves to the sub-region.

The marginal provisioning areas of the Lower James River and Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland were more active in intercolonial trade and may have had the most diverse set of African regions and largest proportion of West Indian slaves. Oronoco tobacco growing regions of northern Virginia had the most connections to Liverpool merchants that purchased Africans mainly from Senegambia. London merchants largely supplied Maryland Oronoco regions with slaves from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast. Sweet-scented tobacco-growing regions on the Middle and York-James peninsulas were the point of entry of the vast majority of African slaves into Virginia and the location of the most wealthy and powerful planters. Merchant connections to Bristol, and particularly London, in the York River drainage led to a large contribution of the slaves from the Bight of Biafra (Walsh 2001). Walsh addressed Morgan’s (1997) note that a primary advantage of the newly compiled shipping data would be the ability to assess shipping at a particularly small-scale, in this case down the river-based Naval districts of the Chesapeake and their English merchant suppliers.

Since Walsh’s (2001) work, the W.E.B. Du Bois Institutes compilation of the slave

trade data has grown and been published as an CD-ROM database in 1999 featuring information on over 27,000 individual slaving voyages. Ongoing research and development led to the creation of an online database in 2008 with over 34,000 voyages, and subsequent additions, revisions, and new variables added in 2010 and 2016. The current 2016 dataset of 35,398 trans-Atlantic slaving voyages that occurred from 1514 to 1866 features 278 possible variables including information on the ship, crew, voyage itinerary, numbers of slaves, mortality, demographic information, and outcomes of voyages. This database was queried for all voyages disembarking slaves at any port in Virginia and Maryland that could likely have supplied the sites used in the this study.

Specifically for the Oval site at Stratford Hall Plantation on the Northern Neck and Accotink Quarter at McCarty's Plantation in Fairfax County, the Potomac River likely served as the main conduit for African slave imports. Importantly, Sweig (1982; 1985) has shown that the relatively few numbers of the ships known to disembark slaves on the Virginia side of the Potomac from South Potomac Naval Office shipping lists can be misleading due to lost records and unrecorded shipping. His (1982) dissertation research identified only nine ships with just over 1,000 slaves entering the South Potomac from 1727 to 1769. By 1985 (Sweig 1985), scholars had identified 29 vessels from both Africa and the Caribbean that likely disembarked just under 2,000 slaves on the Potomac. By 2001, Walsh's research included 49 ships arriving in the Potomac from 22 trans-Atlantic and 27 inter-colonial voyages carrying just over 2,000 slaves. Historians had traditionally focused on the large volumes of slaves imported in the York, James, and Rappahannock Naval Districts, but imports from these areas likely do not

explain a rapid increase of the enslaved population in northern Virginia and southern Maryland from 1730 to 1770. Sweig (1985) found that lower import duties were imposed on slaves imported directly and were therefore less expensive for northern Virginia planters. There are some records of planters such as George Washington and George Mason purchasing slaves in Maryland for use on their Virginia plantations in the 1750s. Therefore, ships recorded as landing on either bank of the Potomac are included in the data presented in this study.

Table 3 shows that the known trans-Atlantic shipments of Africans to the various portions of Virginia remain similar to Walsh's (2001) findings from earlier versions of the *Voyages* database. The timing of variations in the shipment of trans-Atlantic slaves to Virginia is also important, and the earlier slaves of a plantation, what Chambers (2001) would call the charter generation, are supposed to have a greater impact on the nature of the resultant community. These data suggest that northern Virginia planters such as the Lees and McCartys likely had higher proportions of Senegambians in their earlier slave populations than planters purchasing slaves from the Upper James and York rivers such as the Madisons and Jeffersons, the owners of the plantations for the Stable Quarter and Wingo's Quarter, respectively. The Madisons likely purchased slaves from the York River in the mid-century, and more were likely to have originated from the Bight of Biafra. Thomas Jefferson inherited slaves from his father and father-in-law, both likely centered on the Upper James River trade at mid-century, with prominent inclusions of individuals from the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa.

While the overall numbers are low, as the known shipping in any given regions almost certainly represents a sample of the slaves imported, the patterning is distinct.

Table 3: Trans-Atlantic Slaves Disembarked in Selected Virginia Drainages, 1700-1779. Data from *Voyages* (2016).

Period	Region of Origin	Potomac River (North & South)		Rappahannock River		Upper James River		York River	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1700-1719	Bight of Benin	-	-	-	-	-	-	243	3.8
	Bight of Biafra	21	20.0	201	22.2	-	-	2,280	35.5
	Gold Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-	536	8.3
	Senegambia	-	-	513	56.6	-	-	-	-
	Sierra Leone	-	-	-	-	42	87.5	84	1.3
	SE Africa/Indian Ocean	-	-	-	-	-	-	340	5.3
	West Central Africa	-	-	-	-	-	-	92	3.7
	Africa, unspecified	84	80.0	193	21.2	6	12.5	2,702	42.1
	SUBTOTAL	105		*907*		*48*		*6,423*	
1720-1739	Bight of Benin	-	-	-	-	380	19.6	-	-
	Bight of Biafra	-	-	989	19.6	201	10.4	6,169	36.6
	Gold Coast	-	-	374	7.4	-	-	1,245	7.3
	Senegambia	695	47.8	646	12.8	550	28.4	790	4.7
	Sierra Leone	-	-	-	-	-	-	53	0.3
	SE Africa/Indian Ocean	-	-	466	9.2	-	-	425	2.5
	West Central	220	15.1	273	5.4	180	9.3	3,129	18.4
	Windward Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-	439	2.6
	Africa, unspecified	540	37.1	2,295	45.5	625	32.3	4,726	27.8
	SUBTOTAL	*1,455*		*5,043*		*1,936*		*16,976*	
1740-1759	Bight of Biafra	414	37.5	197	9.4	3,827	58.0	3,170	44.7
	Gold Coast	350	31.7	-	-	-	-	486	6.9
	Senegambia	158	14.3	905	43.0	278	4.2	419	5.9
	West Central	-	-	337	16.0	1,140	17.3	943	13.3
	Africa, unspecified	183	16.6	664	31.6	1,355	20.5	2,072	29.2
	SUBTOTAL	*1,105*		*2,103*		*6,600*		*7,090*	
1760-1779	Bight of Benin	-	-	180	7.6	361	5.0	-	-
	Bight of Biafra	-	-	128	5.4	974	13.5	-	-
	Gold Coast	-	-	271	11.5	796	11.0	-	-
	Senegambia	288	50.0	443	18.7	714	9.9	37	14.8
	Sierra Leone	-	-	605	25.6	677	9.4	-	-
	West Central	-	-	122	5.2	2,043	28.3	-	-
	Windward Coast	-	-	473	20.0	758	10.5	149	59.6
	Africa, unspecified	288	50.0	173	7.3	908	12.6	64	25.6
	SUBTOTAL	*576*		*2,395*		*7,231*		*250*	

The current *Voyages* database includes 25 trans-Atlantic slaving voyages that made landings on either the North or South Potomac, 65 voyages to the Rappahannock, 161 to the York, and 71 to the Upper James River (Table 4). Slavers shipping to the Potomac were most commonly from Liverpool, while both Liverpool and Bristol merchants served the nearby Rappahannock. The York and Upper James River slavers included a majority of Bristol-based ships, with secondary prominence of London merchants on the York and Liverpool merchants on the Upper James. North American colonial ships, many from New England, were involved in the trans-Atlantic trade to the Chesapeake, though in much smaller numbers than ships based in English ports. The patterns were temporally sensitive, as London-based ships had early prominence on the York up to 1720 before giving way to more Bristol-based shipping. Bristol ships dominated the Upper James in the 1740s, with Liverpool ships gradually gaining about a quarter of that market by the 1760s. On the Rappahannock, Bristol ships also had an early prominence through the 1730s, after which Liverpool-based shipping gained dominance by about 1760. Liverpool shipping was dominant throughout the middle portion of the 18th-century trade on the Potomac, when the vast majority of slaves were imported (*Voyages* 2016).

The average trans-Atlantic slave shipment to the North and South Potomac included approximately 129 individuals disembarked out of an original 171 embarked for a mortality rate of 14.7 percent. Slavers arriving on the Rappahannock were slightly larger, on average disembarking approximately 156 individuals per ship with a mortality rate of 18.5 percent. The average slaver on the Upper James disembarked approximately 197 individuals and had a mortality rate of 16.9 percent. Ships on the

Table 4: Trans-Atlantic Slaving Voyages to Virginia By Ports of Origin, 1698-1773. Data from *Voyages* (2016).

Destination/ Point of Origin	Voyages		Slaves Disembarked	
	No.	%	No.	%
Potomac				
Bristol	3	12.0	584	18.0
Liverpool	15	60.0	1,888	58.3
London	4	16.0	480	14.8
Scotland	2	8.0	218	6.7
Virginia	1	4.0	71	2.2
Total	*25*		*3,241*	
Rappahannock				
Bristol	23	34.3	4,259	41.9
Liverpool	31	46.3	4,460	43.9
London	7	10.4	1,101	10.8
Pennsylvania	1	1.5	80	0.8
Rhode Island	2	3.0	140	1.4
Whitehaven	1	1.5	114	1.1
Total	*65*		*10,154*	
York				
Bristol	101	62.0	19,271	66.1
Liverpool	16	9.8	2,135	7.3
London	41	25.2	7,449	25.2
New England	1	0.6	200	0.7
Rhode Island	1	0.6	64	0.2
Virginia	1	0.6	53	0.2
Total	*161*		*29,172*	
Upper James				
Boston	3	4.2	189	1.2
Bristol	38	52.8	10,562	67.9
Connecticut	1	1.4	81	0.5
Lancaster	1	1.4	70	0.4
Liverpool	18	25.0	3,254	20.9
London	6	8.3	947	6.1
Rhode Island	2	2.8	138	0.9
Scotland	1	1.4	202	1.3
Virginia	1	1.4	120	0.8
Total	*71*		*15,563*	
GRAND TOTAL	**322**		**58,130**	

York River disembarked an average of about 189 individuals from voyages with an average mortality rate of 20.2 percent.

Like Chambers (1997) and Gomez (1998), Walsh (2001) also began to assess the originating cultures and ethnicities of slaves imported to the Chesapeake. In the Upper Chesapeake, a larger proportion of slaves came from the more northerly portions of West Africa such as Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast, and Gold Coast (Figure 3). Senegambia was an ethnically diverse region, but with broad social and cultural similarities based on the shared history of the former Mali Empire, which left several well-defined state-level polities that included numerous urban centers. The area also shared the Mande language, and the influence of native-speaking Muslim merchants and trans-Saharan trade networks to North Africa (Gomez 1998:38-47; DeCorse 2001b; McIntosh 2001; Walsh 2001:158). Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast similarly included multiple polities and ethnicities, but featured more rural, rice-focused agricultural populations. More northern and western populations included Mande-speakers, but numerous Kwa-speaking groups inhabited the coastal areas south of Cape Mount. Like Senegambia, substantial numbers of Muslims lived in the area (largely north of Cape Mount), and warfare between Muslim and non-Muslim populations in the interior drove captives into the slave trade during the 18th century (Rodney 1970; Gomez 1998:88-91; Walsh 2001:158).

The region known as the Gold Coast included the area that is Ghana today, which was more culturally and linguistically homogenous than those to the west and north. These included the Akan peoples such as the coastal Fante and the Asante polity, a large, well organized nation state that engaged in large-scale expansion in the

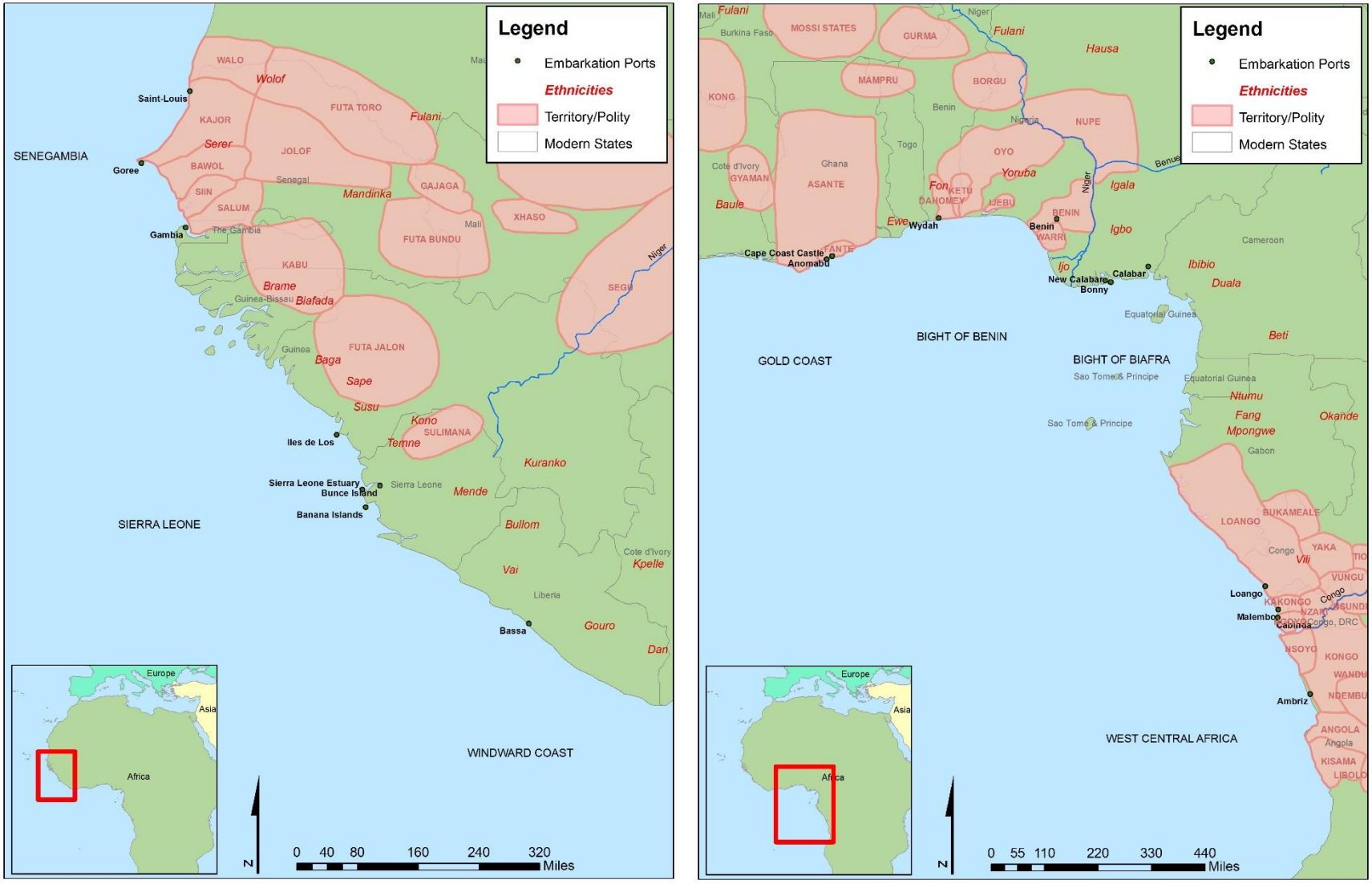


Figure 3: African Places and Groups in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade to Virginia. Adapted from Eltis and Richardson (2010).

18th century. While the early colonial gold trade gave the region its moniker, most people in the region were root-crop agriculturalists (Thornton 1992; Gomez 1998:105-110; DeCorse 2001a:19-20; Walsh 2001:158).

Most prevalently imported to the lower Chesapeake and interior Piedmont of Virginia, Africans from the Bight of Biafra were largely Igbo. Unlike the more centralized Akan states of the Gold Coast or numerous ethnically diverse polities of Sierra Leone, the Igbo represent a relatively homogenous cultural group speaking similar dialects of Kwa, occupying a rather large region without a centralized political structure. Most Igbo lived in rural villages and practiced root-crop agriculture. Similar to the values of the Akan, land was not only a valuable and often lineage-owned resource, but played a central role in the spiritual beliefs and practices of the Igbo (Gomez 1998:124-128; Walsh 2001:159-160; Chambers 2005). Groups from West Central Africa, principally Bantu-speakers from Congo and Angola such as the BaKongo, were also most heavily imported in to the lower Chesapeake. While many ethnicities, polities, and agricultural foci were present in this broad region, both Gomez (1998:144-145) and Walsh (2001:160) suggest that commonalities including language, the importance of water, and religious practices united those taken into the trade. It is largely the spiritual practices and worldview of the Igbo and BaKongo that have been cited as precedents for archaeological findings of potential African cultural continuities and influences in the Chesapeake (Samford 1996, 2007; Leone and Fry 1999; Fennell 2003, 2007; Fesler 2006, 2010; Leone et al. 2014).

Plantations and Labor

Enslaved Africans, once landed in Virginia, and country-born African American slaves found themselves bound in agricultural labor. Many lived and toiled on small farms, singly or in small groups, often working alongside the white farmer, his family, and possibly hired white laborers. Those small farms and plantations, generally consisting of 10 or fewer slaves, likely represented the experience of a majority of enslaved Africans and African Americans prior to the mid-18th century (Shammas 1985:13). In Tidewater Virginia, the slave population appears to have concentrated increasingly into large plantations and nearly half of the enslaved lived on larger plantations of 20 or more slaves (Menard 1975; Kulikoff 1978, 1986:398-409). Piedmont areas of Virginia were principally settled in the second and third quarters of the 18th century, and many of the newly arrived slaves to Virginia in the latter half of the century wound up on newly established Piedmont plantations, which included a higher proportion of somewhat smaller middling plantations of 11 to 20 slaves (Morgan and Nichols 1989).

The sites analyzed in this dissertation are all part of such larger plantations, and in fact include some of the largest plantations in their local areas. Even those slaves on smaller outlying quarters such as Accotink and Wingo's were part of much larger communities of the McCarty and Poplar Forest plantations. Orser (1990:5) established a five-part definition of slave plantations that include: "…a landholding deemed large within its region, social relations of power between labor and management, specialized agricultural production geared toward off plantation sale, a settlement pattern that reflects centralized control, and a relatively large input of cultivating power." From this

definition, Orser emphasized the internal relations of master and slave as a particularly cogent aspect of the proper archaeological definition of the plantation, as he asserted that other scholars placed too strong an emphasis on the external, commercial nature of plantations. I would point out that colonial Virginia plantations had inextricable historical connections between the importation of African slaves, their labor to produce tobacco, and profit of plantation owners via the export of tobacco, often on the same British ships that imported the slaves. These connections suggest that Orser's Marxist emphasis on the internal relations of production and the external commercial factors of a plantation are themselves part of a larger whole.

Heath (2012a:20) offers a less technical definition that is more inclusive and descriptive:

> Plantations are complex economic enterprises that interweave commercial and noncommercial agricultural and industrial production with the creation and maintenance of internal transportation, storage, and processing systems and the management of human and natural resources. Historically in Virginia, they have also served as centers of labor for diverse groups of enslaved African Americans and European American indentured servants and places of work and leisure for owners. Racial boundaries were invented, defined, codified, maintained, and broken in the day-to-day interactions among plantation residents.

From Orser's definition, scale and layout are perhaps the important factors that would discriminate between a plantation and a smaller farm. Heath's definition emphasizes the complex integration of agriculture and scale that resulted in the creation of plantations that resembled small communities including roads, mills, storage facilities, stores, docks, and concentrated populations in an otherwise rural and decentralized landscape, which played a central role in the negotiation of race. Smaller farms certainly entangled African and African American slaves with European Americans in close proximity on a

daily basis, but the sheer scale and central role of large plantations in their local communities resulted in the materialization of labor and social organization that would come to structure race and class relations of the region. The spatial materialization of those social structures on large plantations makes them particularly relevant to this dissertation.

On Chesapeake tobacco plantations, labor was typically organized into small gangs, though it was less regimented and extreme than the larger-scale gang style of labor used in sugar producing areas such as the Caribbean islands and Brazil, which was characterized by groups of slaves performing work *en masse* under close supervision and at a set pace. Still, close supervision over small groups working together at one job was best for products such as tobacco that required careful attention to detail in maintenance of the plant, and also made slave performance directly observable in that slaves either kept pace with the gang or fell behind. This organization scheme is often contrasted to the task system that characterized slave labor for rice, coffee, and certain varieties of cotton commonly grown in the southeatern Lowcountry and West Indies. Each slave was given a quota of production to accomplish for a day or set parcel of land to cultivate. Slaves could work more at their own pace, and were able to engage in their own pursuits once their daily quota was met. These two systems were less distinct in practice than in definition and the styles could be mixed, with small groups assigned to tasks, or gangs given certain quotas for a variety of jobs (Morgan 1988:189-220).

Tobacco is a temperamental plant, and its production required careful attention to detail and scheduling. Seeding took place in small, specially prepared seedbeds during

the winter, typically between the end of December and early February. Fields were prepared in February and March to receive the transplanted seedlings in the spring, usually in April. Transplanting was long, tedious, and labor intensive work that required both the full workforce of the plantation and good fortune in sufficient rainfall to support the transplanted young plants. Summer months were filled with careful weeding, topping, and suckering, which were maintenance tasks to ensure healthy plants and encourage quality leaf production. The cutting of ripened plants began in September and could run through October, and the tobacco was then hung and cured in barns. Cured tobacco leaves were then removed from their stalks and stemmed, and the final stage of the process involved prizing leaves into tightly compacted hogsheads in the early winter months of November and December, during which the seeding of the next crop would have already begun. Keen judgment and experience was critical in the decision-making that initiated each step of process, and included determinations of plant maturity, ripeness, how long to dry, and whether the crop was fully cured (Breen 1985:42-25; Morgan 1998:166-170).

Between tobacco, the cultivation of corn—which provided sustenance for the plantation's labor force—and laboring in skilled craft production, domestic service, livestock management, landscape management, and other general work, slaves were busy throughout much of the year, and several historical accounts note that work lasted from dawn until dusk (Morgan 1998:191-192). Both men and women worked as field laborers, though Morgan (1998:196) asserted that throughout the 18th century male slaves were more often assigned to plowing or skilled crafts. This gendered division of labor lead to a higher proportion of female field hands in Virginia by the end of the

century. Children, both boys and girls, entered the fields as young as nine or ten years of age.

Later 18th-century developments in Virginia agriculture included diversification to mixed grain production. Agricultural diversification was a response to the declining value of tobacco, and though prices had a boom and bust nature prior to 1750, a more steady decline in the second half of the century lead to an increase in the intensity of more diverse agriculture with tools such as carts and plows, and the addition of grains to tobacco. By the time of the American Revolution, the agricultural production in Virginia had changed from largely trans-Atlantic export to a focus on local and regional markets including a greater inclusion of mixed grains and livestock production (Walsh 1989; Sanford 1996; Tilson 2010). Diversification only increased the gendered division of labor among slaves, with men engaged in a more diverse array of skilled and semi-skilled work, and women in domestic work and unskilled fieldwork (Carr and Walsh 1988; Walsh 2010). Through the antebellum period, large plantations and farms hired out slaves for general labor or skilled work such as factory production, construction, and transportation works. Slaves themselves also increased as a commodity as the decline of coastal staple crops was followed by the boom of cotton production in the deep South, and many Virginia slave communities were moved west, broken up, and sold "down the river" (Schermerhorn 2011).

Family and Domestic Life

Domestic life among the enslaved of Virginia was likely quite unstable in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, as uneven sex ratios and the initial periods of seasoning

and language acquisitions presented obstacles to the formation of families (Menard 1975; Kulikoff 1978). Menard used demographic data to assert that in Maryland during the 1720s and 1730s, the slave population, especially native-born, had begun to grow naturally via reproduction suggesting some measure of family formation. Kulikoff (1978) argued that family formation among native-born slaves on larger plantations grew significantly only after 1750 with the decline of trans-Atlantic arrivals after the mid-18th century. Lee's (1986) work in southern Maryland suggests that the less concentrated slave population there would have had difficulty maintaining community and family ties through the end of the 18th century.

Studies attempting to trace group history by plantation, including both archaeological and historical research, have come to similar conclusions. Walsh (1997) attempted to trace the enslaved community of the Carter family, and related Bacons and Burwells, from importation in the late 17th century through the end of the 18th century. She found early disruption due to importation and transferal via will and entail, with the most thorough family formation as well as participation in a local neighborhood economy among native-born slaves in the third quarter of the 18th century. Similarly, Fesler (2004) found that over the course of the 18th century, slave housing size decreased, as did the number of subfloor pits, together suggesting the growth of cooperative households from initial groups of non-related co-residents. In tracking the history of slaves associated with the Utopia Quarter, Fesler's analyses found that by the second quarter of the 18th century, structures that housed family-based households and non-kin co-residents were present in the same quarter. This was a time when a mix of native-born African Americans co-existed with relatively high numbers of more recently

imported African slaves. By the third quarter of the 18th century, the final temporal period of the Utopia Quarter site, a duplex and two smaller structures appeared to house only family-sized households (Fesler 2004:410-412). For both studies, the American Revolution brought dissolution of the slave community as planters moved their holdings west.

The Piedmont region of Virginia became a focus of settlement and agriculture in the second quarter of the 18th century. Walsh (2001:160) suggested Africans imported after 1740, largely by Liverpool-based merchants, may have been increasingly diverse in both their ports of origins and numerous points of disembarkation in the Chesapeake. As a result, those people who found themselves assigned to Piedmont quarters lived in a more culturally heterogeneous slave community. However, Morgan and Nichols (1989) suggested that initially unequal sex ratios quickly balanced due to planters sending more females west for field labor and retaining semi-skilled male slaves for more diversified tasks. Chambers (2005:98) found that specific to the York River where the Madisons obtained their slaves for their Piedmont holdings, including what would become Montpelier, the transitions from groups of newly imported slaves to more stable communities and families followed by dissolution and sale also occurred, but several decades later than Fesler (2004) and Walsh (1997) found in the Tidewater.

Historical and archaeological research indicates that slaves were housed in a variety of types of structures, including both non-kin co-residential barracks and typically smaller family-based structures, as alluded to above. A variety of earthfast architectural forms were employed including clapboard walls affixed to posts set in to the ground, with wattle and daub chimneys that were typical early manifestations in the

Chesapeake. Later improvements included wood frame quarters on ground-laid sills or small brick footings or piers. Corner-notched log cabins laid directly on the ground or on small blocks, combined with masonry or wood and clay chimneys, were used in Virginia through the later portion of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Considerable variation in the quality and size of slave housing occurred even on the largest plantations, from sparsely furnished cabins to brick duplexes with glazed windows. Slaves were also sometimes less formally housed in lofts and other spare spaces of outbuildings (Upton 1985; McKee 1992; Vlach 1993; Wells 1993; Samford 1996; Morgan 1998:108-109; Pogue 2002; Sanford and Pogue 2009; Heath 2010a, 2012c).

Heath and Bennett (2000:41-42) summarized historical accounts of the spaces and yards around houses in the American South and note that travelers often recorded that small gardens were typically kept close to slave quarters. Former slaves remembered yard areas as places for gardening, socializing, play, cooking, raising small livestock such as fowl, and undertaking chores including laundering. Historical accounts from travelers in 18th and 19th-century Africa mention similar uses and activities of outdoor spaces within the multi-structure compounds that were common among several groups in Senegambia and the Bight of Biafra (Posnansky 1999; Fesler 2010), and Heath and Bennett (2000:39) note the continuity between these activities and the uses of yards in contexts of slavery in the Caribbean and American South.

These larger historical trends will be useful in considering the site-specific histories of slave importation and populations at the several plantations analyzed in this research. Those specific histories are elaborated in the later section of this chapter. Further evidence from historical and ethnographic sources of particular relevance to the

archaeological findings of quarter layout, slave housing, and uses of space are discussed in Chapter VI.

Overseers

B. W. Higman (2005:32-33) has noted that the term and role of overseer was prevalent across plantation colonies in the Atlantic World, occupying a mid-level supervisory function between a landowner and the enslaved labor population. Unlike plantation owners, overseers produced very little documentary evidence by their own hand. Those few researchers who have focused their efforts directly on the study of overseers have noted the scarcity of scholarly attention to these men, especially in comparison to the voluminous body of literature on plantation owners and slaves. When overseers are discussed, many authors have presented a rather uniform and somewhat static portrayal of a “man in the middle” trapped between the two opposing forces of master and slave (Trinkley et al. 2005:25; Wiethoff 2006a:xiii-xv).

While there have been several studies utilizing plantation records, personal correspondence, legal cases, slave narratives and census data; they have focused on refuting historical stereotypes and have discussed the daily living conditions, social standing, and the public conceptions of overseers. These studies have been overwhelmingly focused on the 19th century and even where scholars have noted general differences in overseers between staple-crop regions, few have explored those differences in any depth. In the following review of secondary histories and primary source research, I present both a historiography of the few overseer studies that have occurred and a more targeted history of overseers in Virginia. This discussion includes

original research revealing subtle distinctions in the roles and social value of overseers between broad regions in the New World and emphasizes their places in plantation hierarchies, their skills, and their interactions with other social groups.

The origin of the plantation overseer in Virginia is loosely attributed to the English system of employing bailiffs to manage labor on large estates, a practice transferred to the New World by the Virginia Company (Scarborough 1966:3). The position appears to have been well formed and widespread by the end of 17th century, as noted by the accounts of the French Huguenot Durand of Dauphiné while traveling in Virginia in 1686:

> …there is no house so ill provided which has not an overseer, as they call him, who usually is an indenture man recently enfranchised. To him they give (say) two servants in charge. The overseer feeds, directs and himself works with, these servants. He receives a third of the tobacco and grain or whatever else they put in the ground, and so the master has nothing to do except take his share of the crop…There is a law of the country that if a servant rebels…against his overseer he is condemned to serve two years more. It follows that no one who has served his indenture will continue in service, whatever wage you offer him, for he can readily find employment as an overseer and gain all he wants (Harrison 1924:98-99).

Durand wrote his account as a pamphlet encouraging other French Huguenots to settle in the colonies, so his more subjective points should be taken with a grain of salt. Yet from this account it would appear that overseer was a role reserved for those who were no longer indentured and that they had authority over both African slaves and European indentured servants. The timing of the account also aligns to the very period in Virginia when the mass importation of enslaved Africans was beginning to increase exponentially. Galenson (1984:10) similarly notes that in this period, from roughly the 1680s to the 1720s in Virginia, a truly racial division of labor was beginning to develop where African slaves were coming to dominate less-skilled agricultural work and white

indentures and employees were increasingly engaged in more skilled crafts and services including management and supervision. Origins of the position outside the Chesapeake are less clear, though Trinkley et al. (2005:23-26) note that in South Carolina, overseers were mandated by law as early as a 1712 for any quarter of more than five slaves housed over six miles from their owner's residence.

The responsibilities of overseers included maintaining the welfare and discipline of slaves, caring for livestock and equipment, assigning tasks, supervising daily work, preventing uprisings, catching derelicts and runaways, and participating in patrols (Scarborough 1966:68; Wiethoff 2006a). In addition to these activities, overseers were also responsible for maintaining plantation records and accounts, despite the often-cited stereotype that overseers were largely illiterate (Scarborough 1966:71). The number of enslaved individuals managed by a single overseer could vary from about 10 to 30 depending on the region and crop, though overseers sometimes delegated tasks to younger sub-overseers serving an apprentice-like role, as well as enslaved black foremen and drivers (Scarborough 1966:13,17). Wiethoff (2006b) has recently argued that slave foremen were often overseers in all but title, sometimes managing plantation operations without direct supervision of whites. Thomas Jefferson's slave Great George supervised over fifty other slaves at Monticello at the end of the 18th century (Monticello Plantation Database 2008; Gordon-Reed and Onuf 2016:62). Nace Hubbard was a headman at Poplar Forest in the early 19th century (Betts 1999:465-467). James Madison's slave Sawney served as an overseer at Montpelier in the 1780s (Chambers 2005:155-156).

The terms of employment and compensation for overseers were rather

temporary and low paying, despite having a multitude of responsibilities that included the care of the most valuable plantation assets (Bonner 1945:1; Scarborough 1966:6; Trinkley et al. 2005:42; Wiethoff 2006a:80). Scarborough (1966:4) asserts that 18th- and 19th-century overseers differed little in their roles in plantation management, though specific aspects such as their compensation did gradually change between colonial-period crop shares towards antebellum wage salaries. Most contracts were yearly and there was a high rate of turnover among overseers. Planters seemed to accept such turnover as a matter of course: "[overseers] all seem to wear out after awhile and to require changing" (W. Bolling quoted in Wiethoff 2006a: 80), Landon Carter of Virginia similarly stated: "[overseers] tire as cornfields do" (Greene 1965:302).

Overseers were not generally provisioned with food or clothing, though plantation owners almost always provided some form of housing for their overseers (Scarborough 1966:20,36; Otto 1975:15). Overseers were held personally responsible for failures in crop production as well as for the misbehavior of enslaved laborers, who could become very adept at taking advantage of this tension (Wiethoff 2006a). Planters and overseers were often in conflict over the degree of authority the overseer commanded and the mismanagement of plantation affairs (Scarborough 1966:79; Biddix 2005:56). Some planters in 18th-century Virginia held their overseers in open contempt: "…Landon Carter described overseers as lazy, negligent, and ignorant, and repeatedly denounced them as villains, rascals, drunkards, liars, and fools … Joseph Ball described his overseers as 'a parcel of slubbering sons of bitches…'" (Tillson 2010:67). Thomas Jefferson referred to colonial overseers as the: "…last and lowest, a feculum of beings called overseers, the most abject degraded and unprincipled race…" (Martin 1994:xlix).

It is largely from such opinions of their employers that overseers have since been stereotyped as a rough, uneducated, cruel, and transient class (Scarborough 1966:xi; Trinkley et al. 2005:25; Wiethoff 2006a: xiii).

Historical Perceptions of Overseers

Early 20th-century works addressing overseers framed their discussions around the functional roles of overseers and their relationships with plantation owners. Bassett's (1925) transcription of letters between President Polk and his 19th-century overseers in Mississippi is detailed in its description of duties and contractual terms of overseers, but has subsequently been heavily critiqued as racist in its characterization of African Americans as savages as well as for stereotyping overseers as a uniform class of uneducated poor whites (Trinkley et al. 2005:23; Wiethoff 2006a:xiv). Other less controversial works also examined specific cases, such as Bonner's (1945) history of one particularly vocal 19th-century overseer, Garland Harmon of Georgia, whose writings were instrumental in agricultural reform movements and southern nationalism preceding the American Civil War. However, Bonner singled out Harmon as a particularly well educated, vocal, and active exception to a more typical illiterate, itinerant, and silent overseer class, which further perpetuated existing stereotypes.

Scarborough's (1966) seminal work countered traditional stereotypes through his comprehensive examination of overseer demography, statuses, and roles in plantation systems across the entire antebellum South. He also took on the concept of a uniform and lowly overseer class stereotype through his findings that well over half of antebellum overseers were literate, married, and owned at least some personal

property. While others have gone on to examine specific topics and tease out revisions to Scarborough's conclusions, his volume remains the authoritative source on overseers as it attempts to deconstruct stereotypical conceptions as well as deal with the social implications of overseer duties and circumstances within a plantation context. His characterizations have become a standard overseer archetype that subsequent authors have attempted to minimally amend with studies of overseers' roles in owner paternalism as well as their liminal, multifaceted, and often-contradictory public identities.

Scarborough's work was almost exclusively based on late antebellum primary sources and was used to argue that the primary and relatively static function and value of an overseer across time and region was the care and supervision of slaves. In addition to this function was account keeping, care of livestock and tools, providing security, and even participating in patrols. Only after and in addition to those critical responsibilities, was planting to be considered and Scarborough (1966:68-72) cites instructions that agricultural production should not take precedence over an overseer's care and control of the slave population. Scarborough asserts that plantation overseers differed little in their roles in plantation management over time, but notes that one of the few diachronic changes between the colonial and antebellum periods was in the form of compensation from crop shares in earlier contexts towards the preference for wage salaries in later contexts.

Subsequently, Wiethoff (2006a:xv) has correctly pointed out that a consistent theme in scholarship has been to document planter-overseer or overseer-slave conflict. Scarborough (1966:45) originally described the liminal aspect of the lives of overseers

as existing in a social vacuum where they and their families were not welcome in the society of either planters or slaves, and were often prohibited from traveling off the plantation or entertaining outside guests. This social isolation has been a central theme in several subsequent studies (Morgan 1995; Baird 1999). Several broad studies of slavery in North America have employed a generic overseer construct, static across both time and region; even those that meticulously construct de-homogenizing arguments about variation in slavery between staple-crop regions in the American South still discuss the social position of overseers as an inter-regional commonality (Kolchin 1993; Morgan 1998).

Other studies stress that paternalistic efforts by owners towards their slaves undermined the authority of overseers and placed them at odds with the slaves they managed, and that planters could use the overseer's role as taskmaster and reputation for cruelty as a kind of scapegoat identity against which to juxtapose their own fatherly image (Clark 1966; Mullin 1974; Lockridge 1987; Biddix 2005). More recently, Baird (2006) has generally rebutted this argument, claiming that in several Virginia piedmont cases an overseer's primary value to planters was not the implementation of paternalism at a distance, or to serve as a scapegoat for slave resistance, but rather for profit maximization. The discussion of overseers' value as the antithesis to slave-owner paternalism is tangential to a larger debate, mainly driven by scholars of the antebellum Deep South over whether planter behavior was driven more by capitalist motivations or efforts to generate paternalist ideologies, and in the colonial era the degree to which the development of plantation societies were engaged in mainly profit-driven or more communal patron-client relationships (Daniels 1996:205-207).

Other recent exceptions to the impotent "man-in-the-middle" portrait of overseers include Steffen's (1997) study of 19th-century agricultural reform movements, which portrays overseers as active in progressive agricultural movements and southern economic independence efforts that included specialized schooling and professional associations. Wiethoff's (2006a) treatment of the multifaceted identity of overseers is based on the diversity of perceived identities for overseers that could be conceived by various sectors of society. From a slave's perspective of a cruel taskmaster, scoundrel, and a rival who competed with slaves for resources and even the position of overseer itself, to the professional identities of overseers as constructed by planters as a subaltern or an economically successful manager-colleague, to the public ethos of overseers as spies and warriors, Wiethoff's work is one of the first to seriously and comprehensively deconstruct a homogenous overseer archetype. However, his work still remains overwhelmingly founded on 19th-century sources, and is firmly concentrated on the construction of overseer identity while still portraying a fairly uniform set of tasks and responsibilities.

Overseers in the Chesapeake

The roles of overseers were driven by the profit orientation of plantation owners adapting to different requirements of regional staple-crop production. These factors produced unique and context-specific sets of human capital in the roles of overseers across diverse areas of the New World. Specifically in the 18th-century Chesapeake, tobacco produced wealth as a trade commodity, and the value of that commodity was governed largely by quality (Breen 1985). The emphasis on the quality of tobacco, and

the manner in which profits were increased through the dispersion of small workforces, were essential forces shaping a distinct notion of Chesapeake overseers. Drawing on an examination of newspaper advertisements for and by overseers, planter and plantation employee diaries, and overseer contracts, I contend that overseers in the 18th-century Chesapeake were sought and hired according to the structure and scheduling of tobacco planting and the slave-labor organizations that were utilized for tobacco. This specificity is contrasted with data from the 18th-century Lowcountry, and northern advertisements largely from Pennsylvania. This contrast highlights the connection between Chesapeake overseers and the tobacco economy.

Newspaper advertisements for overseers published in the 18th century make up a key element of primary source material of this research. While the newspaper industry in England took shape in the early 17th century, colonial American papers were largely an 18th-century phenomenon. Prior to 1730, only three papers ran successfully, two in Boston and one in Philadelphia. Growth began slowly in the 1730s, with 12 papers in circulation by the end of the decade. True expansion occurred during the public discourse leading up to the American Revolution, with less than 20 papers of the 1760s growing to at least 40 by 1775 (Copeland 1997). Advertisements were an essential part of colonial papers. Revenues from them were the chief sources of profit, as limited circulation meant that subscriptions alone barely covered printing costs (Brigham 1950:27-36). Articles in early papers contained more international stories than local news, and researchers have used advertisements to gain insight on regionally specific economic and social trends (Bradley 1988).

In addition to basic frequency and timing of these advertisements, the planters'

descriptions of the job frequently contained information including crop type, requested qualifications, responsibilities to be performed, and the personal qualities desired in their applicants. Less frequent are mentions of pay, preferred marital status, or the number of slaves to be overseen. Advertisements dating after 1790 were excluded from the sample analyzed here, as the nature of plantation labor and economy changed markedly following the American Revolution due to agricultural diversification in the Chesapeake, the expansion of cotton as a staple crop, and westward expansion into the Lower and Mountain South regions (Walsh 1989; Schermerhorn 2011). The resulting database of 77 advertisements by planters seeking overseers and 23 advertisements by overseers seeking positions (Appendix A, Table A.1) comes from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Philadelphia, the *Maryland Journal* of Baltimore, the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, and both the *Georgia Gazette* and *Royal Georgia Gazette* of Savannah (Accessible Archives 2016; America's Historical Newspapers 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; Colonial Williamsburg Digital Library 2016). For comparative purposes, South Carolina overseer advertisements were drawn from the existing dataset compiled for the colony in Trinkley et al. (2005).

My own use of overseer advertisements seeks to highlight subtle distinctions in the qualities, roles, and terms of overseers between staple-crop regions, and commodity export data for the 18th-century colonies demonstrates the shaping role of staple-crops in the formulation of unique Atlantic contexts. From 1768 to 1772, the average annual value of tobacco exports from the Chesapeake constituted approximately 72 percent of the total value of all exports from the region, almost all of which was destined for Great Britain. Grains constituted the second-most valued export,

but only made up about 19 percent of the total annual average and were exported mainly to southern Europe and the Caribbean islands. Products including iron, wood, and livestock made up between two and three percent of the total annual value for exports (Figure 4). Over the course of the 18th century in Virginia, grains—and in particular wheat—played an increasingly important role. In 1733 grain exports constituted only 6 percent of the value of exports, but by 1773 had increased to about 25 percent; though tobacco still constituted the majority of commodity value exported from the colony (McCusker and Menard 1985:130,132). Chesapeake plantations were generally smaller, more dispersed, and more outwardly connected to the Atlantic economy through the tobacco trade that facilitated direct export from plantations without the need for towns and large ports as economic hubs (Grim 1977; McCusker and Menard 1985:131-137; Morgan 1998:33-57).

In the Lowcountry colonies of Georgia and the Carolinas, rice was the principal

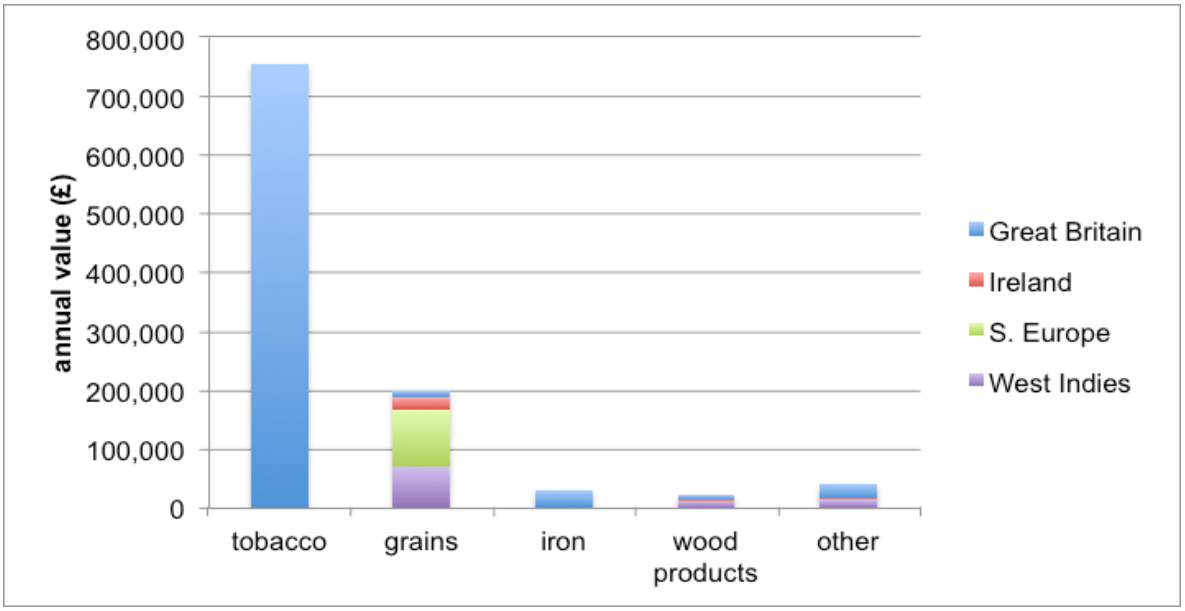


Figure 4: Chesapeake Export Values by Destination, 1768-1772. Source: McCusker and Menard (1985).

export at just over 55 percent of annual value from 1768 to 1772. Though Great Britain was the leading export destination, southern Europe and the West Indies were also destinations of rice. Indigo was the Lower South's secondary export, comprising about 20 percent of the total annual value of commodities (Figure 5). Lowcountry plantations were generally larger, more insular, and less dispersed than their Chesapeake counterparts due in part to a high degree of absentee ownership and the concentrated export of rice through port towns such as Charleston and Savannah (McCusker and Menard 1985:170-181; Morgan 1998:33-57).

The profit orientation of large-scale Chesapeake tobacco planters revolved around exporting their tobacco harvest on consignment, and Chesapeake planters were bound by the needs and rhythms of tobacco (Breen 1985; Kulikoff 1986). Growth in the tobacco-dominated economy of the Chesapeake was limited in form. Both tobacco for export and corn for subsistence placed heavy requirements on soils, necessitating

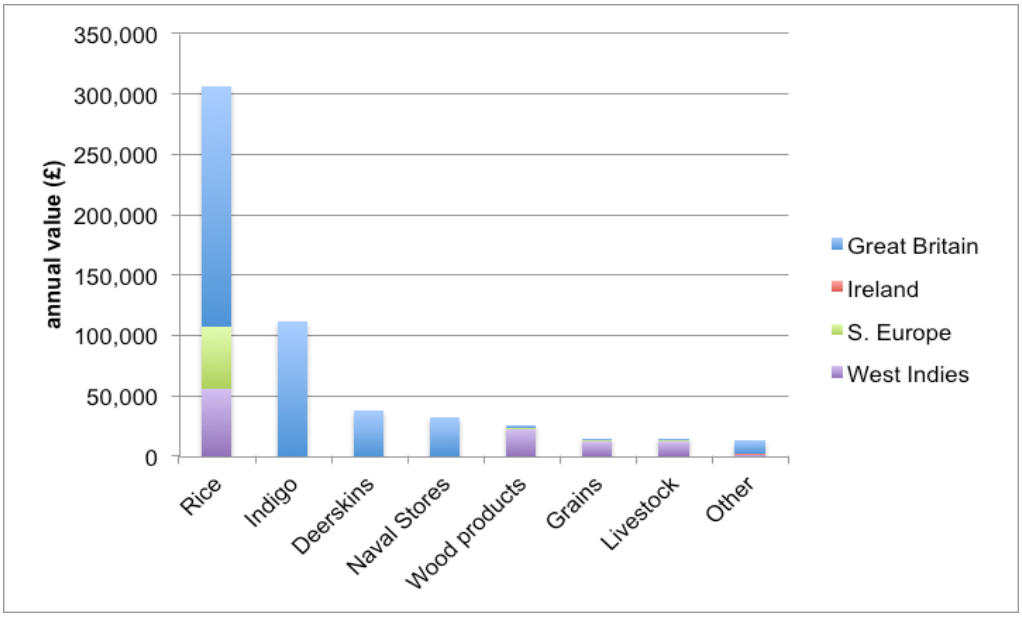


Figure 5: Lowcountry Export Values by Destination, 1768-1772. Source: McCusker and Menard (1985:172).

extended fallow periods on the order of decades. For every servant or slave, large amounts of land were required in this system leading to a highly dispersed settlement pattern and little return for attempts to increase profit through labor concentration. Therefore, the dominant means for increasing profit through tobacco cultivation was the establishment of separate areas of a plantation, known as quarters, usually under the direction of an overseer (Breen 1985:41; Shammas 1985:14; Kulikoff 1986:47-49; Carr and Menard 1989:411-412; Berlin 1998:118). Estimates of numbers and size of slave-holdings necessary to facilitate the use of overseers on outlying quarters limits their probable distribution to the upper 10 percent of the wealthiest plantations (Lee 1986).

The number of slaves owned by a planter that would necessitate an overseer appears to have been around 15 to 20, and likely restricted overseer hiring to the elite members of Chesapeake society. Walsh (1997:86-87) suggests that a typical number of working-age hands for an overseer's gang in Virginia would be between 8 and 15. Robert "Councilor" Carter's quarters at Nomini Hall had about 20 slaves per overseer in 1776 (Morton 1941:92). The number of enslaved Africans and later African Americans that lived and worked under an overseer in Virginia likely increased throughout the 18th century. Plantations with more than 10 slaves were relatively rare in the first third of the 18th century, though the slave population in Virginia became more concentrated over time. By the 1770s, nearly 50 percent of slaves resided on plantations large enough to have overseers.

The establishment of secondary quarters occurred at scales that ranged from simple divisions of a contiguous estate to far-flung outlying quarters across numerous counties. Robert "King" Carter was arguably at the pinnacle of early 18th-century Virginia

tobacco production, profit, and accumulation of wealth. At the time of his death in 1732, he had amassed an enormous fortune in land holdings and owned over 700 slaves. However, in the 1733 probate inventory of his estate, only 37 slaves and 17 indentured servants were enumerated on his home plantation of Corotoman. The other 95 percent of his slaves, mainly agricultural field hands, were dispersed on 47 quarters in 9 northern Virginia counties, each under the direction of one of 43 separate overseers (Table 5). Each quarter had an average of 15 slaves, and functioned as an independent farm with its own structures, implements, and large numbers of livestock (Berkeley 2015). The ability of planters to employ and distribute overseers across separate and sometimes widely dispersed quarters in the 18th-century Chesapeake facilitated profit-oriented growth, and was shaped by the tobacco-driven nature of the economy.

As noted in the preceding section, the tobacco cycle began in late fall and winter with the preparation of seedbeds. In contrast, rice planting in the Lowcountry colonies had its own seasonality and the cycle began several months later than tobacco, with land clearance in the later winter months of January and February. As opposed to tobacco in which April and May were the most arduous months, rice field work was most intensive in mid-summer, and involved an additional and demanding processing step in winter grinding (Berlin 1998:146-147; Morgan 1998:149-153). Secondary crops not only supported planters economically in each region, but were also structured around staple-crop schedules. Fast-growing indigo cycles began in April and ended in October, and low-maintenance winter wheat in the Chesapeake was planted after the tobacco cutting in autumn and reaped in mid-summer after tobacco transplanting (Berlin 1998:171; Morgan 1998:160-162).

Table 5: Overseers Enumerated in Robert "King" Carter's 1733 Inventory. From Berkeley (2015).

Overseer	Quarter	County	Slaves	Inden-tures	Live-stock	Tools	Pans/pots /hooks	Pestle/grind stone	Gun/ sword	Furni-ture
Henry Bell	Pewmonds End	Caroline	26	0	142	7	3	3	0	0
Murphey Brand	Brents	Westmoreland	23	0	105	0	2	2	0	0
Jeremiah Bryan	Forrest	Westmoreland	12	1	67	2	1	2	0	0
John Buckles	Corotoman	Lancaster	19	0	120	2	2	2	0	0
George Byrd	Pantico	Westmoreland	22	0	52	3	2	2	0	4
Charles Campbell	Bridge	Richmond	9	0	79	2	2	2	0	4
Peter Carter	Changlins	Lancaster	26	0	116	2	3	2	0	0
John Cary	Totuskey	Richmond	10	0	87	2	2	1	1	0
John Cole	Richland	King George	13	0	126	5	3	2	2	0
George Connolly	Old House	Lancaster	31	0	222	7	2	1	0	2
William Crane	Hinson's	Richmond	12	0	50	2	2	0	0	4
Ezericum Crowder	Gibsons	Lancaster	6	0	51	0	3	2	0	4
Thomas Crowder	Jones	Northumberland	17	0	170	5	2	1	1	2
Thomas Curtis	Coles Point	Westmoreland	13	0	98	3	1	2	1	0
Thomas Curtis	The Narrows	Westmoreland	10	0	13	0	1	0	0	0
Timothy Dargan	Lodge	Prince William	10	0	98	8	2	2	1	0
William Dryas	Gumfreilds	Richmond	21	0	77	3	3	2	0	0
William Dryas	Old Quarter	Richmond	18	0	115	3	4	2	0	1
Thomas Falkner	Brick House	Lancaster	20	0	154	3	1	2	0	0
William Galloway	Fork	Richmond	16	0	92	0	0	0	0	0
Robert Hews	Fieldings	Northumberland	6	0	83	3	2	2	0	4
John Hust	Hamstead	Stafford	16	0	1	2	2	1	0	0
William Johnson	Mount	Spotsylvania	22	1	139	6	4	2	0	0
Charles Jones	Hills	Lancaster	15	0	183	4	2	2	2	0
Henry Lawson	Head of River	Westmoreland	19	0	88	0	0	0	0	0
John Leathead	Indian Town	Lancaster	24	0	114	4	2	1	0	4
John McGrigor	Poplar Neck	Lancaster	6	0	87	2	2	1	0	4
John Ordra	Medcalf's	Westmoreland	5	0	100	2	2	1	0	4
Roger Oxford	Norman's Ford	Spotsylvania	14	1	184	10	3	1	1	0
James Peters	Hinson's	Stafford	16	1	80	2	4	2	1	4
Alexander Pour	Office	Lancaster	7	0	69	3	2	1	0	1
Simon Sallard	Brick House	Richmond	7	0	26	1	0	1	0	0
James Seben	Park	Stafford	24	0	96	15	2	1	2	2
John Sibly	Hickory Thicket	Richmond	25	0	92	2	2	2	0	3
Fortuns Snydor	Frying Pan	Prince William	7	1	114	0	4	1	0	5
Dennis Sullivan	Old Plantation	Northumberland	8	0	179	4	2	1	0	0
William Threakill	Poplar	Stafford	14	2	59	10	2	2	4	3
William Triplett	Falls	King George	24	2	41	8	5	1	2	1
John Walker	Dick's	Westmoreland	23	0	62	2	3	2	0	0
John Webb	Mirattico	Lancaster	8	0	89	3	2	1	0	0
Thomas West	Blough Point	Northumberland	19	0	217	3	2	1	0	0
James Whaley	Moon's Plantation	Westmoreland	2	0	23	0	1	1	0	0
James Whaley	Old Ordinary	Westmoreland	15	0	177	3	3	2	0	1
William White	Range	Prince William	4	0	49	0	0	0	0	0
John Wilcox	Red Oak	Prince William	14	1	93	7	2	2	0	0
Thomas Wrenn	Wolf House	Lancaster	11	0	115	4	2	2	1	3
None	Glascock	Richmond	8	0	109	0	3	0	0	24
TOTALS: 43	47	9	697	10	4703	159	101	66	19	84
AVERAGE PER QUARTER:			14.8	0.2	100.1	3.4	2.2	1.4	0.4	1.8

Advertisements both for and by overseers in the Chesapeake indicate that new positions were often sought according to the seasonal processes of tobacco, beginning in August and running through late autumn, with fewer subsequent advertisements during winter (Figure 6). Overseer advertising in the Chesapeake was practically nonexistent during busy transplanting, weeding, and topping seasons of spring and early summer. The focus on fall advertising for overseers aligns more with the beginning of tobacco seeding and quarter expansion. Lowcountry advertisements from Georgia were frequent from October through January, showing a slightly later emphasis on early winter advertising than the Chesapeake. It appears that planters in the Lowcountry did little purposeful public searching for overseers during the late summer months of indigo harvesting and rice weeding. Trinkley et al. (2005:28) found a similar seasonality in 125 overseer advertisements sampled from the *South Carolina Gazette* from 1734 to 1768 and interpreted this pattern as planters tolerating overseers until harvesting was complete and searching for replacements during the winter months.

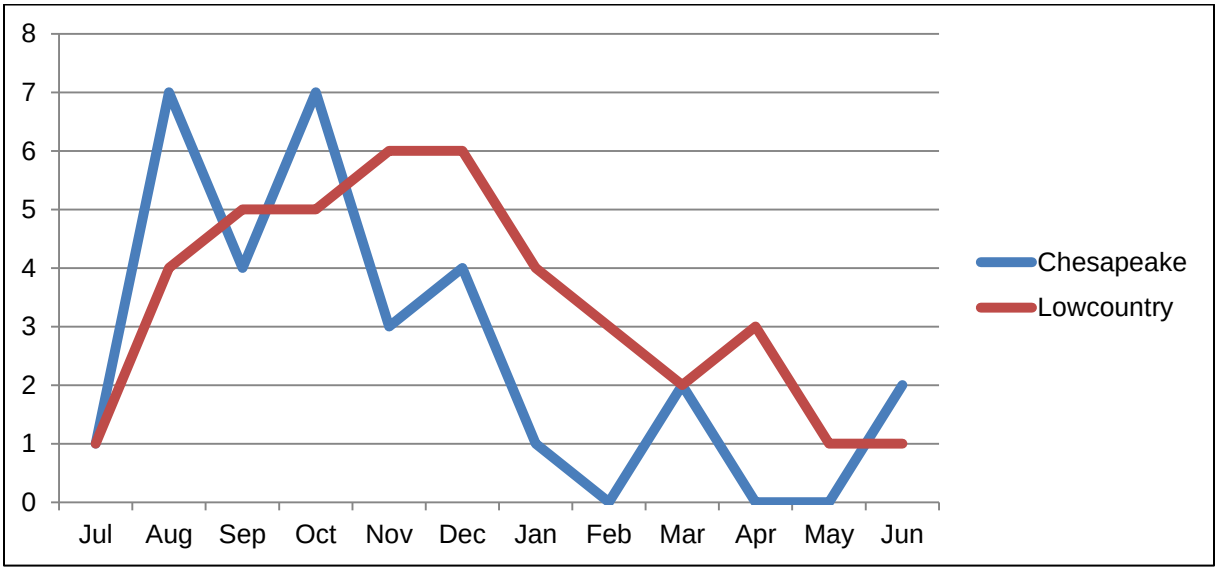


Figure 6: Seasonal Frequency of Advertisements for Overseers, 1738-1789.

Interestingly, Behrendt's (2009) study of the seasonality of the Atlantic slave trade has suggested that slavers timed their voyages to suit African maritime weather patterns, which also suited busy North American crop seasons. Slave imports in the Chesapeake were vastly greater in the rainy and tobacco-labor intense months of June through August. In the Lowcountry, the busy field months of May through July saw the greatest importation of slaves. Overseer hiring does not appear in these same months, but rather is more aligned with the beginning of crop cycles in each region. Overseers hiring appears to be most directly associated with the needs of staple-crop agricultural cycles.

It should be noted that the total of 31 advertisements by and for overseers in pre-1790 Virginia and Maryland does not appear to be the primary vehicle for hiring, though the timing of searches and qualities sought in applicants are likely to reflect larger attitudes. Chesapeake planters had a large body of free labor to draw on, similarly dispersed in the rural environment as the planters themselves, and they frequently hired among local, familiar, and less affluent whites. Anecdotal evidence points to a large supply of overseers in the Chesapeake, and that the position was highly sought after by potential employees. John Harrower, an indentured Scottish school-teacher at the plantation of a Colonel Daingerfield from 1773 to 1776, noted in his journal that while in the nearby town of Fredericksburg in 1776 he was asked by acquaintances if his master would consider them for an overseer's position (Riley 1963:146). After placing an advertisement for an overseer in 1767, Virginia planter John Mercer received over 20 applications (Tillson 2010:89). A rather large supply of free labor was available and apparently willing and wanting to fill overseer positions, a fact that stands in contrast to

the traditional portrait of a loathed and abused overseer, a position filled only by the dregs of landless men, forced into isolation and drunkenness.

The relatively large supply of men willing to serve as overseers in the 18th-century Chesapeake is a demographic point of contrast to the rice-growing Lowcountry colonies. Despite the higher number of total enslaved Africans in the Chesapeake, the Lowcountry had a consistently higher proportion of Africans relative to the overall population (Figure 7). Newspaper data corroborate this assessment. For the period of 1738 to 1789, only 25 overseer positions were advertised for Chesapeake area plantations, the majority coming from Williamsburg's *Virginia Gazette*; while by people seeking positions as an overseer took out 6 advertisements during the same time, a ratio of just over 4 to 1. The same calculation made for Georgia advertisements during the same period results in a ratio of just over 7 to 1. South Carolina advertisements sampled by Trinkley et al. (2005:33) for the years 1734 to 1768 included a ratio of about

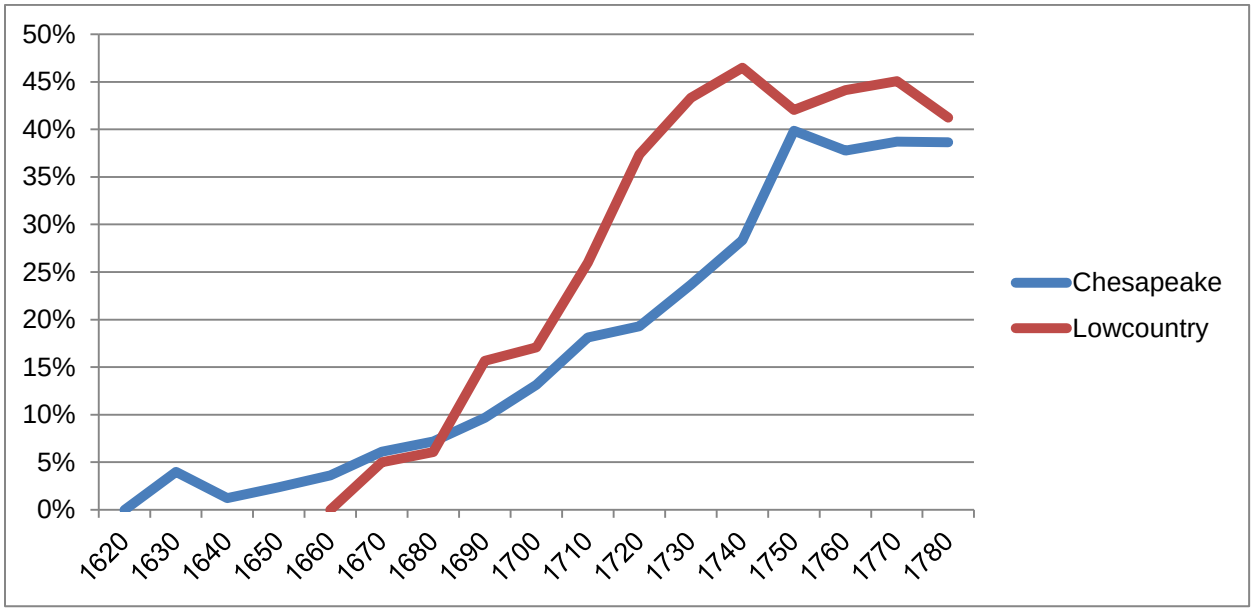


Figure 7: Proportion of Enslaved Persons in the Total Population, 1620-1780. Source: McCusker and Menard (1985:22).

18 to 1 for overseers sought versus those seeking to be overseers; suggesting a higher demand and lower supply of available overseers in the Lowcountry.

While variations in staple-crop region demography and settlement patterns shaped the relations of production in terms of hiring timing and availability of the overseer labor pool, it also influenced the skills and qualifications sought by planters. The most common qualification in all regions in this sample was the ability to provide a recommendation (Table 6). Having a previous employer or at least another planter's endorsement appears to have been the most common prerequisite for overseers in general, and may also be tied to the fact that planters advertising in newspapers would almost certainly be engaging a stranger as overseer. Few advertisements mention any kind of previous experience, and only one-third of Lowcountry advertisements mention that the applicant should be generally qualified.

High turnover was a common lament of plantation owners (Scarborough 1966:38,65; Schwartz 1985:385; Morgan 1998:326-337; Tillson 2010:66). Curiously, experience was not mentioned frequently as a qualification in overseer advertisements by planters in any region (Table 6). Of the 55 advertisements for overseers in the Chesapeake and Lowcountry, there are 5 repeat names of planters, but it is impossible to distinguish between advertisements for replacing overseers due to turnover and new overseers sought for expansion. The diary of Virginia planter Landon Carter contains multiple firings and replacements, along with his characteristically cynical commentary on May 1766 that "…overseers tire as cornfields do" (Green 1965:302) and only a month later: "I must get new overseers everywhere…"(Green 1965:306). Carter's diary records the replacement of 13 named overseers in the 26-year span that it covers, a

Table 6: Frequency of Key Words in Overseer Advertisements by Region, 1738-1789.

Key Words	Chesapeake	Lowcountry	Pennsylvania
Qualifications			
Recommendation	52%	56%	75%
Experience	-	8%	-
"Qualified"	8%	28%	-
Skills & Knowledge			
Cattle/stock	20%	4%	50%
Cropping/planting	28%	17%	56%
Landscaping	-	3%	12.5%
Literacy	-	3%	-
"His business"	-	3%	-
Responsibilities			
Care of Slaves	4%	11%	-
Management	16%	19%	13%
Other	4%	17%	6%
Personal Qualities			
Active	20%	-	-
Careful	16%	6%	-
Diligence	4%	11%	-
Good character	12%	6%	6%
Honesty	24%	17%	25%
Industrious	24%	11%	19%
Sobriety	32%	28%	25%
Demographics			
Married	16%	3%	31%
Single	32%	25%	38%
Young	16%	-	6%
Compensation			
"Encouragement"	48%	56%	81%
Shares	4%	-	-
Wages	32%	3%	13%
Total Advertisements	***25***	***36***	***16***

rate of 1 every 2 years, and this is likely an underestimate.

Given the agricultural ability required for the production of maintenance-intensive tobacco, Chesapeake overseers appear to have been valued for their skills in farming. Chesapeake newspaper advertisements specifically mention that overseer applicants should have a working knowledge or skills in cropping or planting in just under 30 percent of published postings (Table 6). While this proportion seems low to argue that planting skills were important, it is still almost double the 16 percent frequency with which planters from Georgia mentioned agricultural skills. Data compiled in an archaeological report from an 18th-century survey of overseer advertisements in the *South Carolina Gazette* noted that only 13 percent mention specific agricultural skills such as planting or plowing (Trinkley et al. 2005:29-30). A particularly verbose advertisement taken out in the fall of 1770 in Virginia makes clear the planter's preference for an overseer with farming abilities:

> WANTED *immediately*, A PERSON of a good constitution, serious in his determinations, brisk in the execution of them, moderate in the usual article of refreshment, which will constitute sobriety, and of a reputable character and abilities, to act in the capacity of an OVERSEER.
>
> Such a one and who has full knowledge of FARMING, as well as the other business requisite in this country may, by applying at my house in *Essex* county, and bringing with him the recommendations of any Gentleman of distinguished judgment and candor, meet with very good encouragement to enter into the employment of ROBERT BROOKE.
>
> N.B. If Mr. *Whiting* who has the direction of part of Mr. *Fitzhugh's* business in the *Northern Neck*, to whom this method of address seems more immediate than any other I could take, would be so kind as to chuse out a knowing one from the multitude that presume to fill the above high office, and recommend him, he may in return expect any service in the power of His humble servant, R. B. (*Virginia Gazette* 1770:3).

Brooke's advertisement also highlights the importance of personal recommendations and large applicant pools for overseer positions in the Chesapeake.

A relatively high proportion of Chesapeake advertisements—20 percent—also noted that the applicant should be knowledgeable in the care of livestock (Table 6). Lowcountry advertisements rarely mentioned livestock. Planters from Pennsylvania mentioned agricultural competence including planting or livestock even more than those of either the Chesapeake or Lowcountry, and in general the Chesapeake emphasis on agricultural competence more closely followed the pattern of their northern neighbors, whose reputations as skilled farmers was well known and made them desirable employees (Tillson 2010:63). Both Thomas Jefferson and Robert "Councilor" Carter, of Nomini Hall in Virginia, attempted to solicit men from the Middle Atlantic colonies to employ as overseers (Morton 1941:92). Lowcountry advertisers mentioned the responsibility of management slightly more often than their counterparts in the Chesapeake, and mentioned the word Negro more than twice as often (Table 6). Administration, as well as slave care and management, seem to have had more secondary roles in the value placed on Chesapeake overseers by their employers.

Personal circumstances were listed in overseer advertisements more frequently in the Chesapeake than in the Lowcountry (Table 6). Unmarried overseers were apparently preferred in both regions. Lowcountry planters requested far fewer married men than in the Chesapeake. Pennsylvania overseer advertisements indicate a slight preference for single men over married men. The greater frequency of advertisements requesting married overseers in the North may be related to the more diversified form of agriculture. When requested or allowed in advertisements in any region, overseers'

wives were often expected to work in other aspects of the farm or plantation such as raising poultry, managing a dairy, spinning, or housekeeping. In 1777, T. Blackburn included in his advertisement for a farm manager: “I could wish the person applying to have a wife who would undertake the charge of a dairy, raise poultry (of which last she may have a share) and also take under her care three or four spinners” (Virginia Gazette 1777:1).

The pay and rewards offered to applicants to overseer positions by advertisers suggest that the terms may have been subject to individual negotiation, as few listed specific share fractions or salary figures. Only two advertisements in Virginia, both in 1778, specify an annual salary; one for overseers at £50 per year and the other for a higher-ranking steward or manager at £75 per year. Thirty-two percent of Chesapeake advertisements referred to wages, and only one specifically mentioned that shares of a crop would be agreeable. Very few advertisements from either the Lowcountry or Pennsylvania mentioned either wages or shares, but advertisements from all regions noted that applicants will be met generally “with encouragement”, or a “pleasant situation”. It may be that the payment of overseers was generally understood to be negotiable, or that wages would be paid out of the crop produced. Trinkley et al. (2005:31) noted a similar lack of specificity on wages or shares in 18th-century South Carolina advertisements for overseers. Historians clearly note that many overseers in the colonial period were paid at least in part by crop shares (Scarborough 1966:3; Tillson 2010:64). Robert Carter paid his overseers between one-fifth and one-tenth of profit shares, as well as the use of younger female slaves for their households. Head overseers or stewards, without particular gangs to supervise, were more often paid in

cash salaries (Morton 1941:92-94). Such understood conventions may not have warranted the price of the print type in the advertisements. For example, overseers could expect to be housed by their employers on the plantations they worked (Scarborough 1966:36), yet only one advertisement from Georgia out of the entire sample of all the regions mentions housing (*Georgia Gazette* 1768:5).

The trends observed in newspaper advertisements suggests that planters in the Chesapeake sought after overseers who had competency in planting knowledge and could therefore closely direct the quality of job performance among a small gang of slaves. In contrast, the lesser degree of emphasis placed on planting and cropping knowledge for Lowcountry advertisements suggests that these forms of human capital were less critical for overseers managing rice-producing slaves within a task system. By contrast, tobacco planting skill and knowledge in the Chesapeake has been argued to be both the economic and social domain of the white population, rather than that of slaves. Breen's (1985) concept of a "tobacco mentality" asserts that planters not only scheduled their lives around the crop, but rated their own success and that of others by the quality of their tobacco, and that tobacco knowledge and ability carried not only economic value, but high social currency. Overseer advertisement data in the Chesapeake that show a greater emphasis on agricultural matters suggest that this tobacco mentality extended to the relations between planters and their overseers, which may account for overseers being constantly degraded and blamed for poor production and quality.

Chesapeake planters' value of agricultural abilities in their overseers was often recorded in a negative sense. It constituted the chief reason that overseers were fired

recorded in numerous diaries. William Byrd II, a wealthy planter and Virginia diplomat, dismissed his overseer Joe Wilkinson in 1710: “He had spoiled all the tobacco in my house barn and carried several things that belong to me home to his house…I walked to all the plantation on that side of the river and tobacco was most of it spoiled” (Wright and Tinling 1941:274). Byrd later sued Wilkinson for the damage to his crop and was awarded 3,000 pounds of tobacco. Another of Byrd’s overseers, Thomas Turpin, quit in March of 1712 after being reprimanded by Byrd for both a lack of quantity and poor quality in tobacco production (Wright and Tinling 1941:333,485).

Landon Carter kept a diary from 1752 to 1778 that has long been a source in historians’ studies of the low status of overseers and their tumultuous relationships with planters. In the fall of 1756 he lamented that his overseers stacked the crops incorrectly, and noted that tobacco production at his Broad Run quarter was finally recovering after the death of a rarely skilled overseer there (Greene 1965:133). During the cutting and hanging in the fall of 1757, Carter rode out to a quarter to find that an overseer had allowed slaves to hang tobacco too close for the year’s wet weather and bemoaned the fact that overseers tended to plan agricultural work: “from their judgments by the last year but this is a year on quite the contrary extreme [of weather] and so I am likely to suffer” (Greene 1965:177). From 1767 to 1778, Carter either fired or chose not to rehire 13 overseers for failing to produce enough tobacco or not care for its quality. Men named Lawson, Jackson, Pullen, and Billings were all turned out for false accounting of their production, or hoarding the best crops and livestock for their own profit (Greene 1965:331,360,390,462,493, 645,1018,1050,1050,1146).

Some sources from the 18th-century Chesapeake also provide evidence that

overseers in that region who performed well were valued for their agricultural aptitudes. Philip Vickers Fithian, a tutor on the plantation of Robert “Councilor” Carter, befriended and often dined with a Mr. Taylor, one of Carter’s overseers, who on several occasions discussed methods of tobacco and other cultivation that impressed Fithian (Farish 1957:38). Colonel William Daingerfield employed Anthony Fraser as overseer at his Belvidera plantation near Fredericksburg in February 1775. Fraser quickly impressed the Colonel with his agricultural skill and knowledge, while other overseers quit angrily after being rebuked about improperly stacking tobacco. Despite frequent absences to visit his father, a reluctance to stay among his slaves, and even whipping another planter’s slave without permission, Fraser continued on. Eventually, an affair with the Daingerfield’s indentured housekeeper Lucy caused enough tension between Fraser and Mrs. Daingerfield, that he left Belvidera in April of 1776. However, only two weeks later Lucy left the Daingerfields’ service, and the Colonel quickly agreed to take Fraser back as his overseer (Riley 1963).

Contracts made between George Washington and several of the men that served him as overseers also highlight the primacy of tobacco planting as a key skill and responsibility for these employees in the Chesapeake. In 1762 Washington hired two men, Edward Violet and Nelson Kelly, to oversee outlying farm quarters in Frederick and Fairfax counties, Virginia. Their contracts were nearly identical, and in each the primacy of agricultural ability is found in the very definition of what an overseer should be. Each man will serve: “in the Capacity of Overseer…for the ensuing year; That is to say he will use his utmost endeavors to make a large and good crop of Corn, Tobacco, and what else may be required”. The contracts then go on to mention the care and

management of slaves, livestock, and plantation tools. Even after listing these other duties, Washington returned to the responsibilities of planting and specified that Kelly and Violet should grow a variety of tobacco, take care in stemming their plants, and to measure the ground they plan to plant. Washington specifically referred to Nelson Kelly in his contract as “Nelson Kelly, planter”, providing another clue that overseers were hired, valued, and held responsible principally for their agricultural competence and production (Washington 1762a, 1762b).

The role of secondary agricultural products such as wheat and livestock in the Chesapeake was also shaped by the larger Atlantic tobacco economy. Several scholars have argued that both wheat and livestock were produced not just for subsistence, but primarily in order to provide secondary sources of commodity export income to safeguard against fluctuations in tobacco production and prices (Bowen 1975; Rice 2009:177). Economic data compiled for Chesapeake tobacco prices indicate that within a general 18th-century increase, dramatic small-scale fluctuations occurred; with the most extreme variations in tobacco price between mid-century and 1780 (McCusker and Menard 1985:121). As mentioned above, advertisements for overseers in Chesapeake newspapers not only emphasized agricultural knowledge more than advertisements in the Lowcountry, but also emphasized livestock knowledge and responsibilities. Landon Carter’s diary contained several references to his ire with overseers failing to adequately take care of stock, or keeping the best animals for their own shares (Greene 1965:343,384-385). Robert “King” Carter’s 1733 inventory showed that overseers were consistently placed in charge of large numbers of livestock, as among his 47 quarters managed by overseers were an average of 12 sheep, 39 swine, and 47 cattle, with

numbers at some individual quarters reaching well over 200 animals (Table 5). George Washington's overseer contracts for Edward Violet and Nelson Kelly each specified that the men were to: "to take all imaginable care of the said Washington's Stock as well of Cattle, sheep, & hogs as of horses; and that he will exert his utmost skill and Industry to raise of each sort as many as he can" (Washington 1762b, 1762c).

As a point of further contrast and context, sugar-growing regions of the British West Indies and Brazil demonstrate more complex relations of production. Eighteenth-century British colonies in the Caribbean were overwhelmingly dominated by sugar export, which at over £3,000,000 exported per year was worth more than three times that of either Chesapeake tobacco or Lowcountry rice (McCusker and Menard 1985:160). Unlike tobacco, sugar required large initial capital investment, larger and more concentrated land and labor, and a higher number and diversity of skilled labor for a complex processing method. Like their Lowcountry counterparts, sugar plantation owners were often absent, and export was channeled through port cities (McCusker and Menard 1985:144-166; Higman 2005). Sugar production was not limited to the export of a raw agricultural product, but incorporated a far more complex technological and industrial process for turning raw cane into sugar or rum fit for export. In many cases, overseer's roles ranged from business administrators, field supervisors, mill supervisors, and even night-shift mill oversight. The highest demand for skilled labor lay with the limited number of sugar-masters, rather than overseers (Schwartz 1985:314-320). In relation to the sugar-producing British Caribbean, Higman (2005:33) has characterized the American South as having a "truncated hierarchy of management," noting that there was less stratification between owner and slave as compared to the

hierarchies found in Jamaica. The place of overseers within plantation hierarchies certainly differed between sugar-producing regions and rice and tobacco regions of American colonies (Figure 8), but Scarborough's (1966:181) assessment of overseers' role in the American South as serving as "little more than a glorified driver" rings hollow against the historical information presented above.

The traditional portrayal of the social status and public identity of overseers as uniform, static, and lowly has been previously challenged by scholars such as Wiethoff (2006a), though the homogenous roles, responsibilities, and values of overseers as slave managers within plantations of the Atlantic World has remained largely intact. As Wiethoff (2006a) has asserted, there was more than one identity for overseers in the American South, and this study asserts that there was more than one kind of human capital for overseers in colonial Atlantic plantations. The nature of plantation structure, growth, seasonality, slave-labor organization, and the location of agricultural knowledge

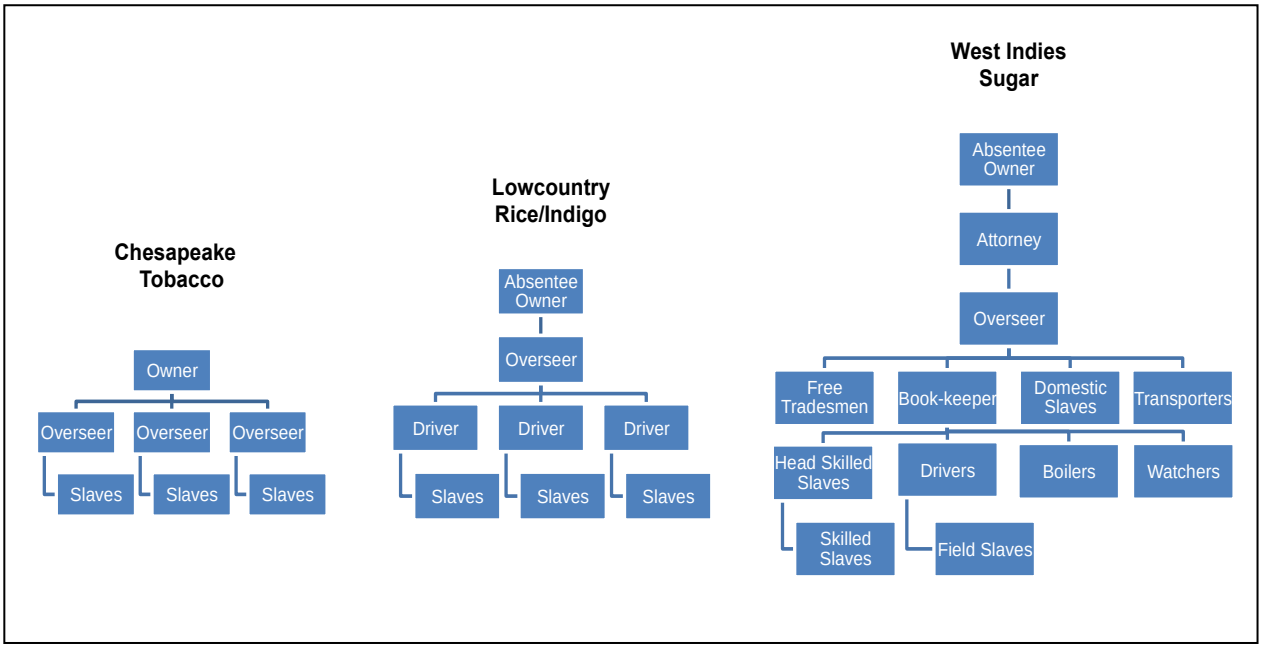


Figure 8: Models of Plantation Management Hierarchies by Region.

and skills created a unique social space for overseers of the 18th-century Chesapeake. In each of these facets, the primacy of tobacco and its related activities is key.

The Plantations

Stratford Hall

Stratford Hall Plantation is located approximately 40 miles east of Fredericksburg, Virginia, in Westmoreland County on the Northern Neck Peninsula, a finger of land bounded by the Potomac River to the north and the Rappahannock River to the south (Figure 1). Originally constructed about 1738, the Great House at Stratford was the residence of the Lee family until the early 19th century and is associated with several prominent Lees including two signers of the Declaration of Independence, a Revolutionary War officer, and the eventual commander of the Confederate Army (Buchanan 1998). Colonel Nathaniel Pope originally patented the land that would become Stratford Hall Plantation through two grants, the first in what was then Northumberland County in 1651, and a second grant renewed and amended the patent in 1656 to include 1,550 acres for the transportation of at least 30 individuals into the newly formed County of Westmoreland (Virginia Land Office 1656:51). Nathaniel Pope's son, Thomas, inherited the parcel known then as the "Clifts" after his father's death in 1659 (Westmoreland County Court Records [WCCR] 1659:115). Thomas Pope died in 1684, leaving the estate to be divided between his widow and three sons (WCCR 1684:404). Thomas Pope's son, Nathaniel, secured the release of his mother's and brother's interests in 1716 and subsequently sold Clifts Plantation to Thomas Lee

(WCCR 1718:333). However, he continued to live at Machodoc, his father's plantation home, until 1729 when it was destroyed by fire.

During the 1730s, Thomas Lee moved his family to the Clifts tract, which he renamed Stratford, and began constructing the brick mansion known as the Great House that stands to this day. However, the exact date at which Thomas Lee took up occupancy of Stratford is unknown (Neiman 1980:12-13). Despite being a fifth son, he still amassed a great fortune and held a series of public offices including Potomac District Naval Officer, member of the House of Burgesses, member and later President of the Royal Governor's Council, and briefly the acting Governor of the Colony of Virginia (Calhoun 1991).

Thomas Lee accumulated and consolidated over 4,800 acres prior to his death in 1750 (Ames 1936). The estate, with considerable entailments, passed to his eldest son, Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee, in 1750. While his more politically active younger brothers overshadowed him in history, Philip Ludwell Lee invested heavily in building the estate his father had begun. He had many of the outbuildings immediately surrounding the Great House constructed including quarters for domestic slaves. In addition to the gristmill along the Potomac waterfront of the property, Philip Ludwell Lee added wharfs, a store, shipbuilding, and secured the placement of an official tobacco warehouse at Stratford Landing (Calhoun 1996). These warehouses were public inspection points established by the colony in an effort to control the quality and price of tobacco in order to offset the frequent and costly fluctuations in tobacco prices (Kulikoff 1986:104-109). The establishment of the warehouse signified Philip Ludwell Lee's prominent standing in the region and served practically to reinforce Stratford's role in the community as a

center for trade among a very rural and dispersed population. Philip Ludwell Lee also achieved local and regional prominence through public office including being appointed county judge, attaining the rank of Colonel in the militia, election to the House of Burgesses, and membership in the Governor's Council.

Philip Ludwell Lee died intestate in 1775 and the plantation was divided and administered by a series of managers until it was eventually inherited by Philip's daughter Matilda and her husband Henry "Lighthorse Harry" Lee in 1782 (WCCR 1782:179; Calhoun 1996). After a series of financial failures Stratford, then reduced to only 3,000 acres, was sold out of the Lee family in 1822 (WCCR 1822:346). After passing through several private owners, the home and land was purchased by the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation (now the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association) in 1929. The inferred time period of occupation at the Oval site (44WM0080) at Stratford Hall, circa 1720 to 1775, dates to the ownerships of Thomas Lee and Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee.

The enslaved population at Stratford Hall Plantation that existed between Thomas Lee's purchase of the property and its dissolution in the early 19th century was only fully documented following the death of Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee in 1775. His inventory (WCCR 1776:173-176) and estate accounts (WCCR 1782:179) provide a glimpse of the enslaved community at its largest on the eve of its division. Thomas Lee had entailed his estate before his death in 1750, which caused numerous quarrels between Philip Ludwell Lee and his siblings over their respective inheritances (Calhoun 1991). However, the same entailment also provided a degree of stability in the enslaved community throughout most of the mid-18th century. The slaves that had likely been

living and working at Stratford since the 1720s, before Thomas Lee took up residence, are not included in his inventory recorded in 1758. In addition to the fine possessions of Thomas Lee, his inventory does list numerous structures and tools that provide a picture of the working side of the plantation in which most of the enslaved population spent their time. These buildings include a spinning room, dairy, meat house, coach house, smith's shop, mill, stable, barns, and kitchen. Tools indicate the presence of skilled labor, likely among a mix of indentured servants and slaves, including brick laying, coopering, leather working, sawing, shoe-making, and carpentry. Three distinct quarter farms on the larger Stratford plantation were listed in the 1758 inventory: Hallow's Marsh, Upper Clifts, and Willington's. Each of these largely independent quarters included numerous cattle, hogs, oxen, carts, and "negroes tools" (Table 7).

Research by Calhoun (1991, 1992) indicates that Thomas Lee was active in the consignment shipping and slave trade in the late 1720s and 1730s, the period of greatest trans-Atlantic slave trading to Virginia (Figure 2). He purchased several slaves in the 1730s as children, and those individuals appear in later inventories and estate lists including Congo, Monkey, and Boatswain; all of who had acquired skilled trades by the 1780s.

In the 1776 inventory of Philip Ludwell Lee, it appears that most of the estate had been consolidated, at least for appraisal, among the Stratford home farm and Upper Clifts quarters. No division is listed indicating the Hallows Marsh or Willington's quarters (Table 7), although the quarters likely still existed as John South, an overseer, is credited with one share of tobacco from "halow's march' in a 1771 entry in Philip Ludwell Lee's ledger book (Lee 1743-1783). Individual slaves were named and valued

Table 7: Plantation Divisions at Stratford, 1758 And 1776. From WCCR (1758:76-79, 1776:173-176).

	THOMAS LEE 1758 INVENTORY		PHILIP LUDWELL LEE 1776 INVENTORY		
QUARTER	**LIVESTOCK**	**TOOLS**	**LIVESTOCK**	**TOOLS**	**SLAVES**
Stratford (home farm)	53 cattle 128 sheep 12 oxen Negroes mares and colts	Stone roller 2 ox carts Brick Layers tools Coopers tools Sawyers tools Carpenters tools Shoemakers tools Curriers tools	2 bulls 1 ox 97 sheep 20 horses	39 Grubb hoes 3 X cut saws 13 hill hoes 27 hoes 2 Spinning wheels 6 bramble scythes 6 wedges 7 axes 2 harrows 2 carts Gardeners tools	27 men 19 women 17 boys 19 girls 83 total
Upper Clifts	53 cattle 2 oxen 33 hogs	Cart Negroes tools	96 cattle 8 oxen 16 sheep 30 hogs	1 cart 13 broad hoes 6 grub hoes 7 axes 1 broad axe 16 hill hoes 2 wedges 2 ploughs Joiners tools Carpenters tools	9 men 7 women 3 boys 6 girls 25 total
Hallow's Marsh	108 cattle 57 hogs 6 oxen Old field mares and colts	Cart Negroes tools		NOT LISTED	
Willington's	35 cattle 21 hogs 4 oxen	Cart Negroes tools		NOT LISTED	
Unspecified/ Mill?/ Landing*			76 cattle 6 oxen 24 sheep 19 hogs	3 boats jack screws 1 whipsaw 1 X cut saw 4 axes parcel of hoes 1 cart sail cloth	4 men 3 women 1 boy 6 girls 14 total
TOTALS	249 cattle 128 sheep 24 oxen 111 hogs		174 cattle 137 sheep 16 oxen 80 hogs		122 individuals
* Items and individuals listed after Upper Clifts in 1776 are mixed with materials near the mill and landing					

in several groupings, though no other detail was provided. Assuming meaning in those grouping of slaves or in the presence of quarter farms from such inventories alone is clearly problematic, yet they do indicate a measure of the nature and scale of the plantation's business. During both Thomas and Philip Ludwell Lee's ownerships, Stratford featured large-scale tobacco production on the home farm and outlying quarters as well as more specialized skilled labor centered on the home farm.

Philip Ludwell Lee's inventory of 1776 lists 122 enslaved individuals at a total value of £4,730 (Appendix B, Table A.2), which represent nearly two-thirds of the total value of his goods and chattels. Inferring from later lists that specify gender, the traditional genders of English names, and the relative values of working age adults versus children under the age of 17, there were 40 men, 30 women, 21 boys, and 31 girls (Tables 7 and A.2). The inventory lists the enslaved in groups of four or five, apparently with little regard for family grouping other than occasionally listing a mother and child together. The slaves are in three separate groupings in the document: those listed following items in the smokehouse, those listed at the Upper Clifts, and those listed just before ship-building items at the plantation's landing on the Potomac River. This division may simply reflect the order in which the slaves were encountered by the inventory takers, but suggests at least three major centers of slave life and work at Stratford: the home farm, the Upper Clifts quarter, and the third quarter, likely Hallow's Marsh. Those enslaved individuals who lived and worked in and around the Oval site were antecedents and possibly included some of the 73 people listed at the home farm in 1776 (Tables 7 and A.2).

By 1782, the division of the estate of Philip Ludwell Lee was being settled

between his remarried widow, Elizabeth Fendall, and his two elder daughters, Matilda and Flora, and a list of the slaves to be divided between them includes more detailed information beyond the usual name and values; including gender, age, and skills (Calhoun 1992). The total enslaved population at Stratford listed in 1782 was 137 individuals including 39 girls, 28 boys, 29 women, and 41 men valued at a total of £6,248 (Table 8). The average slave at Stratford in 1782 was just under 22 years old. Of the individuals listed in 1776, 16 could not be matched with any names on the 1782 list, most of which were of lower value suggesting youth, old age, or poor health. At least one individual, Daniel, was listed as runaway in 1776 and not recorded on the 1782 list suggesting either a successful flight or sale if he were captured. A total of 31 individuals listed in 1782 could not be matched to names on the 1776 inventory; 20 had not yet been born in 1776 and were either born at Stratford or purchased as very young children. The estate administrators likely purchased the remaining 11 individuals (Table A.2). There were 15 slaves listed with skills in 1782, all men and boys, which represented 10.9 percent of the enslaved population that were valued collectively at £1,295, a sum that represents 20.7 percent of the total value of the estate's slaves (Table 8). They included two blacksmiths, a bricklayer, cook, gardener, four house carpenters, a miller, two postilions, two ship carpenters, and a weaver (Table A.2).

Many of these skilled slaves were boys and young men in their teens and early

Table 8: Summary of Slaves Listed At Stratford In 1782. Source: Calhoun (1992).

	Men		**Women**		**Boys**		**Girls**		**Total**	
Slaves	No.	Value (£)	No.	Value (£)	No.	Value (£)	No.	Value (£)	No.	Value (£)
Unskilled	28	1,850	29	1,330	26	730	39	1,043	122	4,953
Skilled	13	1,180	-	-	2	115	-	-	15	1,295
Total	*41*	*3,030*	*29*	*1,330*	*28*	*845*	*39*	*1,043*	*137*	*6,248*

20s, suggesting they were currently or recently apprenticed to other tradesmen. Of the skilled slaves Phil, a 17-year old blacksmith, and James, a 40-year old miller, were not previously listed in the 1776 inventory suggesting that the estate administrators continued to purchase and apprentice skilled slaves even during the interval between Philip Ludwell Lee's death and "Lighthorse" Harry Lee's management of the plantation. The two ship carpenters, Edmund and Osman, were the highest valued individuals at £110 and £120 respectively. House carpenters and blacksmiths were valued slightly lower at approximately £100, with the other professions of miller, postilion, gardener and bricklayer valued around £80. The youngest skilled boys at £55 and £60, and Caesar the cook at £45, were valued lowest among the skilled slaves. Most enslaved men of prime age who worked in the fields were worth approximately £80 on the same list, suggesting agricultural production was as highly valued as many skilled positions (Table A.2).

The 1782 estate list divides the enslaved into those inherited by Mrs. Fendall and her daughters, Matilda and Flora. Initially, family groupings may have been respected and possibly preserved in the estate divisions, at least concerning parents, especially mothers, and young children (Calhoun 1992:1). Known parents and children, such as those listed in 1776 as "Nelly's child," "Sukey's child," and "Sarah's child" were not spilt between Mrs. Fendall and her daughters in 1782. Also, the smaller, likely quarter-based divisions of slaves in the 1776 inventory of the Upper Clifts, and a small group listed before items at the Landing, were almost entirely inherited by Matilda and Flora. This suggests a degree of group cohesion, perhaps even of families, among those particular slaves (Table A.2).

The 1782 division may not have resulted in the immediate dissolution of the enslaved community at Stratford as both Matilda and Flora still resided there. However, Matilda's and Flora's slaves were soon divided again between them in 1786 when Flora Lee married, and her slaves likely went to her new home in Loudon County. Mrs. Fendall and her second husband, Philip, transferred much of her land and slaves at Stratford back to her daughter Matilda (Alexander 1912:72; Calhoun 1992:1). Matilda's slaves remained at Stratford at least initially, though most of the enslaved community was divided and sold away during the early 19th century.

Most of the enslaved individuals at Stratford were likely assigned names by the Lees, or by the traders from whom the Lees had purchased them. Calhoun (1992:12) notes numerous names among the Stratford slaves that include typical owner-assigned names taken from the Bible, classical Greco-Roman names, ships' names, and the owners' family places and diminutives (Inscoe 1983). Other names suggest possible African-derived naming practices associated with the circumstance of birth such as places, days, and other conditions. Banter, Cager, Clear, Congo, Easter, Fryday, Obed, Ocre, Pure, Sinah, West, and Zebus are among those listed at Stratford with names likely given by enslaved parents and possibly resulting from African-derived traditions. The individual listed as Cager in both 1776 and 1782 at Stratford may be the same individual recorded in Westmoreland County Court as Kajahh, who was identified as a Stratford slave and convicted for stealing a hog in 1776. Kajahh and Cager may be variations of the name Cudjoe, a name of Akan origin from the Gold Coast region for children born on a Monday (Calhoun 1992:13). Fryday is another day name, though Anglicized, as Easter, Clear, and Pure may also represent African naming practices of

including weather, times, or characteristics of a birth, but carried on in English (Calhoun 1992:13; Inscoe 1983:533).

Some glimpses are provided into the lives of Stratford's slaves by occasional description of events in court records and correspondence; Calhoun (1992:2-4) compiled several instances of rebellious behavior including stealing from both master and surrounding houses. One slave, Tom Limerick, was a repeat offender for stealing horses, hogs, silver, and goods from the plantation store in the 1760s, and appears to have been sold prior to the later estate listings. At an unknown date, Philip Ludwell Lee wrote to his sister to complain of the numerous back and forth confrontations with a favored house slave Sawney at Stratford, who would appear disheveled during service, sneak drinks during dinner, and fall asleep on furniture in the Great House. Lee eventually sold Sawney to a relative several counties away (Calhoun 1992:3). Such behavior may have been a quite personal reaction to the conditions of slavery, or perhaps even reflect efforts to manipulate a slave owner or overseer into action. In his diary in 1770, Landon Carter related a story heard from Francis Lightfoot Lee about slaves impacting their overseer and work practices under his brother Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee at Stratford:

> He had one Pritchard for his Overseer who without Carts or plows always made large fine Crops of Corn and Tobacco. Colo Phil imagining that more might be made with Carts and plows with no small expense provided them in abundance but Pritchard upon on year's trial being satisfied that his people had laid aside their diligence in working resolved not to live with him and never since has that plantation afforded a good Crop. The Colo. Has now taken to his hoes again and is satisfied he is in a good way for a crop (Greene 1965:387).

While less overt than drinking, stealing, or running away, resistance to the power of an owner or overseer could take the form of exerting long-term influence over work

customs as related in the passage above. Court records show that Stratford slaves incurred severe whippings for misdemeanor offenses, certain thefts could be punishable by death, and even claiming clemency under the “benefit of clergy” left the acquitted with a branded left hand (Calhoun 1992). Slow-downs, foot-dragging, tool-breaking, and sabotage comprised what Scott (1985) has termed “normal resistance,” where covert or passive forms of retaliation and pressure are exerted in order to avoid the appearance of explicit insubordination that could carry serious and violent consequences.

The overseers, like Pritchard in the passage above, could be the targets of such normal resistance. County and plantation records indicate the Lees employed at least 15 overseers at Stratford from 1738 to 1780 (Table 9), and likely several more were employed for which no records survive. Their scant appearances in the documentary records give a brief glimpse into the dynamic lives of these men and their families. The overseers known at Stratford from 1738 to 1775 are the most likely candidates for the possible occupants of the Oval site (44WM80). Later overseers including Hackney,

Table 9: Overseers Recorded at Stratford 1738-1780.

Owner	Overseer	Dates	Note
Thomas Lee	James Carter	1738-?	pursued & fought slave Saul
	Tobias Presley	1738-?	“overseer in Washington Parish”
	John Linton	1742-?	killed slave Preston
	Thomas Davis	1745-?	collected debt from Pritchard's estate
Philip Ludwell Lee	Thomas Pritchard	1756-1762	court case against Philip Ludwell Lee
	John Omohundro, Jr.	1757-1783	steward
	James Russell	1761-1770	
	John South	1771-1777	at outlying quarters
	Benjamin Dodd	1771-1776	
	Robert Sanford	1773-1776	
Philip Ludwell Lee Estate	Thomas Oliff	1775-1777	
	Sanford Muse	1775-1778	
	Benjamin Hackney	1777-1780	at Clifts quarter
	James Hunter	1777-1780	
	Samuel Carter	1780-?	
	Samuel Muse	1780-?	at Clifts quarter

Carter, the two Muses, Hunter, and Oliff are the least likely candidates given the dating of the archaeological deposits that suggests the site was abandoned prior to 1775. Of the earlier overseers, John South's shares are recorded as taken from the outlying quarters of Hallow's Marsh and the Upper Clifts, suggesting he was not in residence at the Oval site, which was on the home farm. John Omohundro, Jr. may have resided on the plantation in his earlier years, though by his tenure as steward he would not likely have lived at an agricultural quarter.

Thus, the earlier known overseers including Tobias Presley, John Linton, Thomas Davis, John Carter, Thomas Pritchard, and James Russell are the most likely candidates for overseers at the site. Benjamin Dodd and Robert Sanford may have been among the last overseers to inhabit the site. No particular evidence is known that would identify any one of those men and their families in particular as associated with the archaeological site. It is possible and, given the notoriously short tenure of overseers, likely, that the site served as the residence for several overseers sequentially over the period of its occupation.

Calhoun (1980s) identified four men as overseers in Westmoreland County Court records dating to the tenure of Thomas Lee at Stratford from 1738 to 1750: James Carter, Tobias Presley, John Linton, and Thomas Davis. In 1738 James Carter participated in the pursuit of Thomas Lee's slave Saul who had run away into the woods. Carter shot at the man before he and an indentured servant overtook and fought with Saul. During the fight Carter broke the gun stock over Saul's head "…and bent the barrel very much...before they could conquer the said negro" (WCCR 1738:270). Tobias Presley neglected to report the eight slaves under his charge as tithables to the county

in 1738, and he was described as one of Lee's overseers in Washington Parish (WCCR 1738:265). This reference suggests Presley likely oversaw a gang at the Stratford home farm or contiguous quarters that were located in Washington Parish, as opposed to Thomas Lee's ancestral land holdings that were largely to the east in Cople Parish (Meade 1900:152,170; Calhoun 1991). John Linton appears in court over the death of Thomas Lee's slave, Preston, in 1742. Despite being accused of causing the death by "…the Inhumanity and Immoderate correction of the said Linton to the said slave without just or any provocation…" (WCCR 1742:138), Linton was acquitted.

The specific dates or circumstances of these early overseers at Stratford are unknown, as they appear only in public records, though these cases do capture the violent nature of the overseer's interactions with the enslaved. No further record of John Linton was located in Westmoreland County, though he did inherit land from his father in Richmond County in 1734 (Fothergill 1973) and may have moved there after being taken to court for killing the slave Preston. Tobias Presley was dead by 1743, leaving a modest estate appraised at £48.1.10 including 19 head of livestock and one slave named Roger (WCCR 1743:2). James Carter, who broke a gun over the head of the slave Saul in 1738, was dead by 1755 and left behind at least two orphans (WCCR 1755:2). Thomas Davis is noted as an overseer at Stratford in 1745 by Calhoun (1980s) and shows up collecting a fifteen-shilling debt from the estate of another Stratford overseer, the late Thomas Pritchard, in 1762 (WCCR 1762:147).

There are more numerous references to overseers during the tenure of Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee. Along with brief court records, the plantation ledger and estate accounts (Lee 1743-1783; Lee Estate 1775-1780) give some detail on the tenure and

economic circumstances of the Lee's overseers. Six men were identified as overseers during Philip Ludwell Lee's lifetime including Thomas Pritchard, John Omohundro, James Russell, John South, Benjamin Dodd, and Robert Sanford (Table 9).

John Omohundro Jr. worked for the Lees as a steward, managing plantation business affairs perhaps as early as 1757 through the period of Colonel Phil's estate in the early 1780s (Calhoun n.d, Lee 1743-1783; Lee Estate 1775-1780). Omohundro received an 80-acre tract in Cople Parish from his father in 1757, though his brothers inherited the majority of the larger plantation (WCCR 1757:98, 1795:283). Omohundro was not included in the yearly division of tobacco shares among other Stratford overseers recorded in the estate accounts, although he was reimbursed for frequent travels to other Lee holdings in Virginia (Lee Estate 1775-1780). Omohundro lived out his life in Westmoreland County, and was listed in a countywide audit (James 1902) in 1782 as owning two slaves. Omohundro's will of 1795 listed him as a planter and he bequeathed four slaves to his children (WCCR 1795:403).

Thomas Pritchard [Pritchett], the overseer involved in the incident with carts and plows at Stratford described above, had a truly rocky tenure as overseer. He was involved in a court suit against Philip Ludwell Lee for an unknown dispute as early as 1756, which was finally abated by the death of Pritchard in 1762 (WCCR 1756:63, 1762a:44). The details of the suit are unknown, but Pritchard died of disease at the home of Thomas Robinson, leaving four orphaned children and an estate in debt (WCCR 1762b:47). The debt was settled over the next several years by the sale of goods, and the hiring out of three slaves that he owned. Although he died at Robinson's house, he must have been very recently employed as one of Lee's overseers, as

records show that Westmoreland County charged his estate for two boats hired to bring his slaves and possessions from Stratford, and credited to his estate were eight month's wages totaling £12.5.0 (WCCR 1762c:147-148).

James Russell was noted as an overseer in Colonel Philip Ludwell Lee's Ledger (Lee 1743-1783). He made several purchases from the plantation stores between 1761 and 1770 including shoes, wheat, salt, beef, liquor, and Osnaburg cloth—a common reference to the coarse material used for slave clothing (Lee 1743-1783:12,51). No other record of Russell could be located in Westmoreland County, and he was not mentioned in the later estate administrator's accounts suggesting he was likely no longer employed by 1775 and may have left the area.

Benjamin Dodd was an overseer at Stratford by at least 1776, as he appeared in the estate accounts of Philip Ludwell Lee receiving shares of tobacco in that year (Lee Estate 1775-1780). Dodd may have been employed several years prior as he made several purchases from the plantation stores between 1771 and 1775 including Osnaburg and other cloth, leather, pork, beef, sugar, molasses, salt, and a pair of shoes "for Negro Girl "—conceivably Dodd's own slave (Lee 1743-1783:24). Dodd appears to have been the youngest of three sons as his two brothers inherited the lands of his father (WCCR 1745:96). Dodd died in Westmoreland County in 1782, and his inventory records that he left behind a very modest estate, with no slaves, totaling only £24.19.6 (WCCR 1785a).

Robert Sanford served as an overseer at Stratford at least from 1773 to 1776, when he first appeared settling debts for purchases from the plantation stores via his shares of corn and tobacco (Lee 1743-1783:38). In April 1776, he purchased a horse

and his father Augustine settled his accounts, at which time he disappeared from plantation records. Robert Sanford may have enlisted in the Continental Army and served in the American Revolution. In 1782 the estate of Robert Sanford in Westmoreland County was recorded as owning four slaves (James 1902), suggesting that Robert was deceased. Several Sanfords of Westmoreland County served in the Continental Army including a Richard, Joel, Patrick, and Edward. Also listed was a Sanford whose first name is unrecorded, and the only record of his service was from food furnished to his mother Easter in 1779 by the county (Norris 1983:348).

The overseers at Stratford that may have resided at the Oval site fit well in to some historical conceptions of overseers: most were not first-born sons of their families that stood to inherit land and several were in debt or died with relatively meager estates. Other facets of the overseer population add nuance, or even contradict commonly held assumptions: most had families, several owned their own slaves, and some went on to achieve middling-planter status. Many were drawn from the nearby families of Westmoreland County, who would have been known among the community and likely to the Lees. They often bought cloth, clothing, foodstuffs, and spirits from the plantation stores using their crop shares as credit. The purchases not only give a glimpse of the families of these men, but also indicate that they were not likely provisioned with much by the Lees beyond the houses to which they were assigned.

McCarty's Plantation

The Accotink Quarter site (44FX0223) was an outlying quarter farm on the plantation of Dennis McCarty, later owned by Abraham Barnes, situated between

Accotink Creek and Pohick Creek in Fairfax County, approximately 10 miles southwest of the city of Alexandria. The land was originally granted via patent to Captain Thomas Owsley in 1694, and passed to his widow Ann and descendants before being acquired through both grant and purchase in two separate tracts by Daniel McCarty (I) in 1714 and 1716 (Sipe et al. 2013:42-44). Daniel McCarty (I) was a wealthy planter, politician, and merchant with considerable land holdings in northern Virginia and a large home plantation in Westmoreland County. Elected to the House of Burgesses in 1706 and serving through 1723, Daniel McCarty (I) was elected as Speaker of the House in 1715 and again in 1718. McCarty does not appear to have ever resided on his Stafford County lands, but had established a quarter there by the time of his death in 1724. The inventory of his estate in 1726 listed several quarters throughout northern Virginia (Table 10). The Stafford County quarter listed in Daniel McCarty's (I) 1726 inventory included 10 enslaved individuals including one man, four women, three boys, one girl, and a child of unknown gender. This quarter may represent the earliest occupation of the Accotink Quarter site. The inventory also listed one white indentured servant, 14 hogs, 14 cattle, and a large quantity of salt at the quarter. The indentured servant may have served as an overseer.

While the McCarty home plantation in Westmoreland County passed to the eldest son, the lands in what was then Stafford County passed to Daniel McCarty's (I) second son, Dennis McCarty in 1724. Dennis McCarty continued the tradition of serving in public office, as Sheriff, Justice of the Peace in Stafford, and Burgess for Prince William County in the 1720s and 30s. Dennis appears to have resided in Stafford County on the north side of Accotink Creek on over 500 acres that became known as

Table 10: Slaves Listed in Daniel McCarty's 1726 Inventory. Compiled from Sipe et al. (2013).

Name	Age	Value (£)
Home Plantation		
Peter, sick	31	20
Cork, tailor	15	25
Butcher, carpenter	24	40
Little London		35
Sham, carpenter	22	30
Natt	12	25
Jack		25
Arabella		28
Haddy		27
Betty		26
Dianah and her child Fillis		31
Sam		14
[?] Moll		15
Farham Moll		14
Will		6
Peter		6
Pompy, lame	29	20
Great Joney		26
Dulcina and her child Nichol		31
Gambo Joe		26
Little Jonny	10	18
Quafey, poxed		10
Joney		30
Pompey, Joyner	21	30
Duke		25
Mulatto Better, a child		12
Betty, a child		10
Daniel, a child		8
Sugarlands Quarter		
Frederick		35
Mundingo, a woman	18	30
Sophia	21	30

Name	Age	Value (£)
Northumberland Quarter		
London		28
Bab		20
Lotty, a girl		4
Ben		25
Ebo		25
Curragio		25
George, a boy	6	10
Faddo	2 months	3
Stafford Quarter		
Dick		18
Charles, a boy		15
Stafford, a boy		10
Sarah and her child		25
Winney		25
Bristol, a boy		18
Alice		25
Cate, a girl		18
Murreah		20
William Minor's Quarter		
Joyce, Jack's wife	25	29
Dick, a lad		28
Tom		30
Captain		30
Martha, Tom's wife		28
Jack		30
Joe		30
Sarah and her infant Prince		31

Mt. Air. He established a tobacco warehouse at Pohick, not far from the Accotink Quarter site, where he served as inspector. Dennis McCarty owned 51 slaves by the time of his death in 1742, including seven with the same names as slaves originally listed in his father's Stafford County quarter (Sipe et al. 2013:47-51).

Dennis McCarty's widow, Sarah, inherited 17 slaves and gained control of the land containing the Accotink Quarter site. In a 1747 suit brought by a neighbor, Sarah's eldest son Daniel McCarty (II), who studied law at William and Mary, defended his mother's estate and a plat was prepared that may show the location of the Accotink Quarter site and is labeled: "11. A Quarter belonging to the Estate of the Defendts. father, decd" (Sipe et al. 2013:57). The widow Sarah McCarty brought those lands that included the quarter to her second marriage to Abraham Barnes in 1746. Barnes had a problematic life both as a planter and husband. Abraham Barnes was born about 1721 in Westmoreland County and had early ties to the McCarty family through his half-sister's marriage. Barnes then married in to the more successful McCarty family, gaining control over the widow Sarah's land and slaves, and even rising to local public offices including vestryman and churchwarden in the local Truro parish in 1749. He was referenced in public documents as a gentleman serving as tobacco inspector by 1752 (Veech 1998:78-95; Sipe et al. 2013:62).

Barnes' social climbing faltered by the mid-1750s. He was sued for selling county-owned tobacco at his warehouse for personal profit in 1755 and went into considerable debt purchasing luxury items. He and an accomplice, local tavern keeper Robert Boggess, were charged with several counts of assault and battery in the years from 1753 to 1755. However, the pair was only found guilty of one charge. Barnes was

also twice convicted of illegal gaming in 1753 and 1762, as well as profane swearing. In 1756, he failed to report the estates of his guardians, the younger McCarty children, and may have embezzled their inheritances. Barnes sold off mineral and timber rights to his lands in 1757, and the entire Sugarlands tract in 1763 (Sipe et al. 2013:63-64). Barnes' social status declined as a result of his behavior and financial failures, as he was never referenced as a gentleman in records after 1756 (Veech 1998:95), and although Sarah was recorded seven times visiting the Washington family at neighboring Mount Vernon, Abraham was not mentioned at all, suggesting that he was no longer found acceptable social company among the gentry (Veech 1998:107; Sipe et al. 2013:64).

Abraham Barnes' family relations also deteriorated through the 1760s. Abraham and Sarah were forced to mortgage their estate to Sarah's son, Daniel McCarty (II), who in 1758 took over management of the plantation. From 1769 to 1784, Daniel filed three chancery suits against Abraham on behalf of his mother, and by 1772 Sarah and Abraham were separated. Abraham was forced to relinquish his property to Daniel McCarty (II), was evicted from the plantation, and went bankrupt. Abraham Barnes died in 1785 after taking refuge in the Mason Neck area with his former accomplice Robert Boggess (Veech 1998:112-114; Sipe et al. 2013:66-69). The McCarty family continued to own and administer the lands containing the Accotink Quarter through the 19th century until it was eventually sold out of the family in 1882 (Sipe et al. 2013:84-85).

After the 1726 listing of the Stafford Quarter in Daniel McCarty's (I) inventory and the depiction of the quarter on the 1747 survey plat, there is little documentary evidence definitively linked to the occupants or condition of the Accotink Quarter site (44FX0223). When Daniel McCarty (II) gave his son Daniel McCarty (III) over 1,600 acres in 1779, he

reserved for his own use the land described as south of the Accotink Creek containing a quarter. This parcel likely included Site 44FX0223, and it is possible that the quarter referred to is the Accotink Quarter site. During Sarah's marriage to Abraham Barnes, she retained ownership of 17 slaves bequeathed to her by her late husband. An unknown number of Abraham's slaves were added to Sarah's, likely totaling no more than 30 individuals that comprised the population split between the Barnes plantation home farm, Accotink Quarter, and Sugarland Quarter in Loudon County.

Both Daniel McCarty (II) and Abraham Barnes had quarters on separate, but nearby tracts in the Sugarlands area. Records survive for some of the occupants of those outlying quarter farms that were likely similar to Accotink (Table 11). Each employed a series of overseers, with no one man employed for more than three or four years. Each also used family members as overseers. Barnes employed a James McCarty, presumably related to the family, in 1754 and the same man appears as an overseer on Daniel McCarty's (II) quarter six years later. Each quarter included seven or eight slaves, many of whom remained throughout the entire documented period, much longer than any one overseer. Accounts from John Glassford and Company's store in

Table 11: Overseers and Slaves at the Sugarlands Quarters. Data from Sipe et al. (2013:76-78).

Year(s)	Overseer	Slaves
Abraham Barnes's		
1754	James McCarty	Alice, Cuffee, Dick, Prue and her child, Rhody, Sam, Winny
1759-1761	John Jenkins	Alice, Cuffy, Dick, Maria, Prue, Rhoda, Samb, Samb
1762-1764	William Sortirdge	Abe, Dick, Little Dick, Prue, Rhody, Sam, Old Winnie, Young Winnie
1771	John Harles	Alice, Prue, Sam, Winnie
Daniel McCarty's (II)		
1760	James McCarty	Bes, Dick, Frederick, Jimmy, Julah, Nana, Sarah
1762	William James	Bascoe, Bes, Dick, Frederick, London, Sarah, Toby
1764	Ben Bright	Bess, Dick, Frederick, James, Julius, Nan, Sarah
1765	William Veal	Bess, Frederick, Frederick, James, Julious, Nan, Sarah
1769	Thomas Duty, Jr.	Bess, Dick, Frank, Frederick, James, Julius, Nan, Sarah

Colchester credited Barnes with five hogsheads totaling 4,893 pounds of tobacco in 1765 and seven hogsheads totaling 10,987 pounds in 1766 inspected at “the Falls” warehouse, which was located nearest the Sugarland tracts (Sipe et al. 2013:78).

Allowing for the possibility of incomplete records and variation in the roles of individual quarters, Barnes was being credited with an average of just less than 5,000 pounds of tobacco per year in the late 1760s at Pohick warehouse (Sipe et al. 2013:76). According to studies made from compilations of known labor forces and tobacco production, the average yearly output per laborer during the time period was 660 pounds (Walsh 1993), suggesting at least seven or eight working-age slaves on Barnes’ Fairfax properties. Some of those individuals likely resided at the Accotink Quarter along with any children not yet old enough to work in the fields.

Sipe et al. (2013) identified two possible overseers at the Accotink Quarter in records from John Glassford and Company’s Colchester store accounts in the 1760s. These men may have been the last in a succession of overseers to reside and work at the site. The first, a man referenced as “Free Jack,” purchased goods on Abraham Barnes’ account in 1765 that seem likely to be the year’s provisions for the quarter. These items included sugar, pepper, a grindstone, fishing hooks and line, powder and shot, indigo dye, and nails. It seems likely, though not certain, that Free Jack may have been the same individual listed as “Mulatto Jack” in the 1758 mortgaging of the estate (Sipe et al. 2013:72).

The second man listed in the store accounts is one John Marvill, who purchased a similar assortment of goods on Barnes’ account between 1766 and 1769, provisioning the quarter with a relatively regular supply of rum, salt, sugar, pepper, shot, and powder,

and other occasional purchases of cloth, tar, locks, rope, and cooking implements. Marvill was paid via credit at the store each spring with 950 pounds of tobacco (Sipe et al. 2013:73-74). Marvill also had a personal account in the same ledger where he is listed as “Overseer for Mr. Abraham Barnes” (Sipe et al. 2013:670). Those personal purchases were primarily textiles and suggest that Marvill had a family as he purchased women’s shoes and a boy’s hat. Among the numerous varieties of cloth, thread, buttons, handkerchiefs, shoes, and hats were occasional purchases of rum, brandy, powder, shot, and bowls. One purchase of a yard of Irish linen is noted “to be paid with Chickens” (Sipe et al. 2013:74), suggesting the family kept fowl and must have procured at least some of their food and goods by their own means.

It is not clear if Abraham Barnes employed John Marvill prior to 1766, though the two certainly knew each other, as they were involved in a county court case against each other in 1763, though no outcome is recorded. Marvill appeared three more times in Fairfax County Court records in 1768 as a plaintiff in a trespass and assault and battery case, and in both 1769 and 1773 to settle minor debts. Despite his relatively unique surname, no other record of John Marvill was found. Though Jack is a common diminutive of John, Free Jack and John Marvill were not likely the same individual. Each was given his own distinct name in the same store ledger, and county court records never note John Marvill as free, mulatto, or negro (Sipe et al. 2013:75). Like the group of overseers at Stratford, the two men that likely oversaw the Accotink Quarter both affirm some aspects of traditional overseer images, and are more complex than others.

Poplar Forest

Poplar Forest was a Piedmont plantation owned by Thomas Jefferson from 1773 to his death in 1826, located primarily in Bedford County, Virginia approximately 10 miles west of Lynchburg and the James River. William Stith originally patented the land that would become Poplar Forest in 1745, in what was then Albemarle County. Stith's heirs sold the land, then in newly established Bedford County, to Peter Randolph in 1762. John Wayles, Thomas Jefferson's father-in-law, bought Poplar Forest among other tracts along the James River from Randolph in 1764, and soon after established a quarter, known later as the "old plantation" in the area where Jefferson later built his retreat house at Poplar Forest. After immigrating to Virginia from England in the 1740s, Wayles rose in society through successes in marriage, business, and as a planter and attorney. Wayles resided at his home plantation, the Forest, in Charles City County and administered Poplar Forest among many other plantations and quarters as an absentee owner. His holdings included approximately 20,000 acres though central Virginia along the James River, stretching from the Tidewater to the Piedmont in Amelia, Amherst, Bedford, Charles City, Cumberland, Goochland, and Henrico counties (Heath and Gary 2012:2; Heath et al. 2015:2-3).

Wayles' daughter Martha was newly married to Thomas Jefferson at the time of Wayles' death in 1773, and through Martha's inheritance Jefferson came to own over 135 slaves and 10,000 acres of land, including Poplar Forest (Heath and Gary 2012; Heath et al. 2015). In the 1790s, Jefferson was a mostly absentee owner of Poplar Forest. Jefferson diversified agricultural production to include wheat at Poplar Forest, though he never abandoned tobacco production. This was not uncommon in the region,

where soil conditions permitted the continued growth of tobacco for several decades after most Tidewater plantations had abandoned it for mixed grains (Sanford 1995:145). Under Jefferson's overseers, farming at Poplar Forest continued at the Old Plantation, in the vicinity of the archaeological site known as the North Hill Quarter, and, prior to 1790, at the newly established Wingo's quarter, a 1,000-acre tract in the northwest portion of the plantation. During his second term as President, Jefferson oversaw the construction of the house and gardens at Poplar Forest, which he regularly visited from 1810 to 1823 as an escape from his more public life at Monticello (Heath and Gary 2012:2-6). During Jefferson's ownership of the property, a total of 233 enslaved individuals were listed at Poplar Forest from 1774 to 1823 (Monticello Plantation Database 2008) with yearly totals growing from 30 in 1774 to 94 in 1819 (Heath 2012b:114).

In 1790, a portion of Poplar Forest including the Wingo's tract was given to Jefferson's daughter Martha and her new husband Thomas Mann Randolph as a wedding gift (Heath et al. 2015:11). Thomas Jefferson's grandson, Francis Eppes, and his wife Mary eventually moved to Poplar Forest in 1823 and inherited the plantation in 1826. In 1828, they sold Poplar Forest to William Cobbs, a local planter, and his descendants continued to farm the land through the mid-20th century. In 1983, the Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest bought the core of Poplar Forest including the house and immediate grounds. They have subsequently added nearly 600 acres to the property and operate it as a historic house museum with an active archaeology program (Heath and Gary 2012:7-9).

Jefferson established Wingo's quarter in 1773, following instructions in John

Wayles' will. By late 1774, 15 enslaved African Americans, 10 adults and 5 children were in residence. Thomas Jefferson had inherited all of those initial occupants of Wingo's from John Wayles, and most were brought in from Indian Camp, a former Wayles quarters in what is now Powhatan County. A white overseer named John Wingo managed the quarter for four years, lending his name to tract in Jefferson's records for years to come. In 1790 the Wingo's tract and slaves were passed to Jefferson's daughter, Martha Randolph. The property containing Wingo's quarter was sold out of the Jefferson family by 1811, though the house at 44BE0298 may have been abandoned as early as 1790 (Heath 2012b:110; Heath et al. 2015:3-4,7).

Jefferson's Farm Book (MHS 2003:11) initially lists five unrelated individuals at Wingo's in a roll of slaves inherited from John Wayles in January 1774: John, Davy (Hern), Mary (Hemmings), Doll, and Charles (Table 12). A subsequent listing in the same year entitled "Locations of Slaves for 1774" in the Farm Book (MHS 2 003:16) includes 15 slaves. Mary Hemmings is not included, but a slave woman Lucy is added, as well as Abby and her child Jesse, and the family of Sarah, Londy, and their six children. Abby gave birth to a second child, Judy, in 1774. Both Abby and John had spouses nearby at Poplar Forest, and several of the unrelated individuals also had relatives at other Jefferson farms and quarters (Monticello Plantation Database 2008).

Most subsequent lists in the Farm Book and data compiled from plantation records in the Monticello Plantation Database do not separate the slaves at Wingo's quarter from those in residence at the larger Poplar Forest plantation. However, in a 1783 listing, five individuals first listed at Wingo's still remain in the Poplar Forest listing and possibly at Wingo's: Betty, Lucy, Londy, and his daughters Sarah and Lucy. By

Table 12: Slaves Listed at Wingo's Quarter in 1774. Compiled from Jefferson's Farm Book (MHS 2003) and the Monticello Plantation Database (2008).

Name	Gender	Born	Age (1774)	Trade	Place From	Acquired from	Passed to
Sarah	F	-	-	Farm Laborer	Indian Camp	John Wayles	d. 1781
Londy	M	-	-	Farm Laborer	Indian Camp	John Wayles	Thomas Mann Randolph (1791)
-Peg	F	-	-		Indian Camp	John Wayles	
-Phoebe	F	1760	14	Farm Laborer	Indian Camp	John Wayles	sold to William Harris (1791)
-Sarah	F	1764	10		Indian Camp	John Wayles	Thomas Mann Randolph (1791)
-Frank	M	1764	10		Indian Camp	John Wayles	sold to John Clarke (1792)
-Betty	F	1767	7		Indian Camp	John Wayles	Thomas Mann Randolph (1790)
-Lucy	F	1769	5		Indian Camp	John Wayles	Thomas Mann Randolph (1790)
Abby[1]	F	1753	21	Farm Laborer, Spinner (1811)	Indian Camp	John Wayles	
-Jesse	M	1772	2		Indian Camp	John Wayles	
-Judy	F	1774	0				sold to James Branch (1792)
*John[2]	M	1753	21	Farm Laborer, Gardener (1793), Carpenter (1795), Tradesman (1810)		John Wayles	TJ Randolph (1827)
*Charles	M	-	-	Farm Laborer, Waterman (1774)	Elk Hill	John Wayles	sold to John Depriest (1791)
*Davy Hern	M	1755	19	Farm Laborer, Carpenter (1795,1799), Miller (1807), Tradesman (1810)		John Wayles	TJ Randolph (1827)
*Doll	F	1757	17	Farm Laborer		John Wayles	TJ Randolph (1827)
Lucy	F	1747	27	Farm Laborer	Poplar Forest	John Wayles	sold to Robert Hawkins (1791)
*Mary Hemmings	F	1753	21	non-Farm Labor		John Wayles	sold to Thomas Bell (1792)

1: Abby's husband John, father of Jesse and Judy, listed as Blacksmith at Poplar Forest
2: John's wife Amy listed as Farm Laborer at Poplar Forest
*: Originally listed at Wingo's in list of slaves allotted from John Wayles to T. Jefferson, Jan. 14, 1774

1783 most of the original individuals listed at Wingo's in 1774 had been moved to Monticello at least temporarily, except for Londy's wife Sarah who had died in 1781 and their daughter Peg who had died in 1774 (Monticello Plantation Database 2008; Heath et al. 2015:6). Heath et al. (2015:11) posit that the house found and excavated at site 44BE0298 on the Wingo's tract was not likely occupied after 1790, when property was transferred to Martha and Thomas Mann Randolph (Heath 2012b:113).

The transfer included 20 individuals listed in residence on the Wingo's tract, some of who may have been the last residents of 44BE0298 (Table 13). They included five families including Jack and Patt Kennon with their younger children Betty and Judy. Jack and Patt also had two older sons, Tom and Jeffery, who had started their own families. Tom had married Lucy, the daughter of Sarah and Lundy at Wingo's in 1774, and the couple had two young children Davy and Polly, ages six and two. Jeffery had married Joan, the niece of Poplar Forest waterman and shoemaker James Hubbard, and they had two young daughters Scilla and Nancy. Joan was gifted to Thomas Mann Randolph with her husband and children in 1790. Also present at Wingo's in 1790 were Phyllis and her husband Jupiter with their teenage and adult children John Jupiter, Phyllis, Sam, and Shandy. Lundy, a man of unknown relation or origin, though possibly related to the elder Londy, and Londy and Sarah's daughter Betty, were also present at Wingo's in 1790 (Monticello Plantation Database 2008; Heath et al. 2015: 7-8).

During Thomas Jefferson's ownership from 1774 to 1790, a few closely related families with ties to the larger Poplar Forest population occupied Wingo's. These families can largely be traced back to several slave women inherited by Martha Eppes Wayles from her father in 1734 and her brother in 1737. These slaves included Sarah

Table 13: Slaves Listed at Wingo's in 1790. Compiled from Monticello Plantation Database (2008) and Heath et al. (2015:7-8).

Name	Gender	Born	Age	Trade	Place from	Acquired from
Jack	M	1758	32	Farm Laborer (1774)	Elk Hill (1774)	John Wayles
Patt Kennon	F	1752	38	Farm Laborer (1774)	Elk Hill (1774)	John Wayles
- Betty	F	1774	16		Elk Hill (1774)	
- Judy	F	1780	10			
- Tom	M	1767	23		Elk Hill (1774)	John Wayles
*Lucy	F	1769	21		Indian Camp (1774)	John Wayles
- Davy	M	1784	6			
- Polly	F	1788	2			
- Jeffery	M	1769	21		Elk Hill (1774)	John Wayles
- Scilla	F	1786	4			
- Nancy	F	1788	2			
Phyllis	F	1753	37	discharged from labor (1774)	Judith's Creek (1774)	John Wayles
Jupiter	M	1753	37	Farm Laborer (1774)	Judith's Creek (1774)	John Wayles
- John Jupiter	M	1775	15		Judith's Creek (1775)	
- Phyllis	F	1772	18		Judith's Creek (1774)	John Wayles
- Sam	M	1770	20		Judith's Creek (1774)	John Wayles
- Shandy	M	1768	22		Judith's Creek (1774)	John Wayles
Lundy	M	1764	26			
*Betty	F	1767	23		Indian Camp (1774)	John Wayles

*Betty and Lucy both daughters of Sarah and Londy originally listed at Wingo's in 1774

and Judy, whose descendants were the principal occupants of Wingo's in 1774 (Heath et al. 2015:5). The quarter excavated at site 44BE0298 likely housed one family of enslaved agricultural laborers from each of the larger groups noted in Tables 12 and 13, assigned to grow corn, tobacco, and possibly flax in the surrounding fields. Relatively few skilled tradespeople would be assigned to an outlying quarter. However, some of the younger hands initially placed at Wingo's went on to gain skills such as Davy Hern, John, Charles, and Abby; though they were subsequently reassigned to Monticello or other Poplar Forest quarters (Monticello Plantation Database 2008).

Few details about the work and management of Wingo's Quarter have been discerned from the documentary record. Heath et al. (2015:9-10) note that overseer John Wingo was credited with producing hogsheads for packaging tobacco and the production of corn in 1774 and 1775. At least five hogsheads of tobacco were produced at Wingo's quarter in 1775. There is no record of John Wingo in Jefferson's records after April 1777; after which time other overseers at Poplar Forest or an enslaved foreman could have managed the quarter. Records show that Jefferson visited Poplar Forest in 1781 and purchased food and made other payments to several slaves likely living at Wingo's, as they were listed there in 1790. Also in 1781, Jack, along with two accomplices, were tried and found guilty of breaking in to the mill and still house of a nearby Bedford County planter. Jack and another Poplar Forest slave named Will were publically whipped in New London as punishment (Heath et al. 2015:10).

After the Wingo's tract was given to Martha and Thomas Mann Randolph in 1790, they continued to farm the land, though the slaves likely resided at other locations on the property. In 1808 they conveyed a portion of the property to their daughter Ann

and her husband Charles Bankhead, though they quickly sold the property to William Radford and Poplar Forest overseer Joel Yancy in 1811. The two men continued to buy adjacent tracts before dividing the land between them 1826. The Wingo's land passed from Radford to other owners at his death in 1834, before being purchased by his son Richard in 1859. The Radford family continues to own the land now known as Rothsay to the present day, as Laura Radford Goley and her husband Gene currently own the tract containing site 24BE0298 (Heath et al. 2015:11-12).

Montpelier

Montpelier is located in the piedmont of Orange County, Virginia, approximately two miles southeast of the confluence of Blue Run and the Rapidan River and about three and a half miles west of the current town of Orange. Ambrose Madison and his brother-in-law Thomas Chew first patented the Montpelier plantation, originally known as Mount Pleasant, in 1721. The land had been granted to the two men by their mutual father-in-law Colonel James Taylor. Chew and Madison were required to "settle" their patents through improvements to the lands, and Madison sent newly purchased African slaves under a white overseer to begin the clearing and planting in 1726. Ambrose Madison and his family moved from King and Queen County along the York River in the Tidewater region to Mount Pleasant in 1732. Ambrose died shortly after his arrival, supposedly poisoned by three slaves (Parker et al. 1996; Chambers 2005). The widow Frances Madison continued to run the plantation until 1744 when her son, James Madison Sr., came of age and inherited the land and slaves. James Sr. had the original Georgian-style mansion house built, in addition to a third quarter and new mill by the

end of the 1760s. The plantation and its slave community continued through a period of relative stability through the 1790s as the health of James Sr. began to decline.

James Madison Jr. inherited Montpelier in 1801 upon the death of his father. He and his wife Dolly administered Montpelier largely as absentee owners for nearly two decades due to James's political career that included serving as President Jefferson's Secretary of State from 1801 to 1809 and his own presidency from 1809 to 1817. Following his presidency, James and Dolly Madison returned to Montpelier where they lived until his death in 1836. Dolly struggled to maintain the plantation until she moved to Washington DC and sold it out of the family in 1844. The DuPont family eventually came to own the plantation during most of the 20th century and transferred the mansion and grounds to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1984. The plantation is now operated as a historic site by the Montpelier Foundation (Parker et al. 1996; Chambers 2005; The Montpelier Foundation 2016).

The circa 1790s to 1830s Stable Quarter at Montpelier primarily dates to the ownership of James Madison Jr. during the periods of his public service and retirement. The slave community at Montpelier home farm began with 7 or 8 individuals in the late 1730s and grew to over 60 by 1790. These individuals comprise roughly half of the Madison Family's 97 enslaved laborers in 1782, with the remainder spread across the three quarter farms in the surrounding countryside. As his children came of age in the 1780s, James Madison Sr. began to advance slaves to his children: Ambrose, James Jr., William, and Nelly Hite. By the time of his death in 1801, almost 40 slaves had been advanced to James Sr.'s heirs, though his estate still directly owned 108 slaves. It was at this point in time that the enslaved community at Montpelier faced real disruption.

Despite the widow Nelly Madison retaining nearly a third of her late husband's slaves and James Jr. buying back several from his siblings, many were sent to the plantation of James Jr.'s brother-in-law, Isaac Hite in Frederick County. This period of instability and fracture among the enslaved community at Montpelier abated briefly during the first two decades of the 19th century, before financial hardships forced the then retired President Madison to begin selling off land in the 1820s and slaves in the 1830s (Chambers 2005:132-138).

No comprehensive list of slaves exists from the 1790 to 1830 period of occupation at the Stable Quarter, though tax records for the years 1780 to 1840 indicate that between approximately 40 to 60 tithable, or roughly working-age, enslaved adults resided at Montpelier and represented roughly half the total population (Chambers 2005). More detailed personal property tax records and James Madison Sr.'s plantation records from the 1780s provide a glimpse of the community just prior to the Stable Quarter's occupation. A total of 126 individuals are listed from 1782 to 1787: 92 on the 1782 tax records; 5 that were given to Nelly Hite in 1783; and 9 more on tax records from 1784 to 1786; and 20 more who first appeared in 1787. While it is not certain that all of these individuals were present at the same time, they represent slaves known to have been on the plantation at some point in those years. These include 34 adult women, 38 adult men, 29 girls, and 25 boys (Appendix B, Table A.3).

Personal details about the slaves themselves are lacking, though one man, Moses, was listed as a blacksmith, and another, Harry, was listed as a tradesman in 1787 (Table A.3). There were almost certainly more skilled slaves given the range of industrial and commercial activities known at Montpelier. James Sr. never abandoned

tobacco production but invested heavily in trade, industry, and diversified agriculture including wheat, hay, hemp, and fruit production. He also operated a brandy still, mill, and acted as a factor, ordering goods from England and distributing them in Virginia as well as engaging his slaves in carpentry, blacksmithing, and iron production (Parker et al. 1996:192-193).

Several families are known in the slave community at this time including Dinar and her six children Alexander, Alice, Amey, Dinah, John, and Winny. Dinar and her family were given to James Madison Jr. in 1787, and at least Alexander and Amey remained at Montpelier through the 1840s to be deeded from the widow Dolly Madison to her son John Payne Todd in 1844. Another matriarch at Montpelier was the enslaved woman Eliza, who was given to Nelly Hite in 1783 with her five children Demas, Diana, Joanna, Pinder, and Webster. Another family, Truelove and her four children Henry, Katey, Peggy, and Priscilla also were given to Nelly Hite in 1783, though they appear to have remained at Montpelier until 1801 (Chambers 2005:242). The slave Sawney had a particularly noteworthy life at Montpelier working at the Black Level and Mill Quarter farms. Sawney came to the plantation as a young man with Nelly Conway after her 1749 marriage to James Madison Sr. Sawney apparently gained a great deal of trust with the Madisons, as in 1769 he accompanied James Madison Jr. to the College of New Jersey, which is now Princeton University. By the 1780s he was one of four overseers, and was even allowed to harvest his own share of tobacco and sold it under a unique mark. Sawney served as overseer on the quarter that eventually became known as Sawney's Farm through the 1790s and he retired to the central Walnut Grove quarter in the early 19th century prior to his death sometime in the 1830s (Chambers

2005:153-156).

The next potentially comprehensive listing of slaves at Montpelier was in 1844 when the widowed Dolly Madison deeded the estate to her son John Payne Todd. The transfer included 43 enslaved individuals, many of whom were born during the early 19th century (Table 14). Only nine individuals in the 1844 deed to Todd can be identified from the population of 126 listed at Montpelier in the 1780s. The remainder were likely born or purchased in the intervening time. Several notable individuals were present including Paul Jennings, who was at James Madison Jr.'s deathbed in 1836 and was later purchased and manumitted by Daniel Webster. Jennings later published a memoir in 1865 (Chambers 2005:224).

Chambers (2005) asserts that Montpelier slaves have largely been overlooked in the historiography of President James Madison Jr. and his plantation. In striking

Table 14: Slaves Deeded from Dolly Madison to John Payne Todd in 1844.

Name	Gender	Note	Name	Gender	Note
Abraham	man	b. ca. 1827	Matthew	man	b. 1800, freed 1852
Alexander	man	first listed 1787, son of Dinar	Milly	woman	b. ca. 1804
Amey	woman	first listed 1787, daughter of Dinar	Nancy	woman	first listed 1782
Becca	woman		Nicholas	man	b. ca. 1808
Ben Sr.	man	freed 1852	Nicholas Jr.	boy	b. ca. 1831
Benjamin	boy	with DM in DC	Old Ralph	man	freed by JPT 1852
Catharine	woman	b. ca. 1822, freed 1852	Paul Jennings	man	b. ca. 1799, sold in 1845
Charles	man	b. ca. 1814,	Ralph Jr.	man	b. ca. 1811, freed 1852
Charlotte	woman	b. ca. 1824	Randall	man	first listed 1782, freed 1852
Ellen	woman		Sam	man	
Ellick	man		Sarah	woman	freed 1852
Fanny	woman	first listed 1784	Sarah	girl	daughter of Ralph
Gabriel	man	freed in 1852	Stephen	man	
Harriett	woman	b. ca. 1819,	Sukey	woman	with DM in DC
Jerry	man		Sylvia	woman	b. ca. 1811
John	man	freed 1852	Tidal	man	b. ca. 1779
John	man	"Blind John"	Tom	man	
John	man	b. ca. 1827, blacksmith	William	boy	
Joshua	man	b. ca. 1822,	Willoughby	man	first listed 1785, freed 1852
Julia	woman	first listed 1782, freed 1852	Winny	woman	
Lewis	man		Violet	girl	

similarity to other enslaved communities associated with plantations of founding fathers or other “great men” of American History (such as Stratford, Monticello, and Poplar Forest) they have been glossed over in the histories that: “…have tended to portray Montpelier as a rural retreat, a pastoral place out of which James Madison grew and to which he retired after his presidency, rather than as the scene of a bustling black community with a particular past” (Chambers 2005:151). Stories of a few individuals are sometimes recounted, such as the lives of Paul Jennings, Sawney the overseer, and several slaves that were associated with the Madison White House or who lived to great age at Montpelier. However, Chambers (2005) notes that the core of the Montpelier community descended from a charter generation of the 1730s, which had included one of three slaves that were convicted of murdering Ambrose Madison at Mount Pleasant by poison in 1732. Given the predominance of slaves from the Bight of Biafra imported into the York River Naval District, from where both Madison and his wife Francis Taylor hailed in King and Queen County, Chambers (2005) asserts that much of the slave community of the area was likely Igbo and that poisoning was a surprisingly common crime that also bore elements of African, specifically Igbo, practices.

Monticello

Monticello is located on the crest of a small mountain overlooking the south bank of the Rivanna River in Albemarle County, Virginia, just southeast of the city of Charlottesville. It was the plantation home of Thomas Jefferson from 1770 to the end of his life in 1826. He inherited the land from his father, Peter, who died in 1757. Peter Jefferson’s home plantation had been at Shadwell, on the north bank of the Rivanna

River, where Thomas was born and raised. When Thomas Jefferson came to majority at the age of 21 in 1764, he inherited his father's vast estate that included the land that would become Monticello. Thomas Jefferson began building his now famous home across the river at Monticello after his mother's home at Shadwell burned in 1770 (Kern 2010:22). His mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson, had a life estate in Shadwell, and he leased the Shadwell lands from her until her death in 1776, operating them as a quarter farm. He married the widow Martha Wayles Skelton in 1772, bringing even more land and 135 slaves to those 45 he already inherited from his own father. By 1774, Thomas Jefferson was the master of 185 enslaved individuals working on 14 quarters spread across a large portion of three counties in piedmont Virginia (Massachusetts Historical Society [MHS] 2003:11-15; Sanford 1995:124).

During the next three decades, Jefferson was often away from Monticello serving in public office including the House of Burgesses beginning in 1768, the Continental Congress beginning in 1775, Governor of Virginia from 1779 to 1781, Congressman in 1783, Minister to France from 1784 to 1789, and Secretary of State from 1790 to 1793. After a brief respite, Jefferson was elected Vice President in 1797 and served two terms as President from 1801 to 1809 (Thomas Jefferson Foundation 2016b). His plantations were administered by a series of stewards, managers, and executive overseers, even during the brief times when Jefferson was at Monticello. Jefferson retired to Monticello following his presidency, where he focused his efforts on the development of his retreat home at Poplar Forest and the establishment of the University of Virginia. By the 1820s he turned over most of his agricultural and business affairs to his grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph (Martin 1994:lxiv; Thomas Jefferson Foundation 2016b). Thomas

Jefferson died at Monticello in 1826, leaving his estate and over $100,000 in debt to his daughter Martha Jefferson Randolph and her son Thomas Jefferson Randolph. The contents of the house, farming equipment, and 140 slaves were sold at auction in 1827. The Thomas Jefferson Foundation purchased Monticello in 1923 and operates the property as a historic house museum (Thomas Jefferson Foundation 2016a).

Plantation slaves principally grew tobacco until Jefferson's brief retirement after serving as Secretary of State in 1793. Jefferson then switched enthusiastically to a more diversified agricultural scheme, with an emphasis on wheat. The switch to wheat-based diversified grain agriculture resulted in less gang-organized labor and more heterogeneous task-oriented work for the enslaved (Sanford 1995:148; Neiman 2008). In addition to agricultural diversification, Jefferson also diversified his investments in slavery through industrial pursuits such as nail making and milling. Jefferson hired out a large number of enslaved workers to local farms and businesses, as well as selling off slaves to settle a £4,000 debt inherited from his farther-in-law, John Wayles. From 1784 to 1794, during both his time and France and his return to the United States, Jefferson sold or gifted 161 individuals (Stanton 2012:5).

Jefferson's son-in-law Thomas Randolph administered plantation affairs from 1790 until 1803, and over 20 sub-overseers passed through the quarters of Monticello in the last decades of the 18th-century (Stanton 2012:31). During Jefferson's ten years in France and as Secretary of State ending in 1793, Monticello had six different head overseers. Five more men served in the post in the next dozen years before Edmund Bacon assumed the post in 1806 (Martin 1994:xliii-xliv). Many of those previous overseers developed personal reputations for cruelty and brutality, including Gabriel

Lilly who was often reprimanded for whipping the nailery boys, though the high output and profit of the industry under Lilly's management won praise from Jefferson. Another man, William Page, worked for both Jefferson and then his son-in-law John Wayles Eppes, who encountered difficulty in hiring slaves from neighboring planters due to their concerns over Page's well-known penchant for violence (Stanton 2012:31; Gordon-Reed and Onuf 2016:62-63). Jefferson noted in his Farm Book (MHS 2003:76) the terms he used in contracts for his overseers, including how and when shares were to paid out, who would pay for transportation of the various shares, and a clause giving himself the power to fire them at any time of year. Jefferson's overseers were not to keep their own horses or geese, or to keep slaves out of field labor to serve in their homes.

The enslaved population on the Monticello home farm included a relatively high concentration of domestic and skilled workers during the time Site 17 was occupied by the overseer Edmund Bacon (Table 15). The outlying quarters and farms such as Tufton, Lego, Shadwell, Poplar Forest, and others included higher proportions of unskilled agricultural laborers. The Monticello Plantation Database (2008) has compiled

Table 15: Summary of Slaves Listed at Monticello 1810 and 1815. Source: Monticello Plantation Database (2008).

	Men	Women	Boys*	Girls*	Total
1810					
Unskilled	3	10	18	17	48
Trades	17	1	8	-	26
Domestic	2	5	-	-	7
Total	*22*	*15*	*26*	*17*	*81*
1815					
Unskilled	1	2	17	14	34
Trades	12	4	8	3	27
Domestic	1	3	-	-	4
Total	*14*	*9*	*25*	*17*	*65*

listings of slaves from primary documents including Jefferson's Farm Book (MHS 2003),and includes records for 83 individuals in 1810 listed at either Monticello Farm or Top (Appendix D, Table A.4). The label "Top", a convention of the database, refers to the core of craft, industry, and domestic service immediately surrounding Monticello house itself. Of the 83 slaves, 35 were listed as either skilled tradesmen or domestic servants in 1810 including blacksmiths, a butler, carpenters, carters, charcoal burners, cooks, coopers, foreman, gardeners, joiners, nailers, shoemakers, stablemen, wagoners, and weavers. There were 33 female slaves, 6 of whom were domestic or skilled workers including cooks, house servants, and a weaver. Of the 50 male slaves, 28 were listed as house servants or skilled tradesmen. More than half of the slaves, 43 out of 83, on the Monticello farm were under the age of 17, and even 8 of those adolescents were listed as tradesmen, likely either apprenticed to other skilled individuals or working in the nailery. A dozen were over the age of 50, including the 70-year old carpenter Abram, a 79-year old gardener named Goliah, and an 83-year old farm laborer named Squire. Only nine of the prime working-age adults were listed as either farm labor or did not have a skilled trade. At least 10 families are known among the 1810-listed slaves, including the Brown/Colberts, Fossetts, Gillettes, Hemmings, Herns, and Hughes (Stanton 2012) (Table A.4).

Jefferson moved his slave labor between quarters and plantations often, and individuals at the home farm and house of Monticello were subject to those movements also. About a quarter of the individuals listed in 1810 are not present in 1815. Five had died, four had been assigned to the Tufton farm, four gifted to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, one sold to Reuben Perry, a carpenter employed by Jefferson, and the

others likely moved to other Jefferson holdings. Fourteen slaves were newly listed in 1815 at the mountaintop, four of which had come from the Tufton farm, but the remaining ten had all been born in the intervening years. The 1815 population on Monticello's mountaintop core and home farm was down to 65 enslaved individuals and included more textile-related skilled workers including four young boys as wool carders, five female spinners, and two weavers (Table 15). During the time Edmund Bacon occupied Site 17, he supervised free white workers including other overseers and skilled craftsmen, as well as a changing but highly skilled workforce of enslaved families and individuals.

In transcribing and analyzing Bacon's correspondence, Russell Martin III (1994:xxxvi) noted: "Were it not for the fact that Edmund Bacon worked for Thomas Jefferson for sixteen years, he would probably be invisible to historians today." The preservation and study of his correspondence with Jefferson, and the publication of Bacon's own recollections of his time at Monticello (Bear 1967) has led to Bacon being one of the best-documented overseers in American history. Born in 1785, Edmund Bacon was the youngest son of a successful Albemarle County slave-owning family, and Edmund's father Harwood was known to Thomas Jefferson. Harwood Bacon was a local tobacco inspector and did business with Monticello's blacksmiths. Edmund was first hired by Thomas Jefferson on a trial basis in 1806 to manage the toll mill. By September Edmund had impressed Jefferson who offered him a full year's contract worth $100, 600 pounds of pork, and half a cow (Bell 2013). By 1806 Edmund Bacon was already married with two young sons, and by 1808 had become a slave-owner in his own right after inheriting a woman from his father. Edmund stayed on as manager at

Monticello for 16 years.

Edmund Bacon assumed management during Jefferson's second term as President, and though technically still under Thomas Mann Randolph's authority, Bacon held little respect for Randolph. In Bacon, Jefferson had found a stable and long-term agent who went to great lengths to do his bidding. Bacon was a remedy to the string of more disagreeable managers and the unsteadiness of Thomas Mann Randolph (Martin 1994:xliv).

Jefferson referred to Bacon using the both terms "overseer" and "manager" to describe Bacon's wide-ranging roles and responsibilities that included directing labor, conducting business on Jefferson's behalf, and orchestrating administration and logistics across the home plantation. Those tasks are often included in a role termed "head overseer" or "steward," as the individual quarters across Jefferson's many holdings had their own overseers, both free and enslaved. His tasks included paying accounts on behalf of the plantation, ordering supplies, marketing crops, and seeing that services bought were completed, as well as assigning and directing slaves and other overseers in their agricultural and industrial work. From 1806 to 1822, Jefferson's instructions for crops, livestock, gardens, artisan's work, slave assignments and provisioning, repairs and additions to the house and farms in Albemarle County all flowed through Bacon (Martin 1994:xxv-xxvii; Bell 2013).

After nearly 16 years as Thomas Jefferson's overseer at Monticello, Edmund Bacon began making plans to move west and establish his own planting operation. He had saved a sizable sum from his wages, lending money to more famous and less frugal figures such as Thomas Mann Randolph, James Monroe, and even to his

employer Jefferson. As his three sons approached adulthood, Bacon realized he could only advance so far as Jefferson's employee and by 1817 began discussing with Jefferson his desire to own his own farmstead. The matter developed slowly over several years, with Bacon first negotiating a raise from Jefferson to remain for the 1818 season. Bacon soon travelled to the Missouri territory to scout opportunities in the west, returning with plans to move in 1819. However, those plans were postponed in order to collect several outstanding debts and to consider buying lands in Virginia instead of on the frontier. Jefferson also began to rely more heavily on his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, to run his holdings and both Bacon and other overseers resented the placement of the young man over them.

As Jefferson's financial affairs continued to degrade in the early 1820s, Bacon moved to Hopkinsville, Kentucky with his family and 19 slaves in 1822. His first wife, Nancy Simmons, died in 1824, though he soon remarried a wealthy widow, Nancy Henry, who brought Bacon over $10,000 of land and 15 slaves. Bacon prospered as a farmer and businessman in Kentucky, and while Thomas Jefferson died in 1826 deeply in debt, Edmund Bacon died in 1866 a relatively wealthy man, with livestock, tools, and investments worth nearly $30,000 in cash, in addition to the land he passed on to his sons (Martin 1994:xiv-lxxii, 224;Bell 2013).

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH DESIGN

Questions

The goal of this research is to explore the construction of race and class on 18th- and early 19th-century plantation contexts in Virginia through the construction of physical and social space. Individual research questions specific to this investigation include: How were the sites of overseers and slaves situated in the larger plantation landscape? How do their locations relate to other structures? How are the quartering sites of overseers and slaves organized spatially? How are structures of overseers and slaves built and organized? Are there definable differences between the use and organization of indoor and outdoor spaces? Addressing these questions for each site and comparing the results should enable a more nuanced discussion of how the historical trajectories of racialization and power relations at the times and places surrounding each site manifested themselves physically and were in turn shaped by the materiality of human experience.

At a mid-range level, questions that drive the analysis of the archaeological and historical data from each site revolve around reconstructing the spatial nature of the study sites. What topographical features or historical information could influence site selection? What activities are reflected at each site? Where do they occur? What behavioral correlates between those activities and specific artifacts, chemical residues, and features can be assumed? How do we establish architectural details from archaeological data? Site specific and lower-range questions include: Where are areas

of high and low artifact deposition? Where are larger or smaller artifacts? Where are concentrations of certain artifact types? Where are areas of high and low chemical signatures? How have site formation processes affected the spatial inferences that could be drawn from those data?

Spatial Analysis Methodologies

The spaces of the sites included in this study are considered at multiple scales. The largest scale includes the placement of quarters and structures within the larger plantation landscape, investigated through both historical sources such as maps and plats, as well as contemporary sources such as extant and archaeologically identified structures. Analyses at this scale include a largely visual assessment of topography, settings, and relationships between types of structures. At a smaller scale, I seek to reconstruct the nature of the individual domestic structures and their immediate outdoor spaces. In order to do so, I use both qualitative and quantitative analyses of artifact and soil chemical data interpreted in reference to the site's overall layout and features. These analyses add to a growing body of research into house yards and domestic compounds of enslaved individuals and families that has emerged in the archaeological literature over the last twenty years. These studies also involve methodological questions of how to understand landscapes characterized by low artifact densities and ephemeral architectural and landscape features, many of which are further obscured by post-occupational plowing (Heath and Bennett 2000; Fischer 2001; Wheeler and Bon-Harper 2005; Wilkins 2009; Fesler 2010; Bon-Harper and Devlin 2012; Heath et al. 2015).

Plowzones

Archaeologists have not always been interested in, or even mindful of, the artifacts and other data that can be extracted from careful examination of soils disturbed by post-depositional agricultural plowing. However, beginning in the 1970s archaeologists began questioning the research potential of artifacts from plowed contexts. Dunnell and Simek (1995:306) credit the shift to the simultaneous influences of the growth of cultural resource management (CRM) and interest in middle range theory spurred during the processual movement. CRM projects stipulated that all sites, plowed or pristine, should be identified and evaluated. Furthermore, CRM studies led investigators to not only acknowledge and record plowed sites, but also to test survey results from plowed areas in order to better understand how surface collections and subsurface finds from plowed contexts relate to site boundaries and subsurface features. The interest in these methodological questions was complemented by the growth of middle-range studies of site formation processes such as those by Schiffer (1972, 1983) that not only sought to understand post-depositional processes such as plowing, but also the behavioral correlates that link past actions with the modern archaeological record.

A range of experimental archaeological studies attempted to quantitatively evaluate the effects of plowing on artifact distributions, largely observed through surface collection. Many of these focused on horizontal movement, such as the case study by Roper (1976), who demonstrated that the relative dispersal of lithic fragments at a plowed late Archaic-period mortuary context in Illinois averaged around 3 meters (m). Further experimental studies, most notably Lewarch and O'Brien's (1981) seminal study

using three collections of planted surface artifacts, supported earlier findings that most horizontal movement was limited to 2 to 3m. Theirs and other (Odell and Cowan 1987) studies noted several other long-term effects of plowing, including that artifact breakage and movement appear to reach equilibrium in plowed contexts after 10 to 12 tillage episodes. Also noted was a size effect, where larger artifacts appear to be over-represented in surface collections, and may even move farther than small artifacts. Longitudinal movement in the direction of the plow is also generally greater than transverse movement, movement perpendicular to the direction of plowing. Sampling units of around 2 m^2 appeared to capture most of the plow-caused variation without obscuring meaningful artifact patterns. This success was achieved because most tillage patterns tend to move back and forth rather than in the same direction over time, reducing potential for extreme longitudinal movement (O'Brien and Lewarch 1981; Odell and Cowan 1987). Other experimentation has focused more intensely on the relationship between surface collections and their sub-surface assemblages they are assumed to represent, and how that relationship affects site definition and evaluation (Schofield 1991; Dunnell and Simek 1995).

The application of plowzone artifact data in the field of historical archaeology did not lag behind those experimental studies that focused on lithic artifacts. Early work by archaeologists at 17th-century sites around southern Maryland, principally at St. Mary's City, incorporated artifact distributions from plowzone contexts in efforts to identify and interpret structures, feature locations, and activity areas. Keeler (1973) investigated that the development of the early homelot at the St. John's site employing artifact and soil chemical values from plowzone contexts. Working with several sites at St. Mary's City,

Riordan (1988) specifically evaluated the utility of artifact data from plowed contexts on historical sites. In examining brick concentration from the plowed Chapel Field site, Riordan (1988) found that when plowed, larger deposits such as middens and architectural debris retain their overall patterning, and applied those findings to a regime of surface collection.

Numerous studies at 17th-century sites in Maryland and Virginia continued to make use of plowzone data such as Neiman's (1980) study of the Clifts plantation site at Stratford; King and Miller's (1987) study of plowed midden contents at the Van Sweringen site, Pogue's (1988b) analysis of refuse disposal patterning at the King's Reach site, and Miller's (1994) study of the changing landscape of the Country's House site. In each case, plowzone data allowed researchers to understand outbuilding functions and changes in the uses of buildings and outdoor spaces over multiple site phases. Those 17th-century homelot layouts and their change over time, usually towards increasing complexity, were interpreted through the changing nature of servant and slave work regimes, increasing social stratification, and long-term changes in settlement densities.

Plowzone excavation and analysis have become the norm rather than the exception in most cases, and have proven especially beneficial on more ephemeral sites with fewer artifact-rich features. These site types include rural 18th-and early 19th-century slave quarter sites such as Richneck plantation near Williamsburg, Virginia, investigated by Franklin (1997). At Poplar Forest, Heath and Bennett (2000) and Fischer (2001) have made use of plowzone artifact and soil chemistry data to interpret yard spaces at the Quarter, North Hill, and Wingo's sites (Heath 2001; Heath et al.

2015). A number of studies at Monticello including Sites 7 and 8 (Bon-Harper 2009, 2010; Bon-Harper and Devlin 2012) have used plowzone contexts to extract spatial data from sites lacking substantial architectural remains. Garrett Fesler (2004, 2010) has employed data from the plowzone of the multi-phase Utopia Quarter site at Kingsmill plantation to engage in interpretations of site structure, gender, and household formation of 17th-and 18th-century enslaved communities.

Artifact Size

The description and study of artifact types is one of the oldest and most fundamental methods of archaeological analysis, and the distribution of artifact frequencies is a well-established method for investigating refuse disposal and activity areas on archaeological sites. However, other characteristics of artifacts can be studied over horizontal space on archaeological sites. Artifact size analysis has been of particular interest to research focused on discriminating formation processes such as primary versus secondary deposition and site maintenance activities such as cleaning and sweeping. Primary deposition, as defined by Schiffer (1972), refers to artifacts that enter the archaeological record at the point of use through in-situ production waste, breakage, or loss; whereas secondary deposits refer to artifacts included in refuse that have been moved from their original point of creation into dumps or middens.

Wandsnider (1996) summarizes the evolution of artifact-based spatial analysis, which changed fundamentally in the processual archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s. Spatial studies in prehistoric archaeological research, initially focused on artifact type frequencies to define toolkits and activity areas, turned towards artifact attributes that

could inform understanding of site formation processes through comparing archaeological artifacts with materials from experimental studies and ethnographic analogies. These artifact attributes included orientation, size, artifact class ratios, use-wear and heat-modification on lithics, and animal gnawing or weathering on faunal remains; each of which could inform archaeologists about a wide range of natural and cultural site-formation processes (Wandsnider 1996:335).

Schiffer (1983:679-680) notes that a study of artifact size can reflect numerous natural and cultural processes including plowing, trampling, and the McKellar Principle, which states that in regularly cleaned or maintained sites, smaller items are more likely to become primary refuse at activity areas and larger items more likely to be removed into secondary deposits. Many examples of size effects are noted from ethnographic studies, varyingly focused on how site structure revealed through artifact size relates to occupation densities, the effects of environmental constraints, as well as labor and social organization (Wandsnider 1996:345). Size-differentiated artifact distributions have been observed in numerous contexts and associated behaviors include expedient clearing of a temporary work zone, preventative maintenance where large items are purposefully tossed or carried to the margins of an activity area, and systematic maintenance such as sweeping or burning at long-term occupation sites (Wandsnider 1996:347). More intensive maintenance and cleaning activity should result in distributions of small artifacts surrounded by higher densities of generally larger artifacts in varying configurations.

As a case study Wandsnider (1996) compared site maintenance behavior at five ethnographically documented sites in Africa, Alaska, and Australia analyzed through

artifact size distributions. A size-sorting index, or SSI, was employed to identify whether only small, only large, or a mixture of sizes was observed in each 2-m^2 unit of observation. Within each unit, the artifact assemblage was split into large and small size classes, then Z scores of the counts of each size class within each unit were calculated using the site mean and standard deviation. Large item Z scores were subtracted from small item Z scores resulting in negative index scores showing more large items, positive index scores showing location of more small items, and scores near zero revealing a relatively even mixture of sizes. Wandsnider (1996:354) asserts that this method provides the ability to assess the nature of size mixing, and that other summary measures such as mean artifact size are less informative. The distributions of SSI values allowed Wandsnider (1996:354-359) to interpret areas of activity, maintenance, and refuse dumping at each site. Going beyond visual description, Wandsnider also employs statistical description of the distribution compactness, uniformity, and autocorrelation between sites to discuss the relationship between different occupational intensity, maintenance strategies, and their resultant site structure.

Several studies in historical archaeology have adopted the methodological framework of artifact size studies to interpret site maintenance. At Poplar Forest, Heath and Bennett (2000:48) report that in their assessment of the yard spaces at the Quarter Site, distributions of artifact size classes were inconclusive and posit that this result was due to the site formation processes of plowing and trampling. Indeed, artifact size homogenization is a well-known effect of post-depositional plowing from both archaeological and experimental studies (O'Brien and Lewarch 1981; Odell and Cowan 1987; Dunnell and Simek 1995). However, a size index was not employed by Heath and

Bennett (2000), rather plowzone ceramic and glass artifacts were divided into small and large size categories and each size class plotted. As described above, mapping size class densities or mean artifact size per unit may not be as effective as indices such as SSI for elucidating site maintenance activities (Wandsnider 1996:354). An index of size sorting allows for both the assessment of size and the degree of homogeneity of sizes in each unit, which can be informative for interpreting maintenance activities.

More recently, investigations at Monticello's Site 8 (Bon-Harper 2009, 2010), a slave quarter, have used artifact size indices on data from plowzone contexts with success. Similar to Wandsnider's SSI, Bon Harper (2009) employs an artifact size index (ASI), developed by Fraser Neiman that measures the extent to which the proportion of small artifacts in each unit departs from a site-wide expected proportion. Lower negative ASI values represent units of higher than expected proportions of large size artifacts, higher positive ASI values represent areas of higher than expected proportion of smaller artifacts, and values near zero represent a more even mixture of the two size classes. Bon-Harper (2009) found rings of higher artifact size proportions surrounding the site core and quarter structures and interpreted them as rings of secondary refuse surrounding more maintained activity areas. Artifact count and weight distributions from the same data did not reveal these rings as clearly, and in fact show concentration in some areas near the house and site core, perhaps revealing more intensive activity-based primary refuse.

Comparisons of the findings from Site 8 have shown similar patterns to artifact size data from the Catawba New Town Site, a circa 1790 to 1818 Native American occupation (Bon-Harper 2010; Bon-Harper and McReynolds 2011). The similarity of

architecture, site features, and artifact distributions between the two groups challenges the assumption that spatial practices of enslaved African American were direct cultural transfers of West African traditions. Bon-Harper and McReynolds (2011) even found a greater correlation between low artifact count densities and ASI values showing smaller artifact sizes around the Catawba structures, which they argued suggests a more intensive cleaning activity like sweeping, a practice more typically associated with African American yards (Westmacott 1992; Gundaker 1993; Lawrence 2007; Fesler 2010). Interestingly, comparison of the artifacts size distributions at Monticello's Stewart-Watkins site, the home of a free white blacksmith, revealed higher proportions of larger artifacts around the immediate yard than at Site 8 and other slave quarters at Monticello (Gaylord and Wheeler 2010).

Monticello site studies have also employed measures of artifact type diversity across space; such as artifact type richness distributions from plowzone contexts to evaluate the potential nature of refuse deposition (Wheeler and Bon-Harper 2005; Gaylord and Wheeler 2010). Higher richness values are associated with secondary deposits such as middens and dumps, whereas lower richness units may indicate cleaner or more specialized activity areas. From the above discussion, it is clear that a variety of data is available from plowzone-derived artifact distributions. In attempting to discern patterns of outdoor spatial structure, activity areas, clean areas, and middens artifact data from the five sites in this study will be used for frequency, size, and richness distributions. I employ the ASI measure used by Bon-Harper (2009) at Monticello's Site 8 and Shebalin (2011) at the Catawba New Town site, which employed the following formula:

$$ASI_i = \frac{(S_i - pN_i - .5)}{\sqrt{N_i p(1-p)}}$$

The ASI for each test unit or shovel test is calculated where S_i is the number of small artifacts in each unit, N*i* is the total number of artifacts in the unit, and *p* is the proportion of small artifacts site-wide. The structure of the equation employs the Gaussian approximation of the binomial distribution, with the numerator comparing the observed to expected proportions of small artifacts and denominator scales the result by a standard deviation for the data set to produce a relative index. For Wingo's Quarter, the Oval site, and the Accotink Quarter, artifact sizes were recorded using a size-grading chart where the artifact is classed in the smallest possible circle that will fit the entire object. The excavators generously provided artifact size data to the author from the Stable Quarter at Montpelier, which were divided between fragments larger and smaller than 2 cm for all artifact classes. Artifact count and size data for Site 17 was made available by Monticello and the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery [DAACS] staff through the DAACS Research Consortium [DRC] (2017).

Soil Chemistry in Archaeology

Soil chemistry is one of several environmental analyses employed in recovering and interpreting past human activity and landscapes on ephemeral sites that are difficult to interpret through traditional means alone. Many scholars have discussed that anthropogenic chemical alterations to soil can indicate the deposition of human and animal tissue and waste found on occupation sites and burial; plant and animal matter from food preparation; ash from the use of fire; waste from food consumption; agricultural fertilization; livestock husbandry; metallurgy; industrial activities; and general

refuse disposal (Cook and Heizer 1965; Sjöberg 1976; Eidt 1984; Holliday and Gartner 2007). However, as Cornwall (1960) points out, few characterizations of soil or matrixes are useful in isolation and soil chemical studies often involve comparisons within bodies of samples, between chemicals, and with other lines of evidence. Studies that include the use of soil chemical analysis span a broad range of applications including survey, site and feature function determination, assessments of site formation process, describing site structure, and interpreting activities areas.

The use of soil chemistry in archaeology dates to the 1920s with initial discoveries by European agricultural researchers that soil chemical concentrations, most notably of phosphorus, occur in areas formerly occupied by human beings (Arrhenius 1963). Employing soil chemistry for site identification surveys has long been a primary focus of methodological research, though limited success in this area is hampered by the cost and complexity of chemical analysis (Goffer 1980; Bethel and Mate 1989). Despite these challenges, several studies have noted that soil chemistry is less intrusive and destructive than traditional survey methods (Lawrence 2007) and chemical analysis is often combined with other forms on non-intrusive survey such as geophysical sensing (Weymouth and Woods 1984; Garrison 1996). Other environmental analyses such as botanical analysis (Macphail et al. 2004; Sullivan and Kealhofer 2004) and micromorphology (Villagran 2009; Davis et al. 2012) have also been used in combination with soil chemistry to recover detailed information on human modifications of landscapes.

Phosphorus has long been the most studied element in archaeological soil chemistry due to its wide range of anthropogenic sources and general stability in soils

(Holliday and Gartner 2007). Cook and Heizer (1965) contributed one of the earliest and most thorough discussions of the usefulness of phosphorus. They note that it is present in all living things, and constitutes a significant component of human and animal waste. Phosphorus is the second most abundant element in both microbial biomass and organic matter, with organic sources including carbohydrates, lipids, and nucleic acids (Stevenson and Cole 1999). Cook and Heizer (1965) cite leaching studies that expose soils to continuous water percolation over several years and show that only trace amounts of phosphorus are lost. Stevenson and Cole (1999) note that natural phosphorus has a virtually closed geological and biological cycle, and the main sources of phosphorus loss are human-induced erosion and cultivation, though even these processes remove phosphorus at a lower rate that other soil nutrients.

Phosphorus and other elements such as calcium, potassium, and magnesium are regularly studied at historic sites in North America. In his study, Pogue (1988a) discussed that all three are components of wood and ash. Calcium has been associated with deposition of bone, shell, and architectural materials such as mortar and plaster. Potassium has been associated primarily with wood ash, but also plant residue in general (Asher and Fairbanks 1971; Pogue 1988a). Magnesium has been more tentatively associated with ash and burning, though some researchers have questioned the strength of this interpretation (Pogue 1988a; Fischer 2001). Experimental studies have largely supported these interpretative connections between chemicals and inputs (Custer et al. 1986; Wilson et al. 2008; Braadbaart et al. 2012). While historical archaeologists in North America most commonly restrict themselves to the suite of four elements–phosphorus, calcium, potassium and magnesium–more recent studies have

had some success linking other elements to anthropogenic inputs such as barium and strontium (Fischer 2001).

Outside of American historical archaeology, recent studies have advanced the interpretation of other elements (Table 16). Archaeologists in Great Britain have led attempts to characterize general zones of abandoned farming sites by performing multivariate discriminant statistics on suites of elements in order to differentiate between hearths, domestic structures, barns, zones of domestic activities near houses, and agricultural outfields by their multi-element signatures (Entwistle et al. 1998; Wilson et al. 2008, 2009; Entwistle and Wilson 2007). These multi-element signatures are attributed to particular groups of input materials such as wood ash, human and animal waste, peat, and architectural materials. However, the diversity of activities and the relative variations in their presence, location, and intensity at multiple sites have led to obstacles in inter-site applicability of particular signatures (Wilson et al. 2009). Other researchers in Britain have used concentrations of lead, copper and zinc within hearth sediment deposits at a Roman-period town to argue for the presence and specific location of metallurgy on the site as well as to suggest that copper alloy artifacts found in the excavations may have been produced on site (Cook et al. 2005; 2010).

In striking similarity to the development of plowzone studies, many early soil chemical studies in historical archaeology were first conducted on 17th-century sites in Maryland. These studies formed a corpus of methodologies in sampling, analysis and interpretation that are still the basis of soil chemistry in historical archaeology at present (Neiman et al. 2000). Work at St. John's (Keeler 1973) and Clocker's Fancy (Stone et al. 1987) homelots in St. Mary's City and King's Reach (Pogue 1988a) on the Patuxent

Table 16: Interpretations of Elements in Archaeological Soil Chemistry

Element(s)/ Characteristics	Source	Interpretation	Reference(s)
pH	organic refuse, fertilizer, bone, shell, mortar, plaster	general occupation, middens, structures	Woods 1988; Fernandez et al. 2002:506; Gall et al. 2014
P	general refuse, organic matter animal waste, human waste, animal tissue, plant tissue	general occupation, middens, animal pens, graves, gardens, food preparation	Cook and Heizer 1965; Custer et al. 1986; Stone et al. 1987; Pogue 1988a; Holliday and Gardner 2007
Ca	bone, shell, mortar, plaster	food processing, food waste, architectural debris	Custer et al. 1986; Pogue 1988a; Gall 2012
K	wood ash, plant tissue	hearths, ash tipping, food preparation	Asher and Fairbanks 1971; Custer et al. 1986; Stone et al. 1987; Pogue 1988a
Mg	fish, bird bone, ash	food processing, burning	Pogue 1988a; Fischer 2001; Gall 2016
Ca, K and Mg	ash, charcoal	burning, ash tipping	Sopko 1983:25; Pogue 1988a; Middleton and Price 1996:678; Wilson et al. 2008; Price and Burton 2011
Ca and P	bone	food preparation, burials	Wilson et al. 2008
K, Mg and P	wood ash + animal fat	soap	Middleton and Price 1996; Phillippi 2016:320
Fe	blood, animal tissue, iron objects, charcoal, pigments	livestock butchering, paint	Wells et al. 2000; Fernandez et al. 2002:490; Parnell et al. 2002
Ba	bone, shell, ash		Fischer 2001
Zn and B	plant and animal tissue, ash, excreta, pigments, metal-working, shell	burning, fertilizer, paint, metallurgy	Goffer 1980; Woods 1988; Entwistle et al. 1998; Wells et al. 2000; Fischer 2001; Cook et al. 2005, 2010
Cu	animal tissue, excreta, pigments, metal-working	burning, fertilizer, paint, metallurgy	Woods 1988; Goffer 1980; Wells et al. 2000
Sr	shell, charcoal		Middletown and Price 1996; Wilson et al. 2008
Al	animal dung, tissue	fish processing, related to P in soil	Gall 2012; Gall et al. 2014
Mn	pigments, animal dung, ash	paint, hearths, animal pens, fertilizer	Goffer 1980; Wells et al. 2000
Pb	metal-working residues, charcoal	hearths, metallurgy	Cook et al. 2005, 2010; Wilson et al. 2008

River included plowzone sampling at regular intervals, the use of agricultural testing facilities, and interpretations focused on the delineation of refuse disposal patterns and the organization of space for activities such as food preparation, livestock penning, and clean formal forecourts. While artifacts were often used to phase deposition areas and assign functions to structures, soil chemistry served as complementary data for elucidating the description of "typical" 17th-century lifeways within plantation cores that included a diversity of activities in organized and differentiated spaces.

Soil chemical studies have gained popularity in certain research themes and geographical locations due to particular applicability to a certain research question or enthusiastic practitioners. For example, a series of cultural resource management studies in the Midwest emphasized soil chemistry as a low-impact assessment and survey tool for protected sites (Weymouth and Woods 1984; Woods 1988; Garrison 1996). A particularly long tradition of soil chemistry studies on historical sites in cultural resource management in Delaware transportation projects can be traced to the influence of the University of Delaware, specifically its Center for Archaeological Research and its Soil Testing Laboratory. Soil chemistry been principally used to add interpretive definition to site structure in Phase III data recovery excavations of Delaware farm and house lot sites dating from the 17th through 19th centuries (Bedell 2002:80-82). Gall (2016) identified 45 projects in Delaware from 1985 to 2014 that used soil chemical studies on historic sites, most of them sponsored by the Delaware Department of Transportation, and all of them using the University of Delaware's agronomic soil testing facilities.

For the archaeology of plantation quartering sites, typified by ephemeral

occupations and plowed contexts, soil chemistry has not only aided in the recovery of site organization and activities, but also contributed to more theoretical interpretations of slave identity and agency. One of the earliest was Ascher and Fairbank's (1971) study of an antebellum Georgia slave cabin where elevated levels of calcium surrounding the hearth were used to interpret the existence of a tabby-constructed chimney; and potassium and phosphorus concentrations suggesting food preparation activities occurring inside the cabin. Neiman et al. (2000) included soil chemistry in their study of the late 18th-century Betty Hemmings site at Monticello, Virginia to similarly note indications of indoor food preparation as suggested by phosphorus concentrations, and yard maintenance as seen in heightened levels of elements suggesting ash deposition around the perimeter of the site.

Soil chemistry at Poplar Forest's Quarter site (Heath and Bennett 2000; Fischer 2001) has been used to argue for the location of doors, hearths, gardens, livestock penning, and possible swept yards. Heath and Bennett (2000) note that the use of outdoor space and yard maintenance have West African antecedents and can be interpreted as materializations of enslaved African American's efforts to construct and demarcate space on their own terms and express social, economic, and spiritual agency as a mediation of slavery's restriction and oppression. Heath (1999) and Fischer (2001) interpreted the use of outdoor space at the Quarter Site through the location of leisure and social activities such as smoking and the consumption of alcohol. These activities were located on the opposite side of the houses to an overseer's house and they interpret the choice of this area as the slaves' efforts to conceal their activities from surveillance, which constitutes in their terms: a spatiality of resistance (Heath 1999).

Fesler (2010) has similarly used soil chemistry distributions on mid-18th century slave quarters at Utopia to argue for the presence of swept yards and outdoor economic and social activities including food preparation. Fesler interprets the expression and use of these spaces as possibly unique to African Americans, and more expressions of individual agency and potential group identity than acts of resistance; as such uses of space are not directly affecting plantation owners in harmful ways. Lawrence (2007) has interpreted yard maintenance and outdoor activities at the Bridgeway site in Virginia, a possible slave quarter, in a similar fashion. As discussed in Chapter II, interpretations of yard sweeping at sites of 18th-and 19th-century enslaved African Americans are largely inferred from historical and more modern ethnographical accounts. Cleaner yard spaces at those sites are typically contrasted with 17th-century European American sites of relatively high social status.

In their previously mentioned study comparing yard spaces at Monticello's Site 8 and the Catawba New Town site, Bon-Harper and McReynolds (2011) refer to the study by Shebalin (2011) of Locus 4 at New Town. Shebalin used both artifact size (ASI) and soil chemistry distributions to find areas of smaller size artifacts corresponded with areas of low concentrations of elements that suggested a clean yard area relatively free from general refuse disposal. One such area east of the Locus 4 cabin structures was surrounded by a combination of larger artifacts and higher concentrations of calcium, magnesium, and potassium suggesting that the interior yard space was purposefully maintained, perhaps by sweeping. An isolated area of potassium enrichment in the yard space with minor amounts of manganese and zinc, but without corresponding artifact clusters or large artifact concentrations, was interpreted as a shared food processing

activity area within the larger clean yard at Locus 4 (Shebalin 2011:134-137). Bon-Harper and McReynolds (2011) suggest that Locus 4 was the more intensely maintained yard space with a potential of sweeping. Monticello's Site 8 study does not include soil chemistry but ASI and artifact count distributions were correlated. The data suggest that though large artifacts were cleared from inferred yard spaces, smaller artifacts occur in the same spaces as higher count concentrations at Site 8, suggesting a less complete clearance. Bon-Harper and McReynolds (2011) suggest that if sweeping took place, it was more likely at the Native American-occupied Catawba New Town Locus 4 than at the enslaved African American-occupied Site 8 at Monticello.

In contexts beyond the Chesapeake, soil chemistry has also been used on African American-occupied sites. Phillippi (2016) employed soil chemical distributions to interpret the organization and uses of yard space in 18th-and 19th-century deposits from excavations at the Thompson House in Setauket, New York. Combined with architectural analysis of the house itself, Phillippi (2016) used soil chemistry and artifact frequencies to argue that the location of agricultural work and refuse disposal changed over time between pre-1827 enslaved labor and post-1827 emancipation. He interprets these changes as related to changing attitudes about the separation of labor and race in northern society. Enslaved laborers were kept close to the house for increased surveillance, while after emancipation African American workers were moved to discrete rooms and buildings to reinforce racial divisions no longer codified by law. In Delaware, Phase II evaluation of Locus 2 of the Garrison Energy Site, a free African American-occupation dating to circa 1770 to 1820, included geophysical and soil chemistry surveys to target areas for test unit excavation. These surveys were also used to make

preliminary site structure interpretations such as the presence of fenced boundaries, activity areas, and even a possible swept yard as indicated by lower than average soil phosphorus concentrations surrounding the suspected location of the occupant's cabin home (Gall and Modica 2013:5-89).

Methods of Soil Chemistry Analysis

Determining the concentrations of chemical elements within soil typically involves three steps: sampling, extraction, and measurement. Samples are collected either during the course of general excavation from shovel test pits, test units, and features, or from soil coring performed on a grid specifically for chemical assessment. Sampling strategies vary by project typically due to research design and logistical considerations. In investigations of chemical variation over horizontal space, larger sampling intervals and isolated transects are employed during survey or site evaluation testing in order to locate and delineate sites and areas for further testing. Smaller sampling intervals and more regularized grids are more typically employed during intensive site excavation to address interpretive questions about activity areas and site structure.

Once collected, samples are prepared for measurement, usually via an extraction procedure in which an acid-based solution is used to isolate the target elements from the soil particles to which they are bonded. As archaeological soil chemistry was originally adapted from agricultural soil science, there is a long tradition of using partial extractions of plant nutrient elements that include elements of interest to archaeologists. Partial extractions break only some of the bonds between target elements and soil, which serves to approximate the availability of those chemicals for uptake by plants

(Goffer 1980; Bethell and Mate 1989). While partial extraction measurements of chemicals have a history of successful application in archaeology, Proudfoot (1976) notes that phosphorus and other chemicals added by humans to soil enter the same cycles of transformations as natural plant nutrients derived from sediments, and can therefore raise levels of all forms and all classifications, available or otherwise. Herz and Garrison (1998) add that research has shown that measurements of available soil chemicals, principally phosphorus, typically capture 10 percent or less of potential human impact on soil chemical levels.

Total, or near total, extractions use stronger acids, longer extraction times, and even heat to more completely isolate the entirety of target elements from soil matrices. Several studies suggest that stronger total or near total measurements of elements tend to be more closely and consistently correlated to observed anthropogenic activity than partial extractions (Ahler 1973; Skinner 1982; Neiman et al. 2000; Sullivan and Kealhofer 2004; Wilson et al. 2008; Holliday and Gartner 2007). Holliday and Gartner (2007) note that there are over 30 published methodologies for extraction and measurement of soil chemicals that have seen application in various archaeological studies. There remains little consensus about any one specific technique being the best for correlation with anthropogenic activity, or the most efficient for field survey. However, methods that include total extractions appear to be most consistent in their usefulness across a variety of circumstances, and partial extractions are preferred for survey uses due to their simplicity and speed.

In addition to research design, local and regional soil characteristics can affect the selection of an appropriate extraction procedure. Specific acids, dilutions,

procedures for the application of heat and filtration, and even the time of extractions are usually created for application on specific soil types (Holliday and Gartner 2007). For example, the North Carolina, or Mehlich 1, extraction for available soil nutrients was developed for the sandy soils of the southeast US coastal plain (Mehlich 1984:1410). However, through experimentation Mehlich (1984:1410-1413) modified and strengthened the extractive power to be more universally applicable in other parts of the region for soils of different textures and acidities resulting in the now obsolete Mehlich 2 and the more widely used Mehlich 3 extractions.

A range of natural factors can affect the retention and measurement of elements within soils. Soil chemistry has been used for the identification of ancient agricultural soils (Eidt 1984; Leonardi et al. 1999), though in historical archaeology, post-occupation application of fertilizers to farm fields can be an obstacle to recognizing older anthropogenic soil amendments related to past occupations. The use of off-site, or unenhanced, samples to compare against on-site or suspected site samples has long been a standard technique to evaluate the background level of soil chemical concentrations in archaeological settings (Arhenius 1963; Eidt and Woods 1974; Middleton and Price 1996). The use of relative values such as Z scores achieves a similar purpose, allowing the researcher to view anomalously high and low values relative to a site average (Fischer 2001:70). In theory, an agricultural application of fertilizer should be relatively uniform over the affected area, and any archaeologically derived concentrations should still be visible as elevated signatures within the agriculturally elevated background levels. Evaluations of distribution clustering and dispersion such as spatial autocorrelation statistics can also help identify evenly

dispersed chemical inputs that are likely due to modern agricultural practices as opposed to the typical clustering found on habitation sites.

Some researchers (Silas Hurry, pers. comm. 2009) have found that on sites where only a portion of the investigated area has been fertilized, high values can mask smaller variations unless the fertilized area is considered separately. In this research, and earlier experiments at the Oval site (Wilkins 2009:56-62), only the West Field portion of the site had been recently fertilized. Those higher phosphorus values stood out markedly from the rest of the site, obscuring variation within each area. However, when the area was separated and two sets of Z scores calculated, subtle underlying variations in each area were identified that corresponded to structure locations and artifact concentrations. The effects of differential fertilization between areas were most drastic in partial extraction methods that were designed specifically to measure agricultural nutrient levels. The use of XRF devices in comparison saw far less extreme differences between fertilized and non-fertilized areas (Wilkins 2009).

Several studies note that many chemical compounds are stable in all but neutral pH soils, are resistant to leaching in well drained soils, and fix well in all but very sandy soils (Cook and Heizer 1965:13; Sjoberg 1976:448; Holliday and Gartner 2007:305). Soil types and characteristics for each site used in this study are presented in Table 17. All of the soils at the study sites are classified taxonomically as members of the Ultisols order. In soil taxonomy, orders of soils share diagnostic horizons and features related to similar soil formation processes. Ultisols feature horizons that represent mineral leaching, a low supply of bases (most are calcium deficient), and the accumulation of clays within argillic horizons in generally temperate climates. Ultisols can form in a

variety of settings and from an array of parent materials found within broad areas of the eastern United States. Ultisols cover approximately 9 percent of the total surface area of the United States and their extent ranges from northern Pennsylvania south to northern Florida, from the Atlantic coast west to the Mississippi valley into eastern Oklahoma and Texas (Soil Survey Staff 1999).

The area of the Oval site, 44WM0080, at Stratford Hall Plantation is classified entirely as Kempsville loam, 0 to 2 percent slopes (Table 17). This type of soil is derived from fluvial and marine sediments and is among the oldest and most developed in the area (Nicholson 1981:59). Kempsville loam is found on upland terraces of the Eastern Coastal Plain, is level, deep, and well drained (Nicholson 1981:13). Natural organic content is low, and Kempsville loam exhibits acidic (4-6) pH levels, no flooding, moderate water permeability, and a fairly even distribution of clay, silt, and sand (Nicholson 1981:92-94). Quartz gravel content of upper soil horizons can range up to 35 percent, and up to 50 percent in the C horizon (Soil Survey Staff 2016). The USDA's taxonomic subgroup classification of the Kempsville series is a Typic Hapludult. The Typic Hapludult subgroup classifies a large extent of soils in the southeastern United States that are moderately deep, well drained, with low amounts of organic humus, and have significant agrillic, or clayey, subsurface horizons (Soil Survey Staff 1999).

Excavations at the Accotink Quarter (44FX0223) did not include horizontal sampling for soil chemistry distributions, though chemical and archaeobotanical analysis of feature deposits were carried out. Soil on the Accotink site is classified as Beltsville silt loam, which is a Typic Fragiudult formed from eolian over fluviomarine parent materials on uplands of the Coastal Plain (Soil Survey Staff 2016). Fragiudults are

Table 17: Typical Characteristics of Soil Series Found on the Study Sites. Source: Soil Survey Staff (2016)

Site	Soil Series	Typical Horizons	Depth	Typical Soil Characteristics
Oval site	Kempsville loam, 0-2% slopes	A (topsoil)	0-4”	dark grayish brown (2.5Y 4/2) fine sandy loam; weak fine granular structure; very friable; many roots, very strongly acid, gradual boundary
		E (eluvial)	4-14”	light yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) fine sandy loam; weak fine to blocky structure; friable; common roots; very strongly acid; gradual boundary
		Bt (subsoils)	14-55”	yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) to strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) fine sandy to sandy clay loams; coarse blocky structure; few roots; faint clay films and bridging; irregular masses of iron; strongly acid; clear boundaries
		C (substratum)	55”+	yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) fine sandy loam, massive; friable; few roots; common irregularly masses of iron and many lighter iron depletions; strongly acid
Accotink Quarter	Beltsville silt loam, 2-7% slopes	A (topsoil)	0.5-3”	dark grayish brown (10YR 4/2) silt loam; medium blocky structure; friable; common roots; extremely acid; abrupt boundary.
		E (eluvial)	3-8”	yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) silt loam, weak blocky structure; friable; common roots; extremely acid; abrupt boundary.
		Bt (subsoils)	8-71”	yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) to light brown (7.5YR 6/4) silt loam, fine blocky structure; friable; common roots; faint clay films; strongly to extremely acid; clear to abrupt boundaries; Fragipan (Btx horizons) zone from 20-41”
		C (substratum)	71-84”	reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/6 gravelly coarse sandy loam; massive; friable; common masses of iron-manganese accumulation; 20% gravel; very strongly acid.
Stable Quarter	Davidson clay loam, 2-7% slopes	Ap (plowzone)	0-7”	dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) loam; weak granular structure; friable; many fine roots; strongly acid; abrupt boundary
		Bt (subsoils)	7-72”	dark red (2.5YR 3/6 to 10YR 3/3) clay loam to clay; weak to moderate blocky structure; friable to firm; few roots; clay films; strongly acid; gradual boundaries
	Bucks silt loam, 2-7% slopes, eroded	A (topsoil)	0-8”	dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) silt loam, moderate granular structure; friable; strongly acid; smooth boundary
		Bt (subsoil)	8-35”	brown (7.5YR 4/4) to dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) heavy silt loam; coarse to medium blocky structure; friable; discontinuous clay films; very strongly acid; wavy gradual boundaries
		C (substratum)	35-44”	dark reddish brown (2.5YR 3/4) shaly silt loam; massive; 35% small shale fragments; strongly acid; abrupt boundary
Wingo’s Quarter	Cullen loam, 2-7% slopes	Ap (plowzone)	0 – 5”	reddish brown (5YR 4/4) loam (15-27% clay); moderate to fine granular structure; slightly hard; fine to coarse roots; 10% quartz and hornblende gneiss gravel; strongly acid; abrupt boundary
		Bt (subsoils)	5 – 62”	dark red (2.5YR 3/6) clay or clay loam (35-70% clay); medium subangular blocky structure; few roots; 0-5% quartz gravel; 2-45% weathered hornblende gneiss gravel; strongly to moderately acid; gradual boundary
		C (substratum)	63”+	strong brown (7.5YR 5/8) saprolite of hornblende gneiss, crushes to clay loam (20-50% clay); 2% quartz gravel; moderately acid
Edmund Bacon (Site 17)	Davidson clay loam, 2-7% slopes	Ap (plowzone)	0-7”	dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) loam; weak granular structure; friable; many fine roots; strongly acid; abrupt boundary
		Bt (subsoils)	7-72”	dark red (2.5YR 3/6 to 10YR 3/3) clay loam to clay; weak to moderate blocky structure; friable to firm; few roots; clay films; strongly acid; gradual boundaries
	Rabun clay loam, 7-15% slopes	A (topsoil)	0-9”	dark reddish brown (5YR 3/3) loam, fine to medium granular structure, very friable; many roots; medium acid, clear boundary
		Bt (subsoils)	9-48”	dark red (2.5YR 3/6) clay; fine to medium blocky structure; friable to firm; fine roots; medium acid; thin clay films; common medium to coarse saprolite fragments; clear to wavy boundary
		C (substratum)	48-62”	dark red (2.5YR 3/6 to strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) loam with strong brown (7.5YR 5/6) and yellowish red (5YR 5/6) loose soft rock fragments (2-10mm); massive; common pebbles and cobbles; medium acid

common on gently sloping landforms in the southeastern United States that feature a fragipan- a dense layer of sediment within the subsoil that restricts roots and water. Beltsville series soils are typically deep, moderately well drained, strongly acidic, without significant sand content, and do not flood frequently (Soil Survey Staff 1999).

The entirety of the Wingo's Quarter site (44BE0298) is classified as Cullen loam, 2 to 7 percent slopes (Soil Survey Staff 2016). Cullen loam is a Typic Hapludult formed from weathered hornblende gneiss sediments and is found on ridge-top fields and woodlands terraces of the Piedmont uplands. Cullen series soils are typically deep, well drained, moderately to strongly acidic, lack a significant proportion of sand, and are not prone to flooding or ponding.

The Stable Quarter at Montpelier lies on the boundary between two soil series. Davidson clay loam, 2 to 7 percent slopes and Bucks silt loam, 2 to 7 percent slopes, eroded. Davidson clay loam occupies the southeast portion of the site, including the majority of the structure and yard. Bucks silt loam occupies the northwest portion of the site including the western yard of the quarter. Davidson clay loam is formed from weathered residuum high in ferromagnesian content on gently to moderately sloping uplands in the Piedmont region. The Davidson series is classified in the Rhodic Kandiudult subgroup (Soil Survey Staff 2016). Rhodic refers to the dark red color of the soils, and Kandidults are characterized by kandic horizons – a shallow subsoil with high clay content (Soil Survey Staff 1999). Davidson series soils are typically very deep, well drained, strongly acidic, without significant sand content, and are not prone to flooding or ponding. Bucks silt loam is formed on uplands from silt mantle over weathered red shale on upland landforms. The Bucks series is classified as a Typic Hapludult and is

deep, well drained, strongly acidic, without significant sand content, and is not prone to flooding or ponding (Soil Survey Staff 2016).

Site 17 is located on two soil series. Davidson clay loam, 2 to 7 percent slopes, previously described above, occupies the northern portion of the site, while Rabun clay loam, 7 to 15 percent slopes occupies the southern portion. Rabun loam is formed in weathered residuum from dark rock with high ferromagnesium content on steep ridges and mountain slopes. Rabun loam is classified as a kaolintic Typic Rhodudult (Soil Survey Staff 2016). Rhodudults feature a dark red color throughout the epipedon topsoil and agrillic subsoil, and kaolintic refers to high kaolin clay content (Soil Survey Staff 1999). Rabun series soils are typically deep, well drained, moderately acidic, without significant sand content, and not prone to flooding or ponding.

The soils described above feature relatively low natural organic content low (1 to 3 percent), moderate to strong acidic (5 to 6) pH levels, rare to no flooding, moderate water permeability, and a fairly high amount of clay (25 to 50 percent) in surface layers. In short, the soil matrices of each site are suited to retain at least some anthropogenic soil chemicals, which should, in theory, stand out against the relatively low background levels derived from small amounts of natural organic matter. A possible exception to this could be the Davidson series soils present at the Stable Quarter and Site 17, as these include highly weathered kandic horizons that feature low cation exchange capacity (CEC) that could limit the amount of retention of anthropogenically introduced elements present as positively charged ions (cations) such as Mg, P, K and Ca (Soil Survey Staff (1999). Elemental concentrations could be generally lower in the portions of the sites classified as Davidson series.

Several methods of measurement of the extracted soil samples are available to archaeologists, and the most common include Inductively Coupled Plasma Atomic Emission Spectroscopy (ICP-AES), also known as Optical Emission Spectroscopy (ICS-OES). These devices use a plasma torch to ionize the atoms of the sample and then physical characteristics specific to each of the target elements are measured to detect and quantify them. ICP-OES measures the electromagnetic radiation, or emissions, that are produced by the sample at element-specific wavelengths. ICP devices allow for simultaneous multi-element analysis and are the most commonly employed in the agricultural testing facilities used often for archaeological studies (Pollard et al. 2007: 57-59; Holliday and Gartner 2007:315; Gall 2016).

The other principle method of chemical analysis used in this dissertation is X-ray fluorescence (XRF). This technology uses x-ray energy directed on to the target to excite the atomic particles of the constituent elements. As a result, electrons are ejected from inner valences causing a cascade where outer-valance electrons move inward to fill the vacancies. The result of this movement is the re-emission, or fluorescence, of secondary X-rays at wavelengths characteristic to each element. An XRF device detects the wavelengths and quantities of fluorescent energy from a sample allowing for a non-destructive, fast, and multi-elemental assay of the elemental composition of the sample (Pollard et al. 2007:101; Shackley 2011:16).

XRF technology was originally developed for metallic and mineral assays in a range of industrial and commercial applications, and has found abundant application in materials analysis of art and archaeological artifacts such as lithic sourcing, ceramic paste analysis, glass patina, paint analysis, and metallurgical assays (Shackley

2011:11; Liritzis and Zacharias 2011:112-114). However, the analysis of soils for anthropogenic chemical alteration is relatively new to the field. Only a few published studies have employed XRF analysis for soil chemistry interpretation of anthrosols, mainly focusing on metals content from industrial sites (Cook et al. 2005, 2010; Eliyaho-Behar et al. 2008). Marwick (2005) employed XRF to measure soil phosphorus content at a stratified prehistoric site in Western Australia, and was able assess changes in occupation intensities over time. Other studies have used XRF to characterize sediments in order to reconstruct geological site formation processes (Villagran 2009; Davis et al. 2012).

With some consensus that XRF technology should produce at least approximately similar measurements of soil chemistry to total or near total extraction methods, Entwistle and Wilson (2007) compared a small sample of soils with near-total hot acid extraction and ICP-AES measurement of 21 elements with XRF assays, finding that XRF generally recovered far higher concentrations of all elements, though the strength of correlations of sample concentrations between methods varied by element. The methods were highly correlated for P, Pb, Mn, Zn, and Cu; but weaker and less significant correlations were found between methods for Ca, K, and Mg. Similarly, Abrahams et al. (2010) found that 26 elements analyzed from soil samples with XRF performed with both accuracy and precision against known reference materials, including Al, Ba, Ca, Cu, Fe, K, Mg, Mn, P, Sr, and Zn; suggesting that XRF is a viable method for measuring total elemental concentration from soil samples.

My own earlier research at the Oval site and Wingo's Quarter has included several soil chemical measurement techniques focused on evaluating the application of

portable X-ray fluorescence (pXRF) by comparing it to control methods more commonly accepted in archaeological soil chemistry (Wilkins 2009, 2011, 2013; Wilkins et al. 2012). Portable XRF devices are essentially scaled-down versions of standard laboratory XRF equipment, designed for non-destructive analysis. While the process of XRF assay is not destruction itself, the necessity to obtain a sample or have an object small enough of place within a bench-top XRF device prevented its application to certain art and artifact objects. pXRF is literally portable, and can make readings *in-situ* by contact without modification or damage to the target object or material. A reduction in sensitivity, that is higher limits of detection for trace-level and lighter elements, has been reported in comparison of pXRF to benchtop XRF devices, but pXRF readings have proven reliable and useful in a variety of archaeological applications (Craig et al. 2007; Liritzis and Zacharias 2011).

At the Oval site, I compared pXRF readings for phosphorus in plowzone soil samples with a colorimetric measurement of Mehlich 1 (1953) extracted samples, where a reagent produces a blue color-based reaction and the intensity of the blue color is a result of the concentration of element present. As different color intensities in the visible light spectrum are the result of differential light adsorption, a colorimeter can calculate chemical concentrations in the extracted sample by measuring the amount of light energy absorbed (Wilkins 2009:40). Areas of pXRF-measured phosphorus compared well with both Mehlich 1-extracted and colorimeter-measured phosphates and artifact concentrations. At Wingo's Quarter, 44 plowzone soil samples were submitted to the University of Delaware's Soil Testing Laboratory that uses a Mehlich 3 extraction and ICP-OES for 11 elements: phosphorus (P), calcium (Ca), potassium (K), magnesium

(Mg), manganese (Mn), copper (Cu), zinc (Zn), iron (Fe), boron (B), aluminum (Al), and sulfur (S). The Routine Test package also includes tests for pH, organic matter content, phosphorus saturation ratio (PSR), cation exchange capacity (CEC), and base saturation. When compared to readings made with pXRF, the two methods showed similarly informative results for phosphorus and calcium, with less comparable results between the two methods for potassium and magnesium distributions (Wilkins 2013).

For the present study, all samples from Wingo's Quarter and the Oval site, where I conducted soil chemical measurements, were brought to the University of Tennessee's Archaeological Research Laboratory in Knoxville, TN for processing and analysis for Mg, P, K, Ca, Mn, Fe, Cu, and Zn using pXRF. All samples were screened through 2-milimeter mesh in order to break up large clumps, remove debris, and collect any included artifacts. Approximately 15 grams of soil were placed into a paper baking cup and dried overnight (16 to 24 hours) in a 60° C muffle furnace. Drying was found to be an effective preparation technique for pXRF analysis (Wilkins 2009), due to the ability of water to affect X-ray transmission at concentrations above 10 percent by mass (Swanson and Colsman 2006:4). The soil samples were then packaged in open-ended plastic sample cups with polypropylene thin film windows that facilitate the transmittance of X-rays to bulk samples such as soil.

Readings were made with a Bruker Tracer V-III+ pXRF device using a 15kV voltage and 35-amp setting, a vacuum purge system, and a titanium (Ti) filter in order to isolate the light range of elements that includes the elements of interest. Readings were 300 seconds in duration and several trial runs were made on the same sample to assure that these settings were producing consistent readings. The data used for

analysis was semi-quantitative: recording the height of the peak for each element represented in the energy spectrum measured in units of counts per second.

For the remaining three sites, other researchers generously shared soil chemical data that had already been measured. At Site 17, Thompson and Payton (2011) used pXRF in a preliminary study, employing a Bruker Tracer III device using 15kV and 55-amp settings with vacuum purge and no filter. Semi-quantitative data was measured in raw spectrum counts. The counts were ascertained by using ARTAX software to isolate and compute the area under a Gaussian distribution curve centered on the specific fluorescent wavelength for P, Ca and K (W&LU AP 2010; Thompson and Payton 2011). Control data for the pXRF measurements were made at the University of Wisconsin using a dilute hydrochloric acid extraction for two weeks and ICP-OES measurement for Al, B, Ba, Ca, Fe, K, Mg, Mn, Na, Sr, Ti, and Zn (Sean Devlin, pers. comm., 2014).

At Montpelier's Stable Quarter, soil chemical samples were collected within 5 x 5 $ft.^2$ test units at the top surface of subsoil. The samples were analyzed for a suite of soil chemicals and properties at Southern State Community College using a Mehlich 3 extraction (Mehlich 1984) and ICP-OES (Storer, pers. comm. 2010). Elements and soil characteristics measured included pH, P, K, Mg, Ca, S, B, Cu, Fe, Mn, and Zn.

Analyzing Distributions

Much of the present study depends upon the analysis and interpretation of intra-site spatial distributions of artifact and soil chemical values. Some of this process is inherently qualitative, viewing distribution maps and judging their relationships to one another, site features, and possible causes. As Jermann (1981:91) notes:

> While spatial distribution maps of various components of an artifact assemblage provide a highly visible means of displaying precise dimensional relationships both within and between individual classes, their interpretation in the absence of independent data must come from subjective judgments based on simple inspection.

Heeding the call of several researchers to make more objective assessments of spatial patterning, I employ several statistical measures in order to form reasonable observations on where and how intense certain artifacts, artifacts sizes, and soil chemical values are concentrated. These kinds of statistical summaries, described below, can prove helpful in addressing those questions, highlighting outliers, and giving definable support to visually based interpretations.

Perhaps the most basic statistical measure I employ is the use of relative values. I use Z scores for all artifact and soil chemistry value distributions in order to produce maps and charts that are comparable between elements and artifact values that can vary greatly in overall abundance. The Z score for each observation is the number of standard deviations above (positive values) or below (negative values) the mean observation for each variable. Interpolated distribution maps of the Z scores for each variable are used below to compare the spatial distribution of relatively high, average, and low chemical readings and artifact concentrations across the site.

Distribution maps can be generated through several methods of interpolation that create a continuous surface of predicted values from point-based sample data. The methods used in this research are the ArcGIS Spatial Analyst tools of spline and inversed distance weighted (IDW) interpolations. Both methods are deterministic, in that they assign predicted values based on the surrounding observations, and exact, in that the interpolated surface must match observed values at each data point. IDW estimates

predicted values by averaging the sample points in a defined neighborhood and weighting the influence of sample points on predicted values by distance. The closer a data point is to predicted value, the greater influence it exerts. Spline interpolations use mathematical functions that minimize surface curvature and pass exactly between data points. Using spline interpolations with regularized sampling grids should be a viable indicator of observed values plus a reasonable and relatively straightforward interpolated surface. IDW assumes that values closer to one another are more similar than those farther apart, each data point has a local influence on the interpolated surface that diminishes with distance (ESRI 2016b). I use IDW interpolations on plowed sites where sampling has occurred on a less regular spatial interval and shape, such as the soil sampling transects employed at Site 17 and the shovel testing at the Accotink Quarter. In these cases, IDW should focus on the local variation around sampled areas without extending extreme gradients between distantly spaced samples.

In an effort to assess the statistical veracity of visually interpreted areas of high and low values, I employ spatial statistics available in ArcGIS version 9.3 including autocorrelation and hot spot analysis. The statistical index of spatial autocorrelation is used to assess the degree to dispersion, clustering, or randomness of distributions (Hodder and Orton 1976:174). The test, known as Moran's I, produces an index value (I), characterizing the nature of the spatial patterning as dispersed, clustered or random. Z scores characterize the extremity of the patterning, and p values evaluate statistical significance of the results. A clustered pattern can be interpreted as the propensity of a given data point to have similar values as surrounding points, as opposed to a dispersed pattern that would indicate the values of a given point to be surrounded by

significantly different values. A random pattern would indicate that value of a given point couldn't reliably be used as predictor of the values of surrounding areas.

To spatially map areas of statistically significant high and low clusters, I employ the Getis-Ord Gi* hot spot analysis tool. Similar to IDW, hot spot analysis uses the values of observed data points within a defined neighborhood. The values of each data point and its neighbors are compared proportionally to the sum of all data points, and when the local neighborhood sum differs significantly from expected values, a hot spot is identified. The output of the tool is a Z score and p value for each data point, where statistically significant positive Z scores indicate high value hot spots, and negative Z scores indicate low value hot spots. The farther the Z score is from zero in either direction the greater the intensity of high or low clusters. A Z score closer to zero suggests no apparent significant clustering (ESRI 2016a).

In order to assess the organization of the larger plantations and how the study sites were located within them, topographic setting maps were created using a combination of publicly available GIS shapefiles and historic mapping for each plantation location. Pre-rectified satellite imagery, topographic maps, and digital elevation model (DEM) files for each U.S. Geographic Survey quadrangle associated with a study site were obtained from the Radford University GIS Center online database (Radford University 2016). The topographic map and satellite imagery were used primarily as references against which other scanned images could be manually rectified. DEM files contain elevation data linked to absolute geographic points, which were converted into both color-classified depictions of elevation and contour lines. Archaeological site and historic resource locations were obtained from the Virginia

Department of Historic Resources ([VDHR] 2013) V-CRIS online database. Digital copies of historic maps for each locality and plantation were used by permission from a variety of sources and are cited in the captions and text of Chapter V.

Site Excavations

Data from five plantation sites were collected in order to address the questions discussed above. Two of the sites, the Oval site at Stratford Hall Plantation and the Accotink Quarter site include both overseer and slave occupations with discrete structures and deposits relating to each. Two other sites, the Stable Quarter and Wingo's Quarter include a slave occupation only. The fifth site, Site 17, includes artifact concentrations interpreted as the remains of an overseer's house as well as possible outbuildings, though no *in situ* structural features have been identified on site. The sites span the second quarter of the 18th century through the second quarter of the 19th century and range geographically from the Chesapeake Tidewater to the Appalachian Piedmont.

Oval site

The Oval site (44WM80) is a mid-18th-century quarter complex site at Stratford Hall Plantation. The site was discovered during a 1976-77 plantation-wide survey conducted by the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology that included both pedestrian survey and shovel testing on a 20 ft. interval grid. Test units were also employed for preliminary evaluations of identified sites. The survey identified the Oval site, designated ST92, approximately 800 ft. south of the Great House on the southern end of the Oval Drive (Figure 9). Five test units indicated artifact and brick rubble

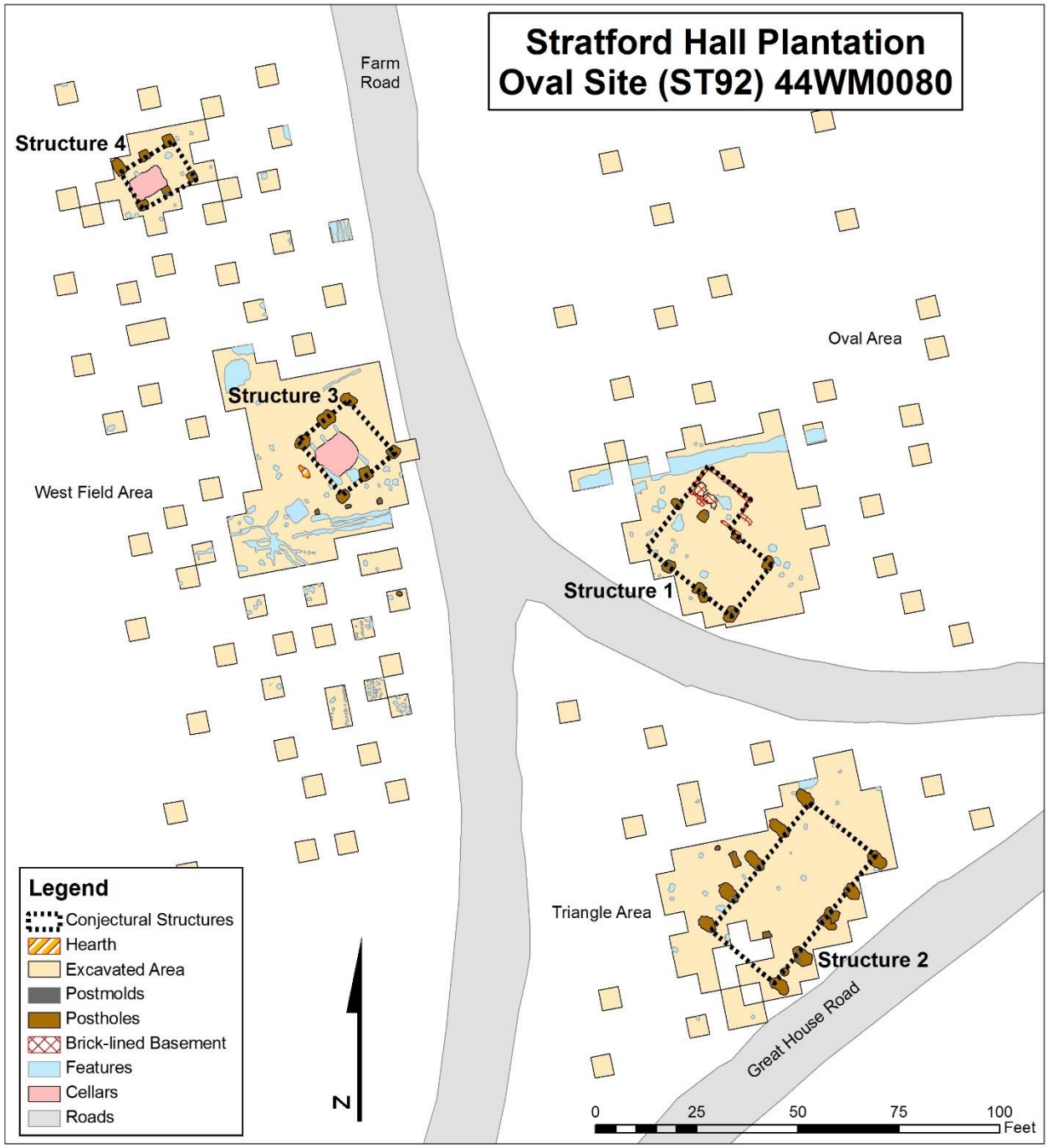


Figure 9: Plan of Excavations at the Oval site, Stratford Hall Plantation.

concentrations interpreted as the location of a substantial dwelling with an English basement within the Oval Drive (Neiman 1977: 2,20-22). Neiman (1977:21) also identified a posthole and artifact concentrations in what became known as the West Field, making what turned out to be very accurate predictions about the nature of the architectural remains and their functions.

Beginning in 2001, staff and students of the University of Mary Washington Field School in Archaeology excavated the Oval site for 12 seasons (Sanford 2005, 2012; Wilkins 2015). There are no historical documents known to exist that directly address the construction, function, occupants, or demolition of the buildings at the Oval site. Based on the nature and location of the features and associated artifacts, the Oval site is interpreted as including an overseer's house (Structure 1), a barn or tobacco house (Structure 2), a detached kitchen that also housed enslaved African Americans (Structure 3), and a fourth earthfast structure that likely also housed slaves (Structure 4). The West Field, or Ham House Field, is the location of the two structures interpreted as a kitchen and slave quarter. The overseer's house with a brick-lined basement addition lies to the east across the Oval road within the Oval Proper, and the barn is to the south in a triangle-shaped lawn. The site was likely abandoned in the third quarter of the 18th century, the buildings demolished, and the area returned to agriculture and plowed into the 20th century. The Oval and Triangle areas have not been plowed since the construction of the Oval Drive in the 1930s, though the West Field was plowed into the 1960s.

The initial sampling strategy used at the Oval site by the Mary Washington field schools included systematic shovel testing at 20 ft. intervals, followed by a combination

of non-probabilistic qualitative and probabilistic quantitative sampling strategies to place test units. The probabilistic systematic-random sampling design was employed to investigate the broader area of the site, which eventually led to the discovery of the structural features. The site was divided into 20 x 20 ft. blocks and a single 5 x 5 ft. unit was randomly selected in each block. Units were also placed purposively to investigate the structures identified during the 1970s plantation survey and artifact concentrations identified in the shovel testing. Eventually this strategy led to a series of four large open areas of excavation created by contiguous test units, revealing the entirety of each of the four structures with numerous single units interspersed throughout the remainder of the site. All test units were hand excavated with shovels and trowels, and all soils and sediments were passed through 0.25 in. hardware cloth for artifact recovery. Strata typically encountered in test units included the sod and topsoil, and plowzone typically divided into two layers with plow scars often identifiable against the subsoil. In feature contexts, larger 2 l soil flotation samples were collected in addition to smaller 0.5 l soil chemistry samples.

Structure 1, the overseer's house, includes a 16 x 20 ft. earthfast structure with an 8 x 14 ft. brick basement addition on the northeast side of the structure. A large ditch runs to the north and appears to be a landscape division pre-dating the occupation of the site. Structure 2, the barn, is a 20 x 40 ft. earthfast structure with few internal features. Structure 3, the kitchen/quarter is a 16 x 16 ft. earthfast structure with a large 9 x 9 ft. cellar towards the west end of the structure. Burned earth and dense concentration of brick and mortar rubble, also at the west end of the structure, indicate the location of the hearth. Structure 4, the quarter, is a 15 x 11 ft. earthfast structure

with a 9 x 6 ft. cellar, also at its west end. No evidence of a hearth was identified for Structure 4.

While the majority of the artifact assemblage recovered from the 12 seasons of excavations at the Oval site is still undergoing processing, several preliminary analyses of samples of the assemblage have begun to clarify issues of chronology and activities at the Oval site. Studies by Poppert (2002), Crowder (2013), and Ramey (2014) have produced a body of comparative ceramic analyses that indicates a ceramic assemblage dating from circa 1725 to 1775 for the site as a whole. The units around Structure 1 include a greater variety of wares and less common types than either Structure 3 or 4. Structure 3, the kitchen/quarter, showed lower ware type diversity and a greater proportion of coarse wares and utilitarian vessel forms. Structure 4, the quarter, contained the fewest sherds and number of ware types, but had a proportion of tableware to utilitarian forms more similar to Structure 1 than Structure 3, which supports the interpretation that Structure 3 likely served a double function as a kitchen and quarter for enslaved African Americans, whereas the primary functions of Structure 1 and 4 were as residences for an overseer and slaves, respectively.

Ramey's (2014) analysis also addressed questions of site formation processes, showing that ceramic fragments from the basement of Structure 1 were generally larger and more variable in size as compared to smaller, less variable sherds in the cellars of Structures 3 and 4. This difference was interpreted as support for the inference that the cellars of Structure 3 and 4 appear to have been filled similarly with higher amounts of sterile sands and clays, perhaps quite quickly and during each structure's occupation. Those sediments typically appear deeper in the natural geological profile at Stratford,

often exposed on the sides of the numerous gullies and ravines on the plantation. Conversely, the overseer's basement of Structure 1 appears to have been filled primarily with a mixture of masonry rubble and yard refuse, almost certainly at the end of the site's occupation. Terminus post quem dates for the three structures support these inferences (Table 18). More details of the structural features, cellar fills, and artifacts will be discussed in the following chapters on architectural space and interpretations at the Oval site.

In the spring of 2014, students supervised by the author at the University of Tennessee completed the processing and identification of artifacts from 25 test units from all three areas of the Oval site. Nine test units excavated in the West Field during the 2014 field school were also washed and counted by the field school students, which included the identification of ceramic types. Additionally, I conducted several days of artifact cataloguing during the summer of 2014 on a sample of plowzone contexts from 12 test units judgmentally selected from across the three areas of the Oval site in order to gain a more evenly distributed sample of artifact size data. Those combined 46 plowzone contexts have been added to artifacts counts taken in the field from a further 61 units, bringing the plowzone artifact data sample to 107 units, approximately 32 percent of the 333 total units excavated at the Oval site (Figure 10). Not only are these samples form the artifact assemblage used in the spatial analysis presented in the next

Table 18: Summary of Ceramic Data from Features at the Oval site. Source: Ramey (2014).

Structure	Units Sampled	Number of Sherds	Number of Ware Types	MCD	TPQ	Mean Sherd Size (mm)	Sherd Size Standard Deviation
1 (Overseer)	4	94	13	1735.4	1762	28.9	19.3
3 (Kitchen/Quarter)	3	37	11	1743.7	1720	21.0	13.3
4 (Quarter)	3	22	6	1725.6	1720	20.1	14.3
TOTAL	*10*	*153*	*16*	*1736.0*	*1762*	*23.3*	*15.6*

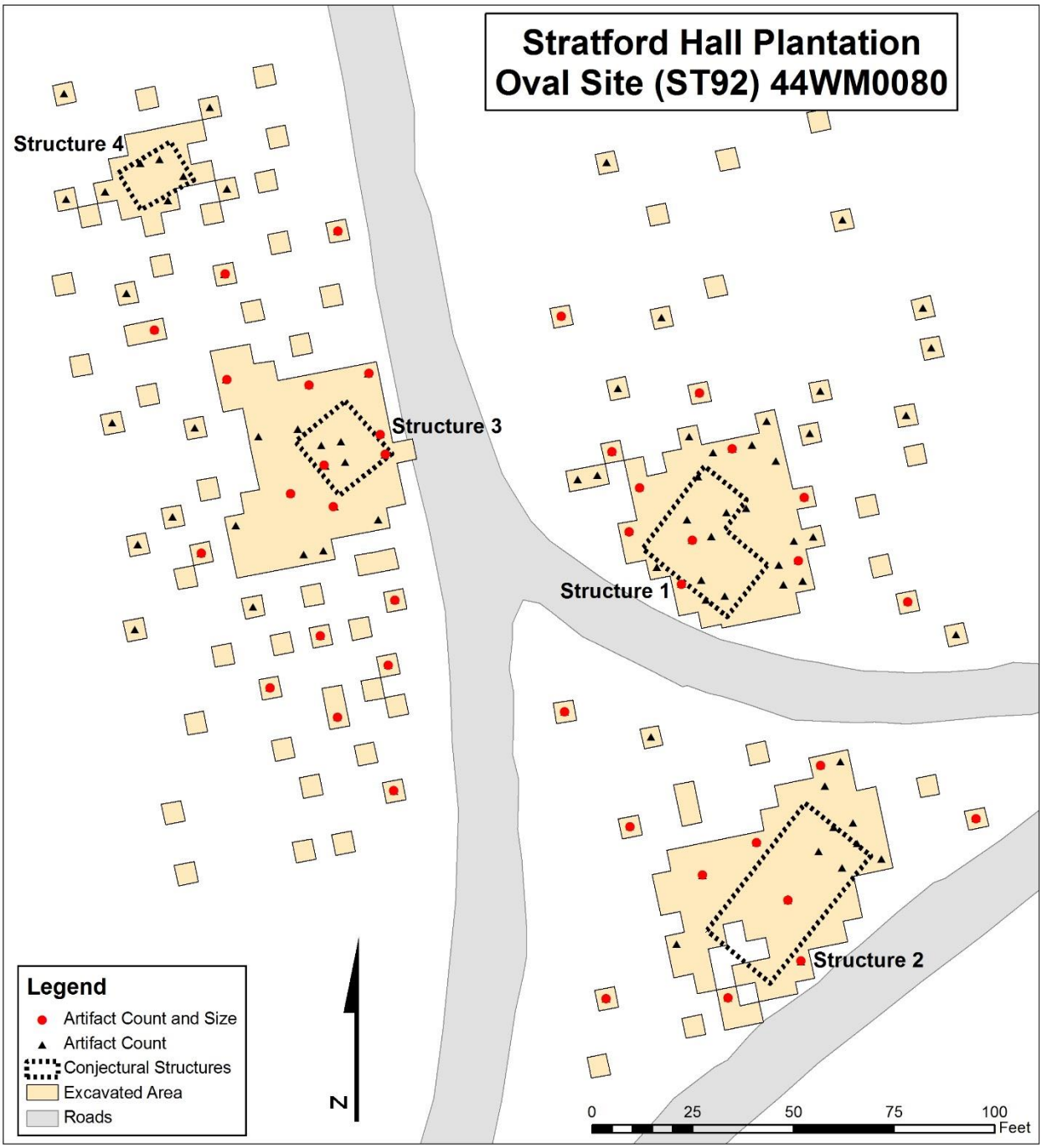


Figure 10: Locations of Plowzone Artifact Data Sampled at the Oval site.

chapter, but combined with Poppert's (2002), Crowder's (2013), and Ramey's (2014) analyses, the results support the conclusion that the occupation of the Oval site dates to the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 18th century. Pipe stem dating from 36 test units offer further confirmation that the 1740s appear to be the site's mean date of occupation (Table 19).

Median production dates of the majority of diagnostic ceramics from plowzone contexts at the Oval site fall within the period from 1716 to 1750 (Wilkins 2015:33). Time lag factors such as the duration of use, curation of items, market access, and economic means of the residents suggest that ceramics could have been owned and used by the residents several years after their median production dates (Adams 2003). Given the historic context of the ownership and management of Stratford discussed in Chapter III, it appears that the Oval site was likely constructed and occupation began sometime during the 1720s when Thomas Lee owned, but did not yet reside at Stratford. The Oval site likely initially served as an independent agricultural complex with an earthfast overseer's house, detached kitchen, and slave quarters. Changes to the site during its occupation included construction of the brick-lined basement addition to the overseer's house and the in-filling of the cellars in Structures 3 and 4. While not precisely dated, these changes could have resulted from a shake-up in plantation organization during

Table 19: Dating Evidence from Oval Site Plowzone Artifact Sample.

	Ceramics				Tobacco Pipes		
Area	**Units Sampled**	**No. of Sherds**	**No. of Ware Types**	**MCD**	**Units Sampled**	**No. of Stem Fragments**	**Binford Formula Date**
Oval	20	288	16	1739.9	11	21	1736.9
Triangle	10	131	15	1740.8	10	25	1737.5
West Field	32	497	20	1744.9	15	82	1748.0
Total	*62*	*916*	*23*	*1742.7*	*36*	*128*	*1744.1*

the construction of the great house and the residence of Thomas Lee at Stratford between circa 1738 and his death in 1750. Occupation continued at the site at least through the first years of transition to Philip Ludwell Lee's ownership and likely into the 1760s and possibly until his death in 1775.

Soil sampling at the Oval site developed gradually over the course of several years and research projects. All test units dug since 2008 included a soil chemistry sample, taken from the lower plowzone layers. Soil was placed in small 3 x 5 in. cloth bags with drawstring ties and labeling tags made for geological samples. I also conducted additional soil samples via augering at the Oval site with a 1 in. diameter split-spoon Oakfield-style soil corer. The auger sampling was completed as part of my Master's thesis (Wilkins 2009), which included 39 samples taken at 10 ft. intervals across the West Field area where Structures 3 and 4 had not yet been located (Figure 11). A further 161 samples were taken at 5 ft. intervals across the triangle area to address questions about the function of Structure 2. These samples were analyzed using a Thermo-Niton pXRF device, and the results compared to both Eidt's (1973) spot test for phosphates and colorimetric measurement of Mehlich 1 available phosphorus.

Given the success of the preliminary comparison of pXRF phosphorus readings at the Oval site, further soil sampling continued during the 2009 to 2014 field seasons with the goal of including more elements and a more complete coverage of the whole site area. While the Oval Proper area around Structure 1, the overseer's house, was not included in my Master's thesis (Wilkins 2009) as the area was largely excavated, 31 additional auger samples were taken at 10 ft. intervals to the north and east of Structure 1 in 2011 as part of a class project, and 14 further soil samples were also extracted

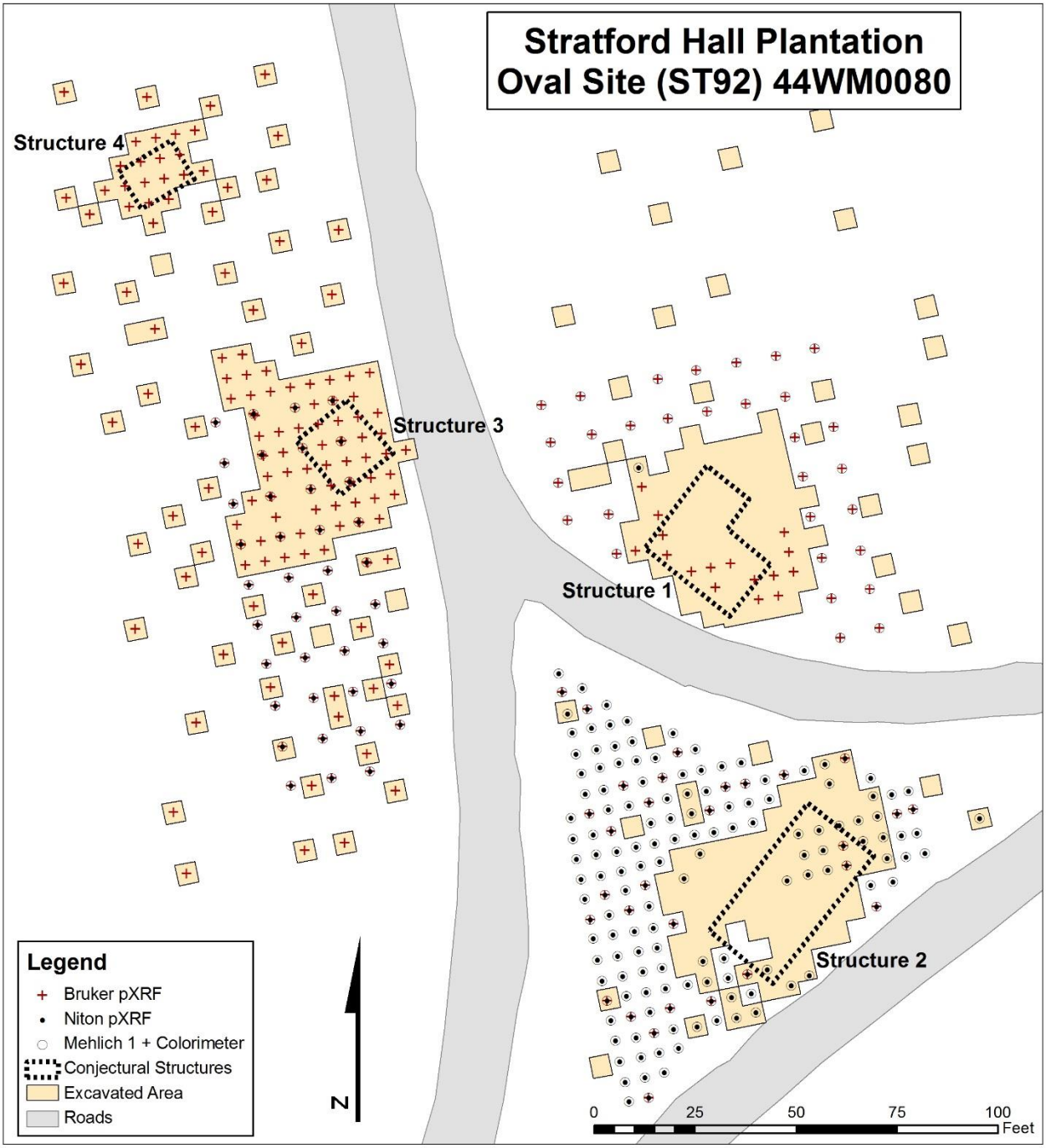


Figure 11: Locations of Soil Chemistry Samples at the Oval site.

from remaining unit corner balks of the Oval Proper excavation block prior to backfilling. This sample, plus 144 samples from test units excavated in the West Field since the 2009 field season were analyzed with pXRF by the author at the University of Tennessee via the methods described above. To this were added 70 samples selected from the West Field and Triangle areas originally included in my Master's thesis in order to investigate variation in readings between devices, resulting in a total of 259 plowzone soil samples from the Oval site included in the present study (Figure 11).

Accotink Quarter

The Accotink Quarter site (44FX223) is a circa 1720 to 1770 quarter in Fairfax County, Virginia. 44FX223 was originally identified in 1980 as a prehistoric site by surface collection of lithic materials found by a local farmer. Limited shovel testing in 1984 during a reconnaissance survey for a nearby medical center failed to recover any additional artifacts (Sipe et al. 2013:86). In 2011, the site was re-defined during a Phase I survey of the Lyndam Hill II property by Thunderbird Archaeology prior to development. The site was identified by shovel testing at 25 ft. intervals and a preliminary metal detector survey, which identified two areas of 18th-century plowzone artifact concentrations (Figure 12). A single shovel test, STP 159, located Feature 1, an intact deposit of feature fills below the plowzone (Sipe et al. 2013:87-94). Based on those results, a Phase II evaluation was carried out to determine potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Phase II testing was carried out in 2011 by Thunderbird Archaeology and included a systematic metal detector survey and the excavation of close-interval (12.5

ft.) shovel tests. A total of 143 shovel tests further defined the two areas of 18th-century artifact concentrations, and five 3 by 3 ft. test units were excavated to investigate the two areas designated Concentration 1 (the eastern area of high artifact density and Feature 1), and Concentration 2 (the western area of high artifact density) (Figure 12). Test Unit 201 further tested Feature 1, establishing its depth and interpretation as a cellar or subfloor pit dating to the early 18th-century (Sipe et al. 2013:102). While a minor prehistoric component was identified in both the Phase I and II investigations by Thunderbird, the 18th-century occupation was recommended as eligible for the NRHP based on the presence and condition of Feature 1 and likelihood that the site related to enslaved African Americans (Sipe et al. 2013:117-118).

Phase III data recovery excavations prior to the site's development were conducted by Thunderbird in the spring of 2012, which included mechanical stripping of the plowzone over both Concentrations 1 and 2. Removal of 12,400 ft.^{2} of plowzone in the area of Concentration 1 revealed the entirety of Feature 1, which proved to be a 10 x 17 ft. cellar that was excavated using 13 2 x 2 ft. units (Figure 12). The cellar proved to be approximately 2 ft. deep, filled with multiple layers of midden or yard soils, and featured a bulkhead entrance with steps on the east end. Features 4 and 5, two small postholes, were identified to the south and north of the east end of the cellar, and are interpreted as post holes associated with the overseer's house (Structure 1) that once existed over Feature 1 (Sipe et al. 2013:127-130,203).

In the area of Concentration 2, 6,355 ft.^{2} of plowzone was mechanically removed to reveal the presence of eight features covering an area roughly 16 x 16 ft. Features 16, 17, 18, 20, and 21 are interpreted as subfloor pits surrounding a central hearth,

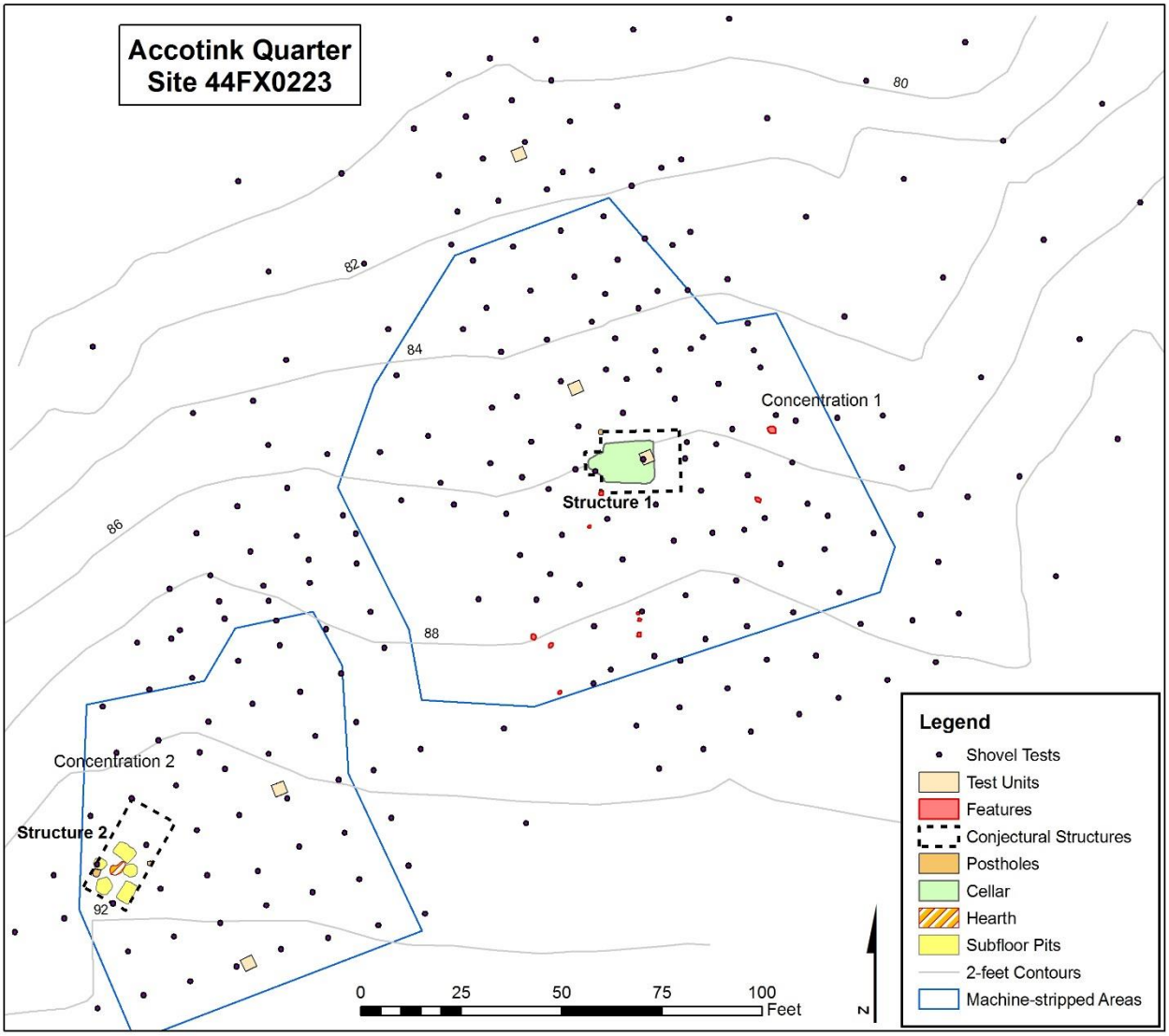


Figure 12: Plan of Excavations at the Accotink Quarter. Adapted from Sipe et al. (2013).

Feature 19. The five subfloor pits ranged from approximately 0.5 to 3 ft. in depth and included both round pits measuring approximately 3.5 ft. in diameter, and rectangular shapes measuring from 10 to 20 $ft.^2$. Two postholes, Features 15 and 22, are interpreted as postholes associated with a possible earthfast structure (Structure 2). Structure 2 is interpreted as a slave quarter, possibly measuring from 14 to 16 ft. x 16 to 26 ft. (Sipe et al. 2013:130,204-253).

Historical document and map analysis by Sipe et al. (2013:275) indicate that the Accotink Quarter site may be documented on a 1747 plat prepared by Daniel McCarty (II) of his late father's, Dennis McCarty's, estate. Mean ceramic dating of the assemblages recovered from Structures 1 and 2 indicates a mid-point for the occupation of 1748. Ceramic frequency seriation and pipe stem dating indicates the occupation range of the site spanned the second and third quarters of the 18th century. When compared with documentary evidence, the Accotink Quarter was likely occupied beginning from about 1726 to about 1770 (Sipe et al. 2013:428). These dates correspond to the listing of a Stafford County quarter in Daniel McCarty's (I) 1726 estate inventory, and the quarter was likely abandoned by 1772 when Abraham Barnes' relationship with the McCarty family deteriorated to the point of his expulsion from the plantation and separation from his wife Sarah (Sipe et al. 2013:275).

All soils excavated during Phase I and II shovel testing and test unit excavations were screened through 0.25 in. hardware cloth (Site et al. 2013:102). Features excavated during the Phase III data recovery were subject to more refined artifact recovery with approximately 50 percent of soils and sediments water-screened through 0.0625 in. window screen, and the remaining half screened through 0.25 in. hardware

cloth. Soil samples for both flotation and soil chemistry analysis were collected from all features. While a relatively small amount of the plowzone was sampled prior to mechanical stripping, I conducted detailed cataloguing on the Accotink artifacts recovered from all Phase I and II shovel tests and test units in order to extract as much data as possible from these contexts. This effort focused on recording artifact size using the method described in the preceding section and was conducted in the summer of 2014 at the Fairfax County Park Authority's James Lee Community Center in Falls Church, Virginia. As stated above, soil chemistry sampling and analysis at the Accotink Quarter was limited to feature contexts only, and therefore chemical analysis was not included in my spatial analysis for the site.

Wingo's Quarter

Wingo's Quarter is a late 18th-century quarter farm occupation featuring the remains of single log slave dwelling occupied from after 1774 and before 1790. With the aid of historic maps, staff from Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest identified the location of Wingo's during short-term survey projects in 2000 and 2001 in the southern portion of a field alongside Wolf Branch. These surveys located a concentration of wrought nails and a small scatter of domestic artifacts dating to the second half of the 18th century. From 2007 to 2012, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville field school conducted intensive investigations of the site. Excavation at Wingo's has included a combination of small 2 ft.^{2} test units placed at 50, 25 and 12.5 ft. intervals, and larger block excavations consisting of contiguous 5 x 5 ft. square test units (Figure 13). Two subfloor pits separated by a distance of less than five ft. were located in the northeastern block

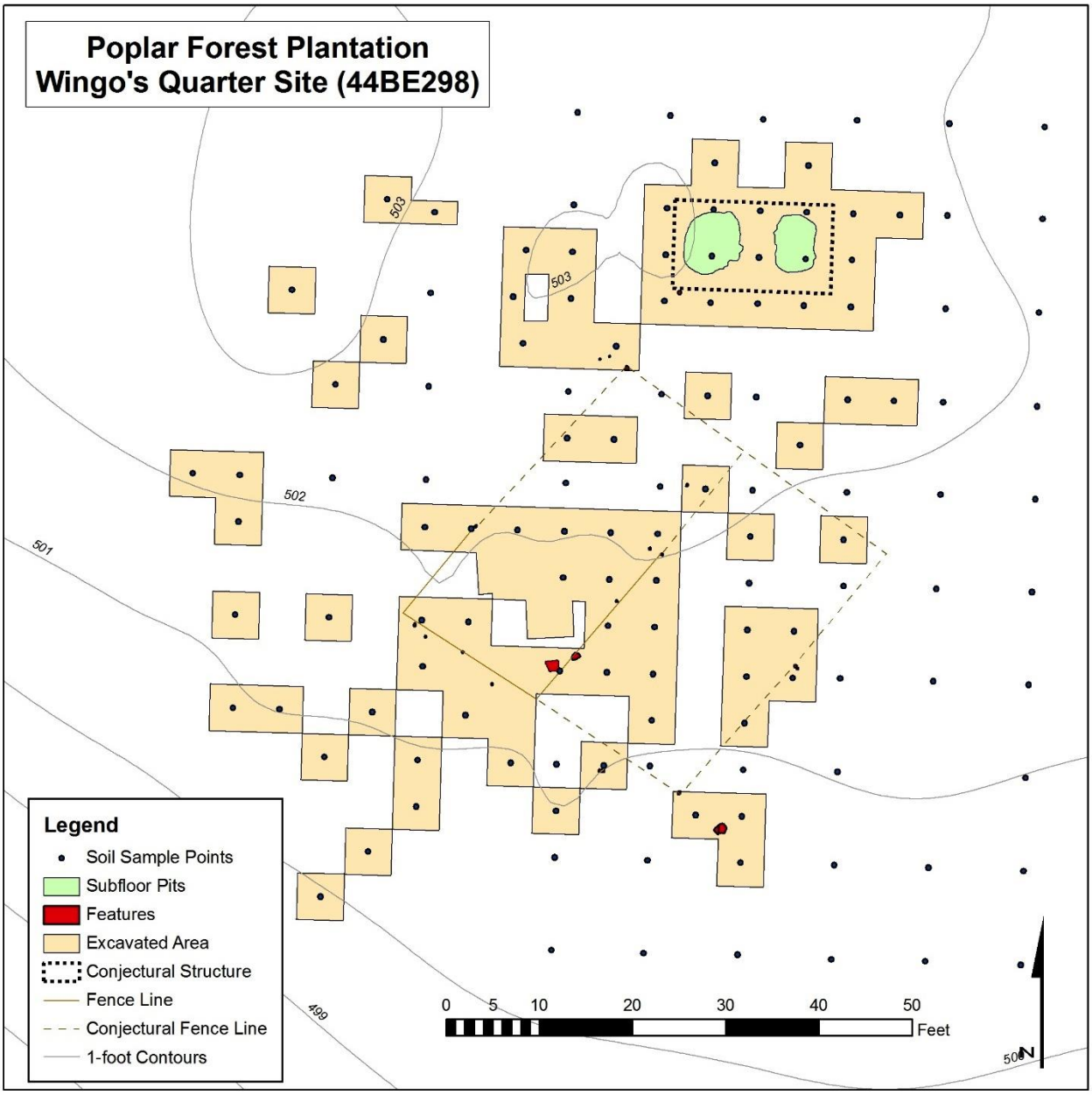


Figure 13: Plan of Wingo's Quarter Excavations and Soil Sampling.

excavation. These features, roughly 1.5 ft. deep and between 4.5 and 6.5 ft. in plan are the only structural remains of a cabin with overall dimensions of at least 18 ft. east to west by 10.5 ft. north to south (Heath 2012b; Heath et al. 2015).

The structure at Wingo's was aligned east to west along the edge of a break in elevation. To the north, east, and west, the ground slopes away at less than 2 percent, while to the south a more pronounced 5 to 10 percent slope leads to the spring at the base of the hill. Extensive testing north of the cabin failed to produce historic artifacts (Heath 2012b). In the block excavation south of the cabin several small circular stake holes and a larger post-hole were uncovered that outline an informal enclosure measuring approximately 17 x 36 ft. (Figure 13). A small rectangular post-hole and additional stake holes were found aligned to the east of the southern line of the enclosure, and may represent an eastern extension of roughly equal size. Small stake-hole features outline the southern end of the western enclosure. The exact dimensions and fence lines of the enclosures are conjectural and based on postulations from the few isolated stake hole features found on site (Heath et al. 2015).

The historic artifact assemblage recovered at Wingo's is dominated by metal finds, principally hand-wrought iron nail fragments. A large amount of daub, approximately 137 lbs., was also recorded, though only three fragments of possible window glass were found on site. An assemblage of personal and clothing-related items was also recovered including several iron tools, buttons, buckles, pins, thimbles, a small paste jewel, and a fob seal. The ceramic assemblage at Wingo's included roughly equal proportions of utilitarian and finer table vessels, and approximately 30 percent of the assemblage consisted of colonoware. Sizable faunal and eggshell assemblages were

also recovered, primarily from the subfloor pit contexts. A prehistoric lithic assemblage was also recovered onsite, including over 1,000 debitage fragments, 18 bifaces, and 31 projectile points with diagnostic types ranging from the Early Archaic to the Early Woodland periods, circa 8,000 to 500 B.C. (Heath et al. 2015). Artifacts recovered at Wingo's were processed and cataloged by Heath and graduate students at the University of Tennessee Knoxville and are available online through the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS).

During the excavation of both 2 x 2 ft. and 5 x 5 ft. test units in the 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, and 2012 field seasons, 235 soil samples were collected in 6 x 8 in. plastic bags using hand tools from plowzone, subsoil, and feature contexts. Most of the sampled contexts were located around the core of the site, in the area of the subfloor pits (Figure 14). Additionally, 49 samples were collected using a 1 in. diameter Oakfield style soil corer in 2012 in order to acquire samples from areas around and away from the contiguous block excavations. This augering process involved a systematic sampling strategy at 10 ft. intervals in what would be the center of each sampled 5 x 5 ft. block on the grid (Figure 14). The auger sampling targeted the plowzone stratum and soils for analysis were collected in 3 x 5 in. cloth soil bags.

Stable Quarter

The Stable Quarter is a late 18th- to early 19th-century slave dwelling component of the Montpelier Mansion archaeological site (44OR0249) in Orange County, Virginia. Excavated by staff from James Madison's Montpelier Archaeology Department in 2010, the circa 1790s to 1830s site consists of the remains of a 16 x 20 ft. two-room log

structure with end chimneys and a hearth-front sub-floor pit (Figure 14). The immediate house-yard to the front (south) of the cabin was also investigated and contains several large borrow pits and a garden area (Marshall 2011).

The Stable Quarter site was first identified during a survey of the area south of the mansion complex and west of the formal gardens at Montpelier conducted in 1990 by a field school from James Madison University. Based on the results of the shovel testing, nine test units were excavated in the area of the Stable Quarter from 1991 to 1996, revealing artifact concentrations dating from the late 18th to mid-19th centuries and several features. Further shovel testing was conducted by the Montpelier Archaeology Department in 2009 as a part of investigations of the mansion's South Yard slave quarters (Marshal 2010:9-13). In addition to the evidence provided by shovel testing and test unit excavations, several historical documents indicated the presence of early 19th-century structures in the area (Marshall 2010:5-6).

In the spring of 2010, as part of a larger study of the plantation's enslaved community, the Montpelier Archaeology Department conducted shovel test survey of the larger Stable Quarter Complex area. Staff excavated 734 shovel tests at 10 ft. intervals. This survey identified one new concentration of historic-period artifacts in the vicinity of the stable as projected by the 1837 insurance plat, as well as around the location of a suspected slave domicile that would become known as the Stable Quarter (Marshall 2010:17). Further survey efforts in 2010 included electric resistivity, metal detection, soil chemistry auger sampling, and Phase II test unit excavation focused on the southern portion of the Stable Quarter Complex in order to identify the stables (Trickett 2010).

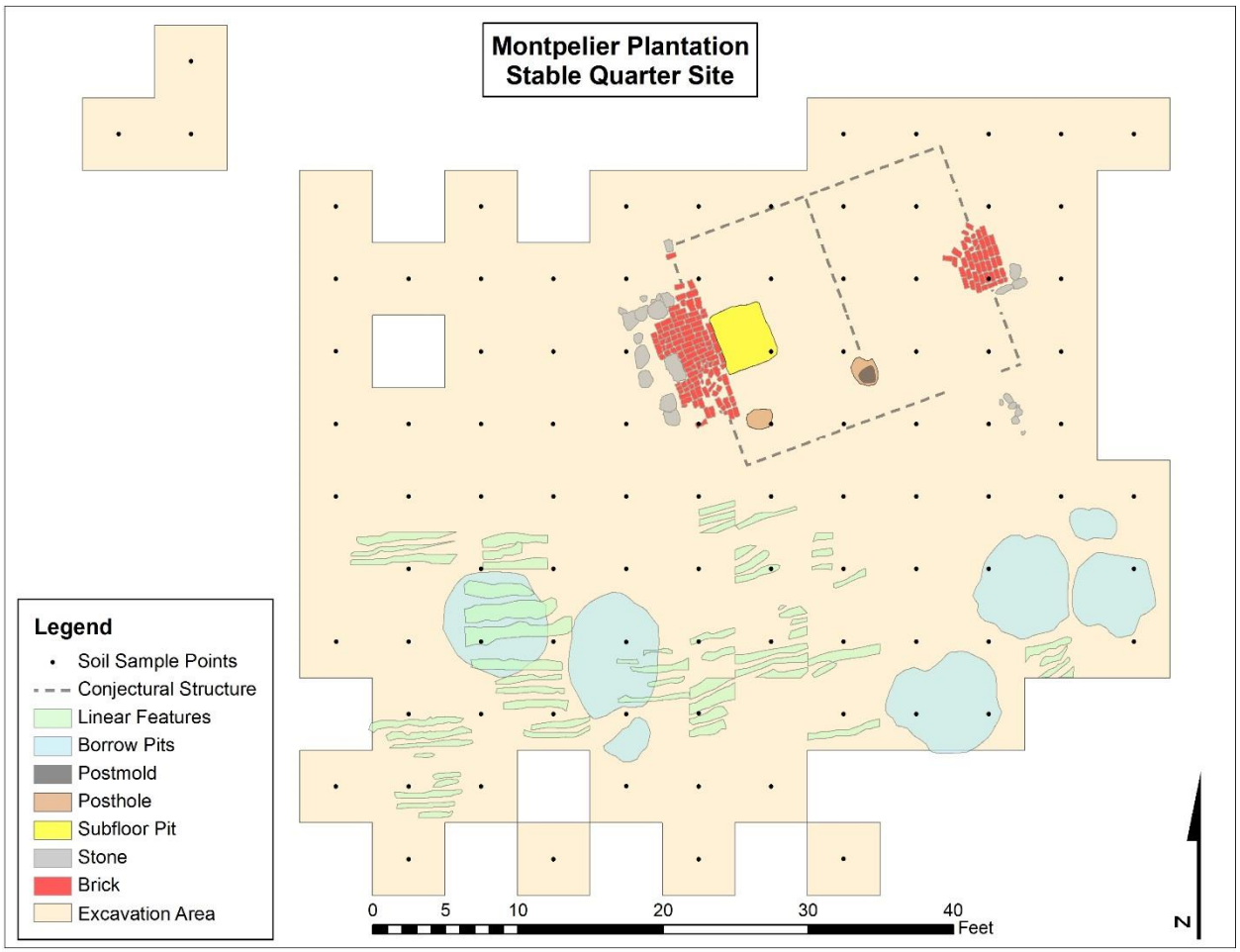


Figure 14: Plan of Stable Quarter Excavations and Soil Sampling.

From June to December 2010, Montpelier Archaeology Department staff conducted an investigation in the northern portion of the Stable Quarter Complex of the Stable Quarter itself via the excavation of 104 5 x 5 ft. test units. The vast majority of the units were dug contiguously, creating an open-area excavation of 2,600 ft.^{2} (Figure 14). The excavation proceeded through several strata of unplowed topsoil and yard surfaces until natural subsoil was encountered. All non-feature strata were screened through 0.25 in. hardware cloth, and samples for water screening were also collected from Madison-era contexts. Soil chemistry samples were collected from feature fills, cultural strata, and from the top surface of subsoil in each excavated test unit, including the 103 soil samples that were taken for the current analysis (Marshall 2011:2,18). As noted above, size classes were set for all artifacts as smaller or larger than 2 cm in data provided by the Montpelier Archaeology Department (Matthew Reeves, pers. comm. 2017).

The remains of the cabin included two brick hearth bases, one at each gable end of the structure. The hearths were built on the grade of the clay floor surface, and define the 20 ft. length of the house. A 4.3 x 3.7 ft. subfloor pit was identified directly in front of the western hearth. Evidence of the ground-laid wooden logs was identified at both the east and west ends of the structure. A small line of brick and stone at the northwest corner of the cabin (Figure 14) likely served to provide a level foundation for the bottom-most logs and indicated the 16 ft. width of the structure (Marshall 2011:36-40).

In the cabin's southern yard, five large, shallow pit features were discovered and interpreted as borrow pits. In roughly the same areas as the borrow pits, numerous shallow and ephemeral linear features were identified (Figure 14). Similar features were

encountered in the 1990s excavations and were initially interpreted as plank stains from the floorboards of a structure. However, current interpretations of these features suggest that they may be evidence of small-scale horticulture such as gardening, where using a hoe to create rows of planting beds would likely leave long shallow irregular features. Mean ceramic dates from the fill of the borrow pits indicate an occupation centering between 1797 and 1810, with terminus post quem (TPQ) dates in the upper layers indicating the site was no longer occupied by about 1830 (Marshall 2011:58-60).

Site 17

Site 17 (44AB473) at Monticello, also known as the Edmund Bacon site, was first located by the Monticello Archaeology Department's plantation-wide survey. The survey employed shovel testing at 40 ft. intervals, which were reduced to 20 and 10 ft. in the presence of positive results. Site 17 was located by shovel testing in a wooded area of sloping ground south of Bell Field, approximately one mile southeast of the mansion house. Artifact concentrations in the positive shovel tests at the location of Site 17 were matched with an 1809 map of the plantation showing an overseer's house in the area. Edmund Bacon was Monticello's overseer at the time and the artifacts recovered confirmed the occupation at Site 17 dated to his tenure in the first quarter of the 19th century. In partnership with the Monticello Department of Archaeology, Washington and Lee University Department of Sociology and Anthropology's Archaeology Program conducted subsequent excavations at Site 17 during their 2009 and 2010 field schools (W&LU AP 2011:13).

Washington and Lee University Field School excavations employed a stratified

random sampling strategy to select the locations of individual 5 x 5 ft. square test units with larger 20 x 20 ft. sampling grid blocks (Figure 15). Test units were hand excavated following natural and cultural stratigraphy, and all soils were screen through 0.25 in. mesh. Artifacts recovered during test unit excavations were processed and cataloged according to standards and procedures of the Monticello Archaeology Department and DAACS (W&LU AP 2011:13-24; DAACS 2017).

While no large in-situ architectural features were identified during the excavation of 38 test units in 2009 and 2010 (Figure 15), excavators did note three clusters of artifact concentration on site. Site 17 is a plowed site, and several plow scars were documented during excavation. While artifact distributions from plowed contexts are valuable sources of spatial information, one concern is the site formation processes at Site 17 related to the slope of the site. On the northern half of the site, slopes range from two to seven percent, and increase to upwards of 10 to 15 percent in the southern portion of the site. The potential exists in this setting for the movement of soils downslope, especially due to erosion exacerbated by post-occupational plowing. This process could result in the movement of artifacts and soils downslope to the south in a non-uniform way, creating misleading spatial distributions of artifacts and soil chemical readings. General downslope creep could also transport soils and artifacts, though the movement would likely be more uniform, in a way that would preserve spatial relationships if not the original location of artifacts and chemical concentrations. The excavators note that the distributions examined during their analysis appear to indicate at least some degree of intact spatial associations between artifacts distributions (W&LU AP 2011:27).

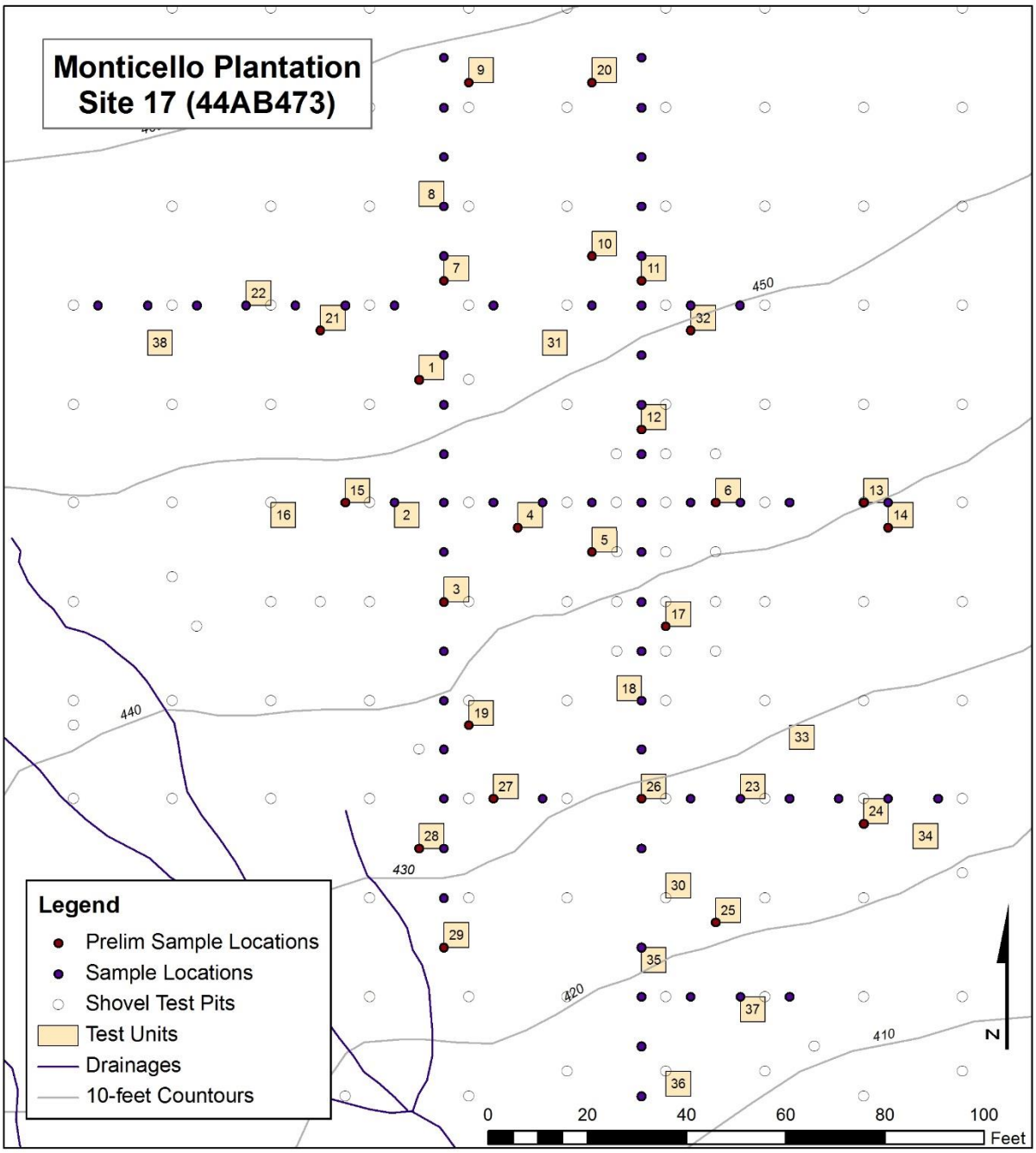


Figure 15: Plan of Site 17 Excavations and Soil Sampling. Adapted from W&LU AP (2011).

Architectural artifacts including brick, nails, and non-naturally occurring stone concentrate around the center of the site among Test Units (TU) 5, 17, and 18 (Figure 15). A second concentration, principally composed of stone and window glass, occurs to the north around TUs 10, 11, and 32. A less intense concentration, principally of brick and nails, occurs on the western edge of the site around TU 38. Initial interpretations by the excavators suggest the possibility that these concentrations represent at least two, and possibly three, structures. Higher concentrations of utilitarian ceramic forms concentrate primarily near the western cluster around TU 38, to a lesser extent in the central cluster around TUs 5, 17, and 18, and are not present near the northern cluster around TUs 10, 11, and 32. Ceramic types and forms, as well as glassware related to dining and drinking, are associated with the central cluster, but not with either the western or northern. These patterns suggest that the principle domestic structure, likely the overseer's house where Edmund Bacon resided, was located in the vicinity of the central cluster around TUs 5, 17, and 18. The two other clusters may represent the location of outbuildings such as a kitchen, dairy, or storage structures (W&LU AP 2011:28-31). Other artifacts recovered from Site 17 include window glass, found in the highest concentrations around the central and northern clusters, suggesting that Bacon's residence, and possibly one outbuilding, had glazed windows (W&LU AP 2011:19).

Preliminary artifact analysis indicates that the assemblage is composed largely of ceramic and glass tablewares, the forms and types associated with food and drink consumption rather than cooking and storage. Both the mean ceramic date and TPQ fall in the late 18th century, 1795 and 1796 respectively, approximately a decade prior to the

hiring of Edmund Bacon. Other sites at Monticello that housed free white employees have had similar indications of slightly older ceramic assemblages than their known occupation dates, suggesting that the occupants likely used older, less expensive dining wares (Heath 1991, 1999b). Site 17's assemblage is somewhat more up to date with higher proportions of pearlware (1775-1840) than the Steward-Watkins site, the residence of free white artisans from 1801 to 1810 (Heath 1999b). Both Site 17 and the Stewart-Watkins ceramics also have relatively high indications of use-wear, suggesting that the older dining wares were extensively used even while exhibiting wear. William Stewart, a blacksmith, is known to have borrowed money often, resided at Monticello for only a few years, and likely did not have the financial means to update his household with the latest ceramic wares. Edmund Bacon is known to have been very prudent and saved large sums from his wages. The excavators at Site 17 suggest that Bacon may have been purposefully frugal at Monticello while planning for his long-awaited personal ventures in the west (W&LU AP 2011:24-26).

The excavations at Site 17 included two rounds of soil chemical sampling and analysis. Preliminary samples were collected during the 2010 field season with a 0.75 in. core taken from both the bottom of plowzone and the top surface of subsoil. Samples were located at the southwest corner of excavated units (Figure 15). The samples were not dried or processed prior to pXRF analysis using the devices and settings described in the preceding section. Preliminary analysis showed soil phosphorus concentrations in both the plowzone and subsoil correlating roughly with the western and central artifact clusters (W&LU AP 2010:35). In the fall of 2010, Washington and Lee University students Susan Payton and Tyler Thompson (2011) conducted a second sampling effort

and analysis. Payton and Thompson took core samples at 10 ft. intervals along six transects, two running north to south and four running east to west across the site (Figure 15). The subsoil stratum was targeted for sampling in an effort to minimize the possible effect of downslope soil and sediment movements that would likely have the greatest impact on plowzone contexts. Sample preparation was also modified to include drying, screening, and pulverizing the sediments in a shatter box in order to achieve a relatively homogenous and fine-grained sample. Initial results indicated phosphorus and potassium concentrations in subsoil correlated well with the central artifact cluster and areas of burned artifacts. However, calcium readings, and to a lesser extent potassium, appeared to cluster along the southern edge of the site suggesting that those readings were reflecting downslope soil movement (Payton and Thompson 2011).

Washington and Lee University staff also conducted initial artifact size distributions using ASI for ceramic artifacts. Higher than expected proportions of small sherds were observed just south of the central artifact cluster and presumed location of the Bacon house. This area is tentatively interpreted as a cleaner front yard space, possible maintained or at least subject to higher amounts of foot traffic. Higher than expected proportions of larger ceramics artifacts were observed to the north of the suspected house location and at the extreme southern end of the site, suggesting possible midden locations (W&LU AP 2011:31-33).

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS

The following description of my findings proceeds from site to site, roughly from east to west geographically and progressively more recent in temporal period. This chapter will be largely limited to a discussion of the intra-site findings, analysis, and interpretations that aim to reconstruct the past nature of the structures, spaces, and larger plantation landscapes of each case study site. Further discussion comparing the findings between sites will be presented in Chapter VI, which attempts to synthesize the spatial nature of plantation quartering for overseers and the enslaved within a broader context. For the current chapter, the discussion at each site will move between scales from the largest scale of the placement and arrangement of the sites within the larger plantations, to the smallest scale of architectural spaces, and finally the mid-level scale of outdoor spaces and quarter layouts. Site 17 is an exception to this order as the distributions of artifacts and soil chemical analysis define the location of the structures on site. I hope the reader finds this progression to be relatively clear; it was chosen in an attempt to provide information on the structures prior to discussing their arrangements and the spaces among them.

Oval site

Plantation landscape

Stratford Hall Plantation sits in the Coastal Plain on the southern shore of the Potomac River roughly 40 miles west of Fredericksburg on Virginia's Northern Neck peninsula (Figure 1). At its height during the tenure of Philip Ludwell Lee, the plantation

encompassed approximately 6,000 acres of the Lee's larger holdings throughout northern Virginia. The Oval site was situated within the center of the home farm, approximately 900 feet (ft.) south of the Great House. The modern property of Stratford Hall Plantation includes the core of the home farm, and is situated within relatively level upland topography sitting about 150 ft. above sea level. Numerous ravines slope down sharply to marshy necklands that border the Potomac and dissect the larger arable upland topography into numerous fingers of land. Several near-vertical cliffs line the banks of the Potomac along Stratford's property between the lower neckland elevations (Hynson et al. 2012:1-3).

Soils on the plantation include the Rumford-Kempsville-Emporia association of well-drained, loamy and sandy soils derived from ancient marine sediments on the upland terraces and the drainages that dissect them. Rumford soils are sloping and steep, Emporia soils are less sloping, and Kempsville series soils are the most level and well-suited to a variety of agricultural and construction purposes (Nicholson 1981:6). As noted in the preceding chapter, the Oval site sits entirely within an area of Kempsville loam, 2 to 7 percent slopes.

The Oval site is roughly centered between the heads of two spring-fed ravines that run north, defining the relatively narrow finger of upland terrace that includes the Great House and its immediate gardens and grounds (Figure 16). The site is dissected by the convergence of two paved roads at the southwest corner of the Oval Drive (Figure 9). The Oval Drive is a 20th-century colonial revival element added to the landscape during the plantation's restoration in the 1930s, though the southern leg of the Oval Drive includes Great House Road, which appears to date back at least into the

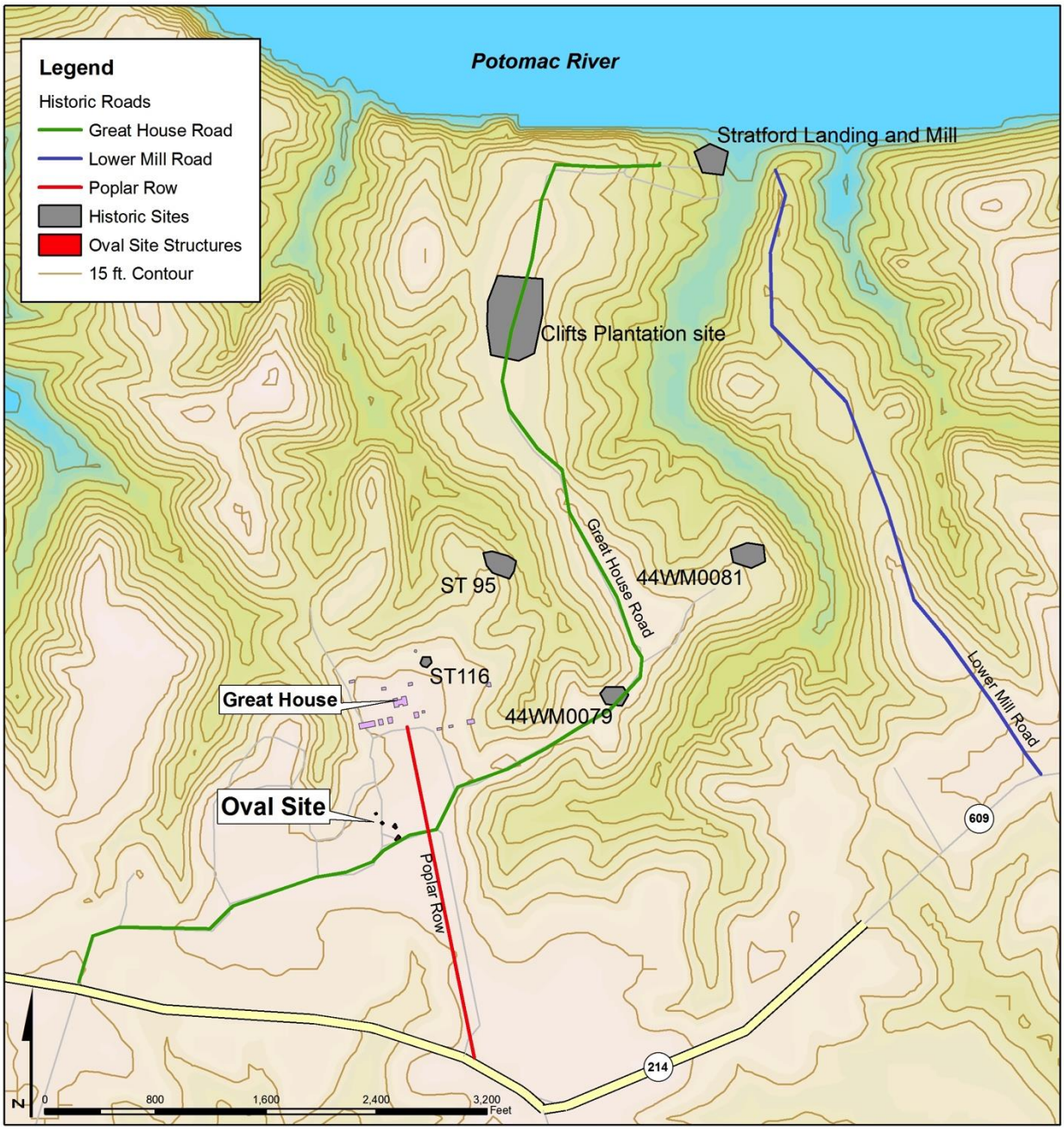


Figure 16: Setting of the Oval site at Stratford Hall Plantation.

19th-century and most likely is associated with the 18th-century arrangement of the plantation. In the 19th century, a drive aligned perpendicular to the axis of the Great House ran to the east of the then abandoned Oval site and down a row of poplars to its intersection with Route 214. In the 18th century, prior to the central poplar-row road, it appears that Great House Road and some variation on what is now Route 214 served as the main entry to the plantation from King's Highway, the main route down the Northern Neck (Figure 16).

While Great House Road may have originally passed the southern side the Oval site, the remaining paved roads forming the "triangle area" and the west side of the Oval Drive leading to the north are modern intrusions. Landscape feature inventories and compilations of historical research conducted at Stratford by the University of Georgia's Cultural Landscape Laboratory indicate that the east side of the modern Oval Drive likely approximates the earliest access from Great House Road to the mansion itself. Great House Road continues along the northern edge of a wooded upland now containing the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association director's cabins, before turning north towards the site of the 17th-century Clifts Plantation, the mill, millpond, and landing (Figure 16). Prior to Thomas Lee's purchase of the property, access from the colonial road, roughly aligned with modern Route 214, was via the Lower Mill Road along the east side of the mill pond. Great House Road was likely established at the beginning of Thomas Lee's ownership or residence at Stratford between 1716 and 1730 given its alignment and association with the Oval site. The overall arrangement and alignment of the Oval site as a whole appears to respect the road more than the Great House. The Oval site was likely constructed prior to the Great House at Stratford, and its position

appears to be the first stop along Great House Road as one entered the home farm before continuing on to the other quarters, or the eventually constructed Great House, mill, landing, and stores.

Architectural space

The Oval site at Stratford Hall Plantation contains the remains of four structures (Figure 10) dating approximately from 1725 to 1775, and perhaps as early as the purchase of the property by Thomas Lee in 1716. The structures all feature earthfast post-in-ground construction, with wooden posts set into hand-dug holes around which the structure was framed. The use of post-in-ground structures was quite common in the Chesapeake Tidewater region, from the earliest colonial English occupations of the lower York-James peninsula in the 17th century through the mid-18th century (Carson et al. 1981:136), and persisted even longer in association with slave quarters (Virginia Slave Housing 2017).

The four structures at the Oval site included Structure 1, the overseer's house, Structure 2, a barn, Structure 3, a kitchen and slave quarter, and Structure 4, a slave quarter (Table 20). Structure 1 included seven post holes arranged in two lines representing the long 20 ft. walls of the overseer's house (Table 21). The posts averaged 0.65 ft.[2] in size and were spaced at 10 ft. intervals. A 14 ft. x 8 ft. brick-lined basement[2] addition was added to the northeastern face of the structure sometime after the construction of the original 16 ft. x 20 ft. earthfast house. This relative chronology

[2] In the 18th century, basement described the lowest full floor of a structure and did not necessarily denote a subterranean storage space (Lounsbury 1994:24). The full-story height basement of Structure 1 did include structural foundations for the rooms above unlike the partial-height cellars of other structures in this study.

Table 20: Dimensions of Structures at the Oval site.

Structure	Dimensions	Size (Area)	Post Holes	Cellar Size	Cellar Depth	Cellar Volume
1 (Overseer)	16 x 20 ft. + 14 x 8 ft.	320 + 112= 432 ft.^{2}	7	14 ft. x 8 ft. (112 ft.^{2})	4.0 ft.	448 ft.^{3}
2 (Barn)	20 ft. x 40 ft.	800 ft.^{2}	10	N/A	N/A	N/A
3 (Kitchen/Quarter)	16 ft. x 16 ft.	256 ft.^{2}	6	9 ft. x 9 ft. (81 ft.^{2})	3.5 ft.	283 ft.^{3}
4 (Quarter)	15 ft. x 11 ft.	165 ft.^{2}	6	9 ft. x 6 ft. (54 ft.^{2})	2.3 ft.	124 ft.^{3}

Table 21: Summary Data for Post Features by Structure at the Oval site.

	Original Posts				Repair Posts			
Structure	No.	Avg. Hole Size	Avg. Hole Depth	Avg. Mold Size	No.	Avg. Hole Size	Avg. Hole Depth	Avg. Mold Size
1 (Overseer)	7	7.03 ft^2.	2.38 ft.	0.65 ft^2	1	4.9 ft.^{2}	1.6 ft.	0.49 ft^2
2 (Barn)	10	13.54 ft^2	2.54 ft.	0.75 ft^2	3	9.4 ft.^{2}	2.4 ft.	0.43 ft^2
3 (Kitchen/Quarter)	6	9.83 ft^2.	2.32 ft.	0.53 ft^2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
4 (Quarter)	6	8.14 ft^2	2.03 ft.	0.49 ft^2.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

was established by the cut of the basement intentionally curving around and cutting the northwest post hole of Structure 1 (Figures 17 and 18), which must have been present prior to the digging of the basement. Brick masonry was then used to backfill the area between the post and the southern wall of the basement, which is only one brick-width thick. The northwest and northeast walls, as well as the bulkhead sidewalls, of the basement are all two brick-widths thick. The southwest wall of the basement was not likely load bearing, as it would not have to support the north wall of the already extant earthfast structure.

The seventh post hole, located on the northwest corner, was placed along the alignment of the northwest brick wall of the basement and may represent an extension to the western gable end of the original earthfast structure, or perhaps a small exterior feature such as a door into the room over the basement. The total area of the ground floor of the earthfast portion of Structure 1 is 320 square feet (ft.^{2}), plus 112 ft.^{2} of likely

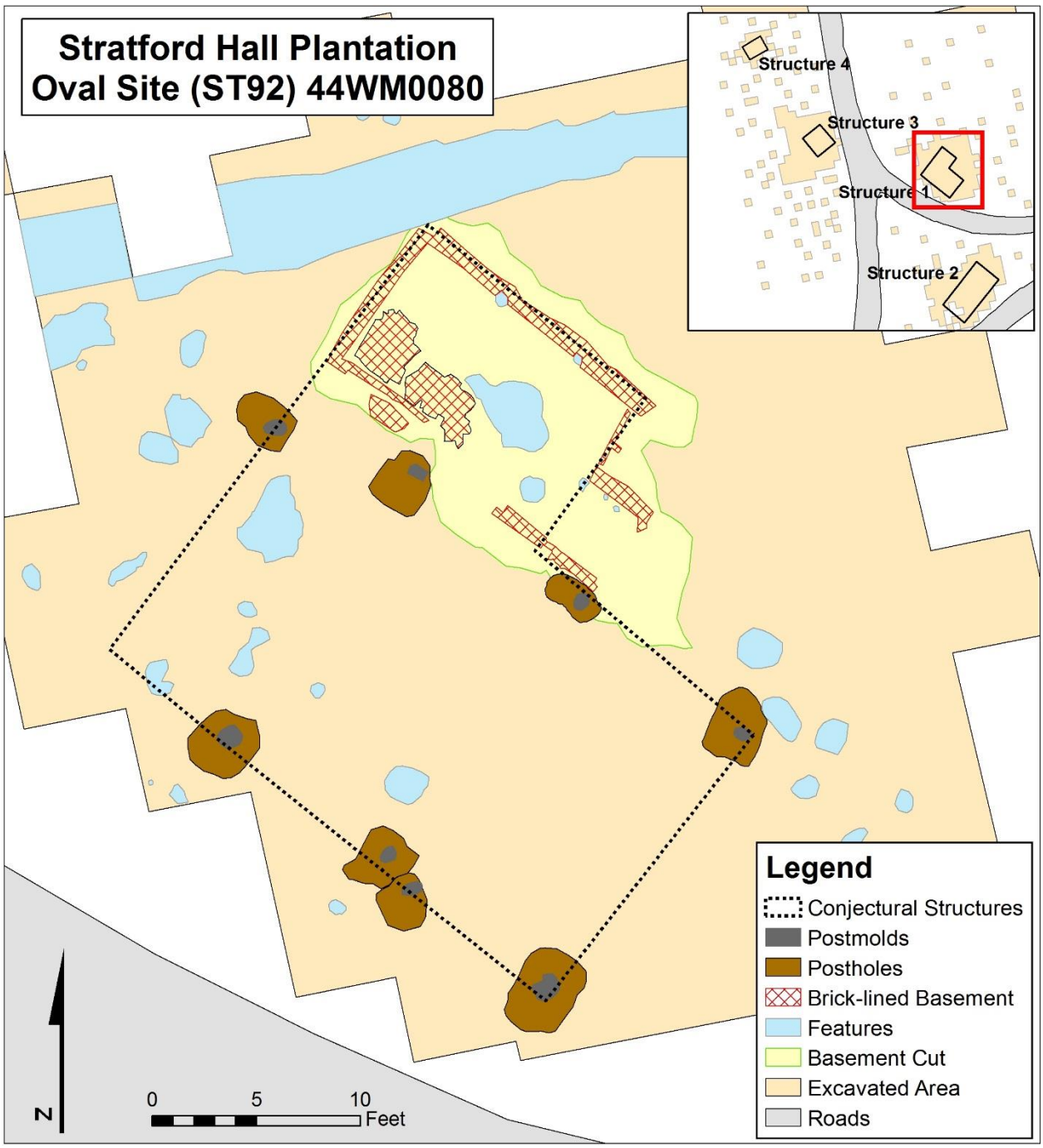


Figure 17: Plan of Structure 1, the Overseer's House, at the Oval site.



Figure 18: Basement within Structure 1 at the Oval site, view to east (photo by author).

ground floor space of the basement equaling a total of 432 ft.^{2} of space not including any half-story or attic space above (Table 20). Nearly 8,400 pounds (lb.) of brick rubble, 2,700 lb. of mortar, and 135 lb. of interior wall plaster was recovered during excavation of the basement fill in Structure 1, more than enough masonry to construct a full-height basement plus at least one full story above it. Numerous plaster fragments either brick joint and lath impressions on the interior surface suggesting that both wood-framed and brick-walled rooms existed in the ground-floor rooms of the overseer's house. Small, variably fired brick fragments were recovered in all plowzone contexts across the entire site, leading the excavators to infer that brick was likely made on site (Sanford 2012a:9). The basement included a bulkhead entrance on the southeast gable end of the structure with brick sidewalls and cuts into the subsoil where at least four wooden stairs were set (Figure 18). The interior dimensions of the basement include a space approximately 14 ft. x 8 ft., extending approximately 4 ft. deep below the bottom surface of the plowzone. While the full height of the basement was likely greater, the volume of the archaeological feature includes at least 448 cubic feet (ft.^{3}) of storage space. Other features in the basement include two slots in the northeast wall, likely for internal partitioning of space, and a central post hole that likely supported the floor above.

Structure 2, the barn, was a 20 ft. x 40 ft. earthfast structure of two lines composed of five large post holes aligned southwest to northeast at 10 ft. intervals (Figure 19). The post holes of Structure 2 are notably more massive than any others on site, averaging around 13 ft.^{2} in area, nearly 3 ft. in depth (Table 21), and featured sloping ramps of subsoil that suggest the use of side-wall construction (Carson et al. 1981:150). The corresponding post molds are also large, averaging around 0.75 ft.^{2} in

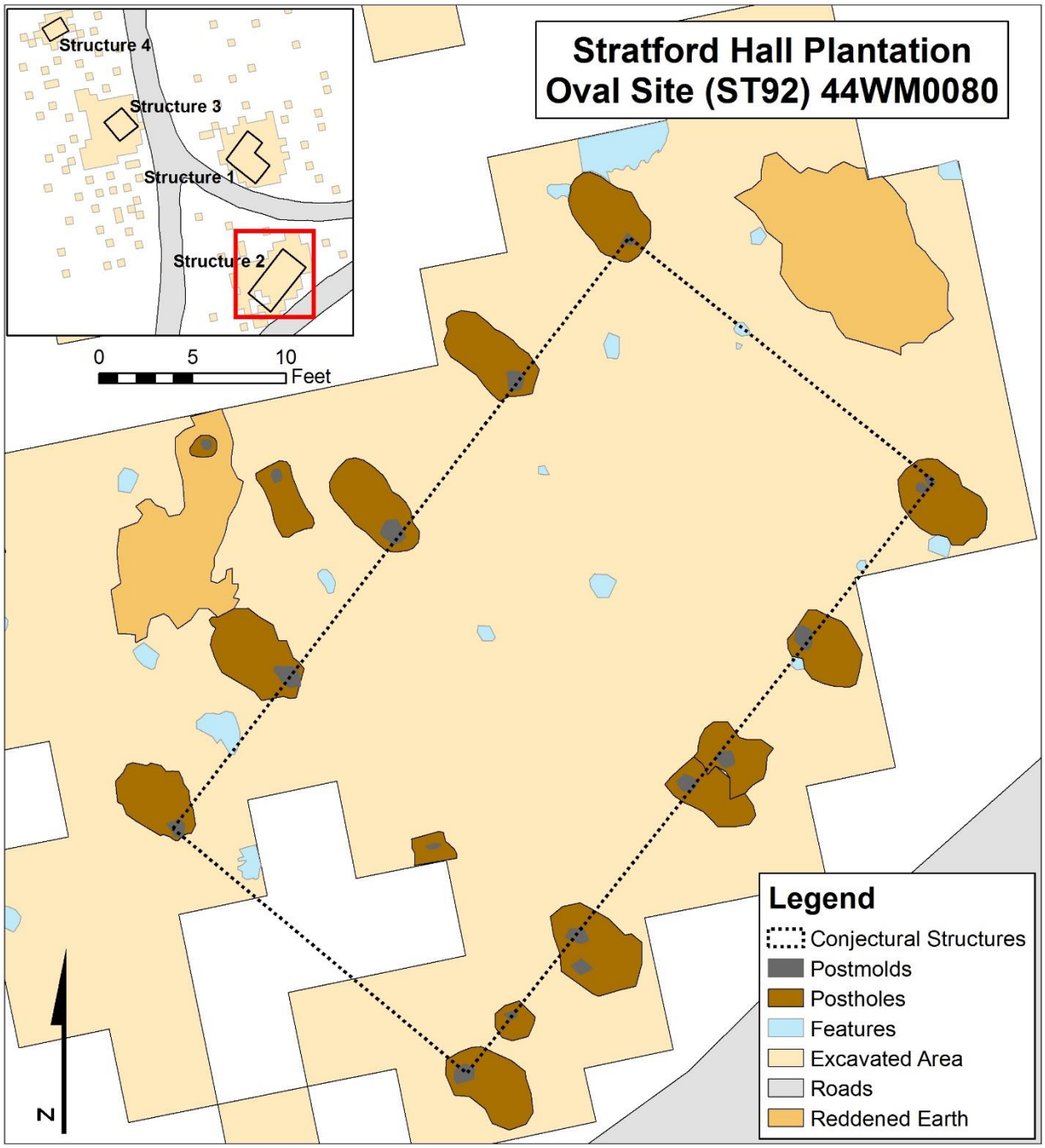


Figure 19: Plan of Structure 2, the Barn, at the Oval site.

size and are all placed at the inside end of their post holes, another indication of sidewall construction.

Structure 3, the kitchen/quarter, was a 16 ft. x 16 ft. earthfast building with a brick chimney at its southwest gable end. The posts of the structure averaged around 0.5 ft.^{2} and were spaced at 8 ft. intervals. The remains of the hearth base included brick and mortar masonry rubble above heat-reddened soils at the western end of the structure at a shallow depth, indicating the location of the hearth (Figure 20). The cellar feature of Structure 3 is roughly 9 ft. x 9 ft. square with straight sides, and reaches approximately 3.5 ft. in depth below the top surface of subsoil creating a subsurface storage space of at least 283 ft.^{3} (Table 20). The fills encountered were largely sterile mixes of sands and clays, though several bands of artifact-rich ashy loams were encountered. These thin layers and lenses contained the majority of artifacts recovered from the feature, including well-preserved faunal remains and metal artifacts. As excavations progressed, it became clear that the west end of the cellar of Structure 3 was undercutting the subsoil (Figure 21). Excavations of the northwest quadrant of the cellar revealed that the undercut area was slightly less than 2 ft. tall, 4 ft. wide, and extends over 2 ft. horizontally into the western wall of the cellar, though excavation ceased at that point due to safety concerns.

Structure 4, the quarter, was a 15 ft. x 11 ft. earthfast structure located approximately 80 ft. north of Structure 3, the kitchen/quarter. The posts of the structure averaged around 0.5 ft.^{2} and were spaced at 7.5 ft. intervals. Structure 4 shared the same southwest to northeast alignment as Structure 3. The cellar feature within Structure 4 also proved to be substantial, measuring 9 x 6 ft. along the same orientation

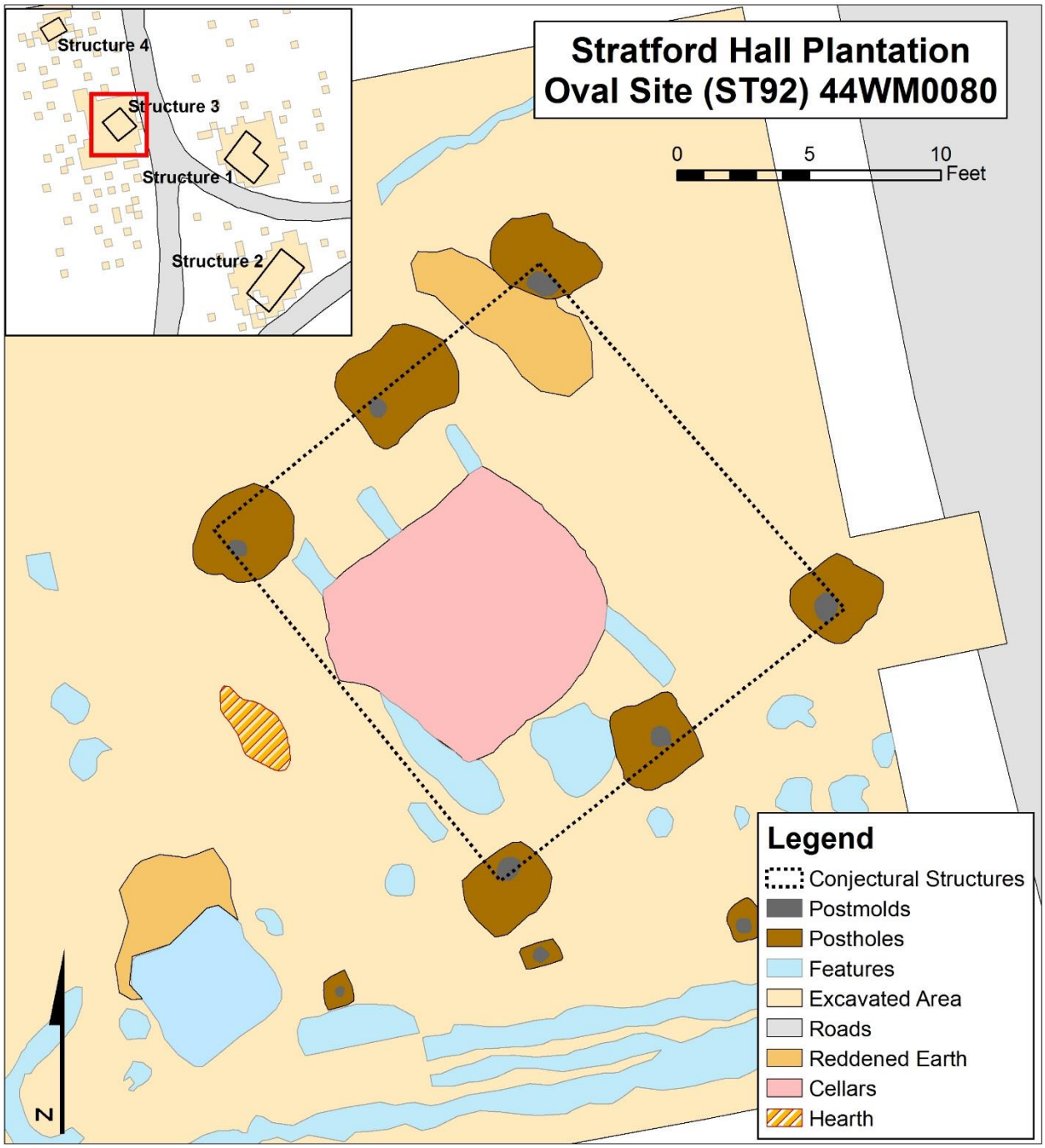


Figure 20: Plan of Structure 3, the Kitchen/Quarter, at the Oval site.



Figure 21: Structure 3 at the Oval site. View to south showing structure plan (top) and view to southwest showing cellar dugout (bottom) (photos by author).

of the building, and located in the western half of the structure. The cellar was 2.3 ft. deep below the top surface of subsoil, creating a subsurface storage space of at least 124 ft.^{3} (Table 20). Approximately three quarters of the feature was excavated in three off grid units oriented to the feature (Figure 22). The fills were remarkably similar across the three excavated quadrants, consisting of layers of mixed brown loams and tan sands in the first foot, and then a heavier mixture of orange and tan sands and sandy-clays towards the bottom. All layers contained very few artifacts, in contrast to the basement of Structure 1 and even some fills of the cellar of Structure 3.

Beginning at a depth of about 1 ft. below the cellar's top edge, fill layers began significantly undercutting the western edge of subsoil, which when excavated revealed a dugout area about 4 ft. wide and extending back under the subsoil about 1.3 ft., similar to the dugout west end of the cellar in Structure 3 (Figure 23). The function of the dugout is not definite, but may have been for additional or specialized storage. The clay around the undercut area is a slightly darker red than the surrounding orange clay subsoil. This may be due to heat from a hearth above the dugout, or perhaps was heated purposely to harden the walls of the dugout. The similarities between these undercut sides of the root cellars of Structure 3 and Structure 4 are striking. They are both located at the west end of the cellars, are similar sized openings, and appear to be improvised additions to the more regularly shaped cellars.

The two cellars are large, rectangular, carefully dug, and located in the west ends of their respective buildings. These cellars are likely not subfloor pits improvised by enslaved occupants, but storage areas planned by plantation management during the construction of the quarter. Subfloor pits are a type of improvised belowground storage

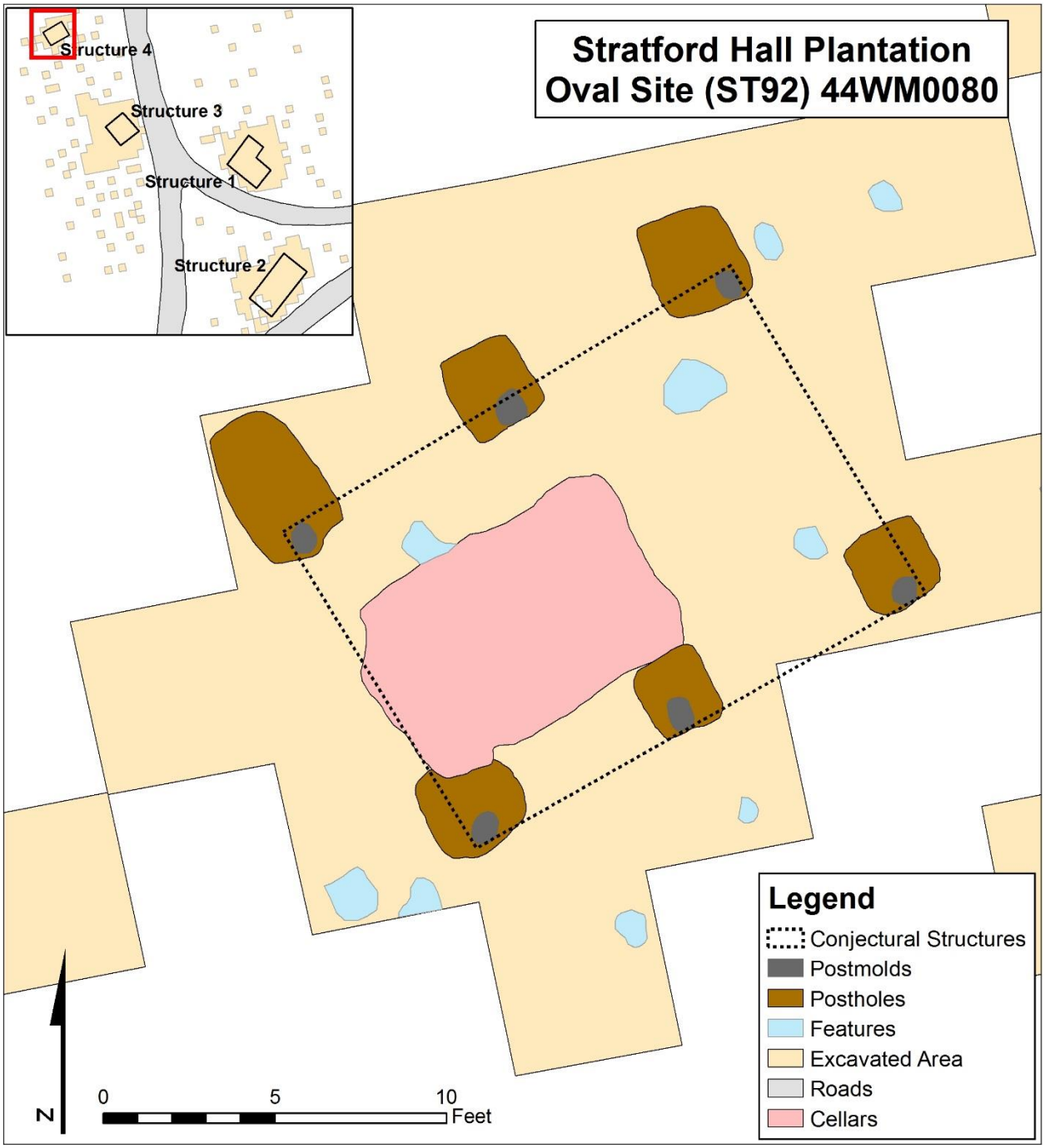


Figure 22: Plan of Structure 4, the Quarter, at the Oval site.



Figure 23: Structure 4 at the Oval site. View to west showing structure (top) and view southwest showing dugout feature (bottom) (photos by author).

predominantly seen in the Chesapeake region in the 18th century. Since their discovery in the late 1960s, subfloor pits have been a topic of debate in regard to their function, rise and fall in usage, and meaning. However, most scholars agree that in Virginia, these pits are associated with the residences of enslaved African Americans, and served several purposes including the storage of food and personal goods. Subfloor pits identified in the Chesapeake region are typically round or rectangular, are located along walls or directly in front of hearths, and do not exceed approximately 30 ft.^{2} in plan (Fesler 2004; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008; Hatch 2009; Heath and Breen 2009).

The cellars are also large enough that they occupy nearly half the floor space of the two structures, spans that could not be easily covered with improvised boards, a method of covering often associated with smaller subfloor pits. Five large linear features were recorded around the cellar of Structure 3 (Figures 21 and 22), and appear to be filled-in slots that would have housed floor joists purposefully set into the ground, known as sleepers. The cellar of Structure 3 therefore would likely have had a wooden floor covering it. Access to the cellar would have been gained through an opening or hatch in any such floor. The subsoil around the cellar of Structure 4 did not contain sleeper beam features, though it should be noted that the plowzone is appreciably shallower in the area of Structure 4, likely due in part to erosion from that highest point of the West Field. Shallower architectural details such as sleeper and hearth features may have been destroyed by plowing around Structure 4, but preserved around Structure 3, where deeper surface soils accumulated due to erosion and the piling of soils during the creation of the 20th-century road-side ditch.

The large size and more formal arrangement of the two cellars are not regularly

seen in subfloor pits, and fit better with the interpretation of a large cellar designed by the plantation or quarter's managers. This does not mean that slaves were not quartered in the structure, but suggests that the structure and its cellar may have been built to include other purposes. Structure 3 appears to have been both a kitchen constructed as a dependency to the overseer's house in the Oval Area, and a residence for the slaves owned by or assigned to serve the overseer. The cellar feature was likely originally created for use by the overseer or the larger quarter, and not intended for the slaves' personal use. This circumstance could have prevented the enslaved residents of Structures 3 and 4 from using floor space for their own subfloor pits and resulted in the placement of the dugout cavities within the side walls of the cellars. Based on communications with other archaeologists in the region, these kinds of storage spaces in the walls of larger cellars appear to be unique to the Oval site.

Quarter Space

The structures at the Oval site are arranged in a modified line running from northwest to southeast with the overseer's house, Structure 1, set back approximately 30 ft. to the northeast forming a central open space. Structures 2, the barn, and 3, the kitchen/quarter, faced that central area (Figures 9 and 16). The site appears open to, and facing, southwest towards incoming travelers entering the plantation on Great House Road. The structures are relatively evenly spaced, with approximately 80 ft. separating their midpoints. There were artifact concentrations from shovel testing farther south of Structure 3 in the West Field, the area approximately 100 ft. southwest of Structure 1, though no definitive evidence of additional structures was identified. The

position of Structure 1 is distinguished from the others on site, primarily in being offset from the otherwise linear arrangement, but also in that it occupies the “head” of the central open area when approached from the southwest. Structure 2, the barn, is placed very close to Great House road, and this may have been for exigencies of farming such as the ease of loading or unloading the tools or produce housed in the barn. The overseer’s house is the closest domestic structure to the road, and occupies a position between the structures that housed the enslaved and the barn and road beyond. This placement may have been arranged for practical reasons so that the overseer was most accessible from the road given his roles in coordinating work on the home farm. The position also has the advantage of having open sight lines to all the buildings on site (Figures 9 and 16).

In order to assess the intra-site organization and use of outdoor space, artifact count, size, richness, and soil chemical distributions were created, assessed, and compared. Artifact count distributions were generated using both artifact material and object class variables such as ceramics, nails, window glass, tobacco pipes, and larger functional groupings of domestic refuse versus architectural debris. Masonry was generally excluded from larger groupings, as were modern finds and botanical samples recovered during plowzone excavations. Many of the distributions for individual artifact classes with the larger groupings were strikingly similar, and significantly correlated (Appendix C, Table A.5). In the following distribution maps artifact counts are most often displayed as proportionally sized bars representing the quantity of artifacts recovered from the sampling unit.

For the distribution of artifact size index (ASI) values at the Oval site, site-wide

average sizes were calculated for each artifact class and grouping (Table 22), excluding prehistoric lithics, botanical artifacts, and artifacts of modern composite materials including asphalt, plastics, and cellophane. Masonry fragments of brick, mortar, and plaster, typically weighed and discarded in the field, were also excluded. Fewer ASI distributions were correlated significantly with each other (Table A.6). In the following maps, ASI values are represented as colorized distributions with shades of brown relating to higher ASI values that indicate a higher than expected proportion of small artifacts. Shades of blue relate the location of lower ASI values that indicate a lower than expected proportion of small artifacts. As discussed in the preceding chapter, highly maintained spaces, such as swept yards, should exhibit low artifact frequencies and higher ASI values. Given the similar nature of several related distributions, not every distribution produced in the analysis is present and described in detail in the main body of the following text.

Architectural group artifacts at the Oval site include nails and aqua window glass. Although they share a general pattern of concentration near the structures resulting from similar formation processes of building demolition, window glass distributions are

Table 22: Artifact Sizes and Counts used in ASI Calculations at the Oval site.

Group	Average Size (mm)	Total Number	Total Small (< Average)	Proportion Small	Units Represented
All Historic	20.42	9,798	7,085	0.724	39
Ceramics	19.29	628	334	0.531	39
Pipes	19.69	347	160	0.461	39
Oyster shell	23.92	380	226	0.594	37
Bone	15.36	260	202	0.776	23
Window glass	16.26	2,732	1,880	0.688	39
UnID flat glass	20.53	167	115	0.688	31
Bottle/Vessel glass	21.72	3,211	2,100	0.654	39
Nails	22.94	770	467	0.606	39
Small Finds	17.56	541	390	0.720	36

sufficiently distinct to warrant individual attention. Aqua window glass is concentrated immediately south of Structure 4, the quarter, with other less intense deposition generally around Structures 1 and 3 suggesting the three domestic buildings all had glazed windows (Figure 24). Very few window glass fragments were recovered around Structure 2, the barn, which is expected since a barn would not have glazed windows.

The very high concentration of window glass fragments around and south of Structure 4, the quarter, begs the question of whether this location saw specialized activity. Among the aqua window glass artifacts were numerous fragments with unique bulged edges that include at least three distinctly shaped rim profiles (Figure 25). These bulged finished edges do not appear to be associated with any kind of 18th-century window glass production methods. It is also possible that these fragments, and possibly a larger portion of the flat aqua glass on site, are not from windowpanes but some other object. One possibility for the origin of these bulged pieces could be bell jars used in gardening. Many bell jars are singular dome-shaped pieces of green or aqua glass and have a bulged edge at the base. All the bulged edge fragments of glass recovered are flat, though a less common form of bell jar is known to have used flat panes fitted into metal casements, which could be the origin of these artifacts. Fragments of this unidentified flat glass with bulged edges have been recovered throughout the site, but are distinctly clustered in the area between Structures 3 and 4 (Figure 26).

ASI values for both window glass, and the unidentified flat glass with bulged edges, all show greater than expected proportions of large artifacts centered around the overseer's house and barn. Smaller pockets of large-artifact dominated units near Structure 4 suggest primary deposits of an active work area with limited efforts to

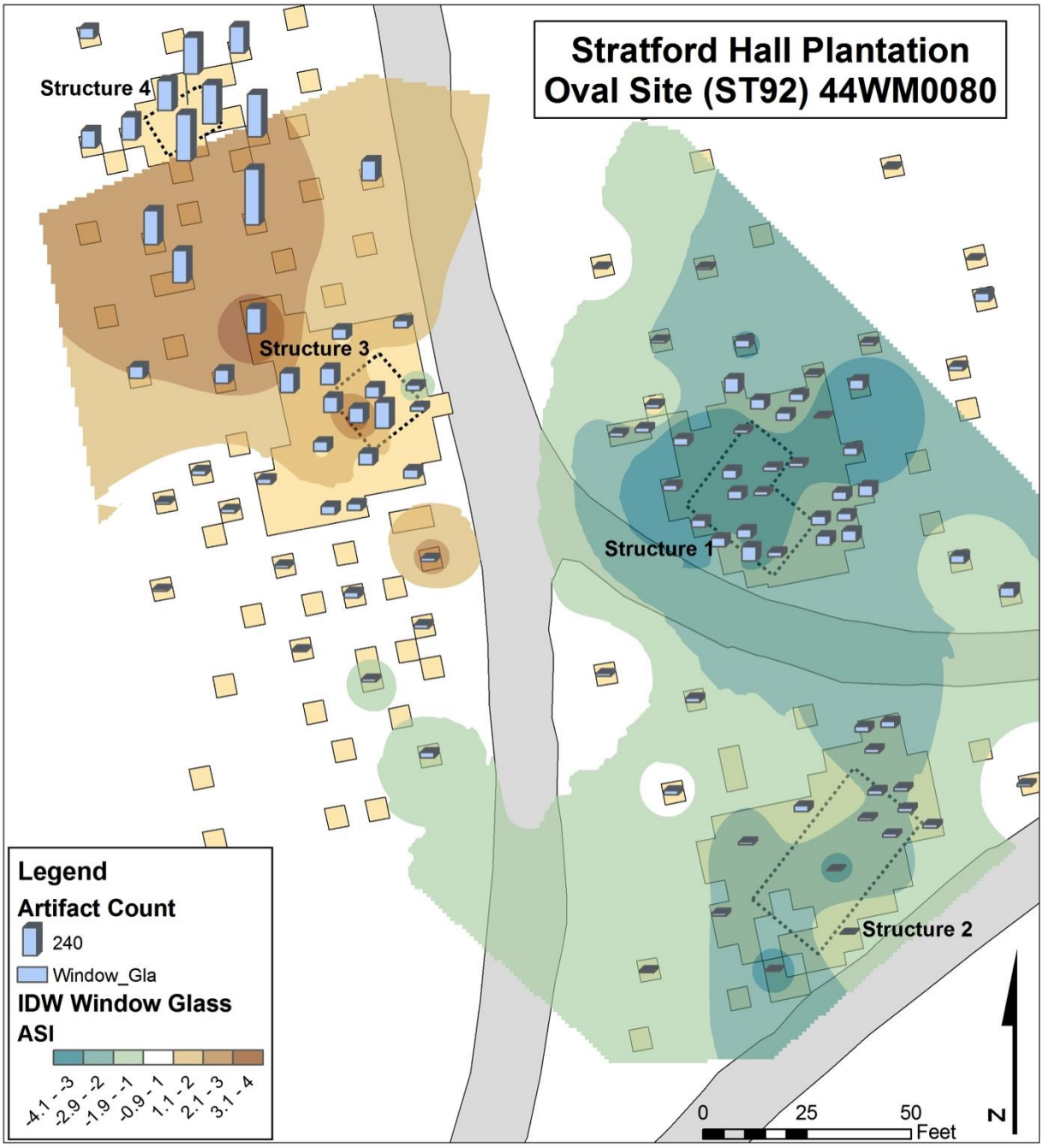


Figure 24: Window Glass Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.



Figure 25: Unidentified Flat Glass Artifacts Recovered from the Oval site (photo by author).

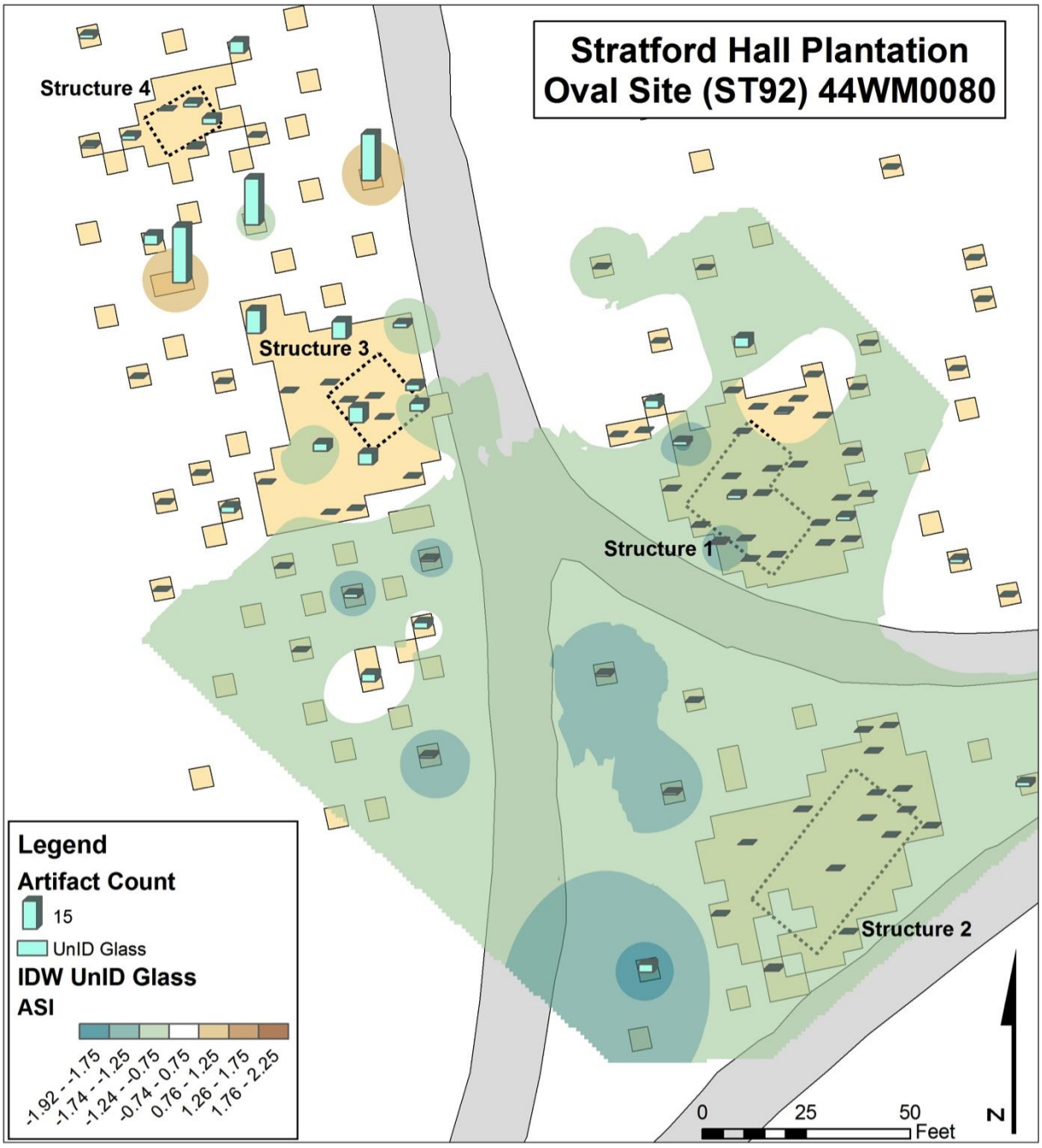


Figure 26: Unidentified Flat Glass Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.

maintain a clean space. This area saw the highest concentration of window glass and unidentified flat glass count frequencies, and the largest numbers of mostly smaller window and flat glass fragments south of Structure 3 (Figures 24 and 26). Higher than expected proportions of smaller architectural artifacts are clustered significantly between Structures 3 and 4.

The distribution of domestic refuse-related artifacts at the Oval site includes ceramics, bottle and vessel glass, tobacco pipes, faunal material, and small finds. Many of the individual artifact classes within the larger domestic grouping showed similar distributions, and are strongly correlated and clustered (Tables A.5-A.7). A map of ceramic frequency exhibits two roughly equal-intensity concentrations south of Structure 3 and on the southeast side of Structure 1 (Figure 27). The overall pattern appears to primarily reflect plowed middens associated with each occupation. As will be shown throughout the following discussion, the midden south of Structure 3 appears to be the central locus of secondary refuse deposition for the entire site, and supports the interpretation that that structure served as a kitchen as well as a slave dwelling.

From both areas, a high diversity of ceramic types was recovered including a mix of finer imported tablewares (such as white salt-glazed stoneware, Whieldon clouded and pineapple-type earthenware, and Chinese export porcelain) for serving meals to more utilitarian vessels (North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware, Buckley earthenware, various redwares, British and German stoneware) for food preparation, storage, and dairying. In both areas the assortment and proportion of wares was similar, with tin- glazed earthenware, redware, and British brown stoneware comprising over 50 percent of the ceramic assemblages from plowzone contexts (Table 23). Contexts

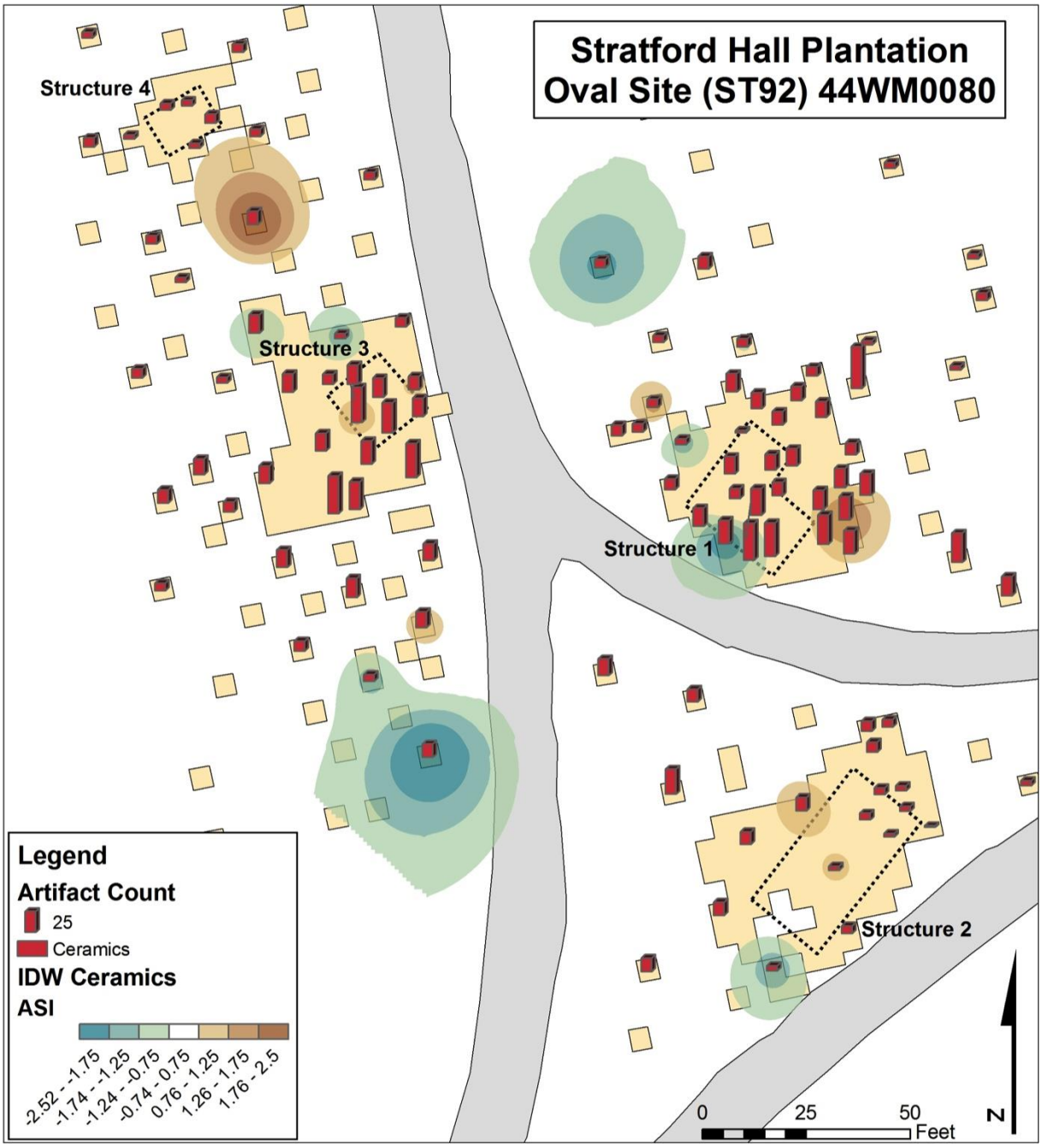


Figure 27: Ceramic Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.

Table 23: Ceramic Ware Frequencies from Plowzone Contexts at the Oval site.

	Oval Drive (Structure 1)		Triangle (Structure 2)		West Field (Structures 3&4)		Total	
Ceramic Ware Type	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
British Brown stoneware	19	3.0	4	0.6	43	6.9	66	10.6
Buckley earthenware	18	2.9	6	1.0	22	3.5	46	7.4
Burslem stoneware	-	-	1	0.2	5	0.8	6	1.0
Colonoware	9	1.4	3	0.5	8	1.3	20	3.2
Creamware	2	0.3	-	-	6	1.0	8	1.3
Manganese mottled	4	0.6	7	1.1	28	4.5	39	6.3
North Devon gravel-tempered	4	0.6	21	3.4	10	1.6	35	5.6
Nottingham stoneware	-	-	-	-	3	0.5	3	0.5
Pearlware	-	-	1	0.2	14	2.2	15	2.4
Porcelain, Chinese	11	1.8	4	0.6	3	0.5	18	2.9
Redware	30	4.8	28	4.5	53	8.5	111	14.7
Shaw Patent stoneware	-	-	3	0.5	-	-	3	0.5
Staffordshire slipware	4	0.6	-	-	-	-	4	0.6
Tin-glazed earthenware	57	9.1	39	6.3	65	10.4	161	25.8
Westerwald stoneware	6	1.0	5	0.8	15	2.4	26	4.2
Whieldon Clouded	-	-	-	-	3	0.5	3	0.5
Whieldon Pineapple	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	1	0.2
White salt-glaze stoneware	15	2.4	9	1.4	24	3.9	48	7.7
Grand Total	***182***	***29.2***	***135***	***21.6***	***307***	***49.2***	***624***	***100.0***

around Structure 1 included a higher proportion of Chinese porcelain, whereas Structure 3 contexts included slightly higher proportions of stoneware, manganese-mottled earthenware, and colonoware, which may have been produced on or near the plantation by enslaved African Americans. The mixture of ceramic types and functions indicates that Structure 3 likely served multiple roles in support of the overseer's house, including as workspace and housing for slaves.

Colonoware is a broad category of hand-built coarse earthenware likely produced regionally and traded by Native Americans and African Americans. Colonoware has been recovered from contexts associated with multiple ethnic groups from Delaware to Florida, and debate about the origins and Native American participation in or influences on colonoware in many regions still persists. The fabric and manufacture of colonoware Florida, and debate about the origins and Native American participation in or influences

is often compared to late prehistoric ceramics, though the vessels bear more similarity to European forms and appears to be a mix of influences from African, Native, and European traditions unique to the colonial period. Despite debate over its production, colonoware is often recovered from areas lived and worked in by both enslaved African Americans and free white laborers on plantation contexts (Ferguson 1992; Samford 1996; Mouer et al. 1999; Singleton and Bograd 2000; Bell 2005).

Colonoware was not recovered from the basement feature of the overseer's, though it comprises approximately 14 percent of the ceramic assemblages from the cellar features of the slave-occupied Structures 3 and 4, the kitchen/quarter and quarter (Ramey 2014; Sanford 2015). Sanford (2015) also notes that ceramics from within the overseer's basement include a generally similar assortment of ceramics as compared to cellars of kitchen/quarter and quarter, but with a few subtle distinctions. Rarer types including Nottingham and Shaw's patent stonewares, creamware, and cauliflower wares are present in the overseer's basement but not in the slave-occupied structures. A higher minimum vessel count, and slightly higher frequencies of finer stoneware and porcelain were also identified with the overseer at the Oval site, leading Sanford (2015:9) to conclude: "the overseer's household had ceramics not radically different from those for the nearby slaves, but wares and vessels distinct enough to reinforce the racial, legal, and socioeconomic forces at work in this Chesapeake plantation society."

The ceramic ASI distribution at the Oval site shows moderate to low values south of Structure 3 indicating more large sherds, which is consistent with the accumulation of secondary refuse in a midden (Figure 27). Moving south through the West Field, a small area of smaller ceramics fragments and moderate ceramic frequencies coincides with

the area where small linear and amorphous features were recorded and interpreted as a garden. Small ceramics sherds may have been unintentionally incorporated into manure or refuse used to fertilize the garden. Other areas of high ceramic ASI values and low frequencies showing fewer, but smaller sherds, exist northwest of Structure 1 and northwest of Structure 2. The area northwest of Structure 1 is relatively small and isolated. Perhaps the fewer, smaller sherds located there resulted from trampling in a relatively clean area such as a path or entrance into the overseer's house. The larger area within and northwest of Structure 2 may have been kept purposefully clean as a working area within and in front of the barn.

Bottle and vessel glass frequencies and ASI largely coincide with both ceramic and total artifact frequencies, which are strongly correlated (Table A.5). The same patterns exist of low frequency and small sizes between Structures 3 and 4, northwest of Structure 1, and in front of Structure 2. Higher concentrations and larger size glass artifacts concentrate south of Structure 3 in the midden area and again south of the garden area (Figure 28).

Ball clay tobacco pipe fragments share frequency distributions similar to the overall domestic group, concentrating within and around Structure 3 and its midden (Figure 29). Lower densities of tobacco pipes were recovered throughout much of the rest of the site except on the northwest and southeast ends of Structure 1. The enslaved occupants of the Oval site appear to have engaged more in smoking than members of the overseer's household. The number of likely smokers on site would certainly be dominated by the enslaved population, consisting of 8 to 12 working-age adolescents and adults versus one overseer and his family at any given time. Pipe

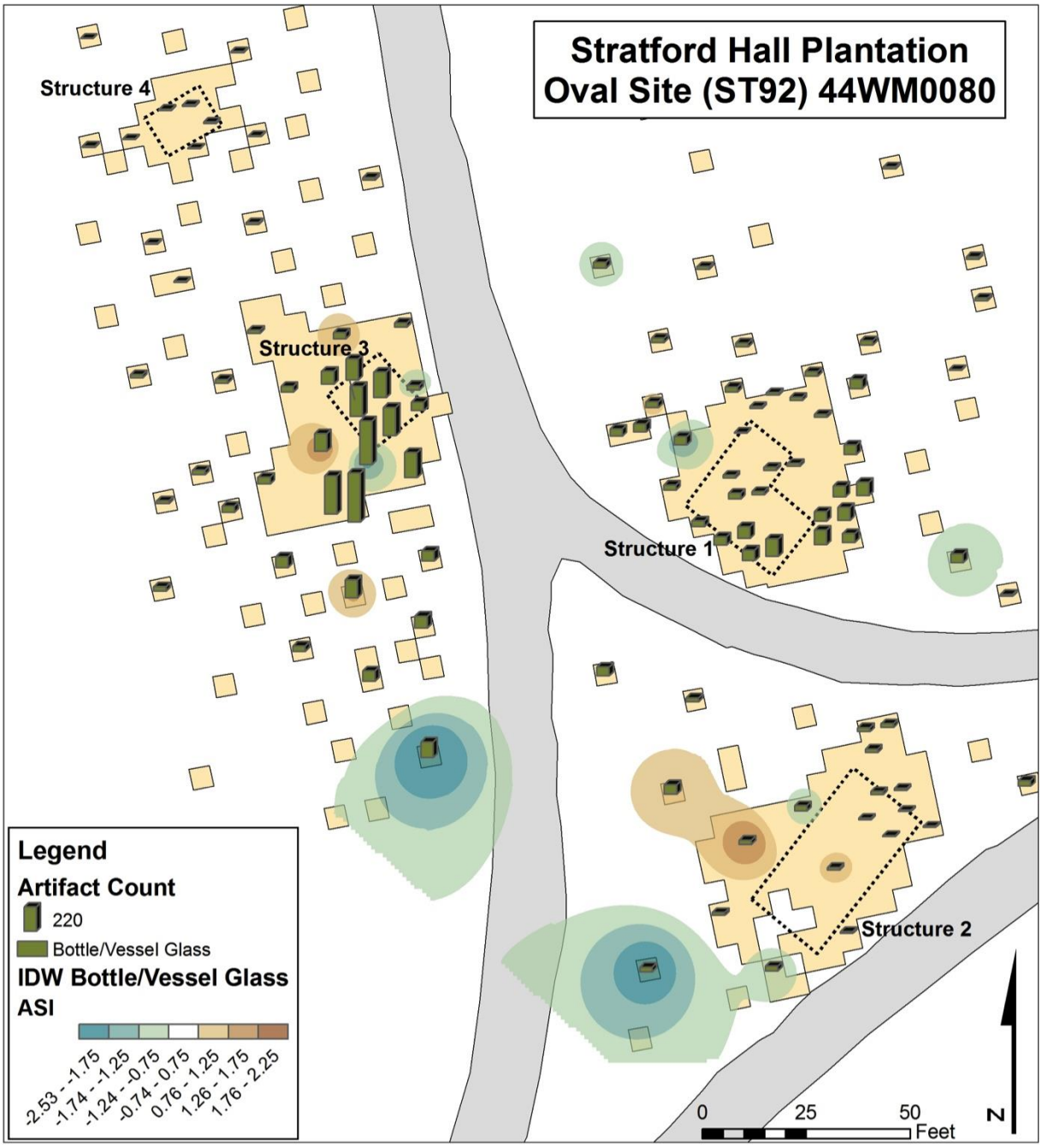


Figure 28: Bottle and Vessel Glass Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.

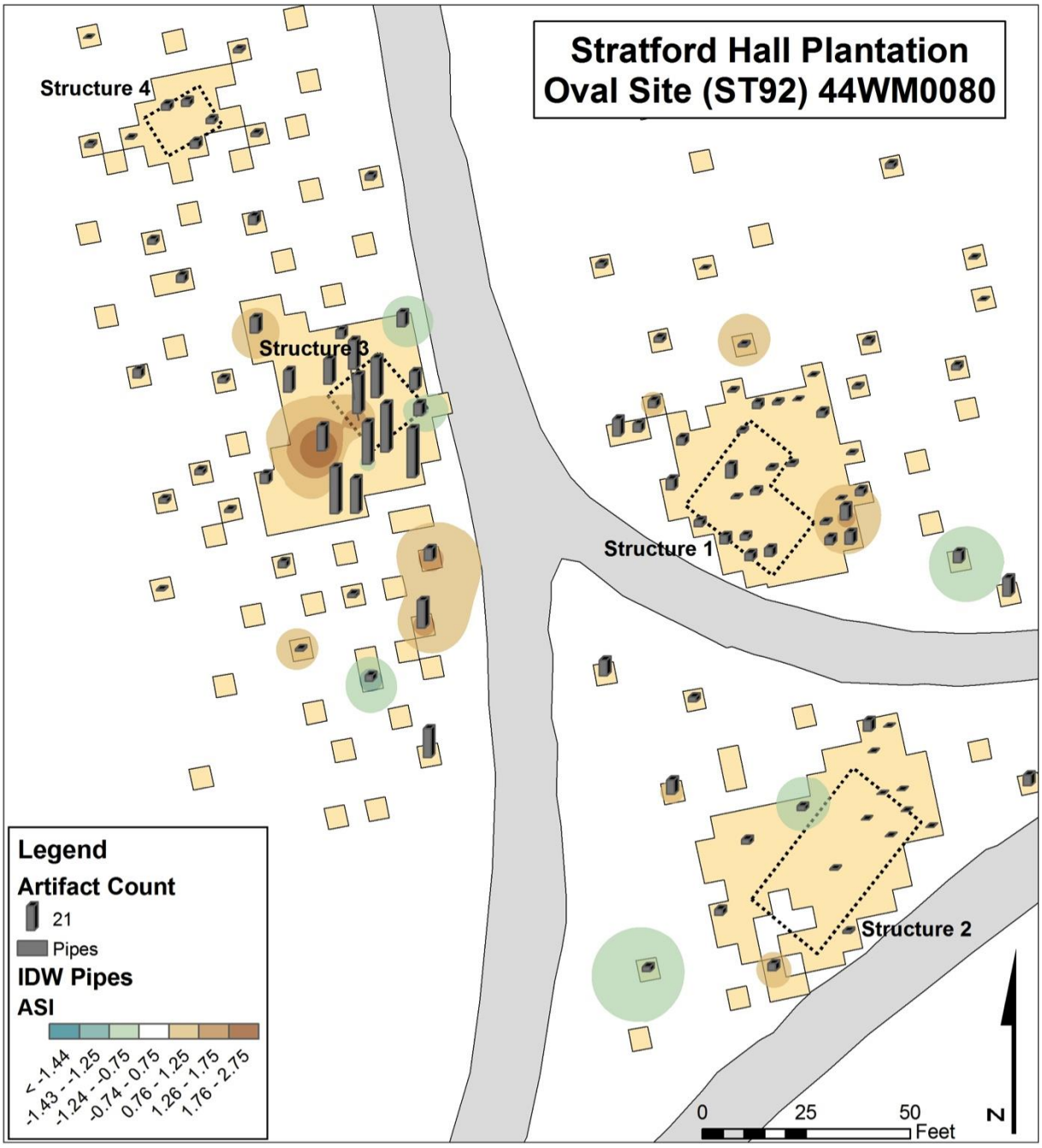


Figure 29: Tobacco Pipe Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.

fragments are frequent to the west and northwest of Structure 3 also, suggesting that smoking may have occurred behind the kitchen, out of sight of the overseer's house. Tobacco pipe ASI values indicate that mixed to small sizes predominate in midden areas, with smaller sizes combined with higher frequencies near the garden and east end of Structure 1 likely showing trampling. Low frequencies of large pipe fragments near the barn suggest possible primary deposition due to breakage during use.

Small finds artifacts at the Oval site included a wide variety of personal items, tools, and furniture parts. As a group, small finds were generally distinct from other distributions, with the highest concentration about 40 ft. south of the main midden of Structure 3 and other areas of moderate concentration both south and north of Structure 3. Distinctly lower frequencies exist around Structures 2 and 4 (Figure 30). Notable finds from the area around Structure 3, the kitchen/quarter, include pewter buttons, a hand-made faceted quartz bead, and a silver Spanish Real that was both clipped and pierced. The grouping of small finds due to their size and relatively low frequencies tends to obscure the specific nature of individual sets of artifacts related to specific functions and activities. Figure 30 divides the small finds group into six function-based subgroups. Clothing artifacts include glass beads, brass buckles, buttons, copper pins, and thimbles. Arms artifacts include gunflints, lead shot, and lead shot casting waste. Horse-related artifacts include a horseshoe, and numerous fragments of brass horse tack. Utensils include pewter and iron objects such as knife, spoon, and fork fragments.

Horse furniture, brass ornamental objects that would have been affixed to leather reins, bridles, and harnesses were concentrated around Structures 2 and 3, the barn and kitchen/quarter. Around Structure 1, small finds included a cast white metal button,

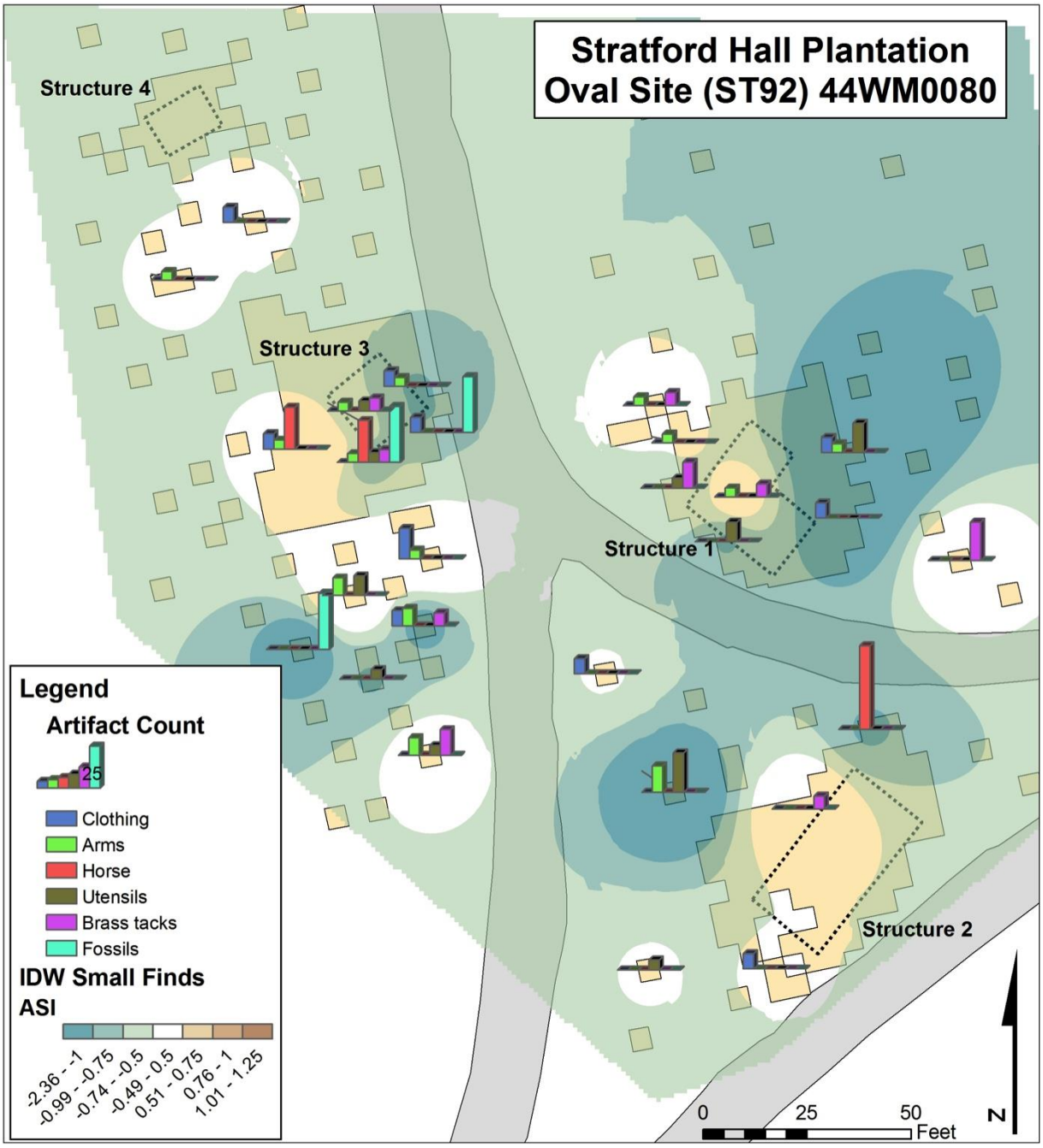


Figure 30: Small Finds Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.

engraved brass buckle, and a lock or latch part. Gunflints and lead shot were recovered around both the West Field structures and the overseer's house, suggesting that enslaved laborers likely had at least supervised access to firearms for hunting. Fossilized shark teeth, curiosities often collected from the beach at Stratford both in the past and by modern visitors, were recovered only from the area around the kitchen/quarter suggesting that these objects were collected by the enslaved. ASI values for the small finds group as a whole are correlated moderately but significantly to the larger grouping of all domestic artifacts (Table A.6), with a combination of high frequency and moderate size mixing in the midden south of Structure 3, but higher than expected proportions of large fragments over much of the site, with lower frequency suggesting primary deposition through accidental loss.

Bone fragments, almost entirely absent from most plowzone contexts, were recovered only from a few units south of Structure 3, where the deposition of organic matter and other refuse likely aided the preservation of bone. Oyster shell fragments share a strongly correlated distribution with bone (Table A.5), though small but distinct concentrations of shell were found north of Structure 3, about 40 ft. south of the main Structure 3 midden, and around the exterior of Structure 1 (Figure 31). Oyster shell ASI values were not significantly correlated with any other artifact count or ASI, and both count and ASI distributions were statistically random (Tables A.7). Oyster shells at the Oval site likely represent a combination of food refuse and debris from making mortar and plaster for the masonry in the overseer's basement and brick chimney of Structure 3. The deposition of shell in the garden area south of the Structure 3 midden may also have been a purposeful effort to neutralize the naturally acidic soil. ASI values for oyster

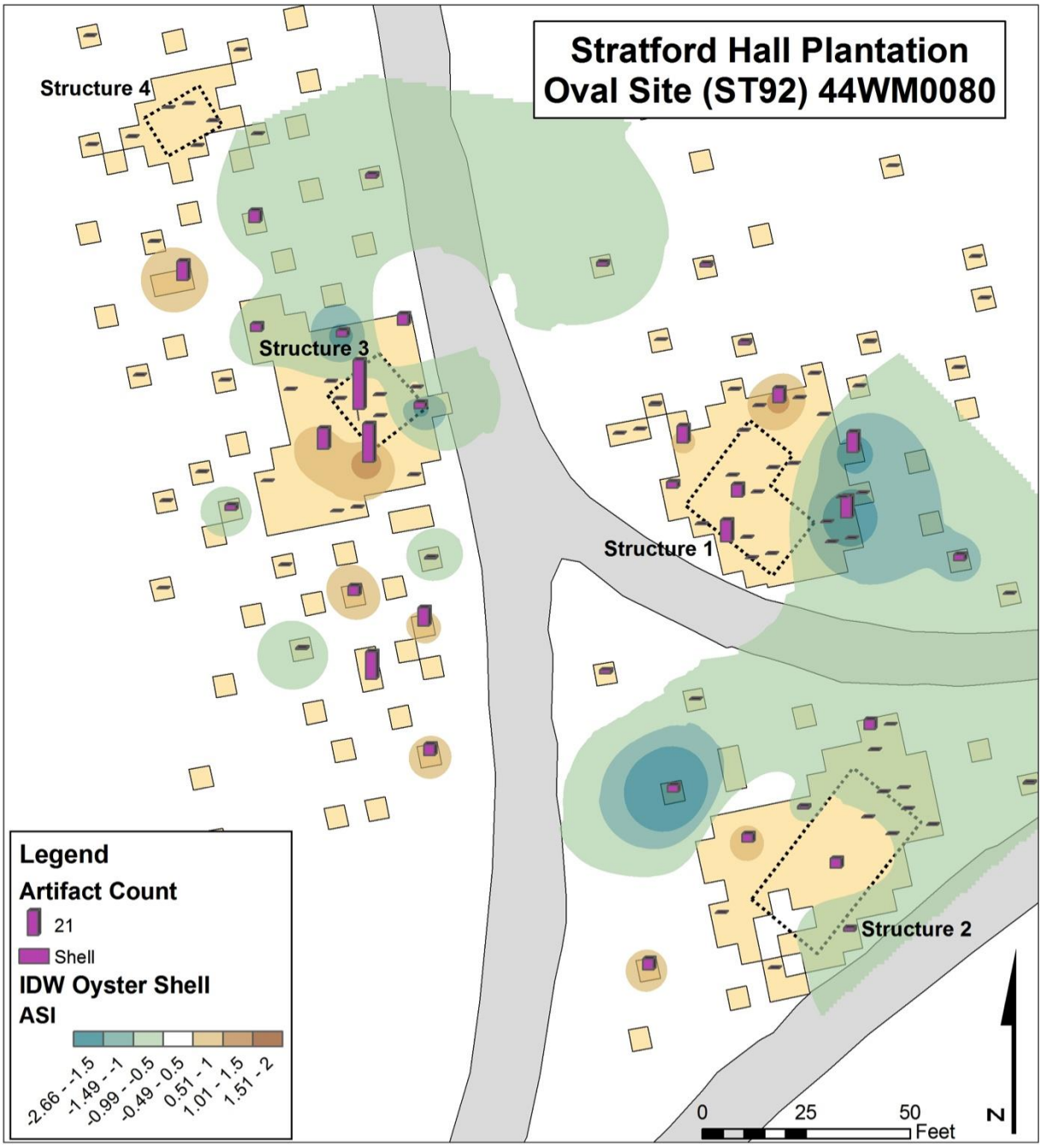


Figure 31: Oyster Shell Distribution and ASI at the Oval site.

shell show moderate groupings of larger size fragments east of Structure 1, north of Structure 2, and immediately east and north of Structure 3. Moderate and smaller fragments occur in greater frequency in the midden and garden areas south of Structure 3, which support the inference that shell was applied to the garden as fertilizer, perhaps after being fragmented in the organic mixture of midden refuse. Crushed shell was a common fertilizer in the 18th and 19th centuries, specifically useful in acidic soils (Phillippi 2016:292, 300-301).

Richness distribution, the count of artifact types present in each sampled unit, is strongly correlated with the larger group of domestic artifacts (Table A.5). Artifact richness is highest south of Structure 3 extending from the midden area through to the area interpreted as a garden (Figure 32). Other areas of moderate artifact richness are seen east of Structure 1, aligning well with areas interpreted as middens of secondary refuse. Areas with the lowest richness occur west and north of Structure 3, north of Structure 1, and within and south of Structure 2. These areas also had generally lower artifact densities and smaller artifact sizes.

Soil chemistry distributions at the Oval site, as measured by pXRF, supported and added to the inferences supplied by the artifact frequency and ASI distributions. All soil chemistry distributions show significant moderate to high clustering (Table A.7). Moderate but significant correlations between elements are also present for multiple elements except phosphorous (Table A.8). The strongest correlations are between Mn, K, and Zn. Mn appears statistically to be the best indicator of general refuse at the Oval site, as it is also correlated significantly with ceramics, bottle and vessel glass, tobacco pipes, and nail distributions, and with ASI values indicating larger sizes for architectural

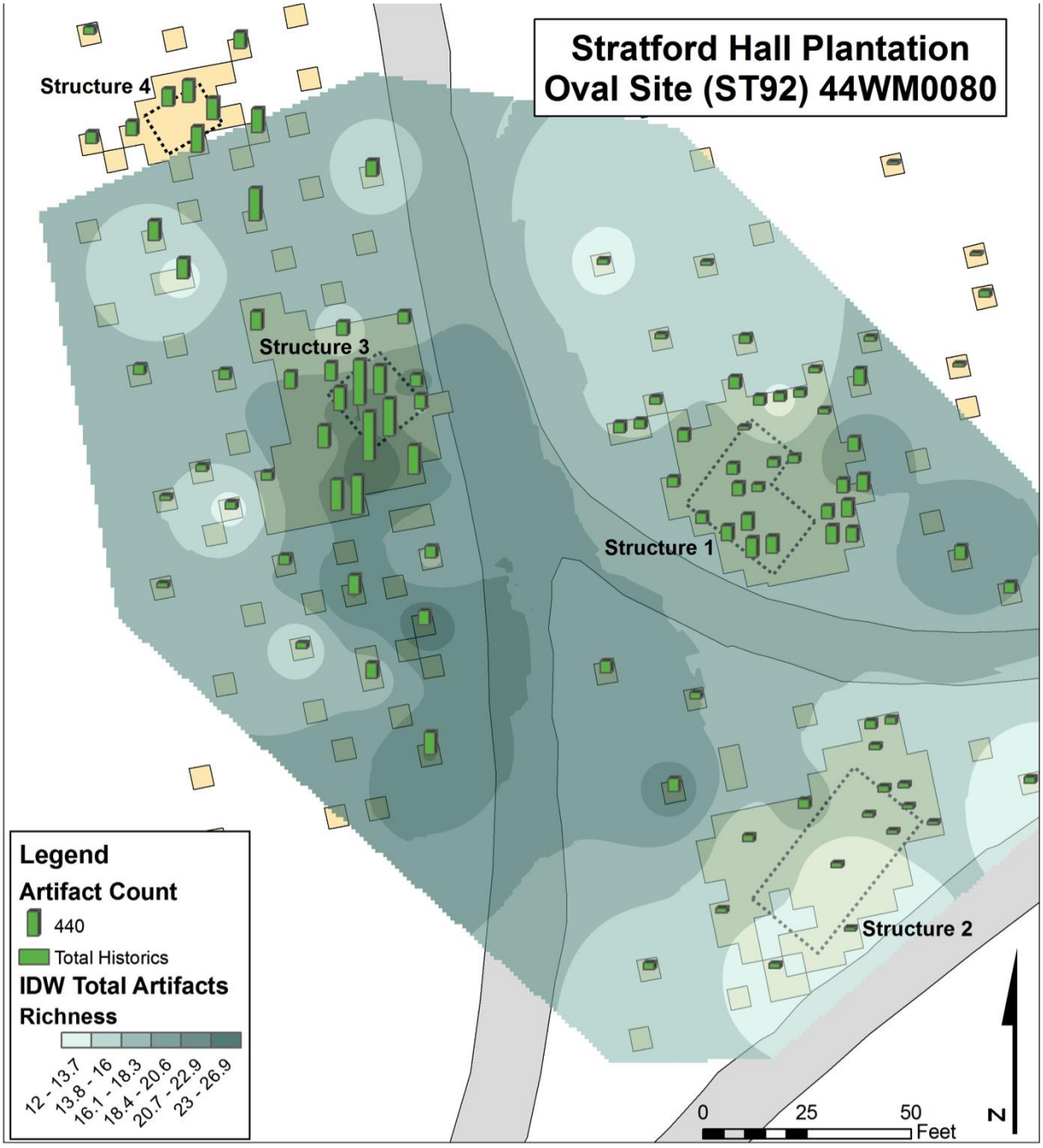


Figure 32: Distribution of Artifact Richness and Total Artifacts at the Oval site.

artifacts. It is interesting that P only moderately correlates with small finds and domestic ASI and has the least, though still significant, clustering. This correlation may be due to the fact that P, and Mg, are among the lightest elements considered and the closest to the pXRF device's limits of detection. The distribution of Mg at the Oval site shows the least degree of clustering (Table A.7) of any element. Given its random appearance, the likely association of Mg with animal tissue or ash is questionable at best at the Oval site, as low values predominate south of Structure 3 in the area of the midden.

The distribution of P, the element so long the mainstay of archaeological soil chemistry, appears to perform somewhat randomly when analyzed by the Bruker pXRF at the Oval site, though not as poorly as Mg. Areas of high P concentration do exist in both the midden and garden areas of the West Field south of Structure 3, as would be expected given the organic input from general domestic refuse and fertilizers (Figure 33). Smaller and less statistically significant areas of P concentration ring the other three structures and may represent traces of organic matter within the small middens or occasional chamber pot emptying, but those interpretations remain tentative. Statistically significant low values of P cluster within Structure 4 and northwest of Structure 1, suggesting the absence of any kind of organic refuse or waste deposition in those areas.

The distribution of K at the Oval site is highly and significantly clustered south of Structure 3 in the area of the midden and also the garden features, as well as extending east towards the south side of Structure 1 (Figure 34). The association of K with plant matter, and specifically ash, suggest that these were components of both domestic refuse and fertilizing material south of Structure 3. Other, less strong concentrations of

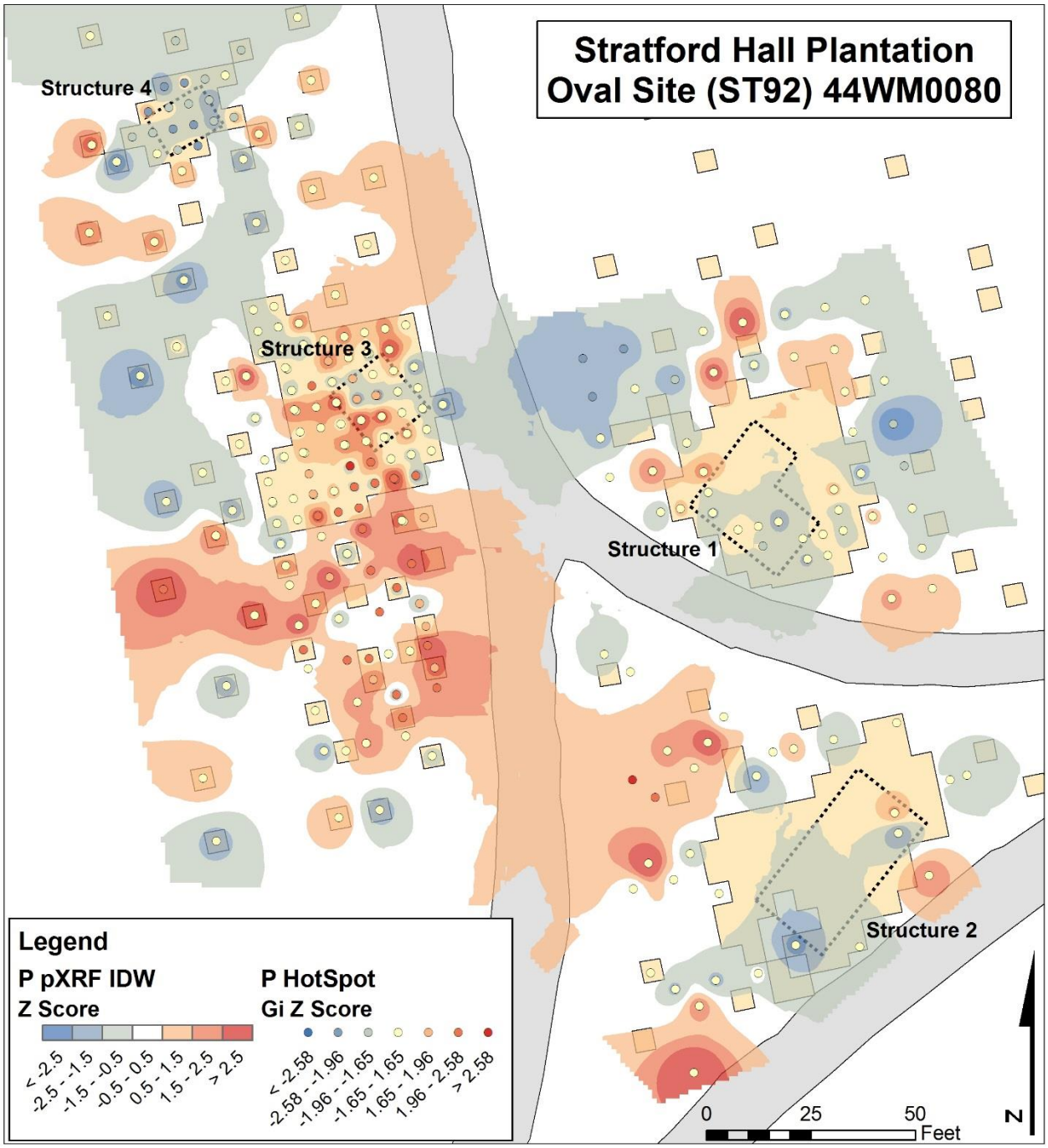


Figure 33: Soil P Distribution at the Oval site. Note: Gi Z Score circles are located on soil sample points.

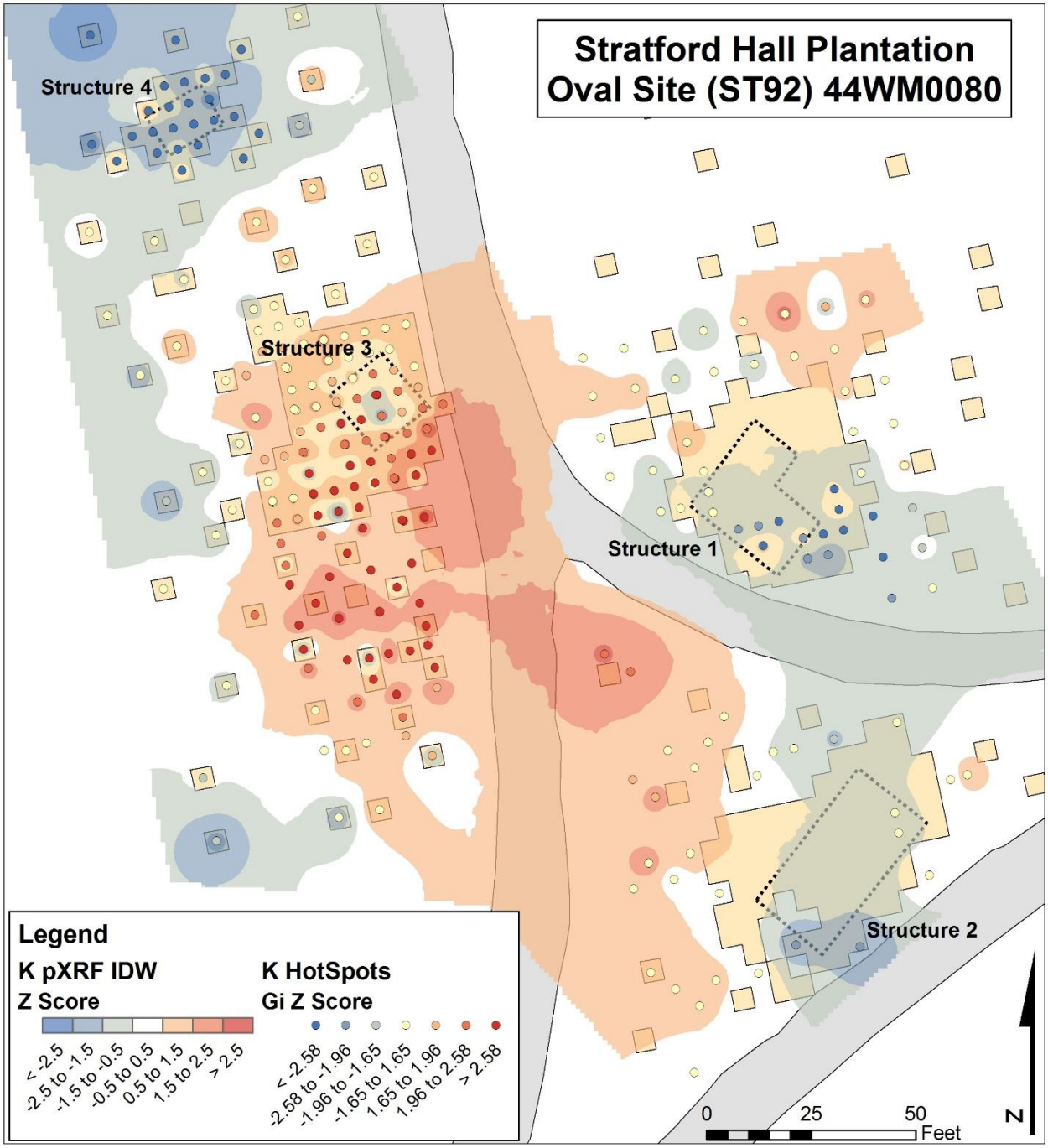


Figure 34: Soil K Distribution at the Oval site.

K exist north of Structure 1 and in isolated pockets south of Structure 4 and may represent ash tipping from the hearths of those structures. Low values of K are clustered within Structures 1, 2, and 4, and to a more moderate extent within Structure 3, suggesting the interior of the buildings were kept free of ash.

The distribution of Ca at the Oval site is correlated with K, and to lesser extents with domestic refuse (Table A.8). High concentrations of Ca are strongly clustered in the midden area south of Structure 3 (Figure 35). Though not statistically correlated with bone or shell counts at significant levels, Ca occupies the same area as the highest concentrations of those materials, and in particular shares concentrations northwest of Structure 3 and west of Structure 2 with oyster shell (Figure 31). Significant low values of Ca are located north and northwest of Structure 1, with moderate levels over the footprints of Structures 1, 2, and 4. No high values of Ca were recorded around the basement feature of Structure 1, which contained several hundred pounds each of lime mortar and plaster, though plowzone contexts in the area typically contained only small quantities of mortar and no plaster. The plowzone contexts directly over the basement itself were also excavated prior to soil chemical sampling at the site, which may explain the absence of Ca concentrations in the area.

Mn distribution at the Oval site is highly clustered in the area south of Structure 3 encompassing both the midden and garden feature areas (Figure 36). A less intense and less statistically clustered area of higher Mn values exists to the southeast of Structure 1. Significant groupings of low Mn values are centered over Structure 4 and north of Structure 1. Given the correlation of Mn with so many other elements and artifact measures (Table A.8), and its interpretive association with both animal dung and

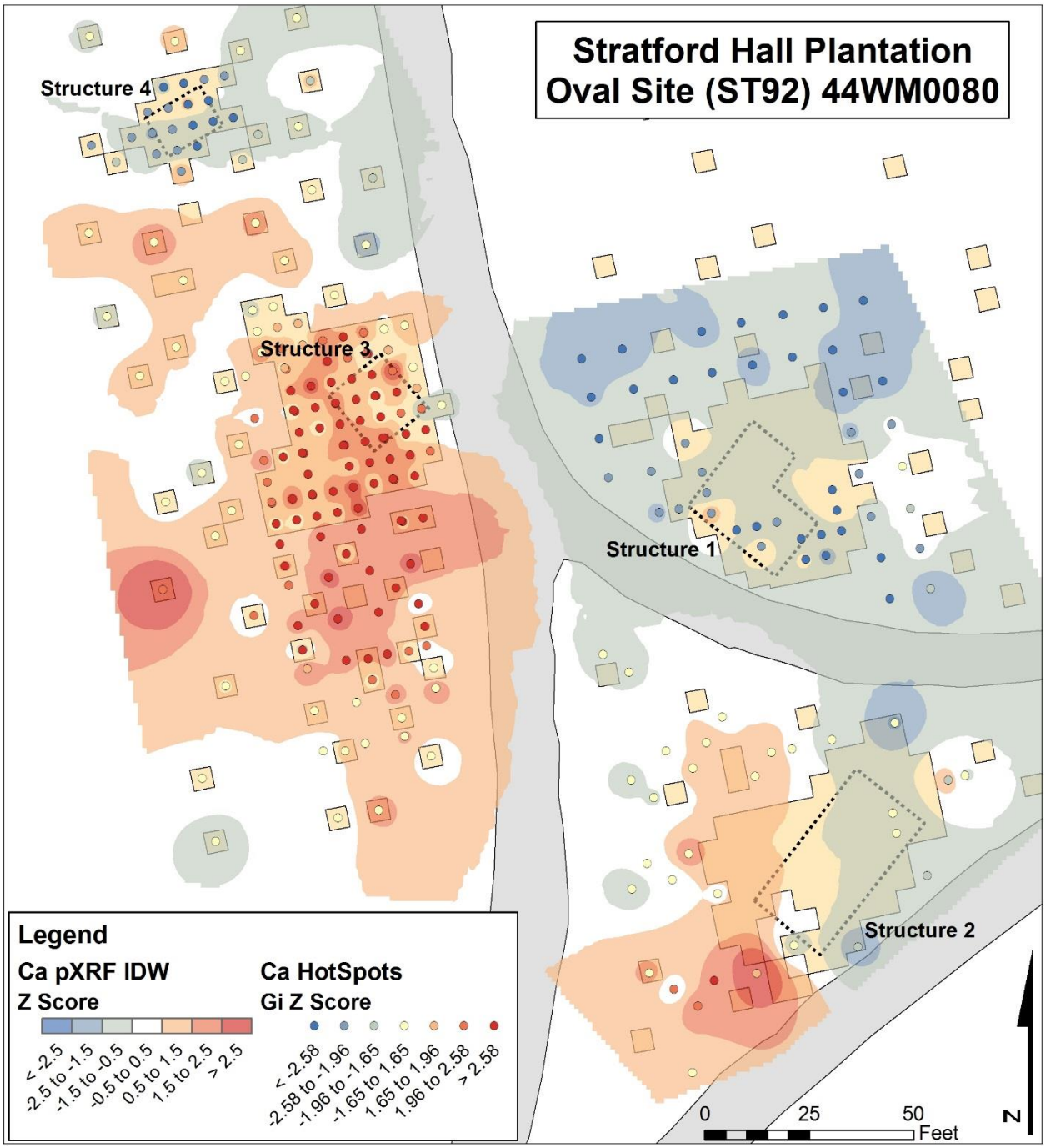


Figure 35: Soil Ca Distribution at the Oval site.

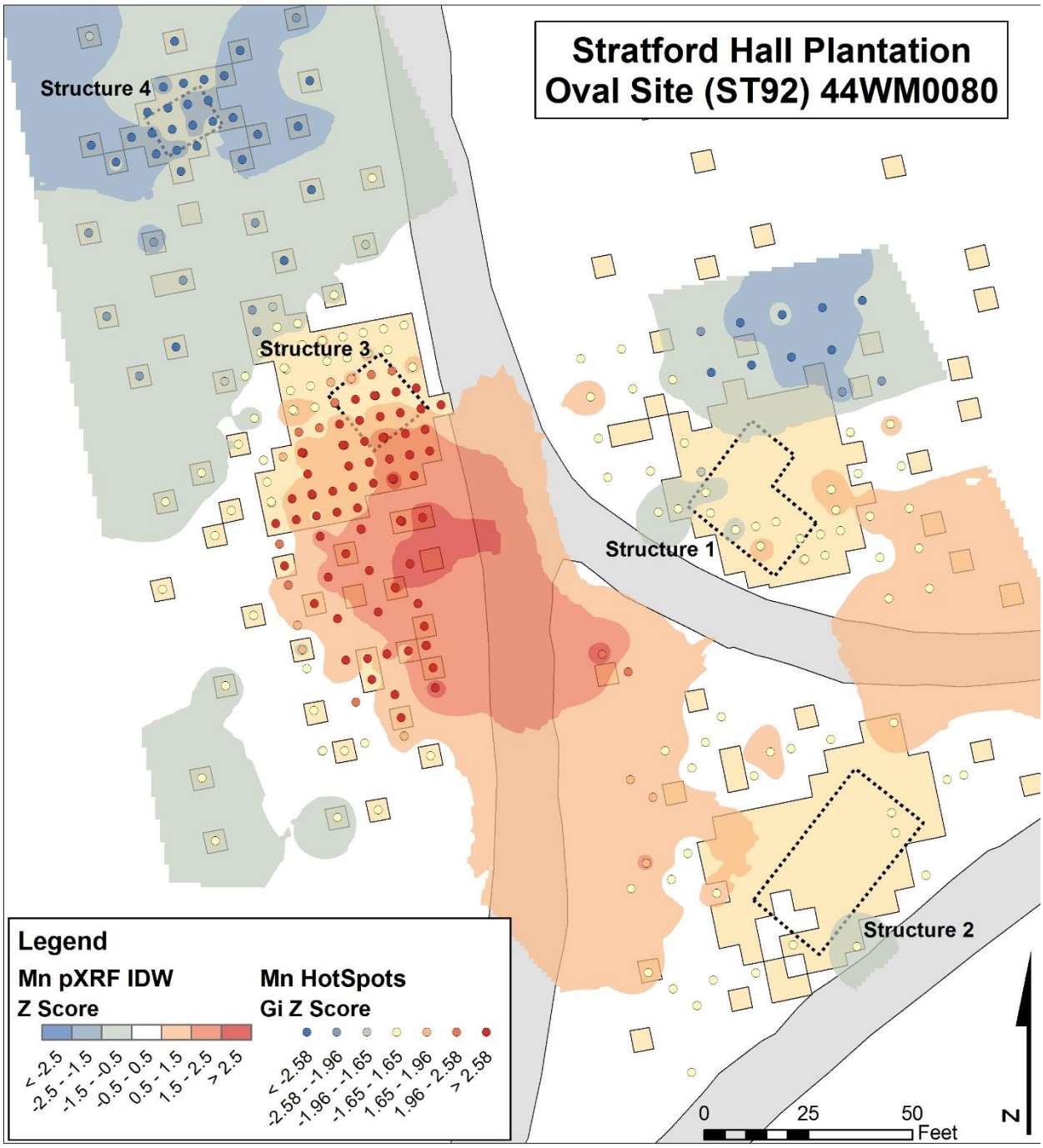


Figure 36: Soil Mn Distribution at the Oval site.

ash within fertilizer discussed in the preceding chapter, it appears that Mn at the Oval site reflects materials used to fertilize the garden located south of Structure 3. The area of less intense concentration east of Structure 1 may be related to the presence of horses or other livestock associated with the overseer's household. Zn distribution at the Oval site is highly clustered and correlated with Mn (Tables A.7 and A.8), and given its correlation with Mn, Zn seems most likely linked with possible fertilizer in the garden.

Fe distribution at the Oval site is only moderately correlated with K (Table A.8), and appears most elevated in the midden and garden south of Structure 3. Other, less clustered concentrations of Fe levels are seen south and east of Structure 4, at the southeast of end of Structure 1, and to the northwest of Structure 2 (Figure 37). Interpretive associations of Fe include ferrous metal artifacts, animal tissue, pigments, and charcoal. Fe distribution may be related to the nail and other iron artifacts near all of the structures. Animal tissue and blood from livestock butchering is a possible source of the Fe concentrations in areas otherwise free of domestic refuse such as southeast of Structure 4 and in the open yard area northwest of the Structure 2.

Copper (Cu) is moderately correlated with Fe distributions, though has less strength in its clustering (Tables A.7 and A.8). The distribution of Cu does display larger areas of concentration south of the garden features in the West Field, to the northeast and southwest of Structure 2, and in more isolated spots of elevated concentration north of Structures 3 and 4 (Figure 38). Cu has been associated with sources such as animal tissue and waste, and the coincidence of Cu and Mn in the area northeast of Structure 2 strengthens the interpretation of livestock penning in that area.

In summary, the outdoor space at the Oval site as interpreted through site

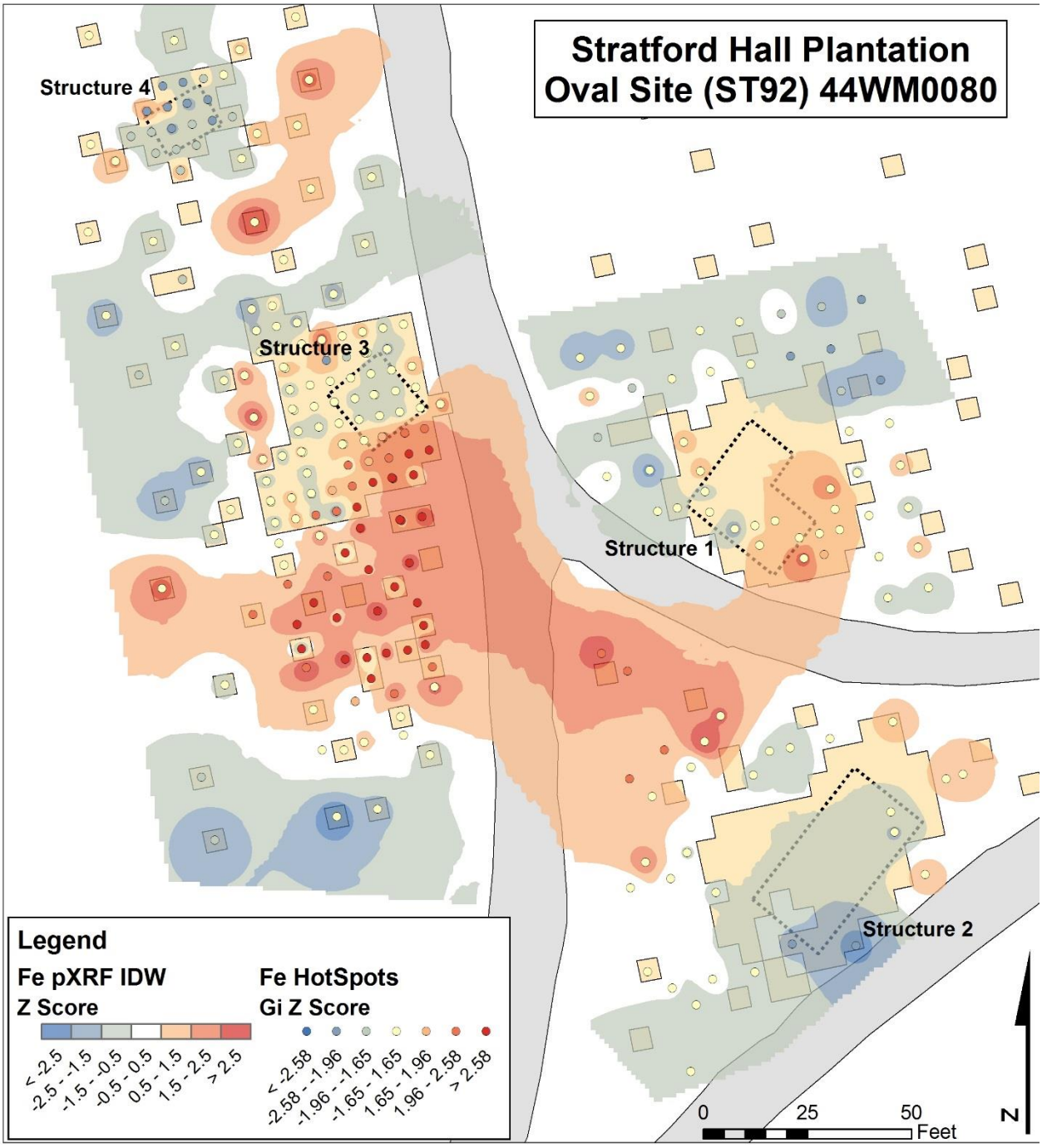


Figure 37: Soil Fe Distribution at the Oval site.

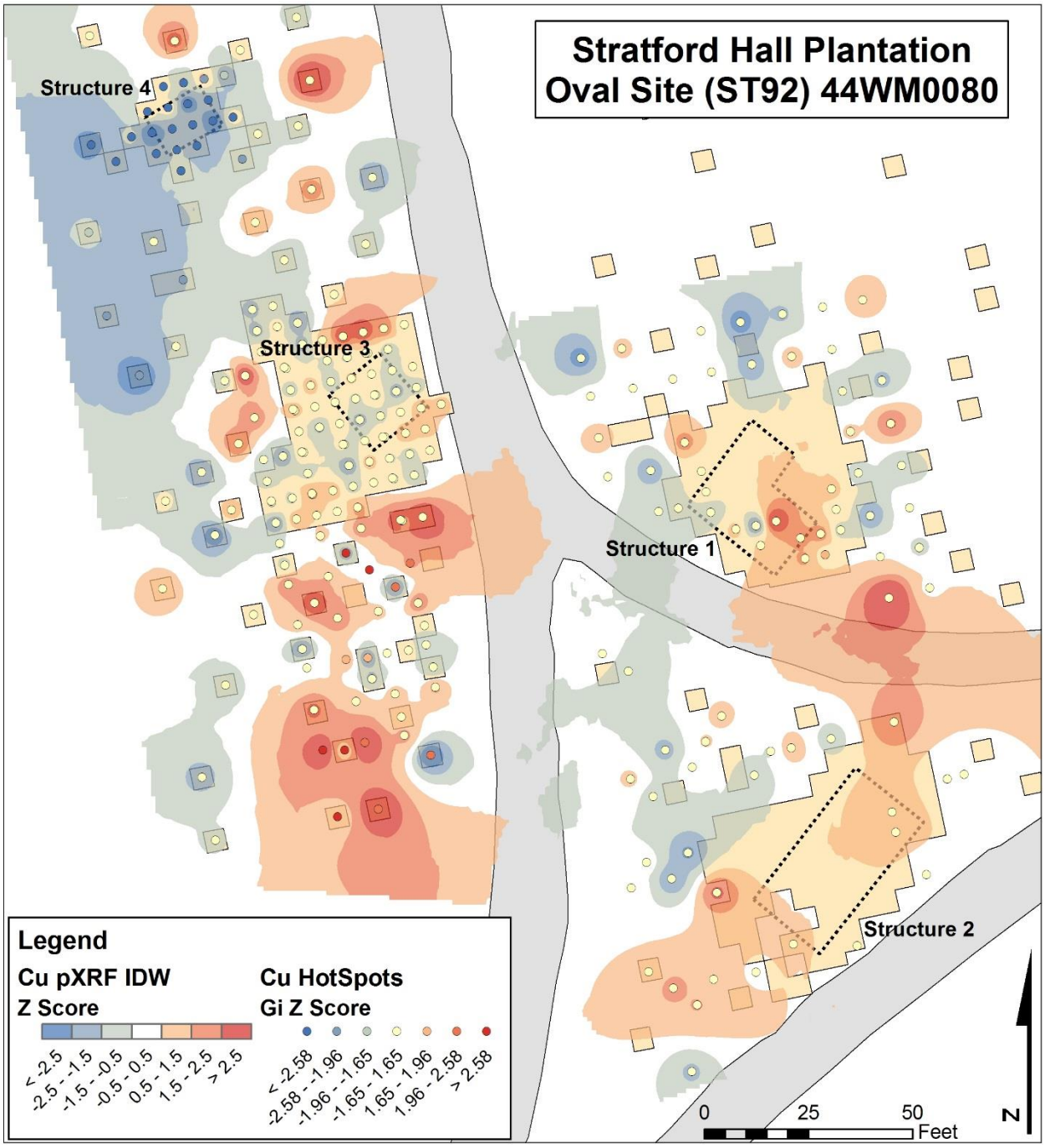


Figure 38: Soil Cu Distribution at the Oval site.

features, artifact, ASI, and soil chemistry distributions includes one principal midden of organic-rich domestic refuse immediately off the southern corner of Structure 3, the kitchen quarter. Just south of the midden, an area of linear and planting features coincide with high densities of oyster shell, bone, small fragments of domestic artifacts, and extremely chemical-rich soils that confirm the location of a garden that likely produced vegetables and herbs used in the kitchen/quarter. A smaller door-side midden existed off the south east end of the Structure 1, the overseer's house, with ash-tipping to the north, and a relatively clean area to the northwest of the overseer's house that may have served as an entrance or path given the small size of the few artifacts found there. The open space to the northwest of Structure 2 was relatively free of domestic rubbish and with smaller domestic artifact sizes suggesting a possibly maintained yard. Moderate concentrations of Fe and Zn were found in the same area, suggesting the possibility that non-fixed feature work such as the maintenance of metal tools or animal butchering may have occurred in that space. The area east of Structure 1 featured moderate Cu and Mn concentrations, both associated with animal waste, suggesting the possibility that livestock may have been temporary tied up or penned in the area.

North of Structure 3 was a space relatively free of domestic refuse and chemical enrichment but with very high window and unidentified flat glass artifact densities of smaller size. Possible interpretations of this area include a relatively intense work-area for construction and repair activities involving glass objects, possibly associated with the construction of the Great House in the late 1730s and early 1740s. It is possible that the glass fragments were deposited after the abandonment and demolitions of the site, though no temporally informative features or artifacts are known to support that

possibility. The association of Fe concentrations in the same area could be indicative of either animal butchering or iron objects, either of which represents a more specialized activity than general refuse deposition.

The absence of domestic refuse, mixed or larger-size artifacts, and the presence of high amounts of window glass and unidentified flat glass near Structure 4 challenge the interpretation of the structure as a slave quarter. If the building served as a habitation, where are the middens of refuse produced by the supposed inhabitants of Structure 4? One possibility could be that the area around Structure 4 was purposefully kept clean, and much of the daily refuse from cooking and food consumption was concentrated at Structure 3, which makes sense given the interpretation that the building was a kitchen serving the entire quarter. Alternatively, Structure 4 may have served principally as a non-residential outbuilding, though the presence of a cellar, dugout, and even the admittedly low density of domestic refuse, suggest that enslaved laborers may have been quartered there in a more ad-hoc way. Historic documents indicate that the enslaved in the 18th-century were often quartered in ancillary spaces of the outbuildings associated with their work. If Structure 4 served as a storage building or workshop of some kind, enslaved laborers assigned to that work might have bedded down in the spare attic loft space.

Accotink Quarter

Plantation Landscape

The Accotink Quarter (Site 44FX0223) was an outlying farm quarter of the larger McCarty and subsequent Barnes plantations, roughly 11 miles south of Alexandria in

what is now Fairfax County, Virginia (Figure 1). The site lies approximately one-half mile south of Accotink Creek near the top edge of a gently sloping ridge of land south of the creek's floodplain (Figure 39). The core of the plantation during the Accotink Quarter's occupation was the Barnes-Owsley home, Site 44FX1326 (Virginia Department of Historic Resources [VDHR] 2013), located approximately 2.25 miles southeast of the Accotink Quarter. The plantation core lies directly on the shore of Accotink Bay near the mouth of Accotink Creek. The bay is a wide inlet that meets Pohick Bay in Gunston Cove and flows southeast to the Potomac River. This position in the early- to mid-17th century made the plantation core easily accessible to river traffic and the ships that plied the Potomac, buying tobacco and selling imported consumer goods and African slaves.

The Accotink Quarter site was placed approximately 0.25 miles northwest from a colonial road network that connected the towns of Colchester and Alexandria. Portions of the road were variously known as the Potomac Path, the King's Highway, Old Colchester Road, Old River Road, and the Accotink Turnpike (Figure 39) and were in existence into the early 17th century. The old Potomac Path linking Colchester and Pohick likely originated as a Native American trail. The road followed the path of modern US Route 1 and has been designated as a historic resource, DHR ID: 029-5708 (VDHR 2013).

While the Owsley and Barnes plantation core was oriented to the river, the Accotink Quarter was placed on the edge of marginal and arable areas farther inland, though still quite accessible by the well-established road network in the vicinity. Points of connection with the quarter include the stores in Alexandria and Colchester, where goods were purchased for the quarter and its overseers, and a smith's shop. The

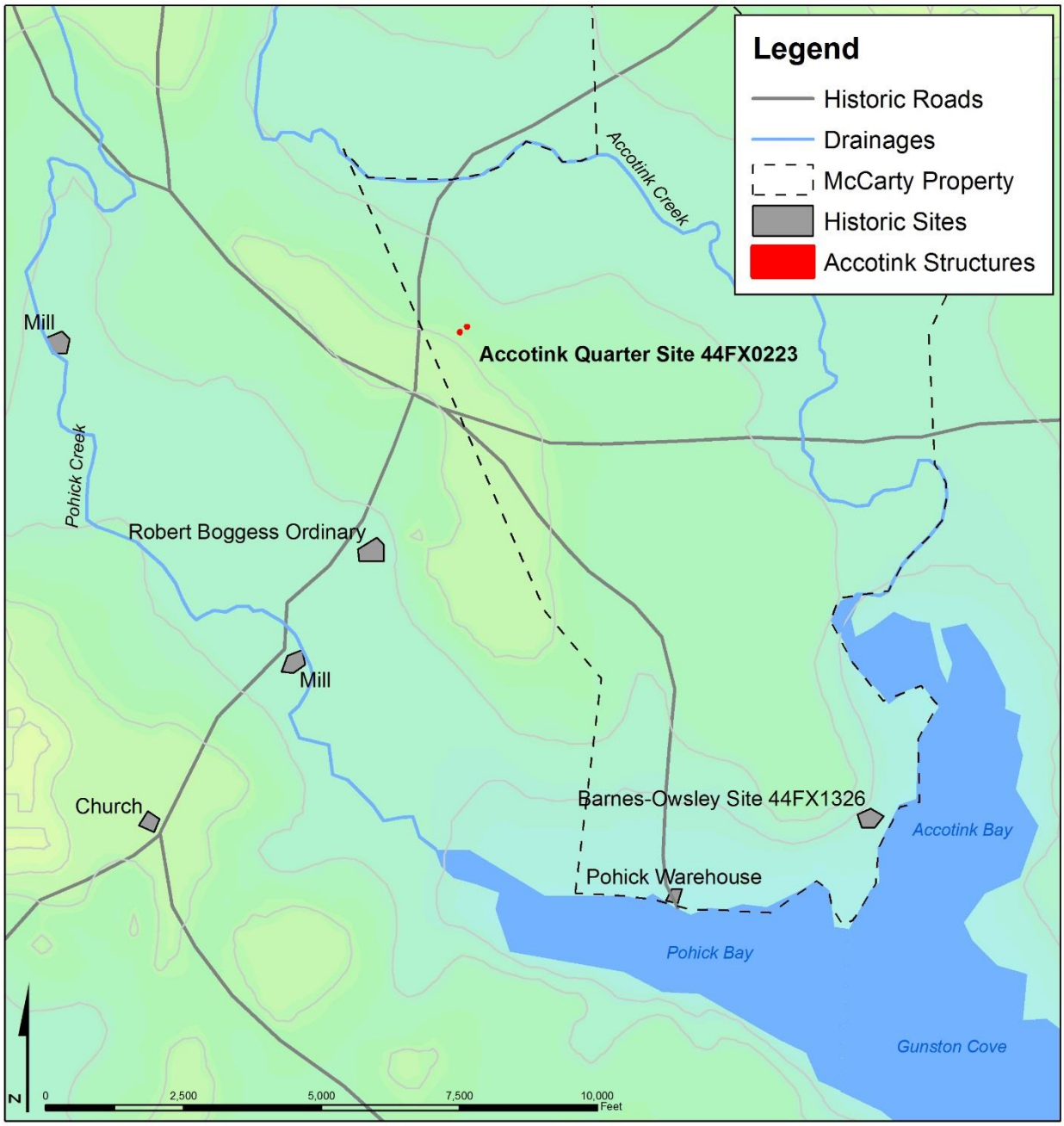


Figure 39: Setting of the Accotink Quarter on the McCarty Plantation.

Pohick tobacco warehouse was only three-quarters of a mile southwest of Barnes' home and the core of his plantation, and though distant from the Accotink Quarter, it was still readily accessible by the existing road network. The tobacco grown by the occupants of the Accotink Quarter site was stored, inspected, and credited at the Pohick warehouse, and Abraham Barnes served as inspector there in the 1750s (Sipe et al. 2013:58-62,76). Several mills, ordinaries, and churches were also all accessible by road within several miles of the Accotink Quarter (Figure 39) (Mitchell 1987).

Architectural Space

The subterranean storage features of the Accotink Quarter, the subfloor pits of Structure 2 and the cellar of Structure 1 are the primary *in-situ* indications of buildings on the site. Several smaller post features near each of the two structures are likely associated with the framing of the buildings, indicating that they were both likely earthfast structures. The buildings are not completely delineated with post holes, suggesting that they could also have been set on small piers, which were not set as deeply as traditional posts and the associated archaeological features have been lost due to plowing.

Structure 1, the overseer's house, includes the large 10 ft. x 17 ft. cellar. A bulkhead entrance was cut into the west end of the cellar including three steps that were preserved below the plowzone (Figure 40). The cellar was excavated in 13 2 ft. x 2 ft. units and proved to be approximately 2 ft. deep, providing a cellar with at least 340 ft^3. of storage space (Table 24). The upper levels of fills contained the highest densities and larger sizes of artifacts. A layer of gravel and sand fills sloped from west to east

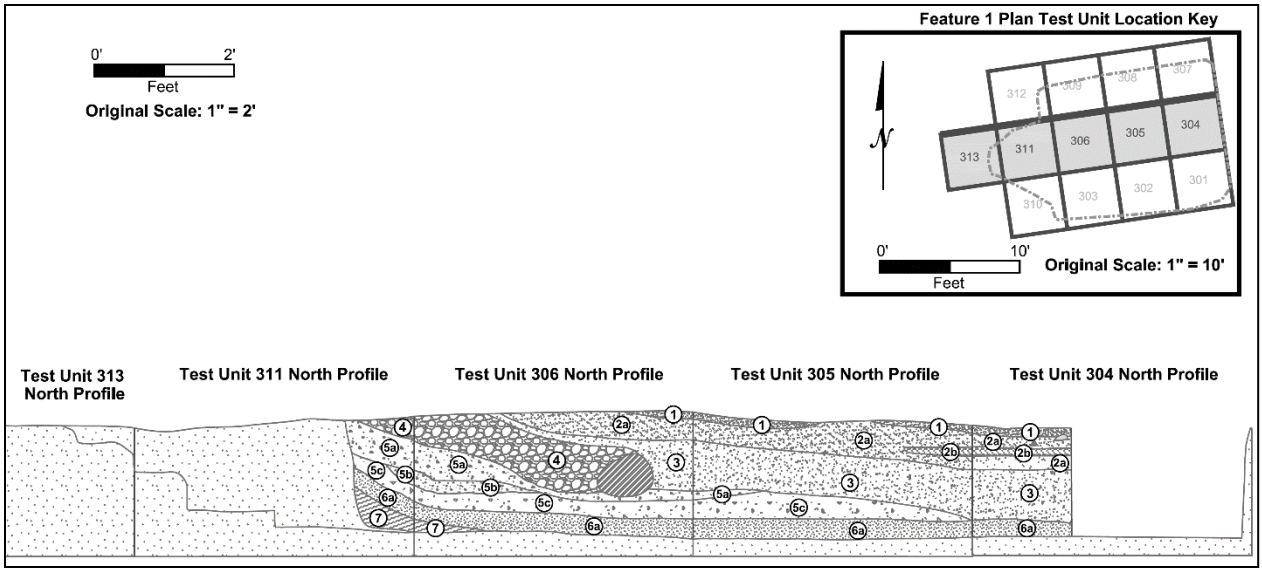


Figure 40: Profile of Feature 1 at the Accotink Quarter. Used by permission from Sipe et al. (2013:197).

Table 24: Dimensions of Structures and Structural Features at the Accotink Quarter. Compiled from Sipe et al. (2013).

Structure/Feature	Dimensions	Depth	Volume	Pit Shape	Living Space	Storage Space
Structure 1	*>15 ft. x 17 ft.*				*> 255* ft.^{2}	*> 340* ft.^{3}
Cellar (F1)	10 ft. x 17 ft.	2.0 ft.	340 ft.^{3}			
Post (F4)	0.4 ft. x 0.8 ft.	0.7 ft.	0.24 ft.^{3}			
Post (F5)	0.8 ft. x 0.8 ft.	0.5 ft.	0.33 ft.^{3}			
Structure 2	*>12 ft. x 15 ft.*				*> 180* ft.^{2}	*> 127.5* ft.^{3}
Posthole/mold (F15)	1.6 ft. x 1.1 ft.	0.6 ft.	1.2 ft.^{3}			
Posthole (F22)	2 ft. x 2 ft.	0.5 ft.	2.0 ft.^{3}			
Subfloor Pit (F16)	3.5 ft. diam.	1.3 ft.	12.8 ft.^{3}	Round		
Subfloor Pit (F17)	5 ft. x 4 ft.	2.7 ft.	54.0 ft.^{3}.	Square		
Subfloor Pit (F18)	5.5 ft. x 4 ft.	2.3 ft.	50.6 ft.^{3}	Square		
Subfloor Pit (F20)	4.5 ft. x 4.5 ft.	0.5 ft.	10.1 ft.^{3}	Pentagonal		
Subfloor Pit (F21)	3.3 ft. diam.	0.8 ft.	3.3 ft.^{3}	Round		
Hearth (F19)	4 ft. x 2.4 ft.	0.5 ft.	4.8 ft.^{3}			

across the feature below those upper layers. Underlying fills were of mixed sediments with relatively few artifacts; though a pocket immediately over the stair cuts contained a concentration of nails likely from a wooden staircase in the entrance into the cellar. The fact that these nails and the stair cuts are overlain and sealed by the gravel layer suggested to the excavators that the slope may have been an improvised solution to access or flooding problems of the cellar created during its use. A small post feature was observed near the center of the cellar and likely served to support the overlying floor of the first story of Structure 1 (Sipe et al. 2013:195-203).

Features 4 and 5 are two post holes located on the southwest and northwest corners of Structure 1. They suggest that the frame structure was likely set on posts or small wooden piers. The small quantity of brick on site suggests that the cellar was not lined, and that the only masonry feature of the structure was likely the hearth. The smallest area that could encompass the cellar and post features of Structure 1 is approximately 15 ft. x 17 ft. (Table 24). The posts may have been set quite shallow, and

after subsequent plowing and erosion, only the truncated bottoms of the western posts remain. The shallow depth of the cellar feature, which may have originally been at least 4 ft. to 5 ft. deep to allow access via stairs, suggests substantial deflation and soil loss on site. Alternatively, those small posts may have served to frame the bulkhead entrance to the cellar and the overseer's house may have not included posts – but was framed from a sill laid directly on the ground surface. The presence of a small amount of window glass suggests at least one glazed window.

Structure 2, interpreted as a quarter for enslaved agricultural workers, includes a hearth, five subfloor pits, and two possible post holes (Table 24). The most definite post hole is Feature 15, with a clear post hole and post mold identified and recorded. Feature 22 includes only a post mold, and the amount of soil deflation from plowing and erosion may have severely truncated all the features leaving only the last few inches of post holes surviving. Again, like Structure 1, Structure 2 may also have featured a ground-laid sill with small posts placed to support a doorway or internal division. The smallest possible area that would include all features within a structure is approximately 12 ft. x 15 ft., though the excavators note that similar arrangements of subfloor pits around an open hearth are seen in one end of a longer structure dating to the same period at the Utopia Site in James City County (Sipe et al. 2013:452-454). Basing a conjectural structure on such a plan, oriented along the axis of the square-shaped pits and including Feature 16 as a structural post, a structure as large as 12 ft. x 24 ft. is possible (Figure 12).

Basing the alignment of Structure 2 on the square-shaped subfloor pits is a well-supported inference, based on Samford's (2007) comprehensive analysis of features in

Virginia. She found three basic placements: hearth-front locations were most likely for root-crop storage, while pits placed along the inside of walls served as storage for personal belongings. Other pits of varying shape may have been for cultural practices including the veneration of ancestors. Studies by Neiman (1997) and Fesler (2004) have concentrated more on pit frequency within structures and noted that the number of pits per quarter decreased throughout the 18th century, likely coincident with the transition from quarters housing non-related individuals to family-based groupings (Heath 2010a). Features 17 and 18 are of a size and shape that align with Samford's (2007) wall-side personal storage interpretation. Features 16 and 20 appear most similar to round hearth-front pits for root crops. Feature 21 may be a small wall-side pit.

The fills of the pit features in Structure 2 offer some interesting clues to their use. Both Features 17 and 18, the square pits, had depressions at the center of their bottom surfaces, interpreted as possible sumps to allow drainage, and remains of wooden planks preserved in dark organic-rich fills towards the bottom of the pits (Figure 41). These are interpreted as possibly relating to the structure of the pits, perhaps as coverings or floors (Sipe et al. 2013:229-235). These two features include high numbers of carbonized botanical and faunal remains as well, including berries, nuts, grains, grasses, legumes, eggshell, and a variety of domesticated animals and local fish species (Sipe et al. 2013:226-228,239-241). While likely not directly associated with the use of the pits, the well-preserved contents of their fills indicate a range of food production and procurement that the enslaved residents used to supplement their diet and possibly participate in local exchange of produce. The number of subfloor pits in Structure 2 at any one time may have fluctuated, though the artifacts recovered and



Figure 41: Feature 17 at the Accotink Quarter. View to west showing remains of wood planks and sump within subfloor pit, from Sipe et al. (2013:221).

stratigraphic relationships do not indicate any phasing of their use. Hatch's (2009) study of pit frequency decline in Virginia indicates a height of 4.3 pits per structure from 1711 to 1730, with the Accotink Quarter fitting this pattern well. Based on the interpretations of Fesler (2004) and others, the frequency of pits seems to suggest that Structure 2 likely housed at least some unrelated individuals that had a need for several pits in which to store food and personal items.

Quarter Space

The two structures at the Accotink Quarter are roughly 125 ft. apart (Figure 12). The area south of Structure 1 and east of Structure 2 is relatively level, with elevation sloping off very gently to the north of Structure 1 and to the west of Structure 2. Based on the interpretations of the excavators and artifact distributions Structure 1, the

overseer's house, likely faced south (Sipe et al. 2013:436). While the exact size and orientation of Structure 2, the slave quarter, is unknown, it likely faced east. This arrangement creates a central open core to the site, a relatively level space that may have been shared between the two households. It is tempting to assume that a third structure may have existed to the east, framing in the open space in a symmetrical fashion. However, the project area for the Phase I investigations did include the area to the southeast of Structure 1 that might have included a structure roughly opposite Structure 2. Therefore it is assumed for this sake of this discussion, that the quarter was limited to the two structures identified archaeologically.

Prior to machine-stripping the plowzone to identify features, sampling at the site was limited to close-interval shovel tests and five test units. As the artifacts recovered in each shovel test were relatively few, statistical measures and ASI values for artifact distributions may be more tentative than similar measures at other sites with larger data sets. No soil chemistry samples were taken from either the plowzone or top surface of subsoil for horizontal distribution analysis. However, the following artifact and ASI distributions provided insight into the use of space around and between the structures. Similar to the approach at the Oval site at Stratford Hall, artifacts were analyzed within basic type and class groupings (Table 25). Correlations between artifact type groups at 44FX0223 were present, though most were not particularly strong (Table A.9). ASI values were only computed for artifact types and groupings represented in more than half of the plowzone contexts, which were limited to the domestic group, architectural group, total ceramics, and bottle/vessel glass. ASI values are strongly and significantly correlated within the larger domestic and architectural group categories (Table A.10).

Table 25: Artifact Sizes and Counts used in ASI calculations at the Accotink Quarter.

Artifact Group	Average Size (mm)	Total No.	Small (< Average)	Proportion Small	Shovel Tests Represented
All Historic	26.38	232	143	0.616	75
Ceramics	26.04	106	66	0.623	52
Bottle/Vessel Glass	24.71	35	20	0.571	25
Window Glass	23.64	11	6	0.545	7
Nails	33.11	45	25	0.556	31
Small Finds	21.47	34	22	0.647	11
Architectural	31.25	56	31	0.554	64
Domestic	24.89	175	108	0.617	35

Spearman correlation coefficients were used for Accotink Quarter artifact values, which were not normally distributed. Spearman correlations are a non-parametric statistic that measures the association between rank orders of each observation (IBM 2015).

Ceramic artifacts at the Accotink Quarter are clustered south of Structure 2 and north of Structure 1, with a less intense spread of moderate values around and south of Structure 1 suggesting the presence of refuse middens located near, but off to one side of each structure (Figure 42). The areas southeast of Structure 2 shows a high frequency of ceramic artifacts, and ASI values are more moderate to slightly high, suggesting a mix of sizes and the presence of a midden associated with the slave quarter's occupation. The few artifacts recovered immediately off the eastern corners of Structure 2 are larger, with the area directly east of the slave quarter relative free of artifacts. The area northeast of Structure 2 is also relatively free of ceramics artifacts and separated from the clean area in front of the quarter by a small band of higher frequencies. This line may represent a physical boundary, such as fence, over which refuse was deposited or swept to, or the informal boundary of clean space without fixed-feature definition. Either of the low frequency and small size areas near Structure 2

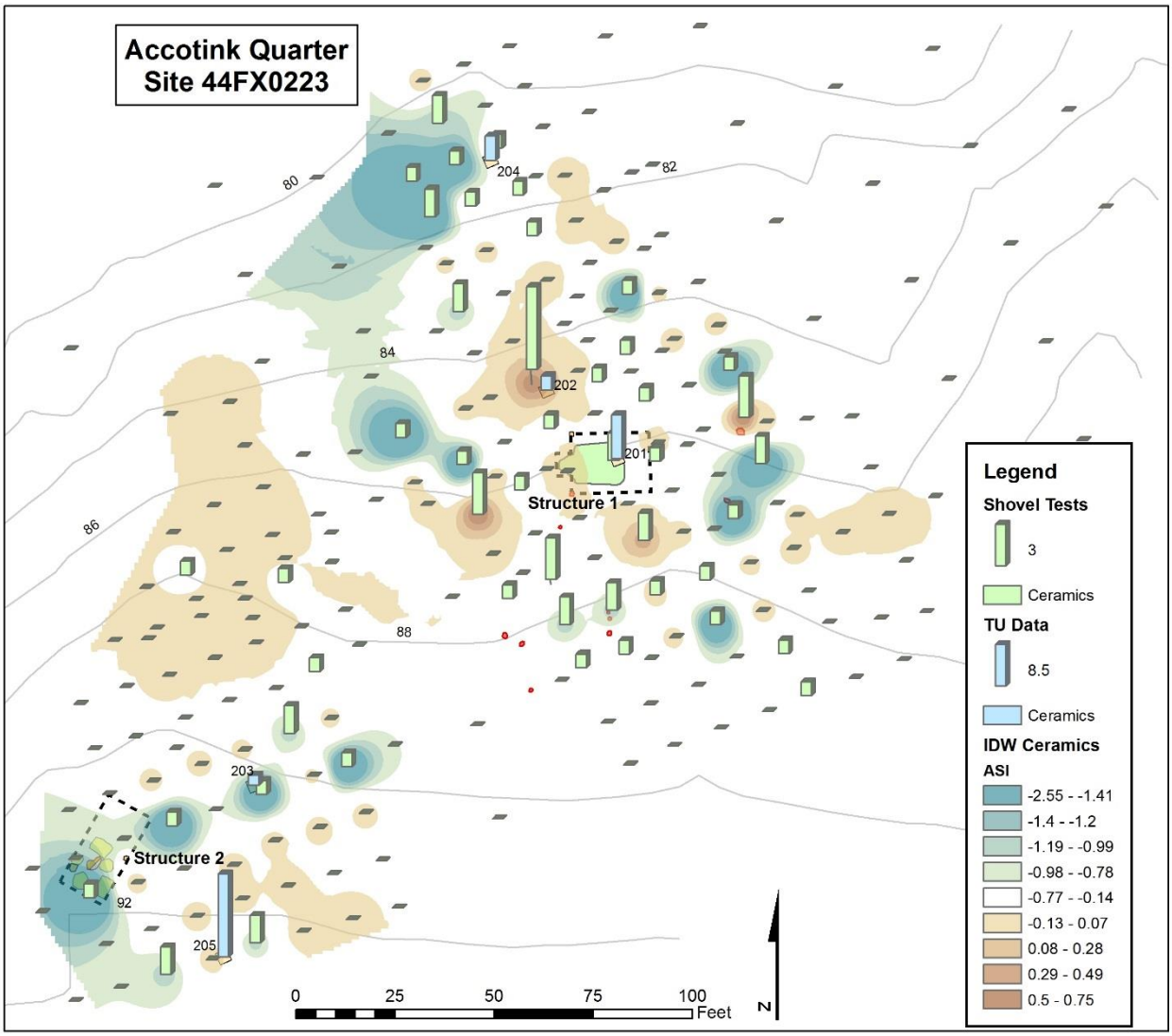


Figure 42: Ceramic Distribution and ASI at the Accotink Quarter.

could be interpreted a relatively clean yard spaces, though the position of the more southerly clean area is slightly more likely to be a maintained yard given its location.

North of Structure 1, the overseer's house, high ceramic frequency and higher ASI values coincide suggesting smaller fragments likely comprising a midden. Farther north, another area of higher ceramic frequencies coincides with ASI values that show larger fragments suggesting a possible activity area with primary deposition. In contrast to Structure 2, the front (south) yard of Structure 1 is relatively artifact-rich with a mix of sizes, not an intense concentration as seen in the middens to the north, but certainly not likely to have been regularly maintained or cleaned.

The ceramic types recovered at the Accotink Quarter do not share any significant correlation with each other, suggesting distinct distributions (Table A.9). A large and well-preserved assemblage of colonoware was recovered from the quarter, with over 1,400 sherds representing at least 197 vessels (Sipe et al. 2013). The vast majority of the colonoware assemblage was recovered from feature contexts, principally from the cellar of Structure 1. Colonoware made up nearly two-thirds of the ceramic sherds recovered from Structure 1, and approximately 95 percent of the ceramic assemblage from the combined features of Structure 2 (Sipe et al. 2013:285). Only 47 sherds were recovered from the plowzone. Those sherds tended to concentrate to the southwest and east of Structure 1, with smaller concentrations in the northern extremity of the site. Colonoware occurs, though at lower densities, over Structure 2, as well as in the midden to the south and along the linear alignment east of Structure 2 (Figure 43). The range of colonoware forms determined from analysis by Sipe et al. (2013:353) includes plates, bowls, jars, cups, chamber pots and general hollowware vessels. Colonoware

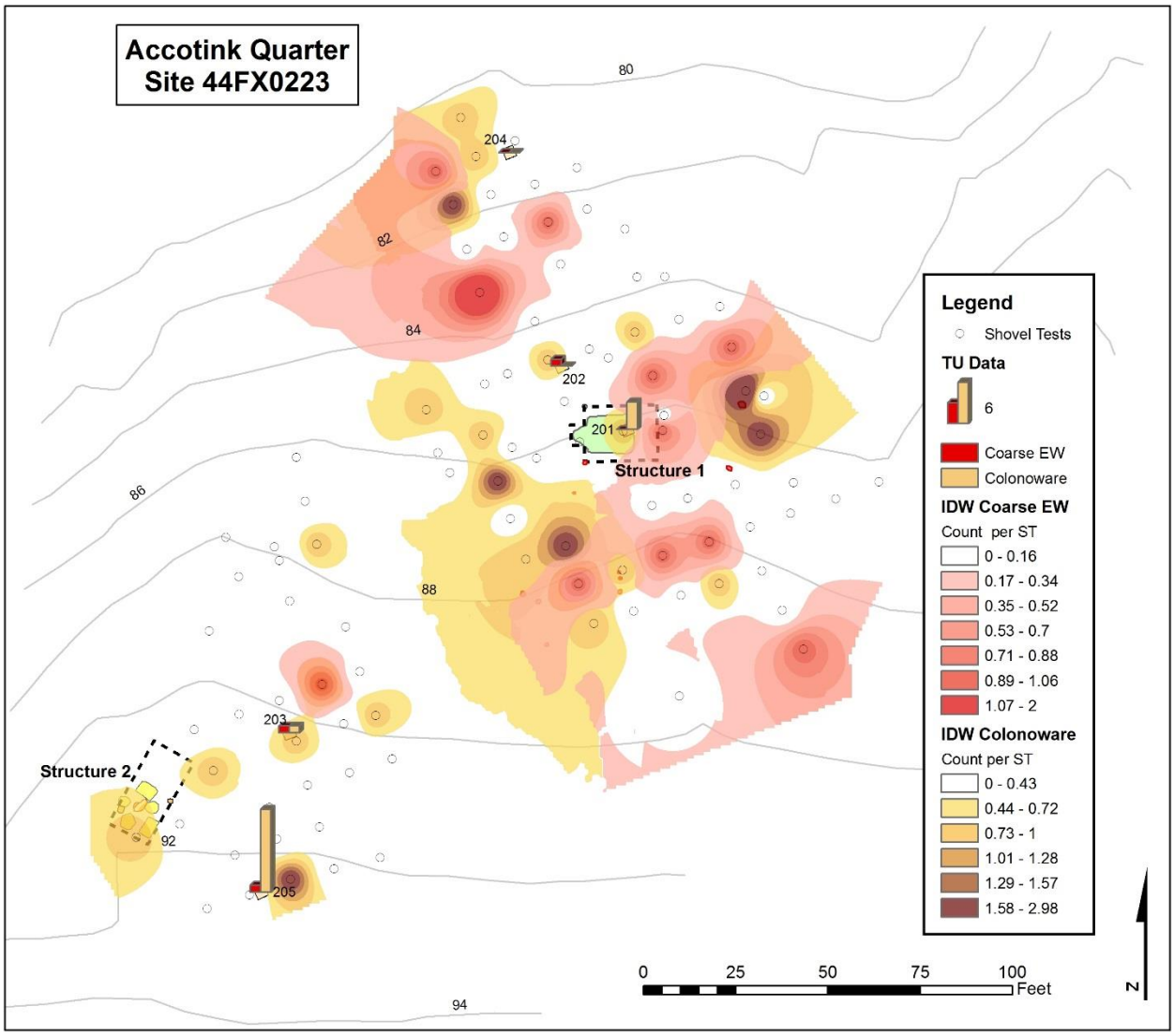


Figure 43: Colonoware and Coarse Earthenware Distributions at the Accotink Quarter.

vessels at the Accotink Quarter likely served a variety of uses; filling the versatile, low cost roles for food preparation and consumption in both slave and overseer households. The occurrence of colonoware concentrations southwest of Structure 1 near several small features of unknown function suggest the possibility that outdoor cooking may have taken place on site. Other coarse earthenware on the site, composed largely of redware, is concentrated east and south of Structure 1, and north near test unit 204 (Figure 43). Redware is typically used in food preparation and storage, and its presence near but not exactly aligned with colonoware south and east of Structure 1 suggests they may have played complementary roles in food preparation.

Refined earthenware, including manganese mottled and Whieldon clouded wares are relatively rare at the Accotink Quarter, and are restricted to the area of Structure 1 in test unit 201 and immediately north in the area interpreted as a midden (Figure 44). These wares likely represent the very few finer tableware vessels afforded by the overseer. Stoneware at the Accotink Quarter is comprised largely of British brown and white salt-glazed types, more typical of food and beverage consumption. These are also relatively few in numbers, but virtually absent from the midden north of Structure 1, and concentrate instead in the area south of the overseer's house encompassing the two separate areas of colonoware and coarse earthenware concentrations (Figure 43). Stoneware also occurs in the northern area, perhaps associated with a non-residential activity, and in the midden south of Structure 2.

Bottle and vessel glass, combined due to the low number of fragments in each category, is found farther south and east of Structure 1 than ceramic distributions, with small concentrations north and east Structure 1 (Figure 45). This patterning may

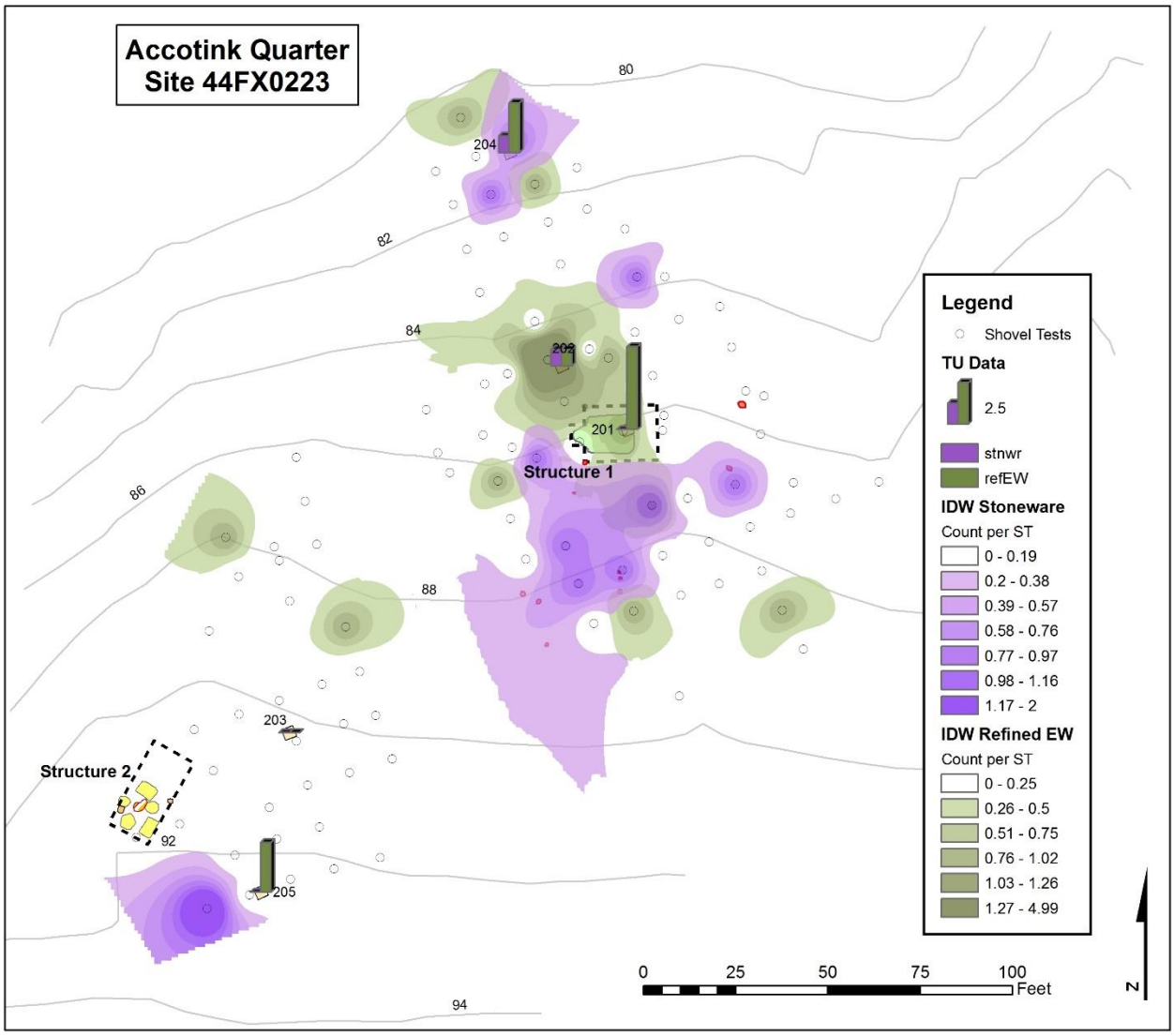


Figure 44: Refined Earthenware and Stoneware Distributions at the Accotink Quarter.

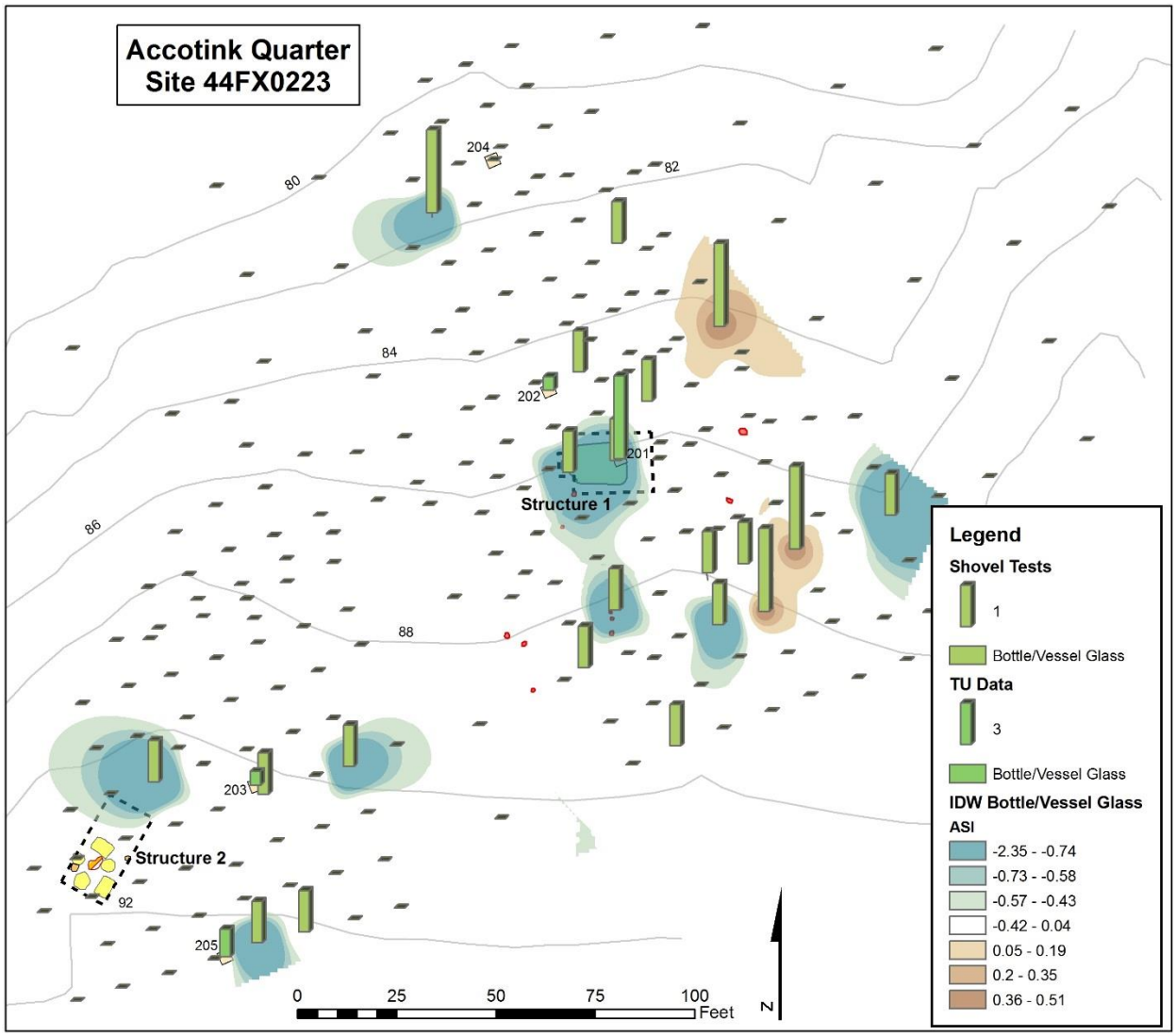


Figure 45: Bottle and Vessel Glass Distribution and ASI at the Accotink Quarter.

suggest that sharp glass fragments were purposefully disposed of farther from the more active areas of outdoor food preparation (Neiman et al. 2000:22). Glass is also present in the main midden north of Structure 1, and in the far north of the site area. Around Structure 2, glass is associated with the likely midden southeast of the structure and running east off the northeast corner in a line reinforcing the interpretation of some kind of division or barrier. ASI values for bottle and vessel glass are strongly clustered and correlated with other distributions (Table A.10), and indicate that the fragments around Structure 2 included higher than expected numbers of large fragments. The only areas of higher than expected proportions of small glass fragments are northeast and southeast of Structure 1, which coincide with relatively high counts suggesting activity such as trampling rather than cleaning or maintenance.

Other domestic artifacts included only 23 artifacts from 11 plowzone contexts that included iron fragments, tobacco pipe fragments, lead shot, a gun flint, and a cast iron pot fragment. The distribution of these artifacts centered on the two structures and did not add significantly to the discussion of the use of space on the site. Comparison of the small finds artifacts recovered from the Structure 1 cellar feature and Structure 2 pit features indicates that the vast majority of small finds were recovered from Structure 1, indicating both a greater degree of market access and an investment in clothing production by the overseer's household. No arms-related finds were recovered from the features of Structure 2, suggesting that only the overseer retained weapons, though tobacco pipes are more evenly distributed between the two areas (Table 26). A small bead assemblage was recovered, largely from Structure 1, which further highlights the emphasis of clothing and adornment in the overseer's household. The clothing and

Table 26: Small Finds Artifacts by Structure at the Accotink Quarter. Data from Sipe et al. (2013).

Artifact Type	Structure 1	Structure 2	Total
Utensils	21	7	28
Comb	1	-	1
Gun Flints	4	-	4
Lead shot	79	-	79
Tobacco Pipes	82	75	157
Buckles	4	3	7
Buttons	25	2	27
Sewing (pins, thimble, scissors, copper ruler)	48	2	50
TOTAL	*266*	*89*	*395*

sewing assemblage may be most related to family of John Marvill, whose wife or children might have sewn either for their own household, or for economic gain through domestic production (Sipe et al. 2013:422).

Artifact richness at the Accotink Quarter is correlated strongly with ceramics and domestic group artifact distributions (Table A.9). The spatial distribution of richness corresponds directly with Structure 1, the midden north of Structure 1, the area south of Structure 1 interpreted as an outdoor activity area, and the midden south of Structure 2 (Figure 46). These areas have a higher mix of artifacts, likely from the plowed out contents of the cellar of Structure 1, and the mix of domestic refuse in the middens.

In summary, some aspects of the use of outdoor space at the Accotink Quarter could be interpreted through artifact frequency and ASI distributions. Each of the two structures has an associated midden, to the north of Structure 1 and to the south of Structure 2. These secondary refuse accumulations feature high densities of domestic artifacts including ceramics, bottle, and vessel glass. The middens have moderate to higher ASI values suggesting mixed to somewhat higher than expected proportions of small artifact sizes. An isolated area of high artifact concentrations appears to the far

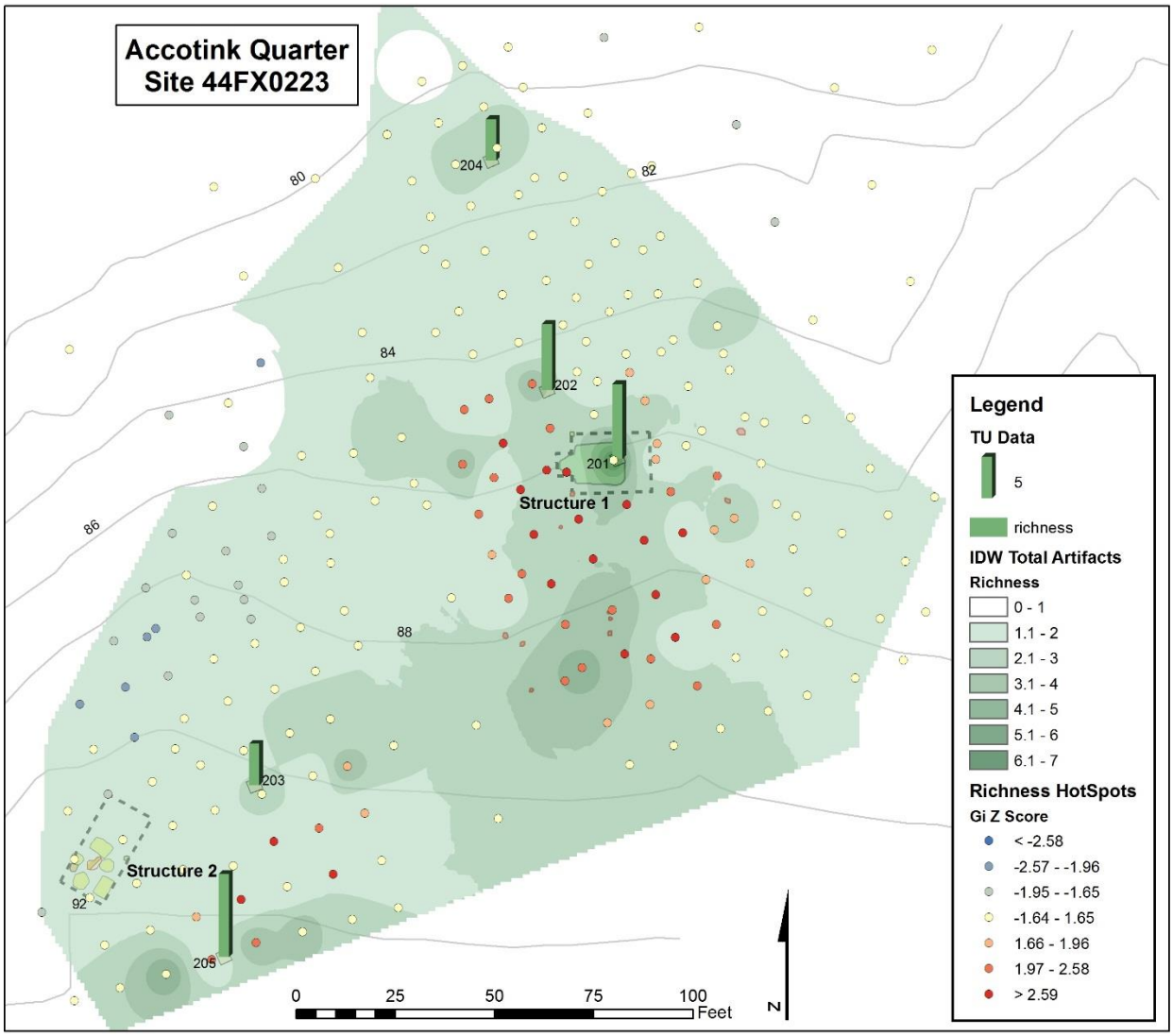


Figure 46: Distribution of Artifact Richness at the Accotink Quarter.

north of Structure 1 which is largely composed of higher than expected proportions of large fragments of bottle glass, coarse earthenware and stoneware. This area is tentatively interpreted as a primary deposit associated with breakage of mostly utilitarian food/beverage preparation and storage objects, possibly an outdoor activity area. South of Structure 1, moderate frequencies of ceramics and mixed ASI values suggested a relatively unclean space with trampling of domestic refuse. The area could have been used for general refuse deposits, or given the somewhat discrete areas of ceramics types and bottle glass and the presence of several small features, could represent another zone of primary deposition associated with an outdoor activity associated with food or beverage preparation such as a cooking hearth.

East of Structure 2, a small area of low artifact density and mixed to slightly smaller than average artifacts may indicate the presence of a small yard. Immediately to the north of this area is a linear band of domestic refuse concentration and low ASI values indicating the accumulation of secondary refuse, perhaps along the edge of the maintained yard space. That scenario could include secondary refuse accumulating over or against a small fence or simply at the edge of a space not defined by fixed features. Another possibility is that refuse accumulated at the edge of a more actively cleaned yard space, through an activity like sweeping.

Wingo's Quarter

Plantation Landscape

Wingo's is an outlying farm quarter located in the northern portion of the larger Poplar Forest plantation approximately 12 mi. west of Lynchburg in Bedford County

(Figure 47). The site is approximately 2.25 mi. northwest of the mansion house and nearby Quarter and North Hill sites. Testing with 2 ft. x 2 ft. test units to the north and east of the cabin site revealed no further evidence of occupation (Heath et al. 2015:138). Heath et al. (2015:139) note that while the structure revealed at Site 44BE0298 is relatively isolated, and in the location of depictions of a structure on historical maps, there were likely other buildings on the larger Wingo's tract that served as barns, outbuildings, and housing for enslaved workers and possibly a hired overseer. However, those structures were likely dispersed across the arable portions of the larger tract.

The site includes evidence of a single structure, interpreted as housing at least part of the enslaved agricultural workforce of the larger 1,000-acre Wingo's tract. The nearest sources of water include two springs that flow north into Wolf Creek, a tributary of the larger Ivy and Blackwater creeks that feed the James River (Heath et al. 2015:1). Roads depicted on a circa 1800 map of the property run roughly the course of modern-day Route 221, leading east to Lynchburg. The general topography of the area is rolling, with numerous low hills dissected by small valleys and drainages. Within the larger tract, Wingo's Quarter is placed within proximity to roads, water sources, but on the northern edge of the broader area of more level arable land. At a smaller scale, the cabin was placed near the southeastern edge of a relatively level field, with ground sloping down to the south and west between 5 and 10 percent. The level ground north and west of the cabin was likely used for agriculture.

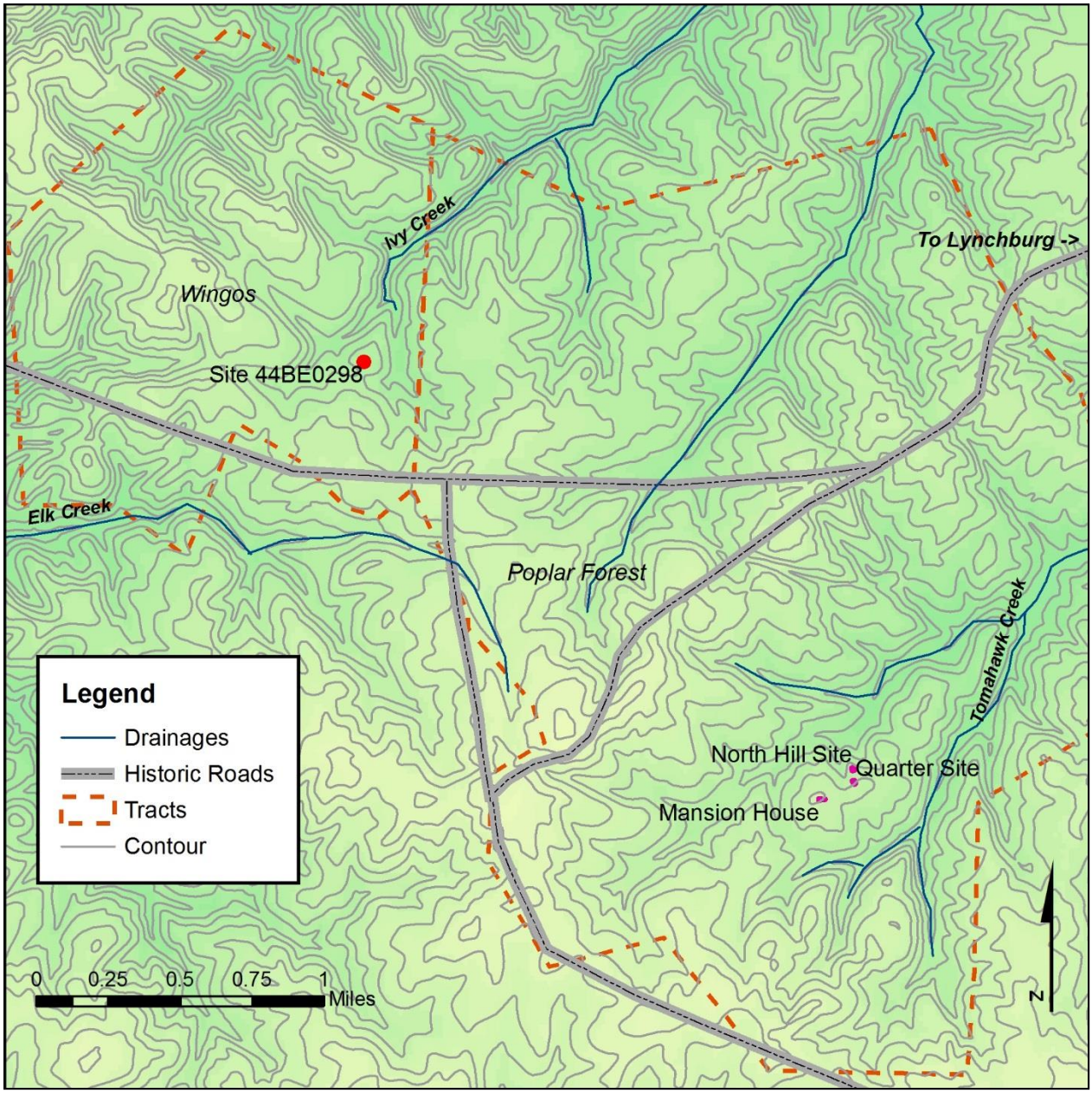


Figure 47: Setting of Wingo's Quarter at Poplar Forest. Digitized based on plats from 1780 and 1800 (University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology [UTDAP]).

Architectural Space

The only structural remnants of the building at Wingo's are limited to two large, round subfloor pits. The two pits are 4 ft. apart and roughly similar in size, shape, and alignment (Figure 14). The western pit was designated as part of Unit 281, and the pit to the east as part of Unit 285. Their positioning suggests that the building was likely set roughly aligned to cardinal directions and was at least 10.5 ft. x 18 ft. (Heath et al. 2015:24) for a minimum living space of 189 ft.^{2}. The lack of other subsurface features such as post holes suggests that the building was likely of log construction, perhaps laid directly on the ground surface. Heath (2012c:118) notes that impermanent ground-laid log and wood frame structures were relatively common for agricultural slave housing on Thomas Jefferson's plantations. Daub and stone rubble, largely recovered from the pit in Unit 281, indicate that the chimney was of wood and daub construction, built on a fieldstone foundation on the west end of the cabin. The presence of only three fragments of possible window glass suggests that the cabin did not have glazed windows.

The western subfloor pit in Unit 281 measured 6 ft. x 6.5 ft. and was 1.7 ft. deep for a minimum of 66.3 ft.^{3} of storage space. Multiple layers of fill were excavated from the pit including both primary accumulations of domestic refuse in the bottom layers and extremely high densities of daub and stone rubble from the upper fill layers, representing architectural debris from the collapse or demolition of the cabin. The majority of both nails and daub recovered from the two pits came from the western pit in Unit 281. Several wrought nails were recorded at regular intervals around the edge of feature at the interface of two upper layers, possibly representing the remains of a wood

lining of the pit (Figure 48). Concentrations of charcoal, burned daub, and burned nails were found in the upper layers, suggesting that burning of at least portions of the cabin likely occurred after occupation as part of its demolition (Heath et al. 2015:24-33). The eastern subfloor pit in Unit 285 was slightly smaller, measuring 6 ft. x 4.4 ft. and was 1.5 ft. deep, resulting in a minimum storage space of 40.5 $ft.^3$. Numerous fill layers of the pit in Unit 285 consisted primarily of charcoal-rich sediments with far less architectural debris than was recovered from the pit in Unit 281. This evidence suggests that the feature was likely filled prior to the destruction of the cabin, possibly during its occupation (Heath et al. 2015:35-42).

Quarter Space

With no other structures known in the vicinity of the cabin at Wingo's, the site layout is based entirely on the interpretation of feature locations, artifact, ASI, and soil chemistry values. Artifact quantities were mapped from the 5 ft. x 5ft. test units excavated within, around, and to the south of the cabin. In the area immediately south of the cabin structure, a small post hole and series of at least 15 small stake holes were recorded and appear to frame a square enclosure, 36 ft. on each side oriented approximately 45 degrees from grid north and the interpreted alignment of the cabin structure. A line of stake holes divided the enclosure into two sides; a slightly smaller western portion measures about 17 ft. wide and the larger eastern side is approximately 19 ft. wide (Figure 14). Artifact and soil chemical distributions appear to respect the alignment of the enclosure, which represents the only archaeologically definite fixed feature of the yard outside the cabin. Artifact and soil chemistry distributions at Wingo's



Figure 48: Subfloor Pit in Unit 281 at Wingo's Quarter. View to north of context E showing flagged locations of nails. Courtesy of UTDAP.

have been key components of site reports (Heath et al. 2015) and conference papers (Heath 2012b; Wilkins et al. 2012), and the summary below incorporates those findings with more recent and detailed examinations of ASI values and additional soil chemical elements.

Historic artifact distributions were grouped at various levels, focusing primarily on types and groups that constitute refuse and debris from domestic activities. The frequency and ASI distributions at Wingo's include an overall total of 1,705 historic artifacts from plowzone contexts, excluding masonry (Table 27). Few of the larger artifact groups are strongly correlated to each other (Table A.11). ASI values also share relatively few significant correlations (Table A.11), suggesting that each distribution may indicate a highly differentiated use of space.

Table 27: Artifact Group Sizes and Counts used in ASI calculations for Wingo's Quarter.

Variable	Average Size (mm)	Total No.	No. Small	Proportion Small	Units Represented
Total Historic	36.6	1,705	883	0.524	88
Bone	16.1	191	124	0.653	54
Ceramics	20.9	123	88	0.713	59
Bottle/Vessel Glass	23.6	168	94	0.554	67
Nails	45.7	1,066	436	0.406	88
Other	22.6	135	73	0.644	62
Domestic Group	21.2	626	418	0.678	86

Architectural artifacts other than masonry at Wingo's are largely limited to nails and nail fragments, with only three fragments of possible window glass recovered on site. The distribution of nails and ASI values at Wingo's are concentrated immediately around the cabin structure and in the southwest corner of the enclosure (Figure 49). Both the total group and nail frequencies exhibit highly clustered spatial autocorrelation (Table A.12) supporting the interpretative strength of the high values in those two areas. Nail ASI values show greater numbers of larger fragments clustered around the structure, and smaller than expected fragments towards the south of the eastern side of the enclosure. Higher densities of nails include larger fragments, suggesting nails in the areas around the cabin and in the southwestern quarter of the enclosure likely originate as primary deposits of debris from the demolition or decay of wooden structures. Heath et al. (2015:56) posit the presence of small structure in the southwest quadrant of the enclosure, such as a small animal pen or henhouse.

Ceramics at Wingo's were recovered in higher concentrations in the southern portion of the western side of the enclosure, and across the center of the eastern side of the enclosure. ASI values for grouped ceramics are well correlated to the larger domestic group (Table A.11), with larger sherds over the structure, and to the southeast

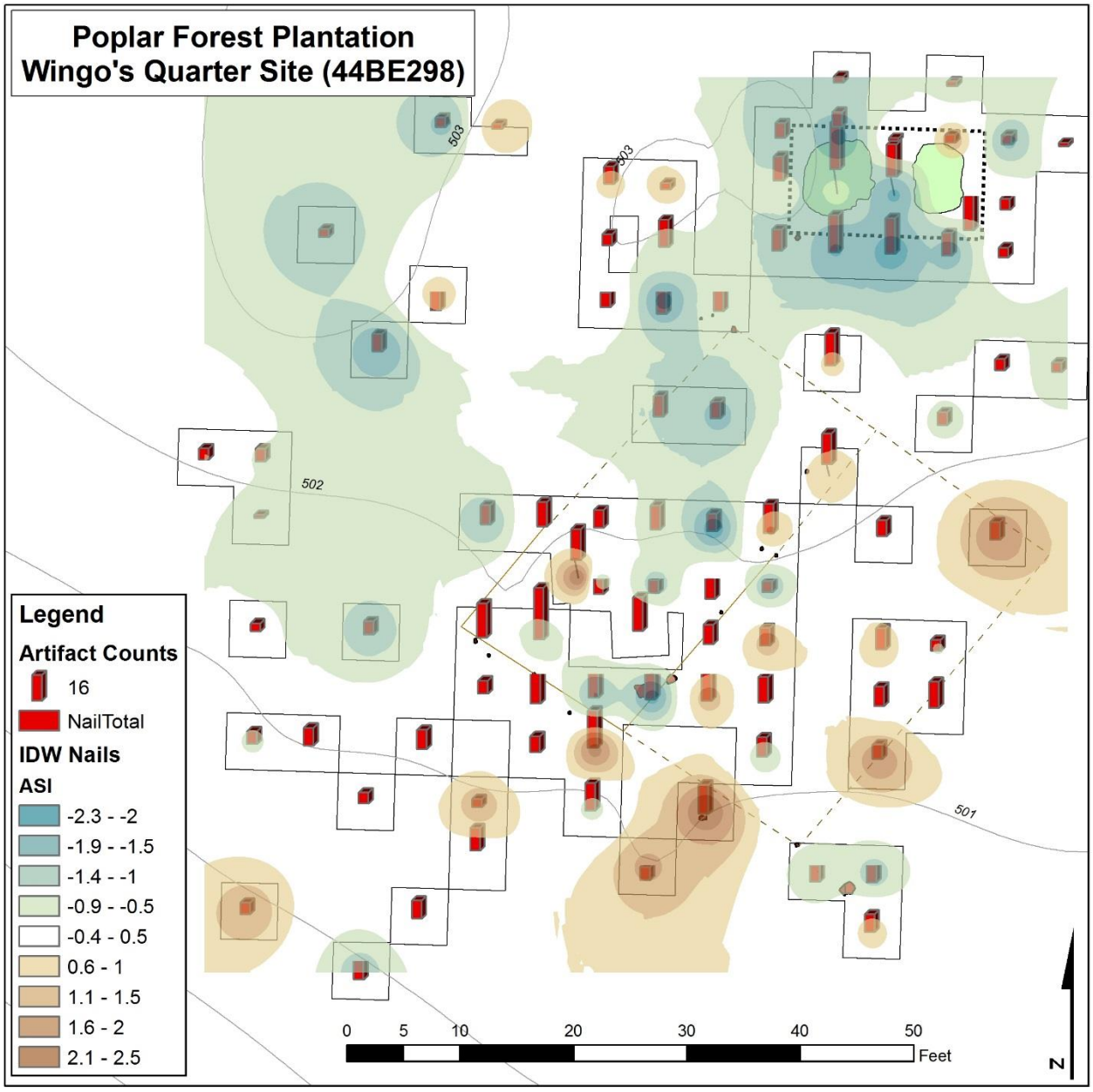


Figure 49: Nail Distribution and ASI at Wingo's Quarter.

and southwest of the enclosure. Smaller sherds occur in very low densities immediately south and southeast of the structure, suggesting the interpretation of a clean yard space immediately in front of the cabin. Higher frequencies of smaller sherds occur southwest of the cabin suggesting the interpretation of that area as a concentration of secondary domestic refuse.

Ceramic types in the larger ceramic grouping at Wingo's include British and Rhenish stoneware, creamware, tin-glazed earthenware, redware, colonoware, and one sherd each of pearlware and whiteware. Vessel forms were identified when possible and include bottles, bowls, mugs, plates, tea services, and unidentified hollow and flat forms (Heath et al. 2015). After initial analysis, a binary distinction in the spatial patterning of ceramic artifacts was observed based on functions: food consumption versus food preparation and storage. The assemblage was divided into a dining group that included glass tablewares and ceramic forms and wares associated with food and beverage service. Those forms and wares more associated with food preparation and storage were aggregated into a kitchen group.

The distribution of dining group artifacts shows concentrations in the south and southwest of the enclosure and extending northwest. These concentrations likely are secondary refuse accumulation associated with moderate ASI values. A small spike of density near the southeast corner of the structure, perhaps represents a small door-side midden (Figure 50). The kitchen group artifacts cluster particularly in the west half of the cabin and the east side of the enclosure, and both areas show low ASI values indicating larger fragments. This finding could be due to tendencies of coarse and utilitarian ceramics to be more thickly potted, yet could also be influenced by at least some

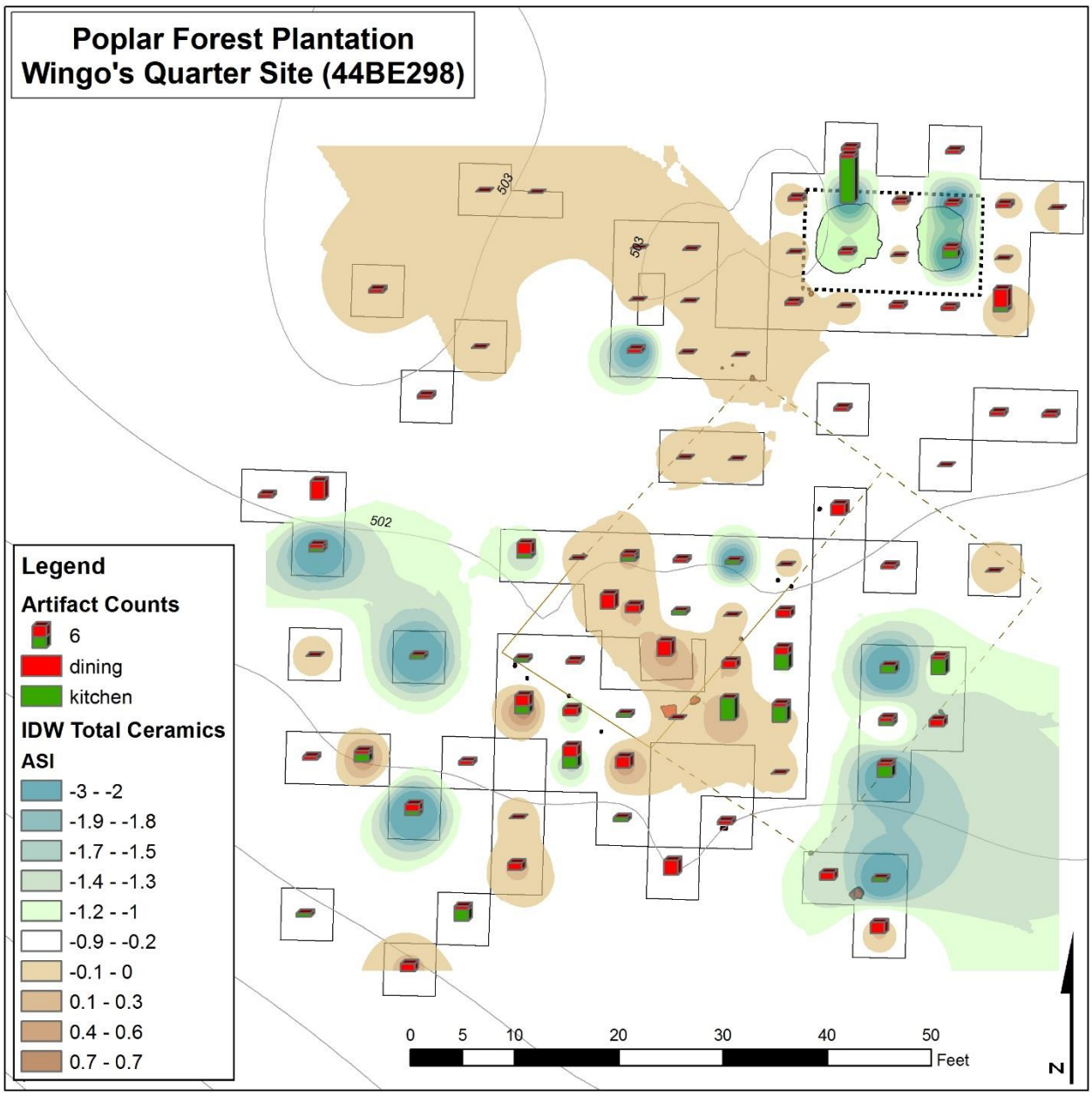


Figure 50: Distribution of Kitchen vs. Dining Groups and Ceramic ASI at Wingo's Quarter.

primary deposition of utilitarian objects in the areas in which they were used. Cooking and storing food in the cabin is not particularly surprising, but the eastern side of the enclosure may also have been used for food preparation activities.

Bottle and table glass at Wingo's has a rather unique distribution, with table glass sherds found in highest concentrations within the cabin and along the division between the two sides of the enclosure. A moderate density of glass is seen west of the cabin, with lowest densities immediately south in the area interpreted as a cleaner yard space (Figure 51). ASI values for glass artifacts are moderately but significantly correlated with glass frequency (Table A.11) indicating that higher densities of glass artifacts tend to include smaller fragments, with the lowest ASI values showing larger fragments ringing the northern half of the enclosure. The accumulation of small and mixed sizes of fragments along the central division of the fenced enclosure suggests that hazardous glass was purposefully kept out of more active areas to the east and west either through preventative deposition or more active cleaning. Low density and small fragment size coincide in the clean areas south and west of the cabin.

Small finds at Wingo's include a range of objects including tobacco pipes, tools, arms-related finds, and clothing items. As a group, small finds generally follow the domestic group distributions with concentrations in the cabin and southwest quarter of the enclosure (Figure 52). Tobacco pipes also follow this distribution, suggesting deposition of smoking materials with general domestic refuse. This trend is supported by ASI values showing pipes clustering in areas of moderate to small sizes, indicating accumulation of secondary refuse.

Clothing items include buttons, pins, thimbles, and buckles; and those finds are

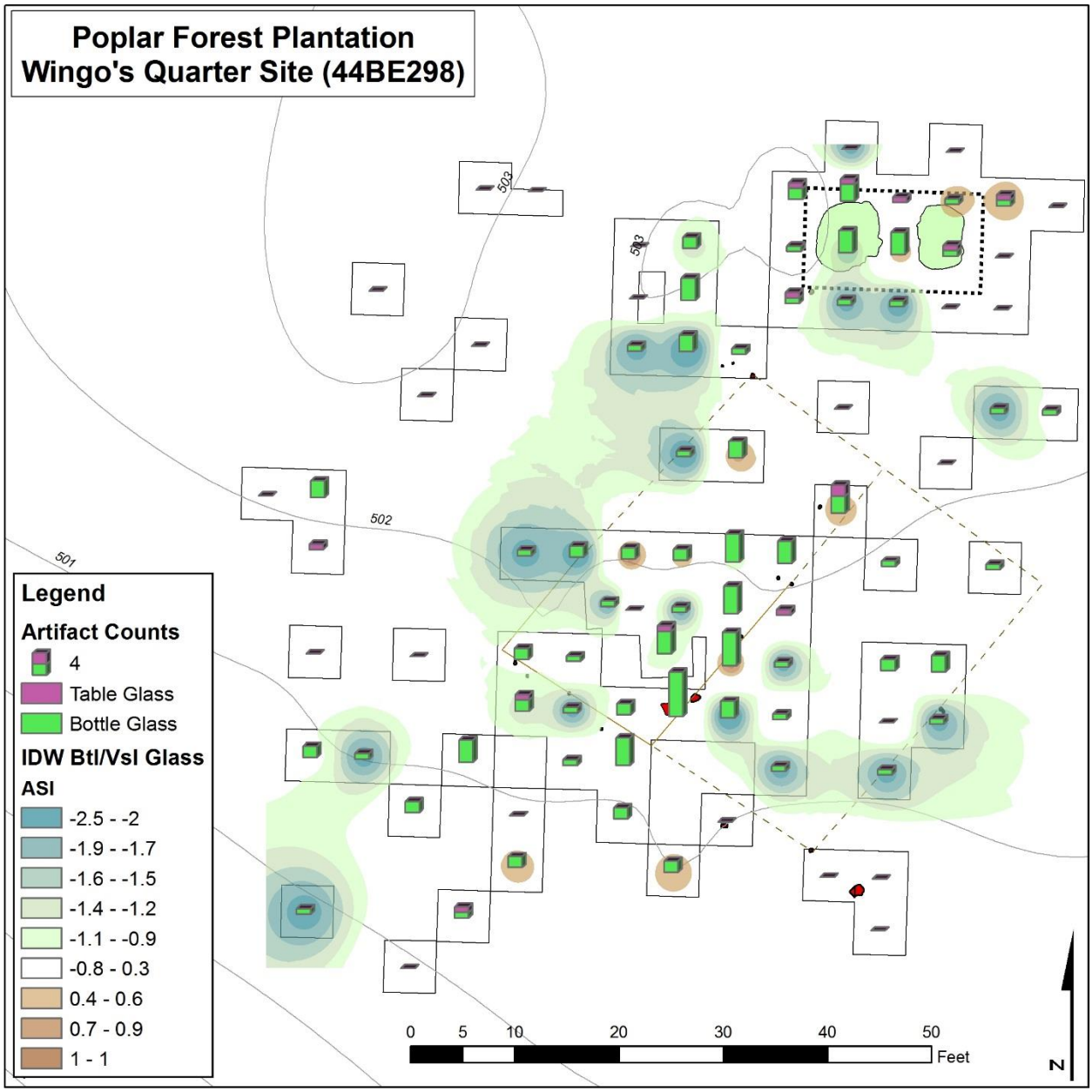


Figure 51: Bottle and Table Glass Distribution and ASI at Wingo's Quarter.

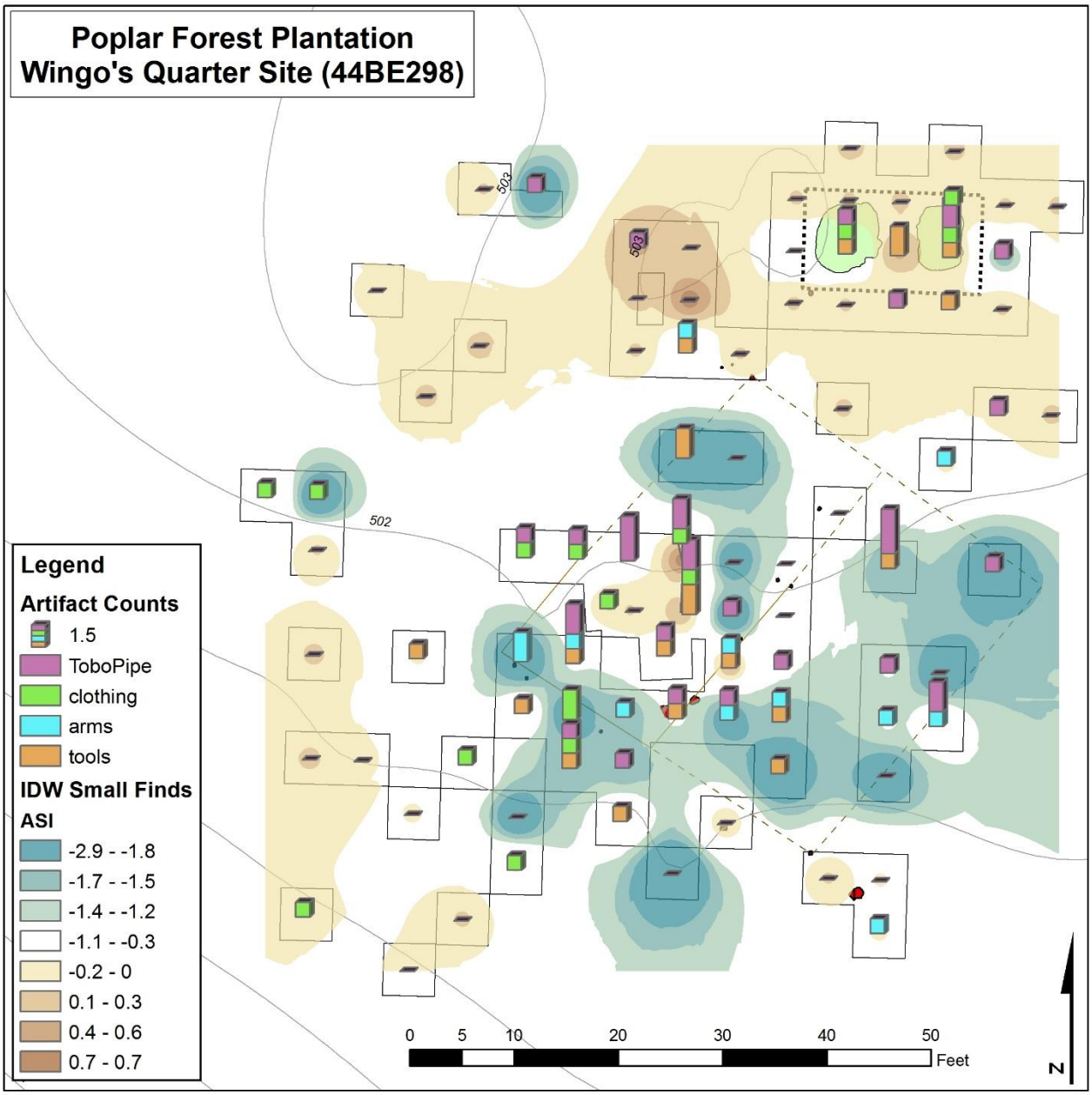


Figure 52: Small Finds Distribution and ASI at Wingo's Quarter.

noticeably concentrated around the outside of the western half of the enclosure and in areas of slightly larger fragment sizes, suggesting possible primary deposition. Clothes laundering or repair may have been an outdoor activity, conducted in the west and south of the enclosure. Arms-related artifacts include gunflint, lead shot, a lead bullet, and sprue; these objects are largely found in the southwest quarter of the enclosure and extending east through the center of the eastern enclosure (Figure 52). Heath et al. (2015:133) note that lead shot in those portions of the enclosure likely originate from processing and cooking of wild game, and it is noteworthy that this same area included a concentration of food preparation-related kitchen group artifacts (Figure 50). Additionally, animal bone at Wingo's is highly concentrated in the southwest quarter of the enclosure (Figure 53) in an area of moderate ASI values indicating mixed sizes likely from food processing.

Artifact richness at Wingo's Quarter largely supports the inferences of the individual artifact type and class distributions. High richness at Wingo's is located over the subfloor pits due to plowed-out contents of the upper artifact-rich fill layers, particularly of the eastern pit (Figure 54). A broader area of richness is also seen ringing the southwest portion of the enclosure, supporting the interpretation of the area around and possibly outside the enclosure as a secondary refuse midden. Richness is strongly correlated to total domestic artifact frequency (Table A.11). Notably low densities of domestic artifacts coincide with low richness and ASI of other artifacts show smaller fragments immediately southeast of the cabin. Together, these data suggest the location of a maintained clean space. More moderate frequencies of larger size domestic group artifacts are seen southwest of the cabin in the eastern enclosure.

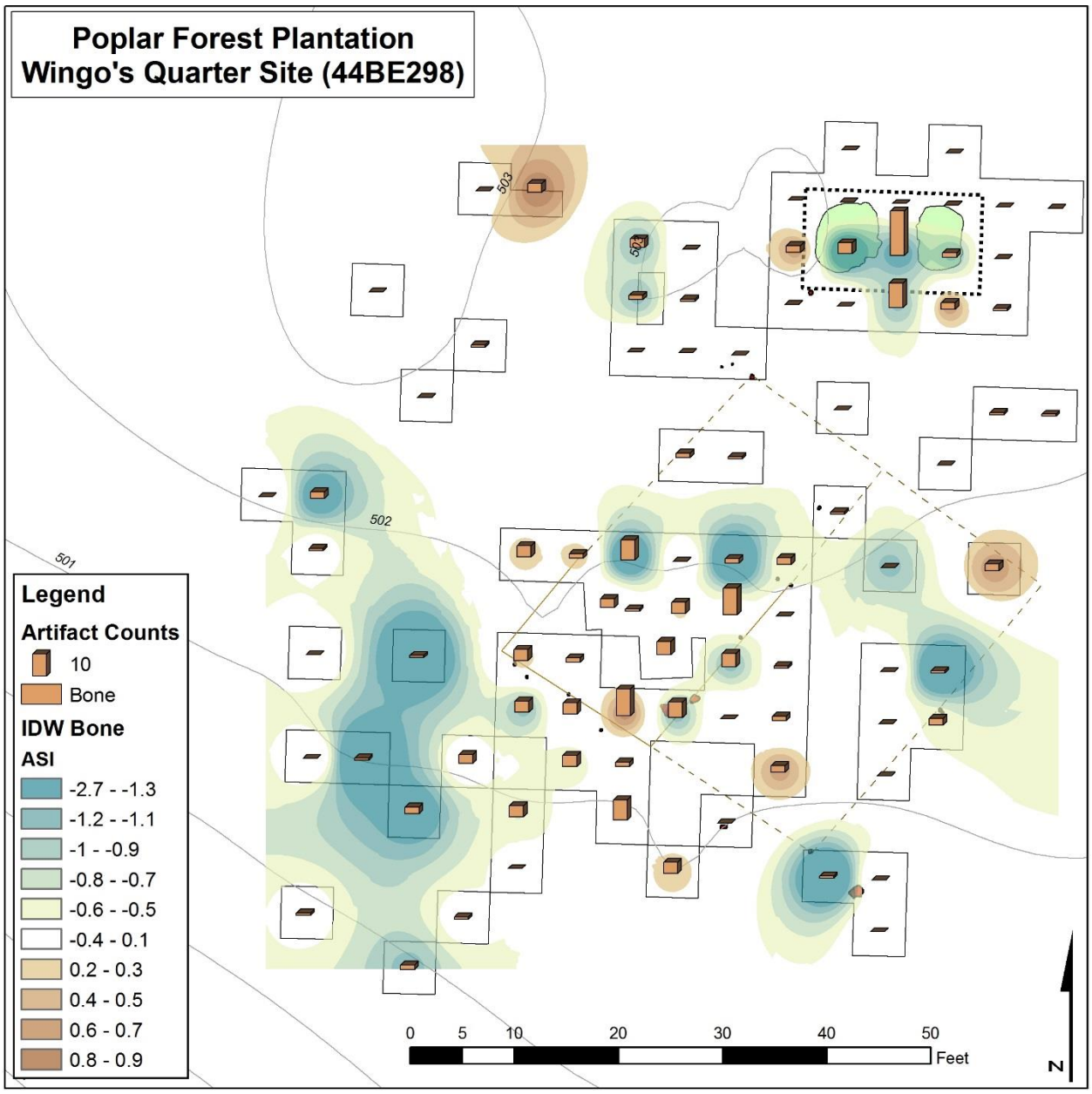


Figure 53: Bone Distribution and ASI at Wingo's Quarter.

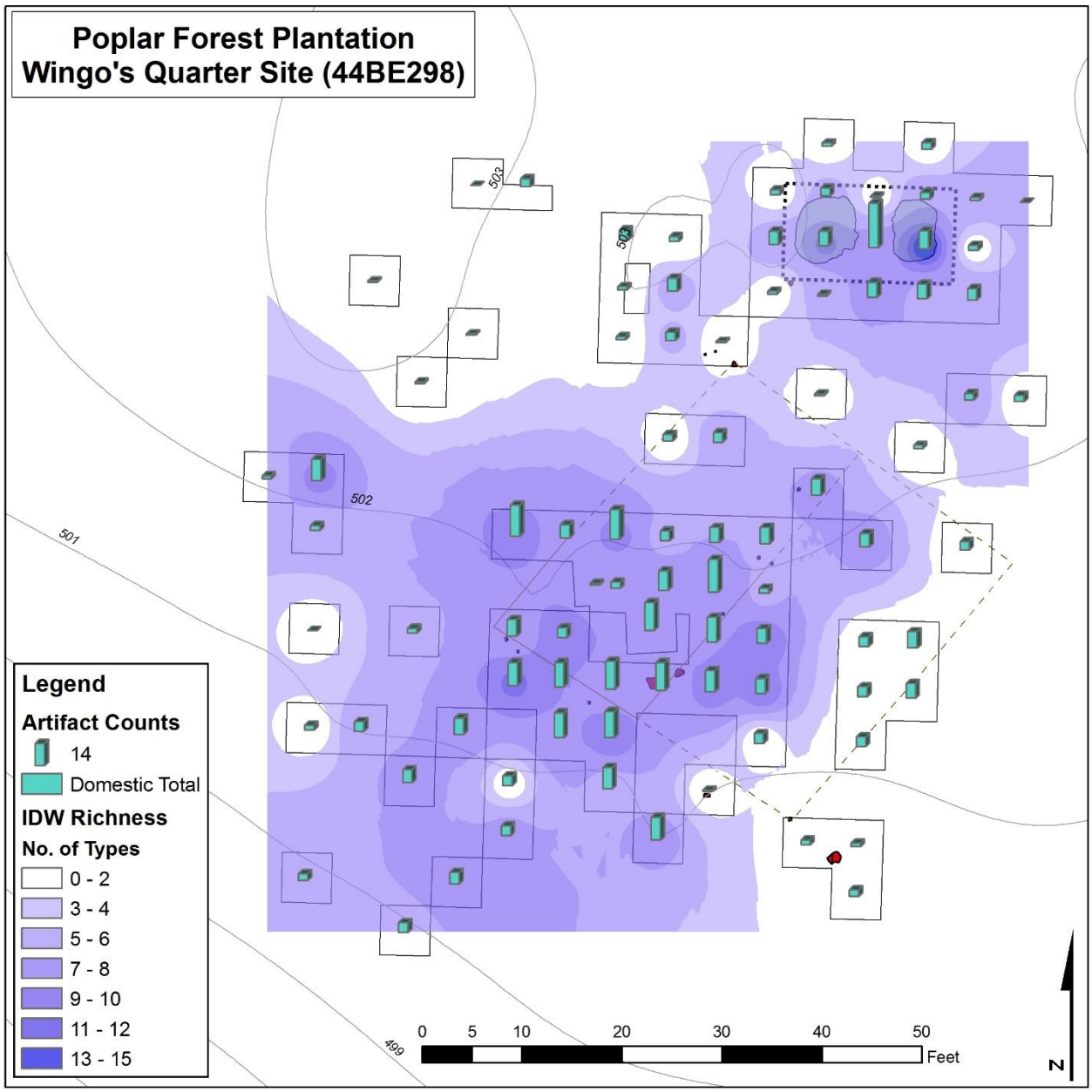


Figure 54: Artifact Richness and Total Domestic Artifact Distributions at Wingo's Quarter.

Those areas have deposits originating either from maintenance of the clean area immediately southeast of the structure, or perhaps as primary deposits from occasional loss or outdoor activities.

Soil chemical distributions at Wingo's Quarter do not share many strong correlations between elements, with K, Zn, and Cu sharing a moderate but significant positive relationship; and Mg, P, and Fe only slightly correlated (Table A.13). Most of the elements are strongly clustered, with P and Fe showing somewhat weaker clustering, and Cu and Zn exhibiting statistically random distributions (Table A.12). These findings do not necessarily mean that they should not be interpreted, though the interspersed nature of isolated high and low values suggests that a cautious approach is merited in interpretation.

The distribution of Mg at Wingo's exhibits high levels over the structure, with the highest levels found directly over the western subfloor pit (Figure 55). This concentration is likely due to the elevation of Mg in areas of burning from ash. A second and more statistically clustered area of Mg concentration appears in the western half of the enclosure, likely due to the deposition of organic matter and ash. Low to average Mg values are present in the areas interpreted as cleaner spaces, including the possible yard immediately south of the structure and in the eastern half of the enclosure. An isolated area of Mg, present in the southern half of the eastern enclosure, corresponds to the area of lead shot and kitchen artifacts. This pattern suggests Mg concentration is related to ash or bone deposited in an area used for food preparation.

The distribution of P in the plowzone at Wingo's shows a high degree of similarity to Mg, with moderate to high levels of enrichment directly over the cabin structure and

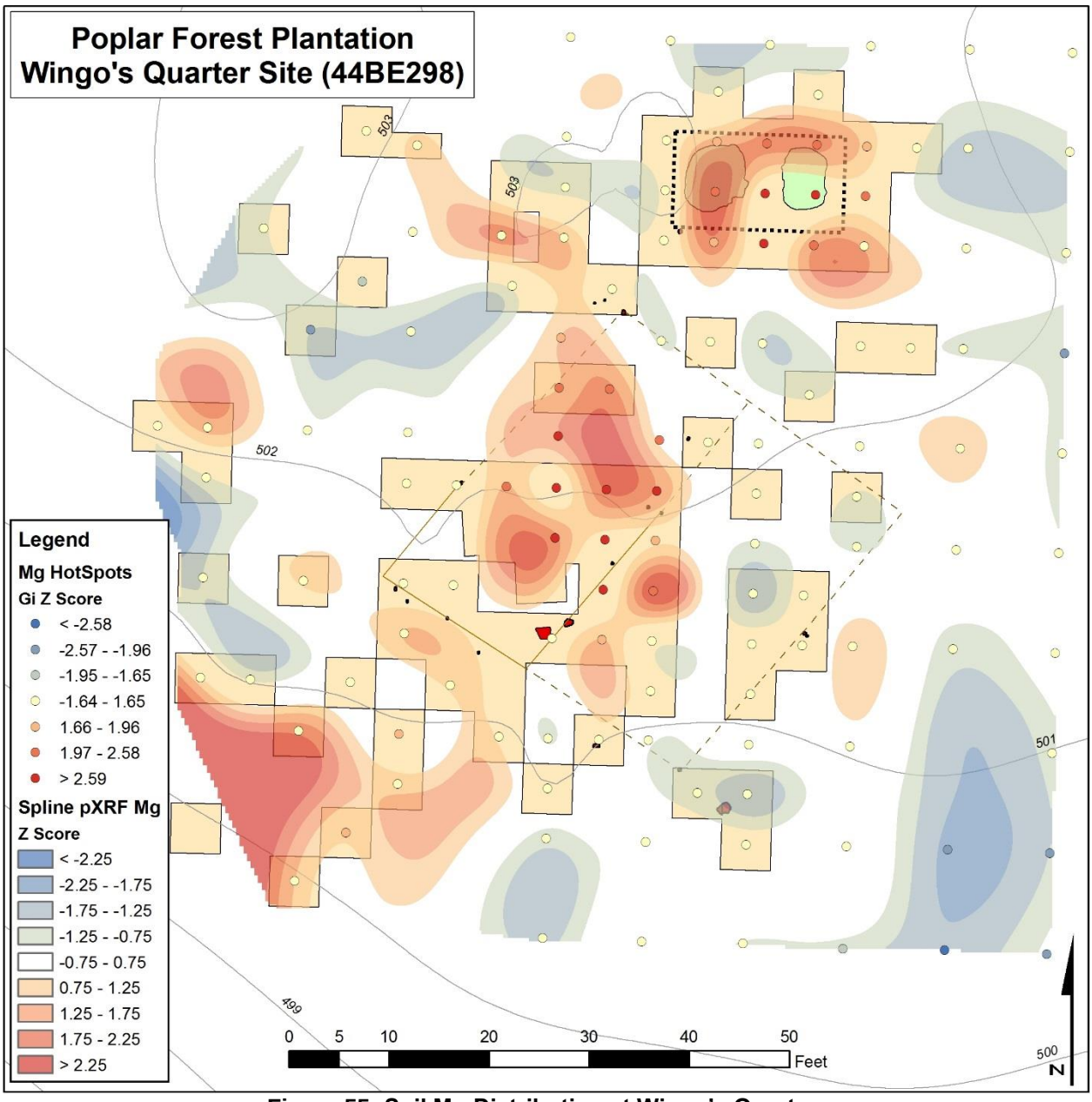


Figure 55: Soil Mg Distribution at Wingo's Quarter.

extending south to the northwest portion of the fenced enclosure (Figure 56). The combination of P and Mg in the western enclosure may be due to activities including gardening in the deposition of ash and other organic-rich materials as fertilizer. P concentrations do not extend farther south in the western side of the enclosure, where Mg alone may be caused by the bone concentration in that area. P concentration over the western half of the structure likely represents decayed plant and animal matter often found just outside of structures and to one side of doorways, interpreted as the disposal of general household refuse. An arc of moderate to higher P values also exists beyond the southern end of the enclosure, likely representing the accumulation of organic waste downslope from the more active portions of the yard.

P is moderately correlated with low ASI values for bone and ceramic artifacts (Table A.13), solidifying its link with general refuse from domestic occupations. Average to slightly lower values of P are seen southeast of the structure and in the eastern portion of enclosure, reinforcing the interpretation of these areas as cleaner spaces. The distribution of Fe is statistically correlated with both P and Mg, and its elevated levels in the same areas likely originates from animal tissue and ash components of the organic refuse in those areas.

The distribution of K at Wingo's is somewhat unique in that the largest and highest concentration exists in the southern end of the western enclosure (Figure 57). K values over and around the subfloor pits are average to low, and in general appear sporadically through the southern portion of the site. K is moderately but significantly correlated with several artifact categories including nails and bottle glass (Table A.13), and its concentration near the post hole at the southern end of the enclosure may be

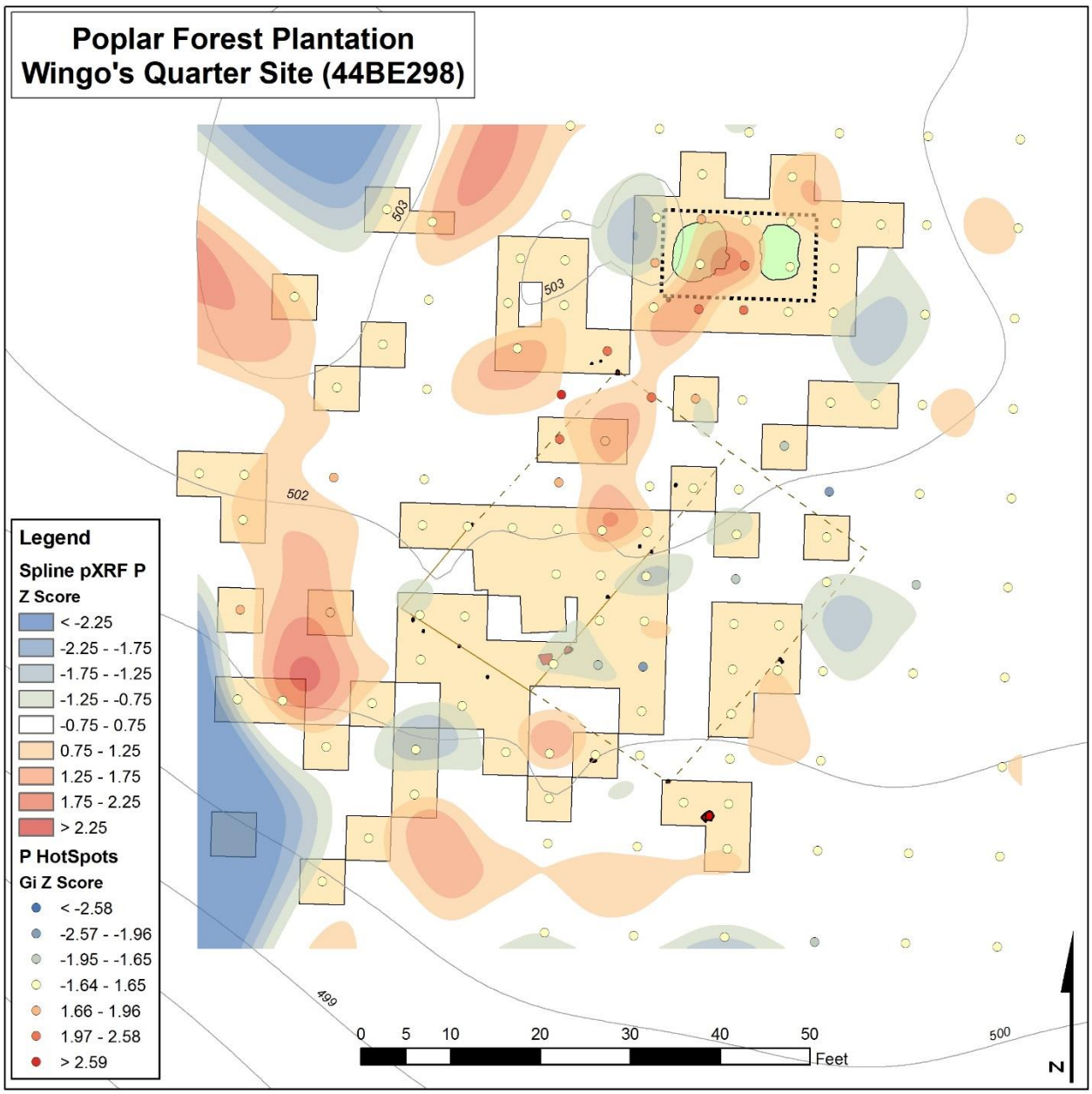


Figure 56: Soil P Distribution at Wingo's Quarter.

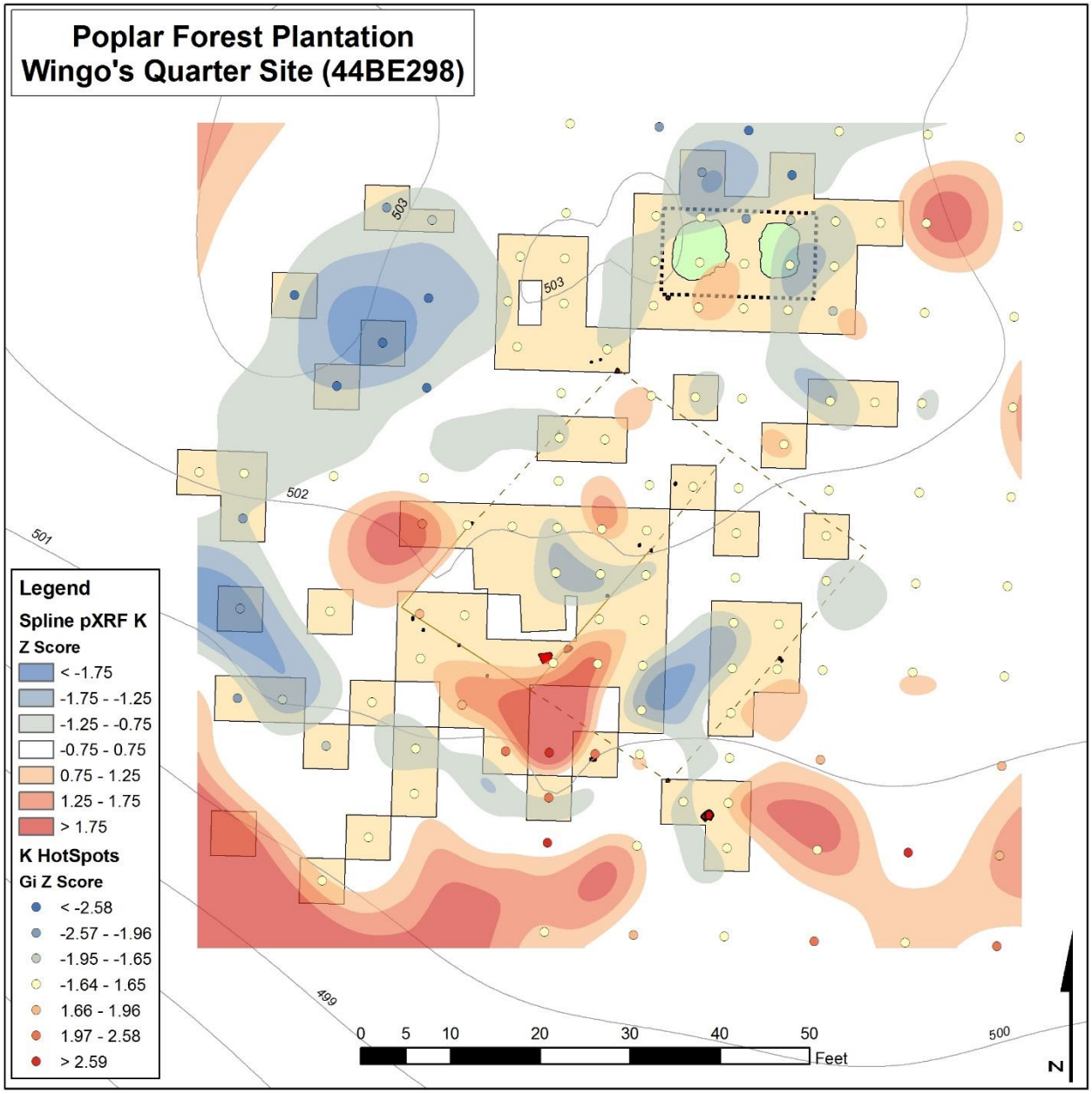


Figure 57: Soil K Distribution at Wingo's Quarter.

related to the function of a small structure in that location. K as measured by pXRF did not correlate directly in comparison to Mehlich 3 and ICP measurement in methodological tests on the Wingo's soil samples (Wilkins 2013), making the association between K and plant tissue and wood ash more tentative, though the correlations with artifact distributions do suggest a likely anthropogenic cause to this distribution. Zn is also correlated with K (Table A.13), and exhibits the same significant cluster of enrichment at the southern end of the enclosure. The association of Zn with animal tissue continues to support the interpretation that the southern portion of enclosure was related to food preparation and possibly processing of animal meat.

The distribution of Cu exhibits a similar and correlated (Table A.13) distribution to K and Zn, though the highest values occur in isolated points to both the east and west of the cabin (Figure 58). Cu has been interpreted similarly as originating from animal tissue or waste, though waste seems more likely in the isolate points around the cabin, possibly from horses or small livestock tied up at or allowed to graze around the cabin.

The distribution of Ca at Wingo's shows a high concentration directly over the eastern subfloor pit, likely due to the large amount of bone recovered from that context (Figure 59). In the western enclosure, the northern area exhibits average Ca levels, and an area of high Ca values is in the shape of a "U" at the southern end of the enclosure in the west, continuing into the southeast corner of the eastern enclosure. These areas align with area of high bone frequency, high K values, and nail distributions; of which only the nails are statistically correlated to Ca. This area appears to be a highly utilized space, possibly with a small structure and high levels of ash and bone. The Ca distribution corresponds well with earlier suggestions of activities involving animals or

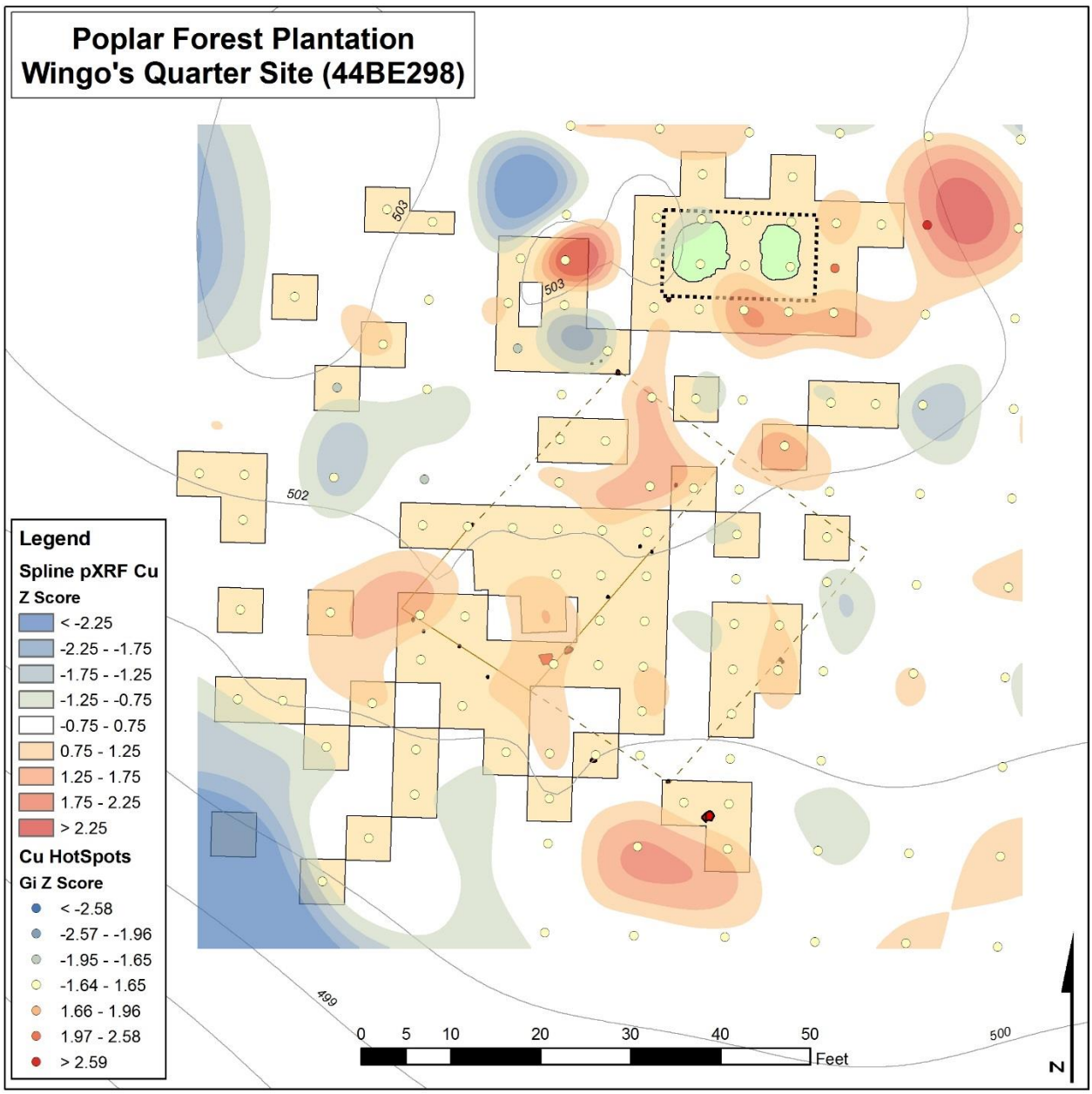


Figure 58: Soil Cu Distribution at Wingo's Quarter.

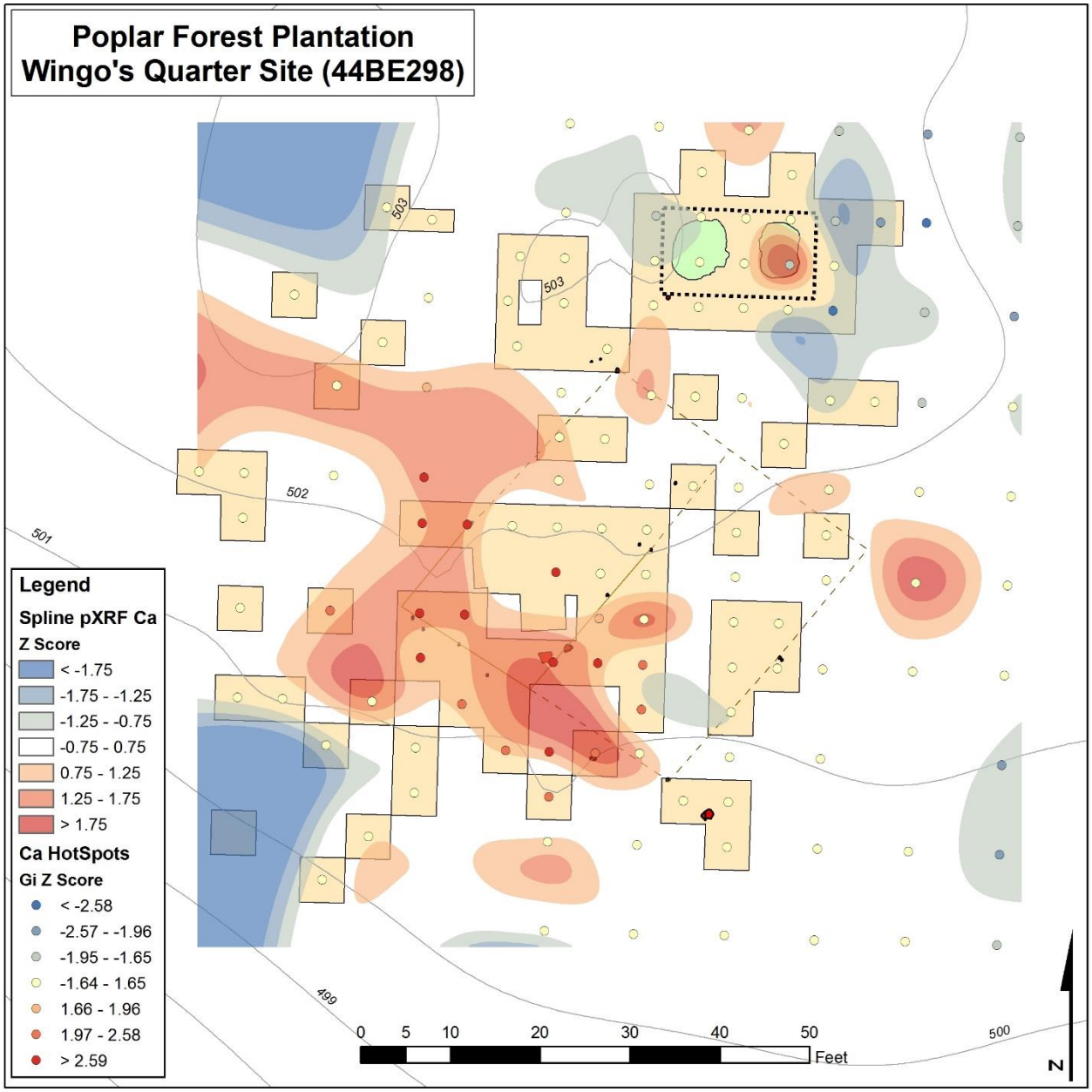


Figure 59: Soil Ca Distribution at Wingo's Quarter.

food preparation southwestern end of the enclosure. Lower Ca values exist in the areas east and southeast of the structure, again reinforcing the absence of refuse-generating activity in these spaces.

Mn distribution at Wingo's is markedly low within and around the cabin structure, and exhibits strongly clustered high values to the west of the enclosure and at the southern end of the enclosure (Figure 60). Mn is slightly correlated with domestic artifact distributions (Table A.13), though its association with general refuse at Wingo's is questionable, as the area west of the enclosure is generally free of artifacts and higher values of other elements. Given its lowest values nearer the top of the hill at the cabin, it is possible that Mn is less stable in soils and may have leached downhill from its original points of deposition.

In summary, the outdoor space around the cabin at Wingo's Quarter was utilized for a range of activities, many of which appear to have been contained within the enclosure. The western half of the enclosure featured the most refuse-producing activities, with high artifact densities and soil chemical enrichment. ASI values in the western half of the enclosure are moderate to high, indicating mixed to higher proportions of small fragments likely from secondary refuse deposition. Mg and P concentrations in the northern half of the western side coincide with relatively low artifact concentrations suggesting that the area was free of general refuse but saw ash and other organic material deposited in this quadrant of the enclosure that Heath et al. (2015:139) interpret as a garden. Macrobotanical evidence from feature contexts at Wingo's show the presence of a range of plant species that were likely cultivated in small gardens including beans, corn, and potatoes (Heath et al. 2015:134). Other

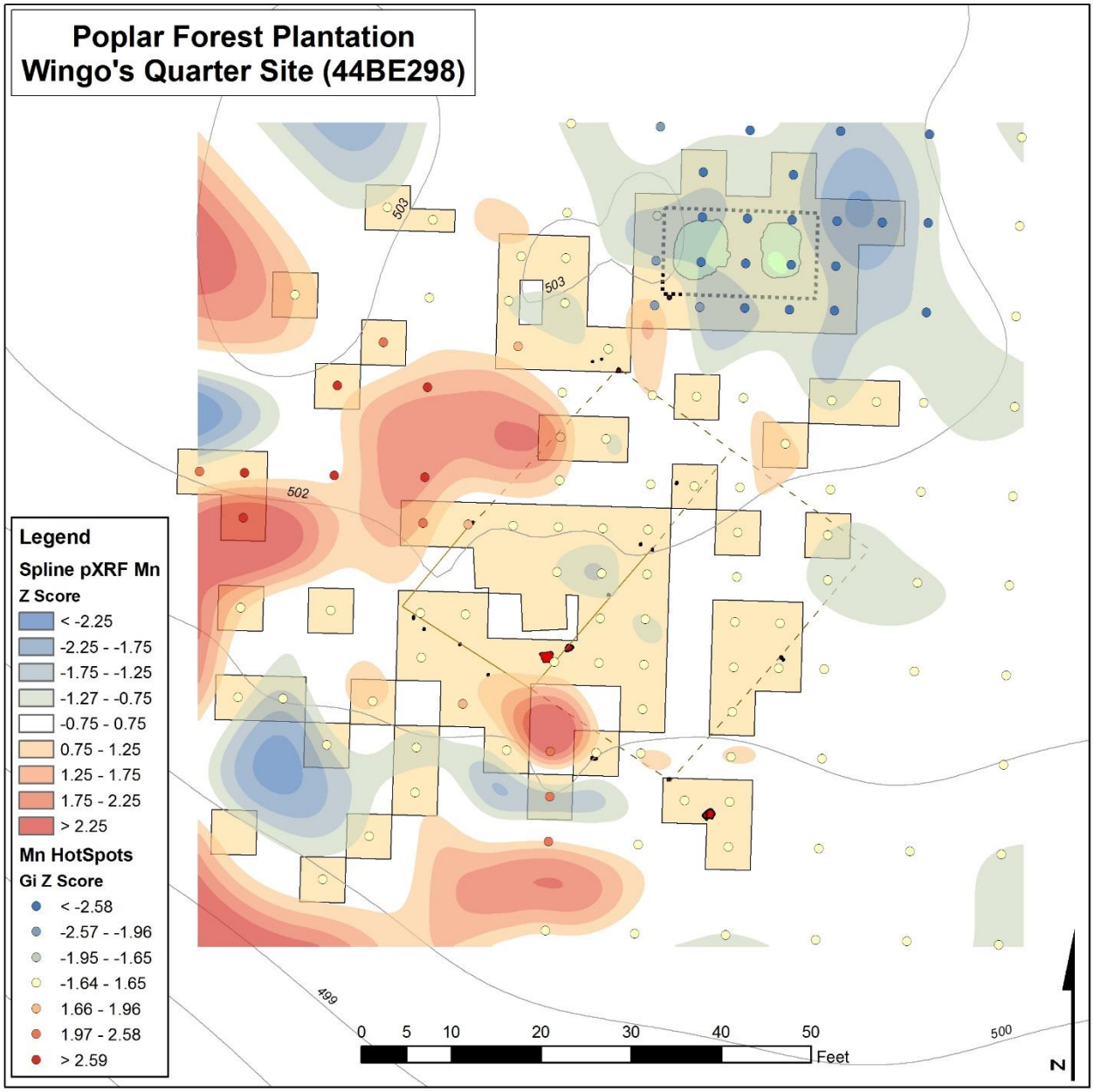


Figure 60: Soil Mn Distribution at Wingo's Quarter.

berries, nuts, and fruit were likely gathered from the surrounding woodland. Remains of agricultural crops were also recovered including tobacco, clover, flax, and wheat (Trigg and Henderson 2012).

The southern portion of the western enclosure had the highest concentrations of artifacts, though generally of smaller size, and chemical enrichment of Ca, Cu, and Zn. Dense concentrations of nails and animal bone in the southeast corner of the area, near a more substantial post hole feature, suggest the presence of livestock and even a small structure. Heath et al. (2015:139) suggest an animal pen with perhaps a henhouse in the corner. The abundance of household refuse in the what may have been an animal pen could originate from including food scraps in livestock feed, though it should be stressed that the plowing on site could have easily blurred the line between domestic refuse within the enclosure and refuse deposits immediately south and east of the enclosure. Faunal remains at Wingo's included domestic species including cow, pig, and sheep that may have been raised, slaughtered and consumed on-site. Eggshell fragments recovered from subfloor pit contexts indicate that small domestic birds, likely chicken and guinea fowl, were kept on site as well (Heath et al. 2015:133). The eastern portion of the enclosure was relatively free of soil chemical enrichment and artifact concentrations, with the exception of smaller areas of kitchen-related ceramics, Mg, and K concentrations in the southern portion of that side. Cooking and other food preparation likely took place in this portion of the enclosure.

Immediately south of the cabin, a small clean yard existed with almost no artifact deposition or soil chemical enrichment. This space is the most likely area to have seen intentional maintenance or cleaning activity as seen in the ASI values of small finds,

ceramics, and other domestic group artifacts. Smaller accumulations of domestic refuse with larger fragment sizes exist southwest of the cabin, and likely represent a small door-side midden. Beyond that space, approximately 20 ft. west of the cabin is another area relatively free of refuse that may have served as a second relatively clean yard space. Refuse appears to have accumulated moderately in a band to the south and west of the enclosure, which may have been the product of more casual disposal or even the downhill creep of sediments and objects in that direction.

Stable Quarter

Plantation Landscape

The Stable Quarter is a single cabin dating from circa 1790 to 1830 located about 250 ft. southwest of the mansion house at Montpelier, the plantation home of the Madison family. Montpelier is located approximately 5 mi. west of the town of Orange in Orange County, Virginia (Figure 61). The Stable Quarter sits on relatively level ground on the spur of higher land occupied by the mansion complex. While it is only a short distance from the mansion, the Stable Quarter lies on the south side of a paling fence that separates it from the immediate mansion grounds. Those grounds include both ornamental landscaping and service buildings for the mansion including the south yard domestic slave quarters. Bounded by the formal gardens to the east, the Stable Quarter sits at the northern limit of what has been termed the Stable Yard. This area includes the remains of a stable building approximately 200 ft. south of the Stable Quarter. Excavations in the larger Stable Yard have revealed concentrations of flat iron, carriage or other vehicle parts, tools, furniture, and other horse-related items that together

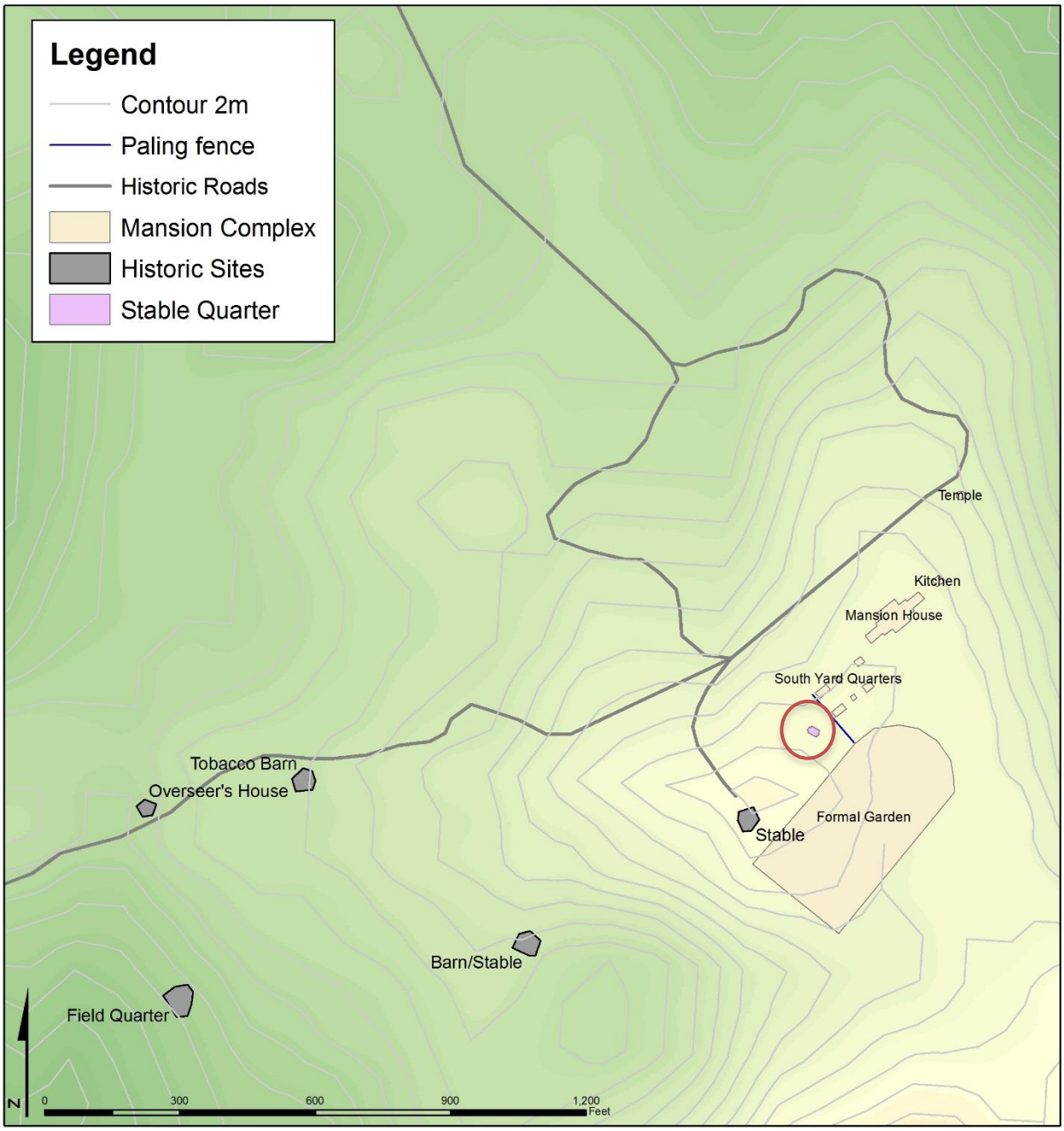


Figure 61: Setting of the Stable Quarter at Montpelier Plantation. Stable Quarter circled in red.

suggest a space actively used for skilled craft work (Trickett 2010). Finds from the Stable Quarter include similar assortments of artifacts related to horses, furniture, and carpentry as were found farther south in the Stable Yard, such as horse bits, saddles, harness buckles, horseshoes, and chisels, wedges, drill bits, drawknives, furniture locks, latches, keys, and hinges (Marshal 2011:87-89). The residents of the Stable Quarter have therefore been linked tentatively to skilled slaves, the craftspeople and artisans who likely worked in and around the stable performing work related to horses, carriages, and other general repair and maintenance activities (Reeves and Greer 2012:69).

The cabin is sited facing south-southwest, generally aligned to the gentle slope of the natural topography, roughly 20 degrees out of alignment with the mansion house and its dependencies. A road that connected the barn and overseer's house with the formal mansion space runs approximately 200 ft. west of the Stable Quarter. Other quarters for field slaves, barns, and an overseer's house are placed farther down the gentle slope to the southwest of the formal grounds, in and among what would have been the agricultural fields of the plantation (Figure 61).

Architectural Space

The architectural nature of the Stable Quarter is remarkably well documented from the archaeological features of the unplowed site. As noted in Chapter IV, the two hearths represent the gable ends of a 20 ft. long structure, most likely of log construction. Log sills appear to have been set directly on the ground surface, with the support of bricks and stones placed as needed to level the structure, as were found at

the northwest corner of the cabin. A shallow depression and line of stones was recorded on the southern face of the cabin and likely represent the southeast-facing door. The placement of the door and northwest corner stones suggest that the structure was 16 ft. wide, providing 320 ft.^{2} of first-story living space. A single interior post indicated that the cabin was likely divided into two equal sized rooms, probably with a loft space above (Marshall 2011:33).

Window glass distributions established the likely placement of glazed windows along the western portions of both the north and south walls of the cabin (Marshall 2011:39) and total non-feature artifact distributions showed low densities particularly in the east room of the duplex. The hearths are placed at grade with the subsoil suggesting that a raised floor was not present and that the cabin likely featured a clay floor that was regularly swept (Marshall 2011:55,83). The hearths, one at each of the structure, were made of brick and stone. Fleagle's (2013) study of artifact frequencies showed that no larger spread of masonry was recovered that would indicate full-height masonry chimney stacks and she suggests that they were likely made of wattle and daub construction. The borrow pits south of the cabin were used to extract clays both for the daub lining of the chimney and also to serve as chinking between the horizontally laid logs of the walls.

The western hearth measures approximately 10 ft. x 4 ft., and is much larger than the eastern hearth, which is only 4 ft. x 3 ft.. Marshall (2011:29-30) suggests that the western hearth may have been used primarily for cooking and the eastern hearth only used to provide heat to the eastern room in colder seasons. If this were the case, the cabin was not a duplex structure that housed two distinct groups of enslaved

individuals, but rather a cabin housing perhaps an extended family grouping with two rooms of differentiated uses: the west room for cooking, and the east for sleeping and other activities.

A single subfloor pit was located directly in front of the western chimney, likely for storing root crops (Figure 62). The presence of a single pit in a two-room structure further supports the interpretation of the cabin housing a single extended family group, which is consistent with conclusions of studies that suggest the reduction in the number of subfloor pits per structure is related to the growth of family-based housing among the enslaved in Virginia (Neiman 1997; Fesler 2004). The square subfloor pit was 4.3 ft. x 3.7 ft. in plan and 1.4 ft. in depth for a minimum storage space of 22.3 ft.^{3}. Excavators identified layers of ashy soils in the fill of the subfloor pit, which may have been used to

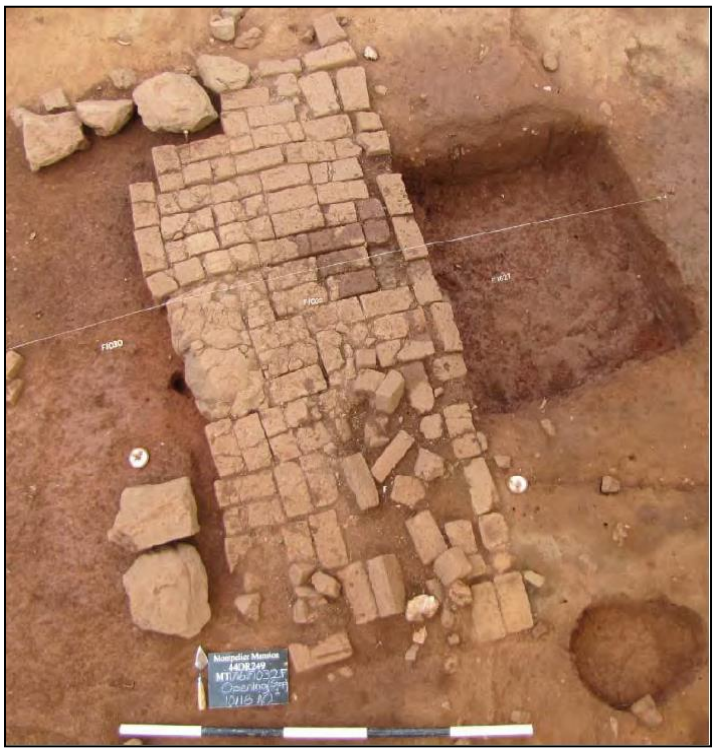


Figure 62: Western Hearth and Subfloor Pit at the Stable Quarter, View to North. Courtesy of Montpelier Archaeology Department.

collect ash for use in fertilizer, soap, or other products (Marshall 2011:48).

Quarter Space

The stable building and its associated work yards, located between 100 and 200ft. south of the Stable Quarter, likely defined much of the setting of the day-to-day work of the Stable Quarter's inhabitants. The yard spaces immediately surrounding the quarter itself, principally to the south and west, contain several indications of the segmentation and utilization of outdoor spaces. As noted in Chapter IV, several large pits, interpreted as borrow pits for obtaining clay for the construction and maintenance of the structure are located between 15 ft. and 20 ft. south and southwest of the cabin. Numerous roughly east-west oriented linear features, interpreted as possible gardening rows, run over and through the western-most borrow pits, suggesting those pits were filled prior to the gardening activity, perhaps during the cabin's construction. Pits farther east did not appear to be intruded upon by the linear features, suggesting they were dug during or after the garden rows. These pits were likely created during the site's occupation for repair and maintenance of the cabin (Marshall 2011:56-77). Several test units placed approximately 10 ft. to 20 ft. farther east of the cabin contained relatively few artifacts and average soil chemical values, and the subsequent discussion therefore focuses on the distributions within the main block of contiguous test units on site (Figure 14).

Artifact distributions have been a part of several studies of the larger Stable Yard and Quarter, and have helped add detail particularly to the architectural interpretation of the cabin (Marshall 2011). Fleagle's (2013) study of artifact frequencies led to

hypotheses about possible preventative maintenance activities such as the removal of table glass away from the cabin's interior and entrance. Concentrations of tools and sewing implements suggested outdoor work activities might have taken place near the southwestern edge of the excavation area (Fleagle 2013). Building on the earlier distribution studies of Marshall (2011) and Fleagle (2013), my use of artifact, ASI, and soil chemistry distributions will focus on artifact types that can be classified as domestic in nature. The work presented here seeks to add to the discussion of the organization and use of outdoor space around the cabin.

Artifact frequencies from the Stable Quarter are all significantly correlated to each other (Table A.14). The strongest correlations are between individual artifact classes including shell, bottle glass, and ceramic tableware. These correlations suggest that the overall pattern of refuse disposal across the site is likely shared across artifact types, perhaps into one or two areas of very high concentration. ASI values were calculated for the artifact classes using a 2 cm division between large and small artifacts as provided by the Montpelier Archaeology Department (Table 28). ASI values share fewer strong correlations among themselves; though statistically significant correlations still exist between larger groupings of Total Domestic and Total Ceramics and their constituent types (Table A.14). Significant negative correlations between artifact count frequencies and ASI values at the Stable Quarter show that fragment sizes tend to be larger where density is highest, and low-density areas have greater proportions of small fragments. This clear trend suggests active maintenance of certain areas with low densities and small sizes, and the accumulation of secondary refuse concentrations by either preventative maintenance or active cleaning.

Table 28: Artifact Counts used for ASI calculations for the Stable Quarter.

Artifact Class	Total No.	No. Small (<2cm)	Proportion Small	Units Represented
Bone	13,377	8,701	0.650	102
Bottle Glass	3,454	2,090	0.605	110
Table Glass	1,728	1,298	0.751	104
Utilitarian Ceramic	303	139	0.459	75
Tableware Ceramic	10,391	6,940	0.668	110
Total Ceramics	10,694	7,079	0.662	110
Shell	746	418	0.561	71
Total Domestic	30,001	19,589	0.653	110

Ceramics as a group are distributed with high frequencies and larger sherd sizes over the borrow pits and other areas of moderate frequencies and ASI values showing smaller sherd sizes west of the structure in a possible midden (Figure 63). The greater artifact frequencies and sizes over the borrow pits are likely influenced by the filling of these features with household rubbish during the occupation of the cabin. However, as the site is not plowed, the inclusion of these feature contexts in the distribution analysis is still informative. They were potentially subject to the same set of post-depositional formation processes as the artifacts from non-feature yard soils. Frequency and ASI values could therefore reflect meaningful distinctions where most refuse or larger fragments were originally deposited.

Ceramic frequencies are relatively low in front of the cabin and sherds have smaller sizes as indicated by ASI values. Lower ASI scores, showing more larger-sized sherds to the south and southwest over the borrow pits, suggest preventative maintenance by the site's occupants in disposing of broken ceramics beyond the yard and into the convenient borrow pits. Within the larger ceramic grouping, tablewares are nearly identical to the total ceramics with very strong and significant correlation statistics for both frequency and ASI value distribution (Table A.15). Tablewares appear to

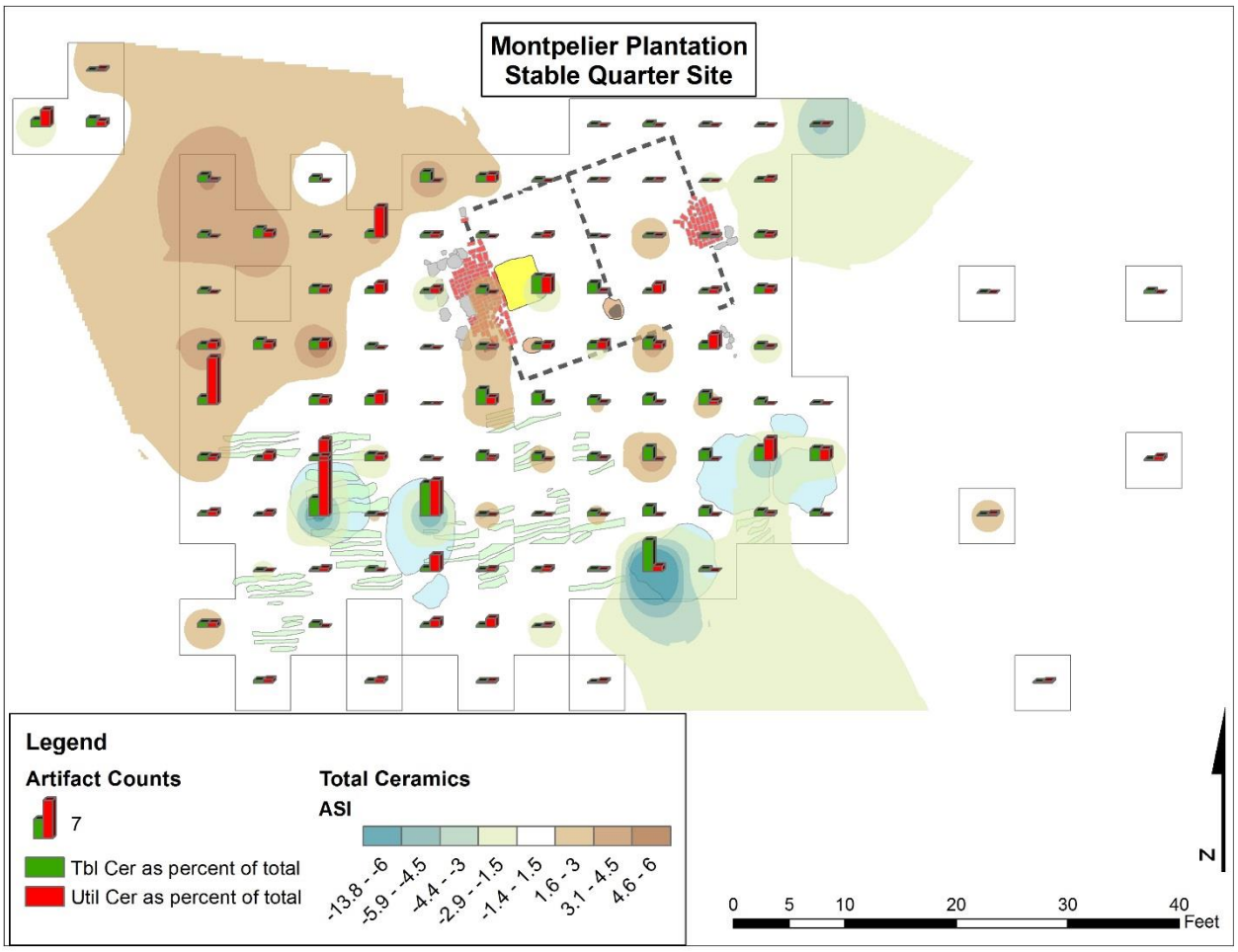


Figure 63: Utilitarian and Tableware Distributions and Ceramic ASI at the Stable Quarter.

accumulate nearer to and within the cabin, as well as in the borrow pits (Figure 63). However, utilitarian ceramics exhibit a more unique distribution, with more isolated frequency concentrations farther south and west of the cabin. While the frequency distribution of utilitarian ceramics is both visibly and statistically less clustered (Table A.16), ASI values are more clustered with more large-size sherds ringing the yard space between the front of the cabin and the borrow pits and smaller sherd sizes dominating the area farther west of the cabin. The general tendency of utilitarian ceramics to accumulate within the western portion of the outdoor space at the Stable Quarter suggests the possibility that the area was use for food preparation. Fleagle's (2013) study indicated concentrations of tools and sewing implements in the southwest quarter of the site, further supporting the interpretation of that area as an active workspace.

Bottle and table glass distributions at the Stable Quarter are well correlated, as are their corresponding ASI values (Tables A.14 and A.15), and their combined distribution shows the highest concentrations over the borrow pits and at the southwest corner of the structure (Figure 64). Lower ASI values indicate larger fragment sizes over the borrow pits and within the cabin, with moderate to low frequencies and ASI in front of the cabin, supporting the clean yard interpretation and supporting Fleagle's (2013) suggestion that hazardous larger fragments of glass were mostly removed to the borrow pits. High ASI values indicating that a greater number of small-size fragments were present on the western side of the structure, reinforce the picture of a more active and less clean activity area west of the cabin, subject to a high degree of fragment breakage, not by plowing, but perhaps by trampling.

The bone distribution at the Stable Quarter follows a similar pattern to the overall

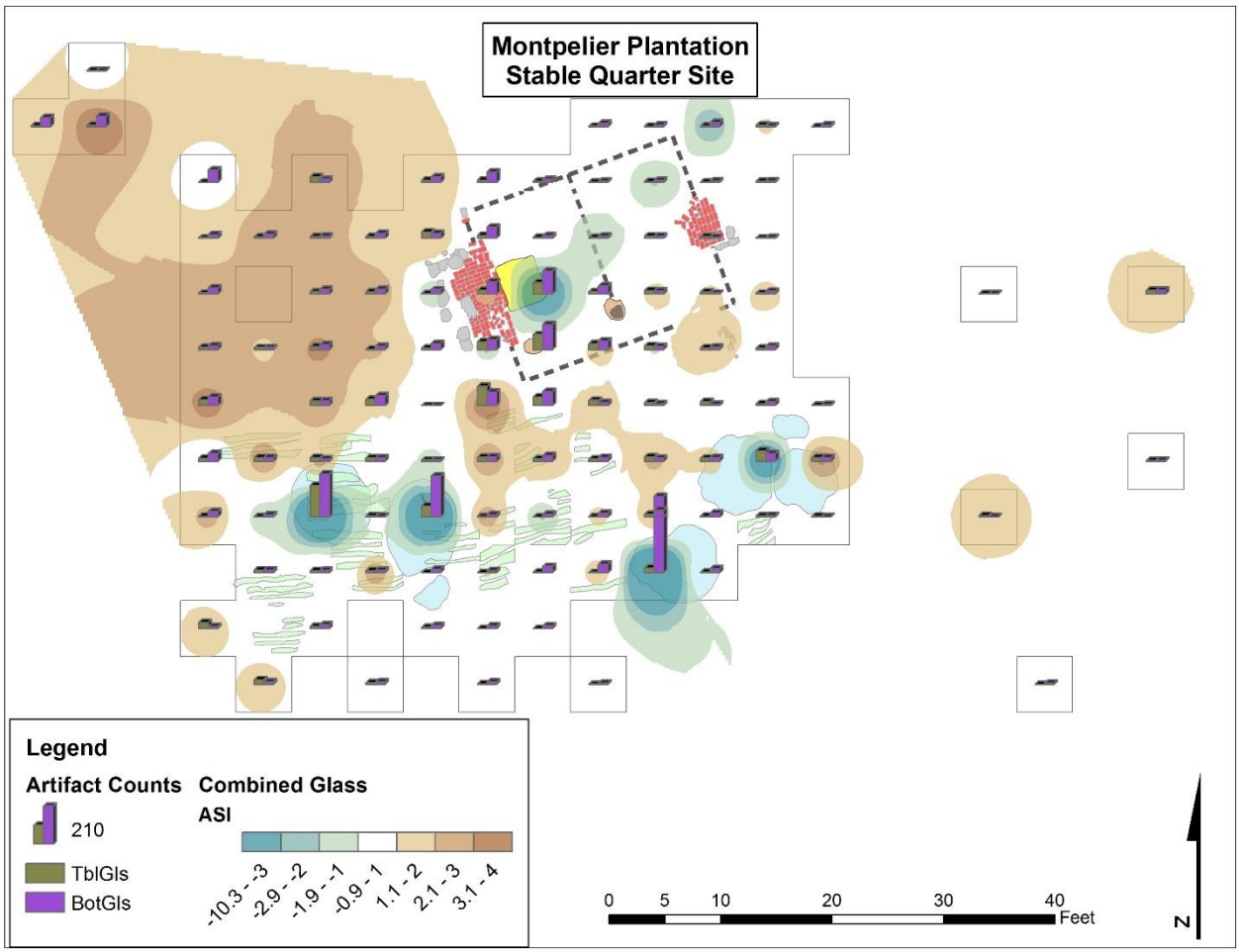


Figure 64: Bottle and Vessel Glass Distributions and ASI at the Stable Quarter.

domestic totals, with concentrations over the borrow pits, subfloor pit, and more moderate frequencies west of the cabin (Figure 65). ASI values show that larger bone fragments coincide with high densities over the pit features and show smaller fragments west of the cabin. Oyster shell is highly correlated with bone distributions (Table A.14) though with fewer shell fragments west of the cabin. Artifact richness at the Stable Quarter, though somewhat limited by the grouping of available data into larger artifact classes rather than specific types, further supports the presence of midden deposits in the area to the west of the cabin and in the borrow pits (Figure 66).

Soil chemistry distributions at the Stable Quarter largely confirm the findings of the artifact distributions, and add detail to the possible activities that created the spatial patterns on site. Significant correlations exist between many elements, including the strongest among B, Ca, Cu, P, and Zn (Table A.17). Mn and K do not appear to share strong relationships with the distribution of other elements. All but two of the elements, K and S, show statistical clustering (Table A.16).

The distributions of B, Ca, Cu, P, and Zn at the Stable Quarter are both statistically and visually related to a degree that allows for their combined discussion. The possible sources of these elements include animal matter including bone and shell in Ca, B, and Zn, animal waste and tissue in P and Cu. While P is often taken as an indicator of general refuse, the highly significant relationship between this suite of elements appears to be strongly linked with animal tissues. The principal concentration of the five elements in the area west of the cabin, typified by P and B distributions, (Figures 67 and 68) leads to the interpretation that this space could have been used for food processing activities including butchering and dairying. Concentrations of utilitarian

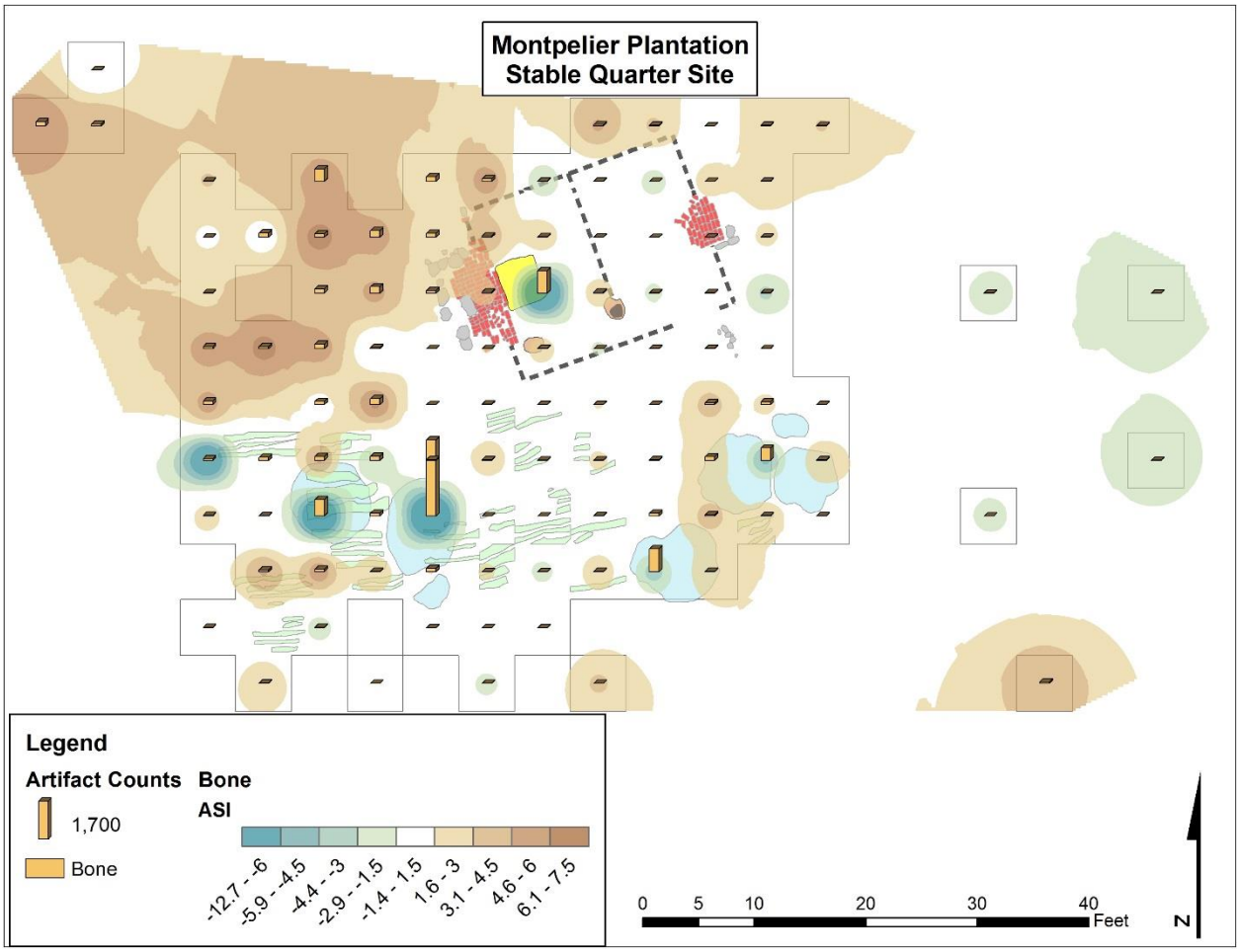


Figure 65: Bone Distribution and ASI at the Stable Quarter.

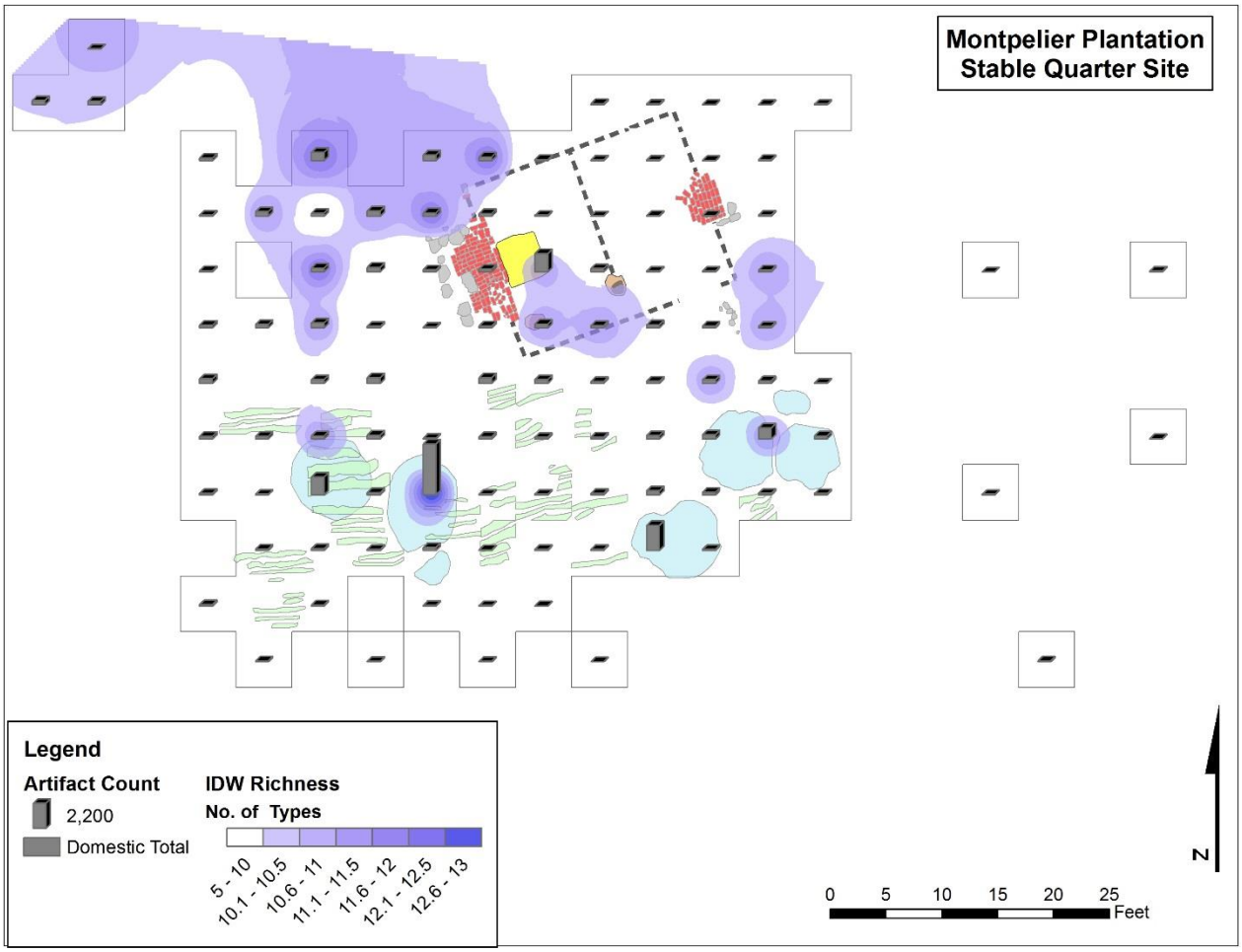


Figure 66: Artifact Richness and Total Domestic Artifact Distributions at the Stable Quarter.

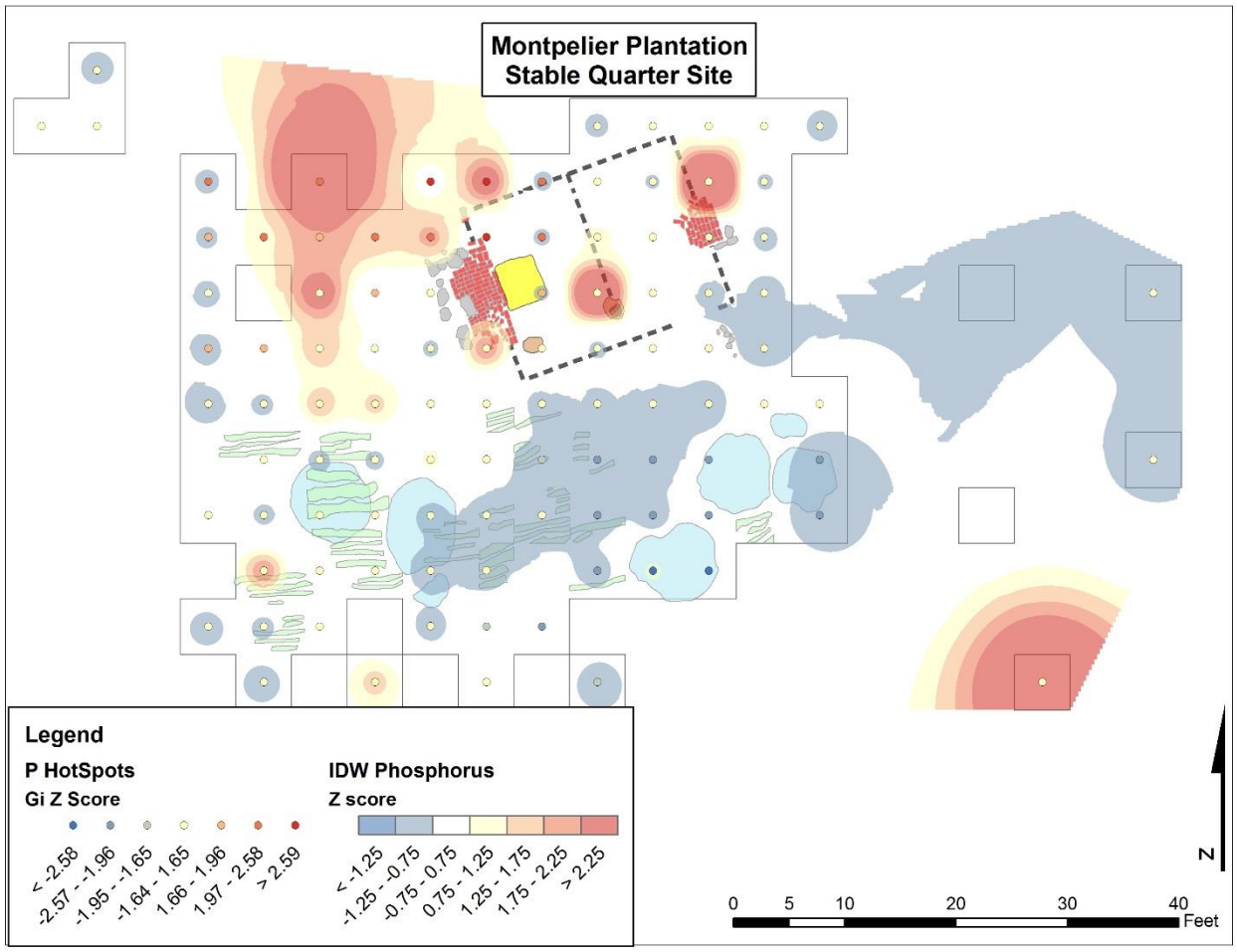


Figure 67: Soil P Distribution at the Stable Quarter.

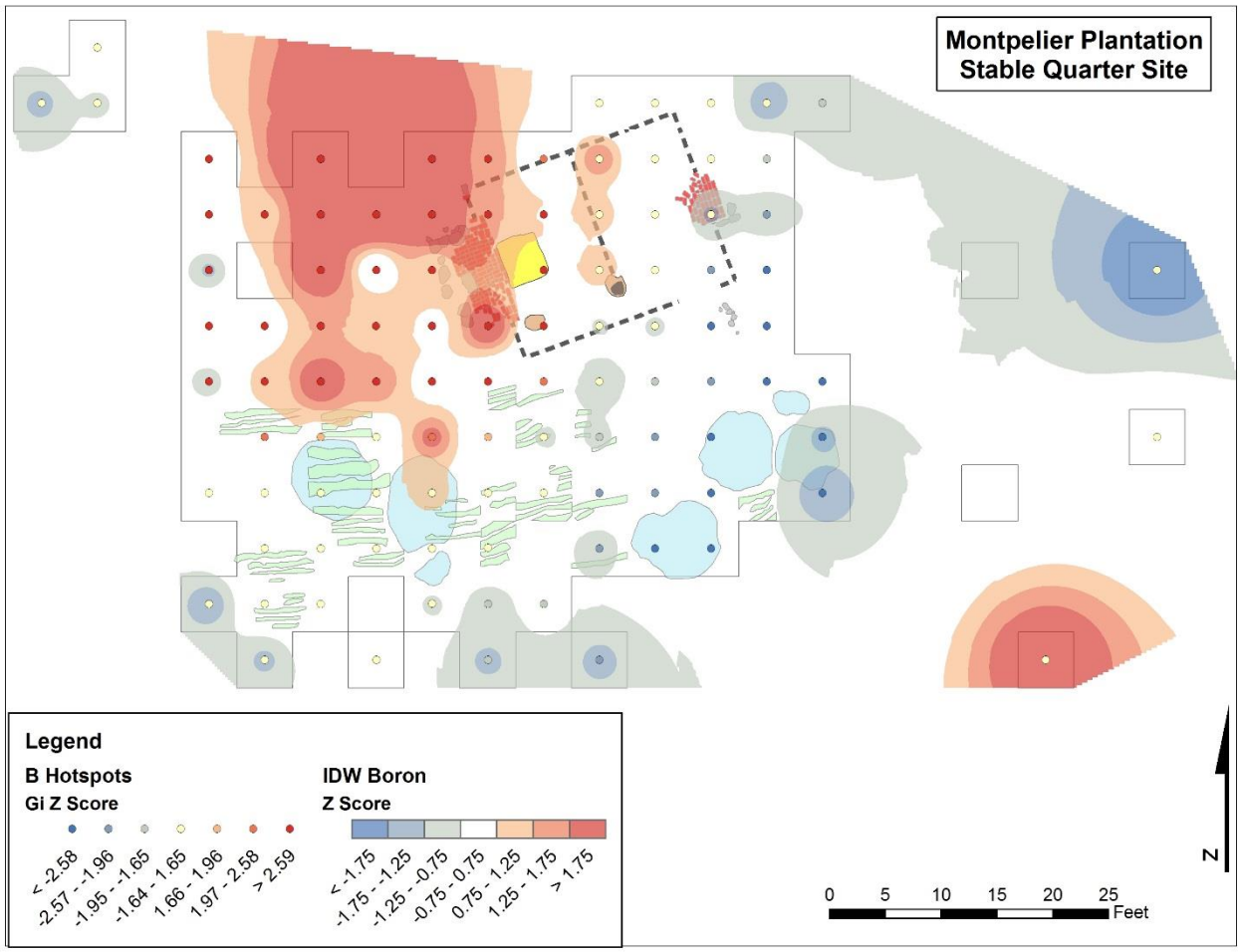


Figure 68: Soil B (boron) Distribution at the Stable Quarter.

ceramics immediately south of this area likely correspond to the containers used in those activities (Figure 63). Another concentration of this suite of elements is seen in the southeastern corner of the site, and may represent another similar space or an area where food-processing waste was deposited farther from the cabin. Other, more isolated and moderate spots of elevated B, Cu, P, and Zn are seen within the cabin structure itself and indicate that food preparation also occurred indoors.

Average to lower values of the five elements are significantly clustered immediately south of the cabin, including both the cleaner yard space and eastern portion of the garden and borrow pits. Interestingly, the borrow pits appear largely free of organic food processing and preparation waste and likely served only as rubbish pits for less odorous inorganic refuse, reflecting another aspect of maintenance of the outdoor space at the Stable Quarter. High densities of bone were recovered from the borrow pits, but their presence could have been the result of refuse from meals after cooking, with little to no deposition of soft tissue waste from butchering.

The distribution of K at the Stable Quarter, likely originating from plant matter or ash, is found within the structure itself, over the western borrow pits and garden area, and again in the extreme northwest portion of the excavation (Figure 69). Either ash or plant matter could have been deposited in the garden as fertilizer and within the structure as debris from cooking. The location of K concentrations near the hearths suggests that ash is the more likely source. The area in front of the cabin contains average values, supporting the interpretation of the area as a clean yard space.

The distribution of Mn at the Stable Quarter is also relatively unique, with concentrations in the extreme northeast and northwest corners of the excavated area

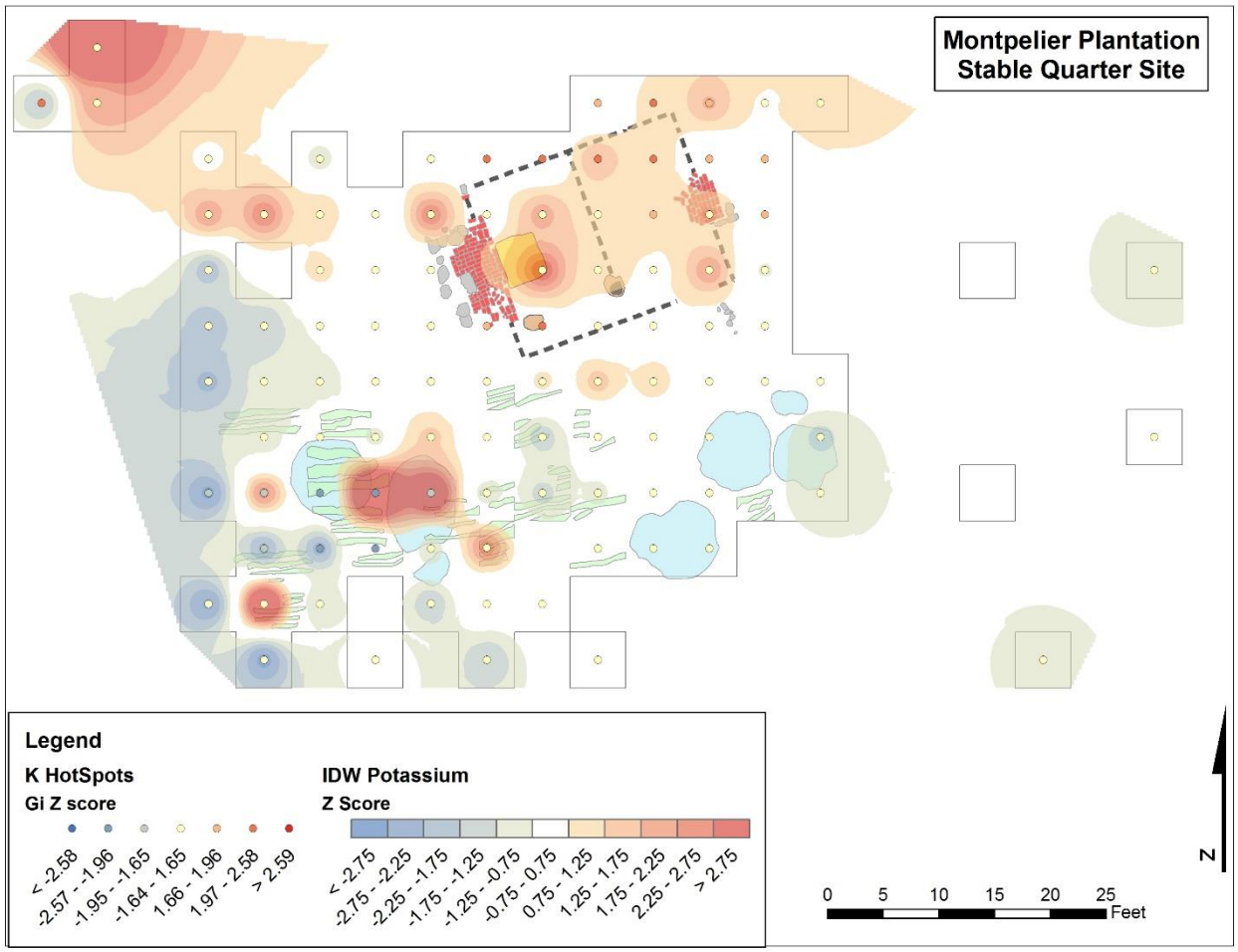


Figure 69: Soil K Distribution at the Stable Quarter.

(Figure 70). The links between Mn and animal dung, human waste, ash, and industrial activity, and the outlying areas of concentration, may suggest locations where animals were penned. Clusters of low values in front of the cabin and over the garden features suggest these areas were kept free of such general organic refuse and wastes. Small but concentrated amounts of eggshell (Figure 70) immediately north of the structure strengthen the interpretation of domestic birds being kept there.

The distribution of Mg at the Stable Quarter is perhaps the most unique, sharing low to negative correlations with other elements (Table A.17). Mg is strongly elevated in a broad area immediately in front of the cabin, with highly clustered low values to the west and north (Figure 71). The typical association of Mg with ash or bird and fish bone seems questionable, given the distinct contrast between the distributions of bone, K, and Mg. It is possible that the strong bimodal nature of the Mg distribution is a result of the concentrated accumulation of B, Ca, Cu, P, and Zn to the west of the cabin.

As noted in Chapter IV, the soil series present on the Stable Quarter, Bucks and Davidson, typically have strongly acidic natural pH levels and are formed from parent materials rich in Fe and Mg. The area west of the cabin has elevated pH levels, ranging from neutral to slightly alkaline conditions (Figure 72). Loss of available Mg can occur in soils that are depleted by farming or gardening, as well as by leaching, runoff, repeated application of calcareous fertilizer and competition with other plant nutrients (Chan et al. 1979; Myers et al. 1988). The distribution of Mg at the Stable Quarter may be more reflective of high Mg loss in the garden and areas west of the cabin, resulting in what appear to be very high concentrations of Mg that may actually be closer to the unmodified natural levels of Mg typically present. As noted in Chapter IV, several

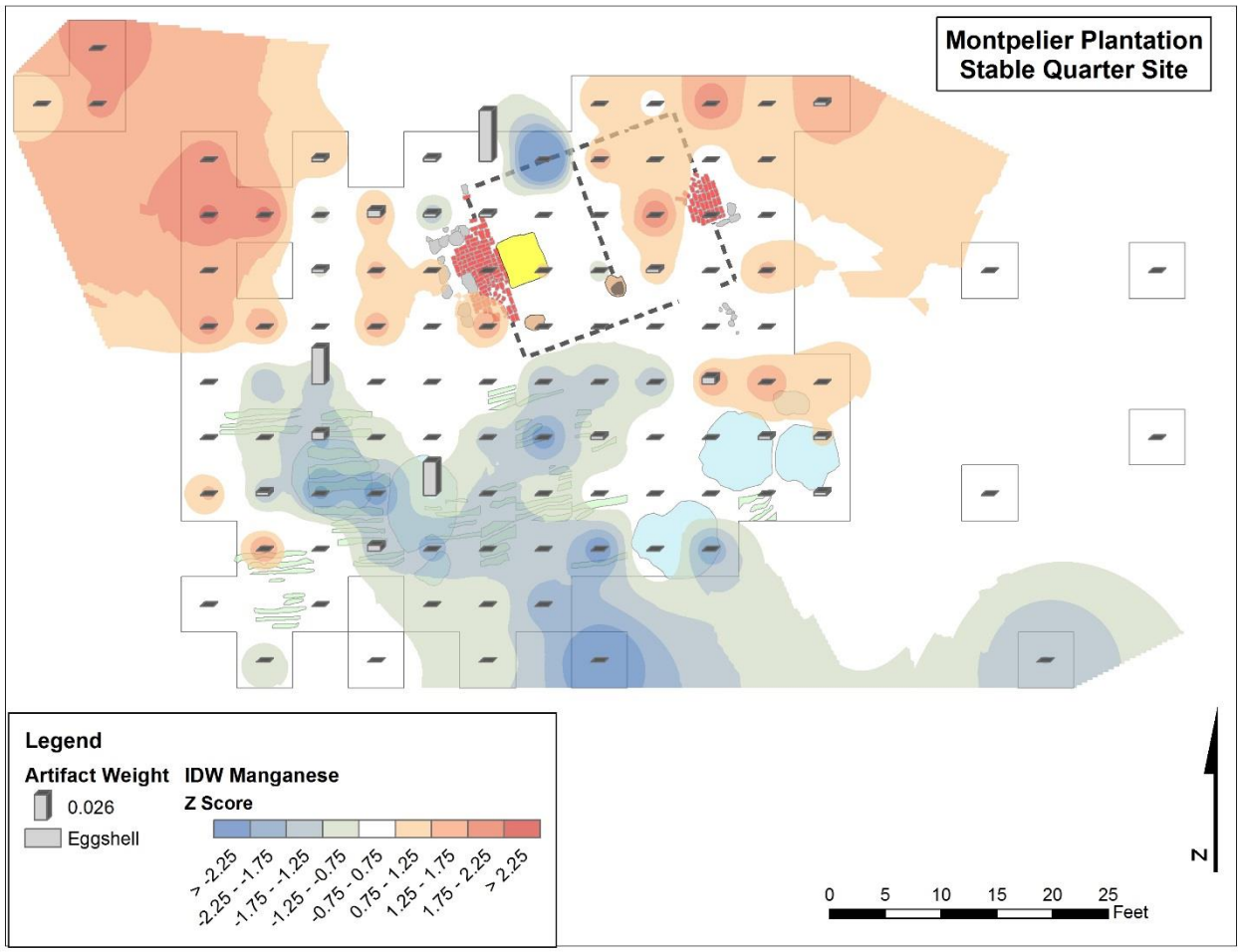


Figure 70: Soil Mn and Eggshell Weight Distributions at the Stable Quarter.

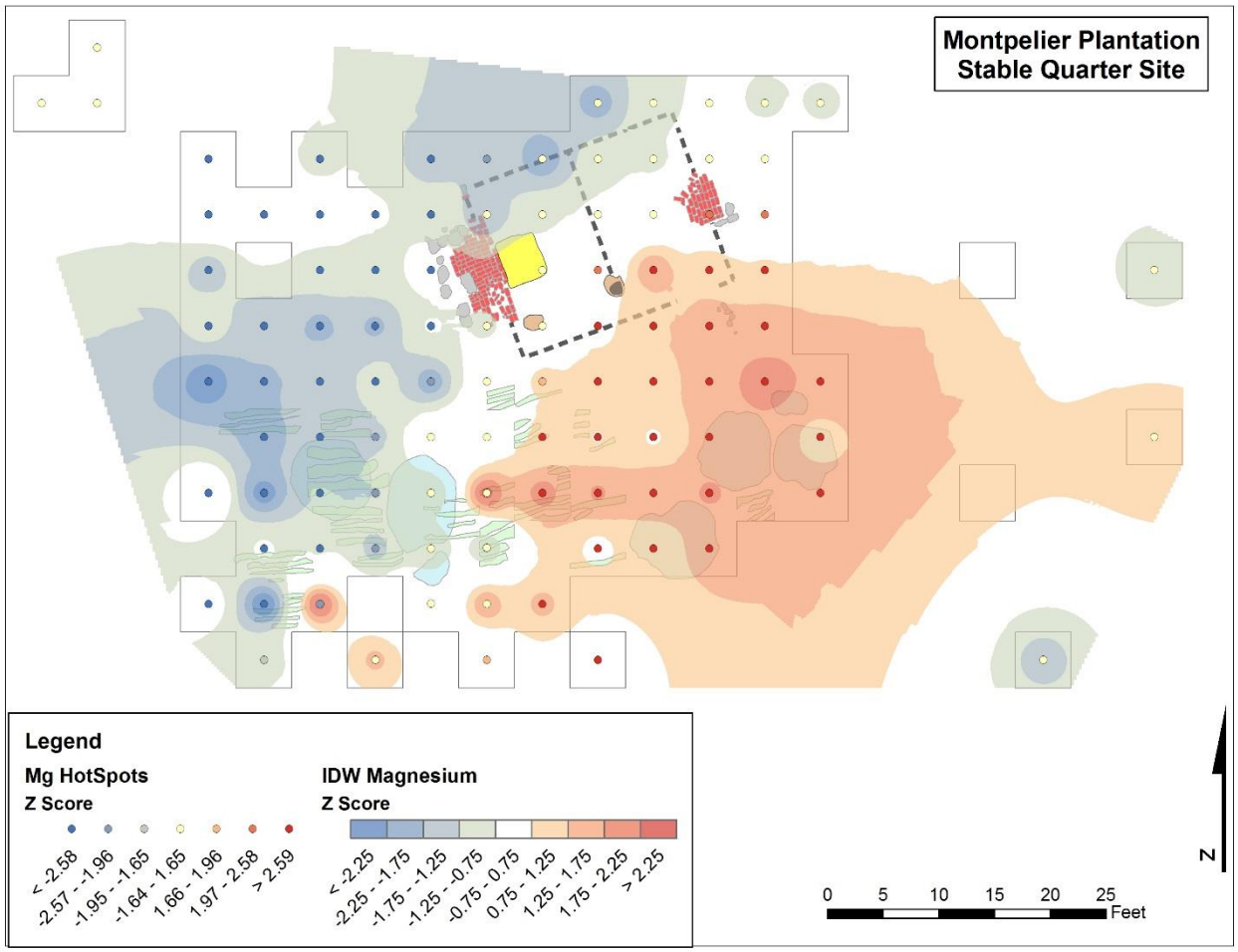


Figure 71: Soil Mg Distribution at the Stable Quarter.

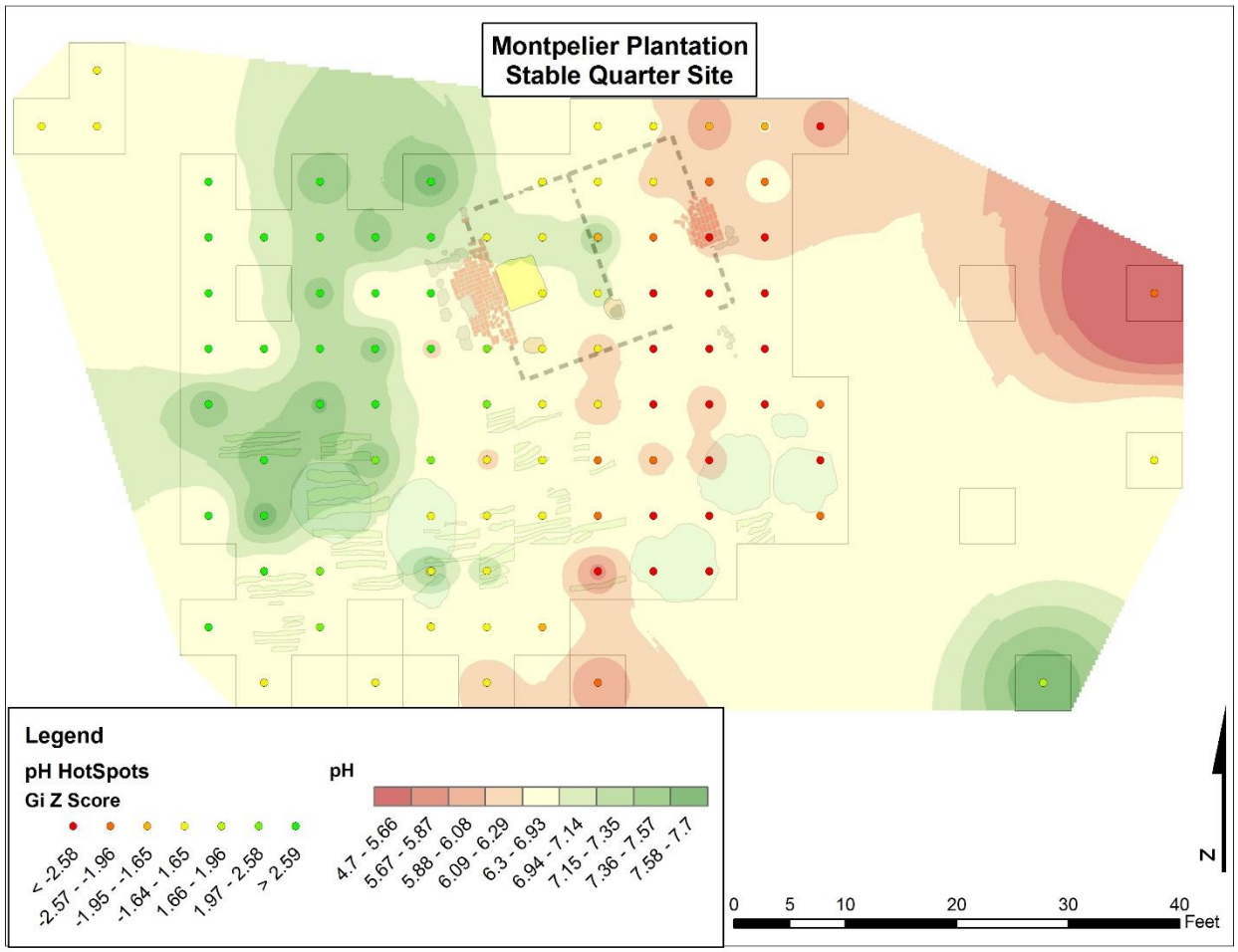


Figure 72: Soil pH Distribution at the Stable Quarter.

studies (Pogue 1988; Fischer 2001; Gall 2012) have noted the high mobility of Mg in soils and its interaction with other elements has made archaeological interpretation of the element problematic.

The distribution of Fe at the Stable Quarter is also rather distinct from other elements, with low values clustering west of the cabin and high values clustering south of the garden features and borrows pits (Figure 73). Sources of soil Fe from other studies include animal tissue, making its low values questionable in the area west of the structure possibly associated with food processing and preparation. Concentrations of iron tools found by Fleagle's (2013) analysis in the southwest portion of the site may also have raised Fe levels in the area. The oxidation state, or number of electrons in a specific ion, of Fe in soils is known to affect its mobility (Evangelou 1998), and the Fe-rich clayey soils of the Virginia piedmont may be affected by the deposition of alkaline elements in the area west of the cabin. Like Mg, the distribution of Fe at the Stable Quarter may be largely reflecting variations in the naturally high Fe content of the local soil series.

Previous studies by Montpelier staff have argued that the quarter housed an extended family group that had a relatively greater level autonomy to use the yard spaces as opposed to those that may have been more restricted by proximity to the owner's residence (Marshall 2011:100; Reeves and Greer 2012). The artifact, ASI, and soil chemistry distributions at the Stable Quarter included in this research agree with and expand on those observations, finding an active and rather organized use of outdoor space. Much of the daily household rubbish was deposited into the available borrow pits south of the structure, leaving a small front yard space relatively refuse free.

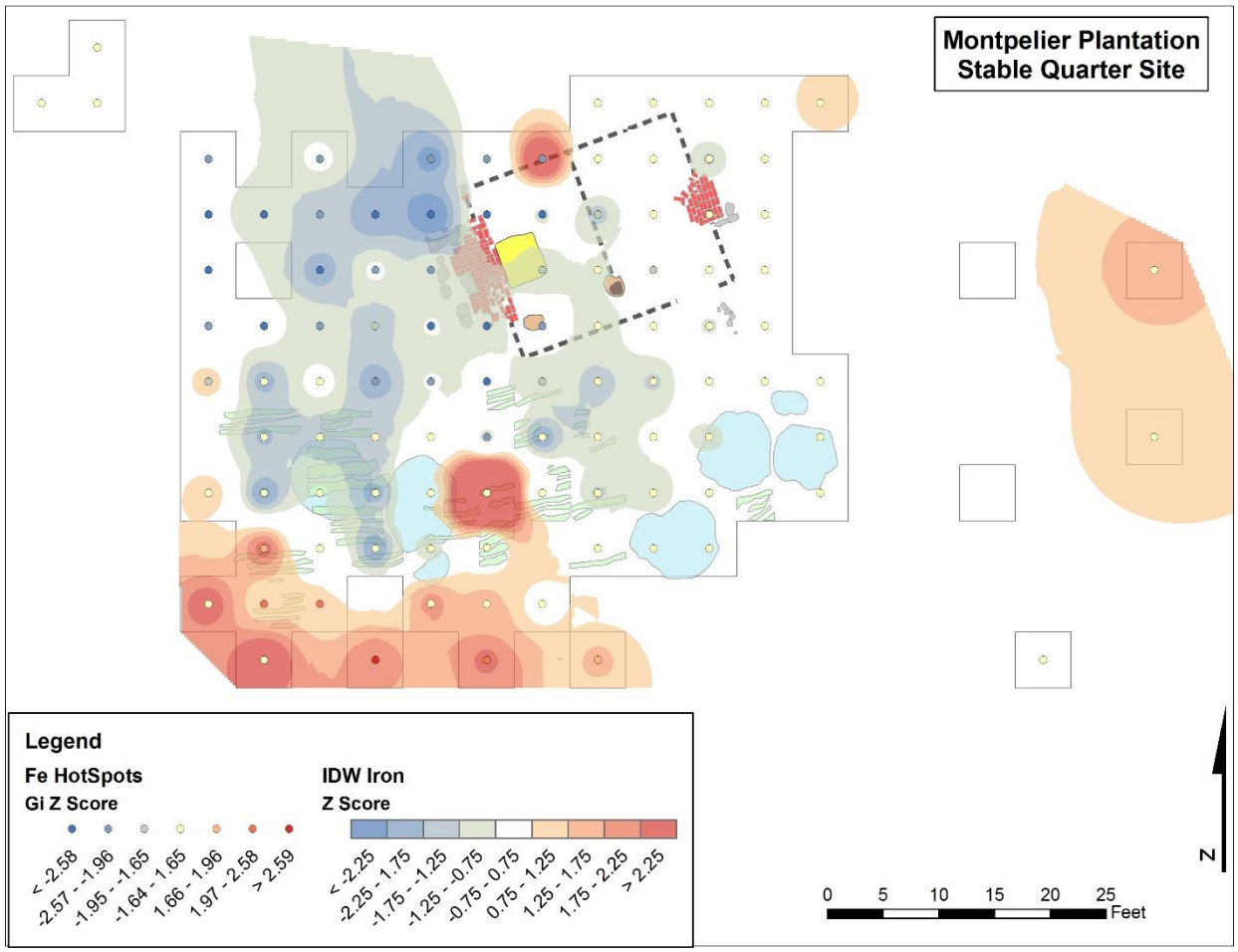


Figure 73: Soil Fe Distribution at the Stable Quarter.

Low artifact densities correlate with smaller fragment sizes, coupled with consistently low soil chemical values in the yard space, suggesting active preventative maintenance or even regular cleaning. The area of garden features does not appear to have been heavily fertilized, except possibly with charcoal and ash tipped from the cabin's hearths, which would have improved the soil's naturally low pH values. Immediately north of the garden area was a highly active and less clean work area that likely included tool repair and maintenance, laundering, animal butchery, and other food processing and preparation activities. In the far northeast and northwest corners of the excavated area, soil chemistry values suggest the possibility of small animal pens or spaces where foul or livestock may have been kept.

Site 17

Plantation Landscape

Site 17 at Monticello is located on a south-southeast facing slope about 0.75 miles southwest of the mansion house and approximately 400 ft. northwest of Meadow Branch. The organization of Monticello plantation includes numerous field divisions, and a series of connected roads designed by Thomas Jefferson that encircle the mountain that he termed "roundabouts," as part of an ever-evolving landscape at the plantation (Figure 74). The first roundabout circles the immediate mansion grounds and included Mulberry Row, a street of workshops and dwellings for skilled craftspeople and domestic servants. The shops were designed for plantation industries including carpentry, joinery, blacksmithing, nail making, and stone working. Other structures included a storehouse, smokehouse, stable, several slave quarters, and housing for

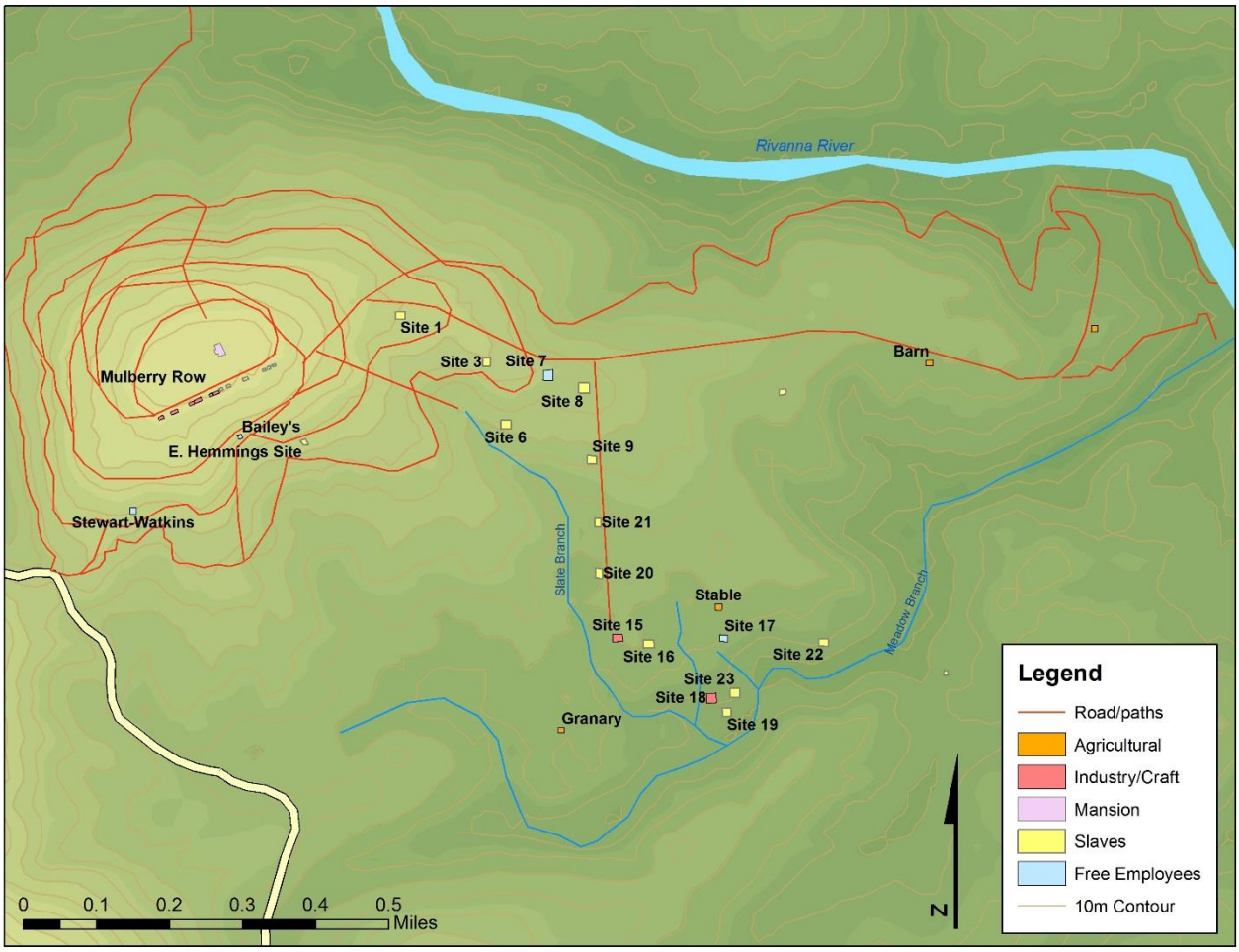


Figure 74: Setting of Site 17 at Monticello. Adapted from historic maps (UTDAP) and archaeological site locations from Thomas Jefferson Foundation (2016).

free workmen (Sanford 1999; Heath 1999b). The subsequent second, third, and fourth roundabouts expanded out and down the slopes of the mountaintop in roughly concentric ovals connecting the other structures of the home farm. The second roundabout included Robert Bailey's house, Jefferson's free white gardener in the late 1790s, the third included the free white blacksmith William Stewart's house along with the quarter of Elizabeth Hemmings, the enslaved matriarch of the Hemmings family and one of the principal domestic servants at Monticello (Neiman et al. 2000:7). The four roundabouts were linked by a series of diagonal paths including a main road running east through the plantation towards the Rivanna River. Another road leading south from the eastern edge of the mountaintop linked the fields and quarters located on the south slope of the mountain, including Site 17, to the plantation core (Figure 74).

Site 17 is located south of a relatively broad spur of arable land known as Bell Field, east of the southern road. Site 17 lies among a dispersed group of sites including nail-making shops, a stable, and several slave quarters, sitting approximately 300 ft. north of three archaeologically identified sites: 18, 19, and 23. Site 18 is likely the site of a nailery with sites 19 and 23 representing slave quarters, likely for those who worked in the nailery. Edmund Bacon was known to have overseen nail production and the enslaved individuals associated with it, and it is likely that among Bacon's many other responsibilities was the direct oversight of the nailery and quarters of those sites (Martin 1994:liv; Bell 2013). To the northwest, Sites 7 & 8 include an overseer's house and slave quarters dating to circa 1770 to 1805, prior to Edmund Bacon's tenure as overseer (Wheeler and Bon-Harper 2005; Galle 2006:146-147).

Quarter Space

As described in Chapter IV, no structural features were identified during the excavations at Site 17, making the distributions of artifact frequency, ASI, and soil chemistry a primary resource in establishing the location and function of possible structures. The excavation team identified three areas of highest architectural artifact concentrations in test units 5, 17, and 18, an area suspected to be the general location of the main dwelling (Figure 15). Two other less intense areas of concentrations included possible outbuildings, one approximately 45 ft. north of the main dwelling in the vicinity of test units 10, 11, and 32; and the second approximately 85 ft. northwest of the main dwelling near test unit 38 (W&LU AP 2011:28-31).

Suggestions of differential function among the three suspected structure locations are present both in the composition of architectural debris, discussed in the following section, and in the artifacts related to domestic refuse and activities on site. The western structure is suspected to have been a service outbuilding, possibly a dairy or food preparation or storage-related structure. The function of the northern structure is less clear, and the main dwelling is the most likely candidate for Edmund Bacon's residence (W&LU AP 2011:28-31). The organization of the site therefore appears to include Bacon's house somewhere in the vicinity of test units 5, 17, and 18, with two outbuildings upslope of the dwelling including a service or storage structure to the northwest and an unknown structure to the north. Given that there is no evidence for a deeply set foundation or basement into the side of the slope, it seems unlikely that the main house faced south. It is more likely that stone or masonry foundations were used to raise the southern end of the structure level with the northern side, suggesting the

possibility that the structure faced north towards the outbuildings. Other structures at Monticello built on slopes were arranged in similar fashion, as is discussed below.

Without specific features related the structures, and with the possibility of artifact and soil chemical movement downslope at the plowed hillside site, interpretations of uses of space at Site 17 are the most challenging. While the results of the preceding sites in this study have generally proceeded from artifact to soil chemical distributions; starting with a discussion of the soil chemical analysis at Site 17 may prove useful in assessing the site formation processes.

Soil chemistry at the site has included two rounds of sampling and an experimental trial of pXRF for measuring elemental concentrations (W&LU AP 2011:34-38). Those trials, particularly the second by Payton and Thompson (2011), showed concentrations of P and K corresponding with the highest artifact concentrations around test units 5, 17, and 18, and the elements generally correlated well between pXRF and ICP methodologies among subsoil samples. While I have employed pXRF at the Oval site and Wingo's Quarter, at Site 17 a larger set of comparative data was generated by ICP for both plowzone and subsoil samples. I will focus on that resulting suite of 12 elements measured by ICP for the distributions discussed below.

The distributions of 11 out of the 12 elements are generally strongly and significantly correlated between plowzone and subsoil sediments taken at each sample location (Table A.18). These correlations suggest similar distributions for most elements between the strata, and some, such as Mg, appear to be nearly identical. Given the potential for downslope movement of plowzone sediments and artifacts at Site 17, spatial comparison of these similar distributions proved to be very informative. B

distributions between the plowzone and subsoil are not significantly correlated, and given the less-studied nature of that element in general, it is not included in the following discussion.

When mapped together, plowzone P distributions at Site 17 share areas of high concentration with the high total artifact counts around test units 5, 17, and 18 (Figure 75). This area is similar, but not identical, to the area of highest subsoil P concentration, centered approximately 20 ft. north of the combined plowzone P and artifact concentrations. The Getis-Ord G Hotspots that identify statistically significant clusters of high and low values support this trend. A cluster of high values for subsoil P extends south only to test unit 5, whereas the cluster for plowzone P readings extends farther south to test unit 18. As subsoil sediments, and any anthropogenically added elements bonded to them, would be less susceptible to downslope erosion and movement as compared to the plowzone, this comparison suggests that the artifact and soil chemical readings from the plowzone contexts of Site 17 may be approximately 10 to 20 ft. south of their original deposition locations. Comparison of other elements, including Ca, bear out the same pattern between plowzone and subsoil distribution, with plowzone concentrations appearing approximately 10 ft. to 20 ft. south of subsoil concentrations.

Architectural debris such as nails, masonry, and stone tends to be larger and denser than other artifact types. That fact, combined with the studied size effects of plowing discussed in Chapter IV, where larger fragments are most susceptible to the greatest degrees of translocation, suggests that the locations of suspected structures at Site 17 are likely about 15 ft. north of the areas indicated by plowzone artifact distributions. Other artifact types have also likely moved south at Site 17, though

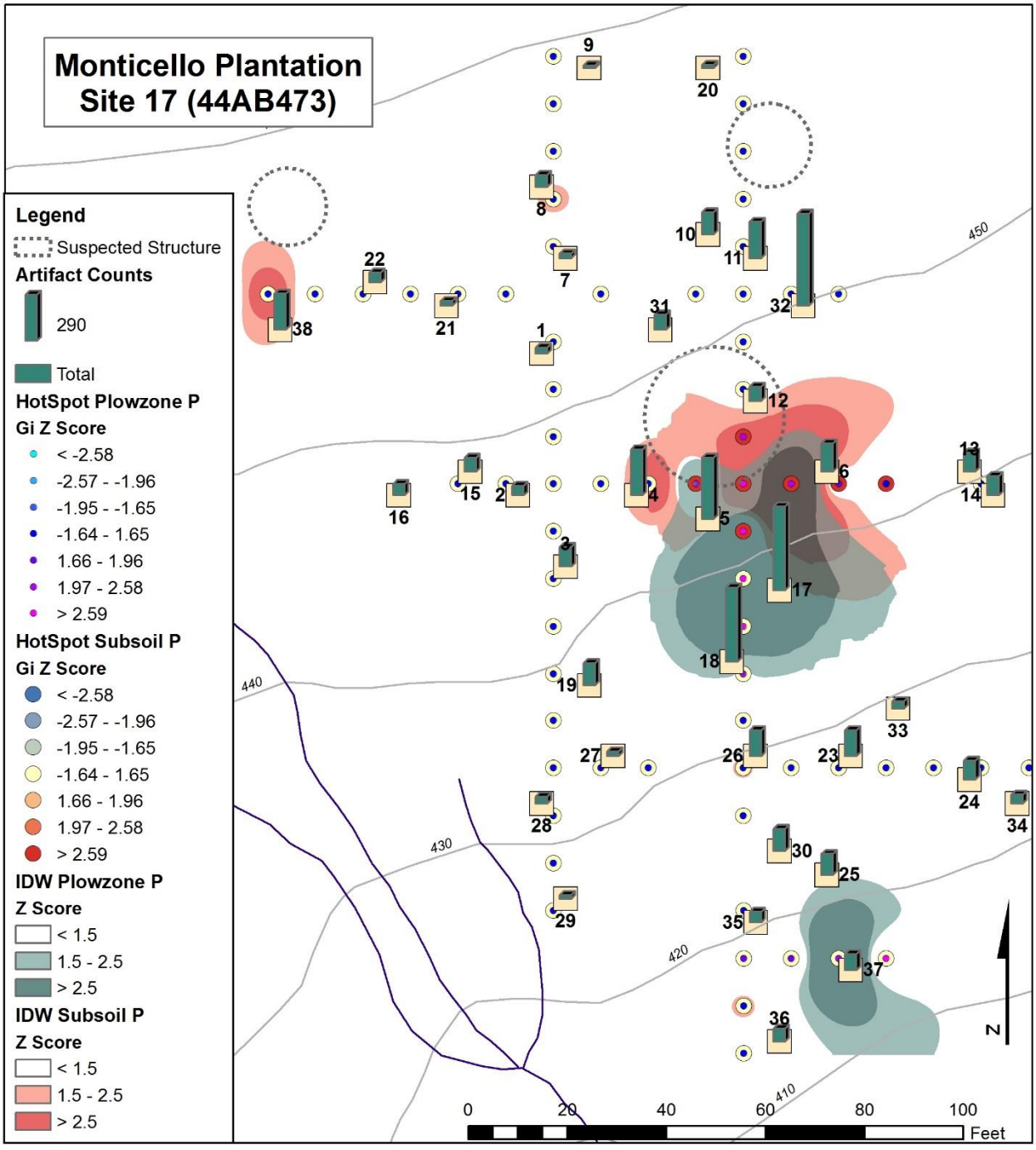


Figure 75: Distributions of Plowzone Soil P (green) vs. Subsoil Soil P (red) and Total Artifacts at Site 17. Plan Shows Areas of Suspected Structures Adjusted Approximately 15 ft. North.

perhaps to lesser extents. Given these findings and inferences, I suggest that the main dwelling of Edmund Bacon was likely somewhere between test units 5 and 12, perhaps as far north as test unit 31. The western outbuilding may have been about 20 ft. north of test unit 38, and the northern outbuilding located roughly halfway between test units 10 and 20 (Figure 75). These inferences will complicate, but hopefully add understanding, to the reading of artifact, ASI, and soil chemistry distributions at Site 17. When considering subsoil chemical readings, they may be more likely to represent the approximate locations of deposition, though artifact frequencies may need to be mentally transposed up to about 15 ft. north. ASI values are the most complicated, given the size effects of plowing, with ASI values indicating larger fragments likely subject to more southern downhill movement than concentrations of high ASI values indicating smaller fragments.

Bearing those caveats in mind, the distribution of artifacts types and ASI at Site 17 share several strong correlations, including among ceramics, glass, and the larger combination of types analyzed together as a domestic artifact grouping, which also includes small finds (Tables A.19 and A.20). The strong correlations between architectural artifacts, including nails, brick, and window glass, and domestic refuse artifacts including ceramics and glass offer initial support to the idea the architectural debris may have been recovered farther downslope from the original locations of the structure. That architectural material was then mixed with the contents of refuse middens originally located outside the structures, which likely also moved downhill, but to lesser extents. Small finds artifacts and architectural stone are less related to other classes and may represent the groups of artifacts that moved the least and most,

respectively. ASI values were calculated by average sizes within each class (Table 29), and are generally less inter-correlated than count frequencies. Their lesser degree of correlation is likely the result of differential movement between size classes (Table A.20).

Ceramic artifacts show the highest concentration immediately south of the main structure, with moderate to small ASI values suggesting the presence of a house-side midden in the general area of test units 5 and 17 (Figure 76). The more moderate densities of domestic artifacts trailing towards the south may be further evidence of downslope movement of materials from the midden, with the larger fragment sizes in test units 24, 25, 23, and 28 being more prone to such effects. Other moderate densities of ceramic artifacts, greater than other units in their immediate vicinities, correspond to areas 10 ft. to 20 ft. south of the two suspected outbuildings. To the southwest of the area suspected as the main dwelling, an area of lower ceramic frequencies combines with ASI values indicating smaller sherd sizes. As noted by the excavators of Site 17, this low frequency may be an indication of cleaner yard space associated with the main dwelling (W&LU AP 2010:32). Larger ceramic sherd sizes are indicated immediately northwest of the suspected dwelling, and farther west of the possible yard near test unit 16. Though these areas have relatively low ceramic artifact frequencies, they may

Table 29: Artifact Group Sizes and Counts used for ASI calculations at Site 17.

Artifact Class	Average Size (mm)	No. Total	No. Small (<Average)	Proportion Small	Units Represented
Total Historic	32.72	1,907	1,163	0.609	38
Ceramics	20.41	850	594	0.698	36
Bottle/Vessel Glass	23.49	371	214	0.576	36
Small Finds	34.70	32	19	0.593	18
Nails	53.88	642	309	0.481	38
Domestic Group	21.68	1,253	824	0.657	38

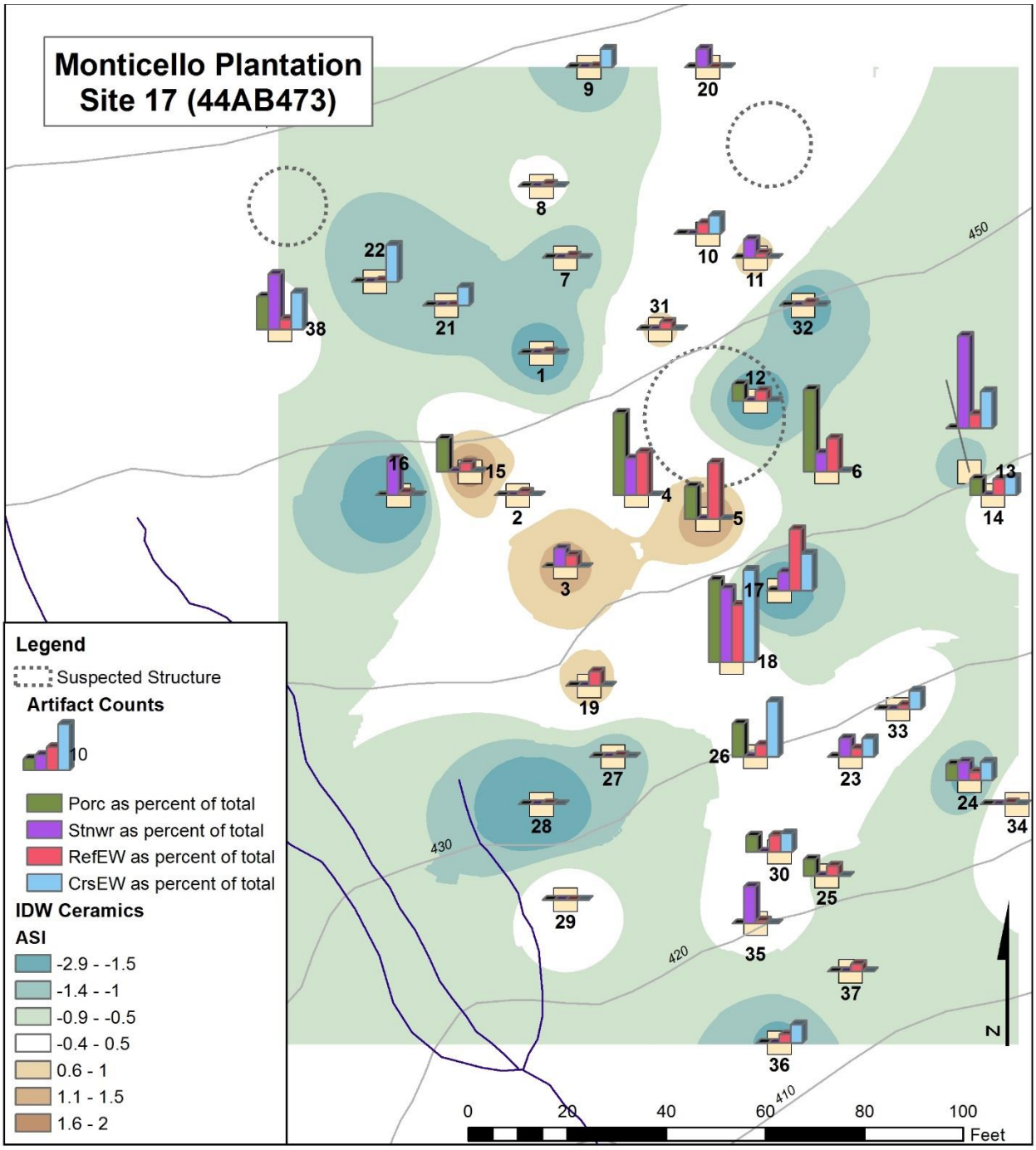


Figure 76: Ceramic Distributions and ASI at Site 17.

represent the edge of a yard space where larger fragments accumulated through preventative maintenance. Another possibility is that the area of smaller sherds, which includes both higher densities in test unit 5 and lower frequencies in test units 3, 2, and 15 immediately southwest of the main dwelling, were the result of trampling (W&LU AP 2010:32).

Examining the ceramic types represented in Figure 76, porcelain is clearly most abundant in the probable midden associated with the main dwelling, as is refined earthenware, which together represent the finer table and tea service vessels used in dining. Stoneware and coarse earthenware types are also represented in the midden associated with the main dwelling, but make up larger proportions of the ceramic assemblage east of the main dwelling in test units 13 and 14, as well as south of two suspected outbuildings, near test unit 38, and to the north in test units 10 and 11. This distribution suggests that the function of the outbuildings may have been related to food storage or preparation, as noted in preliminary analysis in W&LU AP (2010:29-30). Such a structure could also have housed slaves and still functioned as a kitchen.

Bottle and table glass also show high frequencies south of the suspected main dwelling, and lower frequencies to the southwest (Figure 77). Table glass, including stemware and tumblers, is restricted to the area south of main dwelling, whereas other moderate concentrations of bottle glass are found south of the two outbuildings, reinforcing the food preparation or storage function of those possible structures. ASI values indicate smaller fragments of bottle glass south of the western outbuilding, and again southwest of the main dwelling, with interspersed areas of larger fragments. Autocorrelation statistics support this visual interpretation, showing less significant

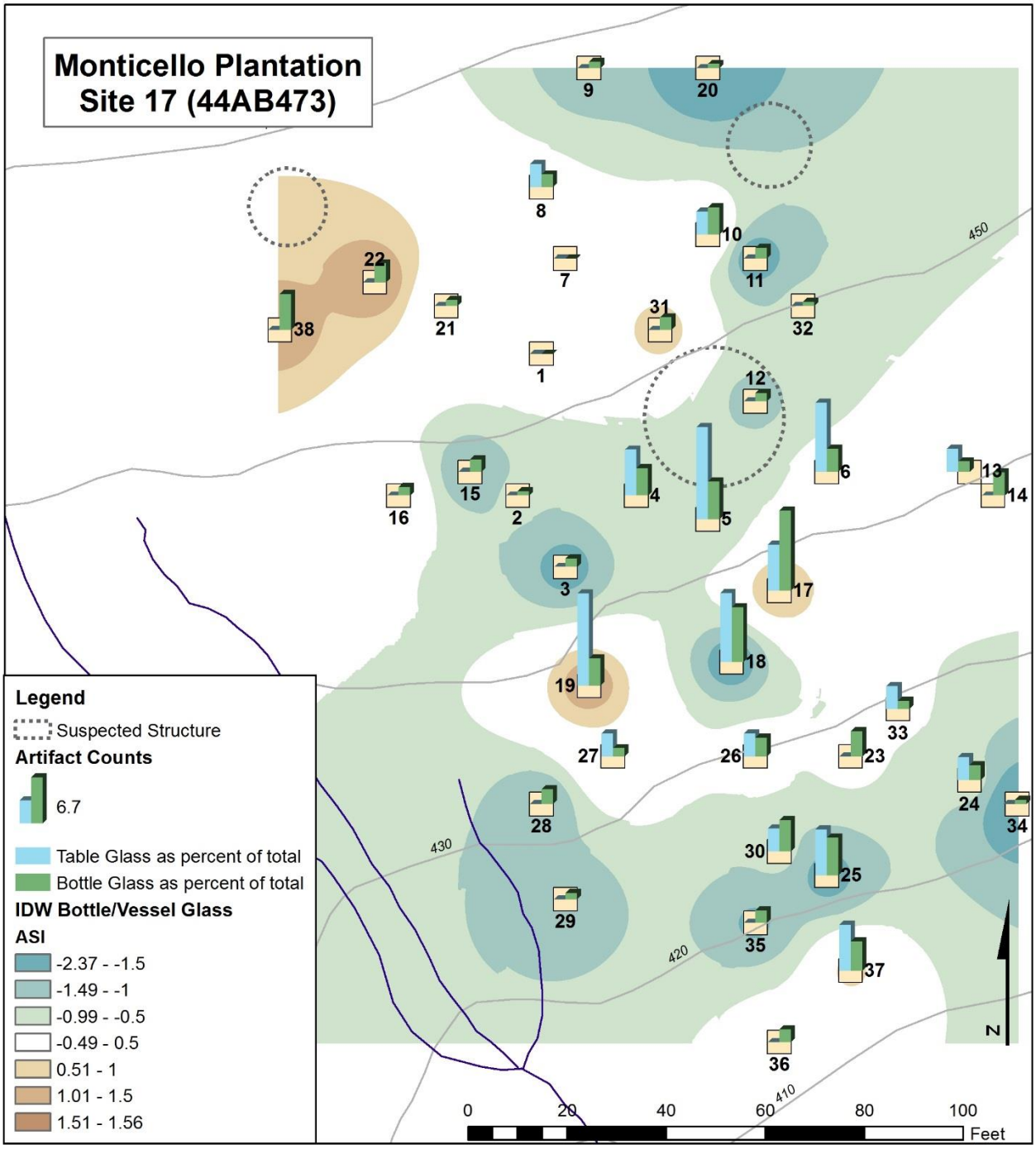


Figure 77; Bottle and Table Glass Distributions and ASI at Site 17.

clustering for ASI values, including ceramic and glass ASI, than for the corresponding artifact counts (Table A.21). ASI values for ceramic and glass are not correlated (Table A.20) and do not align visually, challenging the interpretation of a cleaner yard space southwest or west of the main dwelling structure. However, the average size of all glass fragments at Site 17 was 23.5 millimeters compared to 20.4 millimeters for ceramic sherds, and the larger glass fragments could have been transported farther south than most ceramics after their deposition due to the size effects of plowing.

Small finds artifacts included clothing and sewing-related objects, lead shot, household hardware, tools and utensils, a marble, and five fragments of writing slate. The distribution of these items (Figure 78) centers near the main dwelling. Another small concentration, mainly of tools, hardware, and arms-related artifacts, exists near the northern outbuilding, suggesting that this structure was more likely related to storage than a domestic occupation. Small finds ASI values align well with the ceramic ASI, indicating smaller and fewer objects southwest of the main dwelling, with larger artifacts arrayed to the south and east of the dwelling. Artifact richness at Site 17 indicated the largest number of artifact types clustered between test units 16 and 17, reinforcing the interpretation of a midden south of the main dwelling (Figure 79).

Soil chemical distributions from subsoil samples at Site 17 are highly correlated between elements and show significant clustering (Tables A.21 and A.22). The strongest correlations exist amongst two principal groups: Ca, P, and Sr; and Mg, K, Zn, Fe, and Al. Mn and Al are also strongly related. The distribution of subsoil Fe, Mg (Figure 80) and K at Site 17 are nearly identical and all have intensely clustered areas of elevated concentration at the extreme southern end of the site near test units 35 and

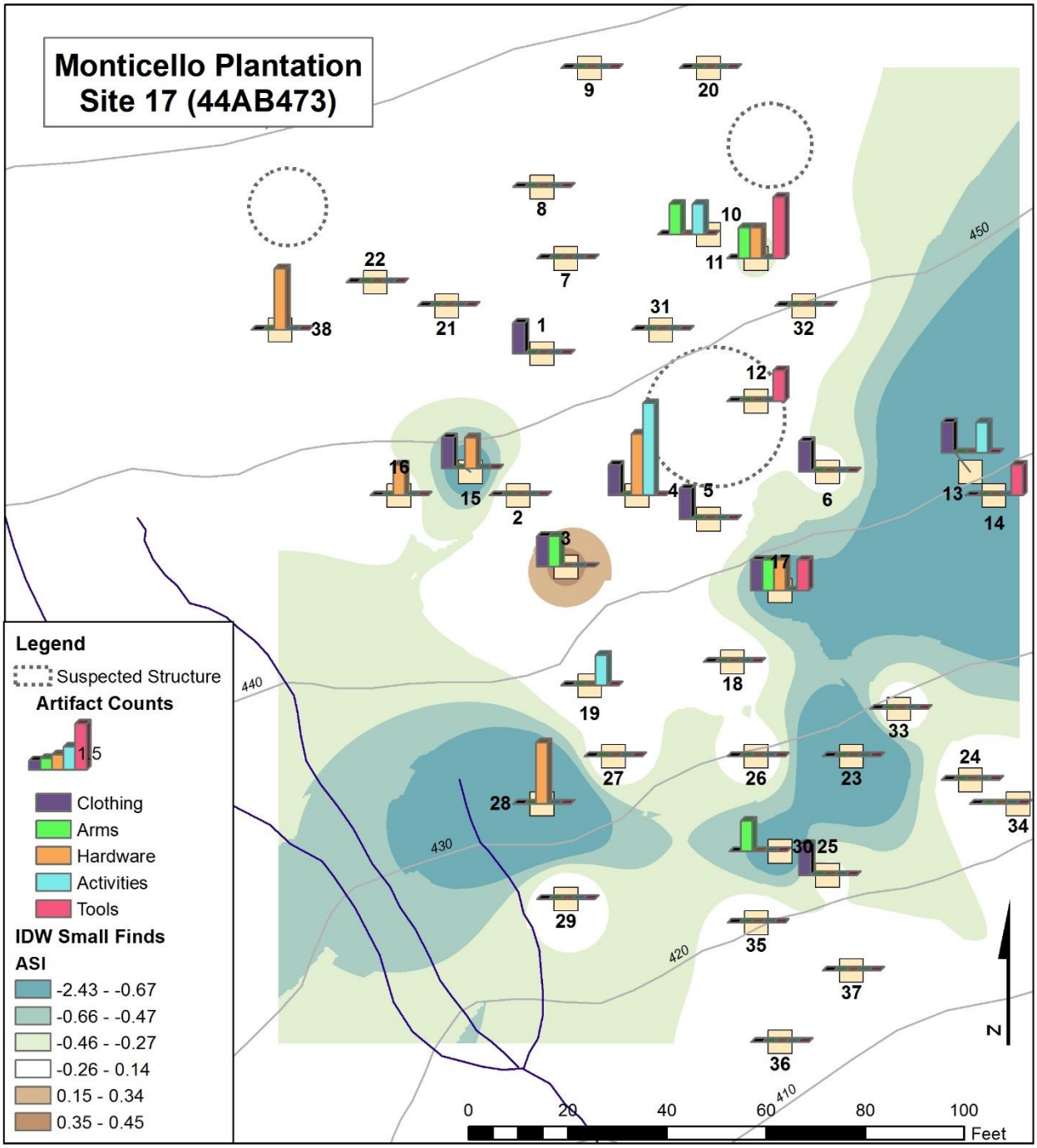


Figure 78: Small Finds Distributions and ASI at Site 17.

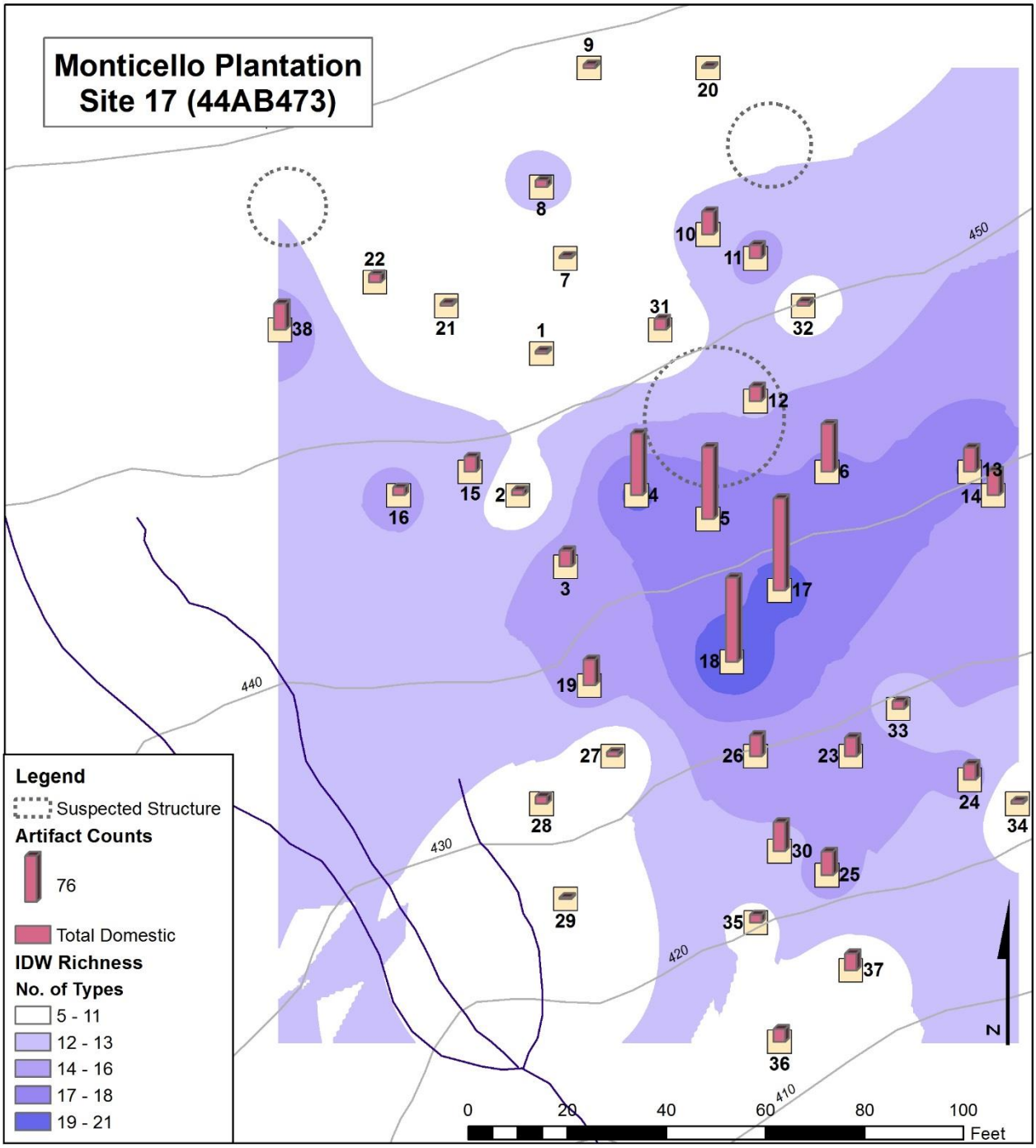


Figure 79: Artifact Richness and Total Domestic Artifact Distributions at Site 17.

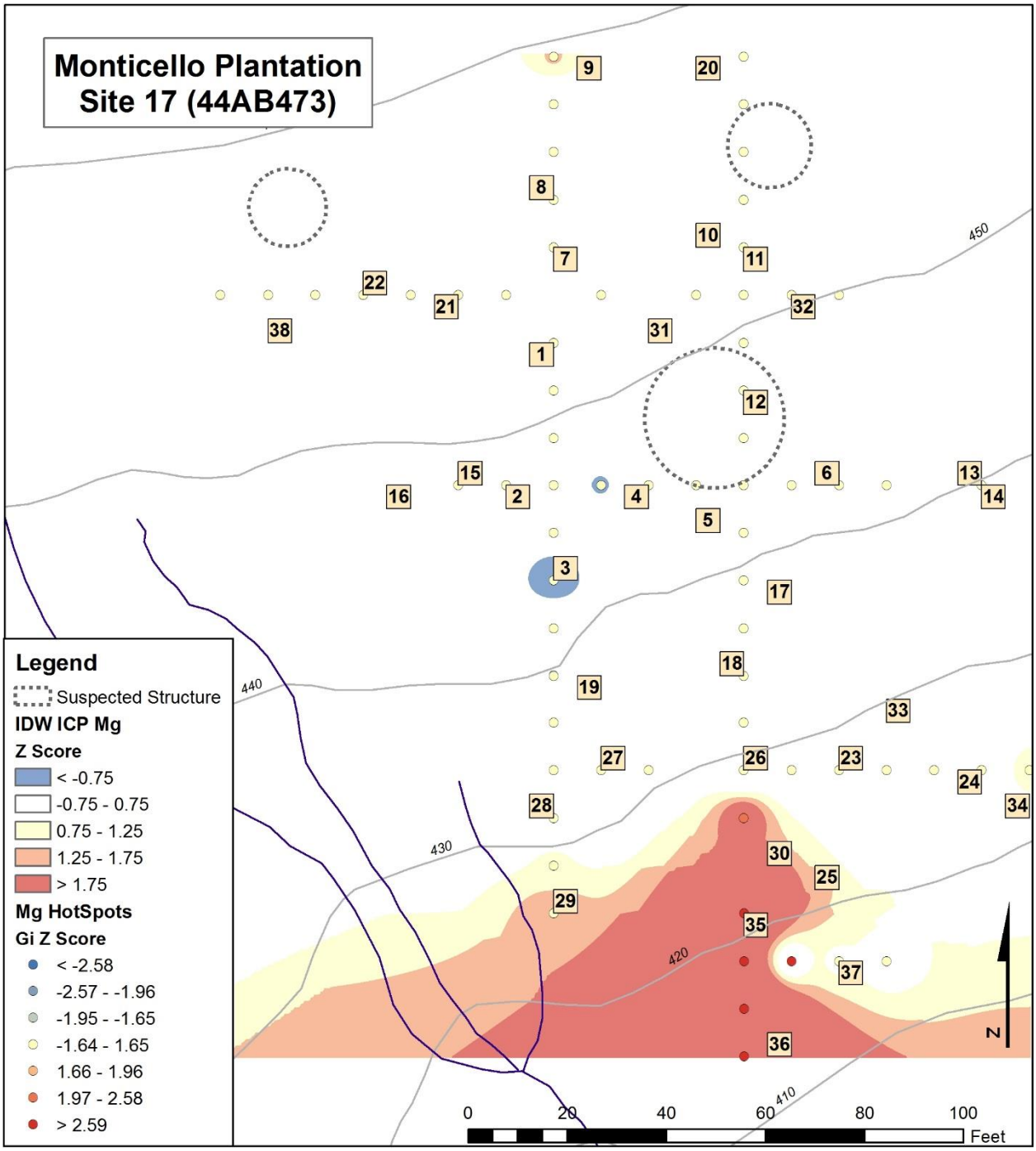


Figure 80: Subsoil Mg Distribution at Site 17.

36, suggesting that ash tipping may have principally taken place downhill from the main dwelling. Fe in this grouping could be from charcoal, or the inclusion of other refuse including animal tissue deposited at a farther distance from the house.

While subsoil distributions of Mg, K, Fe, and Zn are similar, the distribution of K in the plowzone includes smaller areas of slightly less intense concentration immediately south of the main dwelling and again south of the suspected western outbuilding (Figure 81), which may also be related to ash deposition. The data suggest that the western outbuilding may have had a role in food preparation, perhaps serving as a kitchen. A similar distinction is seen in the plowzone distributions of Fe, which may be indicative of charcoal among the wood ash as indicated by the K concentrations. Zn, likely indicating plant and animal tissue and ash, is similarly distributed, also associating the western outbuilding with animal tissue and/or ash producing activities that likely included food preparation.

Al distribution at Site 17 is somewhat distinct, though like K, Mg, Fe, and Zn, concentrations exist near the main dwelling and at the extreme southern end of the site (Figure 82). A third area of concentration is seen between the two suspected outbuildings, near test unit 8. The source of Al concentration at archaeological sites is typically associated with animal tissue or dung (Gall 2012, 2016). Mn shares a strong correlation and nearly identical distribution to Al at Site 17, and its associate with animal dung suggests this area may have been used to keep livestock.

Cu distribution at Site 17 is primarily concentrated near the main dwelling, and its associations with animal dung and tissue is the least likely interpretation (Figure 83). Other associations of Cu include burned materials, metal-working, and pigments.

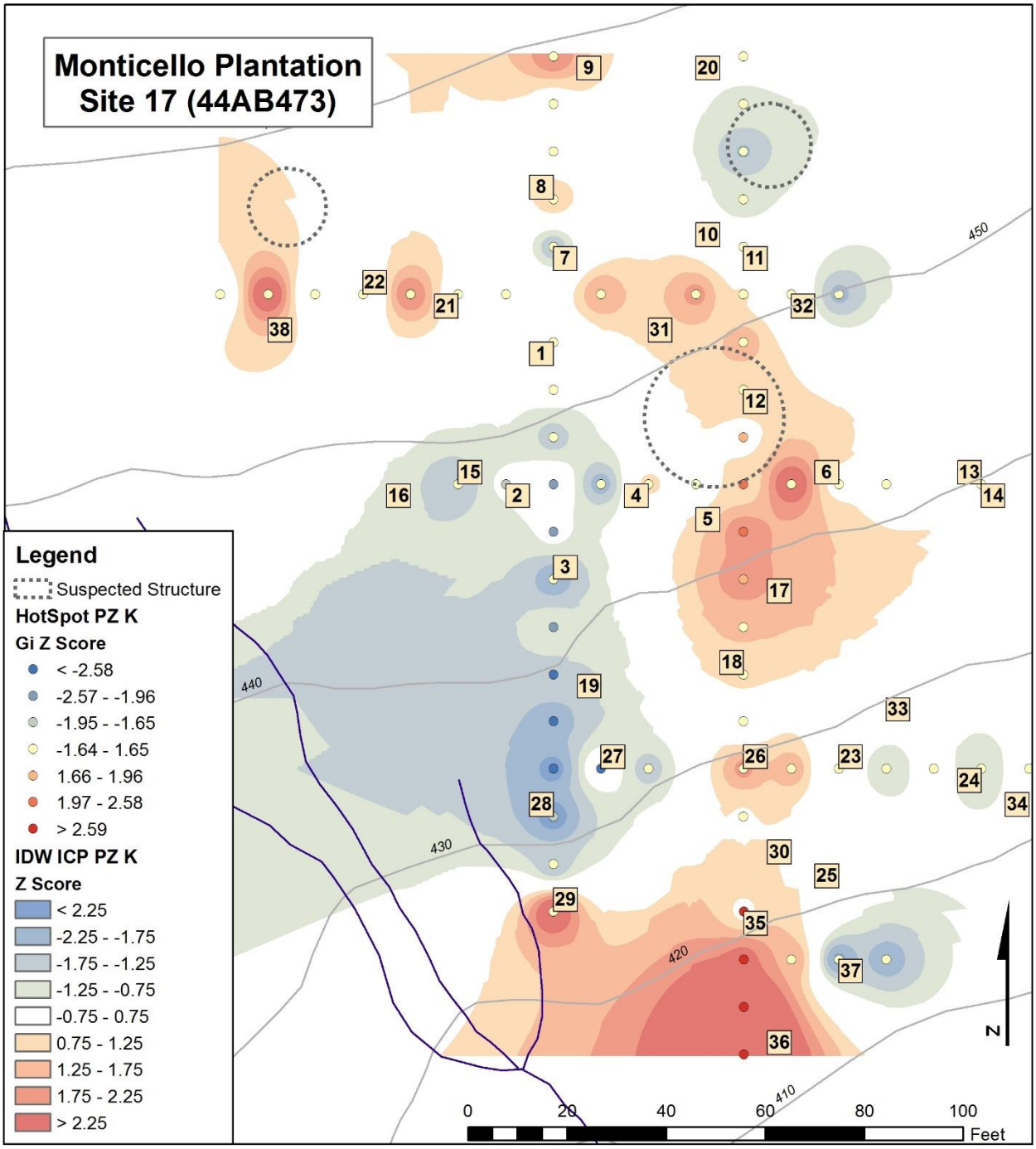


Figure 81: Plowzone K Distribution at Site 17.

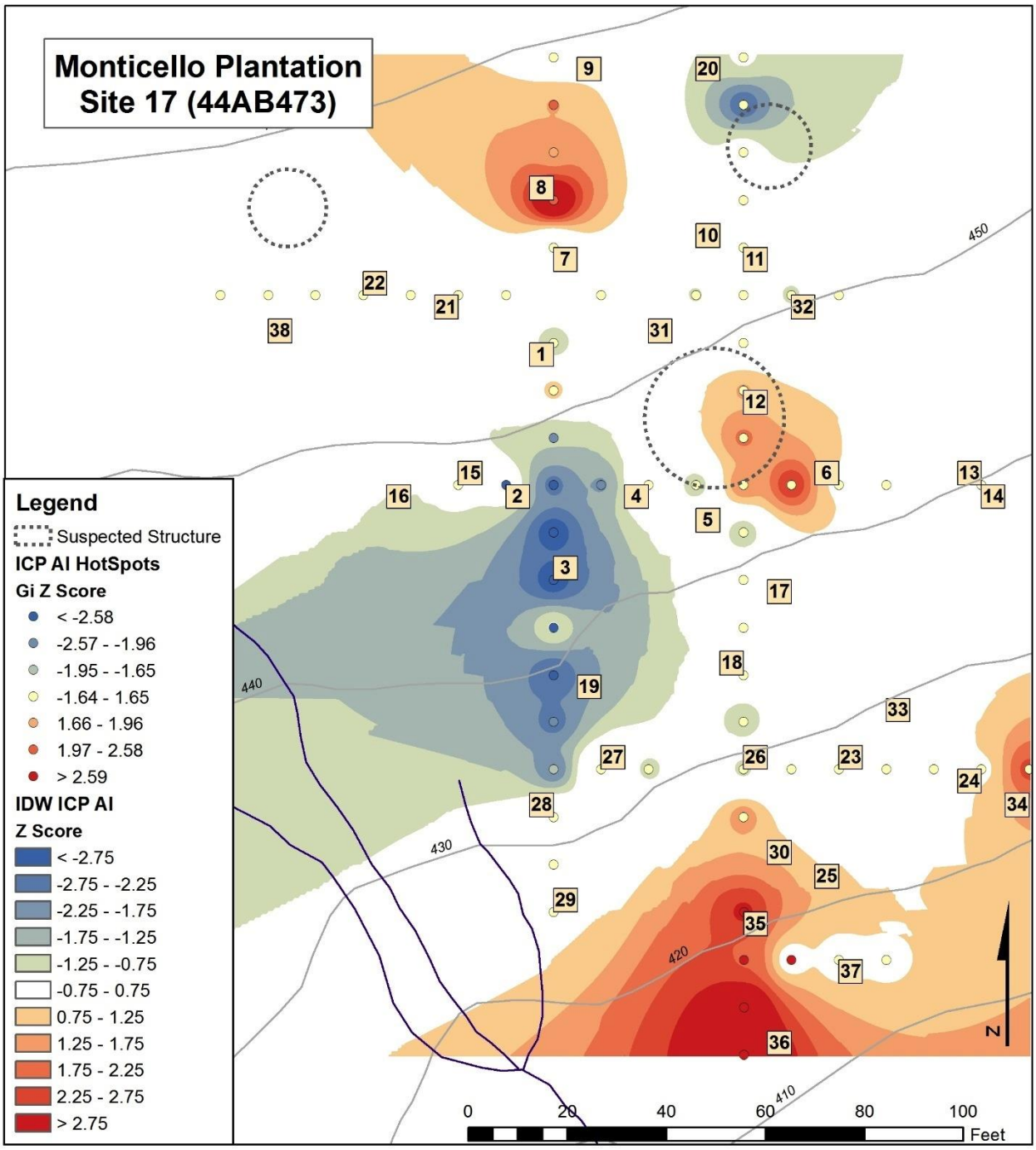


Figure 82: Subsoil Al Distribution at Site 17.

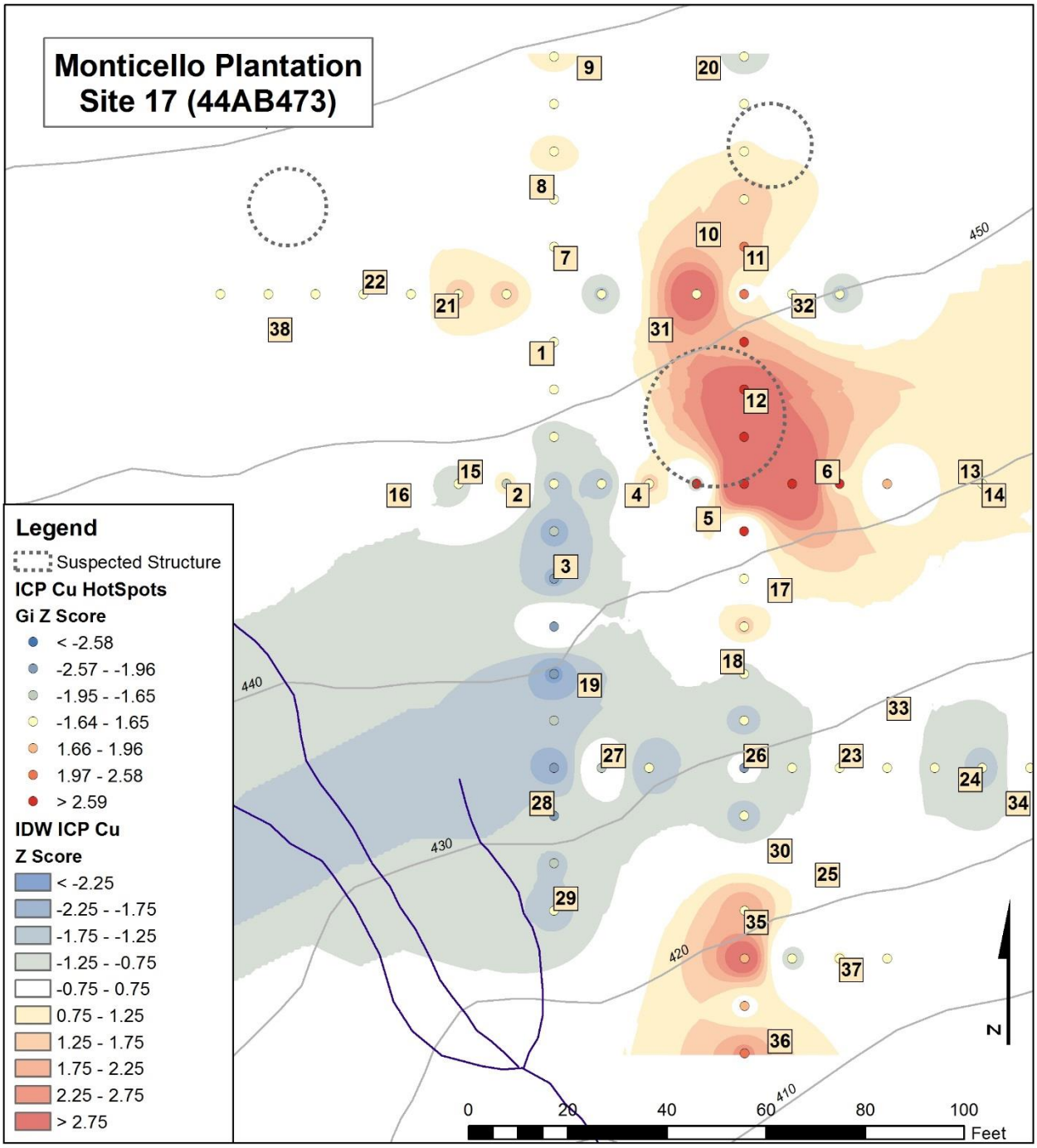


Figure 83: Subsoil Cu Distribution at Site 17.

Among the artifacts examined by the excavators, burned artifacts cluster significantly at the location of the main dwelling (W&LU 2010:33), and seem the most likely source of the Cu concentrations.

The distribution of subsoil P at Site 17 is limited to a primary concentration immediately around, south, and east of the main dwelling area (Figure 75) and likely corresponds to an artifact concentration slightly farther south. As discussed above, those artifacts, like the plowzone P concentration, appear to have crept downslope due to the combined effects of plowing and erosion, though the subsoil P concentration is more likely to reflect the original location of the house-side midden. A smaller isolated area of P concentration is also present south of the western outbuilding, near test unit 38, again linking that structure with the production of organic refuse.

Ca distribution at Site 17 is concentrated in the same vicinity as P, but is more widespread, including the main dwelling area and much of the area surrounding it with a smaller concentration to the south (Figure 84). The association of Ca with bone, shell, and architectural material likely means that at Site 17, much of the masonry debris recovered farther south was first deposited in the area between test units 12 and 5 when the main dwelling was demolished. The distribution of Sr, also a component of both ash and shell, likely originates from the architectural debris and the burning of the structure. The distribution of Sr is strongly correlated to Ca (Table A.22).

In summary, by adjusting the locations of the suspected structures 10ft. to 20 ft. north due to downslope movement of plowzone artifacts, a more accurate albeit preliminary picture of the outdoor space at Site 17 emerges. A midden of domestic refuse existed just south and southwest of the main dwelling. Lower artifact frequencies

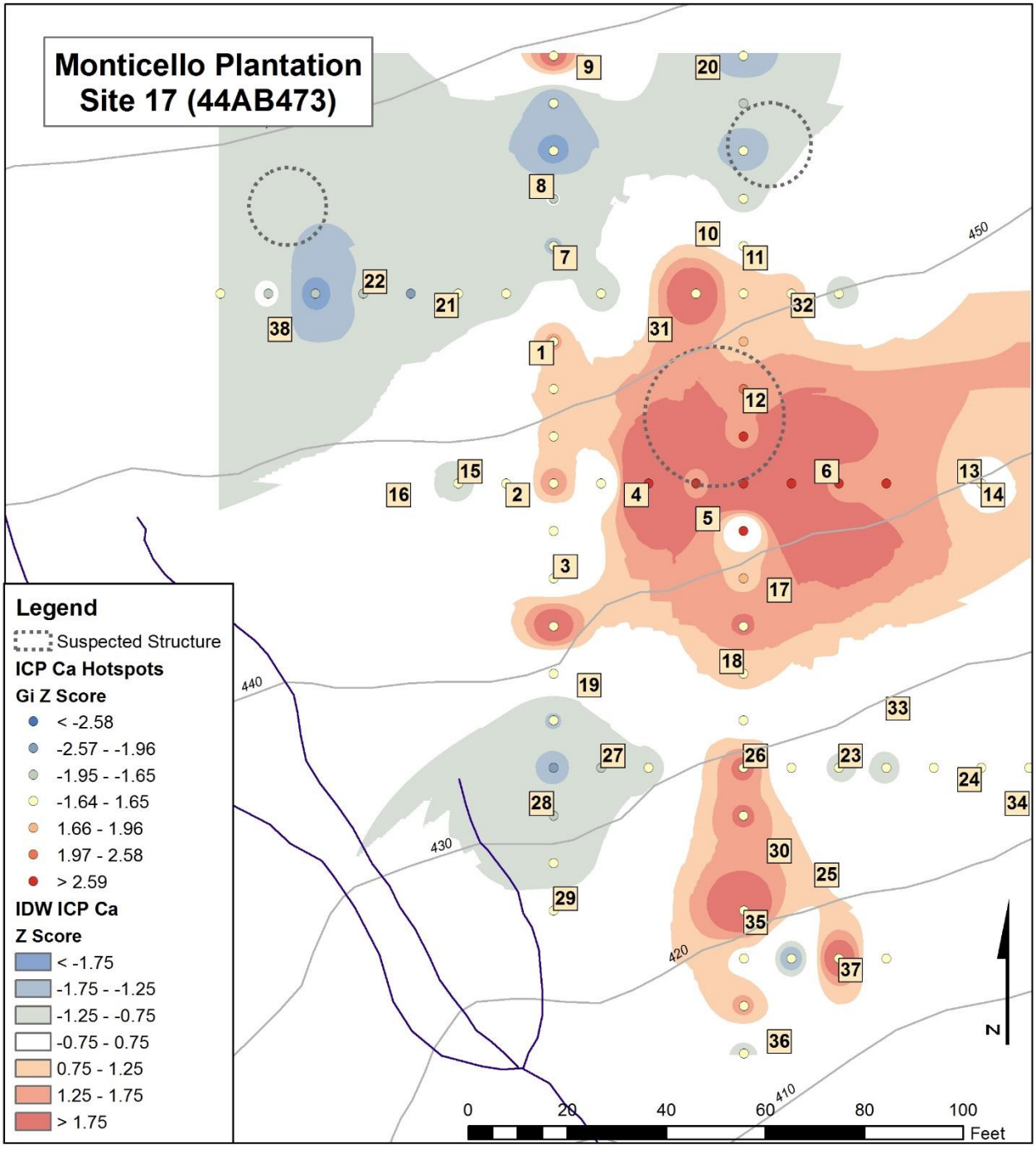


Figure 84: Subsoil Ca Distribution at Site 17.

and ASI values suggesting smaller ceramic sherds, and possibly small glass fragments (if adjusted farther north to account for downslope movement), were deposited farther southwest of the main dwelling structure. The low density and small size of these artifacts could represent a cleaner yard space, or at least one that was less actively used for refuse disposal. Lower glass ASI values indicating larger fragment sizes in the same area weaken the idea of a purposefully maintained yard, though glass may have been subject to greater degrees of downslope movement on Site 17 given the size effects of plowing.

Soil chemical concentrations support the idea of a cleaner space in the area southwest of the main dwelling, with moderate or low levels in the possible yard space. Ca and Sr have moderate to higher levels immediately around, and extending to the southwest of, the dwelling. However, these distributions are likely linked with the demolition of the structure. The cleaner area may have existed more as a path leading southwest towards the nearby drainages, or even leading farther south towards the nailery and slave quarters of sites 18, 19, and 23. Taken together, the case for purposefully cleaned or swept space at Site 17 is relatively weak compared to sites in this study such as the Accotink Quarter, Wingo's Quarter, and the Stable Quarter.

Soil chemistry indicates that an area of ash tipping and organic refuse disposal likely existed at the far southern end of the site. Utilitarian and food preparation-related artifacts and soil chemical signatures cluster near the western outbuilding, which may have served as a kitchen. The northern outbuilding, with its own slight concentrations of artifacts including those related to tools and hardware, but with no significant soil chemistry enrichments, may have been a storage structure. The area between the two

outbuildings is relatively clean, but has concentrations of Al and Mn suggesting the presence of livestock in the vicinity of test unit 8.

Architectural Space

As noted previously, no *in-situ* structural evidence of the buildings at Site 17 was identified during excavations. However, the excavators were able to assess some aspects of the structures from distributions of architectural artifacts (W&LU AP 2010 28-30). Fragments of quarried phyllite, a local stone used for architectural purposes elsewhere at Monticello, is most prevalent near the main dwelling and northern outbuilding locations, but not the western location of a suspected structure near test unit 38. A similar pattern exists for window glass, suggesting that the dwelling and northern outbuilding had glazed windows, and somehow featured stone in their construction, possibly in hearths or foundations used to level the structures on sloping ground. Brick fragments are concentrated near the main dwelling and northwestern outbuilding, but not near the northern outbuilding location (Figure 85). Given the inferred function of the northwest outbuilding as food storage or production-related structure, possibly a kitchen, brick in the area may relate to demolished hearths associated with it and with the main dwelling.

As mentioned earlier, some architectural detail is known of the housing for other free white employees at Monticello from excavations of the Stewart-Watkins site, which was likely somewhat similar to Edmund Bacon's dwelling at Site 17. The house at the Stewart-Watkins site is associated first with the circa 1801 to 1809 occupation of William Stewart, a blacksmith, and his family. Elisha Watkins, a hired carpenter, lived in

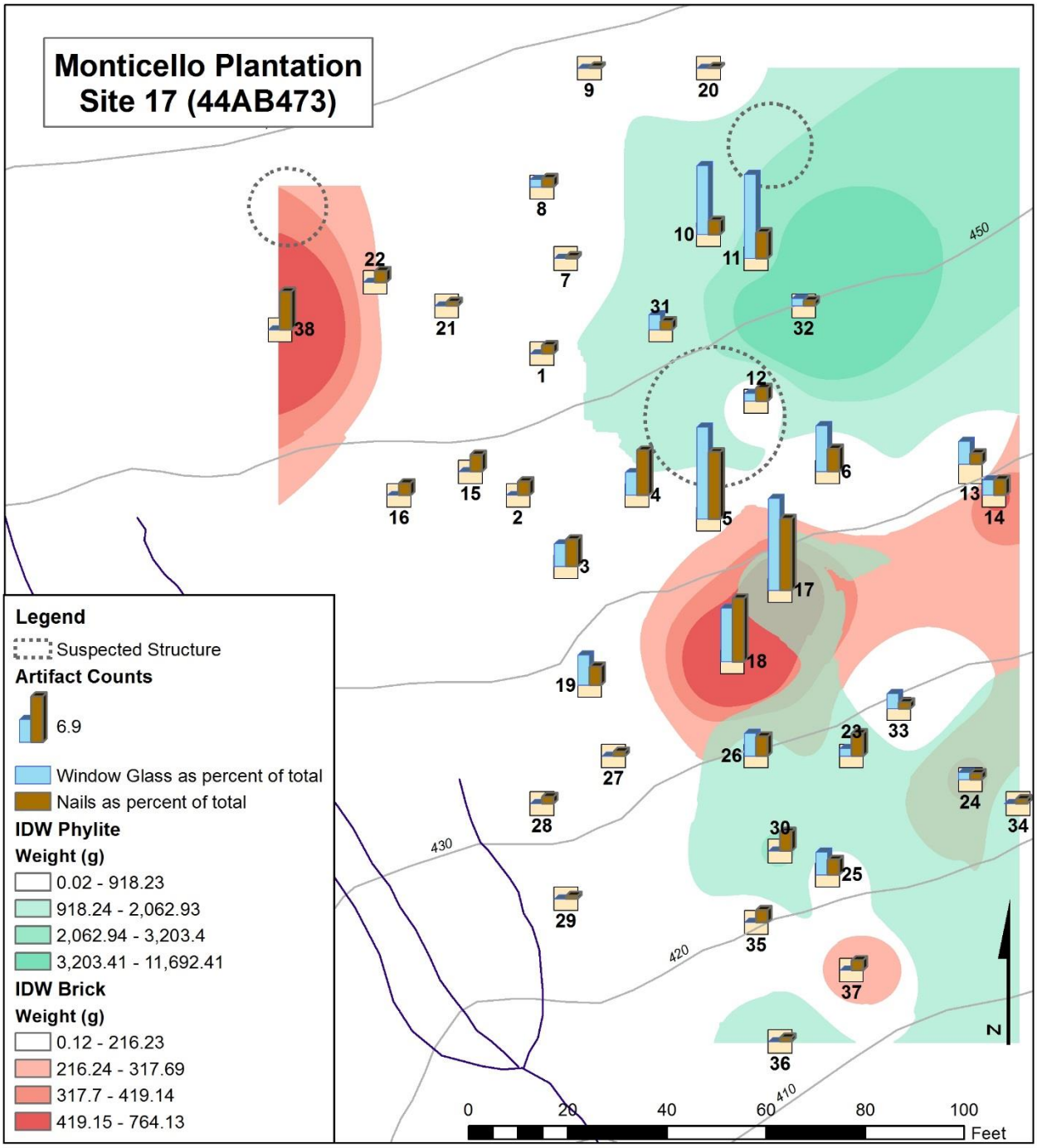


Figure 85: Architectural Artifact Distributions at Site 17.

the building in 1809. As noted above, the house was built on a steep slope just north of the third roundabout about a quarter of a mile southwest of the mansion. The structure appeared to have been built in two stages, with the original western 18 ft. x 24 ft. core of the house laid on stone foundations with a stone chimney and brick hearth near the southwest corner. A small paving of brick on the outside face of the northern wall suggested a door facing uphill. A wood-lined cellar, about 10 ft. x 12 ft., was placed in front of the hearth, and cut about 2 ft. into subsoil. When combined with the slope of the ground, the cellar may have been up to 8 ft. deep below the ground floor of the house and been largely built above grade on the southern face, which likely had a bulkhead entrance. The eastern portion of the house was a roughly 12 ft. addition, with a second stone chimney and hearth constructed of local greenstone near the southeast corner (Heath 1999b:204).

Edmund Bacon's house at Site 17 was likely of similar construction, given the quantities of architectural slate, phyllite, and brick associated with areas around test units 5, 17, and 18. The presence of many nails and window glass suggest a wood frame structure with at least one, and likely more, glazed windows. A gable roof likely provided loft space above the main room or rooms of the house.

If Bacon's house were sited to face uphill, as was the Stewart-Watkins house, and assuming a width of 18 ft. and 15 percent slope, the southern edge of the main floor would need to have been raised at least 2.75 ft. to achieve level. If the house were sited facing west, and were up to 36 ft. long, 5.5 ft. would be required to raise the southern end of the house to level. While no cellar cut into the subsoil was found at Site 17, the 10 to 15 percent sloping ground may have allowed for a small cellar similar to the one at

the Stewart-Watkins site under a portion of the house that subsequent plowing and erosion have erased. The space occupied by the concentration of architectural artifacts recovered from the plowzone in test units 5, 17, and 18 is approximately 30 ft. north to south and 20 ft. east to west. Though the nature of the sampling at Site 17 likely did not reveal the entirety of the architectural debris spread, this general size corresponds roughly to a structure of similar size to the Stewart-Watkins house.

The outbuildings at Site 17 were almost certainly constructed of wood also, thought brick and stone concentrations near those areas discussed above suggests they too were at least leveled with brick or stone footings. Lanier and Herman (1997:52-53) note that kitchens in the Mid-Atlantic region were one-room single story structures dominated by a large hearth, with an active yard space for a variety of activities including chopping wood, processing animals, and preparing other food items, which matches well with the range of activities inferred within and around the northwest outbuilding at Site 17. The northern outbuilding does not appear to have been a kitchen, or even domestic in nature, given the limited range of artifacts and lack of soil chemical enrichment in the area of test units 10, 11, and 32. This structure may have been used for storage, though the presence of window glass concentrations complicates the matter. If the building had glazed windows, it may have functioned as a small office for Bacon. Given his many duties including business transactions, record-keeping, and frequent correspondence with Jefferson, a small office or shop in which tools and supplies were also stored would more likely have had a window than a simple storage shed.

By 1809, Bacon was a slave-owner, inheriting a woman from his father. He likely

kept his slaves as domestic servants at Site 17. As discussed in Chapter III, many overseers were either allowed to bring their own household slaves or were furnished with a domestic servant from the among the plantation's slaves. Small loft or attic spaces that likely existed in the outbuildings at Site 17 probably functioned as quarters for Bacon's slaves, with the kitchen structure to the northwest of the main dwelling serving as the most probable dwelling for them. As noted in Chapter III, slaves were commonly housed in multi-purpose structures and outbuildings associated with their work on 18th-and 19th-century plantations. An example of that practice is also seen in this study at Structure 3, the kitchen/quarter, at the Oval site at Stratford Hall Plantation. By 1822, on his arrival in Kentucky, Edmund Bacon owned 19 slaves (Martin 1994:224), though it is not clear how many of that number may have resided with him in and around Site 17 during his tenure at Monticello.

CHAPTER VI: INTERPRETIVE DISCUSSION

Having interpreted the spaces of the case study sites individually in the previous chapter, the following discussion attempts to interpret those findings in comparison to one another, and within the larger historical contexts of the plantations, regions, and time periods associated with each. As in Chapter V, I move from the larger spatial scales of plantation layout and quarter placements to smaller scales of quarter organization, outdoor spaces, and individual architectural spaces of the structures. In doing so I draw on several models of social space and the nature of social relations within plantations, which serves as the basis for the final discussion in Chapter VII on the materiality of space and its relationship to the cultural and historical construction of race and class.

Plantation Layout

Much of the larger-scale nature of space on plantation contexts can rightly be considered as determined by the plantation owner (Lange and Handler 1985:28; Orser and Nekola 1985; Armstrong 1990; Vlach 1993:165; Delle 1999; Epperson 1999; Leone et al. 2005; Bates 2007; Neiman 2008). Despite variations in the level of personal involvement in the placement of individual structures[3], the ultimate design of the landscape was under their authority and subject to their approval and revision. Therefore, the discussion of landscape at this scale largely reflects the ways in which

[3] This study and the work of other scholars have generally found a variable degree of planters' involvement in the placement of individual slave housing structures within a slave quartering complex, even within a single plantation. Many slave quarters on Caribbean plantations were laid out by the enslaved (Armstrong 1990:87; Armstrong and Kelly 1990; Pogue 2002; Fesler 2004; Crook 2008).

owners asserted their plans and reflected their perspectives of the social relations on the plantation. As Heath (1999b:201) notes in her discussion of the placement of sites of free white artisans at Monticello: “Because Jefferson ultimately controlled all aspects of housing, similarities or differences observed between siting, materials, house size, and layout must necessarily be attributed to his concept of the placement of each group within the community.” As sometimes very meticulously planned landscapes, plantations can be conceived of as Lefebrve’s (1991) representational spaces, those purposefully imbued with meaning as non-verbal communication. This is not to say that other factors such as economies of time and labor, aesthetics, or any number of particular circumstances were not at play, but those factors influence the nature of social space as described by Lefebvre (1991) as spatial practice: how the nature of daily life forms the physical space of life. One does not have to choose between Lefebvre’s concepts, but realize that space is constructed, acted upon by people, and acts upon people in multiple ways. I also draw on Soja’s (1980) concept of the socio-spatial dialectic, that space both communicates the social relations that shape it and simultaneously acts to shape those same social relations. This concept is used to explore how plantations spaces are part of discursive processes that are both reflections of, and important forces shaping, how populations on the plantation defined themselves and each other.

The case study sites–Stratford Hall, McCarty’s, Poplar Forest, Montpelier, and Monticello plantations–span a hundred-year range from the first quarter of the 18th century to the second quarter of the 19th century. They range geographically from the Tidewater to the Piedmont, though all are contained in what could be described as the

Upper South. They also generally share the fact that their owners were among the very top echelon of elite landowners. The most notable exception is the control of the Accotink Quarter by Abraham Barnes, though the ownership of the larger tract by the McCarty family still represents at least a local level of high social standing.

The Slaves

The placement of slave quarters on the plantations in this study varied likely due to a number of factors. The roles that the enslaved individuals filled within the larger plantation structure largely determined where their housing was placed, as agricultural laborers on outlying quarter farms such Accotink Quarter and Wingo's were placed long distances from the plantation core but in proximity to the fields they worked (Table 30). The enslaved individuals at the Oval site were most likely agricultural laborers as well, but worked the home farm, and were therefore in greater proximity to the plantation core yet still not within the immediate vicinity of the owner's mansion. The enslaved residents of the Stable Quarter at Montpelier were placed very close to the mansion house, yet were still separated from the main curtilage and the quarters of the domestic slaves immediately north of the site. The slaves associated with Site 17 include those who might have served Bacon's household and who may have been lodged within outbuildings, such as the attic space of the kitchen to the northwest of his dwelling.

Table 30: Approximate Distances and Slopes for Enslaved Components of Study Sites.

Site	Distance to Main House	Distance to Road	Distance to Water	Distance to Overseer	Slope	Surrounding Slope
Oval site Structure 3 and 4	900 ft.	150 ft.	500 ft	70 ft.	2 %	0 - 2%
Accotink Quarter Structure 2	12,100 ft.	1,320 ft.	2,600 ft.	125 ft.	6%	7 - 15%
Stable Quarter	250 ft.	200 ft.	1,050 ft.	1,300 ft.	3%	2 - 7%
Wingo's Quarter	12,000 ft.	2,600 ft.	550 ft.	unknown	3%	5 - 10%

Viewing the slave quartering sites within a larger scale at Monticello, the slaves that also fell within Bacon's more immediate neighborhood were quartered at Sites 18 and 19, and most likely assigned to work in the nearby nailery at Site 23 (Figure 74).

None of the slave quarters examined as case studies in this research include housing for domestic servants of the plantation mansions. At each of the large plantations, quarters for domestics were placed in the closest proximity to the planter's dwelling. At Stratford, two early 19th-century stone duplexes for domestic slaves lie just southeast of the Great House outside the ditch and wall, known as a ha-ha, defining the immediate house grounds. Other skilled slaves including cooks and gardeners were quartered in the brick dependencies flanking each corner of the Great House (Figure 16). At Montpelier, four duplex quarters and two smokehouses comprise the South Yard quarter for enslaved domestic servants of the Madison household, placed immediately north of the Stable Quarter site, but on the other site of a paling fence (Figure 61). At Monticello, domestic servants, along with skilled craft workers, were housed along Mulberry Row (Figure 74) and eventually in the brick service wings of the mansion house itself (Heath 1999b:202-203; Neiman et al. 2000:2-3). At Poplar Forest, domestic servants were likely quartered within the house's lower levels and attached wing of offices constructed from 1813 to 1816 (Heath and Gary 2012:4).

The topographic setting of slave quarters in the Chesapeake has been analyzed from the perspective of visibility, control, and aesthetics of the plantation owner; generally through a comparison of the mansion house and those domestic slave quarters in its immediately proximity (Upton 1989; Epperson 1999; 2000; Reeves and Greer 2012). These studies focus on the simultaneous and contradictory inclusion and

exclusion of slave houses in the main house landscapes of Mount Airy, Gunston Hall, Montpelier, and other large elite plantations, and have served as useful and insightful discussions of masking certain quarters from view, separating slave work spaces from public arenas, and creating commanding views to at least imply surveillance over slaves that served owner's plans to separate, distinguish, and control their slaves, while aligning quarters to plantation symmetries. Arranging quarters in clearly visible spaces while allowing domestic slaves into the personal spheres of the mansion served to simultaneously include them in the larger plantation social order and communicate their low status in relation to the plantation owner. Field quarters for agricultural laborers have seen less inclusion in those types of discussions, though studies in Caribbean contexts (Armstrong and Kelley 1990; Delle 1999; Singleton 2001; Bates 2007) have included agricultural slave quarters that are often centralized into villages in that region.

Field slave quarters among the case studies of this research were often placed within relatively accessible distances to water sources, varying from several hundred feet to about a quarter of a mile, though in some instances these measurements may be omitting springs or wells that were used in the past that are no longer known. Roads fall within a similar range of distances (Table 30), and are subject to the same vagaries of knowledge about roads and paths in the past. Some plantations such as Monticello, Poplar Forest, and Montpelier are better documented with historic maps and accounts that describe roads, though these reflect the means of transport most important to the owner and not the less formal paths and routes that would be important to daily life of others on the plantations (Upton 1982). In other contexts such as McCarty's and Stratford Hall plantations, inferences based on local landscape and a more regional

scale of knowledge about roads also contributes to a partial view of roads and paths. Those biases included, most quartering sites would have been relatively accessible to foot, horse, and cart traffic. Sites such as the Stable Quarter and the Oval site appear closest to main routes in their respective plantations, which is not surprising given the proximity of each to the plantation cores. Wingo's appears to be the most remote from main roads.

The study sites of agricultural slaves at the Oval site, Accotink Quarter, and Wingo's are located with proximity to the fields they worked, though the settings could also be described as marginal: areas within or near the edges of less agriculturally productive land, preserving the best land on the plantation for profit-producing crops (Heath 1999a). The very existence of quarter farms was the result of efforts to maximize production and profit from tobacco agriculture (Daniels 1996; Neiman 2008:172). The slopes noted on Table 30 indicate that the quarter structures at Accotink and Wingo's were on or near edges of sloping ground, and Figures 39 and 47 show that they were still adjacent to more productive, level arable land.

The Oval site, while placed in a relatively level setting, lies within a bottleneck of level ground between two springheads, and larger open level ground expands from this location to the north, west, and south. The placement of the overseer with the quarter at this location, discussed in more detail below, combined with the presence of Great House Road, also suggests the location could be conceived of as on the boundary between the immediate Great House grounds to the north and the larger tracts of arable fields to the south. Other 18th-century quarters at Stratford, including 44WM0079 and 44WM0081, are sited on level ground, but near the edges of steep ravines and could

also be considered as on the margin between productive and non-productive land (Figure 16), rather than in the center of the arable fields with which they were likely associated. The larger plantation landscape of Monticello also suggests that field slave quarters were placed nearer the edges of arable tracts with sites 3 and 6 placed adjacent to the ravine and drainage associated with Slate Branch. Sites 9, 21, and 20 were placed along the road occupying the western margins of Bell Field and sites 16, 19, 22, and 23 along its southern margins (Figure 74).

These kinds of placements can best be described as spatial practice, where the primary determinant was the relation of the enslaved to their work and its assigned fields and buildings on the plantation. The effects of this aspect of social space both reflected and informed the social relations among the enslaved community and between that community and their owner. Domestic servants and skilled craftspeople were often the most highly valued members of a plantation's slave community by the planter, quite literally in terms of the prices and values they were assigned in inventories and sales. Domestic slaves were also often considered at the top of a hierarchy of status among the slave community, from the planter's perspective (Orser 1990:116), with skilled artisans and industrial workers next, followed by agricultural field laborers at the bottom. This hierarchy is clearly reflected in the proximity of quarters to the main house, which not only likely was shaped by those relations in spatial practice, but also shaped and fostered the higher status of domestic and skilled slaves in their proximity and more frequent and personal interactions with the plantation owners.

The effects of locating domestic servants closer to the main house and in better quality and larger structures than field slaves not only reflected the owner's hierarchical

ranking of the slave population, but also fed into differential levels of intimacy between owner and slave. Domestic servants often received favored treatment and increased or better allotments of provisions and gifts (Calhoun 1992; Edwards 1998:247). As described in Chapter III, the enslaved domestic servant of a young James Madison, Sawney went on to become one of the most prominent and powerful members of the slave community at Montpelier. Thomas Jefferson's relationship with the Hemmings and other domestic and skilled slaves at Monticello is also well documented (Gordon-Reed 2008), and it was those domestic and skilled slaves at Monticello who resided along Mulberry Row and among the roundabouts of the mountain (Neiman et al. 2000) as opposed to the field slaves located farther down the mountain or on outlying quarter farms among the agricultural fields.

The placement of field slave quarters did not appear to remain constant over time. The trends discussed above appear to have evolved in different ways in later 18th- and early 19th-century plantation layouts, as described by Neiman (1976, 2008) and Sanford (1999) at Stratford Hall and Monticello. At Monticello, the late 18th-century arrangement of an overseer, and most of the home farm agricultural slave quarters, were centered around Sites 7 and 8 (Figure 74) at the east end of the plantation core near the top of the mountain. By the beginning of the 19th century, and concurrent with the switch from tobacco monoculture to diversified grain agriculture, field quarters for slaves dispersed from the plantation core, increasing in proximity to agricultural fields and on marginal ground. A different change is noted at Stratford Hall over time where the home farm slaves resided in several quarters, including the Oval site, along the Great House Road. After the transition of the plantation from tobacco to diversified grain

after the American Revolution, those quarters were largely abandoned and new quarters closer to the Great House complex were built after several outlying quarter farms were sold off. These sites include ST 116 and ST 95 depicted on Figure 16. In this case, the slave population became more concentrated than dispersed, and this difference from the change in Monticello's settlement pattern may be related to differing managerial strategies. As Neiman (2008:181) notes, in diversified grain agriculture the cost of supervision increases as the work of the enslaved becomes task-oriented in smaller groups that would work independently (Morgan 1988). A trade-off occurred with less constant supervision of the processes of work and greater latitude in the placement of and construction of slave quarters, with oversight concentrated at central nodes of the finished agricultural and industrial products such as at Mulberry Row, near mills, barns, stables, and other places of production such as the nailery shops at sites 15 and 18 (Neiman 2008:183).

Slave quarters at Stratford post-dating the switch from tobacco to grain agriculture were centralized nearer the Great House, as was the overseer who then resided in the northwest dependency of the Great House (Hynson et al. 2012). The change at Stratford may represent a different strategy for dealing with the changing agricultural practices and economic contexts of mixed grain. With labor activities now more dispersed into small task groups throughout the plantation, rather than in gangs for tobacco agriculture, increased efforts to maintain control and surveillance at Stratford could have included condensing the quartering areas within a smaller zone around the plantation core and centralizing the location of the overseer among them. While greater latitude in slave housing size and placement at Monticello was part of the

trade-off to incentivize work, at Stratford the early-19th-century quarters for field slaves such as ST116 are smaller than earlier quarters and more concentrated around the plantation core, but removed from direct proximity of the plantations roads. Perhaps the Lees and their managers were allowing more privacy and family-based housing as part of the work-life supervision trade-off. The dispersion of slave housing across the wider landscape was not part of the strategy at Stratford, though this may have been limited by the sale of outlying parcels and quarter farms.

The late 18th-century arrangement of Poplar Forest included the old plantation quarter represented archaeologically by the North Hill site located approximately 800 ft. northeast of the later-constructed mansion (Heath 2012c), and at the outlying farm of Wingo's Quarter. After the passing of Wingo's to Thomas and Martha Randolph in 1790 and Jefferson's increasing presence at Poplar Forest in the early 19th century, the slave presence continued near the old plantation at the Quarter site, occupied from 1790 to 1812, and other spaces within the mansion's wing of offices and main curtilage (Heath 1999a, 2012c; Heath and Bennett 2001). Following Jefferson's passing of the Poplar Forest estate to his grandson Francis Eppes and the property's subsequent sale to the Cobbs family, the circa 1830s to 1860s slave quarters identified at Site A, less than 300 ft. east of the main house, continued the pattern of housing slaves in proximity to the plantation core (Heath and Lee 2010; Heath and Gary 2012:9-11).

The Overseers

Overseer's houses on large 18th-century Virginia plantations were often placed among the homes of the slaves they managed, both on outlying quarters and home

farms. Like the homes of the slaves they oversaw, the overall placement of an overseer's house was ultimately most aligned with the plantation owners representational spaces and the spatial practices of the agricultural work of the plantations. The overseers' houses at the Oval site, Accotink Quarter, and Site 17 all conform to this pattern, though with varying degrees of proximity to the slaves they managed. Structure 1, the overseer's house, at the Oval site is a mere 70 ft. east of Structure 3 (Figure 16), the kitchen quarter. Though the slaves quartered at the Oval site likely included one or several slaves owned by, or assigned as domestic servants to, the overseer's household, the use of Structure 4 as additional quartering space suggests the Oval site also contained housing for agricultural slaves who worked the home farm. Other field quarters were located at greater distances from the overseer at the Oval site east along the Great House Road, but their occupants worked daily under his direct supervision. At the Accotink Quarter, the overseer's house was located only 125 ft. from the associated slave quarters (Figure 39). Edmund Bacon's house at Site 17 sat at a somewhat farther distance from the closest known slave quarters at sites 19 and 23, approximately 300 ft. to the south, though still within proximity to allow visual surveillance (Figure 74). At Poplar Forest, an overseer's house was the center of the landscape prior to the construction of Jefferson's retreat house. This dwelling stood about 250 ft. from the North Hill quarter and about 125 ft. from the circa 1790s Quarter site. During the antebellum period, an overseer was housed immediately next door to a slave quarter, in what are now known as the "tenant houses," approximately 300 ft. from the mansion house (Heath and Lee 2010).

The greater degree of separation between Edmund Bacon's house at Site 17 and

the nearby slave quarters than is found at Accotink Quarter and the Oval site suggests some interesting possibilities. Bacon came to assume roles greater than those of a quarter farm gang overseer, the kind of business and general oversight duties that were usually for positions termed farm manager or steward. As the slave population was dispersed to more outlying and isolated quarters in the early 19th century due to the switch to mixed grain agriculture (Neiman 2008), the average distance between slaves and overseers at Monticello also increased from the proximity of Sites 7 and 8, to the over 100 yards between Sites 17 and 23, and then the even greater distances between Site 17 and other slave quarter sites. Neiman (2010) posits this change as possibly part of the slight increase in autonomy allowed for slave housing associated with changing agricultural and labor regimes (Sipe et al. 2013:436). If we allow that social relations produce spatial practices, it may also suggest that Bacon was less associated with any one particular group of slaves than he was with the management of the larger plantation.

Other examples of overseer's dwellings more closely associated with mansion houses and not outlying slave quarters are also found outside the Chesapeake. Kowal's (2007) study of Snee Farm in South Carolina identified both an overseer's house and domestic slave quarters in the plantation core (Figure 86). In this case the overseer was associated closely with the planter, rather than the field slave quarters located farther to the south. Vlach (1993:135-136) notes that the positioning of an overseer's quarters could reflect the intermediary position of an overseer in plantation management, distancing and shielding the owner both socially and physically from the immediate coercion of enslaved labor. I would add that at the same time, the spatial practice of

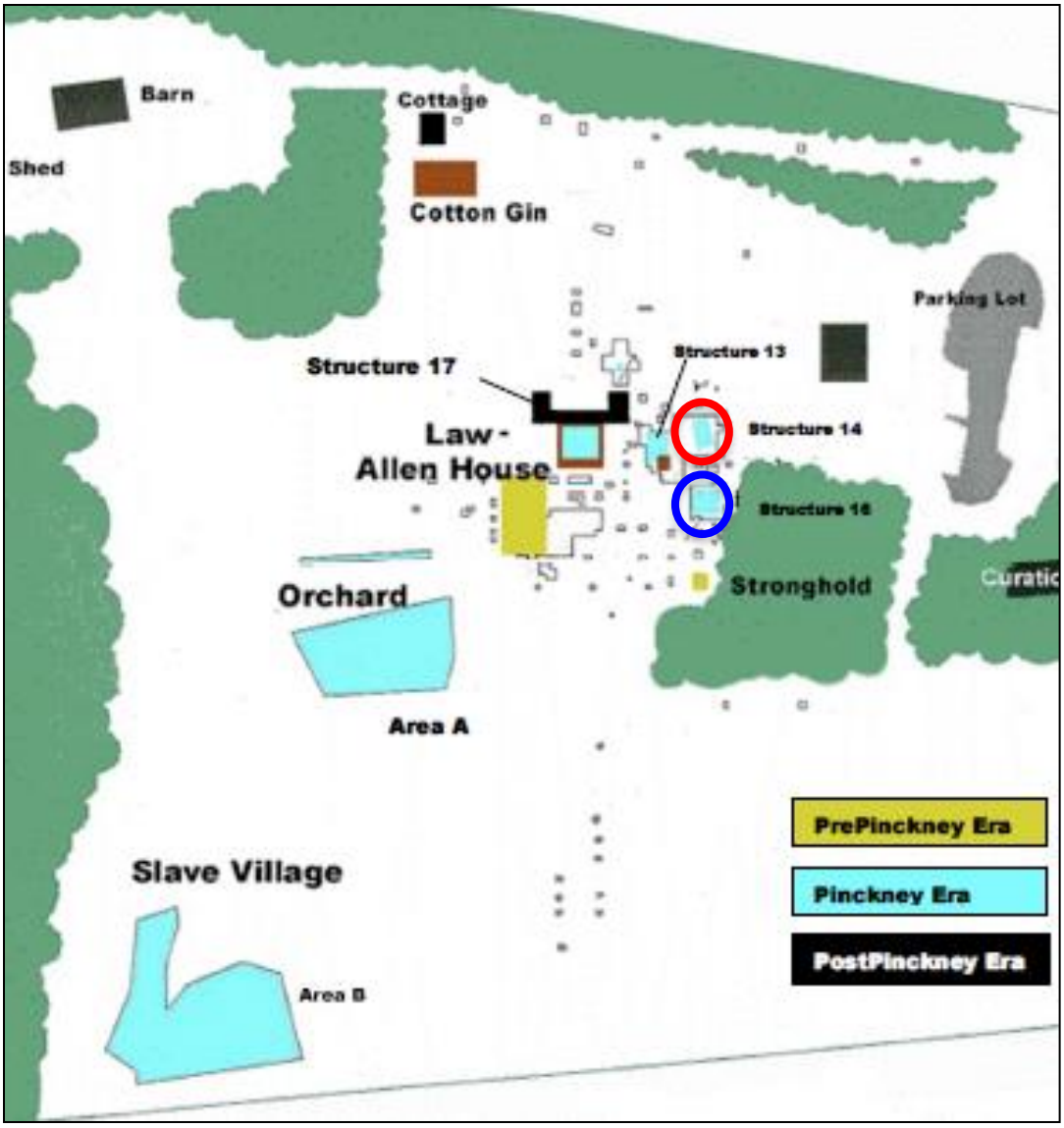


Figure 86: Plan of Excavations at Charles Pinckney's Snee Farm in South Carolina. From (Kowal 2007). Structure 14, the overseer's house circled in red, and Structure 16, the domestic slave quarter, circled in blue.

consolidating labor forces around the plantation core helped form those social relations as much as it reflected them.

It should also be noted that Structure 16, immediately south of the overseer's house, is where Kowal (2007:90) believes to the quarters for domestic slaves were located. Their proximity to the planter's house would certainly be functional, as their tasks of serving the main house and its occupants dictated, but it also suggests that they occupied a level of social relations closer to the owner than that of the overseer. In most periods, domestic slaves resided within similar proximity, or even closer to, the main house than overseers at Stratford, Montpelier, and Monticello (Figures 16, 61, and 74). Choosing to place overseers in similar physical space as domestic slaves may represent attempts to delineate the relatively high status of both house servants and overseers in relation to field slaves, and even suggests that the overseer was not as close to the intimate spaces of the planter's family as were some of the most valued slaves on the plantation from the owner's perspective.[4]

Another example of an overseer being quartered close to the main house comes from Robert's (2005) work at Whitney Plantation in Louisiana (Figure 87). In this example, historical documentation reveals that the overseers at Whitney Plantation included Ursin Weber, brother-in-law of the plantation owner and Alphonse Becnel, the adopted son of the plantation owner (Roberts 2005:22). This is the only archaeological case I was able to identify for this study that shows the practice of planters employing sons and relatives as overseers. Also present in Robert's (2005:2) map is a manager's

[4] While Grøn (1991) would argue that proximity in a hierarchical settlement structure generally indicates similar social space, Fitts (1996) and other scholars of slavery in the northern United States (Chan 2003; Phillippi 2016) note that proximity in the small house and farm spaces there does not necessarily translate to closer personal relations or a higher status among slaves.

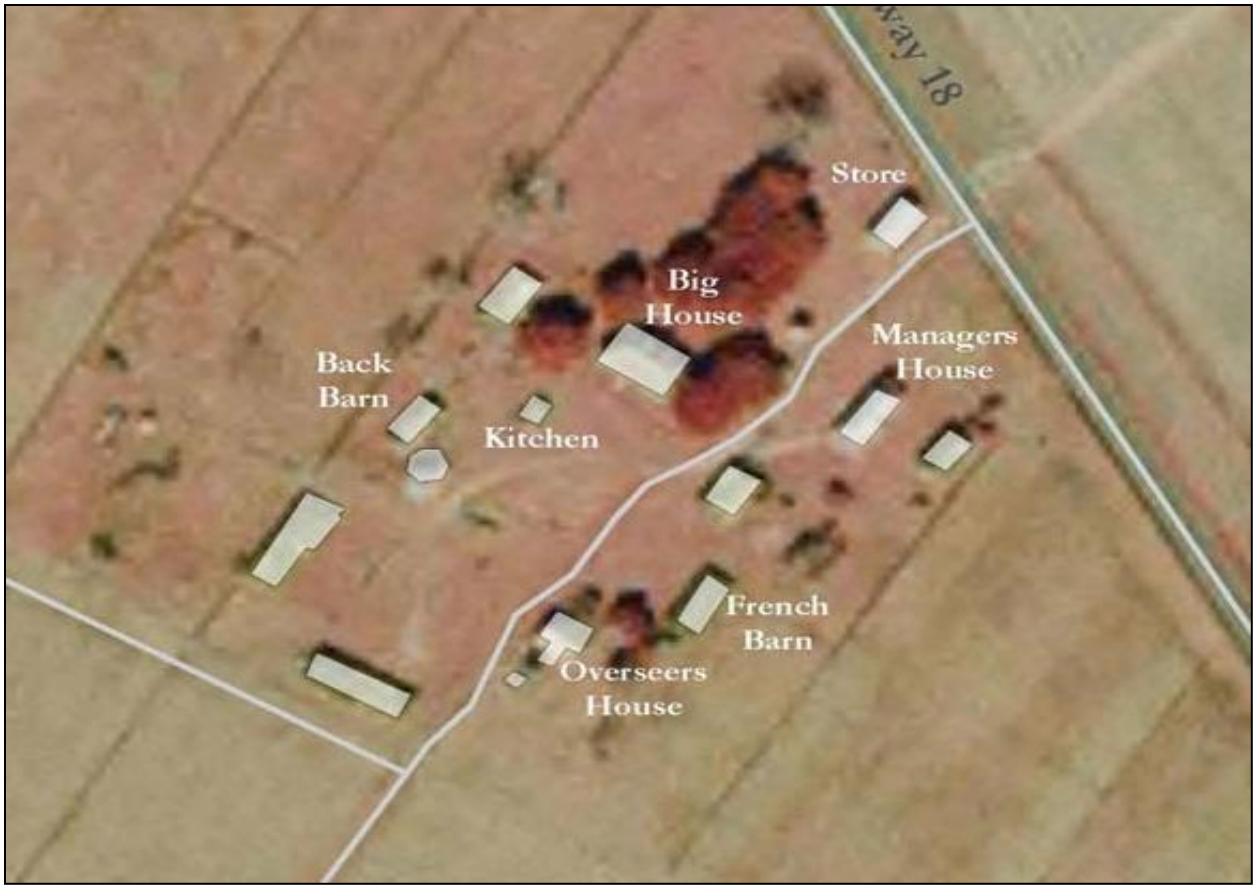


Figure 87: Satellite Image of Standing Structures at Whitney Plantation, Louisiana. From Roberts (2005:2)

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house, shown in Figure 87, and while Roberts does not discuss this structure, it is closer to the mansion than the overseer's house. Perhaps either Weber or Becnel served as the manager, but if the owner hired a professional farm manager, the concepts of representational space and spatial practice suggest that the manager held closer social relations or greater importance to the plantation owner than the family members serving as overseers.

Quarter Layout

The discussion of quarter spaces includes both the manner in which the buildings of a quarter were arranged and use of outdoor space among them. Here we reach the scale at which the planter's intentions begin to meet and interact most visibly with the slaves' tactics of exerting their own agency over the spaces in which they lived. Like the siting of quarters on the larger plantation landscapes, the arrangement of structures within a quarter can be conceived in terms of the representational spaces of planters' intentions to exert control over both the free and enslaved labor forces on their estates. The social relations that result in the spatial practices of quarter arrangements include both restrictions on, and opportunities for, slaves to use and modify space.

Powerful Shapes

When overseers were housed in association with slave quarters, the positions and layouts of the structures were not likely to be random. Briefly discussed in Chapter II, Ole Grøn's (1991) arguments about social space in prehistoric European settlements relates to social relations and spatial practices within and between households. Within a household, an individual's position communicates the closeness or distance to other

housemates in the dwelling, and dominance, based on the preference of certain assigned areas (Grøn 1991:101-102). Between households, dwellings that occupy advantageous geography or are visually dominant tend to be those of leaders, and like intra-dwelling arrangements, physical distance between structures relates directly to the social distance between the members of the households or settlements (Grøn 1991:106). A key component of Grøn's argument is modeling the locations of central focus or control among a group. Grøn's (1991:108) generalized models shows how both stratified and more egalitarian groups arranged their settlements (Figure 88). In each, centrally located and highly visible spaces are prime locations for structures of community importance, leadership and authority figures. While the applicability of Iron Age European contexts is not immediately apparent to 18th- and 19th-century plantation contexts, the overall idea of settlement layouts reflected and forming social space is in essence the socio-spatial dialectic as argued by Soja (1985). Furthermore, the models depicting more hierarchical arrangements that Grøn sketched are strikingly similar to site structure found on plantations.

As noted in Chapter V, the layout of the Oval site is arranged in a roughly linear fashion from northwest to southeast with Structure 1, the overseer's house, offset from this line to the northeast (Figure 10). Based upon this arrangement the overseer's house at the Oval site is situated at the apex of site. While this arrangement does not conform directly to Grøn's U-shaped plan (Figure 88, bottom right), it still separates the overseer spatially, establishes physical distance between his dwelling and the slave cabins, and offers a location of dominance. Grøn (1991:108) notes that symmetrical arrangements with a singular focal point reflect highly differentiated social structure with

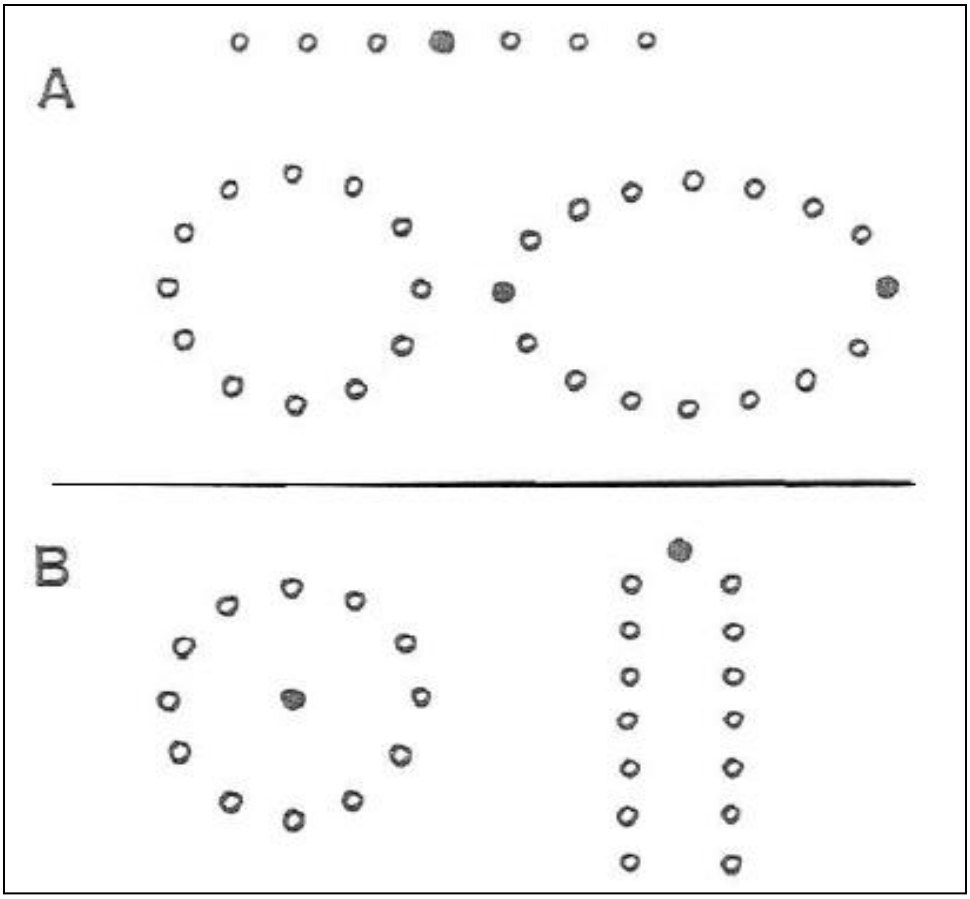


Figure 88: Grøn's (1991:108) Models of Social Space. Filled circles represent locations of control and authority. Group A includes settlements with more egalitarian structure, Group B includes the most hierarchically stratified settlements.

a primary authority figure. More specifically: “[t]he U-shape where all sub-ordinate houses are in two rows at right angles to the one of the leader (placed at the end of the village street) seems to express a far more hierarchical society than circular and oval layouts” (Grøn 1991: 108). While the placement of the other slave quarter building, Structure 4, at the Oval site does not conform exactly to a U-shaped plan, the pattern still isolates the overseer’s house in a hierarchical manner similar to Grøn’s model.

Surveillance is an often-cited aspect of plantation owners’ and overseers’ sites in relation to slave quarters (Delle 1998; Epperson 2000; Leone 2005). Grøn (1991) acknowledges the role of visual interaction and the importance of being seen in spatial dominance, but also includes the primacy of central locations that control movement and interaction. Similarly, Bates’ (2007) recent examination of a Jamaican plantation utilizing GIS analysis of view-sheds has challenged the concept of visual surveillance as a factor in siting plantation management in favor of spatial dominance over work areas and routes of transportation. Given the placement of Structure 1 between the slave quarters and Great House, the overseer at the Oval site would have been in a prime location to monitor and control movement within both the quarter and the larger home farm.

At Site 17, the interpreted position of the two outbuildings suggests that a similar layout could be present around the main dwelling of the overseer, Edmund Bacon. In the discussion of the architectural space of the site, I suggest that the dwelling may have been sited facing upslope as were other structures of free white employees at Monticello, and which would seem to be the most expedient architectural solution to the sloping terrain. Even given only approximate locations for the outbuildings, their

placement in front of Bacon's house forms a U-shaped layout, with the overseer's dwelling at the apex. While the outbuildings may not have been built for the sole purpose of quartering slaves, any domestic servants that served Bacon's household would have worked and possibly lodged in available spaces such as the northwest outbuilding, interpreted as a kitchen. The arrangement of the structures in this shape not only allows for visual surveillance of the immediate spaces of enslaved labor associated with Site 17, but clearly distinguishes Bacon's house as the focal point of the small complex. Site 17 is also positioned in a location on the larger landscape that may have allowed for the monitoring of movement between slave quarters located at sites 19, 22, and 23 to the south and east and the plantation core as accessed by the road running south from Site 8 (Figure 74).

Similar site layouts can be seen at other plantations within the Chesapeake. At Mount Vernon, the 18th-century home and plantation of George Washington, Pogue (2002) discusses the arrangement of slave housing on the outlying quarter at Union Farm. The structures at Union Farm are depicted on a 1793 plan of the estate as a single street of slave cabins directly opposite an overseer's house (Figure 89). Union Farm was an outlying quarter farm of Mount Vernon, not directly under the daily supervision of Washington, and this arrangement clearly communicates the racial hierarchy and authority assigned to the overseer. Pogue (2002:13-14) notes that this street-like arrangement was actually initiated by Washington as a reorganization of Union Farm in the early 1790s to improve efficiency and increase control over field slaves by his overseers. Prior to this arrangement, the slave quarters at several of the quarters appear to have been randomly placed within the farms, and the movement of

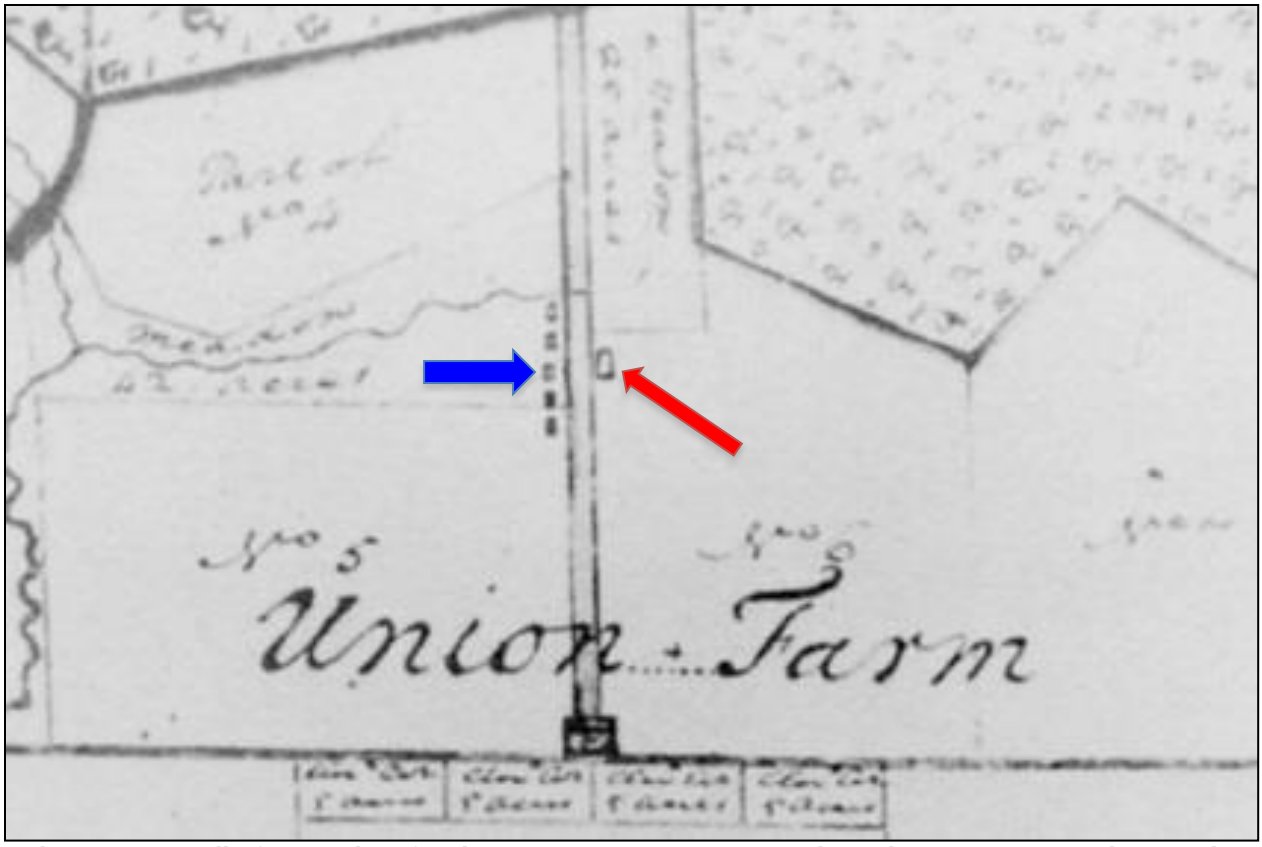


Figure 89: Detail of 1793 Plat of Union Farm at Mount Vernon Plantation. From Pogue (2002:14). Showing Arrangement of Slave Cabins (blue arrow) and Overseer's House (red arrow) at Union Farm.

the structures to more regular arrangements likely relates to Washington's ongoing frustration with his overseers, and in particular the critique that they needed to be "constantly with their people" (Pogue 2002:11). Pogue (2002:13-15) notes that the 1793 map may likely be a representation rather than an accurate depiction of the scale and number of structures on the quarters, though Washington repeatedly documented his intention that the houses were to be concentrated in a row opposite the overseer's house. The map could be termed a conceptual space of Washington's ideas of social relations (Lefebvre 1991). By moving the slave quarters together with the overseer's house in a symmetrical and spatially potent way, Union Farm reflects Washington's attempt to imbue the overseer with the responsibility associated with his spatial prominence and social authority.

Outside of the Chesapeake at Saragossa Plantation, a 19th-century site in Natchez, Mississippi, Young et al. (2001) discuss a quarter site that includes both an overseer's house and associated slave cabins. A historic map (Figure 90) of the plantation relates the placement and arrangement of the slave cabins in a "street" or two parallel lines, with the overseer's residence centered on one end of two lines, making a U-shape. That map proved to be faithful to the architectural and archaeological remains of the site, as the quarter was revealed to have the same street layout. Comparing this layout to Grøn's (1991) model shown in Figure 88, it can be seen that the overseer's dwelling was placed strategically at a position of spatial importance, clearly communicating the hierarchy of authority and the dominance of the white overseer of his slaves. Similar arrangements of overseers' houses placed at the head of a street of slave cabins in Mississippi are referenced in Frederick Law Olmsted's account of his

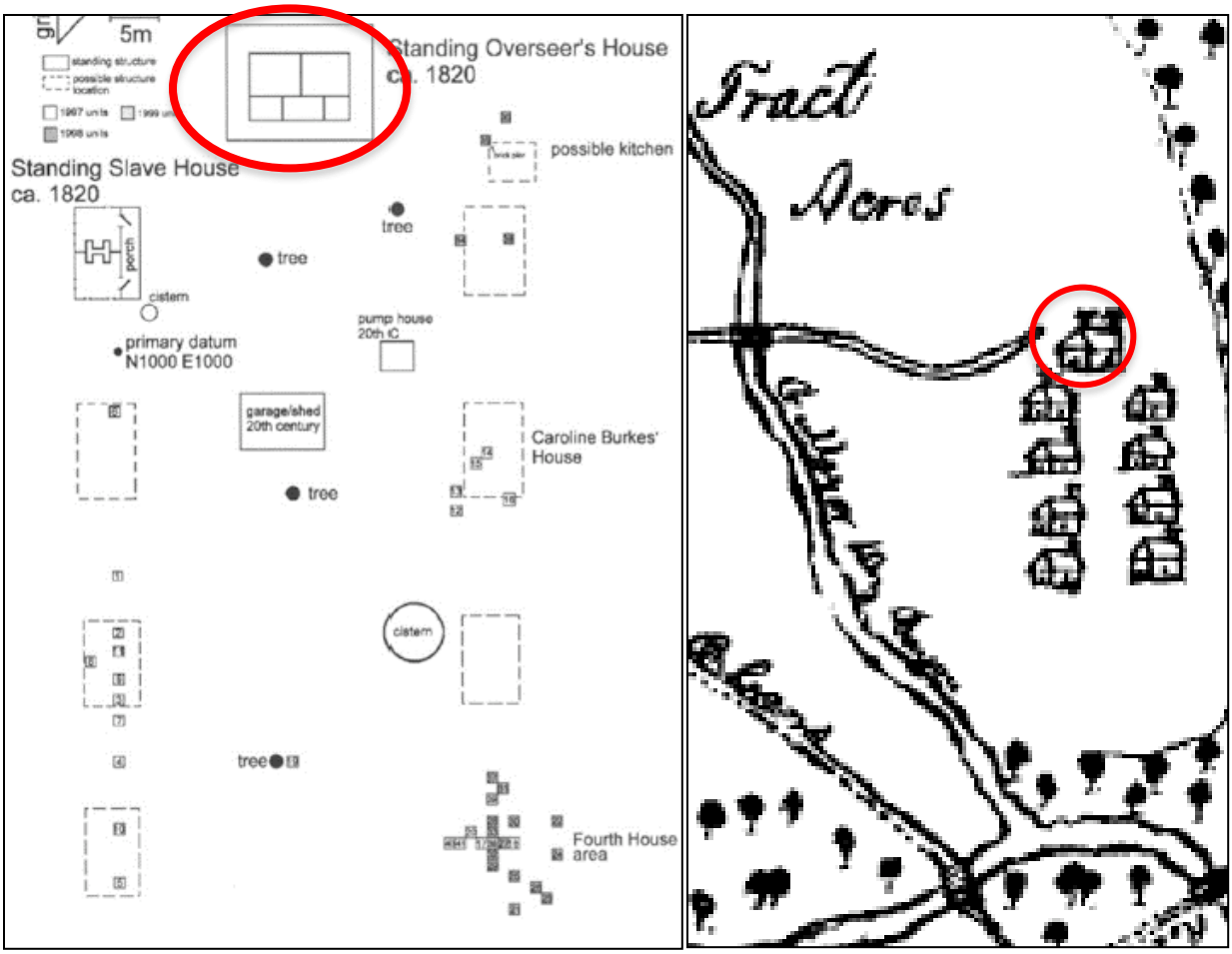


Figure 90: Historical Map (right) and Archaeological Plan (left) of Saragossa Plantation, Mississippi. From Young et al. (2001:696). Overseer's house circled in red.

antebellum travels across the south (Schlesinger 1953:429, cited in Vlach 1993:136).

At Saragossa, the overseer was spatially established as the dominant authority figure in a social hierarchy, and it is of added interest that Saragossa had absentee owners for the majority of its antebellum existence. These landowners resided in the nearby town of Natchez and hired overseers to operate their several holdings, which included Saragossa (Young et al. 2001: 695). In the owner's absence, the overseer was the singular element of control and domination for the enslaved people working the plantation. The arrangement also places the overseer nearest the road indicated to the northwest on the historic map, a location that would lend control over movement to and from the tract. The relatively luxurious two-story brick overseer's house with end-chimneys was placed to spatially dominate and communicate hierarchy, and may have served to solidify order and discipline on the plantation, and attract more experienced managers to an isolated and possibly vulnerable position of authority.

Distinct Orientations

As noted in the above discussion of Union Farm at Mount Vernon, arrangement of slave quarter structures when not in direct association with an overseer or the plantation core was less likely to be highly structured by the plantation owner or managers. The isolated cabin structure at Wingo's is interpreted to be oriented roughly to cardinal directions (Heath et al. 2015). While this inference is based largely on the orientation of the subfloor pits, it may represent at least some degree of influence by plantation management, perhaps laid out by the overseer, John Wingo, at the time of its construction. While the orientation of cabin may reflect the authority of plantation

management in siting the house at Wingo's, the enclosure to the south of the cabin does not respect the likely alignment of the house. The enclosure is instead aligned to the increasing south-southwest slope of the ground south of the cabin, and is oriented approximately 35 degrees from the alignment of the cabin. The enclosure includes spaces for gardening, keeping animals, food preparation, and clean areas that were conceived, constructed, and used by the quarter's enslaved inhabitants. The distinct orientation of the enclosure suggests that residents were able to create outdoor spaces to suit their own desires within a set of spatial practices that did not include the influence of the plantation's management.

The Stable Quarter cabin at Montpelier offers perhaps the most striking picture of latitude for the layout of a slave quarter, given its orientation and proximity to the ordered arrangements of the formal mansion grounds (Figure 61). Several papers by Montpelier Archaeology Department researchers (Smith and Marshall 2011; Reeves and Greer 2012) call attention to the alignment of the Stable Quarter and its contrast to the more orderly arrangements and alignments of the domestic slave quarters of the South Yard, immediately north, but separated by a fence from the Stable Quarter. The representational space of the South Yard quarter for domestic slaves reflects Madison's planned mansion landscape using formal Georgian and neoclassically-inspired ratios of geometry, and the inclusion of the South Yard domestic quarters within that landscape asserted his control over these slave spaces. Like Epperson's (1999) arguments about domestic slave quarters at Gunston Hall, the South Yard domestic quarters at Montpelier were incorporated into the overall symmetry and scheme of the owner's representational space.

By contrast, the Stable Quarter is oriented roughly 20 degrees west of south, out of alignment with the mansion and South Yard domestic quarters, more likely oriented to the gently sloping ground. Reeves and Greer (2012:75) argue that this alignment with natural topography allowed the residents of the Stable Quarter more flexibility in the arrangement of outdoor space and functional advantages to take full advantage of warmth from southern exposure. They also note that the Stable Yard would not have been as public a space as the South Yard, and the artisans resident at the Stable Quarter would therefore have been less likely to be visited and viewed by the visiting public. Smith and Marshall (2011:4) argue that the Stable Quarter represents "…a rejection, whether intentional or unintentional, of Madison's aesthetic ideals and a form of resistance to his control over the landscape." The Stable Quarter could be considered a representational space from the enslaved occupants' perspective, more actively asserting their own agency and distinction from other slaves that served the Madison family most directly. Simultaneously, the Stable Quarter orientation results from spatial practice, where the social relations between Madison, his guests, and his slaves gave rise to the ranking of spaces as formally included, and excluded, from the public sphere.

The Accotink Quarter layout at first viewing does not appear to conform to the idea of increased imposition of representational space on slave quarters in the presence of overseers. While the evidence for precise measurements and alignments are lacking, the best inferences for the orientation of the quarter, Structure 2, does not appear to respect the alignment of Structure 1, the overseer's house (Figure 12). The layout of the quarter as known through archaeology includes only two structures, precluding any comparison of more or less hierarchical positions or shapes to Grøn's (1991) social

space models. As noted in Chapter V, it is tempting, at least to this author, to assume a second slave quartering structure could have existed southeast of the excavated area, but no evidence exists to allow such an unsupported interpretive venture.

Instead, the historical and economic contexts of Accotink's larger plantation ownership and management's trials and tribulations seem to suggest that a highly formalized imposition of representational space was more evident in the plantations of the truly elite-level planters such as the Lees, Jeffersons, Washingtons, and Madisons than it was on more middling-level planters. The McCarty family included several wealthy planters active in local politics, churches, and business, but they never achieved the elite status or national prominence of the other plantation-owning families included in this study. The Accotink Quarter, while an outlying quarter of a rather large estate of Daniel McCarty (I) in the 1720s, passed through his second son Dennis, to Dennis's widow Sarah, and eventually her second husband Abraham Barnes in 1746. As noted in Chapter III, Barnes achieved local prominence only briefly before falling on hard times, economically, socially, and personally. It is also noteworthy that the overseers used by the McCartys and Barnes may have been of lesser social standing than those on the great plantations. The Stafford County quarter of Daniel McCarty's 1720s estate included an indentured servant who may have served as overseer, and by the 1760s Abraham Barnes' Accotink Quarter was overseen by Free Jack, also recorded as "Mulatto Jack", who was likely a free person of color. The only other known overseer is John Marvill from 1766 to 1769, who, though not recorded as negro or mulatto, was still not likely to have been of great means due to his numerous court cases over debt.

Perhaps most informative in this case is the idea that the socio-spatial dialectic of spatial practices both imposes and shapes social relations and simultaneously reflects them. Did the pre-occupation of Barnes with his financial troubles, court cases, and estranged family prevent him from implementing more formalized organizations of space on his quarters? Were planters of more modest means less concerned with imposing representational spaces to communicate and shape hierarchy among their employees and slaves? Did they risk creating competitors in their overseers if imbued with too much authority? The aspiring middling planters seeking to denote their own superior status relative to the indentured servants, free persons of color, and even poorer whites that served as overseers at Accotink may have been more willing to suggest that their employees' social spaces were closer to the slaves they managed than to the plantation-owning family, and the spatial practices resulting from those relations show less effort to distinguish hierarchy among overseers and slaves.

Yards

The use of outdoor areas among and between quarter site buildings is another facet of intrasite structure and organization where the negotiation of social relations can be studied archaeologically. The study of slave quarter yards, often in single case studies or isolation from other plantation structures and populations, has suggested that these spaces were active venues for assertion of agency and self-definition by slaves within the larger violence and restrictions of enslavement (Heath and Bennet 2000; Fesler 2010). The comparison of features, area, and activities between sites of the enslaved and overseers in various settings speaks to how these people attempted to

appropriate, use, and control outdoor space in ways that inform and were influenced by their social relations.

Considering the quartering sites as activity systems in the terms of Rappaport (1990) and the yard model developed by Moir (1987), the archaeology and spatial analysis discussed in Chapter V have identified fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed features of the quarter landscape at each site. Additionally the yard organizations are most informative when viewed as multiple intersecting systems at overseer and slave sites such as the Oval site and Accotink Quarter, as opposed to the more singular systems of the individual dwellings of Wingo's, the Stable Quarter, and Site 17. The principal fixed features at each site are the architectural structures, though fences, fenced enclosures, and possible animal pens or henhouses are also present at the Oval site, Accotink, and Wingo's. Semi-fixed features are also abundant including the surface middens, refuse pits, food preparation, and cooking areas associated with each site. Non-fixed features are more ephemeral and come almost entirely from ASI and soil chemistry distributions. These include the possible work and activity areas, more ephemeral refuse patterns such as ash-tipping, and the more actively cleaned spaces interpreted immediately adjacent to slave quartering structures.

At the Oval site the inner active yard spaces appear to center around both the overseer's house, Structure 1, and the kitchen/quarter, Structure 3 (Figure 91). These inner yards do not appear to have been intensively maintained or cleaned, but were very active largely in terms of refuse disposal and daily activities such as gardening and cooking. The proximity of the two main occupied buildings, Structures 1 and 3, and perhaps to lesser extent Structure 4, makes the discrimination of discrete outer active

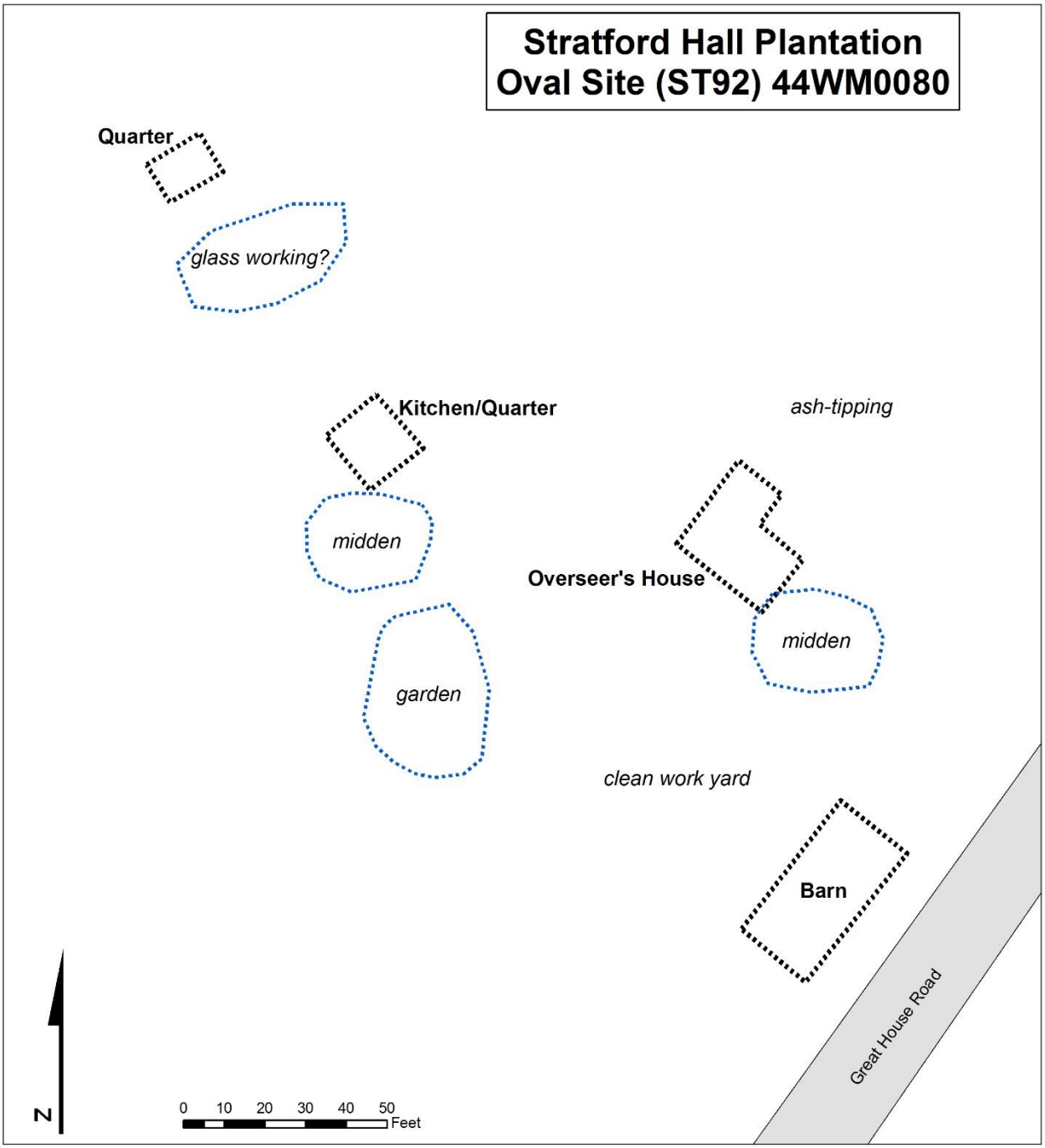


Figure 91: Interpreted Yard Space at the Oval site.

yards and peripheral yards more difficult. However, outer active yard spaces of both structures would include mainly semi-fixed features such as the more work-related activities of the garden and clean space in front of the barn. The peripheral yard includes the outer buildings of Structures 2, the barn, and 4, the quarter. This peripheral space potentially includes more isolated or specialized work areas, such as the concentration of unidentified flat glass fragments of unknown function.

At the Accotink Quarter, fixed features include the two structures, as well as the fence interpreted as running generally east from Structure 2, with semi-fixed features comprised of middens, cooking, and food preparation areas (Figure 92). Evidence of non-fixed features is limited to the clean yard east of Structure 2 and another possible clean area north of the fence. The inner active yards of Structures 1 and 2 bear some differences, with high activity and less maintenance around the overseer's house, and more segmented differentiation of clean and refuse-deposition spaces immediately around the slave quarter. The two outer active yards are more spatially distant and distinct between overseer and slave than at the Oval site, with the outer active yard largely devoid of refuse-bearing activities for both Structures 1 and 2 at Accotink. The peripheral yards at Accotink intersect and include more isolated activity areas.

At Wingo's Quarter, the inner active yard again includes a small, actively maintained yard space, with nearby but distinct refuse deposition (Figure 93). The outer active yard is heavily utilized and segmented, featuring fixed and semi-fixed feature space of the enclosure, garden, livestock pen, and cooking area. The east side of the enclosure can still be considered active, and evidence of a maintained clean space extends into the northern portion of the space. The peripheral yard at Wingo's does not

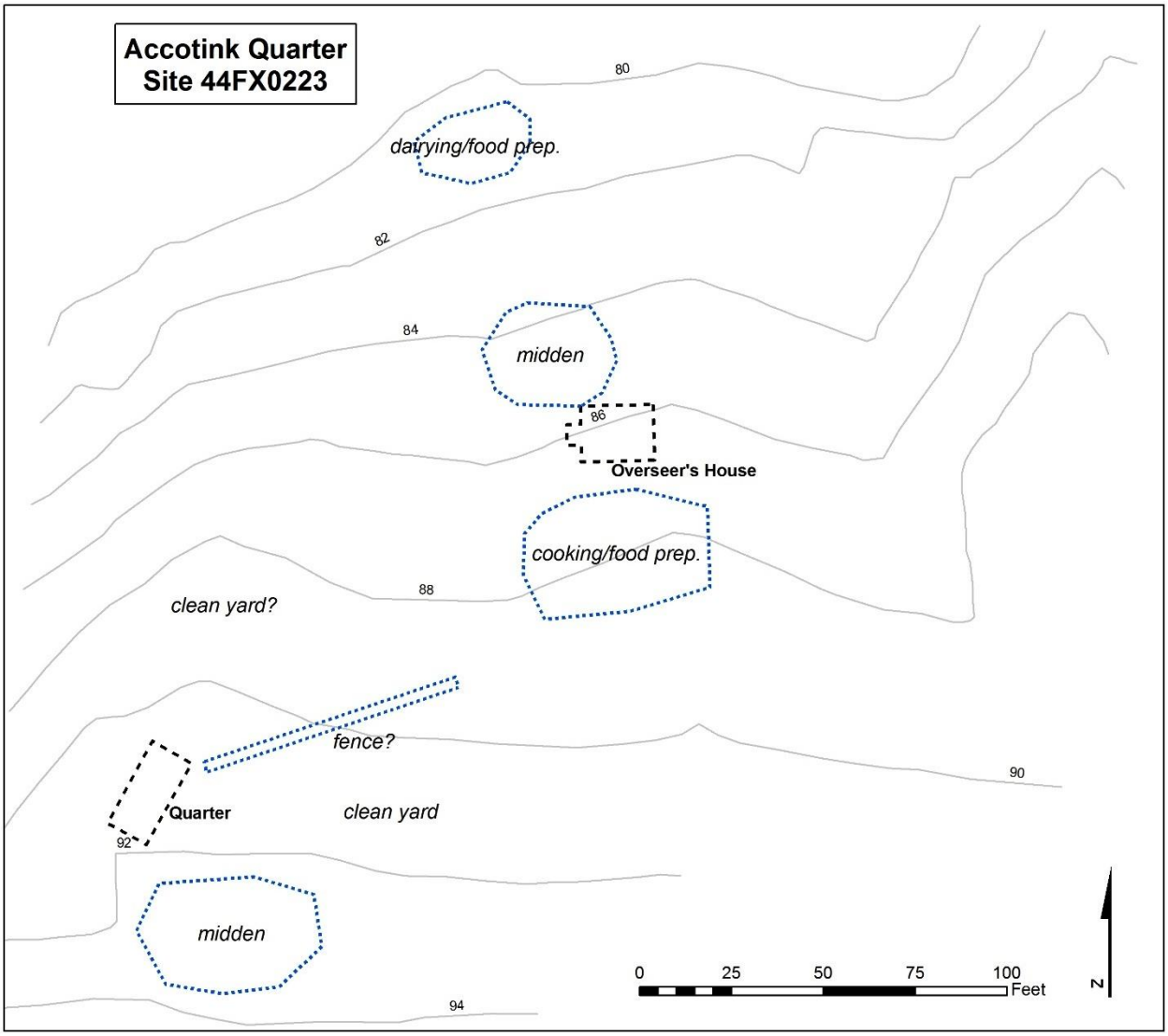


Figure 92: Interpreted Yard Space at Accotink Quarter.

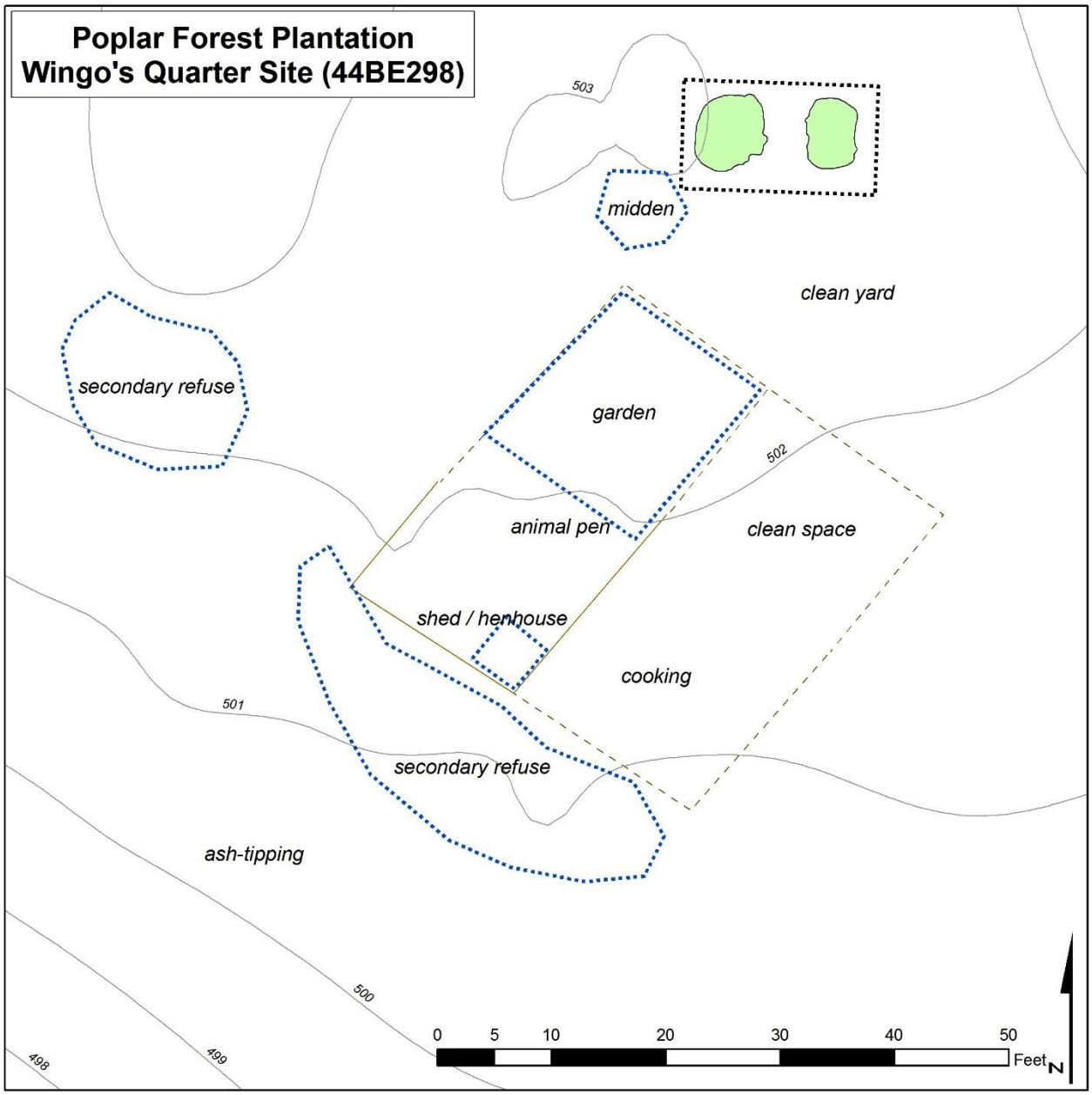


Figure 93: Interpreted Yard Space at Wingo's Quarter.

appear to feature outbuildings or activity areas that were detected archaeologically, though some refuse accumulations farther from the enclosure also suggest that the peripheral yard was not actively maintained as a clean space.

At the Stable Quarter, the very compact and heavily utilized space investigated around the cabin structure bears abundant evidence of segmentation and differentiation of spaces (Figure 94), though with fewer fixed-features than at Wingo's. The inner active yard surrounding the cabin features a separation of maintained clean yard space immediately in front of the cabin door with semi-fixed aspects of more activity to the southwest in the garden and possible food preparation to the west and northwest. The outer active yard includes the principle refuse-deposition in the borrow pits immediately beyond the front yard and includes portions of the garden. Tool maintenance, sewing, and possible animal penning and processing to the west are also part of the active outer yard. The application of Moir's yard model (1987) is somewhat restricted here due to the relatively small area excavated, but information from the broader Stable Yard survey (Trickett 2010) adds the presence of specialized craftwork and the stable itself to what could be considered part of the Stable Quarter's peripheral yard space.

At Site 17, the interpretations of space within the inner active yard include the principal midden on site to the south of the suspected house location (Figure 95). To the west of the structure, a potential cleaner area exists, though the indications of possible cleaning or maintenance are less clear than at other sites. The outer active yard is relatively free of refuse or indications of activity, while the peripheral yard includes the most activity in the presence of two outbuildings, further middens, and a possible animal pen to the north.

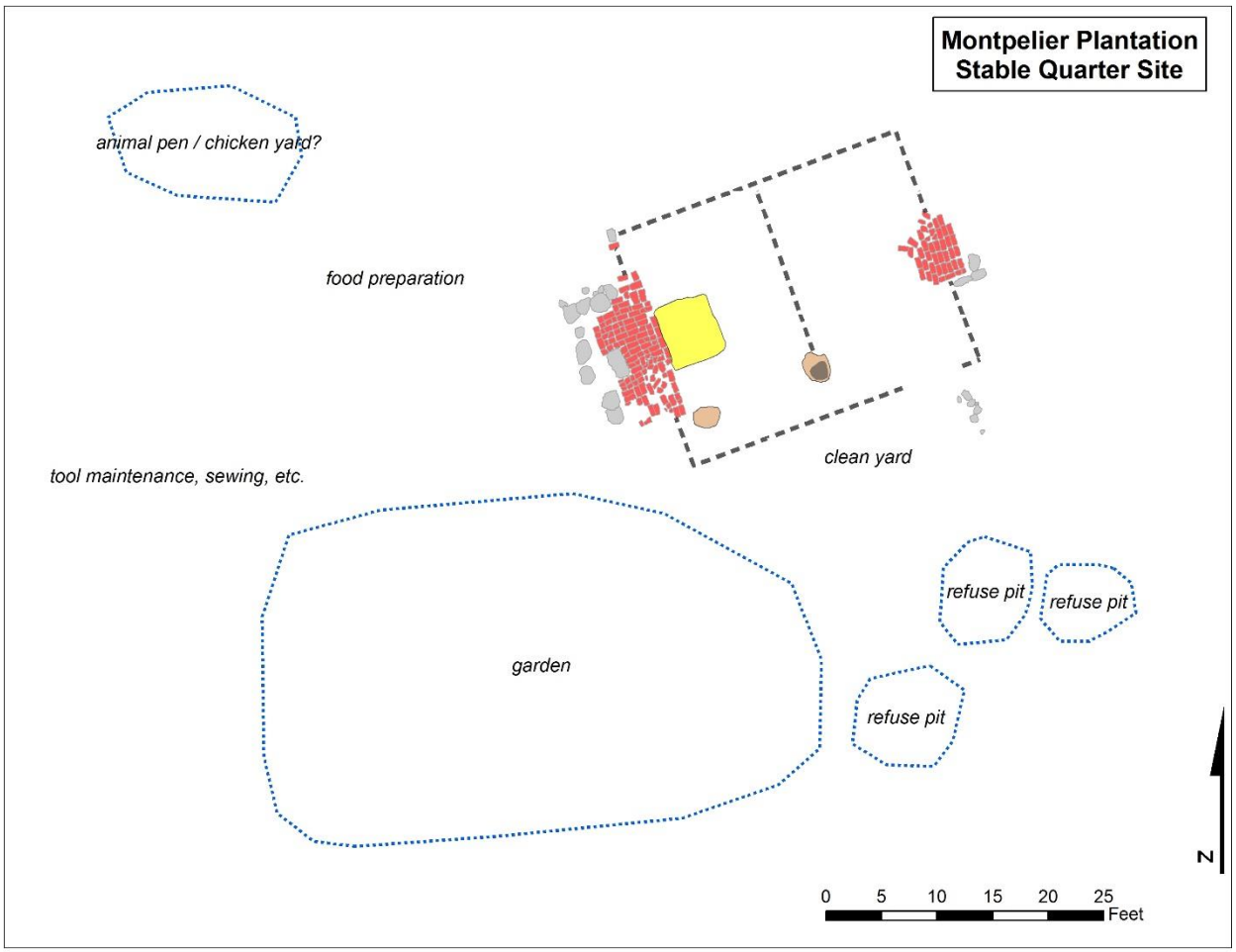


Figure 94: Interpreted Yard Space at the Stable Quarter.

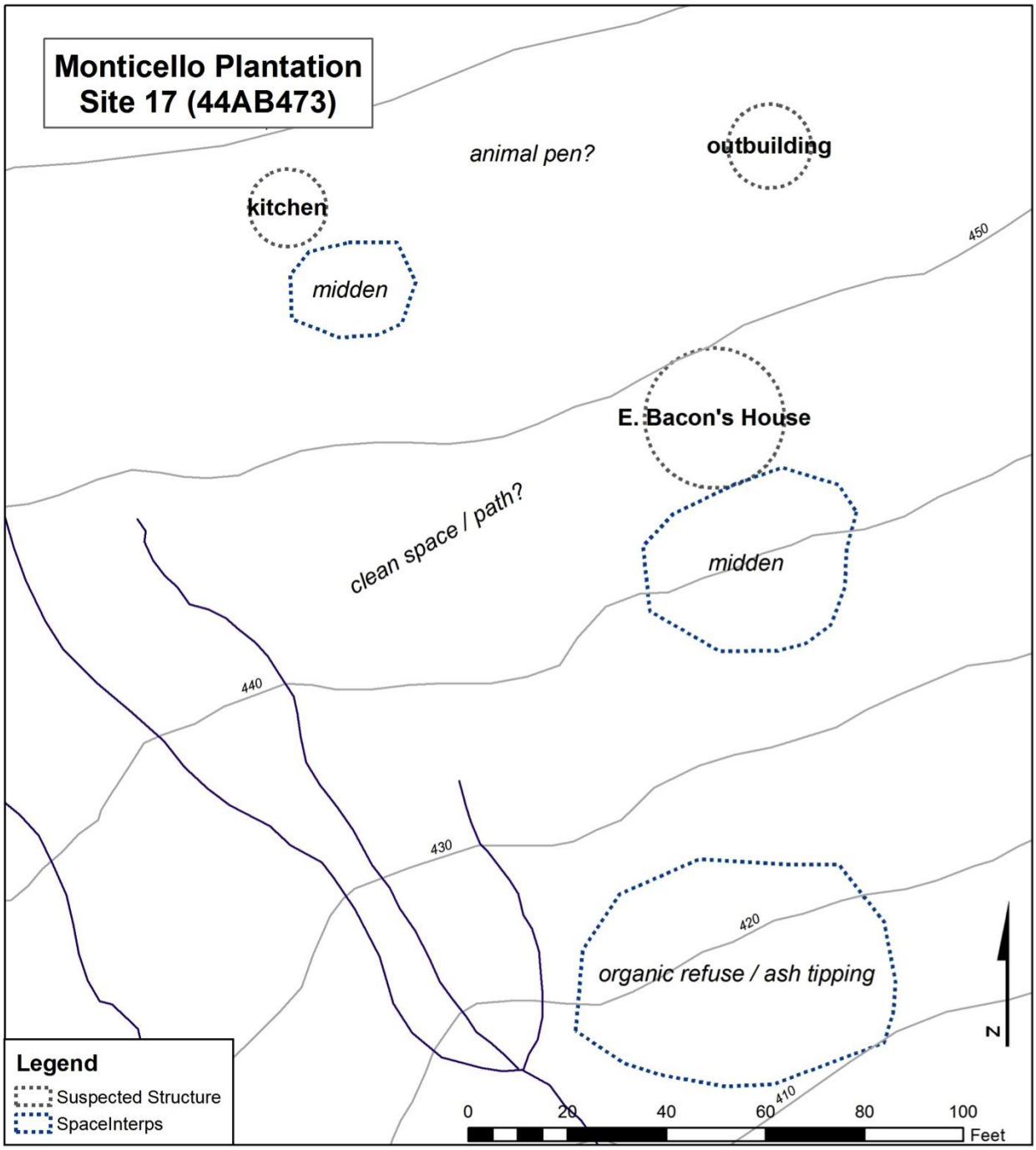


Figure 95: Interpreted Yard Space at Site 17.

In general, the yard organizations around more isolated slave quarters including Wingo's and the Stable Quarter feature more clearly differentiated clean and refuse-areas in the immediate inner yard, with highly active and less maintained outer yards that include gardening and activity areas, and peripheral yards that do not feature outbuildings. The intersection of yard spaces at the Oval and Accotink Quarter sites places overseers' and slaves' dwellings within each other's outer active and peripheral yards. The inner active yards of both the overseer and slaves at the Oval site are somewhat similar: heavy in use and refuse deposition without much evidence of maintained clean spaces, suggesting that the presence of the overseer in Structure 1 may have restricted the enslaved inhabitants of Structure 3 from organizing and using outdoor space for their own purposes. At Accotink the slaves' inner active yard bears more resemblance to Wingo's and the Stable Quarter with differentiated clean and midden spaces, suggesting that the slaves at Accotink were not as restricted by the presence of the overseer as were those at the Oval site. Each of the overseers' yard spaces at the Oval site, Accotink Quarter, and Site 17 feature relatively active and refuse-rich inner yards, with the only indication of potentially maintained clean space the very tentative area to the west of Edmund Bacon's house at Site 17. Outer active yards include less activity and refuse among the overseers than among the slaves in this study, and peripheral yards include more fixed and semi-fixed features such as dependencies, outbuildings, and workspaces.

The framework provided by Moir's (1987) model is useful for organizing the comparison of slave and overseer spaces, but the trends identified still require explanation. The maintenance of clean areas, likely by sweeping, is a common theme in

the archaeology of slave yard spaces. The evidence for the study sites suggests that relatively small, cleaned spaces did exist, directly in front of a dwelling, which was likely swept. These spaces are seen archaeologically at the Accotink Quarter, Wingo's Quarter, and the Stable Quarter as spaces free of significant artifact and soil chemical concentrations with ASI values that show smaller than average fragment sizes. Areas surrounding a likely swept yard show evidence of the accumulation of refuse by sweeping at the edges of the clean space including increases in soil chemical and artifact concentrations, ASI values show more even mixes and more large-size artifact fragments. Evidence for such a space is lacking at the Oval site, though there are cleaner spaces in front of the barn and overseer's house, but these may have been more related to a lack of refuse deposition and trampling than with active sweeping and cleaning.

At Site 17, a small zone of few artifacts, lower soil chemical values, and smaller ceramic sherds to the west of the overseer's house is apparent, though glass artifacts tend to be larger in that space. The downhill movement of objects in the plowzone at Site 17 makes the assignment of a cleaner space more challenging. I suggest that cleaner spaces could likely be found around buildings of many types and occupants, but do not necessarily indicate purposeful cleaning activities. Both slave and overseer dwellings have some degree of secondary refuse accumulation in middens near their structures. However, the slave quarters other than Structure 3 at the Oval site appear to have more discrete separation of clean and dirty areas within the immediate dwelling surroundings in the form of maintained clean yards bordered or edged by secondary refuse in pits, against fence-lines, or to either side of the cabin. While no archaeological

feature or spatial pattern could ever prove definitively that the specific act of sweeping took place, there are strong indications of actively cleaned outdoor spaces and sweeping is the most likely explanation for the cause.

As discussed in Chapter II, swept yards can be understood as a spatial practice that results from the assertion of control over space, and as a product of African American ethnogenesis, the manner in which African individuals from many different regions and ethnicities adapted their lives to each other and their new environment. The practice of sweeping yards and carrying out a variety of household activities, gardening, and raising livestock in yards spaces, has been documented historically and ethnographically in several regions of Africa, the Caribbean, and the southern United States from late 18th-century travelers' accounts to more contemporary folk art and ethnographic studies. This trajectory has led scholars to generally agree that the outdoor use of space and activities that include yard sweeping contain elements of African-derived practices, manifested in new settings and shaped by the contexts of slavery in the Caribbean and southern United States (Mintz 1974; Armstrong 1990; Westmacott 1992; Posnansky 1999:28; Heath and Bennett 2001:39-43; Glave 2003:398 Joyner 2003:15; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:110-114; Fesler 2010:43). Archaeologists have identified indications of clean spaces indicating possible swept yards at several slave-quartering sites in Virginia (Franklin 1994:95; Martin et al. 1997:165; Heath and Bennett 2001; Lawrence 2007; Bon-Harper 2010; Fesler 2010) and these spaces are interpreted as extensions of house space, work areas, spaces of leisure and socializing, subtle acts of resistance to the oppression of slavery, expressions of spiritual beliefs and customs, and acts of negotiating access to and control over space.

Sweeping in particular has been explained by ethnographic observation in the contemporary American South as relating mainly to functional and aesthetic values derived from older traditional cultural practices (Westmacott 1992; Fesler 2010:33). As Heath and Bennett (2001:39-43) review, the act of sweeping a yard in historic travelers' accounts in Africa include a variety of meaningful purposes including the ritual cleansing of village and compound spaces of harmful forces and spirits among the BaKongo of central Africa. The discussion of the "lolwapa" yard space of the Tswana in Chapter II, though not a specific people or region heavily involved in the slave trade to Virginia, notes similar concurrent spiritual practices and social meanings in the definition of boundaries and the demarcation of public and private spaces.

How much of the traditional meanings and purposes of African yards were preserved in the acts of yard maintenance by African and African American slaves in Virginia? There is some evidence among 20th-century ethnographic studies that the concepts of exerting control and ownership through enclosure and maintenance, as well as establishing boundaries between private and public spaces, still persist (Westmacott 1992; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:111). The appearance of clean spaces at slave quarter sites such as Accotink, Wingo's, and the Stable quarters, where local contexts suggest that the slaves had more autonomy over outdoor space, supports the inference that enclosing and cleaning spaces may have played similar roles in the past. There are many ethnic groups and regions in sub-Saharan Africa where evidence for yard maintenance has been documented, from groups in Sierra Leone, to the BaKongo, to the Tswana. Though the specific form of such activities can vary locally, the extensive use and maintenance of outdoor space is a relatively common West and Central African

feature (Sobel 1987:72; Posnansky 1999:28). Given that indications of use and maintenance of outdoor space, including yard sweeping, have occurred throughout several regions of Virginia, it appears that the spatial practices of yard and outdoor organization and maintenance are not likely attributable to a single ethnic or regional source. Rather, the creation of yard spaces was likely influenced by different, yet relatable, sets of practices of individuals from a variety of homelands including Senegambia, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Biafra, and West Central Africa.

As Heath and Bennett (2001:48,50) note, definitive archaeological evidence of sweeping is difficult to discern in contexts often disturbed by post-occupational disturbances such as plowing. However, some indication clean yards, likely swept, extended out from the fronts of slave dwellings at Accotink, Wingo's, and the Stable quarters. Given the limited architectural space of the slave quarter structures, discussed below, the outdoor spaces of Accotink, Wingo's and the Stable quarters became extensions of slaves' living spaces. Gardens were tended, fenced enclosures were built, animals were kept and butchered, and food was prepared. The clean yard was likely a place for socializing, play, and chores; where friends and family members could congregate, talk, smoke, mend clothes, children could play, and all in a space that was demarcated by a traditional practice.

At the Oval site, no discernable clean space could be associated so directly with either Structures 3 or 4. Similar to the discussion of the quarter structure orientation, the slaves at Accotink, Wingo's, and Stable quarters appear to have achieved greater degrees of autonomy in defining their own uses of space relative to the enslaved residents of the Oval site. While I make no attempt to claim this sample is

representative of the entirety of slave and overseer spaces in Virginia, it appears that the close proximity of the overseer at the Oval site, and the imposition of more formalized representational space and spatial practice, restricted the ability of those residents to more overtly modify the structure's orientation and surrounding yard-scape. The enslaved residents at the Oval site still likely carried on the activities that could have occurred in a clean yard or enclosure of their own design, but did so under spatial circumstance that were not their own, that more concretely imposed the plantation owner's concepts of how houses should appear and where activities occur.

Other uses of space outside the slave quarters at the Oval site, Wingo's, and the Stable Quarter include gardening. Gardens have been the topic of several interpretive themes in relation to the archaeology of slave quarter sites, through topics usually revolving around the plants cultivated and how they fit into the lifeways of the enslaved producers. Unlike larger provisioning grounds in the portions of the Caribbean and Lower South, where slaves were assigned larger plots of land often on marginal land away from their quarters to provide sizable portions of their own diet (Higman 1987; Armstrong 1990; Pulsipher 1994; Heath and Bennett 2001; Bates 2007), slave gardens in the Chesapeake were generally limited to small house-yard plots that played a less central role in providing the bulk of food consumed by slaves[5], but served a variety of purposes including for subsistence, economic production, health, personal expression, and even resistance (Heath 2001; Heath 2004; Mrozowski et al. 2008; Bowes and Trigg 2012). Gardens of the wealthy, plantation-owing elite have been studied more

[5] During the antebellum period at Poplar Forest, Edward Hutter assigned larger "patches" to slaves that were distinct from their house-yard gardens, which may have been used for both subsistence and economic production (Lee 2016).

extensively as conceptual and representational spaces including reflections of control over nature and efforts to naturalize their social standing (Leone 1984; Leone et al. 2010) or physical representations of memory (McKee 1996; Heath 2008).

At Wingo's and the Stable Quarter, gardens were almost certainly cultivated by and for the enslaved inhabitants of those sites. Although no fencing features were identified or soil chemistry analysis carried out at the Accotink Quarter that could identify fertilizers, macrobotanical analysis revealed remains of alfalfa, corn, lentils, mustard, elderberry, wheat, and legumes. While corn and wheat remains were likely products of the plantation or provisioning supplies, and the alfalfa and other wild species of grasses and weedy plants may have been procured from various locations, berries and vegetables including leafy greens, lentils, and legumes were likely cultivated in a garden somewhere on the quarter (Sipe et al. 2013:393-394). Similar assortments of likely crops, wild plants, and berries, and garden produce including beans, corn, and potatoes were likely cultivated in the garden at Wingo's (Heath et al. 2015:134).

Like yard sweeping, the act of gardening can be viewed as appropriation of outdoor space by enslaved residents of a quarter (Westmacott 1992:112; Vlach 1993:167-168; Pulsipher 1994:217-218;), and was widely noted in historical travelers' accounts in the Caribbean and American South (Heath and Bennett 2000:39-41). As a spatial practice, gardening reflected and engaged in the social relations between slave and free management, establishing autonomy and control over space for their aesthetic, dietary, spiritual, economic, and social desires and needs. Given the association of the garden with Structure 3 that served as both a kitchen and a quarter, the gardening activities at the Oval site may be less directly associated with the intentions and uses of

slaves. The products grown may have been for use by the overseer's household, or for the use of the larger quarter or home farm as a whole. While perhaps not as complete an appropriation of space, working in the garden and with its produce at the Oval site almost certainly fell within the purview of the enslaved residents of the quarter, who likely took advantage of the time, space, and products to as great an extent as possible.

No evidence of garden features were recovered at Site 17, though the accumulation of soil chemical values at the extreme southern end of the site indicating ash tipping and organic refuse such as animal dung or tissue could potentially indicate fertilizers applied to a garden area, though no other evidence was recovered to support that possibility. Overseers may have been less personally involved in the gardening on their quarters, work that could have fallen to slaves assigned or owned by households. Overall it appears that overseers were less invested in personalizing and organizing the outdoor spaces around their houses, likely seeing them as only temporary arrangements for themselves and their families.

Architectural Space

Homes of the Enslaved

Historical and archaeological research indicates that slaves were housed in a variety of quarter structures, including both non-kin co-residential barracks and typically smaller family-based structures. Earthfast architecture, clapboard walls affixed to posts set in to the ground, with wattle and daub chimneys, were typical early manifestations. Later improvements included wood frame quarters on ground-laid sills or small brick footings and piers. Corner-notched log cabins, again laid directly on the ground or on

small blocks, with wattle and daub chimneys were used in Virginia through the later portion of the 18th and early 19th centuries. Considerable variation in the quality of size of slave housing occurred even on large plantations, from sparsely furnished cabins to brick duplexes with glazed windows (Upton 1985; McKee 1992; Vlach 1993; Wells 1993; Samford 1996; Morgan 1998:108-109; Pogue 2002; Sanford and Pogue 2009; Heath 2010a). Larger synthetic surveys of recorded archaeological remains of slave quartering structures by Fesler (2004), and results of the ongoing compilation of archaeological and standing structures in the Virginia Slave Housing Database (Sanford and Pogue 2009; Heath and Breen 2009) have further explored the variation in slave quarter architecture.

Like the placement of the quartering sites and in some instances the arrangements of structures, the architectural nature and size of slave quarter structures was largely at the discretion of plantation owners and managers. The evidence of architectural spaces for the enslaved at the study sites represent a variety of earthfast structures from the post-in-ground structures of the Oval site that are classic examples of early vernacular architecture in the Coastal Tidewater region, to the sill-laid cabins at Wingo's and the Stable Quarter that represent later manifestations more typical of the Piedmont (Heath and Breen 2009). The quality of materials and features also range from the most ephemeral remains at the Accotink Quarter, a post-set structure that does not appear to have included a formal chimney or glazed windows, to the more substantially constructed log cabin duplex of the Stable Quarter that featured two stone and brick hearths, an interior partition, and glazed windows. The cabin at Wingo's was also likely of log construction with a stone chimney base and wood and daub chimney.

The earlier post-in-ground structures at the Oval site featured large cellars, brick chimney bases, and glazed windows. It is noteworthy that the quarters closest to the main houses on plantations, the Oval site and Stable Quarter structures, feature some of the more expensive or durable materials such as masonry chimney bases and glazed windows. Outlying quarter farm dwellings such as at Accotink and Wingo's quarters lack these features. The variation of quality of materials and construction within structures even within proximity to plantation cores has been documented among collections of standing structures (Sanford and Pogue 2009) and at individual plantations (Sanford 1999; Pogue 2002), though field quarters are less likely to include those more expensive architectural investments.

House size has been a principal focus of architectural space among archaeologists in studies of changing socio-spatial relationships, household structure, and changes in plantation management strategies (Orser 1998; Fesler 2004; Neiman 2008; Heath and Breen 2009). In broader studies, Fesler (2004) and Heath and Breen (2009) find that slave dwellings generally decrease in size through the 18th century before increasing again in the early 19th century. The decrease through the 18th century has been interpreted as a reflection of the growth of family-based housing replacing earlier barracks-style structure for larger groups of unrelated individuals. The following increase in size in the 19th century is likely associated with changes in the relations of production related to the switch from tobacco to mixed grain agriculture (Neiman 2008) and the influence agricultural reform and scientific management movements that led to "improved" housing" as a way to exert more pervasive control over enslaved populations (McKee 1992; Chappell 1999).

The slave quartering structures at the study sites don't directly conform to the overall trend of decreasing house size through the 18th century, though the extremely small sample size of structures within this study is far from representative. Taking instead a broader view, the early- to mid- 18th-century structures of the Oval site range from 165 ft.^{2} to 256 ft.^{2} (Table 20) and the similarly dated Structure 2 at the Accotink Quarter likely falls within a similar range (Table 24). The cabin at Wingo's quarter was at least 185 ft.^{2}, and the largest slave quarter in this study is the Stable Quarter at 320 ft.^{2}. When compared to larger synthetic studies (Fesler 2004; Heath and Breen 2009; Sanford 2009), these housing dimensions appear well within a standard deviation of average slave housing size. Fesler (2004) and Heath and Breen (2009) also note that average house sizes begin to trend larger after 1800, and the Stable Quarter suggests those larger trends are apparent even in this very small sample. Lacking detailed information on the precise number of slaves assigned to each quarter makes inferences about the degree of crowding difficult, but if we posit roughly 6 individuals per structure, representing half of a typical gang as discussed in Chapter III or an extended family unit, ground floor space per individual in these structures would average about 40 ft.^{2}.

Modifications of architectural space in the slave quarter structures at Accotink, Wingo's, and the Stable quarters include subfloor pits. Given restrictions of small housing space and limited provisions of slavery, subfloor pits likely represent improvised spatial solutions to the needs of enslaved individuals to store personal items and surplus food. The origins, typologies, uses, and meanings of subfloor pits at slave quartering sites have a rich historiography of their own (Kelso 1984; Ferguson 1992; Fennell 2003; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008; Hatch 2009). My purpose in

their discussion, like my discussion of gardens and yards, is not to offer new interpretations of these spaces or to refute earlier theories. In fact, the subfloor pits discussed at the study sites in this research conform extremely well to the interpretations of changing housing practices and agricultural regimes that resulted in fewer pits per structure over time as slaves were increasing housed in smaller family-based groupings (Neiman 2008); and their forms match well the functions and typologies developed by Samford (2007). Rather I hope to show how they formed a part of spatial practices within discursive efforts to appropriate and control space by both the enslaved and plantation management. As Fesler (2004:283) notes: “subfloor pits may be the purest archaeological form of self-determination, a physical demonstration of enslaved residents molding their living environment without interference from authority figures.” The silence of plantation owners and historical commentators on the existence of subfloor pits suggests the practice was largely tolerated.

However, evidence discussed above for the spatial practices at the Oval site has indicated that the proximity of the overseer likely restricted or re-shaped some aspects of spatial practices by the enslaved residents, as opposed to the residents of Accotink, Wingo’s, and the Stable Quarter. As noted in Chapter IV, Structures 3 and 4 did not feature traditional subfloor pits. The slave quartering structures at the Oval site had larger, more formal cellars, though whether these cellars were used to store the slave’s provisions and personal items, or goods for use by the larger quarter, is not certain. The most thought-provoking aspects of these cellars are the dugout cavities in the sidewalls of each cellar (Figures 21 and 23). The slaves that inhabited the structures likely appropriated cellar space through the improvisation of these horizontally oriented pits

for their own uses.

The surviving chimney base feature of Structure 3 also indicates that the dugout feature was excavated into the side closest to the hearth. Pits placed close to the hearth of slave quarters have been interpreted as specialized storage for root crops that require dryer and warmer conditions for long-term storage (Samford 2007). The dugout in the root cellar of Structure 4 also extended to the west, and although no remains of a hearth were found, it was likely also situated at the west end of Structure 4.

The dugout west ends of the cellars may be improvised personal storage areas created by the enslaved occupants of the Oval site for their own purposes, possibly for root crops. The large cellars and their overlaying flooring in Structures 3 and 4 prevented the creation of more traditional subfloor pits by the enslaved residents of the buildings, leading to the ad-hoc digging of the dugouts in the sides of the cellars to fulfill similar purposes. The similarity of these improvisations even suggests that the enslaved occupants shared the concept and execution of these dugouts perhaps revealing a level of familial or community corporate action.

As noted in Chapter IV, Ramey's (2014) analysis of sherd sizes, terminus post quem dates, and the distinct fills of the features suggests the cellars of Structures 3 and 4 appear to have been filled during the site's occupation with sediments extracted from nearby gullies and ravines rather than the midden soils and architectural debris that comprised the fills of the overseer's basement in Structure 1. Stratigraphic relationships suggest that the basement was also a later addition to the overseer's house. It is possible that after a trial of providing larger, more formal cellars within slave quarter structures at the Oval site, the Lees and their managers decided to abandon those

storage spaces in favor of providing a full-height basement addition to the overseer's house. The creation of the dugout cavities could even represent behavior that was purposefully combatted by the Lees and their overseers, and once discovered, the cellars filled in to prevent such appropriations of space. The change could have resulted from a change in overseer, conflicts that arose over the control of storage space, or even the goods stored in the cellars and dugouts. While these inferences are largely speculative, it appears that the dugout cavities of Structures 3 and 4 represent a negotiation of control over small-scale spaces within a quartering site.

Overseer's Houses

Otto's (1975) comparison of 19th-century planter, overseer, and slave sites at Cannon's Point plantation in Georgia remains a foundational work in the notably small field of archaeological investigations of plantation overseers in the American South. One of Otto's key findings was that relatively indistinguishable nature of artifact assemblages between overseers and slaves contrasted to the more readily distinguishable larger and higher quality of architecture of the overseer's house. The overseer's house at Cannon's Point was a substantial one-story, two-room brick structure with central passage that measured 34 ft. x 36 ft. The house included two interior chimneys and a detached kitchen (Otto 1975:118). The 590 $ft.^2$ house was appreciably larger, included more rooms, and was more substantially built than the associated ground-laid sill wood frame slave cabins. Otto's (1975:158) qualifying statement that architectural remains may be more reflective of the planter's assertions than the actual socioeconomic position of overseers foreshadowed this study's emphasis on the representational

space of overseer's quarters.

The overseer's houses at the Oval site, Accotink Quarter, and Site 17 also appear to be relatively larger and more substantially built relative to the slave quarters with which they are associated. Structure 1 at the Oval site began as a 320 ft.^{2} earthfast structure, and was later enlarged with a brick addition with a full height basement that increased the overall footprint to 432 ft.^{2}, nearly twice the size of the nearby quarters of Structures 2 and 3 (Table 20). The overseer's house at the Accotink Quarter was interpreted as at least 15 ft. x 17 ft. to encompass the large cellar feature, though only two rather ephemeral post holes on the building's west end were identified to help guide this inference. The minimum of 255 ft.^{2} of ground floor living space of Structure 1 at the Accotink Quarter is more in line with the average slave quarter structure of the period, typically averaging less than 400 ft.^{2} (Fesler 2004:255; Sanford 2009:9-10; Heath and Breen 2009:4-5). While the dimensions of both structures are tentative, the overseer's house at Accotink may not have been larger than the slave quarter.

At Site 17, no structural evidence was recovered that would provide exact, or even minimum, dimensions of Edmund Bacon's house. The spread of architectural debris at Site 17 and status of Bacon as a free white employee makes a comparison to the Stewart-Watkins house useful. The latter house included an 18 ft. x 24 ft. frame structure set on stone foundations with an 18 ft. x 12 ft. addition, creating a total of ground floor living space of 648 ft.^{2}. The dimensions of nearby slave quartering sites at Monticello are similarly ephemeral and difficult to size. Earlier structures pre-dating Site 17 on Mulberry Row include larger barracks-style housing such as the 17 ft. x 34 ft. Negro Quarter (Hill 2003c). Later slave-quartering structures on Mulberry Row included

buildings r, s, and t, which were three single-family one-room cabins, each measuring 12 ft. x 14 ft. (Sanford 1995:198-203; Hill 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

Overseer's houses do appear to be relatively larger than the slave dwelling with which they were most directly associated, though their overall size does not greatly exceed the range of variation found among slave housing (Fesler 2004:255; Sanford 2009:9-10; Heath and Breen 2009:4-5). The structures also tended to feature more substantial and expensive materials in their construction including stone hearths, brick masonry, and glazed windows. Both the overseer's houses at the Oval site and Accotink Quarter featured more formal subterranean storage features in the form of bulkhead-entrance cellars and basements. The brick basement at the Oval site is the larger and more formal of the two, with English-bond masonry and interior wall plaster. It is also worth noting that both structures bear evidence of structural failings and hiccups in design. The brick basement at the Oval site features a curving cut along its southwest wall, backfilled with informally bonded masonry where the builders apparently swerved to avoid the pre-existing posthole. Also, a thin one-brick wide wall was placed to the north of the bulkhead entrance at slightly off-angles and with a gap at its northern end (Figure 18), apparently as a repair to retain the subsoil cut of the basement. Layers of sand noted during excavation near the base of wall suggest that sediments appeared to have washed in prior to the abandonment of the building. The cellar of Structure 1 at the Accotink Quarter also appeared to have suffered from drainage-related problems, evident from the creation of a gravel ramp or floor surface as noted by Sipe and colleagues (2013:204).

Summary

The imposition of architectural space by plantation owners on both their overseer and slaves can been seen as spatial practice in much the same way as plantation layout and quarter building arrangements. The social relations between members of the plantation community are not only reflected, but also influenced by, the distinctions in architectural quality, size, and features of their dwellings. The additional storage afforded by cellar and basement additions to overseer houses stand out from slave quarter subfloor pits in size and formality, but at both the Oval site and Accotink those features appear to have been constructed with less than perfect attention to detail. Overseer's architectural spaces provided by plantation owners appear recognizably larger and more architecturally complex than those of the slaves in their immediate quarter, reflecting and informing their positions of authority. However, it should be noted that the houses provided for overseers were nowhere near as large or as substantially built as the mansions inhabited by the Lees, Jeffersons, and Madisons; suggesting that while overseers were certainly higher in social space than their slaves, they were still greatly below the social space of their employers.

The spatial practices of overseer and slave quarters appear to have been active in negotiating and representing two distinctions of social relations imbued with power: free white managers were in most cases separated and elevated from the African American slaves they oversaw, in their placement on the landscape, within their quarters, and in the size and quality of the architectural spaces provided for them. The imposition of overseers into the quarters with slaves they managed likely restricted the degree to which the enslaved appropriated both indoor and outdoor spaces for their

own uses.

Simultaneously, these distinctions placed overseers in close proximity to enslaved laborers, and in houses far closer in size and quality to their slaves than to their elite employers, spatial practices that resulted from and played into the distinctions between wealthy landowners and their employers of far more modest means. The imposition of planters' schemes and authority were not the only forces active on multiple scales of the landscape. When given the space due to absence, distance, or apathy of an overseer, slaves did arrange their homes and yards with greater degrees of freedom and autonomy.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSIONS

From the broader scale of placing quarters within a plantation, to the smaller scales of quarter layouts, yards, and housing, the comparison of overseer and slave quarter sites and structures indicates a complex negotiation of social relations and spatial practices. I am not the first to suggest that the social hierarchy of plantation systems influenced their layout and landscape, nor the first to interpret slaves' efforts to use yards, gardens, and pits as efforts to carve out physical and social spaces under the larger oppressive forces of slavery. However, the inclusion of overseers and considerations of the dialectic nature of socio-spatial relationships adds complexity, nuance, and the materiality of space to the discussion of how race and class were negotiated on plantation settings. A close, detailed reading of micro-landscapes at these sites has allowed me to formulate some specific distinctions between slave and overseer uses of space within specific historical contexts that indicate the development of African American spatiality was not shared with free whites of lower socioeconomic status.

Overall, this study has added to a small but growing field of comparative examinations of landscape and space on plantations (Higman 1987; Pulsipher 1994; Delle 1999; Epperson 1999, 2000; Bon-Harper and MacReynolds 2011). Artifact-based studies and examinations of housing and subfloor pits have achieved synthetic levels of comparative analysis (Upton 1982; Ferguson 1992; Samford 1996; Fesler 2004; Bell 2005; Samford 2007; Heath and Breen 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2009; Heath 2010a), though previous works on plantation landscapes have largely focused on single sites or

plantations that are often well-contextualized (Heath and Bennett 2001; Fesler 2006; Bates 2007). Many continue to focus on a binary relationship between owner and enslaved based on domination and resistance (Orser 1988; Epperson 1991; 2000; Delle 1999; Singleton 2001). Part of the contribution of my work is to advance comparisons of plantation space at multiple scales between slave quarters and those of overseers, and with sites occupied by both slaves and overseers.

Much of the following discussion focuses on how individuals such as planters, overseers, and slaves attempted to assert, react, and control aspects of representational space and spatial practices for their own goals and intentions. In acknowledging the duality of material culture to both reflect and affect social relations, I also highlight evidence that shows how space likely influenced the social relations of the people associated with plantation contexts. The primary vehicle for this argument is a comparison of the archaeological findings with historical accounts of how the social space of slaves and overseers were perceived by others.

Strategy: Race and Class from the Top Down

The varied nature of space within the plantation contexts in this study shows how space was part of the dialectic distinction of racially categorized groups, including both imposed representational spaces that communicated divisions, and the spatial practices that helped materialize them in everyday interactions. As Epperson (1999, 2004) has pointed out, investigations of race as a social construction rightly seek to explain the processes of its development, while avoiding the over-abstraction of race as construct that can deny its very real and tangible effects. While race is generally agreed as not

"real" from for a genetic standpoint, race as a socio-historic construct in history with immense and tangible consequences in contemporary society, is unquestionably real. Revisiting the development of enslaved labor in the New World discussed in Chapter III, racial stereotypes as they were later defined in the 18th and 19th centuries were founded on earlier divisions of labor and power used by colonial elites to consolidate power (Epperson 1999, 2001; Eltis 2000; Parent 2003). As the definition of slavery was codified in Virginia in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, definitions that initially relied on the African birthplace and non-Christian religions of slaves to differentiate them from European servants were replaced by racial definitions.

Through the placement, quality, size, and arrangement of their spaces, overseers were distinguished from and elevated above the African and African American slaves whom they managed. Overseers were spatially separated, placed either at a distance greater than typically found between slave dwellings or in a position on the landscape that communicated and enabled authority and oversight. Their dwellings, while not as large or fine as those of the elite owners, still distinguished them from the slaves they oversaw in both the size and quality of their dwellings. In several cases when levels of personal wealth, as evidenced by artifact assemblages, suggest similar states of economic status between free whites and slaves, a combination of quarter layout and architectural investment distinguish between slave and free whites. Though subject to variation, a generally higher investment in the size and quality of architecture for overseers' dwellings appears to be a common tool, at least on large plantations, for owners to impose their perspective of race-based hierarchy on their employees and slaves, even where economic means of slaves may have rivaled that of overseers.

Those spatial and material aspects of overseers' placement and housing represent attempts to reinforce racial order and discipline on the plantation.

Strategies of space were not only directed towards the structures of overseers, but to the slaves as well. The spatial arrangement and qualities of slave quarter structures played into the development of racist concepts of otherness and inferiority of African Americans. The lower quality and smaller size of slave quarter structures can be seen as representational space directed at the slaves, a clear message that the plantation labor force was ranked by race with owners and overseers at the top and the African and African American slaves at the bottom. Such representations also reflect hierarchy among the enslaved from the owner's perspective, with better quality of materials or more formal designs used for domestic servants as opposed to the smaller impermanent cabins often used for agricultural laborers.

Considering both the material qualities and the documentary record of overseers presents the social space of these white employees in plantation society not simply as middlemen, but as more manipulated and fluid agents of planter society. In a consideration of Chesapeake society and architecture, Allison Bell (2005) argued that planters strategically mixed ideas of capitalism to maximize profit and individual wealth with more traditional community-based social practices in order to construct a racially based solidarity among whites of all classes. From this perspective, overseers were overtly and materially placed above slaves in an explicitly race-defined hierarchy, but they were also a means to an economic end, allowing the wealthiest planters to achieve an economy of scale by increasing and specializing management. Simultaneously promoted and supported by the wealth and authority of the planter, even as they were

often mistrusted and maligned by the same employer, overseers were imbued with position and power based on the racial divisions of labor. The idea that even slightly improved or larger housing for overseers may have been an understandable spatial statement is reinforced by the fact that many poor to middling whites in early colonial Virginia lived in small, impermanent dwellings that would not have fallen far from the size and appearance of many slave quarters (Sobel 1987:100-113; Walsh 1997:102). Thomas Jefferson offered William Newby a position as overseer at Poplar Forest in 1815 and described the alterations to a slave quarter that would make it suitable for Newby:

> The house is uncomfortable, being a single room [with] loft above, but I wish to add to it to make it comfortable. Another room with passage between can be quickly added of hew logs as is usual in that country, plaistered, with windows, stone chimney, etc. and as this would take but a very short time, I would rather leave it to be done by yourself immediately on your arrival, that you might do it to please yourself (Heath 1999b:205).

The focus of communicating hierarchy through overseers also speaks to the dual nature of defining racial categories. Racial definitions depend on the contrast of what is included and what is excluded, and as the categories of “negro” and “slave” were defined legally and socially in the past, so too were the categories of “free” and “white”. In what has been termed the “invention of whiteness” (Epperson 1999, 2001), or “white ethnogenesis” (Bell 2005), studies have called out the fact that investigating the social construction of race is as much about how diverse groups of European immigrants were subsumed into a white race as how those from diverse African origins were subsumed into a black race. By incorporating poorer European Americans into the plantation hierarchy as their overseers, planters helped define the inclusion of those groups into a

privileged and powerful category of freedom and whiteness (Morgan 1975; Paynter 2001). That process of incorporation was, in part, materialized through the architectural and spatial distinction of overseers' residences.

The spatial practices seen at overseer sites in Virginia were produced by, and in turn helped form, the social relations that defined whiteness. The social distance of race between overseers and slaves appears to increase in its materialization throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. Over time, overseers appear less associated with particular slave quarters and their placement on the landscape became more central to the plantation core and mansion house. As noted in Chapter VI, the overseer's residence at Stratford by the early 19th century was the northwest dependency, a brick structure approximately 80 feet from the Great House. At Poplar Forest, while the specific location of earlier overseers of the home farm is uncertain, by the mid-19th century the north tenant house structure may have served as the residence of an overseer and his family (Heath et al. 2004:2; Heath and Lee 2010:1356). It is interesting that at Monticello, Site 17 represents a later, higher ranking overseer placed farther from the main house than the preceding overseer's occupation of Site 7, yet is still sited at a greater distance from the surrounding slave quarters of its period.

Orser and Nekola (1996:395) suggested that the proximity of overseers to slave quarters, and the proximity of domestic slave quarters to planters' houses, meant that spatial organization of plantations was not solely based upon race. Certainly, economic and logistical factors were involved in the placement of plantation structures, and likely influenced the social relations of a plantation, blurring the representational spaces based on race. The world was not simply split into black and white, and the historical

construction of any number of social identities such as age, gender, and class would have intersected spatially with the creation of race. The idea of class, like space, is both plainly understood in its application, but suffers from obfuscation in its technical definition. Mrozowski (2006:12-13) notes that this confusion arises from the evolution of thinking and scholarship on capitalism and the differential concepts of class used by a variety of fields as either an abstract entity based on statistics and wealth, or as a socially constructed identity. In general, class can be conceived of similarly to race, in that it includes group identities that can be both self-imposed and ascribed by external forces that are imbued with power and exploitation; yet where race is based on perceived ethnic and biological distinctions, class identity relates primarily to the degree to which one's human capital is valued and exploited.

Overseers were simultaneously elevated racially as white, but distinguished from the owner's self-assigned dominance over the plantation based on class. Placement of many overseers, particularly on outlying quarters, away from the owners' homes and in unmistakably smaller houses than their mansions, reflected the owner's intentions of distinguishing themselves as higher in authority, class, and social standing than other free whites on the plantation and acted to inform others of that distinction. The distinction in size, cost, and complexity between Jefferson's Monticello mansion, the Lee's Great House and the houses provided to their overseers clearly shows that within the racial cohesion among whites, the labor of lower classes was clearly to the benefit of the elite planters who owned the means of production. The overseers were spatially higher than slaves, but nowhere near as great as the owners, simultaneously reflecting their position in the plantation hierarchies of race and class. Again, the social

construction of identities is seen through both inclusion and exclusion, and the more facets of any one individual's social space are considered, the more simultaneous and intersecting sets of group membership or distinction may be encountered.

Otto (1975) attempted to break down the intersecting nature of social statuses among planters, overseers, and slaves at Cannon's Point. In his comparison he also noted that several intersecting "statuses" existed on the plantation, including a power status that lumped subordinate status slaves and overseers together against an elite status owner. I argue that the statuses of race and class could not be extricated so cleanly. White overseers were free, African and African American slaves were not. Certain circumstances could have blurred that line, such as the use of an enslaved foreman or a freed African American to fill the supervisory role of overseer. The relatively lesser degrees of spatial distinction seen at the Accotink Quarter implies that the social relations between the enslaved and their supervisor, one of which included a mulatto known as Free Jack, could have been less hierarchical than other plantations in this study. The fall in social standing of the plantation owner, Abraham Barnes, could also have served to undermine the imposition of spatial strategies to communicate and effect race divisions among his laborers.

The audience of such representational space was not necessarily the plantation laborers. Other members of 18th- and 19th-century society resided on plantations including indentured servants, hired laborers, millers, skilled artisans, clerks, and teachers. A variety of free white Virginians interacted with plantations as the economic hubs of a regional landscape that was typified by relatively few densely populated settlements. Plantation mills, workshops, stores, wharfs, and schools served as points

of contact where the wider population could have at least temporarily been audience of the representational spaces of race and class involving overseers and slaves. The social relations communicated in slave and overseer quarters likely spoke to them, informing the public image of overseers. Weithoff (2006a) notes that public conceptions of overseer identities included negative connotations relating to their association with slaves and perceived clandestine operation as spies for their employers. Simultaneously, they could be viewed as defenders of the broader population against the perceived threat of slave insurrections and violence. Again, the dual nature of demarcating racial hierarchy in overseers' quarters while simultaneously associating them with slaves spatially likely fed in to these contrasting images.

Tactics: To Appropriate Space, or Not

Not every aspect of spatial practice on a plantation reflected or enforced the will of the planter. Within the larger constrictions of the plantation landscape, enslaved residents appropriated space for their uses, and in forms that suggest both individual needs and collective identities. Several slave quarters examined in this study included the use of outdoor space in clean, swept yards and areas of gardening where the occupants of the sites could produce food, raise children, socialize, and carry on with interactions of daily life as best they could.

Making Places and Communities

In the alignments of structures and enclosures, it seems that enslaved residents of the Accotink Quarter, Wingo's Quarter, and the Stable Quarter found room to deviate from larger representational space and spatial practices that embodied the strategies of

plantation management from those of larger plantation owners. Similarly, subfloor pits were employed within the restrictions of small, crowded quarters that allowed the enslaved to claim not just the contents of the pits, but also the space as their own. The concept of asserting ownership and control over a space would allow the enslaved a small measure of control of their daily lives, lives which were filled with coercion, oppressive work, and the threats of violence, separation, and sale. The ability to control spaces such as a yard or garden would also have tangible economic benefits, as slaves were known to barter and sell the products of outdoor activities such as garden-grown vegetables and products from small livestock such as eggs (Heath 2004; Lamzik 2013; Lee 2016).

The appropriation of outdoor spaces also speaks to collective identity and community efforts among the enslaved. Battle (2004:43-49) argues that the multifaceted use of outdoor space among the enslaved at the Hermitage in Tennessee served the residents of multiple structures. The use of yards as extensions of the quarter structures, and their role in social interactions not just among, but between households as spaces that defined a social sphere outside the private space of the quarter structure, served to build collective community identity that was distinct from that of plantation management.

The context of unrelated enslaved individuals, likely from a variety of regional and ethnic origins in Africa, provides the key to asserting the relation between collective spatial practices and the building of communal understanding and community identity. The review of slave importation data and plantation histories in Chapter III suggests that enslaved residents of early 18th-century contexts in the Rappahannock and Potomac

River regions of northern Virginia such as at Accotink Quarter and the Oval site were more likely to be unrelated and recently arrived from more diverse regional and ethnic origins. African derived names of the slaves at Stratford attest to the relative newness of many of the slaves' resident at the Oval site, which dates to the time of greatest trans-Atlantic importation to northern Virginia. The presence of five subfloor pits of various size and orientation in Structure 2 at the Accotink Quarter indicates that it may have housed an assortment of unrelated individuals or groups. However, the collective actions such sweeping the yard, tending a garden, or digging similar ad-hoc dugouts in the side of two nearby cellars suggests that the appropriations and uses of space on those sites reflects, and likely helped forge, communal ties and identities among quarter residents. While not identical, similar traditions of outdoor spaces were nearly ubiquitous in a variety of West African regions (Posnansky 1999:28). In African regions such as Senegambia, Ghana, and the Bight of Biafra land was held in common, though family groups would have claim to the space and products in their immediate household compounds (Agorsah 1983; Walsh 1997:58-59,73) These similarities would have helped make such appropriations of quarter space part of the creation of quarter communities and of a uniquely African American set of spatial practices that drew from common understandings of space from Africa and the shared experiences of slavery in Virginia.

Bound up in the communal processes of appropriating space is the concept of place making. Specific places are space that has been defined and assigned meaning through experience and memory (Tilley 1994; Groth 1997; Casey 2008; Heath 2010a; Heath and Lee 2010). This process can be both individual and collective, and the action

of appropriating quarter space to define places of collective cooking, child-rearing, social interaction, and spiritual practices in yards and dwellings by slaves could help mediate the larger oppressions of slavery and help residents form communal identity through the shared understanding of those places. Historians such as Gomez (1998), Berlin (2003), and Chambers (2005) have argued that generational perspective of colonial society, slavery, and even individual plantations reveal that initial diversity among charter generations thrust together transformed into more collective identities based on shared experiences in new contexts. While the structures at Accotink and the Oval site likely housed at least two to three generations of enslaved occupants, they included those foundational charter generations. The definitions of slave or overseer space in these contexts is somewhat less clear than in later sites such as the Stable Quarter, where the two populations were not only spatially isolated, but where the slaves had likely developed more cohesive and historically-developed community identities. Wingo's quarter initially included at least one African-born slave, several unrelated individuals, and was occupied for a relative brief 20-year period. However, as discussed in Chapter III, by 1790 two extended family groups were listed at Wingo's descended from charter generation slaves of the Wayles family, suggesting that a potential for a more developed family and community identity existed at the site.

Later quarters in the Piedmont such as Wingo's and the Stable quarters almost certainly housed extended family groups of American-born slaves whose ancestors were statistically more likely to have hailed from a single region or ethnicity including the Igbo of the Bight of Biafra. While perhaps not as important in bridging the cultural divides between unrelated individuals from disparate regions of Africa; the definitions of

place at quarters like Wingo's and the Stable Quarter would be no less meaningful to slaves that inhabited them. In those contexts, the collective memory of the longer-tenured enslaved community and extended families could imbue the quarters, gardens, and yards with memory-based ascriptions of meaning in place. Chambers (2005:146) has argued that the foundational experiences of the charter generation at Montpelier shaped the later creolized community, which was evident in the carrying on of names from the charter generation. Materializing memory could be achieved through other means, including the maintenance of outdoor activities and spaces that served to unite and define the enslaved community.

Contested Spaces

The apparent back-and-forth of control over the cellar spaces within the slave quarter structures at the Oval site indicates the level of effort expended by both the enslaved and their owners and managers in order to control the use of space and definitions of place. When the large cellars prevented the creation of subfloor pits for personal use, the dugout cavities were likely unique appropriations of cellar space to fill similar needs. Subsequently, the overseer's house was enlarged with a full-height basement and the cellars with dugouts were filled; in what may have been a reaction against such appropriations by the slaves.

The story of Stratford overseer Thomas Pritchard, related in Chapter III, shows that negotiations between slaves and overseers over work routines could be hotly contested. The spatial practices that led to the absence of a swept yard and stifled attempts to dig sideways subfloor pits at the Oval site suggests that control of quarter

spaces may have been just as contentious. It also suggests that the socio-spatial dialectic at work on plantations did not pass without notice. While Miller (2005:5) suggests that part of the efficacy of material culture is its ability to blend in to life in ways not noticed by those it affects, which he terms the "humility of things"; the messages conveyed in the contestation of control over quarter spaces were likely fully appreciated by those involved. The appropriations of plantation spaces by slaves could certainly be understood and affect the behavior of others. For example, Upton (1985) relates that Philip Fithian, the tutor for Robert "Councilor" Carter's Northern Neck estate in the late 18th century, disapproved of his pupils spending time in work areas such as the stables and shops that he clearly understood to be spaces controlled by the enslaved.

The power of space as material culture can also be linked to Wiethoff's (2006a) discussion of the multifaceted identity of overseers. As noted in Chapter II, he asserts that the social identity of overseers was simultaneously fluid and based on numerous viewpoints. From the perspective of plantation owners, overseers were subaltern in status and colleagues in management and race relations. From the slave's perspective, overseers were placed above them in the explicit racially defined hierarchies of authority, but they could also take advantage of the overseer's precarious and isolated position of responsibility and their less than dignified public reputations. In fact, the social relations that placed overseers in close proximity to slaves, both in physical and social space, fed in to their subaltern position and could make them targets for resistance, such as the story of work slow-downs at Stratford Hall resulting in Pritchard the overseer resolving not to live with "his people." The placement of some overseers on outlying quarters among the slaves they managed at quartering sites likely fed into

their image as subalterns from the planters' perspective.

That proximity, both in work and in residence, between the slaves and their overseers also allowed slaves to inform against their overseers by reporting mistreatment and mismanagement (Baird 1999:109; Tillson 2010:109). Baird (1999:171-176) has argued that the authority of overseers was often undermined by masters acting on, or even simply listening to, the complaints of slaves against their overseers. Given the mistrust and tension that often existed between overseers and planters, slaves could take advantage of their unique combination of social and physical proximity to the overseer to pit their owners against their taskmasters.

Distinct Spatialities

With the exception of cooking activities around Structure 1 at the Accotink Quarter, little effort appears to have been expended to appropriate and modify quarter space by overseers in ways that deviated from or undermined the representational spaces of the plantation owner. Activities of life were still certainly carried on outdoors such as cooking and keeping livestock, but by whom: the overseers themselves, their families, or perhaps by the slaves they owned or were assigned? Overseers appear to have been far less invested in the micro-landscapes with in and around their houses, in comparison to the appropriation of spaces seen in the slave quarters. It bears restating that many overseers did not enjoy long tenures at any one plantation. Edmund Bacon's tenure of 16 years stands out as a true exception, and his level of responsibility at Monticello ranks closer to a steward or farm manager than a quarter gang overseer. Did other overseers not respond with spatial tactics of their own to make life easier under

the spatial strategies of their employers? Perhaps not, if they benefited from the authority and power lent to them by the spatial practices of the plantation.

Like the interpretation of communal efforts by slaves to appropriate space, context is once again key to interpreting the spatial practices of overseer's sites. Even if overseers engaged in outdoor uses of space around their houses, they were not likely attempting to build bridges of communal identity among their peers, as the placement of overseers on plantations was as isolating as it was often brief. I would also emphasize my own use of the term house rather than home, as the historical record suggests that overseers may not have considered the plantation their home due to their short terms and frequent absences from work. Shared understandings of place making among overseers at their employer-provided houses did not likely extend beyond their immediate families, if they had any; and may have largely been constructed of the negative meanings and memories associated with their isolation and contested social space that was neither truly part of the plantation owner's nor the slaves' communities.

Several possibilities exist for why overseers appear generally less invested in the outdoor spaces of their plantation houses. Logistical restrictions could play into the lack of appropriated space at overseers' quarters, as single men may have had most of their time taken up in their work, or seen outdoor activities such as gardening or poultry-keeping as gendered tasks. Yet most of the identified overseers in this study were married and had families, and those wives and children could have engaged in those household-level domestic economic activities. However, documentary research in newspapers advertisements suggests overseers' families may have engaged in those activities more directly as part of the plantation's economy, managing poultry, dairies,

spinning, and clothing production and repair for the larger plantation community as employees of the owner.

Another element was likely the different standards to which plantation owners held overseers and slaves. On their part, plantation owners were often strictly opposed to an overseer taking much action for their own private benefit. Where slaves often kept small livestock and gardens around their quarters, overseers that attempted to bring personal possessions such as horses and livestock faced opposition from owners (Baird 1999:135). Contestations over the ability of overseers to keep horses and other stock on their quarters, viewed as drains on the plantations resources and vehicles for truancy by the owners, are further examples of overseers facing restrictions on their movements and activities within plantation space. As discussed in Chapter III, suspicions ran high among owners that overseers were essentially stealing from them by using plantation resources for their benefit. This contestation of the transient and excluded nature of plantation overseers appears to have extended to the use of space around their houses as well. The structure they resided in was not strictly theirs, and it seems they did not go to great lengths to personalize aspects of their dwellings as a response to planter-imposed spaces. Slaves also did not own their quarters, but could well expect to spend a longer portion of their lives in them and were often referred to by owners in paternalistic terms as “my people,” as opposed to the overseers, the “parcel of slubbering sons-a-bitches” who “required changing” every year or two. Appropriations of plantation space by the enslaved were largely tolerated by owners, which were facilitated by a combination of paternalistic ideology by the owners and the small spaces of control it allowed slaves to negotiate for themselves. By contrast, overseers had little

leverage to exert within the plantation system that would not result in drawing the ire of their employers.

Furthermore, if the appropriation and organization of outdoor space became a part of slaves' community identity, could the avoidance of similar activities by overseers be a reaction that helped materialize the definition of races? Most of the outdoor space defined and used at the overseers' sites in this study involved more permanent fixed features such as barns, kitchens, outbuildings, and even slave quarters in the outer or peripheral yards; not unlike the many dependencies that surrounded the great mansion houses of the same plantations that included kitchens, dairies, offices, carriage houses, and any number of other specialized structures. By contrast, outdoor activities surrounding slave quarters were defined by more temporary semi-fixed or non-fixed structures such as wattle fences, swept yards, and activity areas defined through repeated use. Those activities were located closer to the slave quarters in the inner active yards, where the inner yards of overseer's houses were often generally less organized, with activity limited to refuse disposal. Overseers may have been purposefully mimicking the spatiality of the elites, and perhaps simultaneously avoiding too close a resemblance to an understood slave spatiality. The degree of conscious intentionality behind such a distinction remains debatable, but the clear racist attitudes of later 19th-century observers on the distinct "dirty" nature of slave yards (McKee 1992; Edwards 1998) suggest a level of understanding of racially defined spatialities. Considering the socio-spatial dialectic concept, racialized social distinctions between overseers, slaves, and their spatialities likely fed into one another in a discursive manner, rather than space simply reflecting the social relation or the distinction coming

about wholly from spatial circumstances.

What about the spatial practices that resulted from the definition of overseers as lower class than their employers? The historical record offers some insight into tactics related to living under larger spatial strategies of class. Baird (1999:120) notes that breaking plantation rules through behavior such as drinking, gambling, and lying could be means by which overseers established independence from their employers' authority. Other restricted activities such as entertaining guests at their houses and leaving the plantation without permission, common complaints from planters like Landon Carter and George Washington (Baird 1999:124), can be viewed as spatial practices that represent a rebuke of the control over an overseer's spaces and movements.

Overcoming class distinctions to achieve higher-class status was another route overseers could take that would rebuke spatial practices that subordinated them to their employers, though in an after-the-fact manner. Overseeing could be a springboard for younger sons and yeoman farmers to make a class-leap into the higher ranks of planting society. Edmund Bacon's journey from Site 17 to ownership of a prosperous Kentucky farm is one of the better-known stories of overseer turned planter, though several of Stratford's overseers went on to be at least modestly successful planters in their own rights, including John Omohundro and Benjamin Hackney. Interestingly, the poverty or frugality of overseers in the archaeological and historical records suggests that material emulation (Bell 2002) such as adopting more elite styles of consumer goods was not a tactic employed by many overseers during their time as plantation employees.

However, in her discussion, Bell (2002:254) does identify a social dynamic of

"cultural accord" between households of varying means that emphasized similarities within other culturally constructed identities such as race. Bell found that among a broad economic spectrum of households generally considered "middling" in 18th- and 19th-century Virginia, emulation was not an unthinking following of fashion, but a creative way to emphasize ties that strengthened alliances and provided means for social and economic advancement. Evidence from architectural improvements, artifact assemblages, and probate inventories showed the middling and elite planters reacted similarly, and at the same times, to changing economic trends through agricultural investments and the acquisition of consumer goods within the larger restrictions of their purchasing power (Bell 2002:284). The comparison of slave and overseer assemblages has largely shown a low degree of differentiation and even frugality suggesting overseers could not or chose not to attempt to identify cultural accord with higher status whites through material consumption. However, overseers could have literally been given a spatial leg-up, with their provided housing mirroring at least slightly more well-to-do middling planters in size and placement on the landscape, even if they did not engage in emulation in the consumption of material goods to the same extent as other middling whites.

Future Directions

Any piece of academic research is likely to bring up as many questions as it addresses, and mine is certainly no exception. My investigations of space and social relations involving slaves and overseers on plantation contexts revolved around only two of the many socially and historically constructed facets of human identity: race and

class. Any number of other identities including gender, age, and ethnicity could be similarly explored. Race, class, and gender are perhaps the most commonly studied social formations of identity (Mrozowski et al. 2000), and the role of space in the social and historical formations of gender on plantations is a topic that stands out as a future direction for detailed spatial analysis of slave and overseer quartering sites. While studies addressing contexts of enslavement have added considerably to discussions of gendered labor roles, economic participation, and household composition (Galle and Young 2004), the role of space as material culture in reflecting and shaping gender relations on plantations has been more limited (Fesler 2004b).

My own primary historical research has shown that overseers were not always single men, but families of husbands, wives, and children who would have occupied many overseers' quarters, including at the Oval site, Accotink Quarter, and Site 17. How did the spatial and social forces discussed at overseers' sites shape their lives? What roles did the wives and children of overseers play in the household and on the plantation, and were they affected by the spatial practices related to overseers' sites? A brief mention in Landon Carter's diary about being annoyed at the pretense of gentility in an overseer's wife having over-extravagant tastes at dinner (Green 1965:727-728) suggests the subaltern and lower class status of overseers were not solely applied to the individual overseer, but extended to the social identity of his family as well. Additionally, what are the implications of overseer advertisements often clearly defining whether a single or married man was wanted for an overseer posting? A few advertisements specify that a wife would be desirable in an overseer and also mention specific jobs for the women such as raising poultry, dairying, spinning, and managing a

family (see Appendix D). Perhaps the concentration of clothing and adornment items in the overseer's cellar at the Accotink Quarter resulted from the gendered role of women in sewing, both for their own households and as employed by the plantation owner. How would these apparently gendered tasks play out on the landscape, and would they interface with slaves quartered nearby?

Methodologically, the detailed analysis of space in this study has included the combination of artifact, artifact size, and soil chemistry analyses to reconstruct the small-scale landscapes around quartering sites of slaves and overseers. Multi-element soil chemical analysis can be time consuming and costly, though I hope my own use of such methods helps show their efficacy in reconstructing details of the landscape not recoverable in other ways. The use of pXRF technology could potentially address some of the cost and time-based restrictions of soil chemistry (Wilkins 2009, 2011). While a detailed analysis of pXRF performance is best left to other documents, it did provide usable data for soil chemistry analysis at the Oval site and Wingo's Quarters. Certain caveats exist, such as the targeting of elements such as magnesium (Mg) and phosphorus (P) with low natural concentrations and light atomic mass, making assays with pXRF less statistically confident in terms of clustering. Drying soils was necessary due to the ability of water to effect the transmission of x-Rays, which is an obstacle to field applications of pXRF to make *in situ* soil assays. However, soil P distributions as determined by pXRF for both sites still appeared to be anthropogenically driven and useful for interpretations.

The inclusion of a broader range of elements in the soil chemical analysis in this study allowed for somewhat greater range of spatial interpretation. P, K, Ca, and Mg are

the most typically analyzed elements in soil chemistry on historic sites, but the inclusion of Fe, Mn, Cu, and Zn among others added detail in some instances, and support for more traditional interpretations in others. Cu and Zn are most closely associated with animal dung, whereas P typically results from a range of organic sources, and the inclusion of these elements led to the interpretation of animal and fowl penning locations at several sites. Similarly, the association between Ca, B, Zn, Cu, and P at the Stable Quarter suggest a highly active zone west of the cabin that likely included animals with chemical evidence consistent with soft tissue, bone, and dung. Fe was not often correlated strongly with other elements and suggests a more unique source. The association of Fe with animal tissue and blood is intriguing, but the distributions at the sites in this study appear to be more related to iron objects. The correlation between many of the elements at multiple sites suggests a similar source or set of sources, which can benefit the analyst when certain elements do not appear to be as informative as hoped. For example at the Oval site, soil conditions and pXRF instrumentation led to statistically weak clustering of Mg and P, though distributions of Mn, Cu, and Zn together appear to represent a pattern consistent with general organic refuse, an interpretive role typically filled by P. The distribution of P at Wingo's was also relatively weak, likely due to the limitation of pXRF to detect light elements and the brevity of the occupation.

The interpretation of individual activities on sites in this study is less reliant on any one element or artifact, and has involved combining artifact and chemical distributions viewed against the backdrop of site features. The kinds of spaces interpreted at the sites in this study include gardens, which usually combine linear or

planting features with ash, shell, and dung chemical signatures from fertilizer and a relatively moderate to low artifact frequency and small artifact sizes. Middens typically appear near dwelling structures, with the highest artifact and chemical values and richness (number of artifact types and element concentrations). Butchering and cooking areas typically include the chemical signatures of ash and bone along with faunal material and artifacts such as lead shot. The interpretation of clean areas in this study also highlights the importance of considering areas of low chemical values and artifact frequencies, as well as the incorporation of artifact size data such as ASI distributions. In the field, archaeologists are often drawn to the concentrations of artifacts, and rightly so, but once a site is identified, sampling the "quiet" areas between structures and middens has proven beneficial in revealing areas of purposeful cleaning, activities that produce fewer artifacts, and the structure and organization of spaces on site.

Detailed analyses such as artifact size and soil chemistry studies are less common in cultural resource management (CRM) projects such as the excavations at the Accotink Quarter, where limited budgets and time frames can restrict the scope of such detailed data recovery efforts. Sipe et al. (2013:434) accurately point out that many of the ephemeral structural remains of the buildings at Accotink were lost due to plowing and other site formation processes, and "[b]ecause of this, various details, including the dimensions of Structure 2 and use of yard areas and open space with the site remain unknown." However, attempts to extract some level of detail from the artifact and artifact size data did result in at least tentative interpretations of the use of outdoor space at Accotink. Hopefully, more rigorous sampling of plowzone contexts prior to mechanical stripping, and the incorporation of soil chemistry into the standard data

recovery methods of CRM will enhance the ability of future CRM excavations to more fully recover the data pertinent to intra-site spatial analyses.

The methodological aspects of identifying an overseer's presence on archaeological sites have often relied on historical documentation or local knowledge of standing structures (Otto 1975; Young et al. 2001; Roberts 2005; Bon-Harper 2006; Kowal 2007), though in many investigations such specific mapping, references, or oral history may be lacking. With the exception of Artifact Abundance Indices employed by Galle (2006) at Site 7 in Monticello, comparisons of artifact assemblages have largely failed to reveal material distinctions between slaves and overseer clear enough to readily discriminate between them without supporting evidence (Nash and Geier 1985:157; Trinkley et al. 2005). No one analytical measure in archaeology has proven to be regularly successful in identifying such a complex member of society where historical documents are silent on their presence. However, several well-integrated contextual arguments, which this research has shown can include detailed spatial analysis, can be employed in conjunction to make well-supported inferences about the presence, position, and role of overseers on the plantation of the American South. At several sites, including the Accotink Quarter and the Oval site, the architectural investment and quarter layout were key lines of evidence in the interpretation of an overseer's residence (Wilkins and Sanford 2015).

The five sites considered in this research are an admittedly small sample of the archaeological record of plantation contexts in Virginia. In my opinion, some of the best research in this field has come from the comparative synthesis of large datasets that can begin to untangle questions about housing, subfloor pits, consumerism, and even

individual artifact types (Galle 2004; Fesler 2006; Samford 2007; Hatch 2009; Heath and Breen 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2009; Heath 2016). By this standard, the comparative synthesis of plantation space lags behind. Yet any reader who has soldiered through to this point can appreciate that a thoughtfully contextualized reconstruction and interpretation of site space can be a lengthy and detailed endeavor. It is only by reconstructing the yard spaces of more sites, one or a few at a time, that scholars can begin to compare and contrast plantation spaces in ways that will continue to question and refine the way that overseer and slave spaces functioned and interacted in a more comprehensive way.

In comparison to the volumes of research on enslaved Africans and African Americans, free employees of the plantation labor force, including overseers, are relatively less studied. The incorporation of these populations, which along with overseers could include any number of free white artisans, tenants, and other employees, will further develop the complexity of plantation spaces and social relations. The “man in the middle” interpretation of overseer’s status and roles on plantations has been criticized as oversimplifying their place in plantation society, which was more fluid and multidimensional (Wiethoff 2006a:xv). My own analysis has shown that the practices of space both reinforce and develop that idea. In a sense overseers were in the middle, a buffer between owner and owned, but the social and historical formation of their identities suggests a consistent use of representational spaces and spatial practices to define them on a scale that moved between racial ally of the planter wielding authority over the enslaved, to a denigrated subaltern left in the dust as part of the economic strategies of class and wealth accumulation. Bringing some aspects of

their more contextual and fluid social and spatial practices to the fore has helped clarify some of the ways enslaved Africans and African Americans interacted spatially with a more complex set of social relations than would been evident in a dualistic owner-owned dichotomy. The imposition of overseers contested, curtailed, and led to new spatial practices within some slave quarters. It is my hope that the advancement of more rigorous spatial and artifact analysis of plantation sites will lead to the identification and study of more overseer sites, broadening the comparative base, and providing fertile spaces for interpretations of past plantation societies and the nature of the spaces that helped shape them.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Overseer Newspaper Advertisements

Table A.1: Data from Overseer Newspaper Advertisements 1738-1790

Colony	Publication	Year	Month	Crop/ Product	Qualification	Knowledge/ Skills	Responsibility	Personal	Compensation/ Terms	Qualities	Other
DE	PA gazette	1771	July			livestock, planting		single	encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1764	January			planting			encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1764	October		“qualified”, recommended		sawyers		encouragement	diligent, honest, sober	
GA	GA gazette	1764	October	rice	recommended			single	encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1766	September			sawing, construction	negroes, tools	married		careful	agreeable to raising poultry
GA	GA gazette	1766	September		recommended	“his business”		single	encouragement	industry	
GA	GA gazette	1766	October	rice	recommended				encouragement	sober	
GA	GA gazette	1766	November	rice	recommended				encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1767	April		recommended	stave-making	negroes				
GA	GA gazette	1767	May	rice	“qualified”	planting, landscaping			encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1767	July	provisions	“qualified”, recommended		sawyers	single	encouragement	diligent	
GA	GA gazette	1767	September	rice	recommended			single	encouragement	sober	
GA	GA gazette	1767	October			planting, literate	sawyers				
GA	GA gazette	1767	October	rice, provisions	recommended	“his business”	negroes, 20 hands			diligent, sober	
GA	GA gazette	1767	December	rice	recommended				encouragement	honest, sober	
GA	GA gazette	1767	December	rice	“qualified”				encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1768	January	rice	recommended	“his business”				honest, industry, sober	
GA	GA gazette	1768	August	rice	“qualified”, recommended			single	encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1768	August		recommended		50 hands		dwelling house		“in a pleasant situation”
GA	GA gazette	1768	September	rice			manage	single	encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1768	November	rice	“qualified”, recommended			single	encouragement		

Table A.1. Continued.

Colony	Publication	Year	Month	Crop/ Product	Qualification	Knowledge/ Skills	Responsibility	Personal	Compensation/ Terms	Qualities	Other
GA	GA gazette	1768	November								
GA	GA gazette	1768	December	rice	recommended		manage		encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1768	December	rice	recommended		manage				
GA	GA gazette	1768	December	indigo	“qualified”		manage				
GA	GA gazette	1769	January	rice		“his business”			encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1769	September	indigo	recommended			single			
GA	GA gazette	1769	November				negroes				
GA	GA gazette	1769	December	rice	experience				encouragement		
GA	GA gazette	1770	January			planting				careful, sober	
GA	GA gazette	1770	April	rice	recommended	“his business”				honest, industry, sober	
GA	Royal GA gaz	1781	February		“qualified”, recommended		manage, 25 negroes		encouragement	honest, industry, sober	
GA	Royal GA gaz	1781	March	indigo	“qualified”, recommended	planting					
GA	Royal GA gaz	1781	April			“his business”					
GA	Royal GA gaz	1781	September		experience				encouragement	character	
GA	Royal GA gaz	1781	November	indigo	“qualified”	planting	take charge		encouragement	diligent, honest, sober	
GA	GA gazette	1788	November	rice	experience	livestock, gardening		single	wages	character	
MD	PA gazette	1767	August						encouragement	industry, sober	
MD	MD journal	1785	January					single	wages	active, careful, honest, industry, sober	
MD	MD journal	1786	March							active, industry	
MD	MD journal	1787	June		recommended	livestock, planting	manage		encouragement		"wanted a good farmer"
MD	MD journal	1787	November		recommended						

Table A.1. Continued.

Colony	Publication	Year	Month	Crop/ Product	Qualification	Knowledge/ Skills	Responsibility	Personal	Compensation/ Terms	Qualities	Other
MD	MD journal	1787	December		recommended	planting				honest, industry, sober	
NJ	PA gazette	1783	April			planting		married	wages		Wife to manage a family
PA	PA gazette	1749	September		recommended	livestock		30 or less			
PA	PA gazette	1750	January				manage	small family		character	
PA	PA gazette	1753	September		recommended				encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1757	July		recommended	livestock, planting			encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1759	April		recommended	planting			encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1759	September		recommended	livestock, planting, landscaping		single	encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1760	November		recommended	livestock, planting, landscaping		single	encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1762	March		recommended	planting		married, no kids	encouragement	honest, industry, sober	
PA	PA gazette	1762	November			livestock		single	encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1763	September		recommended		manage	small family	salary	honest, sober	
PA	PA gazette	1766	January	hemp, flax		livestock, planting, gardening			encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1766	December	hemp	recommended	livestock		single	encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1768	February		recommended	livestock, planting		single	encouragement		
PA	PA gazette	1773	February		recommended	planting		single	encouragement	honest, industry, sober	
PA	PA gazette	1777	January		recommended			married	encouragement	honest, industry, sober	wife acquainted with business of a dairy
VA	VA gazette	1738	December		“qualified”			young, single			
VA	VA gazette	1738	December					young, single	encouragement		
VA	VA gazette	1745	October		recommended	“his business”		married	encouragement		

Table A.1. Continued.

Colony	Publication	Year	Month	Crop/ Product	Qualification	Knowledge/ Skills	Responsibility	Personal	Compensation/ Terms	Qualities	Other
VA	VA gazette	1751	September						generous reward, encouragement		"will be kindly treated"
VA	VA gazette	1751	November			livestock, planting		1 single, 1 married	encouragement		wife for dairy, single man to live in family
VA	VA gazette	1766	October					single	wages	active, careful, honest, industry, sober	
VA	VA gazette	1767	October	grain	recommended		manage, 80 slaves		encouragement		
VA	VA gazette	1770	October		recommended	planting			encouragement	character, sober	
VA	VA gazette	1771	July		recommended	"his business"			encouragement		
VA	VA gazette	1773	August		recommended	livestock, planting	5 good hands	single	1 year, encouragement	diligent, industry, sober	"is to live with the family"
VA	VA gazette	1775	November		recommended	livestock, planting	20 slaves		encouragement	active, careful, honest, sober	"courage enough to correct insolent slave"
VA	VA gazette	1777	August		"qualified", recommended		20 tithables	married	salary or shares	character, sober	wife to manage dairy and spinning
VA	VA gazette	1777	September				wagons, slaves		wages, month or year	careful	
VA	VA gazette	1778	August		recommended		manage	small fam. or single	wages		
VA	VA gazette	1778	October		recommended			single	£50, 1 year	character	
VA	VA gazette	1778	October		recommended		take charge	young	salary, £75		
VA	VA gazette	1780	October					young		active, honest	
VA	VA gazette	1778	March						wages	honest	

Appendix B: Enslaved Individuals at Stratford, Montpelier and Monticello

Table A.2: Slaves Listed At Stratford Hall Plantation, 1776 and 1782. Source: WCCR (1776, 1782).

PHILLIP L. LEE INVENTORY 1776				PHILIP L. LEE ESTATE LIST 1782					
NAME	NOTE	VALUE £	LOCATION	NAME	NOTE	VALUE £	AGE	GENDER	INHERITOR
Tom		40	after smokehouse	Tom*	weaver	55	15	boy	Mrs. Fendall
Congo		60	after smokehouse	Congo	bricklayer	75	55	man	Matilda & Flora
Monkey		30	after smokehouse	Monkey		35	60	man	Matilda & Flora
Nat		80	after smokehouse	Nat		80	25	man	Mrs. Fendall
Nassau		80	after smokehouse	Nassau		80	30	man	Matilda & Flora
Zebus		70	after smokehouse	Sibus		80	30	man	Mrs. Fendall
George		80	after smokehouse	George*		80	30	man	Mrs. Fendall
Dominick		70	after smokehouse	Dominick		75	30	man	Matilda & Flora
Jesse		70	after smokehouse	Jesse		80	30	man	Matilda & Flora
Rippon		15	after smokehouse	Old Rippon		20	65	man	Matilda & Flora
Benwick		25	after smokehouse	Benwick		45	50	man	Matilda & Flora
Moses		30	after smokehouse	Moses	lame	40	40	man	Matilda & Flora
Jemmy		15	after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Harry		80	after smokehouse	Harry*	house carpenter	90	40	man	Mrs. Fendall
Rippon		80	after smokehouse	Young Rippon	house carpenter	100	35	man	Matilda & Flora
Osmond		100	after smokehouse	Osman	ship carpenter	120	30	man	Mrs. Fendall
Frank		70	after smokehouse	Frank*		80	30	man	Mrs. Fendall
Phil		70	after smokehouse	Phil*	house carpenter	100	20	man	Matilda & Flora
Edmund		80	after smokehouse	Edmund	ship carpenter	110	28	man	Matilda & Flora
Daniel		80	after smokehouse	Daniel		80	30	man	Mrs. Fendall
Jacob		15	after smokehouse	Jacob*		30	60	man	Matilda & Flora
Will		40	after smokehouse	Billy*	blacksmith	100	17	man	Mrs. Fendall
Billy		70	after smokehouse	Billy*		80	20	man	Matilda & Flora
Caesar		50	after smokehouse	Caesar	cook	45	50	man	Mrs. Fendall
Titus		70	after smokehouse	Titus*	postilion	80	38	man	Mrs. Fendall
Caesar Jr.		35	after smokehouse	Caesar	postilion	60	16	boy	Mrs. Fendall
West		60	after smokehouse	West	lame	40	25	man	Mrs. Fendall
Moll		40	after smokehouse	Moll		50	36	woman	Matilda & Flora
Sinah		35	after smokehouse	Sinna		45	14	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Nelly		60	after smokehouse	Nelly*		50	41	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Nancy	Nelly's child		after smokehouse	Nancy		20	5	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Sukey		60	after smokehouse	Sukey*		50	30	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Ariana	Sukey's child		after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Sarah		60	after smokehouse	Sarah		35	45	woman	Matilda & Flora
Lydia	Sarah's child		after smokehouse	Lidia?		20	5	girl	Matilda & Flora
Nelly		70	after smokehouse	Nelly*		45	40	woman	Matilda & Flora
Mary	Nelly's child		after smokehouse	Mary	blind	0	8	girl	Matilda & Flora
Ocre		35	after smokehouse	Oakley?		55	15	boy	Matilda & Flora
Jacob		35	after smokehouse	Jacob*		30	14	boy	Matilda & Flora
Toney		35	after smokehouse	Anthony*		45	15	boy	Mrs. Fendall
Anthony		45	after smokehouse	Anthony*	gardener	80	20	man	Mrs. Fendall
Nan		35	after smokehouse	Nan*		45	15	girl	Mrs. Fendall

Table A.2. Continued.

PHILLIP L. LEE INVENTORY 1776				PHILIP L. LEE ESTATE LIST 1782					
NAME	NOTE	VALUE £	LOCATION	NAME	NOTE	VALUE £	AGE	GENDER	INHERITOR
Bridget		40	after smokehouse	Bridget		50	18	woman	Matilda & Flora
Sall		40	after smokehouse	Sall		50	18	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Obed		30	after smokehouse	Olrid?		45	12	boy	Matilda & Flora
Harry		25	after smokehouse	Harry*		45	14	boy	Matilda & Flora
Molly		35	after smokehouse	Molly		50	14	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Lucy		35	after smokehouse	Lucy*		45	14	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Marcus		25	after smokehouse	Marcus		45	12	boy	Mrs. Fendall
Beck		25	after smokehouse	Beck		45	13	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Fick		60	after smokehouse	Fick		50	30	woman	Matilda & Flora
Charity	Fick's child		after smokehouse	Ha[v]y?		23	5	girl	Matilda & Flora
Gilbert	boy	15	after smokehouse	Gilbert		30	10	boy	Matilda & Flora
Randall	boy	15	after smokehouse	Randall		25	9	boy	Matilda & Flora
Clare		20	after smokehouse	Clear?		40	9	girl	Matilda & Flora
Bridget		12	after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Emma		20	after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Eve		15	after smokehouse	Eve		25	7	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Clem		15	after smokehouse	Clem		30	10	boy	Matilda & Flora
Phoebe		15	after smokehouse	Phebe		30	9	girl	Matilda & Flora
Billy		25	after smokehouse	Billy*		30	10	boy	Mrs. Fendall
Charlotte		10	after smokehouse	Charlotte*		30	60	woman	Matilda & Flora
Chloe		15	after smokehouse	Cloe		35	9	girl	Matilda & Flora
Sally		30	after smokehouse	Old Sally		30	60	woman	Matilda & Flora
Abel		12	after smokehouse	Abel		25	9	boy	Matilda & Flora
Patty		70	after smokehouse	Young Patty		60	30	woman	Matilda & Flora
Esther	Patty's child		after smokehouse	Easter*#		20	4	girl	Matilda & Flora
Scissely		65	after smokehouse	Siss?		50	30	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Milly	Scissely's child		after smokehouse	Milly*		25	6	girl	Matilda & Flora
Joe		20	after smokehouse	Joe		30	10	boy	Matilda & Flora
Amon		15	after smokehouse	Amer?		25	6	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Rachel		50	after smokehouse	Rachel*		50	17	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Lib		60	after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Milly		50	after smokehouse	Milly*		50	36	woman	Matilda & Flora
Boson		35	after smokehouse	Boatswain		30	60	man	Mrs. Fendall
Banter		30	after smokehouse	Bantor		30	60	man	Matilda & Flora
Patty		20	after smokehouse	Old Patty		30	60	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Old Rose			after smokehouse	Rose*		30	70	woman	Matilda & Flora
Old Peg			after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Sarah			after smokehouse			NOT LISTED			
Bede		15	after smokehouse	Bed[r]?		25	5	boy	Matilda & Flora
Philander		20	after smokehouse	Philander		45	12	boy	Matilda & Flora
Rose		25	after smokehouse	Rose*		40	12	girl	Matilda & Flora
Davy		70	Upper Clifts	Davy*		80	31	man	Matilda & Flora

Table A.2. Continued.

PHILLIP L. LEE INVENTORY 1776				PHILIP L. LEE ESTATE LIST 1782					
NAME	**NOTE**	**VALUE £**	**LOCATION**	**NAME**	**NOTE**	**VALUE £**	**AGE**	**GENDER**	**INHERITOR**
Landon		70	Upper Clifts	Landon		80	25	man	Matilda & Flora
Cager		70	Upper Clifts	Cager		75	38	man	Matilda & Flora
Frank		80	Upper Clifts	Frank*	house carpenter	100	22	man	Matilda & Flora
Dick		70	Upper Clifts	Dick*		80	30	man	Matilda & Flora
Benwick's Dick		70	Upper Clifts	Dick*		80	22	man	Matilda & Flora
Titus		80	Upper Clifts	Titus*		80	38	man	Matilda & Flora
Grace		70	Upper Clifts	Grace*		50	40	woman	Matilda & Flora
Alice	Grace's child		Upper Clifts	Alice#		15	3	girl	Matilda & Flora
Jemmy		60	Upper Clifts	Jenny?		50	40	woman	Matilda & Flora
Judy		50	Upper Clifts	Judy*		50	35	woman	Matilda & Flora
Lucy		60	Upper Clifts	Lucy*		50	18	woman	Matilda & Flora
Betty*		60	Upper Clifts	Betty		50	20	woman	Mrs. Fendall
Bob		50	Upper Clifts	Bab?		50	18	woman	Matilda & Flora
Betty		30	Upper Clifts			NOT LISTED			
Lett		60	Upper Clifts	Lett		50	30	woman	Matilda & Flora
Ben	Lett's child		Upper Clifts	Ben*#		20	4	boy	Matilda & Flora
Plummer		60	Upper Clifts			NOT LISTED			
Ruth		20	Upper Clifts			NOT LISTED			
Cyrus		20	Upper Clifts			NOT LISTED			
Daniel	runaway	70	Upper Clifts			NOT LISTED			
Rachel		15	Upper Clifts	Rachel*		40	14	girl	Matilda & Flora
Phillis		25	Upper Clifts	Phillis		35	13	girl	Mrs. Fendall
Silla		12	Upper Clifts	Pricilla		25	6	girl	Matilda & Flora
Solomon		12	Upper Clifts	Solomon		25	6	boy	Matilda & Flora
Fryday		50	before items at Mill			NOT LISTED			
David		50	before items at Mill	Davy*		80	45	man	Matilda & Flora
Robt		50	before items at Mill	Robin?		80	22	man	Matilda & Flora
Winny		50	before items at Mill	Winny		45	35	woman	Matilda & Flora
Nan		55	before items at Mill	Nan*		50	30	woman	Matilda & Flora
Abram		40	before items at Mill	Abraham?		50	50	man	Matilda & Flora
Patience		25	before items at Mill	Patience		40	12	girl	Matilda & Flora
Bob	at the Mill	25	before items at Mill	Bab*?		40	12	girl	Matilda & Flora
Jude		25	before items at Mill	Judy*		45	13	girl	Matilda & Flora
Peg		35	before items at Mill	Pegg		45	40	woman	Matilda & Flora
Prue		20	before items at Mill			NOT LISTED			
Beck		10	before items at Mill			NOT LISTED			
Grace		15	before items at Mill	Grace*		25	8	girl	Matilda & Flora
Esther		12	before items at Mill			NOT LISTED			
	NOT LISTED			Jack		50	-	man	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Tom*		80	45	man	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			George*		80	22	man	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			James	miller	80	40	man	Matilda & Flora

Table A.2. Continued.

PHILLIP L. LEE INVENTORY 1776				PHILIP L. LEE ESTATE LIST 1782					
NAME	NOTE	VALUE £	LOCATION	NAME	NOTE	VALUE £	AGE	GENDER	INHERITOR
	NOT LISTED			Phil*	blacksmith	100	17	man	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Ben*		10	1 mo.	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Billy*		10	1	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Dick*		15	2	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Emanuel		20	4	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Jeremiah		10	1	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			John		10	1	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Tom		10	1	boy	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Amy		25	8	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Charlotte		20	4	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Easter*		20	4	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Hannah		10	2 mo.	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Kimmy		20	3	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Mariah		20	3	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Mary		10	1	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Mary		10	1	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Nelly		10	4 mo.	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Patty		10	1	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Priss		35	11	girl	Matilda & Flora
	NOT LISTED			Sib		50	40	woman	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Sukey*		50	38	woman	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Ambrose		30	10	boy	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Homer		45	12	boy	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Phil		20	3	boy	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Hilly		20	4	girl	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Louise		15	2	girl	Mrs. Fendall
	NOT LISTED			Patty		10	2 mo.	girl	Mrs. Fendall

Notes: * More than one matching individual between lists with same name, most probable association selected based on age and value
Potential match between lists despite age noted in 1782 as too young to have been born in 1776

Table A.3: Slaves Listed At Montpelier, 1782 to 1787. Source: Chambers (2005).

NAME	GENDER	LISTED	NOTE	NAME	GENDER	LISTED	NOTE
Abby	girl	1782		Pegg	woman	1782	first listed 1765
Abram	man	1782		Pender	girl	1782	
Agathy	girl	1782		Peter	man	1782	
Anthony	man	1782	runaway	Phoebe	girl	1782	
Anthony	man	1782		Pinder	boy	1782	son of Eliza, given to Nelly Hite 1783
Beck	woman	1782	first listed 1766	Polly	girl	1782	
Ben	man	1782		Rachel	woman	1782	first listed 1766
Ben	man	1782	“Little Ben”	Randall	boy	1782	deeded to JPT 1844, freed 1852
Betty	woman	1782	first listed 1733	Reuben	man	1782	born 1752
Betty	girl	1782		Richmond	boy	1782	sent to Hites, 1801
Bety	woman	1782		Robin	man	1782	first listed 1768, sent to Hites 1801
Billy	man	1782		Ruth	girl	1782	
Captain	man	1782		Sally	woman	1782	given to Nelly Hite 1783
Casloe	woman	1782	superannuated	Sam	boy	1782	prob. Teenager
Catherine	girl	1782		Sawney	man	1782	(c. 1737-1830) JMJs manservant, then overseer 1782-1794
Charity	girl	1782		Shadrack	man	1782	sent to Hites, 1801
Charles	man	1782		Sinar	girl	1782	
Charlotte	girl	1782	b. ca. 1770	Sophia	girl	1782	
Clarissa	girl	1782		Sukey	woman	1782	first listed 1770
Cyrus	man	1782	superannuated	Sylvia	man	1782	
Daniel	boy	1782		Tabby	woman	1782	
Daphne	woman	1782		Tamar	woman	1782	
Davy	man	1782	b. 3 July 1752, son of Casloe, given to JMJ 1785	Tidal	boy	1782	b. ca. 1779, deeded to JPT 1844, at Toddberth 1846
Delphia	woman	1782		Tom	man	1782	first listed 1770
Demas	boy	1782	son of Eliza, given to Nelly Hite 1783	Tony	boy	1782	
Dianna	girl	1782	daughter of Eliza, to Nelly Hite 1783	Violet	woman	1782	
Dick	boy	1782	prob. Infant	Webster	boy	1782	given to Nelly Hite 1783
Dido	woman	1782		Winny	woman	1782	first listed 1765
Dolly	girl	1782		York	man	1782	first listed 1768
Edmund	man	1782		Henry	boy	1783	son of Truelove, given to Nelly Hite 1783
Edom	boy	1782		Jerry	man	1783	given to Nelly Hite 1783
Eliza	woman	1782	given to Nelly Hite with 5 children 1783	Peggy	girl	1783	daughter of Truelove, given to Nelly Hite 1783
Eve	woman	1782		Priscilla	girl	1783	daughter of Truelove, given to Nelly Hite 1783
Ezekiel	boy	1782		Truelove	woman	1783	given to Nelly Hite 1783, with 4 children
Gilbert	boy	1782		Blar	man	1784	
Giles	man	1782		Dorcas	girl	1784	
Guy	man	1782		Fanny	girl	1784	
Harry	man	1782	first listed 1766, "tradesmen"	Eliza	girl	1785	very young
Isaac	man	1782	first listed 1780, d. ca. 1787	Henry	boy	1785	son of Margaret, prob. infant, given to WM 1787
Isbell	woman	1782		Rose	girl	1785	prob. infant

Table A.3. Continued.

NAME	GENDER	LISTED	NOTE	NAME	GENDER	LISTED	NOTE
Jack	man	1782	first listed 1733	Willoughby	boy	1785	deeded to JPT 1844, at Toddsberth 1846, freed 1852
James	man	1782	first listed 1768	Caleb	boy	1786	
Jemmy	boy	1782	given to Nelly Hite 1783	Hanover	boy	1786	prob. Infant
Jesse	man	1782		Alexander	boy	1787	son of Dinar, 1846 at Toddsberth
Joanna	girl	1782	daughter of Eliza, given to Nelly Hite 1783	Alice	girl	1787	daughter of Dinar
Joe	man	1782	first listed 1772	Alice	woman	1787	
Joe	boy	1782		Amey	girl	1787	daughter of Dinar, deeded to JPT 1844, freed 1852
Jonathan	boy	1782	sent to Hites 1801	Anber	man	1787	
Joshua	man	1782		Anna	woman	1787	sent to Hites, 1801
Judy	woman	1782	first listed 1770	Dinah	girl	1787	daughter of Dinar
Julia	girl	1782	deeded to JPT 1844, freed 1852	Dinar	woman	1787	given to JMJ with 6 children
Katy	girl	1782	daughter of Truelove, given to Nelly Hite 1783	Harry	boy	1787	
Lucy	woman	1782		Jack	man	1787	"Little Jack"
Margaret	woman	1782	given to WM with son Henry in 1787	Jasper	man	1787	
Mary	woman	1782	first listed 1769	Jenny	woman	1787	
Milly	woman	1782		John	boy	1787	son of Dinar
Milly	woman	1782	“Granny” b. ca. 1721, inherited by JMJ	Libby	woman	1787	
Moses	man	1782	blacksmith, bought by JMJ 1802	Livia	woman	1787	
Moses	man	1782	“Black Moses”	Molley	woman	1787	
Nancy	girl	1782	deeded to JPT 1844	Penny	woman	1787	
Nanny	woman	1782	house slave in 1809	Ralph	man	1787	
Ned	man	1782	superannuated	Simon	man	1787	
Nelson	boy	1782		Winny	girl	1787	daughter of Dinar, given to JMJ 1787

Table A.4: Slaves Listed At Monticello, 1810 - 1815. Source: Monticello Plantation Database (2008).

Name	Gender	Born	Age (1810)	Location (1810)	Occupations	From	Locations (1815+)
Moll	F	1749	61	Farm	Farm	Peter Jefferson	deceased
+ Phill	M	1742	68	Farm	Wagoner (1783), Carter (1794)		deceased
- Bartlet	M	1786	24	Farm	Nailer, Carpenter (1809)		Lego (1817)
- Mary	F	1776	34	Farm			deceased
+ Jeremiah	M	1777	33	Top	Tradesman, Wagoner (1808)		
- Suckey	F	1796	14	Top			Tufton (1815)
- Isaiah	M	1800	10	Farm	Carder (1815)		Tufton (1827)
- Jerry	M	1802	8	Farm			Tufton (1827)
- Jupiter	M	1804	6	Farm			
Abram	M	1740	70	Top	Tradesman, Carpenter (1774)	John Wayles	not listed
+ Doll	F	1757	53	Farm		John Wayles	
- Dolly	F	1794	16	Tufton	Weaver (1815)		Monticello (1815)
- Shepherd	M	1782	28	Top	Tradesman, Nailer (1794,1797), Shoemaker (1806), Carpenter (1808)		
Jenny	F	1768	42	Farm		John Wayles	
Lewis	M	1758	52	Top	Carpenter (1774), Joiner (1801)	John Wayles	
- Jamey	M	1795	15	Top	Tradesman		
- Evelina	F	1797	13	Top			Lego (1817)
- Isabel	F	1800	10	Farm	Spinner (1815)		
Amy	F	1756	54	Farm	Farm Laborer (1774)	John Wayles	Gift to TJ Randolph (1827)
+ John	M	1753	57	Top	Tradesman, Gardener (1793), Carpenter (1795)	John Wayles	
Betty Brown	F	1759	51	Top	House servant (1774)	John Wayles	
- Burwell Colbert	M	1783	27	Top	Nailer (1794,1797), House servant (1794), Butler (1809), Painter (1822)		
- Edwin Colbert	M	1793	17	Top			
- Mary Colbert	F	1801	9	Top			
- Robert Colbert	M	1799	11	Top			Lego (1817)
- Wormley Hughes	M	1781	29	Top	House servant (1794), Nailer (1794,1797), Gardener (1806), Stableman (1808), Wagoner (1810)		
+ Ursula	F	1787	23	Top	Cook (1801), Farm Laborer (1806)		
- Joe Hughes	M	1805	5	Top			Poplar Forest (1824), Tomahawk (1826)
- Anne Hughes	F	1807	3	Top			
- Dolly Hughes	F	1809	1	Top			
- Cornelius Hughes	M	1811	-				
- Thomas Hughes	M	1813	-				
Isabel	F	1758	52	Plantation	Farm Laborer (1774)	John Wayles	
+ Davy Hern	M	1755	55	Top	Tradesman, Carpenter (1795, 99), Miller (1807)	John Wayles	
- James Hern	M	1776	34	Top	Tradesman, Foreman (1814)		Poplar Forest (1823)
+Cretia	F	1779	31	Top	Spinner (1815)		
- John Hern	M	1800	10	Top	Carder (1815)		
- Randal Hern	M	1802	8	Top	Carder (1815)		Tomahawk (1826)
- Henry Hern	M	1805	5	Top			
- Milly Hern	F	1807	3	Top			
- Lilburn Hern	M	1809	1	Top			
- Matilda Hern	F	1811	-				
- James Hern	M	1815	-				
- Edith Hern	F	1787	23	Top	Cook (1820)		
+Joe Fossett	M	1780	30	Top	House servant (1794), Nailer (1794,1797), Blacksmith (1800)		
- James Fossett	M	1805	5	Top			

Table A.4. Continued.

Name	Gender	Born	Age (1810)	Location (1810)	Occupations	From	Locations (1815+)
- Maria Fossett	F	1807	3	Top			Tufton (1827)
- Patsy Fossett	F	1810	0	Top			
- Betsy-Ann Fossett	F	1812	-				
- Peter Fossett	M	1815	-				
- Amy Hern	F	1793	17	Top			Gift to TJ Randolph (1812)
- Thruston Hern	M	1795	15	Top	Tradesman		gift to TJ Randolph (1812)
- Indridge Hern	F	1797	13	Top			Lego (1827)
- Thrimston Hern	M	1799	11	Farm	Cooper (1815), Carpenter (1817)		Shadwell (1817)
- Lovilo Hern	M	1801	9	Farm	Tradesman		
Jenny Gillette	F	1764	46	Farm		John Wayles	Sold to Joel Brown (1829)
+ Ned Gillette	M	1760	50	Plantation	Tradesman	Peter Jefferson	
- Barnaby Gillette	M	1783	27	Top	Tradesman, Nailer (1794,1797), Shoemaker (1806), Cooper (1817)		Shadwell (1817)
- Stannard	M	1809	1	Tufton			
- Fanny Gillette	F	1788	22	Top	Cook (1806)		Lego (1827)
+ Davy Hern	M	1784	26	Top	Nailer (1794,1797), Charcoalburner (1809), Waterman (1817), Wagoner (1829)		
- Ellen Hern	F	1809	1	Top			Tufton (1827)
- Jenny Hern	F	1811	-				
- Gill Gillette	M	1792	18	Tufton	Wagoner (1813)		
- James Gillette	M	1796	14	Top	Tradesman, Carpenter (1822), Cooper (1826)		
- Aggy Gillette	F	1798	12	Farm	Spinner (1815)		
- Israel Gillette	M	1800	10	Top	Carder (1815)		
- Moses Gillette	M	1803	7	Farm	Cooper (1829)		
- Sucky Gillette	F	1806	4	Farm			
Critta Hemmings	F	1769	41	Top	House servant (1794)	John Wayles	
Nance Hemmings	F	1761	49	Top	Weaver (1795)	John Wayles	Gift to TJ Randolph (1827)
Peter Hemmings	M	1770	40	Top	House servant (1794), Cook (1799), Brewer (1815)	John Wayles	
John Hemmings	M	1776	34	Top	Carpenter (1794), Joiner (1811)		Poplar Forest (1820)
Sally Hemmings	F	1773	37	Top	House servant (1794)	John Wayles	
- Beverly Hemmings	M	1798	12	Top	Tradesman, Cooper (1819), Carpenter (1820)		Shadwell (1819)
- Harriet Hemmings	F	1801	9	Top	Spinner (1815)		
- Madison Hemmings	M	1805	5	Top	Carpenter (1815)		
- Eston Hemmings	M	1808	2	Top	Carpenter (1826)		
Mary Hern	F	1780	30	Top	Weaver (1815)		Poplar Forest (1826)
+ Moses Hern	M	1779	31	Top	Nailer (1794,1797), Blacksmith (1799)		gift to TJ Randolph (1819)
- William Hern	M	1801	9	Top			Poplar Forest (1819)
- Davy Hern	M	1803	7	Top	Cooper (1818)		Shadwell (1818)
- Celia Hern	F	1806	4	Top			Tomahawk (1826)
- Tucker Hern	M	1810	0	Top			Tomahawk (1826)
- Zacharias Hern	M	1812	-				
- Patsy Hern	F	1815	-				
Goliah	M	1731	79	Farm	Farm laborer (1774), Gardener (1801)	Peter Jefferson	Poplar Forest (1811), deceased 1815
Isaac	M	1768	42	Farm	Farm Laborer, Carter (1822)		

Table A.4. Continued.

Name	Gender	Born	Age (1810)	Location (1810)	Occupations	From	Locations (1815+)
James Hubbard	M	1783	27	Top	Tradesman, Nailer (1794,1797), Charcoalburner (1802)		sold to Reuben Perry (1812)
Nace	M	1796	14	Top	Tradesman, Cooper (1819)		
Bec	F	1797	13	Top			gift to TJ Randolph (1812)
Squire	M	1727	83	Farm	Farm Laborer		deceased 1815
John	M	1785	25	Plantation	Nailer (1797,1809)		Tufton (1815)
Philip	M	1796	14	Farm	Tradesman		Tufton (1815)
Sancho Davis	M	1797	13	Top	Tradesman, Waterman (1817)		Lego (1827)
Lazaria	F	1797	13	Top			Tufton (1815)
Nanny	F	1799	11	Tufton	Spinner (1815)		Monticello (1815), Lego (1817)

Appendix C: Distribution Correlation and Autocorrelation Statistics

Table A.5: Significant (Pearson's r, p < 0.01) Correlations for Artifact Frequencies at the Oval site.

Artifact Count Variables	Architecture Group	Ceramics	Bottle/ Vessel Glass	Tobacco Pipes	Small Finds	Bone	Oyster Shell	Nails	Window Glass	Unid Flat Glass	Richness
Domestic Group	0.270	0.669	0.980	0.835	0.417	0.885	0.756	0.836	-	-	0.770
Architectural Group	1	-	-	0.291	0.323	-	0.454	0.263	0.951	0.465	-
Ceramics		1	0.663	0.513	-	0.527	0.503	0.663	-	-	0.691
Bottle/Vessel Glass			1	0.799	-	0.887	0.723	0.817	-	-	0.723
Tobacco Pipes				1	-	0.740	0.592	0.715	-	-	0.727
Small Finds					1	0.593	0.596	0.327	-	-	0.520
Bone						1	0.742	0.816	-	-	0.567
Oyster Shell							1	0.701	-	-	0.493
Nails								1	-	-	0.749
Window Glass									1	0.461	-
UnID Flat Glass										1	-

NOTE: "-" is not correlated at the 0.01-level (2-tailed).

Table A.6: Significant (Pearson's r, p <0.01) Correlations for ASI Values at the Oval site.

ASI Variables	Domestic ASI	Architecture ASI	Ceramic ASI	Bottle Glass ASI	Tobacco Pipe ASI	Small Find ASI	Bone ASI	Nail ASI	Window Glass ASI	Unid Flat Glass ASI
Domestic Group ASI	1	-	0.513	0.713	0.450	0.591	-	-	-	-
Architecture Group ASI		1	-	-	-	-	-	0.848	0.902	0.443
Small Finds ASI						1	-	-	-	0.455
Nail ASI								1	0.604	-
Total Historic Counts	-	0.502	-	-	-	-	0.420	0.442	0.520	-
Domestic Group Count	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.479	-	-	-
Architecture Group Count	-	0.605	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.598	-
Bottle/Vessel Glass Count	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.478	-	-	-
Tobacco Pipe Count	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.588	-	-	-
Bone Count	-	-	-	-	-		0.508	-	-	-
Nail Count	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.554	-	-	-
Window Glass Count	-	0.581	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.556	-
UnID Flat Glass	-	0.661	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.593	0.658

NOTE: "-" is not correlated at the 0.01-level (2-tailed).

Table A.7: Autocorrelation Statistics for Distributions at the Oval site.

Variable	Moran I Index	Z Score	P Value	Note
Artifact Frequencies				
Total Historic	0.59	16.04	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Domestic Group	0.65	17.89	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Architecture Group	0.49	13.36	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Ceramic	0.48	12.81	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Bottle/vessel Glass	0.63	17.38	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Tobacco Pipe	0.76	20.37	<0.001	Strongly clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Small Finds	0.21	5.88	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Bone	0.08	3.13	0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Oyster shell	-0.004	0.15	0.878	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Nail	0.53	14.34	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
UnID Flat Glass	0.14	4.18	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Window Glass	0.51	13.88	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Prehistoric Lithics	0.08	2.34	0.019	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Richness	0.31	3.22	0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Artifact Size Index (ASI)				
Total Historic ASI	0.51	5.65	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Domestic Group ASI	0.06	0.85	0.396	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Architectural Group ASI	0.75	7.91	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Ceramic ASI	0.15	-1.27	0.204	Somewhat dispersed, 20% prob. due to random chance
Bottle/Vessel Glass ASI	-0.12	-0.98	0.326	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Tobacco Pipe ASI	-0.1	-0.78	0.435	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Small Finds ASI	0.19	2.21	0.026	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Bone ASI	0.15	1.79	0.073	Somewhat clustered, <10% prob. due to random chance
Oyster Shell ASI	-0.02	0.09	0.931	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Nail ASI	0.59	6.27	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Window Glass ASI	0.74	7.75	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Unknown Flat Glass ASI	-0.01	0.2	0.841	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Soil Chemistry				
Mg	0.03	1.52	0.128	Somewhat clustered, <15% prob. due to random chance
P	0.03	1.79	0.073	Somewhat clustered, <10% prob. due to random chance
K	0.28	12.96	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Ca	0.32	15.05	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Mn	0.64	29.84	<0.001	Strongly clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Fe	0.14	6.62	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Cu	0.05	2.47	0.013	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Zn	0.26	12.27	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance

Table A.8: Significant (Pearson's r, p<0.05) Correlations for Soil Chemistry Values at the Oval site.

VARIABLE	pXRF P	pXRF K	pXRF Ca	pXRF Mn	pXRF Fe	pXRF Cu	pXRF Zn
pXRF Mg	-	0.407**	-	-	-	-	-
pXRF K		1	0.448**	0.513**	0.454**	0.383**	0.379**
pXRF Ca			1	0.292*	0.297*	-	-
pXRF Mn				1	0.287*	0.360*	0.635**
pXRF Fe					1	0.481**	-
pXRF Cu						1	0.333*
Architectural Group	-	-	-	-0.354*	-	-	-0.297*
Domestic Group	-	-	0.283*	0.634*	-	-	0.288*
Ceramic	-	-	-	0.570**	-	-	-
Bottle/Vessel	-	-	0.285*	0.658**	-	-	0.333*
Tobacco Pipe	-	-	-	0.612**	-	-	0.402**
Small Finds	0.296*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nail	-	-	-	0.645**	-	-	-
Window Glass	-	-	-	-0.554**	-	-0.284*	-0.372**
Total Historic ASI	-	-	-	-0.689**	-	-	-
Architectural Group ASI	-	-	-	-0.512*	-	-	-
Domestic Group ASI	0.527*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small Finds ASI	0.572*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bone ASI	-	-	-	0.480*	-	-	0.490*
Nail ASI	-	-0.614**	-	-	-	-	-
Richness	-	-	-	0.551*	-	-	0.518*

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.9: Significant (Spearman's r, p<0.05) Correlations for Artifact Counts at the Accotink Quarter.

Variable	Colonoware	Refined EW	Stoneware	Small Finds	Ceramic Total	Domestic Group	Architecture Group	Richness
Brick	-	-	-	-	-	-	.173*	.268**
Lithics	-	-.240**	-	-	-	-	-	.325**
Bottle/ Vessel Glass	.179*	-	-	-	-	.504**	-	.293**
Window Glass	-	-	.247**	-	-	-	.375**	.238**
Nails	-	-	-	.281**	-	-	.938**	.481**
Colonoware	1.000	-	-	-	.654**	.570**	-	.505**
Coarse EW	-	-	-	-	.339**	.238**	-.167*	-
Refined EW		1.000	-	.250**	.418**	.332**	-	.218*
Stoneware			1.000	-	.391**	.283**	-	.341**
Small Finds				1.000	-	.388**	.257**	.318**
Ceramic Total					1.000	.800**	-	.636**
Domestic						1.000	-	.709**
Architecture							1.000	.511**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.10: Significant (Spearman's r, p<0.05) Correlations for ASI Values at the Accotink Quarter.

Variable	Ceramic ASI	Nail ASI	Domestic ASI	Architecture ASI
Ceramic ASI	1.000	.809**	.902**	.826**
Nail ASI		1.000	-	.990**
Lithics	-	-.380*	-	-
Colonoware	-.259*	-	-	-
Refined EW	.472**	-	.383**	-
Other	-	-	.217*	-
Domestic Group	-	-	.339**	-

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.11: Significant (Pearson's r, p<0.05) Correlations for Artifact Counts and ASI Values at Wingo's Quarter.

	Nails	Small Finds	Domestic	Glass ASI	Nail ASI	Small Finds ASI	Domestic ASI
Bone	-	-	.800**	-	-	-	-
Ceramic	-	.301*	.404**	-	.361**	-.436**	-
Vessel Glass	.275*	-	.507**	.379**	-	-	-
Nails	1	.356**	.375**	-	-	-	-
Small Finds		1	.459**	-	-	-	-
Bone ASI	-	-	-	-	-	-	.331*
Ceramic ASI	-	-	-	-	-	-	.543**
Glass ASI	-	-	-	1	-	-	.618**
Other ASI	-	-	-			1	.468**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.12: Autocorrelation Statistics for Distributions at Wingo's Quarter.

Variable	Moran's I	Z score	P value	Note
Artifact Counts				
Nails	0.25	4.97	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Domestic Group	0.32	6.32	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Total Ceramics	0.03	0.72	0.472	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Bottle Glass	0.21	4.36	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Bone	0.17	3.6	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
ASI				
Nail ASI	0.06	1.27	0.205	Somewhat clustered, 20% prob. due to random chance
Domestic ASI	-0.01	-0.01	0.989	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Ceramic ASI	0.01	0.44	0.661	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Glass ASI	< -0.01	0.097	0.923	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Small Finds ASI	0.18	3.69	< 0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Bone ASI	-0.07	-1.09	0.273	Somewhat dispersed, <30% prob. due to random chance
Soil Chemistry				
Mg	0.29	6.03	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
P	0.06	1.33	0.182	Somewhat clustered, < 20% prob. due to random chance
K	0.13	2.81	0.005	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Ca	0.19	3.92	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Mn	0.44	9.03	<0.001	Clustered, < 1% prob. due to random chance
Fe	0.07	1.66	0.097	Somewhat clustered, < 10% prob. due to random chance
Cu	-0.02	-0.23	0.819	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Zn	-0.02	-0.31	0.762	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed

Table A.13: Significant (Pearson's r, p<0.05) Correlations for Soil Chemistry Values at Wingo's Quarter.

	Bruker Mg	Bruker P	Bruker K	Bruker Ca	Bruker Mn	Bruker Fe	Bruker Cu	Bruker Zn
Bruker Mg	1	.223*	-	-	-	.286**	-	-
Bruker P		1	-	-	-	.202*	-	-
Bruker K			1	-	-	-	.238**	.235**
Bruker Ca				1	-	-	-	.373**
Bruker Mn					1	.215*	-	-
Bruker Fe						1	-	-.217*
Bruker Cu							1	.323**
Ceramic	-	-	.373**	-	-	-	-	-
Nails	-	-	.291**	.343*	-	-	-	-
Domestic	-	-	.390**	.225*	.225*	-	-	-
Bone ASI	-	-.304*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ceramic ASI	-	-.339*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nail ASI	-	-	-	-	-	-.226*	-	-
Domestic ASI	-	-.021*	-	-	-	-	-	-

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.14: Significant (Pearson's r, p<0.05) Correlations for Artifact Counts at the Stable Quarter.

	Bottle Glass	Table Glass	Tableware Ceramic	Utilitarian Ceramic	Total Ceramic	Shell	Domestic Total
Bottle Glass	1	.570**	.773**	.466**	.777**	.794**	.763**
Table Glass		1	.564**	.662**	.584**	.274**	.512**
Tableware Ceramic			1	.471**	.999**	.720**	.859**
Utilitarian Ceramic				1	.512**	.278**	.543**
Total Ceramic					1	.716**	.865**
Shell						1	.714**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.15: Significant (Pearson's r, p<0.05) Correlations for ASI Values at the Stable Quarter.

	Bone ASI	Bottle Glass ASI	Table Glass ASI	Tableware Ceramic ASI	Utilitarian Ceramic ASI	Total Ceramic ASI	Shell ASI	Domestic Total ASI
Bone ASI	1	.588**	.532**	340**	-	.362**	-	.824**
Bottle Glass ASI		1	.448**	.541**	.195*	.484**	-	.768**
Table Glass ASI			1	.458**	.191*	.484**	.238*	.695**
Tableware Ceramic ASI				1	-	.993**	.252	.762**
Utilitarian Ceramic ASI					1	.248**	-	.264**
Total Ceramic ASI						1	.240*	.780**
Shell ASI							1	.235*
Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	.190*	.235*
Bottle Glass	-.405**	-.554**	-.420**	-.536**	-.225*	-.547**	-.205*	-.626**
Table Glass	-.388**	-.265**	-.342**	-	-	-.193*	-	-.391**
Tableware Ceramic	-.363**	-.461**	-.202*	-.352**	-	-.346**	-	-.472**
Utilitarian Ceramic	-.329**	-.260**	-.413**	-.223**	-	-.252**	-	-.381**
Total Ceramic	-.371**	.463**	-.219*	-.354**	-	-.350**	-	-.480**
Shell	-.368**	-.574**	-.309*	-.576**	-	-.557**	-.200*	-.602**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.16: Autocorrelation Statistics for Distributions at the Stable Quarter.

Variable	Moran's I Index	Z Score	P-value	Description
Artifact Counts				
Bone	0.03	1.73	0.084	Somewhat clustered, <10% prob. due to random chance
Bottle Glass	0.04	2.49	0.013	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Table Glass	0.21	8.23	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Table Ceramic	0.16	6.23	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Utilitarian Ceramic	0.01	0.67	0.505	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Oyster Shell	-0.004	0.23	0.817	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Ceramic Total	0.15	6.03	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ASI				
Bone ASI	0.05	2.22	0.026	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Bottle Glass ASI	0.08	3.41	0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Table Glass ASI	0.05	2.18	0.029	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Table Ceramic ASI	0.1	4.09	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Utilitarian Ceramic ASI	0.05	2.12	0.034	Somewhat clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Oyster Shell ASI	0	0.25	0.801	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Domestic Group ASI	0.12	4.64	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Ceramic Total ASI	0.1	4.09	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Soil Chemistry				
pH	0.02	1.72	0.085	Somewhat clustered, <10% prob. due to random chance
P	0.04	2.72	0.006	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
K	0.01	0.83	0.405	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Mg	0.39	19.53	<0.001	Very clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Ca	0.22	11.25	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
S	0.01	0.93	0.353	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
B	0.25	12.65	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Cu	0.11	6.06	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Fe	0.04	3.02	0.002	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Mn	0.16	8.57	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Zn	0.22	11.43	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance

Table A.17: Significant Correlations (Pearson's r, p<0.05) for Soil Chemistry Values at the Stable Quarter.

	M3 P	M3 K	M3 Ca	M3 B	M3 Cu	M3 Fe	M3 Mn	M3 Zn	pH
M3 P	1	-	.287**	.558**	.515**	-	-	.555**	.356**
M3 K		1	-	.201*	-	-.280**	-	-	-
M3 Mg			-.418**	-.289**	-	.218*	-	-.277**	-.412**
M3 Ca			1	.645**	.566**	-.378**	-.332**	.735**	.702**
M3 B				1	.638**	-.348**	-	.749**	.678**
M3 Cu					1	-	-	.849**	.506**
M3 Fe						1	-	-.223*	-.298**
M3 Zn								1	.594**
Bone	.268**	-	-	.317**	.288**	-	-	.304**	.225*
Bottle Glass	-	-	-	-	.209*	-	-	-	-
Utilitarian Ceramic	-	-.248*	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Shell	-	-	-	-	.231*	-	-	-	-
Shell ASI	-	-	.336**	-	-	-	-	.213*	.245*

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.18: Significant Correlations (Pearson's r, p<0.05) Between Subsoil and Plowzone Soil Chemical Values at Site 17.

	Al	B	Ca	Cu	Fe	K	Mg	Mn	P	Sr	Zn
Correlation	.475**	-	667**	.514**	.598**	.654**	.802**	.415**	.428**	.622**	.367**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A.19: Significant Correlations (Pearson's r, p<0.05) for Artifact Counts at Site 17.

	Glass	Ceramic	Small Finds	Domestic	Architecture	Industrial
Glass	1	.825**	-	.891**	.461**	.688**
Ceramic		1	.370*	.990**	.527**	.643**
Small Finds			1	.406*	-	-
Domestic				1	.531**	.668**
Architecture					1	.365*
Porcelain	-	.750**	-	.742**	-	-
Refined EW	.824**	.997**	.348*	.989**	.516**	.612**
Coarse EW	-	.696**	-	.646**	.623*	.721**
Window Glass	.669*	.611**	-	.652**	-	.543*
Architectural Stone	-	-	-	-	.790**	-
Brick	.640**	.653**	.330*	.675**	.409*	.320*
Nails	.822*	.920**	.457**	.931**	.562**	.764**
Nail Rod	.649**	.564**	-	.608**	-	.832**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A.20: Significant Correlations (Pearson's r, p<0.05) for ASI Values at Site 17.

	Glass ASI	Nail ASI	Domestic ASI
Total ASI	.358*	-.377*	-
Ceramic ASI	-	-	.706**
Glass ASI	1	-	.401*
Nails	-	-	.392*

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A.21: Autocorrelations Statistics for Distributions at Site 17.

Variable	Moran's I	Z Score	P-value	Description
Artifact Counts				
Ceramic Totals	0.70	4.33	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Glass Totals	0.50	3.18	0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Small Finds	-0.04	-0.09	0.927	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Nails	0.69	4.26	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Domestic	0.67	4.14	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Architectural	0.43	3.01	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
Industrial	0.33	2.15	0.032	Clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
ASI				
Ceramic ASI	-0.05	-0.10	0.917	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Glass ASI	0.18	1.17	0.241	Somewhat clustered, <25% prob. due to random chance
Small Finds ASI	0.39	2.46	0.014	Clustered, <5% prob. due to random chance
Nail ASI	-0.05	-0.19	0.849	Random, neither clustered nor dispersed
Domestic ASI	0.29	1.79	0.074	Somewhat clustered, <10% prob. due to random chance
Soil Chemistry				
ICP P	0.17	3.18	0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Ca	0.35	4.39	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP K	0.42	6.33	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Mg	0.51	7.07	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Fe	0.53	6.61	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Al	0.50	6.17	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Ba	0.42	5.61	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Mn	0.31	3.96	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Sr	0.45	5.80	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Zn	0.54	6.75	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance
ICP Cu	0.42	5.25	<0.001	Clustered, <1% prob. due to random chance

Table A.22: Significant Correlations (Pearson's r, p<0.05) for Soil Chemistry (Subsoil) Values at Site 17.

	Ca	Cu	Fe	K	Mg	Mn	P	Sr	Zn
Al	-	.529**	.741**	.624**	.625**	.704**	.364**	.269*	.580**
Ca	1	.558**	-	-	-	.316**	.613**	.941**	-
Cu		1		.296*		.604**	.564**	.535**	.285*
Fe			1	.741**	.795**	.507**	-	-	.661**
K				1	.873**	.338**	-	-	.598**
Mg					1	.342**	-	-	.692**
Mn						1	.604**	.344**	.579**
P							1	.673**	-

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

VITA

Andrew P. Wilkins was born in Rochester, New York in 1983. He attended Wheatland-Chili Central School in Scottsville, New York before attending college at the University of Mary Washington in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Andrew earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Historic Preservation in 2006, graduating *cum laude* and with honors. He then earned a Master of Arts in Historical Archaeology from the University of Massachusetts, Boston in 2009. He enrolled in the doctoral program in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 2009. Andrew has worked in archaeology since 2005 in academic and non-profit settings including for the Center of Historic Preservation at UMW, George Washington's Ferry Farm, the Andrew Fiske Memorial Center for Archaeological Research at UMASS Boston, and the Archaeological Research Laboratory at UT. Andrew has worked professionally as a field technician, crew chief, field director, principal investigator, and project manager in cultural resource management since 2008 with several firms on projects in the Northeast, Mid-Atlantic, Southeast, and Midwest United States. Andrew is currently an Archaeologist with Louis Berger US in Kansas City, Missouri, where he lives with his wife, Katie, and their two cats.