An Historical Archaeology of Early Modern Manhood in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia, 1645-1730

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Dedication

To my Dad

Danny E. Hatch

And my Grandma

Virgie B. Jett

Acknowledgements

The completion of this work would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of numerous people. First, I would like to express my appreciation to my committee. My advisor, Barbara Heath, has been instrumental in shaping my work over the past several years, pushing me to integrate data and theory and making me into a better, and more thoughtful, archaeologist as a result. While her editorial comments on previous drafts were sometimes daunting they always led to a deeper interrogation of the data and a stronger product. I am deeply indebted to Barbara for her time and patience with me. Walter Klippel introduced me to the techniques of faunal analysis in archaeology and always had interesting suggestions about ways in which to analyze and interpret these data that moved beyond questions of diet. His willingness to discuss non-dissertation-related topics also led to numerous hours spent in his office and helped me to ward off cabin fever after days and weeks identifying faunal remains in the zooarchaeology lab. Elizabeth Kellar provided many useful suggestions and edits, which helped me to better explain my argument and the details related to it. Her keen editorial skills were welcome, particularly after I had read and edited multiple drafts. Finally, Christopher Magra's seminar on Atlantic History introduced me to Atlantic scholarship and helped me to think outside of the Chesapeake region. His comments and suggestions on the historical sections of this dissertation and the work of other historians studying similar topics strongly shaped the course that I took.

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Abstract

During the second half of the 17th century Chesapeake society was in flux. European immigrants were expanding their settlements up the rivers and creeks that fed the great bay while simultaneously pushing local Indians to ever-shrinking parcels of unclaimed land. Thrown into this cultural mix were African slaves imported to work the tobacco fields of planters in Virginia and Maryland. The conflict and intimate contacts that stemmed from these encounters forced the reconsideration and construction of important aspects of European, Native, and African identities including class, gender, and race which would have major effects on society in the region that continue to resonate today. This dissertation examines the coalescence of ideas about manhood among European colonists in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia from 1645-1730, focusing on how material culture, combined with unique political and demographic circumstances, was used to construct, reinforce, and challenge manly authority and identity in the Early Modern period in this region of Virginia. The primary question this dissertation begins with is: Did concepts of manly authority and identity change among English colonists in the 17th-century Potomac Valley of Virginia? I then move to questions concerning the details of these changing concepts of authority and identity, their relationship to gender, and the role of material culture in the intersection of these two topics. In order to address these questions I examine the archaeological remains from seven sites occupied from 1647 to 1747, the biographies of the inhabitants of those sites gleaned from primary documents, and both primary and secondary resources related to significant conflicts over authority in the region, specifically Ingle's Rebellion and Bacon's Rebellion. The analysis of these datasets reveals that social status, varying economic strategies, and community connections all played major roles in determining how men defined and practiced their identity, showing that identity in the region had not solidified even into the early-

18th century. Ultimately, this dissertation illuminates the ways in which colonists were engaging in trans-Atlantic discourses about Englishness, manhood, and womanhood through their actions and through their consumption and use of everyday items.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In 1629, Thomas Hall stood before the General Court of the Virginia Colony awaiting a ruling on his sexual identity (Brown 1996:75-80; Norton 1996:183-188). Having come to Virginia as an indentured servant, and a man, in 1627, Hall no doubt engaged in typical men's work of the period, including planting, packing tobacco, and clearing land. Soon, however, Hall's master noticed his penchant for feminine skills such as sewing, in addition to the more obvious fact that Hall often dressed in women's clothing. Interestingly, until age 12, Hall was raised in England under the name Thomasine, implying her female identity. Prior to the voyage to Virginia, Hall had switched genders at least twice as circumstances required it. The ambiguity of this person's gender identity led to the court appearance in 1629. Perhaps more revealing than Hall's ability to move easily between genders, is the fact that the Governor and Council of Virginia determined Hall to be both "a man and a woeman," stating that he should wear men's clothes in addition to an apron and bonnet (MacIlwaine 1924:194-195). This ruling, as striking as it would be to many people today, would certainly not have been passed in England. However, the unique demography and society of the 17th-century Chesapeake made it an acceptable decision at the time, showing how people in colonial Virginia were still working on defining their identities during a period of great demographic and social uncertainty[1].

As many as three decades later, definitions of gender in Virginia were still far from being concrete. People had an understanding of proper gender roles in society drawn from their experiences in England, but these roles were difficult to duplicate in the New World. Many men,

[1] Throughout this dissertation I define the Chesapeake as the area of Virginia and Maryland east of the fall line. I have chosen this definition because the culture that formed in the region during the 17th century was heavily influenced by goods and ideas that spread along the navigable waterways, which were the major transportation networks. The direct access to trans-Atlantic transportation networks heavily influenced regional culture both in the past, and arguably into the present day.

particularly free men, tried to remain true to the gender roles they had learned across the Atlantic. In order to do this, some partnered with married men to gain access to wives who would perform domestic labor, while others were able to persuade widows to do these "female" tasks (Brown 1996:84). However, in some cases, particularly for male servants, performing traditional women's tasks was unavoidable, but still met with resistance (Brown 1996:85). It was in instances like these that masculine gender identities in the Chesapeake took shape. The constant presence and conflict between competing visions of masculinity and femininity in the 17th-century Chesapeake created a gender frontier that would serve to guide the formation of identity for both men and women throughout the colonial period (Brown 1996:45).

During the second half of the 17th century, society in the Chesapeake Bay region was in flux (Figure 1). European immigrants were expanding their settlements up the rivers and creeks that fed the great bay while simultaneously pushing local Indians to ever-shrinking parcels of unclaimed land. Thrown into this cultural mix were African slaves imported to work the tobacco fields of planters in Virginia and Maryland. The conflict and intimate contacts that stemmed from these encounters forced the reconsideration and construction of important aspects of European, Native, and African identities including class, gender, and race. As the case of Thomas/Thomasine Hall, shared wives, and willing widows illustrate, gender in the 17th-century Chesapeake was fluid and experiencing significant challenges and changes as a result of the unique circumstances encountered in the New World. This dissertation examines the coalescence of ideas about manhood among European colonists in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia from 1645-1730, focusing on how material culture, combined with unique political and demographic circumstances, was used to construct, reinforce, and challenge manly authority and identity in the Early Modern period in this region of Virginia. I use the term manhood throughout this work

rather than masculinity because the concept of masculinity was not defined until 1748. Therefore, what we now call masculinity would have been referred to by the people in this study as either manhood or manliness.

Gender, Archaeology, and History

The concept of gender, as it is used in this dissertation, is that of a social construct composed of gender roles, identity, and ideology that is highly contextual and dependent upon other forms of identity such as race and class. This definition draws heavily on a third wave feminist approach that recognizes the importance of the interplay between different aspects of identity, including race, class, and gender (Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1997; Franklin 2001; Scott 2004; Rotman 2009; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Stine 2014). In order to understand gender in the past it is important to interrogate and understand the relationships between gender roles, gender identity, and gender ideology (Conkey and Spector 1984; Eastman and Rodning 2001).

Historical archaeologists, as a group, have tended to use similar definitions of gender in their work, though mostly implicitly. Much of the early work on gender in historical archaeology, like prehistoric archaeology, tended to focus on finding women in the archaeological record rather than discussing the structuring effects gender had on society (Brashler 1991; Scott 1991). However, even this early work showed evidence of moving past identifying women in the archaeological record and trying to understand the role that other aspects of identity played in shaping gender (Gibb and King 1991). Some of the early practitioners of gender research in historical archaeology deliberately tried to avoid essentializing material culture and began exploring how gender acted as a structuring aspect for past societies (Purser 1991; Wall 1994). More recent work has complicated gender by looking at

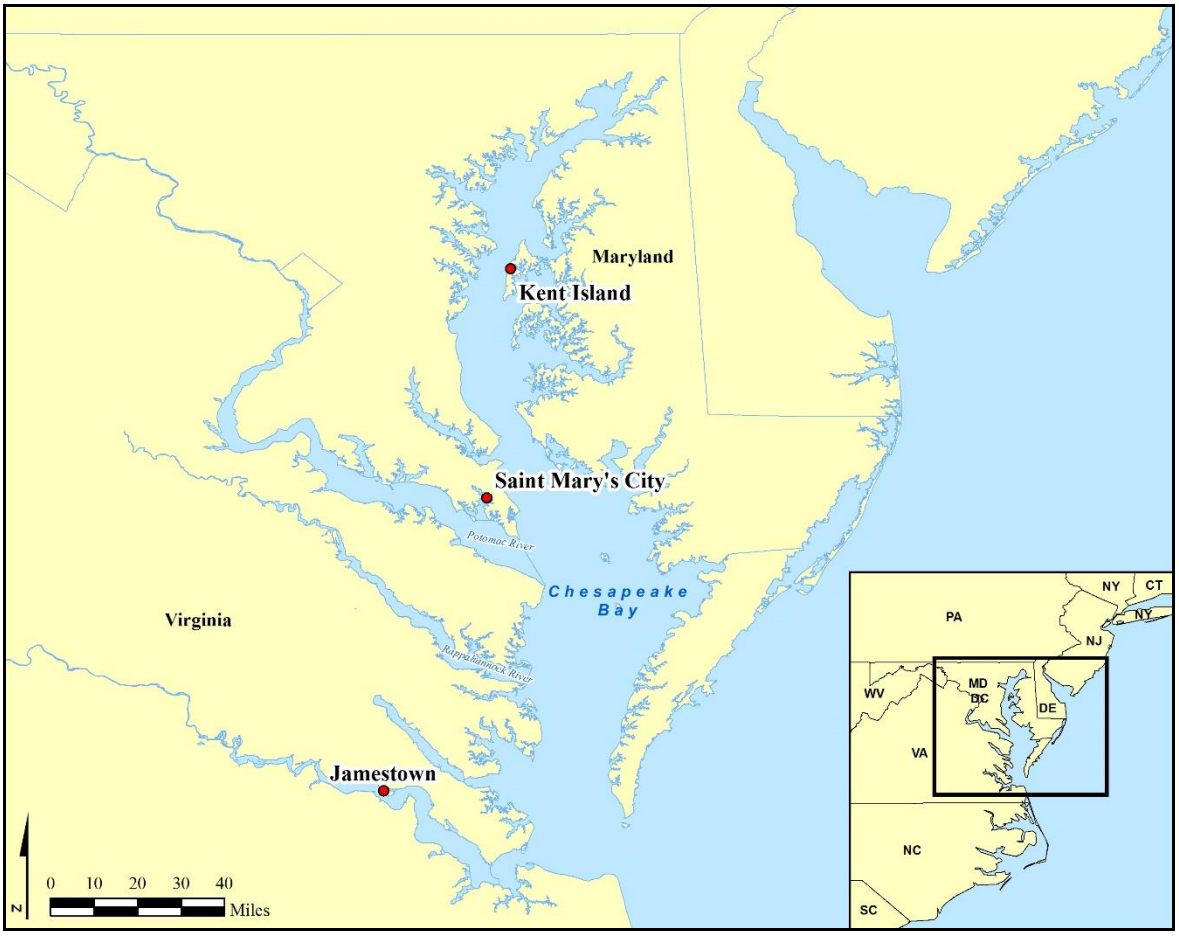

Figure 1: Overview Map of the Chesapeake Bay Region (map courtesy Marco González).

how it was created, how it changed, and its highly contextual nature. These studies incorporate ideas of masculinity and sexuality, effectively recognizing men and children as gendered subjects and emphasizing the importance of intimate encounters between cultures in the creation of new identities (Deagan 1996, 2003, 2004; Beaudry 2006; Lightfoot 2006; Voss 2008; Wilkie 2010). Over the past two decades the focus of historical archaeologists has moved away from "finding" women to beginning to understand how gender was negotiated, created, and maintained in the past, how context affected it, and how gender structured society (Purser 1991; Wall 1991, 1994; Beaudry 2006; Voss 2008; Wilkie 2010).

The concept of gender as a highly fluid and contextual aspect of identity is particularly germane to the study of the 17th-century Chesapeake because of the sexual imbalance, high mortality, and intercultural interactions that defined that time and place. Historians have shown that the demography of the Chesapeake region during the first half of the 17th century was dominated primarily by young single men aged 15-24 who first immigrated from England and Europe as indentured servants or were later imported from Africa as slaves (Horn 1979; Menard 1988). If this first wave of indentured young men completed their terms of service, which usually lasted about seven years, they had relatively strong opportunities for social advancement (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:31). Of those who lived long enough to become free, many became property holders and some were able to rise to the level of county gentry, causing historians to name the period from 1640-1680 the age of the small planter (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:15; Walsh 2010:122-193). However, most men who rose through the social ranks did not enjoy their newfound positions for long, with the majority of people, men and women, dying before age 50 (Morgan 1975:160). This high mortality rate led to multiple marriages being the norm for most people, which served to create relationships that went far beyond the nuclear family. These

imbalances in Chesapeake demography caused gender identities and definitions to be vastly different than what people had known in Europe or what they knew in other parts of North America (Shammas 1995, 2002:24-52; Brown 1996; Norton 1996). The peculiar circumstances of the Chesapeake also caused the European settlers of this region to adapt ideas of patriarchal authority that they had brought with them from England (Norton 1996).

Essentially, two competing philosophies concerning English authority clashed in the Chesapeake region starting in the mid-17th century, the Filmerian worldview and the proto-Lockean worldview (discussed more fully in Chapter 2). In the Filmerian philosophy of authority, which was the dominant system in 17th-century England until the Civil War, the household acted as the building block of the state with the household patriarch as an analog to the king (Norton 1996:11). This system viewed social rank and power as a combination of gender, age, wealth, and status and served to teach people how to behave toward those of higher rank. Therefore, in this system it was possible for women to have a sort of patriarchal authority over people of lower rank and it meant that manhood had to be proven among both men and women (Shepard 2005:284). This system also emphasized deference to those of higher rank, most commonly between men, but also between lower-ranking men and higher-ranking women.

The Lockean perspective, which started to become popular after the English Civil War, asserted that power derived from consent or a covenant among household heads (Norton 1996:5, 11). While this system seems to be more egalitarian at first glance, it actually served to take away a significant amount of power previously accessible to women. House-holding men were given power in society because they represented their households and were, themselves, giving consent for all who were a part of their household. By the end of the 17th century, when the Lockean system became ingrained in English thought, manhood was proven primarily between

men, since this system had stripped most married women of much of their political and social capital as well as any patriarchal authority (Shepard 2005:284). While women still had the ability to undermine male authority through disobedience, this disobedience was seen as less of a threat to the social system because the structure of society was no longer viewed as being intimately tied to authority within the family (Norton 1996:11). This new system of defining manhood differs from the earlier period when manliness and authority were negotiated between both men and women in reference to class and gender, which were both important aspects of achieving, maintaining, and enacting authority in Early Modern English society.

The cultural interactions that took place in the region between Europeans, Indians, and Africans also served to redefine concepts of gender for all groups. Interaction between Europeans and Indians in the Chesapeake began in the 1570s with the exploration of the Spanish and their failed mission at Ajacan (Mallios 2006). However, sustained interaction coincided with the establishment of the Jamestown colony in 1607. By the mid-17th century, when this dissertation begins, Europeans and the Indian groups of the Chesapeake had been interacting with one another for almost half a century. Many of their exchanges were couched in terms of competing concepts of gender and authority (Brown 1996:42-74). Thrown into this cultural milieu were Africans, first brought to Virginia in 1619, and imported in increasingly large numbers after 1680 as slaves (Brown 1996; Coombs 2011). Not only did these people bring their own definitions of gender to the Chesapeake, which were not completely compatible with European notions, but they were also oppressed and controlled through the use of gendered ideology, and their genders were often redefined by their masters (Brown 1996).

From 1680 to 1720, white society in the Chesapeake began to stabilize. Mortality rates decreased, demography became more balanced, and a relatively impenetrable regional gentry

emerged (Walsh 2010:194-393). Historians have suggested that it was during this time that gender, and other aspects of identity, became less fluid in the Chesapeake as elite planters asserted their control over white women and poor planters, as well as slaves and Indians of all genders (Brown 1996). While the gender ideology that structured Chesapeake society, namely patriarchal authority, appears to have become rigid during this time, the ways in which manly authority changed over time and varied based upon local contextual factors have received little attention from scholars in the region. It is the goal of this dissertation to trace the changes in English colonial manhood as they relate to authority from the fluid period of 1650-1680 to the more rigid era of 1680-1720 using material culture and historical evidence. The consideration of context is crucial to this argument, not only in terms of prevailing concepts of authority and manhood in Early Modern English thought, but also in terms of local politics, demography, and class. Through an understanding of these contextual factors, the roles of material culture in the construction, maintenance, and display of manly authority can be better understood and changes in gender identity over time can be addressed.

Statement of Purpose

While much ink has been spilled concerning the intersection of shifting concepts of authority and gender in the Early Modern English Atlantic World, this topic has been almost exclusively within the realm of historians focusing on law and contemporary writing. The examination of the material and social dimensions of the shift from Filmerian to Lockean worldviews and their relationship to definitions of gender among individuals in the past has received less attention (See Johnson 1996:155-178). Focusing on Virginia's Potomac Valley, a region that is well-documented both historically and archaeologically, allows for the

interrogation of how individual men and women either reinforced or challenged concepts of authority and gender in their day-to-day lives.

The primary question this dissertation begins with is: *Did concepts of manly authority and identity change among English colonists in the 17th-century Potomac Valley of Virginia?* I then move to questions concerning the details of changing concepts of authority and identity, their relationship to gender, and the role of material culture in the intersection of these topics. *How and when did concepts of authority and identity change in the 17th-century Potomac Valley? How was material culture used to construct or challenge these shifting ideologies? Does variation in the material culture of plantation management, specifically material culture related to foodways, indicate a shift in manly identity related to authority? Do individual plantation owners, apparently subscribing to the Lockean view of authority, show evidence of greater control over production at their plantations through material culture? Is there evidence for variation in the material culture of plantation management based upon socio-economic status, community connections, or geographical location?*

In order to address these questions I examine the archaeological remains from seven sites dating from 1647 to 1747, the biographies of inhabitants of those sites gleaned from primary documents, and both primary and secondary resources related to significant conflicts over authority in the regions, specifically Ingle's Rebellion and Bacon's Rebellion. I hypothesize that concepts of authority in the region began to shift gradually starting in the 1640s from a Filmerian worldview to a Lockean worldview and that the material culture of plantation management begins to indicate increasing control after this period due to changing concepts of manly authority. Further, I suggest that Ingle's Rebellion and Bacons' Rebellion, which both had strong ties to the Potomac Valley, acted as flashpoints for competing conceptions of manly authority

and that the participants in these conflicts were among the first to adopt the new concepts of manhood drawn from the Locke's ideas about authority. Ultimately, this dissertation illuminates the ways in which colonists were engaging in trans-Atlantic discourses about Englishness, manhood, and womanhood through their actions and through their consumption and use of everyday items.

Significance

The significance of this study comes from its scale, the testing of long-established patterns and interpretations in Chesapeake history and historical archaeology, the geographic focus of the analysis, and the exploration of the overlap in gendered spheres and their relationship to changing concepts of authority. First, the scale of this study is unique in that it tacks back and forth between a broad regional, and even trans-Atlantic, examination of authority and gender identities over time and individual and site-specific responses to changing notions of authority and gender at specific times. The multi-scalar nature of this dissertation shows how gendered ideology structured both the everyday lives of people in the 17th century and the broader society and economy of the region. In this way, this research is unlike what other historical archaeologists working in the Chesapeake have done when examining constructions of gender. In general, Chesapeake historical archaeologists have focused on specific sites and used these sites as case studies for examining changing aspects of gender or have focused on a specific aspect of gendered behavior, such as consumption, at multiple sites (Gibb and King 1991; Fesler 2004; Heath 2004; Galle 2010). This study seeks to do both of these things, looking at specific sites and the gendered nature of domestic production and plantation management, and also understanding how changes in gendered ideology concerning authority over time affected individuals and society. Ultimately, this research shows how larger concepts about gendered

authority and identity entered the Potomac Valley and shaped the daily lives and activities of the people living there.

Secondly, this dissertation examines several old, and arguably forgotten, collections and critically evaluates long-held patterns and assumptions in Chesapeake history and archaeology, both on the site and regional levels. The reanalysis of these collections, some from as early as the 1960s, has provided the opportunity to bring new methods and an increased knowledge of material culture to bear on sites that have received little attention since their excavation. For example, the Hallowes site never received a full analysis after its excavation in the late 1960s and had been assumed to date to the late-17th century (Buchanan and Heite 1971; Neiman 1980:74; Hodges 1993; Carson 2013:96). However, a reanalysis of the site, conducted as a part of this dissertation, revealed that it was occupied much earlier, starting in the 1640s, which has completely upended previous interpretations (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013; Hatch, Heath, and McMillan 2014; McMillan, Hatch, and Heath 2014). On a larger scale, the analysis of faunal remains from all of the sites in this study has allowed for the evaluation of patterns in Chesapeake subsistence defined almost 30 years ago (Miller 1984).

The explicit focus on the Potomac River Valley in this study is a new approach to historical archaeology in the Chesapeake. Historians in the region have only begun to explore the importance of river valleys in the colonial period, but have shown that their analysis can reveal important variability in the history of the Chesapeake (Rice 2009; Morgan 2011). Historical archaeology is only slightly behind in this trend with Julia King's recent grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to examine the archaeology of colonial encounter in the Potomac Valley from 1500-1720 and Lauren McMillan's dissertation research on trade in the 17th-century Potomac Valley, in addition to this dissertation (McMillan 2015). These projects are showing

that subregional variability in the Chesapeake is significant to the interpretation of archaeological remains and that different areas of the Chesapeake had experiences that were unique to their place and time.

The broader concept of subregional variation in the Chesapeake is based upon the work of Lorena Walsh that has examined how the tobacco economy differed based upon the type of tobacco being grown (1999, 2001). She argues that regions growing Oronoco tobacco (north of the Rappahannock River, including the Potomac River Valley) adopted different cultivation strategies that influenced their economies and trading patterns compared to regions that grew sweet-scented tobacco (between the James and Rappahannock Rivers) and regions that had poor tobacco soils (south of the James River and the Eastern Shore). The River Valley model, while not discouraging comparisons between different subregions, show that local conditions must be thoroughly understood before far-reaching comparisons and statements about the Chesapeake as a whole can be made, just as Walsh's subregional work has done.

Finally, the exploration of how traditionally-viewed female spheres had a direct influence on the construction of manhood has been unexplored by historical archaeologists in the Chesapeake. The exploration of men as explicitly gendered subjects in historical archaeology is relatively new and has only been undertaken by a few practitioners in the field (Harrison 2002; Alberti 2007; Voss 2008, 2012; Williams 2008; Wilkie 2010; Garraffoni 2012). The blurring of the lines between private and public spheres and the role of the private (i.e. plantation management practices) in the construction of manhood along with studies of masculinity, in general, are burgeoning topics in gender history, particularly in English history (Foyster 1999; Tosh 1999; Shepard 2003, 2005; Ditz 2004; Harvey 2005, 2009, 2012; Harvey and Shepard 2005; Flather 2007; Foster 2011). As a result, this dissertation contributes to dialogues about

masculinity in both historical archaeology and history. By applying historical concepts of the role of the domestic in the construction of manhood through patriarchal control and authority, I challenge the notion that artifacts, or even space, can be explicitly gendered. Instead, I show that identity was and is a complex social construct that is defined through the interaction among and between different groups of people simultaneously.

Approach and Units of Analysis

This dissertation draws on both the material culture of the 17th-century Potomac River Valley of Virginia and the rich historical records of the region to address the questions posed above. Questions concerning the timing of, reasons for, and subscription to changing ideas about authority and identity are primarily addressed through the analysis of historical sources relating to the inhabitants of the sites and their communities. The questions concerning how these shifts in ideology and gender definitions affected the day-to-day practices of life on plantations are best answered through the analysis of material culture, specifically material related to food production and consumption. While this study does not privilege one source of data over another, it does attempt to recognize and exploit the strengths of certain datasets in answering particular questions. Ultimately, conclusions about how definitions of manhood changed and whether these changes affected the management of plantations along the Potomac are derived from a discourse between archaeological and documentary sources.

Archaeological Sources

In order to address changing concepts of authority, manhood, and plantation management I draw on archaeological materials excavated from seven sites located along the Potomac River in Virginia and occupied between 1647 and 1747 (Figure 2). The excavations of these sites were all previously undertaken due to various circumstances from the late 1960s to the early 2000s. In

Figure 2: Locations of Sites Used in this Study.

order to examine change over time I have divided the sites into two distinct groups, pre-1680 and post-1680. This division was chosen because I hypothesize that ideas about authority and manhood definitively shift after this date. Kathleen Brown has argued that Bacon's Rebellion, in 1676, acted as a major impetus for this shift (1996). Additionally, major changes in the demography of the region after 1680 led to the rise of a native-born gentry class who lived and thought in a distinctly different way from their predecessors, indicating that concepts about gender and authority likely changed.

The three earliest sites comprise the pre-1680 dataset and represent some of the first European settlers on the Northern Neck and are located in Westmoreland County. The Hallowes site (44WM6) was occupied from 1647-1666 by a county commissioner, then until 1681 by tenants. The site contains a rich assemblage of artifacts, including ceramics and faunal remains, from the plowzone and several features (Buchannan and Heite 1971; Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013).

Nomini plantation (44WM12) appears to have been occupied relatively continuously from 1647 to about the mid-18th century. This analysis, however, focuses on a stratified midden feature associated with a brick hearth that dates from 1647 to around 1720 (Mitchell 1983; McMillan and Hatch 2013). The midden feature appears to represent the occupation of one of the early commissioners for the county and two other wealthy planter households. The artifact assemblage is rich in mid-17th-century ceramics and has a relatively large sample of faunal remains in addition to a significant number of tobacco pipes. Additionally, the later phases of this midden are used as part of the post-1680 grouping of sites.

The John Washington site (44WM204) was first occupied in the mid-17th century by the great-grandfather of George Washington. The site consists of a post-in-ground dwelling and

associated outbuildings dating from 1664 to 1704. Artifacts from the site appear to represent the occupation of John Washington and his son, John Washington, Jr., both of whom were wealthy planters. The site contains a substantial assemblage of ceramics, pipes, and other materials, but few faunal remains.

The remaining four sites in this study comprise the post-1680 dataset. The first of these, Newman's Neck (44NB180), is located in Northumberland County and was occupied from about 1670 to 1747 (Heath et al. 2009). The site, consisting of a dwelling, quarter, outbuildings, and fences, was occupied by middling planters, their servants and slaves, and families. The assemblage contains both ceramics and faunal remains and has been phased into two distinct periods, 1670-1725 and 1725-1747. The collection from Newman’s Neck contains ceramics, faunal remains, small finds, pipes, and other artifact types.

The second site in this group is the Clifts Plantation site (44WM33). Clifts is located in Westmoreland County near Hallowes and Nomini and was occupied from circa 1670 to 1735 (Neiman 1980). The site was occupied by tenant families and their servants/slaves, who leased land from the Pope family. The site has been phased into four periods, 1670-1685, 1685-1705, 1705-1720, and 1720-1735. The artifact assemblage from this site is the largest of all the collections used in this study and contains ceramics, faunal remains, and various other artifact types.

The Henry Brook site (44WM205) is located near the John Washington site in Westmoreland County and consists of at least one dwelling and perhaps two outbuildings. Reanalysis of the ceramic collection, completed for this dissertation, suggests that the site was likely occupied by tenants of the Pope family between 1700 and 1726. The artifact assemblage contained ceramics, pipes, and small finds, but few faunal remains.

The final site in this group is the Maurice Clark site (44ST174), located on Ferry Farm, George Washington's boyhood home, in Stafford County (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006). The site was occupied by a series of freed servants and poor planters from about 1694 to 1727 and consists of a dwelling, outbuildings, and other sealed features. The site has been phased into two periods, 1694-1711 and 1711-1727. The artifact assemblage contains both ceramics and faunal remains in addition to numerous other artifact types. While this site is not located in the Potomac Valley, like the others used in this study, it is included because it provides important information about poor planters' concepts of manly authority and plantation management on the frontier. Despite the location of the site on the Rappahannock River, the site still easily falls within Walsh's concept of tobacco regions in that the soils at the site were only suitable for the production of Oronoco tobacco, like the other sites used here (Walsh 1999). Finally, the Maurice Clark assemblage also allows for the exploration of differential recovery methods at sites, since all of the cultural features were 100% waterscreened, which was not protocol on the other sites.

Documentary Sources

A plethora of individual historical documents were consulted and analyzed during the course of this research, but they can generally be grouped by their colony of origin. The records originating in Virginia that were consulted included land patents, county court records—which included wills, probate inventories, and judicial and legislative business—and the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, all of which spanned the period from 1647 to 1720. The counties from which court records originated were Northumberland, Westmoreland, Stafford, and Richmond. The second category of primary documents that are used in this dissertation include the early Proprietary records of Maryland. These records include the *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, the *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly*, and the *Judicial and*

Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court, all of which span the dates from 1636 to about 1690.

Virginia and Maryland records both provide important data on the inhabitants of the sites analyzed in this study. Virginia land patents help to situate individuals on specific parcels in addition to providing data on headrights including family members and servants. County court records provide more specific information on locations of individuals on the landscape in addition to outlining how land was divided, inherited, or sold. These records also proved useful for understanding community connections and interactions among individuals on the Virginia side of the Potomac over multiple generations. In addition to landholdings, probate inventories and wills aided in the determination of socioeconomic status of site inhabitants, household size and composition, and supplemented the material culture analysis of the archaeologically-recovered materials. Lists of county commissioners indicate how power was distributed and how the people with power in their respective counties were related to one another. Finally, in Virginia, the *Journals of the House of Burgesses* provided important information on power structures within counties as well as the roles of individuals in colony-wide events, such as Bacon's Rebellion.

The Proprietary records of Maryland provided much the same type of information as the Virginia records, particularly for the earliest settlers of Virginia's Potomac Valley, many of whom originally resided in Maryland. However, the Maryland records begin approximately 15 years before the Virginia county records and provide the only documentary evidence for the earliest years of settlement on the Northern Neck. These documents were specifically used to understand the origins of many of inhabitants of the early sites used in this study. Maryland records provided important evidence suggesting that many of the early settlers along the

Potomac River in Virginia were well-acquainted with each other and likely shared similar ideologies about authority and manhood based upon similar experiences in Maryland. Proprietary records indicate community and economic links between people on both sides of the Potomac during the entire period of study and were crucial in the understanding of how Ingle's Rebellion acted as a conflict over competing ideas of authority and manhood for many of the inhabitants of the early sites in this study.

Organization

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters that build upon and draw from one another in order to examine changing attitudes about manhood and authority in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley and answer the questions outlined above. After this introduction, Chapters Two and Three focus on building the theoretical, historical, and archaeological foundations for this work. Chapter Two examines trends in the archaeology of gender from the 1970s to the present in order to situate the theoretical underpinnings of this work in a larger context of feminist/engendered archaeology. In this chapter I move from the general to the specific, first tracing the major works on the archaeology of gender and their contributions to the field, then examining trends in the historical archaeology of gender, then exploring current historical research on manhood and authority in Early Modern England, and finally addressing gender research in the Chesapeake. In this chapter I draw on archaeological and historical works that address concepts of gender, comparing their approaches and discussing how they can and why they should be integrated. Finally, I explain how my research draws on these different approaches and how I combine concepts of gender research from archaeology and history.

Chapter Three focuses on the history and historical archaeology of the Chesapeake region. In this chapter I first address topics explored by historical archaeologists working on

17th-century sites in the Chesapeake in order to outline theoretical and methodological trends in the region. This section serves to introduce potential biases stemming from the use of collections excavated over the past five decades and to highlight research that has informed my work. Next, I examine the development of the Chesapeake region in the 17th century, focusing on demography, society, and politics. This section is divided into two parts, one focusing on the period from 1630 to1680 and the other focusing on the period from 1680 to1720. Finally, I provide a brief outline of the history of the Potomac River Valley to 1720 in order to provide a regional context for the sites used in this dissertation and to introduce some of the people and events that played a major role in the development of the area.

Chapters Four focuses on the histories of the individual sites used in this dissertation and is grouped into pre-Bacon's Rebellion and post-Bacon's Rebellion sites. In this chapter I provide detailed histories for each site that address site demography, date, community connections, status, and other important historical details. In cases where detailed historical documentation is not present for site inhabitants, general experiences for people of similar status are outlined based upon previous research in the region. Constructing detailed biographies for the sites and their inhabitants helps to underscore the instability of Chesapeake family life and some of the demographic issues that made the full adoption of English ideals about manhood and authority difficult to obtain in the region. Additionally, this chapter outlines kinship and community connections that are used to understand how concepts of authority and manhood were shared and created among specific individuals.

Chapter Five focuses on aspects of the history of the region and sites that relate to the construction of manhood and authority. Specifically, in this chapter, I will examine the two major colonial conflicts, Ingle’s Rebellion and Bacon’s Rebellion, which directly affected the

majority of the sites used in this dissertation and how they acted as arenas for trans-Atlantic debates over notions of gendered authority. By viewing these two colonial conflicts in relation to English debates over the competing Filmerian and Lockean philosophies of gendered authority that took place in the late-17th century, the ways in which many of the men on these sites viewed manhood and authority can be better understood. Finally, in this chapter, I examine the role that women played in the construction manhood at these sites. Specifically, I examine how marriage was an important step toward achieving manhood and success among men living at the sites under study. I also examine patterns in the inheritance of property through female lines. Ultimately, both of these topics show how women played a major role in constructing male identity and how they were able to maintain a measure of power, particularly in the 17th century.

Chapter Six addresses the contextual approach to archaeology that I employ in both the site specific and diachronic analyses that I perform. It addresses the excavation of the sites, the features and contexts used in the analyses, the composition of the assemblages, and their dates. Next, I introduce the methods I use to examine the ceramics and faunal remains over time, which focus on minimum vessel counts, measures of taxonomic abundance, age categories, and skeletal part frequency. I close this chapter with a discussion of site comparability in terms of sample size and recovery methods in order to address problems that invariably stem from comparing sites excavated over the past half century and how these problems can be minimized.

Chapter Seven will address the faunal and ceramic analyses between sites as a way of measuring the intensity of domestic production over time and control of the plantation, as well as the artifacts used to display authority. For the ceramic analysis, this chapter will compare minimum vessel counts using expected values for vessels in selected functional groups between the sites focusing on variability between sites within the same group (pre or post rebellion) and

between the two groups. I focus on evidence of the changing compositions of ceramic assemblages as it relates to domestic production activities such as dairying in addition to examining the changes in consumption and serving vessels in order to understand if and how changing dining rituals aided in the construction of manly identity. For the faunal analysis I compare measures of taxonomic abundance, focusing mainly on biomass, and age categories of livestock to examine how subsistence practices changed over time and how changing proportions of certain species as well as the presence of certain species may have affected and been affected by increasing control over the plantations through landscape and herd management. I also address skeletal part frequencies to determine meat cut preferences on sites as well as possible evidence for trading or selling certain species, which can have important implications for plantation economies.

For all artifact types the two phases are compared and evaluated focusing on the presence, quantity, and diversity of specific artifact types or combinations of artifacts that represent control and authority. The significance of the diversity and shifts in material culture on these sites are evaluated in relation to social and cultural trends for the specific time they represent. Additionally, the presence or absence of certain forms, species, types, or combinations thereof are relied upon to address shifting ideas about authority and manhood.

Chapter Eight draws together the multiple lines of evidence contained in the previous chapters to provide an interpretation for changing concepts of authority and its relationship to manhood in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley. This chapter addresses what material culture has revealed about the changes in domestic control and how that control was used to help create a manly identity after Bacon's Rebellion as well as what the analyses have revealed about specific ways of constructing, maintaining, and challenging prevailing ideas about manhood in

the 17th century. I evaluate if the approach I have used to address gender in the Chesapeake is fruitful and discuss what it contributes to the understanding of daily life and identity in this region and time period. Finally, I end with a discussion of future avenues of inquiry stemming from this work.

Chapter 2: Archaeology, History, and Gender

Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the research presented in this dissertation. First, I examine the development of gender-based research in archaeology focusing on major works, themes, and topics explored by archaeologists over the past four decades in order to situate my approach in the broader theoretical development of gender-based research. Moving from the general development of theory in relation to gender in archaeology, I then outline the relationship between manhood and authority in Early Modern England, focusing on the changing definitions of these concepts and the timing for their changes. Then, I explore how archaeologists and historians have examined the topic of gender in the Chesapeake region. Specifically, I place my research into a regional context and address the major works that influence the interpretations of gender made in this dissertation and in other works. Finally, I conclude the chapter by proposing a hypothesis for how manhood and authority articulated in the Chesapeake, how gender-based authority changed in the Chesapeake during the 17th century, how those changes might have affected the lives of people in the Potomac Valley, and how they can be examined from the perspective of historical archaeology.

The Development of Gender-Based Research in Archaeology

There have been numerous theoretical approaches employed and proposed for the study of gender in archaeology since the 1970s. While all gender research in both archaeology and history can trace its roots to feminist theory, feminist theory remains today closely tied to critical theory, while archaeologists and historians who problematize gender employ other social theories including Bordieu's Practice theory (1977), Foucault's theory of discourse (1969), Butler's Gender as performance (1990), and Queer theory. Moving through time, I trace the

development of the study of gender in archaeology by defining different theoretical approaches, their practitioners, how they applied these theories to archaeology, and the state of the field today. First, however, the concept of gender, as it is used in this dissertation, must be defined.

For this research I have adopted a third wave feminist definition of gender as a social construct that is highly dependent on context (Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1997; Franklin 2001; Scott 2004). There are three facets to this aspect of identity based upon this definition (Conkey and Spector 1984; Eastman and Rodning 2001): *gender ideology*, which refers to the socially and culturally structuring ideas about the proper relationships within and between people of different genders; *gender roles*, which are defined as the activities deemed appropriate for or participated in by men, women, and children within their communities; and *gender identity*, which are the social practices of men, women, and children, or put in another way, it is how the categories of men, women, and children are defined either by themselves or by society. All three of these facets of identity must be interrogated in order to understand the role that gender played in peoples' lives in the past. Additionally, it is useful to understand the relationship of gender to other aspects of identity such as race and class because, as others have shown, identity is similar to a compound consisting of race, class, and gender and the intersectionality of these different aspects of identity are vital to understanding any component part (Hewitt 1992 cited in Scott 2004; Battle-Baptiste 2011:29). Understanding the relationships of other aspects of identity to gender stems from a contextual approach to gender that defines the third wave feminist approach. Therefore, the definition of gender that is used throughout this research is that gender is a social construct composed of gender roles, identity, and ideology that is highly contextual and dependent upon other forms of identity such as race and class.

Although feminism has been recognized as a social movement since the early-20th century, the role of feminist research and thinking in the social sciences, particularly history and archaeology, was small to non-existent until the late 1970s and early 1980s. Cultural anthropologists and psychologists recognized the importance of feminism and gender research prior to this time, especially in terms of trying to understand how gender is constructed and affects society (Kessler and McKenna 1978). This research, however, was often applied only to cultures that were in existence rather than past cultures. The late 1970s and early 1980s saw the emergence of the feminist critique in the social sciences, to which theoretical frameworks employed in gender research trace their roots. The clearest and most applicable articulation of this critique to archaeology came in 1984 with Conkey and Spector's "Archaeology and the Study of Gender." In this seminal article the authors introduced feminist theory to a general archaeological audience. As they describe it, feminist theory stems from similar critiques and theoretical shifts that were taking place in the social sciences in the late 1970s and early 1980s as reactions to processual and scientific research (Conkey and Spector 1984:3-5). Conkey and Spector define the feminist critique as the critique of science, as it was practiced at that time, including androcentrism, presentism, and the idea that knowledge is objective or that we can know things with certainty, in addition to challenging the idea of who can know. Looking at each aspect of their critique allows for a better understanding of feminist theory and how it came to affect gender research in later periods.

First, Conkey and Spector's critique of androcentrism in science stems from the fact that, as they say, science has been a bastion of white male privilege (1984; Conkey and Gero 1997). This demographic within science, especially social sciences, led to the privileging of certain kinds of knowledge over others, including favoring male informants over female informants in

anthropology. Additionally, as they argue, it served to perpetuate the Man the Hunter model, which they heavily critique, and keep women at the margins of society or completely invisible in archaeological and, by extension, historical research. They also note that there was a strong sense of presentism in the social sciences, meaning that people often understood gender in relationship to current gender roles, identities, and ideologies. This sort of thinking, Conkey and Spector argue, perpetuates gender biases and stereotypes and does not move our thinking forward. Based upon this presentist critique, Conkey and Spector say that gender is highly contextual and that it is important to understand that gender can and does change through time and through a person's life cycle, an idea that has come to play an important role in the study of gender in the social sciences (Gilchrist 1994; Wall 1994; Brown 1996; Scott 2004; Wilkie 2004, 2010; Beaudry 2006; Voss 2012a).

The final parts of Conkey and Spector's feminist critique dealing with knowledge creation are interrelated. The first part of their critique argues that knowledge is not objective but is, in fact, subjective and highly situated and nuanced. Their position is a reaction against Processual ideas put forth by scholars like Lewis Binford who argued that the past is knowable if only we ask the right questions (Binford 1972:86). Rather than championing the scientific certainty of interpretations, Conkey and Spector, and later Conkey and Gero, argue that our interpretations are ambiguous and often uncertain and that we must recognize this uncertainty and not represent our results as scientific fact. Finally, the question of who can know acts as the final aspect of the feminist critique. Again, this question challenges science and the strong androcentric bias within it. In general, as Conkey and Spector argue, scientists, who are privileged white males, are thought to be the final authority on many issues, with their conclusions unable to be challenged. However, the feminist critique argues that scientific

knowledge is not the only way of knowing and may not be the best way. This opens up the possibility of understanding culture and history through different, more contextually-situated perspectives. This is best illustrated in Janet Spector's *What This Awl Means* (1993) when she uses Dakota language, folklore, and oral history to come to a better understanding of how people lived and interacted at a 19th-century Dakota site in Minnesota. By situating interpretations within the knowledge systems of the people being studied, Conkey and Spector argue that more nuanced understandings of gender and culture in general can be obtained.

Despite the fact that Conkey and Spector (1984) called for contextual understandings of gender, much of the early work deriving from their feminist approach only sought to find women in the past rather than understand the complicated connections of gender to other aspects of identity. Even in their article, Conkey and Spector provide a framework for the study of gender that seemingly only seeks to find women archaeologically. The task differentiation framework, which determines from ethnographic or ethnohistorical data what roles women participated in and then tries to determine the material correlates of those roles, has found a home among archaeologists and historians up to the present. Scholars have used this framework, sometimes with slight modifications, to successfully "find" women and men in the prehistoric and historic past (Carr and Walsh 1977; Gibb and King 1991; Scott 1991; Spector 1993; Andersson et al. 2011). While finding women was an important first step in the study of gender, the theory involved in its study quickly changed and adapted.

Two theories that have been employed in the study of gender include Practice theory and performance. Practice theory, first outlined by Pierre Bordieu, says that culture is created through the dialectic and tensions between agency and structure, emphasizing the role that the everyday practices of people play in creating culture (1977). This theory easily ties in with Conkey and

Spector's task differentiation framework (1984). Essentially, the daily practices of men, women, and children serve to reinforce and create their gender identities in relation to overarching structures within society concerning gender, race, and class, among other things. It could be argued that any work that uses a task differentiation framework to discuss gender is using Practice theory, indeed even contextual studies of gender use Practice theory to some degree (Gibb and King 1991; Scott 1991; Gilchrist 1994; Andersson et al. 2011; Peelo 2011; Voss 2002, 2008).

Gender as performance has been most strongly supported by Judith Butler (1990). Several archaeologists have adopted this concept of performance and tried to apply it. One of the better examples of gender as performance used archaeologically comes from Thomas and Thomas (2004). The authors use the material culture of clothing and personal adornment from the Hermitage to illustrate how enslaved laborers on the site performed their identity for others and themselves. They define different layers of presentation on the human body and show how these different layers can reflect different aspects of identity. They conclude that certain aspects of performance are more archaeologically visible than others, but that a strong understanding of context is necessary to get at these meanings, thereby acknowledging the ambiguity in their interpretations (Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1997).

Other types of post-Processual theory have proven to be extremely important in the past 40 years as ideas about gender and how it should be addressed have developed. Contextual approaches have often been the most fruitful avenues of inquiry because they draw upon Conkey and Spector's (1984) proposition that gender is a highly nuanced aspect of identity. These contextual understandings of gender have also led to the exploration of men, women, and children in the past and have served to put people in the past, rather than previous Processual

studies that tended to dehumanize subjects (Shepherd 2012). In the field of history, the idea of the contextuality of gender is probably best illustrated by Kathleen Brown's *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs* (1996). Brown shows that the formation of race in colonial Virginia was intimately connected with gender. She argues that racial slavery was codified through the use of gendered language in laws starting in 1643 when African women were made titheables, clearly separating them from white women. She goes on to discuss how colonial masculinity was defined through Bacon's Rebellion and how white masculinity was created as a way of preventing further slave/servant revolts. By situating ideas of gender in historically specific contexts, Brown is able to show how gender is highly nuanced and definitions of it can change easily over the course of a short time span.

Another proponent of the contextuality of gender, stemming from feminist theory, is Mary Beaudry. Her book *Findings* (2006) examines the material culture of needlework and how it was used to create and maintain gender identities. However, rather than trying to show that certain objects are exclusive to men or women she places them in context in order to understand how identity was constructed. She argues that the meanings of objects can only be understood by tacking back and forth between material culture and historical texts. As an example she discusses how sewing implements could have been used by women in one context as a way of reinforcing domestic female values and identities, but in another context, a male tailor used sewing implements as a way of forming and maintaining a masculine identity. By showing that the same objects can have very different meanings depending on when, where, and by whom they are used, Beaudry reminds us that a contextual approach to gender offers a better understanding of how these ideas of identity and material culture functioned in past cultures.

A specifically contextual approach to gender is outlined by Laurie Wilkie in *The Lost Boys of Zeta Psi* (2010). In this work, Wilkie examines a fraternity at the University of California tracing its history from the late-19th to the mid-20th century and interrogates how the material culture of the fraternity reflected and contributed to changing ideas of masculinity. The focus here on masculinity indicates how feminist theory has changed to include men and children as gender studies have been refined over time (Eastman and Rodning 2001). Wilkie shows how architecture and artifacts, particularly artifacts related to food consumption, signaled "civilized" masculinities prior to 1910 that involved ideas of the domestic sphere and then reflected and helped to reinforce the "savage" and competitive masculinities that emerged after 1910 which completely removed ideas of women or domesticity from the male sphere. This contextual approach relies heavily on research into the historical and social trends of the period and uses material culture to discuss how and why definitions of masculinity shifted and how these shifts were reflected in and reinforced by material culture.

Another major theoretical approach to gender that has come about in the past decade has been a Queer theory approach, focusing mainly on sexuality. Queer theory challenges the herteronormative model and forces us, as archaeologists and social scientists, to view material culture and relationships from different perspectives (Spencer-Wood 2009; Voss 2012a). This perspective has been championed in archaeology in recent years by Barbara Voss. In *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis* (2008) she focuses on how the control of sexuality was imperative to the success and order of imperialism, in this case at the Presidio in San Francisco in the late-18th century. Voss has used Queer theory to address imperial effects on people in the past and how the legacies of those imperial effects continue to be a part of our society. Recently, she has more clearly expressed this proposition by discussing how Queer theory articulates with

Postcolonial theory (2012a). A clear example of how these two theories are used in conjunction with one another in addressing gender comes from her comparison of the late-18th-century Presidio at San Francisco and the Chinese-inhabited section of San Francisco in the late-19th century (2012b). She first shows how sexuality was controlled through the separation of Natives and Europeans at the Presidio in order to maintain the power structures of the imperial project. She then turns her attention to Chinese workers a century later and shows how the government controlled Chinese sexuality by not allowing women to migrate, thus creating homosocial spaces for Chinese men and controlling their sexuality. She argues that the control of sexuality is an imperial legacy in San Francisco and that we must acknowledge this legacy and the ways in which it continues to structure our society.

A final adaptation of feminist theory deserves recognition. Black Feminist theory, championed an introduced by Maria Franklin in her 2001 article "A Black Feminist Inspired Archaeology?" is defined as a reaction to second wave feminism that focused mainly on middle class white women. Black feminism recognizes the multiple meanings of gender and how they intersect with race and class. Similar in several ways to contextual understandings of gender, black feminism is set apart by having a strong aspect of advocacy and by analyzing various vectors of oppression at the same time. Franklin posits that what archaeologists write affects ideas about the past and in turn understandings of gender in the present. This form of feminist theory is strongly political and is best illustrated in much of Franklin's more recent work dealing with black communities in Dallas and Oklahoma City. In addition to Franklin, a recent book by Whitney Battle-Baptiste also addresses this theory from an archaeological perspective (2011).

The major theoretical approaches to gender over the past 40 years have all been firmly grounded in Practice theory and Discourse theory, with newer approaches such as Queer theory

and Black feminism combining aspects of Practice, Discourse, Feminist theory, and other varied theories. Conkey and Spector's 1984 article, while only offering a framework to "find" women has been adapted through the use of contextual archaeology (Beaudry 2006; Wilkie 2004, 2010), Practice theory (Gibb and King 1991; Andersson et al. 2011; Peelo 2011), Performance (Thomas and Thomas 2004), Queer theory (Voss 2008, 2012a, 2012b; Spencer-Wood 2009), Postcolonial theory (Voss 2012a, 2012b), and Black Feminism (Franklin 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2012) to create a highly diverse field of study. While all of these specific approaches have served to move the study of gender in archaeology forward, the research in this dissertation relies heavily on contextual approaches and Practice due to the types of data examined. Well-preserved historical records relating to the inhabitants of the specific sites under study and the region as a whole, coupled with decades of synthetic research on society and politics in the 17th-century Chesapeake, allow for a strongly nuanced understanding of how gender was constructed both on individual and regional levels. The addition of material culture related to the day-to-day workings of plantations helps to reveal how gender was enacted and structured people's lives in terms of daily practice. The broader theoretical framework of this research adopts a gendered approach to the past, stemming from gender studies in the fields of archaeology and history. My approach incorporates the refinements of gender studies that have taken place in the past decades, specifically in terms of the way gender is defined by individuals and society based upon multiple intersecting aspects of identity, including age, class, and race.

Manhood and Authority in the Early Modern British Atlantic World

Although the vast majority of work produced by social scientists on the topic of gender has tended to focus on women, there has been a fluorescence of work focusing on men and masculinity using a gendered theoretical perspective over the past two decades (Tosh 1994;

Brown 1996, 2011; Foyster 1999; Harrison 2002; Shepard 2003, 2005; Ditz 2004; Harvey 2005, 2009, 2012a, 2012b; Harvey and Shepard 2005; Alberti 2007; Williams 2008; Wilkie 2010; Andersson et al. 2011; Foster 2011; McCurdy 2011; Garraffoni 2012; Voss 2012b). Much of this research on men in the past has been spearheaded by historians, with archaeological studies just now becoming common. Starting in the 1990s, historians began to call for more in-depth, engendered studies of men in the past that examine how gender was defined for this group of people (Tosh 1994; Foyster 1999; Ditz 2004; Shepard and Harvey 2005). They pointed out that with the volume of contributions to gender-based research focusing on the multiple definitions of womanhood in the past, the hegemonic male gender identity had become normative (Foyster 1999; Ditz 2004; Harvey and Shepard 2005). These early practitioners of the study of manhood in the past noted, and still note, that historians should seek to understand aspects of competing masculinities, change over time in the definitions of manhood, and the specific social contexts of masculinity (Harvey and Shepard 2005:280). In particular, Toby Ditz has recommended that historical study should focus on gendered power because it both genders men and explores the relationship of men to women, thereby contributing to the study of gender history, rather than men's or women's history (Ditz 2004:17-20). Due to a focus that is shifting more toward this inclusive history of gender, as suggested by Ditz, the study of manhood in the past has become *de rigueur* among current historians of gender.

Historical archaeologies of masculinity are somewhat less common, however, primarily due to the fact that masculinity is still a relatively new topic within the field. Like historians, archaeologists studying manhood have argued that the topic is important to an archaeology of gender because much of the previous work on gender treated men as an ungendered universal subject (Alberti 2007:69-102). Rather, practitioners of feminist-inspired archaeologies of

masculinity note that gradients of manhood and competing masculinities must be interrogated, and that archaeologists must move past the fixed binary opposition of male and female (Alberti 2007:69-102).

The few works in historical archaeology that tackle this topic from an explicitly gendered theoretical framework have taken this direction. Andersson and her colleagues showed how gender norms could break down on 18th- and 19th-century Swedish farms within particular labor contexts, while Wilkie examined changing concepts of masculinity and the ways in which this aspect of identity was reproduced in a university fraternity setting (Wilkie 2010; Andersson et al. 2011). Bryn Williams tracked the feminization of Chinese men in 19th-century San Jose, while also addressing competing concepts of masculinity within the Chinese community, similar to Voss's focus on the sexual control of Chinese men in 19th-century San Francisco (Williams 2008; Voss 2012b). All of these works take a gendered perspective in that they help to deconstruct the notion of manhood by examining competing notions of the concept, its relationship to womanhood, and its connection to other aspects of identity. At this point in the development of the study of masculinity there is little need to justify its value. It appears that the majority of scholars studying gender in the social sciences recognize the importance of understanding the construction of manhood to a fuller understanding of gender in the past.

Particularly germane to the research presented in this dissertation is the concept of manhood and its varied meanings in the Early Modern English Atlantic World. Understanding how manhood was defined in both the core (England) and on the periphery (the Chesapeake) is vital to interpreting competing concepts of manhood that arose in the Potomac River Valley during the 17th- and early-18th centuries (Wallerstein 1974, 1980, 1989, 2011). Historians have provided a solid groundwork for how English male identity was constructed and changed during

the period under study in this dissertation in both the mother country and in the Chesapeake colonies. Defining hegemonic English masculinities, appropriate gender roles, philosophies of authority, and the changes over time in all of these aspects of manhood, allows both archaeological and historical evidence to be interpreted within the framework of Early Modern British Atlantic manhood.

In a general sense, most scholars of gender in the Early Modern British Atlantic note a shift in the concepts surrounding gender, specifically manhood and its performance, in the last few decades of the 17th century on both sides of the Atlantic (Amussen 1988; Brown 1996; Norton 1996, 2011; Foyster 1999; Shepard 2003, 2005; Harvey 2005; Flather 2007). Despite the changes in performance or definition of manhood during this period, however, scholars have noted that patriarchal ideology was an overarching constant from the 16th through the 18th century (Foyster 1999; Shepard 2005). As a component of identity, manhood in the Early Modern period for the most part was acquired, rather than conveyed, it was constantly being negotiated between and among individuals, it was heavily dependent upon other aspects of identity and context, and was always viewed in relation to an ideal hegemonic model, meaning that it was important to display aspects of manly identity to others (Foyster 1999:32).

Normative manhood in the British Atlantic World was principally acquired through marriage, reaching middle age, meaning approximately 25 to 50 depending upon context, and house-holding (Shepard 2003, 2005). While these were not the only ways to achieve a measure of manhood, they were the most commonly accepted, and all had elements of control in common. The achievement of middle age, in many ways dependent upon chance, conferred manhood because youths and the elderly were often seen as unable to control themselves, and because medical texts of the day suggested that the four humors were balanced during this period

(Shepard 2003:47-91). Marriage promoted the sexual control of women, but also served to challenge manhood because it depended upon a wife's honor and loyalty to her husband, leading to the concept of anxious patriarchs in the 17th century (Shepard 2003:93-126). Finally, house-holding was a significant aspect to the acquisition of manhood because it promoted the control of the family, which was seen as an important building block of society and a means to reproducing authority, particularly prior to the fourth quarter of the 17th century, as will be discussed below (Norton 1996).

While these manly ideals were rarely achieved by most, and the power relations inherent in them were often quite complex, the enactment of normative manhood prior to about 1675 was distinct and can best be understood through the use of the anxious patriarch prototype (Harvey 2005:298-300). While major aspect of manhood was marriage and the control over women's sexuality that came along with it, control was not always certain. This uncertainty led married men to be anxious over their own identities and manly status because of the amount of influence their wives and daughters had over them. In this sense, prior to the late-17th century, manhood was defined between both men and women, with women, and particularly their actions, playing a major role in the creation and maintenance of male identity. The role that women played in defining manhood during the early-17th century was complementary to scientific and medical thought at the time, which subscribed to the one-sex model. In this model, women and men were seen as being the same sex, with women as the imperfect version. Therefore, the differences between men and women were only viewed as slight, meaning that control through the use of patriarchal authority was tenuous at best, because women and men were essentially the same from a medical and biological viewpoint (Harvey 2005:299-300).

By the late-17th century and early-18th century, however, scientific and medical thinking about sex changed and the definitions and enactment of manhood shifted. Starting in the mid-17th century, the one-sex model started to be replaced with the two-sex model by medical thinkers, who began to view women as completely, biologically, different from men (Laqueur 1994; Harvey 2005:305). The change in thought about sexual difference led to a reassurance of manhood because women were redefined in society from lusty beings, similar to men, to domestic, pious, and virtuous (Harvey 2005:305). Due to the apparently undeniable differences between men and women, there was little women could do to directly challenge patriarchal authority any further (Harvey 2005:300). Ultimately, this reassurance of the patriarchy led to a change in the prototypical man and hegemonic manhood, from the anxious and controlling patriarch to the polite gentleman. These polite gentlemen were defined less by strict sexual control over women and others within their households and more by self-control, sociability, and proper social interaction (Harvey 2005:301-304). In this idealized model of enacting manhood, the role of women in directly influencing the creation and maintenance of manly identity was greatly reduced and manhood was generally proven between men.

In conjunction with these shifts in manly identity over the course of the 17th century, concepts of patriarchal authority also changed from being within the bounds of both men and women to being solely within the male arena. Prior to the late-17th century, authority within English society was defined by a Filmerian system. This concept of patriarchal authority in society was named after Sir Robert Filmer, whose posthumously published work, *Patriarcha* (1680), outlined the mode of authority that had been the dominant model for most of the 17th century in England, and well before that. In the Filmerian view, the household was seen as the building block of the state, a “little monarchy,” that taught people how to behave toward those of

higher rank (Norton 1996:11). Therefore, patriarchal authority, specifically strict control over the members of one's household, was essential to the reproduction and maintenance of an ordered society. However, the Filmerian way of thinking noted that rank derived from a combination of age, gender, class, and other factors, meaning that there were situations in which women could wield patriarchal authority over people of lower rank both within and outside the home (Norton 1996:11). While this concept of power easily articulated with a one-sex model of thinking, it undoubtedly contributed to the anxiousness of patriarchs during the period.

Beginning in the mid-17th century, philosophies on authority in the British Atlantic began to change, particularly in the wake of the English Civil War. In direct opposition to Filmer's work, John Locke published *Two Treatises of Government* (1689), which refuted Filmer's *Patriarcha* line by line. However, Locke was heavily influenced by Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), in which Hobbes challenged the divine right of kings, and thus the Filmerian philosophy on authority. Although the alternative to Filmerian authority had been developing, it took almost four decades for Locke to completely articulate a widely-accepted challenge to *Patriarcha*.

The Lockean philosophy on authority, which was the dominant philosophy on authority within the British Atlantic World by the 18th century, stated that authority was not inherited by divine right, but was derived from the consent of the governed through a social contract. Due to the idea of consent, authoritarian power within the family was not as essential in a Lockean system because patriarchs no longer had to actively vie for positions of authority within their families (Norton 1996). This shift in thinking served to remove much of the potential for power from women because it inherently recognized them as inferior to men, which was supported by the shift to the two-sex model adopted within the scientific community at the time. A Lockean

philosophy of authority also meant that it was no longer necessary for men to negotiate their manly identities among both men and women, but rather manliness, particularly public authority, only need be negotiated between men, who were the undisputed heads of their households (Norton 1996:11-12).

While it has been suggested that the dichotomous nature of the Lockean system of authority meant that men's primary interactions took place outside the household and women's took place within the family (Norton 1996, 2011), the separation of gendered spheres in the Lockean system, particularly in the 17th century, has been challenged in recent years (Amussen 1988; Foyster 1999; Flather 2007; Harvey 2009, 2012b). In the early- to mid-17th century, when the Filmerian philosophy of authority was still dominant in the British Atlantic, gendered spheres necessarily overlapped due to the fact that manhood and womanhood was defined between both men and women. In the most basic sense, gendered spheres overlapped in domestic spaces. The small size of most Early Modern houses in the British Atlantic, which tended to have a hall and parlor plan, necessitated the fluidity of gendering space because work and living areas overlapped (Flather 2007:39-74). Physical space was difficult to specifically gender and was highly dependent upon context with little segregation in day to day activities.

Filmerian authority also provided the opportunity for male and female spheres to overlap in terms of public and political roles. In the Filmerian system, authority and status were intertwined, and therefore, high-born women could, and often did, participate in public and political arenas (Norton 2011:1-8). However, the public role of women during this period was also open to lower status women by being appointed to execute their husbands' wills. By making their wives executrixes of their estates, men showed that they believed their wives capable of managing their business dealings and property in an appropriate fashion (Amussen 1988:67-94).

This act, and its regularity in the Early Modern British Atlantic, illustrates that men and women operated within many of the same spheres and that gendered spheres were easily permeable in specific contexts.

The concept of a female/domestic sphere in opposition to a male/public sphere was first introduced by John Dunton in 1702 (Norton 2011:76-104). Dunton's outline of the feminine private sphere stemmed from the crisis of Queen Anne having a very public and political role in society during a time when women's ability to wield authority had been reduced due to the shift to a Lockean concept of authority and the idea, stemming from the two-sex model, that all women were completely different from and inferior to men. Ultimately, Dunton legitimated male authority by stating that only female hereditary monarchs had a public and political role, while the purview of all other women was private and domestic (Norton 2011:76-104). Although the privatization of women was generally accepted by both men and women by the 1740s, the public/male and private/female spheres were never completely separated from one another.

As noted above, women's execution of their husbands' estates and the lack of spatial segregation in most non-elite homes contributed to an overlap between the male and female spheres that continued into the 18th century. However, more pertinent to the research that forms the core of this dissertation is the increasing involvement of men in the management of domestic affairs starting in the late-17th century, which illustrates the role that the traditionally-defined female/private sphere played in creating and maintaining manhood. Karen Harvey's examination of the role that men played in managing the household in the late-17th and 18th centuries has shown that activities, spaces, and objects associated primarily with women by most scholars often reflected on and aided in the construction of manly identities (2009, 2012b). The management of the house, termed oeconomy by 17th- and 18th-century writers, was essential to

creating and maintaining manhood starting in the late-17th century because of its connection with sociability, politeness, and a man's unquestioned authority over all members of his household, all of which were defining aspects of manhood at the time (Harvey 2012b:169-190).

Harvey found that as good oeconomists, men managed their households, often purchasing and consuming everyday items that have generally been associated with women's work, such as food, ceramics, and furniture (2012b:99-133). The possession and maintenance of these domestic objects helped to maintain their authority both within and outside of the family. She also found that larger objects, such as tables and chairs, and social activities, such as tea drinking, were important to men because they reflected their good taste and domestic sociability in addition to their role as good oeconomists, since housekeeping and the management of property reflected manly skills (Harvey 2012b:99-133). Ultimately, Harvey concluded that the house and family were at the center of the construction of manhood despite the idea of the separation of spheres that came about in the early-18th century.

The management of domestic activities was one way in which men were able to create order within their worlds and display their authority both within their family and to those outside the home. Harvey states that the kitchen, or hall, which has often been viewed as either an ungendered or feminine space, was the "most important theater for the performance of manly status," because the management of the household and domestic activities became so intimately connected to creating and reinforcing manhood. As such, she shows how the idea of a domestic/private/feminine sphere is no longer tenable in gender history and how male and female spheres overlapped, with both men and women playing important roles in each.

Defining manhood in the Early Modern British Atlantic requires an understanding of the many different ways in which gender shaped peoples' lives. Early Modern British manhood was

affected by numerous factors, including political thought, concepts of authority, and scientific and biological thinking on sex. The late-17th and early-18th centuries were critical times for the re-examination of these different concepts in British Atlantic society, and therefore, were critical times in the re-definition of manly identity. Ways in which society defined manhood began changing in the mid-17th century by moving away from the model of the controlling patriarch who was forced to constantly reassert his authority to the polite gentleman who displayed his manliness through sociability.

This shift was influenced by changing concepts of authority that placed men clearly at the head of the household and took away many of the direct avenues that women had for wielding power in society. Although men no longer had to create their gender identities in relation to women, they still relied on the use of traditionally-viewed female spheres to reinforce their manhood through the strict management of the household. Since sociability was heavily intertwined with the domestic sphere, it was important for polite gentlemen to manage the domestic and be good oeconomists, in order to display their sociability to others and reinforce their authority. Despite the changes in concepts of manhood that took place in the late-17th century, a man's control, particularly his patriarchal control, over his family and others was still an overarching constant that would define normative manhood well beyond the 18th century in Britain and her Atlantic colonies.

Research on manhood in the past has seen a marked increase in the last two decades in both the fields of history and historical archaeology. The practitioners of histories and archaeologies of manhood are exploring many of the same topics that gender historians and archaeologists have studied previously, including, notions of competing definitions of gender, the relationship of gender to other aspects of identity, and gendered power. The exploration of

manhood in the past employs a distinctly gendered theoretical approach and contributes to a broader and more nuanced understanding of how gender operated in the past and how identities changed and interacted with one another. While historical archaeologists are somewhat late taking up the topic, compared to historians, they have clearly recognized its importance to the study of gender and are contributing a great deal to our understanding of how manly identities were negotiated.

Studying Gender in the Chesapeake

Scholarly work specifically addressing gender in the colonial Chesapeake has developed along a similar trajectory as gender-based research in the field of archaeology and other social sciences. Specifically, gender research in the Chesapeake has been heavily influenced by gender theory, and, as such, has progressed from "finding" women in the past to interrogating the social, cultural, and individual effects of gender and its articulation with other aspects of identity. Social historians studying the Chesapeake were among the first to address gender in their work (Carr and Walsh 1977). Shortly after, historical archaeologists in the region began to address the topic, following trends within the discipline, but also drawing heavily on the groundwork laid by the historians in the region (Gibb and King 1991; Little 1994; Seifert 1991; Yentsch 1991). As time has passed, both archaeologists and historians have contributed to more nuanced interpretations of gender in the Chesapeake that encompass its role in the formation of regional identities, law, and economy.

The first major work on gender in the Chesapeake drawing from a feminist theoretical framework was written by two prominent Chesapeake social historians, Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh (1977). In their article, the authors mine the 17th-century court records of Maryland and immigrant lists from England to better understand the demography of women in the Chesapeake

during the period, their life cycles, and their typical daily activities. They found that the majority of women who came to the Chesapeake prior to 1680 were between 18 and 25 years of age, were often servants, and did not marry until their mid-20s (1977:550-551). There was increased sexual freedom among these early female settlers due to demographic imbalance and the resulting difficulties in forming families due to high mortality, which led to numerous marriages and extended kinship networks. The authors also noted that creole-born women tended to marry earlier, around the ages of 16 to 19, and that the earlier age of marriage allowed them to have more children, which ultimately led to the growth of the native-born population in the region after 1680 (1977:564-567). Among the tasks that women performed, according to the historical records, were raising vegetables, processing corn, dairying, and making clothes. However, the authors point out that objects related to household industry appear to be lacking in probate inventories prior to 1660, likely due to the lack of women (1977:561-562). Ultimately, Carr and Walsh conclude that demography had a major impact on women's experiences in the colonial Chesapeake and that they played a large role in the development of society in the region.

While this first article was primarily a description of a typical white female immigrant experience in the 17th-century Chesapeake, it created a significant foundation for other gender-based research in the region. It was the first work to specifically acknowledge differential gendered experiences of Chesapeake immigrants, unlike other works, which tended to focus on the male immigrant experience because of the association of tobacco agriculture solely with men (Morgan 1975; Horn 1979; Menard 1988). Carr and Walsh emphasized the role that women, and the domestic labor associated with them, played in the success of the colonial enterprise in Virginia and Maryland and provided other scholars with a task differentiation framework to use in future work. Soon after this, Walsh began to explore how women's lives were affected by

skewed demography, specifically in relation to the formation of families (1979). Starting with her examination of marriage in the Chesapeake, gender research among social historians in the region began to move beyond the descriptive, and beyond women. Focusing on the formation of families, Walsh was able to show how gender norms were difficult to maintain in the Chesapeake for men, women, and children due to the peculiar demographic circumstances, which has been a major theme in 17th-century Chesapeake gender research since that time.

With a task differentiation framework in place for the Early Modern Chesapeake, historical archaeologists soon began to specifically address gender in the region. Among the first historical archaeologists to employ this theoretical framework in Early Modern contexts were James Gibb and Julia King (1991). Their research drew on Carr and Walsh's task differentiation framework to better understand how space was gendered on the Chesapeake homelot. The authors assigned specific artifacts to either men or women using the task differentiation framework and examined their distributions on three 17th-century Chesapeake sites. They found that these artifacts, and therefore the gendered spaces, tended to overlap, with slightly more segregation being visible on the more affluent sites. Ultimately, they concluded that the demographic conditions of the region made it difficult to maintain strictly gendered space, but that socioeconomic status played a significant role in enacting traditional gender roles.

Although Gibb and King's article has a tendency to essentialize material culture by assigning it to either men or women, their conclusions move their argument beyond essentialism. By showing how so-called "gendered" artifacts overlap in the same spaces, the authors illustrate that gender was not compartmentalized in the 17th-century Chesapeake. They also show that other aspects of identity, such as socioeconomic status, were important in defining gender during the period. Considering that the study of gender in archaeology, particularly historical

archaeology, was still somewhat new at the time of the publication of this article, the nuance in their conclusions is commendable. However, in many ways this article was still primarily about finding women in the archaeological record rather than understanding how gender affected everyday life and society.

About the same time as Gibb and King's article was published, other historical archaeologists in the region were exploring gender, specifically women, and its effect on individuals' lives using detailed contextual approaches. Donna Siefert compared women's consumer patterns in the households and brothels of late 19th-century Washington, DC (1991). While outside of the colonial period in the Chesapeake, this work showed how gender affected life on the household level and how it was reflected in artifact assemblages. It also emphasized how race, ability, and family cycles could and did affect the practice of ideal gender roles.

Barbara Little took an even more focused approach than Siefert by examining how gender ideology permeated the life of Ann Catherine Green in 18th-century Annapolis (1994). By comparing the probate inventories of Ann and her husband, Little shows how gender could even affect the organization of goods. She concluded that Ann's organization showed less of a separation between her domestic and business life and, using a Marxist framework, represents resistance to a dominant ideology. While all of these early works about gender in the colonial Chesapeake showed a nuanced understanding of how gender shapes everyday life, they were all focused on finding women in either the historical or archaeological record. By the mid-1990s, however, this strategy of gender research began to shift toward understanding how gender ideology shaped society rather than trying to define gender roles in the past. Like the first stage of gender-based research in the colonial Chesapeake, this new phase was again spearheaded by Chesapeake historians.

The first major work published on how gender ideology shaped society in the colonial Chesapeake, and arguably still the best-articulated work, was Kathleen Brown's *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs* (1996). In this book, Brown showed how gendered ideology and language was used to first aid in the colonial enterprise in the Chesapeake and then how it helped in the creation of a system of racialized slavery. While she discusses the role that English, Native, and African women played in the creation of Chesapeake society, the heart of her argument revolves around manly authority in the Early Modern period and how it was enacted, challenged, and adapted in the Chesapeake. Brown's work clearly moved beyond finding women in the past to understanding how everybody's lives were shaped by gendered ideology in the colonial Chesapeake. She also showed how gender was fluid based upon local conditions, such as demography, race, class, and other forms of identity. Because much of her argument relied upon gendered language, Brown drew heavily on colonial laws and court cases for her interpretations, which has served as an example for historians studying gender in the Chesapeake since then.

In addition to Brown, Mary Beth Norton also helped gender research in the Chesapeake move beyond finding women in the past. Norton's book, *Founding Mothers and Fathers*, focuses on gendered power and how it differed between the Chesapeake and New England (1996). This work explores the gendered nature of power in the family, community, and state and how they all articulated. Although not specifically focused on the Chesapeake, Norton's book reveals how power was clearly gendered and how the peculiar circumstances of the region led to challenges and adaptations to more traditional English gender ideology. She notes that the Chesapeake did not strictly adhere to a Filmerian concept of authority, but was proto-Lockean, meaning that aspects of Lockean thinking were adapted to the unique demography and economy of the region.

This argument easily articulates with Brown's work in that both authors show how gendered ideology heavily influenced the shape of society in the Chesapeake. However, they both also emphasize the fact that the 17th-century Chesapeake was a gender frontier where interactions with other cultures, combined with the social fluidity of the region, led to the creation of new aspects of gender identities and open challenges to gender roles and ideology. Ultimately, both Norton and Brown provided excellent examples of how to move gender-based research in the region forward toward a more nuanced understanding of how broader gender ideologies shaped society. While many historians in the region were quick to adopt this concept of exploring the role of gendered ideology in the shaping of Chesapeake society, historical archaeologists tended to remain focused on gender roles and their visibility in the archaeological record.

Anne Yentsch's research on the symbolic meanings of pottery draws heavily on colonial Chesapeake examples to discuss how men and women are visible in archaeological remains related to food preparation and consumption (1996). Yenstch emphasizes the separation of masculine and feminine spheres over time and the resulting association of white-toned vessels with the male public sphere and earth-toned vessels with the female private sphere. While this framework easily lends itself to examining archaeological materials, it belies the complexity of the interaction between men and women in the colonial period and has come under heavy criticism in recent years, as noted above.

Gender roles and associated artifacts and spaces have also been the focus of other anthropologically-trained scholars in the region, such as Helen Rountree (1998; Rountree and Turner 2002). Her work has taken a slightly different perspective on gender, in that she has specifically examined gender roles among Indian groups in the colonial Chesapeake. While

focusing on specific gendered tasks among men and women, Rountree also examined the interplay of age with gender, particularly among the Powhatans. Like Yentsch, Rountree examined the gendered tasks of both men and women, showing that gendered research does not need to equate with only women. Just as the historians of the region did, historical archaeologists and anthropologists began to view gender as an aspect of identity that impacted everybody's lives. However, there was still a strong tendency toward searching for artifacts or tasks that could be associated with specific gender identities, clearly stemming from the heavy reliance on material culture as the primary form of evidence.

Gender-based research in colonial Chesapeake contexts has continued to change in the 21st century, mirroring feminist histories and archaeologies in other regions. Hearkening back to Anne Yentsch's work on the symbolic meanings of pottery, Sarah Meacham's research on alcohol in the colonial Chesapeake has shown how changes in technology can lead to changes in gender roles (2006, 2009). Like Yentsch, Meacham argues that the more scientific management of alcohol production brought it, and its associated material culture, into the male sphere of control after the mid-18th century. In this way, Meacham shows both the changeable nature of definitions of gender and gender roles, in addition to the fact that specific tasks or artifact types are often not able to be definitively assigned to one gender or another. An understanding of social and historical context is imperative to the interpretation of how and by whom material culture was used.

Many historians in the Chesapeake have continued to mine legal records for evidence about gender in the past. Catherine Cardno has examined the enforcement of sexual norms in 18th-century Maryland through understanding attitudes toward illegitimacy (2006). Understanding the role that sexuality and the control over sexual access to women played in the

colonial enterprise has become a major topic in gender-based research recently for both historians and archaeologists (Voss 2012a:11-28). Terri Snyder has used legal records in the region to better understand resistance strategies used by female servants against their masters (2011). Snyder has shown how this group of lower status women was able to work within the bounds of the patriarchal system in order to challenge that system and improve their own conditions. In effect, her research has shown the ways in which women were able to maneuver within an extremely oppressive situation, much the same way that other contemporary work on gender has explored avenues of resisting the structures imposed upon individuals (Heath 2004; Galle 2010).

Exploring ideas about authority and its relationship to gender has also continued to be researched by historians of the colonial Chesapeake. Debra Meyers, specifically, has examined how changes in politics and religion in Maryland affected household government and gender relations (2006). Meyers found that during the primarily Catholic rule of the Maryland colony, gender relationships were less restrictive and that women had access to power both in the public sphere and at home. However, after the colony came under the control of Protestant leaders in the late-17th century, gender roles were much more restricted. She attributes this shift to different religious philosophies espoused by the rulers of the colony, with Catholicism being less gender restrictive than Protestantism/Calvinism. However, further research into concepts of authority in Early Modern England has indicated that this same shift happened more broadly (discussed above). While religious beliefs in Maryland may have been one of the facilitators of this shift in ideas about gender, it was not the case for England or Virginia, where similar changes were taking place contemporaneously.

Finally, historians in the region have also started to explore ideas of masculinity. John McCurdy's work on competing visions of masculinity at Jamestown shows how conflict over competing views of what it meant to be a man in the military ultimately led to the failure of the military government model for Virginia (2011). Like Brown's research, McCurdy's work is one of the few examples of Chesapeake history that explicitly addresses manhood in the colonial period and the effect that it had on shaping the colony. Specifically, like Brown, McCurdy shows how conflict stemmed from competing forms of manhood and how that conflict determined the course of settlement and society in the region. In the case of Jamestown, a civilian government was established in part due to competing military masculinities.

Historical archaeologists studying the colonial Chesapeake have also made important contributions to gender-based research in the past decade that draw from historical perspectives and look at gender from a different viewpoint, specifically concerned with material culture. In a general sense, most studies of the historical archaeology of gender in the colonial Chesapeake have focused on how the enslaved negotiated their gender roles. One strategy historical archaeologists have employed to understand gender amongst the enslaved is to examine how gender might have been enacted by slaves based upon their West African cultural heritage. Using ethnographies, Patricia Samford outlined the typical gender roles of Igbo men and women, who made up a large portion of enslaved Africans in 18th-century Virginia (2004). Looking at kinship networks, plantation records, and site structure, Samford concluded that domestic tasks engaged in by the enslaved in colonial Virginia were similar to traditional Igbo gender roles.

Garrett Fesler employed a similar approach to the study of gender among slaves in 18th-century Virginia (2004). However, by examining the layout of quarters and gendered spaces, Fesler concluded that the labor system in Virginia was in contrast to West African customs.

Fesler and Samford both treat domestic spaces as the domain of women based upon West African ethnography. However, neither addresses the question of how the system of racialized slavery in the colonial Chesapeake might have disrupted traditional West African gender roles or whether there was a strong division between male and female spheres. Both authors focus on African precedents for the structure of archaeological assemblages and behaviors related to gender rather than addressing how gendered ideology of both the enslaved and slaveholders affected daily life, as historians have attempted to show.

However, other archaeologists have taken a different view in examining gender among the enslaved that reveals how gender and material culture interacted with one another. Barbara Heath's research on consumerism among enslaved people in Virginia during the late-18th and early-19th centuries explores the interplay between gender, economics, and family formation by looking at the consumption patterns of slaves (2004). Heath tracks slave purchases through account books, store records, and other documents to determine if consumption strategies were gendered. She ultimately concludes that consumption patterns among the enslaved likely reflected household structure and that specific artifacts should not be assigned to certain genders because purchases revealed that there were no specifically-gendered objects. This work moves far beyond finding women or looking for West African precedents by showing how gender and family structure affected economic decisions among people, thereby relating the daily performance of gender to broader processes.

Building on the work of Heath, Jillian Galle also examined the gendered consumption practices of the enslaved in colonial Virginia (2010). Using costly-signaling theory, Galle proposes that the enslaved used material culture and consumer strategies to solidify social and economic relationships. She finds that consumption begins to rise after 1730, as the enslaved

became more mobile due to diversification. She notes that buttons tend to associate with single-unrelated men, while ceramics tend to correlate with kin-based households. While Galle also ties the broader processes of consumerism to gendered acquisition and signaling strategies, she necessarily equates certain artifact types with specific genders. However, by tying these consumption strategies to household or family groups, she shows that gender, and its material correlates, are heavily influenced by age, status, and other aspects of identity. Both Heath and Galle provide nuanced approaches to the topic of gender amongst enslaved individuals by taking other aspects of identity into account in addition to relating their findings to broader processes that occurred with Chesapeake society that influenced all groups within that society.

While the majority of historical archaeologists doing gender-based research in colonial Chesapeake contexts have focused on the enslaved, there are some examples that deal with other topics and people. Laura Galke's research on the management of the Washington farm in Fredericksburg by the widow, Mary Washington, has focused on how Mary used material culture to help her children gain social standing amongst the gentry in Virginia (2009). Going beyond a material biography of this one woman, Galke shows how a woman's life cycle played a major role in how society viewed her and what gender roles were seen as appropriate. By choosing to remain unmarried after her husband's death, Mary Washington was able to exercise greater control over the fate of her children, as well as the management of family property. Galke's examination of Mary Washington's material choices serves as an important example of the ways in which women could resist patriarchal control during the colonial period, while still operating within the system.

In addition to exploring the role that gender played in the creation of identity among adults in the colonial Chesapeake, historical archaeologists have also begun to address childhood

and how identity was shaped from an early age. Heidi Krofft's thesis research explores the material culture of childhood among members of the Washington family, focusing on how objects were used to create and reinforce aspects of identity, including gender among children (2012). Her work emphasizes the role that material culture plays in creation of identity for all members of a society, regardless of age or sex. Krofft's work also emphasizes ways in which aspects of identity were reproduced from generation to generation and how they could change, using material culture as a point of departure.

Since the 1970s, research on gender in the colonial Chesapeake has followed many of the same trends as gender research outside of the region. Early efforts in both history and historical archaeology created foundations for future work by focusing primarily on women and reintroducing them into the landscape of the past that had been dominated by men, particularly white men. Early research efforts "found women" by focusing on their demographic circumstances in the region, defining typical female roles, and exploring the material culture related to these roles.

As gender-based research continued into the 1990s, perspectives shifted and questions about gender became more nuanced. Scholars began to address questions of how gender influenced the creation of Chesapeake society. Gender began to be viewed more as an aspect of identity that articulated with other parts of a person's identity, such as race and class, rather than just womanhood, as it was used previously in practice. Currently, historians and historical archaeologists in the region are continuing to explore the topic of gender, by examining the role that it played in relation to other aspects of identity. Researchers are looking at gender among enslaved women, white servant women, children, widows, and men. Historical and

archaeological works are informing one another and research on gender in the colonial Chesapeake is both broad and detailed.

Conclusion

Using gender as an interpretive framework, in the following pages I examine how manhood was constructed and maintained in the Chesapeake from the mid-17th century to the early decades of the 18th century. Following Kathleen Brown's lead, I view Bacon's Rebellion as a watershed moment for the history of gender in the region and as a very visible example of conflict over competing concepts of manhood. However, as research into the history of manhood in the Early Modern British Atlantic has illustrated, aspects of manly identity, specifically authority, began to change in the mid-17th century. Viewing Ingle's Rebellion, and the events associated with it, as another visible conflict over competing concepts of manhood will show that manly identity in the Chesapeake began to shift decades before Nathaniel Bacon burned Jamestown. The examination of the role that inhabitants of the sites under study here played in both of these conflicts helps to illustrate their thinking on the meanings of manhood and how new concepts about identity from the core of England were able to permeate the periphery of the Chesapeake colonies.

While historical records aid in understanding how men living at specific sites thought about manhood and its relationship to authority, archaeological evidence serves to illustrate whether and how changes in other features of manly identity, specifically in relation to oeconomy, occurred at the same time. As noted above, the strict control of domestic affairs by men articulated with the polite gentleman archetype of manhood that began to become popular in the late-17th century. The shift from anxious patriarchs to polite gentlemen was made possible in part by the change from a Filmerian to a Lockean perspective on authority, which solidified

patriarchal authority within the household and society. Therefore, ideally, more controlled management of the domestic sphere and the plantation should be evident among men striving to enact the polite gentleman archetype of manhood as opposed to those who were anxious patriarchs that had to constantly reinforce their control over members of their households.

In a general sense, the power that crystallized among white men in the late-17th-century Chesapeake cost women many of their direct means of challenging patriarchal authority. However, women were not removed from the public sphere in the Chesapeake. The practice of good oeconomy by men was heavily dependent upon the work of women, as well as servants and slaves of both sexes. Because of the role that sociability played in the creation of manly identities after the late-17th century, the domestic sphere, where many sociable practices took place, was necessarily public. Although men no longer had to prove their authority among women with the shift to a Lockean framework, their identity was still intimately tied to the work and activities performed primarily by women and they still had to work to maintain their authority both within the household and outside of it.

Throughout much of the 17th century and into the 18th century, the majority of this work was performed in open, relatively unsegregated spaces. The hall and parlor house plan and organic landscape layouts on plantations forced the intermingling of male and female spaces (Flather 2007). As house plans and landscapes became more complex, activity areas could be more easily gender segregated (Johnson 1996:155-178). However, these changes were generally only accessible to the elite in the Chesapeake early on, leaving middling and poor planters to negotiate gender in different ways. While activity areas could be separated based upon gender, domestic space, and much of the space on the plantation, never became solely either male or female. A man's management of his plantation and his wife's domestic work meant that many

spaces and activities had male and public associations, while also having female and private associations. There were few places on Chesapeake plantations that were strictly gendered, meaning that activities, objects, and their associated spaces should be interrogated focusing on gender relations within their broader society rather than being seen as signatures of male or female identity, exclusively. By focusing on the material culture of food, often associated with women's work, I seek to show that the concept of separate spheres is not applicable in Early Modern Chesapeake plantation contexts and that an understanding of how men and women negotiated gender in relation to one another allows for a more nuanced understanding of how this aspect of identity influenced society in the past.

Chapter 3: Historical and Archaeological Context

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to place the following research in its historical and archaeological context. Focusing on the historical archaeology of the greater Chesapeake region, I first examine topics explored by archaeologists over time. I provide a brief overview of theoretical and interpretive trends in the discipline from the 1960s to the present and how these trends influence my research. Next, I trace the development of Chesapeake society from the first decades of the 17th century to the end of the first quarter of the 18th century. Focusing on the social history and archaeology of the region during this time period allows the sites I examine to be placed into a broader regional context. Additionally, I point out larger demographic, social, and material trends that are pertinent to my study. Finally, I address the historical and archaeological research that has been conducted in the Potomac River Valley concerning the period from European contact to 1720. This section serves to underscore the unique nature of the Potomac River Valley as a subregion within the Chesapeake and it places the sites examined in this dissertation in a more local context. Ultimately, this chapter serves to show how my research builds upon and reflects current trends in the historical archaeology and history of the Chesapeake.

Trends in the Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake

Historical archaeology in the Chesapeake has a rich history that predates the 20th century and encompasses numerous theoretical, methodological, and topical perspectives. Carter Hudgins (1993) and Barbara Heath (2012) have both written excellent summaries on the history of this field of study in the region and should be consulted for more information. For the purpose

of this dissertation, I briefly summarize some of the major projects and scholars that have influenced this research in terms of the perspective that I employ. My use of excavated collections requires a brief examination of both methodological and theoretical changes in the practice of Chesapeake historical archaeology in order to situate these assemblages in context and begin to address potential biases. Contemporary trends in Chesapeake historical archaeology provide the theoretical foundations for the treatment of both the artifacts and historical data used throughout the rest of this dissertation.

Archaeological assemblages used in this dissertation were excavated between the 1930s and the early 2000s. During that approximately 70 year period, historical archaeology in the Chesapeake evolved from a tool of architectural historians to a distinct field of its own (Hudgins 1993, 1996; Heath 2012). The majority of historical archaeological research that occurred prior to the 1960s was conducted at historic sites as a way for architectural historians to understand the construction and placement of buildings. By and large, the methods involved included the excavation of long trenches used to search for brick foundations, as was the case at Stratford Hall and Colonial Williamsburg (Heath 2012:23). Essentially, there was very little concern for context or artifacts, except in cases where they could provide a broad date for the structure. Methods were not standardized and there was generally little interest in how portable material culture from these excavations could be used to understand the past (see Harrington 1951 for an important exception to this).

Starting in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the methods used in Chesapeake historical archaeology began to change. Much of this change can be traced to the hiring of Ivor Noël Hume as the director of archaeology at Colonial Williamsburg. While still retaining a focus on architectural remains, Noël Hume also emphasized the role that historical archaeology could play

in helping to fill gaps in the historical record and bring the details of the past to life (Noël Hume 1964). This approach necessitated a greater emphasis on context and artifacts in addition to open-area excavations, which he employed with great success at the Virginia Company Period site of Martin's Hundred (Noël Hume 1982). His excavations, including Martin's Hundred, tended to focus primarily on the excavation of features and the discard of plowzone. Through his attention to artifacts in context and their comparison with historical records he was able to establish a chronology of the site and provide new information about everyday life in a fairly well-documented period of Virginia history. This focus on material culture proved essential to establishing chronologies for historic sites in the Chesapeake (Noël Hume 1969). Noël Hume's methodological approach was soon adopted by other archaeologists in the region, including Buchanan and Heite, who excavated the Hallowes Site in the late 1960s (Buchanan and Heite 1971).

While some practitioners of historical archaeology in the Chesapeake continued to use Noël Hume's methods well into the 1980s, methodology began to shift starting in the 1970s (Kelso 1984; Hudgins 1993, 1996). Increased funding starting in the 1970s and lasting until the 1990s led to multi-year projects that allowed for more open-area excavations (Hudgins 1993:170-171). Archaeologists began to explore landscape use and change, which led to a recognition of the importance of artifacts in the plowzone (Keeler 1978; King and Miller 1987; Pogue 1988; Neiman 1993). Additionally, specialized studies such as faunal analyses began to become more popular (Barber 1976; Miller 1979, 1984; Bowen 1994, 1996, 1998). Due in part to the emphasis on plowzone and specialized studies, recovery methods became more standardized. Plowzone and features began to be screened, which had been rare prior to the 1980s, and samples began to be taken from sites for water-screening, flotation, and soil chemical

analysis. Generally, these methodological trends in terms of sampling and recovery have continued into the present. However, multi-year projects that employ open-area excavations are becoming less common due to decreased funding.

Although early work in Chesapeake historical archaeology was important for providing a foundation for future scholars, it is the research that has taken place over the past 20 to 30 years that most heavily influences the approach used in this dissertation. Starting in the 1990s topics of study and theories that explained culture change in the Chesapeake began to become much more diverse. In general, however, researchers focusing on theory have been among the minority in Chesapeake historical archaeology (Neiman 1990; Shackel 1992; Deetz 1999; Leone 2010). Most work over the past 20 years has been topical in nature and driven by a contextual framework based upon historical models of culture change.

Among the topics that have received a great deal of attention from historical archaeologists in the region are slavery (Klingelhofer 1987; Mouer 1993; Emerson 1994; Sanford 1994,1996; Yentsch 1994; Heath 1996, 1999a, 2010; Samford 1996, 2007; Heath and Bennett 2000; Heath and Breen 2009; Galle 2010), colonialism (Hantman 1990; King and Chaney 2004; Klein and Sanford 2004; Kelso 2006; Potter 2006; King 2011; Flick et al. 2012; Hatch 2012), and identity (Mouer 1993; Emerson 1994; Little 1994; Heath 1999a, 2004, 2010; Fesler 2004; Galke 2009; Galle 2010; Krofft 2012; Breen 2013). Clearly, these three topics overlap in many cases, but the majority of work conducted by historical archaeologists in the Chesapeake since 1990 can be easily placed into one of these categories. Contextual models of culture change that have informed the work of Chesapeake historical archaeologists have generally drawn heavily from the research conducted by social historians. Particular emphasis has been placed upon demographic, economic, and social changes in the region as being major

factors in the interpretation of archaeological data. These contextual approaches have tended to be standard for historical archaeologists in the Chesapeake over the past two decades (Hantman 1990; Sanford 1994; Yentsch 1994; Heath 1999a, 2004, 2010; Pogue 2001; King and Chaney 2004; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007; Galke 2009; King 2011; Flick et al. 2012; Hatch 2012; Krofft 2012; Breen 2013; Hatch, Heath, and McMillan 2014).

Chesapeake archaeology is more diverse now in terms of topic, method, and theory than it has ever been. The literature from the area has increased exponentially, even over the past 20 years. Some of the future challenges, however, will stem from decreased funding opportunities for excavation. Archaeology is not done on the same scale in the region as it was 20 years ago. As a result, archaeologists will have to either do more with less, or begin to mine the numerous collections from the region. The creation of digital databases such as A Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture (Chesapeake Archaeology) and the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) has made data more accessible and comparable than ever before. For the first time ever, archaeologists in the Chesapeake are in a position to conduct large scale comparisons across time and space. At the same time, however, the analytical scale of the Chesapeake is losing ground to the understanding of subregions based upon different economies (Walsh 1999, 2001). For archaeologists it is imperative to explore this variability and begin to select comparative datasets with more care. While it may be useful to compare trends across regions in order to underscore and highlight variability, it is ill-advised to compare sites from different regions looking for larger patterns until subregional variation is better understood. Current work in the Chesapeake is addressing this regional variability through the use of collections and is beginning to reveal how different

regional cultures in the Chesapeake formed and related to one another (King 2011; Hatch, Heath, and McMillan 2014; McMillan 2015).

The approach used in this dissertation draws heavily on the work that Chesapeake historical archaeologists have conducted since 1990 in that I employ a highly contextual framework, drawing from decades of research by social historians in the region, in order to examine an aspect of identity in the past. While I draw on anthropological and social theory to interpret the data in this dissertation, I am not explicitly seeking to advance a single theoretical model. Rather, this work takes a gendered perspective that uses a deep understanding of context in order interpret identity in the past. With an understanding of the methodologies employed over the past 70 years in Chesapeake historical archaeology and current approaches to the practice of interpretation and analysis in the region, this dissertation provides a model for the analysis and interpretation of the numerous previously-excavated collections in the region that are gaining more attention as funding for archaeology continues to be cut.

The Chesapeake in the 17th Century

The first century of European settlement has drawn a significant amount of attention from both historians and archaeologists over the past 60 years (Middleton 1953; Buchanan and Heite 1971; Billings 1975; Morgan 1975; Keeler 1978; Tate and Ammerman 1979; Carson et al. 1981; Main 1982; Noël Hume 1982; Kelso 1984; Miller 1984; Rutman and Rutman 1984; Carr, Morgan, and Russo 1988; Neiman 1990; Perry 1990; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991; Gibb and King 1991; Deetz 1993; Reinhart and Pogue 1993; Horn 1994; Pogue 2001; Hatfield 2004; King and Chaney 2004; Mallios 2006; Meyers and Perreault 2006; Bradburn and Coombs 2006, 2011; Hatch, Heath, and McMillan 2014; Heath [2014]). During the course of these first 100 years of settlement, society in the Chesapeake changed rapidly. Permanent European settlement in the

Chesapeake began at Jamestown in 1607 and slowly radiated from Jamestown, primarily along the James River, for the next twenty years, centered on fortified settlements supported by the London-based Virginia Company (Noël Hume 1982; Kelso 2006; Walsh 2010:25-121). Once the European population gained a foothold in the region, by about 1630, settlements and plantations spread north and west from the James River, Virginia and Maryland Indian populations were displaced or eradicated, African slaves began to be imported in modest numbers, and the region began to thrive as a major tobacco producer (Rountree and Turner 2002:140-176; Coombs 2003; Walsh 2010:25-193). During the course of the long 17th century[2], however, there were major demographic, economic, political, and social changes that occurred in the Chesapeake.

In the most general sense, the long 17th century has been divided into two periods by Chesapeake historians, beginning shortly after the demise of the Virginia Company and the earliest settlement of the region. The first period, ca. 1630 to 1680, is described as the age of the small planter, due to the social fluidity and upward social mobility present during this period (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:17). For much of this period it was both possible and common for people coming over from Europe as servants to rise through the ranks of Chesapeake society and become members of the gentry. The second period, 1680 to ca. 1720, has been referred to by Walsh as an era of "hard times" and "adaptation" for the region (Walsh 2010:194-195). The opportunities for freed servants diminished during this period, the tobacco economy became less lucrative than it had been, the ranks of the gentry solidified, and by the end of this period the Chesapeake became a slave society rather than a society with slaves (Morgan 1975; Carr and Menard 1979; Brown 1996; Berlin 1998; Walsh 2010:194-393).

[2] The long 17th century is defined here as the period from the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 until the first decades of the 18th century, when Virginia's labor force shifted to a primary reliance on enslaved African labor (Pettigrew 2011).

Ca. 1630-1680

Prior to the settlement of Maryland in 1634, the European population of the Chesapeake numbered around 3,000, far fewer than the local Indians of the region whose numbers are more difficult to estimate, but probably totaled around 10,000 people (Morgan 1975:404; Egloff and Woodward 1992:45). The African population in the Chesapeake was quite small in 1630, accounting for less than 200 individuals, however by 1647 the population ranged between 300 and 500 (Coombs 2003:vii, 38; Walsh 2010:138). By 1680 the white and black population, combined, had grown to well over 50,000, with the black population accounting for around 15% of this number, while the Indian population had significantly decreased to around 1,000 or fewer people (Morgan 1975:404; Kulikoff 1986:319; Egloff and Woodward 1992:45; Walsh 2010:138). These shifts in the demography of the region were driven by larger trends that defined the time period, including the role of tobacco as a cash crop, immigration, mortality, shifting labor strategies, and settlement patterns. Ultimately, the unique demographic and natural environment encountered during this period led to cultural consequences such as the creation of racialized slavery, the emergence of a regional elite, and the creation of a Chesapeake creole culture (Morgan 1975; Kulikoff 1986; Mouer 1993; Brown 1996; Walsh 2010).

John Rolfe first attempted to cultivate tobacco in Virginia in 1612. Into the mid-1620s tobacco demanded high prices of as much as six shillings per pound (Walsh 2010:101). However, starting around 1630, tobacco prices began a series of cyclical peaks and valleys. The tobacco boom of the 1620s attracted more immigrants to the Chesapeake who grew more tobacco, glutting the market and driving prices down. Eventually, as prices would rise, greater amounts of tobacco would be grown, again driving down prices. This pattern defined the

Chesapeake tobacco economy in the 17th century, fueling waves of immigration and economic strategies (Morgan 1975:185; Menard 1988:109).

Tobacco became the primary crop in the Chesapeake during this period, despite early attempts by the Virginia Company in the 1620s to encourage diversification through such means as the growth of orchards, garden crops, and the raising of silkworms (Meacham 2009; Walsh 2010:63-68). Again in the early 1660s the governor of Virginia, William Berkeley, attempted to implement a diversification program in the colony, and again, it failed (Walsh 2010:123). Regardless of the crop's potential to boom and bust, the Chesapeake economy was so heavily involved with it that true economic diversification was either not desirable or not possible for the majority of planters, except in the peripheral tobacco-growing areas on the Eastern Shore and Southside.

Another major reason for the singular focus on tobacco was the fact that raising it occupied the majority of the year. The tobacco calendar began in January or February with the preparation and tending of beds for seedlings. Hilling and tending the beds would occupy large portions of March, April, and May until the young plants were ready to be transplanted in June. July and August were especially intense during the season as the plants had to be weeded, topped, suckered, and wormed. The tobacco would have been cut around September and placed in a barn to dry afterwards. Finally, in November, the leaves would be stripped and packed to ship (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:55-66). If the weather was favorable and planters were able to acquire enough labor, then tasks related directly to tobacco cultivation would occupy approximately 44% of the total work days available during a year (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:59). However, weather and labor were both unpredictable factors, and these tasks likely took longer to complete. Additionally, planter households needed to plant and raise corn, tend

livestock, clear new fields, and perform the various other tasks required to support themselves. Clearly, once planters became involved in the tobacco economy it became difficult to adjust their schedules or diversify as long as tobacco continued to retain some profitability.

Despite the single-minded focus of Chesapeake planters on tobacco, economies were not the same throughout the region. Beginning in the 1640s, a new strain of tobacco was discovered that could only grow in the rich soils of the James, York, and to a lesser extent Rappahannock River Valleys. This strain, known as sweet-scented, quickly grew in popularity among the English and became the primary focus of London tobacco merchants (Walsh 1999; Hardin 2006; Walsh 2010:147). The strain grown in the rest of the region, oronoco, was more popular in northwestern European markets (Walsh 2010:147). The ability or inability to grow these different types of tobacco had a major effect on plantation management strategies, trade networks, and agricultural practices.

The high demand for oronoco tobacco in northwest Europe caused the areas of the Chesapeake specializing in that strain to be far more closely tied to Dutch merchants than those of the sweet-scented area who traded primarily with London merchants, where their strain was more popular. The ideas that filtered through these trading networks played a major role in the cultures that were formed in these distinct subregions. In terms of agriculture and plantation management, areas that were not able to grow sweet-scented tobacco were among the first to diversify. Starting in the 1660s, areas on the eastern shore of Virginia and Maryland and the Southside of Virginia began to engage in a diversified economy that included the production of naval stores, cloth, and barreled meat, as well as increasing home industry (Carr 1988; Hatfield 2004:43). Slowly through the remainder of the 17th century and into the 18th century, a more

diversified economy began to take hold in the oronoco and peripheral areas, with the sweet-scented region being the last to shift their strategy.

Differential access to markets due to tobacco type also greatly influenced the available labor pool to the various subregions. The demography of African slaves imported to these subregions varied greatly based upon the type of tobacco being grown (Walsh 2001). This aspect of the tobacco economy would play a major role in the 18th century as the Chesapeake planters completely switched to a labor force composed primarily of enslaved Africans. The demographic composition of the enslaved labor force in these subregions has major implications for understanding enslaved spirituality, gender, and society.

The settlement of physical space in the Chesapeake was also heavily influenced by its tobacco economy. As a result, European settlement from the 1630s to about 1680 was focused in areas with good agricultural land and easy access to navigable waterways (Kelly 1979; Smolek 1984; Perry 1990; Potter and Waselkov 1994). Potter and Waselkov's study (1994) of settlement patterns in Northumberland County, Virginia during the 17th century revealed a strong preference for land located near Indian villages. They argue that European colonists selected these tracts because they were old Indian fields that had already been cleared and therefore reduced the work necessary for settlement and made it easier to grow tobacco. Settlers also showed a strong preference for land near waterways throughout the region during this period. The primary routes for the movement of both goods and people during much of the 17th century in the Chesapeake were the waterways (Middleton 1953:70; Hatfield 2004:38). Like tobacco culture, the desire for land along estuaries feeding the Chesapeake Bay was common to all parts of the region.

By about 1650 most of the prime tobacco growing land in the longer-settled regions of the James and York River Valleys and along the St. Mary's River, which was situated along tidal estuaries, had been claimed (Walsh 2010:133). Additionally, most of the land along bayside waterways on Virginia's Eastern Shore had also been taken up, leaving only landlocked parcels (Perry 1994:37). As a result, settlement spread north and west along the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, which had legally been opened to settlement in Virginia in 1648. However, prior to this, the waterways had served as conduits for settlement in these restricted areas, particularly by disaffected Marylanders such as Thomas Speke and John Hallowes in Virginia's Potomac River Valley. Soon afterward, the tide of European settlement flooded these new regions. Communities oriented toward particular creeks, bays, and streams began to flourish on the Middle Peninsula and Northern Neck of Virginia and in Southern Maryland (Rutman and Rutman 1984:36-60).

The first settlers of these areas often tried to purchase vast amounts of land, if they had the means, in order to gain extra income from rents (Walsh 2010:133). The Maryland Proprietary was created for this purpose, with manor lords controlling large tracts of land from which they collected rents (Stone 1982:9-10). However, the seemingly unlimited amount of land made this a difficult prospect for most would-be manor lords in the Chesapeake (Walsh 2010:133). Nevertheless, by 1680, much of the good agricultural land located along waterways in the lower reaches of the Rappahannock, Potomac, and Patuxent Valleys had been claimed (Walsh 2010:343).

The European settlers who spread up the river valleys during this period were demographically unique, which contributed to the special circumstances of early Chesapeake society. Immigration was the major factor in the growth of the European population of the

Chesapeake prior to 1680. From 1634, when Maryland was first permanently settled, until 1680, between 64,000 and 110,000 Europeans immigrated to the Chesapeake (Menard 1988:102). The majority of these people, perhaps up to 85%, came as servants (Menard 1988:121). In addition to being a servant, the typical Chesapeake immigrant prior to 1680 was between 16 and 25 years old and male. This heavily affected the demography of the Chesapeake region, in which men outnumbered women six to one in the 1630s and three to one by the late 1670s (Horn 1979; Menard 1988:128-129).

Based upon immigration patterns, the Chesapeake became a region populated by young male servants. It remained populated with young people who were unable to replenish their numbers due to the high mortality rates in the region and sexual imbalance. During the middle of the 17th century, the average age at death was approximately 48 years old (Morgan 1975:160; Walsh 1979:128). In addition to short lifespans, immigrants in the Chesapeake tended to marry later, with women marrying in their mid-twenties and men in their late-twenties. However, because of the sex imbalance in the region, particularly prior to 1680, a quarter of the men in the region, or more, died unmarried (Walsh 1979:127). Due to these factors, marriage became an important factor in accumulating wealth and climbing the social ladder for both men, who could marry widows and gain control over the holdings of their former husbands, and women, who had the power to select the most advantageous partners available (Morgan 1975:165-168).

The high proportion of male servants immigrating to the Chesapeake fluctuated with the demand for tobacco. Boom years brought more labor, while poor years saw fewer immigrants coming to the region (Menard 1988). The single-minded focus on the driving force of the Chesapeake economy, tobacco, helped to create an environment where the population could only increase through immigration, fueled by the high demand for indentured servant labor. However,

starting in the late-17th century, the labor force in Virginia began to change. The shift to enslaved Africans, starting among the wealthiest planters in the 1660s, began to expand quickly in the 1680s in concert with a decrease in European immigration (Menard 1988; Walsh 2010:135-144; Coombs 2011). This shift in the labor force of the region, coupled with changing demography, and the divergence of subregional economies, helped to define the period between 1680 and 1720.

1680- ca. 1720

The period from 1680-1720 in the Chesapeake was a time of continuity in some aspects of life, but also a time of great change for others. In many ways the economy remained centered around tobacco for most people in the region, but subregional economic divergence and diversification began to reduce the reliance on "sotweed" for some. For the tobacco growers, a steady supply of labor remained a key aspect of profitable crops, but the shift from European indentured servants to African slaves during this period permanently changed the economy and opportunities available to planters. The population of the region continued to grow, but the demography changed drastically with a new generation of creoles, born in the colonies. As the population finally reached the point where it could reproduce itself, land was still at a premium, forcing colonist to push further west and inland. By the end of this era, an impenetrable regional gentry had emerged and the Chesapeake had become a slave society, both of which would define the region throughout the rest of the colonial period (Morgan 1975; Brown 1996; Walsh 2010:194-393).

From 1680-1720 tobacco was still the main economic focus for most planters in the Chesapeake. However, whether a planter lived in the sweet-scented region, the oronoco region, or the peripheral region began to heavily affect how, and if, tobacco was grown and how income

from tobacco crops were supplemented during this period (Walsh 1999). By the 1670s tobacco prices had fallen to less than 1.5 pence per pound, a price that lasted into the next century (Walsh 2010:211). This period of depression has been described as a "stagnation" of the tobacco economy in the Chesapeake (Menard 1980). However, subregional analysis of tobacco production and plantation economics has shown that planters were anything but stagnant during this period, adapting their economic and agricultural strategies to the conditions with which they were faced (Carr 1988; Walsh 1999, 2010; Bradburn and Coombs 2006).

Planters that lived in the peripheral tobacco areas, the Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland and the Southside of Virginia, began to abandon tobacco altogether. These planters instead turned their attention to producing naval stores, raising livestock and grains for export, and subsistence farming (Carr 1988; Walsh 1999:59). This shift in economic strategy played a large role in the heavy involvement of these regions with intercolonial trade and their strong relationships with Dutch merchants (Hatfield 2004:48-51).

The tobacco-growers of the York and parts of the Rappahannock Valleys, who were able to raise the sweet-scented strain, adapted to the lower prices of tobacco by changing the way they grew their plants. Because sweet-scented tobacco sold for a higher price than oronoco, the sweet-scented growers focused on improving the quality of their crops in order to keep the price high (Walsh 1999:60). The fact that the majority of colonial legislators came from the sweet-scented region explains why regulations favored a reduction in crop sizes (Walsh 2010:215). Reducing tobacco crop sizes improved quality in the sweet-scented region and kept prices high for that strain. Planters in this area also focused on ways to reduce shipping costs for their crop by using large prizes to press more leaves into fewer hogsheads (Walsh 1999:60).

In the oronoco-growing areas, which accounted for parts of the Rappahannock, Potomac, and Patuxent Valleys, planters adapted to lower prices using a strategy that was completely different from the sweet-scented region. In this subregion, tobacco planters increased production, growing larger crops than ever before (Walsh 1999:60, 2010:212-213). In addition to growing more tobacco, planters in the area, particularly on the Northern Neck of Virginia and lower Western Shore of Maryland, began to make minimal shifts toward import-replacement activities and producing goods for the local market, such as meat, cow hides, and butter (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:77-117; Walsh 1999:57, 2010:294). Like the peripheral regions, production for the local market caused the Northern Neck and lower Western Shore to become involved in intercolonial trade networks and led to regular interaction with Dutch merchants, particularly prior to 1700 (Hatfield 2004:48; McMillan 2015). The strategy of growing vast quantities of tobacco also led to this region being the primary source of resistance to the 1732 tobacco inspection act that sought to increase quality and reduce production of tobacco in the Chesapeake (Walsh 2010:217).

The depressed tobacco prices that defined the period after 1680 had a major effect on immigration in the region, ultimately leading to changes in demography and settlement. Immigration to the Chesapeake from England declined significantly after 1680, causing population growth in the region to slow (Menard 1988:112-113; Walsh 2010:205). People were no longer drawn to the region because it lost its appeal as a place in which one could make his fortune (Walsh 2010:205). Additionally, immigrants also had more choices for destinations with the opening of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas (Menard 1988:112). The drop in immigration greatly slowed the population growth of the Chesapeake, which is evidenced in the fact that no counties were formed in the region from the early 1670s to the early 1690s (Walsh 2010:205).

Despite these factors, population did continue to grow through natural increase and by the 1690s the majority of the adult population were creoles, born in the colonies (Walsh 2010:205).

After about 1690, sex ratios among white colonists began to even out and the age of the population began to increase (Walsh 1979:150). Native-born women began to marry at an earlier age, between 16 and 19, as did men, who married around 22 (Walsh 1979:128, 151). The younger age at marriage, coupled with higher life expectancies, meant that many parents lived to raise their own children to the age of majority, unlike the earlier period when one or both parents often died before a child reached the age of 21 (Walsh 1979:151). Balancing sex ratios meant that households headed by single men were much less common in the longer-settled areas of the Chesapeake by 1700 and that family life was becoming the norm for planters (Walsh 1979, 2010:205-207). Lower mortality rates meant that property could be controlled by a single family for generations, allowing for the consolidation of power and limiting the opportunities of small planters. Most of the major planter dynasties in the region, such as the Lees and Carters, were able to flourish because of longer life spans and the advantages that native-born colonists had over immigrants.

Prior to 1684, the primary method for acquiring land in the Chesapeake was the headright system, in which 50 acres of land was awarded for every person transported to the region. In that year, Maryland changed the system they used for the acquisition of undeveloped parcels to one in which land could only be claimed through purchase or direct grant from the proprietor (Walsh 2010:368). Virginia continued under the headright system until 1699, with the gentry often abusing the system by citing false headrights, underestimating acreages for patents, not paying quitrents, and seizing Indian land (Walsh 2010:369). This system, and the ensuing abuses of it, allowed elite planters, who often served as members of the Council or county commissioners, to

amass the majority of the good agricultural land in the region and then sell or lease it to small planters. However, the end of the headright system did not significantly affect the ability of elite planters to acquire undeveloped tracts of land. The new system of "treasury rights" allowed people to patent 50 acres for five shillings with no limit to parcel size (Walsh 2010:369). Therefore, planters with sufficient capital could still patent large tracts of undeveloped land.

The acquisition of most of the prime land in the lower tidewater by the late-17th century altered the settlement pattern from what was common in the earlier part of the century. While land along the tidal creeks and estuaries of the major rivers in the region was still the most desirable for siting a tobacco plantation, few could afford these tracts if any were even available for purchase or patent. As a result, planters continued to push west until European settlement had reached beyond the falls, a natural impasse to ships, of most of the major rivers in Virginia and Maryland by 1729 (Walsh 2010:206). In the longer-settled areas, the only land still available was either far from navigable streams or contained poor soil (Walsh 2010:343). The Northern Neck proprietorship, which had been granted in 1649 but was unstable until the Restoration, made land even more difficult to acquire in this part of the Potomac River Valley (Morgan 1975:244-245). Proprietorship in this area made political connections even more important in acquiring good land, as illustrated by the major landholdings of the agents of the proprietorship, including William Fitzhugh and Robert Carter (Walsh 2010:250,256).

The lack of good unclaimed land led to declining opportunities for new planters in the Chesapeake who often had to turn to tenancy, particularly in the lower tidewater region. The opportunity for freed servants to rise through the ranks of Chesapeake society, as they had from 1630-1680, was gone by 1700 (Carr and Menard 1979). Prior to about 1720, small planters could move as far west as the fall line and set up farms on waterways, but soon all of the best land had

been patented and the planter elite of the Chesapeake had solidified their role as landlords of the best parcels. Small planters could no longer aspire to higher status. Although small tobacco farms still dotted the creeks and rivers of the Chesapeake, most were no longer freeholds, but small leaseholds controlled by the planter elite.

The primary form of labor for the tobacco plantations in the Chesapeake also drastically changed after 1680. Starting in the 1630s, elite planters in the sweet-scented tobacco-producing area began to acquire enslaved Africans to labor on their plantations (Coombs 2011:253-254). However, their legal status was often unsettled and they often represented a small portion of the total labor force. By the 1660s, these colony-wide officeholders had switched to majority enslaved workforces, and county-level officials followed suit by the late 1670s (Coombs 2011:254). Slave-holding did not become commonplace for non-elites until the last two decades of the 17th century and did not reach the majority of planters until about 1720 (Coombs 2011:254). The shift to slave labor was gradual through the 17th century in the Chesapeake, but clearly became the primary mode of labor for tobacco planters by1720.

Unlike indentured servants in the region, enslaved Africans had relatively balanced sex ratios from the beginning (Walsh 2010:209). This fact meant that the enslaved population of the Chesapeake was able to grow through natural increase. However, large numbers of Africans were still imported into the region prior to 1720, meaning that Africans, rather than native born slaves, still predominated in the labor force (Walsh 2010:209). By the early-18th century male slaves slightly outnumbered females, but the ratios were still relatively even. The early investment in enslaved labor was yet another way in which the elite planters of the Chesapeake were able to consolidate their power and exclude smaller planters in the late-17th century. Since balanced sex ratios allowed enslaved laborers to form families, the heirs of the elite slave-

owning planters often had a labor force passed down to them, further easing their transition into plantation ownership.

By 1720 the Chesapeake was completely changed by economic, demographic, and labor conditions. The elite planters had consolidated their power through the control of both land and labor. While enslaved laborers were accessible to most planters by this time, prices were high, and only the wealthiest planters could afford the large labor forces required to reap maximum profits from tobacco (Parent 2003). Additionally, the large amounts of land required to increase the profitability of tobacco was already controlled by the same elite planters. These members of the native born gentry had insurmountable advantages over newly-arrived immigrants and the poor-to-middling sort. Inheritance of land, bound labor, and capital placed the children of the creole elite in a position to maintain their place in Chesapeake society for the remainder of the colonial period.

The Potomac River Valley to 1720

Prior to the first permanent European settlement of the Potomac River Valley at St. Mary's City in 1634, English traders from southern Virginia ventured up the bay in search of furs, corn, and other goods from the Indian tribes located on the Northern Neck of Virginia and the Western Shore of Maryland. In 1608, John Smith led the first party Englishmen up the Potomac River on a voyage of exploration (Potter 1993:8-9). Smith and his party encountered several small chiefdoms on the edge of Powhatan's political and cultural influence from the mouth of the river up to the village of Patawomeke in modern-day Stafford County (Potter 1993:11). These chiefdoms, and the villages associated with them, were located along the edges of the rivers in order to take advantage of fertile soil and abundant marine resources during the summer months (Potter 1993:27-43). Estimates of the Native population in the Potomac River

Valley at on the eve of European contact vary, but scholars generally agree that around 5,000 people inhabited the region in 1608, with the number roughly split between the two shores (Feest 1973:73; Turner 1982:54-56; Cissna 1986:53; Potter 1993:21-23).

Although Smith was met with hostility upon his first visit to native villages along the southern shore of the Potomac, the English soon formed an alliance with these groups, particularly the Patawomeck (Potter 1993:182; Rice 2009:83). The alliance between the Jamestown settlers and the Patawomecks stemmed from the first Anglo-Powhatan War of 1609-1614 when the Patawomecks traded corn to the English despite an embargo enacted by Powhatan (Potter 1993:182). While the alliance was fraught with episodes of violence perpetrated on both sides, it remained relatively strong all the way to the end of the second Anglo-Powhatan War of 1622-1632 (Potter 1993:182-189; Rice 2009:83-91). The motivation for the Patawomecks, and the other native groups of the southern Potomac Shore, such as the Chicacoans and Matchotics, to ally with the Jamestown settlers likely stems from their location on the boundary of Powhatan's influence. By allying with the English, these Potomac River chiefdoms were able to finally divorce themselves from Powhatan's power and operate independently while keeping the English settlements concentrated far down the bay from their homelands (Rice 2009:91). For the English, the Potomac River natives acted as a buffer between English settlement to the south and the hostile Susquehannocks to the north, just as they had for the Powhatans.

The isolation of English settlement in the southern part of the Chesapeake Bay did not last, however, as the fur trade soon attracted settlers to the upper regions of the bay in the early 1630s. In 1631, William Claiborne, the Secretary of State for the Virginia Colony, set up a trading post on Kent Island, near present-day Annapolis, Maryland, in order to establish a monopoly over the northern beaver fur trade with the Susquehannocks (Fausz 1988:63). Henry

Fleet had attempted a similar venture in 1627 along the Potomac that failed due to inferior pelts. However, Claiborne's group of Virginians persisted on the island trading post for seven years until Lord Baltimore was finally able to claim the territory as part of the Maryland colony (Fausz 1988:63-73). The presence of a relatively large group of English traders in the northern reaches of the Chesapeake undoubtedly helped to maintain regular contact between the English and native groups along the Potomac, particularly those near the bay. By 1634, Claiborne's modest success in the northern Chesapeake fur trade had attracted the attention of the Calvert family, who obtained a royal charter for Maryland and established a colony at St. Mary's City on the northern bank of the Potomac River (Fausz 1988:65).

From the moment Calvert's colonists arrived in Maryland, participating in the northern Chesapeake fur trade became a priority, since it was, in some ways, more lucrative than tobacco cultivation (Fausz 1984:13-14, 16; 1988:61). However, Maryland's participation in the fur trade proved to be quite difficult since Claiborne and his Virginians were already established in the area. Their presence resulted in the Marylanders struggling to gain a rapport and strong trade relationship with the Susquehannocks (Fausz 1988:63-64, 69-70). As a result, the so-called "Chesapeake Fur Wars" began in 1635 when Kent Island ships attacked Maryland vessels commanded by Thomas Cornwalyes in response to Maryland's seizure of a Kent Island pinnance (Fausz 1988:71; Riordan 2004:11). For the next three years there was a series of political actions taken by both Claiborne and Calvert in relation to the ownership of Kent Island. Finally, in February of 1638 Leonard Calvert, who was the Governor of Maryland, and Thomas Cornwalyes led a force that invaded Kent Island and expelled Claiborne, effectively wresting control of the upper Chesapeake from Virginia (Fausz 1988:72-74). The fur trade remained a significant, yet

peripheral, part of the Maryland economy for the next decade, particularly for those living on Kent Island (Stone 1982:31-32).

The settlement of Maryland in its first decades was very different from what had transpired in southern Virginia almost 30 years earlier. Maryland was set up as a proprietary whose charter was held by a single man, Cecil Calvert (Walsh 2010:87). While Virginia was a proprietary colony for its first 17 years, the colony had converted to a crown colony by 1624, meaning that officials were appointed by the king rather than the proprietor (Walsh 2010:28-29). Unlike Virginia, Maryland was defined by a manorial system for its first decade of settlement in order to attempt to enforce a social hierarchy that Virginia lacked during the period (Stone 1982:10). This system was similar to the system used to colonize Ireland, and was a model with which most in England were familiar (Stone 1982:9). For approximately the first four years of English settlement in Maryland, most of the colonists lived within a fort constructed at St. Mary's, but soon after they began to seat plantations radiating from the colonial capital (Stone 1982:14-16).

These newly settled plantations focused on tobacco cultivation and dotted the northern bank of the Potomac and its Maryland tributaries. By 1642, settlement had spread to the Patuxent River in the north and up the Potomac to the Wicomico River (Stone 1982:19). From the 140 original settlers who came to Maryland in 1634, the colony had only grown to about 700 souls by 1642 (Stone 1982:22). In contrast, Virginia had a population of approximately 5,000 Europeans in 1634 and 8,000 in 1644 (Morgan 1975:404; Stone 1982:23). Like the rest of the Chesapeake, Maryland was populated primarily by young male immigrants during its early years and mortality was high (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:18). As a result, the formation of families was uncertain and quite rare during the early years of settlement, and the colony had to rely on

immigration rather than natural increase to grow (Main 1982:15). By 1640, the first servants who came to Maryland gained their freedom and began taking up plantations of their own. Soon, these newly-minted freeholders began to become involved in the politics of the colony and began to threaten and question the manorial model in Maryland.

The middle decades of the 17th century in the Potomac River Valley were heavily influenced by this form of colonial unrest. Chapter 5 addresses this period and the conflicts that took place during it in detail. It is important to note here, however, that the first major conflict, Ingle's Rebellion, which took place from 1645 to 1646, was a major event in the history of Maryland because it set the stage for tensions that continued to boil over in the colony between the Catholic leadership and the Protestant majority for the rest of the century. In the aftermath of the rebellion there were fewer than two hundred settlers in Maryland (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:15). However, the decline in population was probably not due to casualties, but instead due to movement out of the colony, first by those fleeing the rebels, then by the defeated rebels themselves. The tensions between the Maryland government and other groups within the colony was a major impetus for the increased settlement of the Virginia shore of the Potomac River.

Beginning in the early 1640s, Virginia's Northern Neck acted as a haven for disaffected Marylanders. An examination of land patents, court records, and other primary documents shows that from 1634 to 1652, at least 30 % of the population of this region was made up of people who had formerly lived in Maryland (Table 1). This estimate was derived from accounting for a person for every 50 acres patented in the region, as per the headright system. Using this system, the total population estimate for the Potomac River Valley of Virginia in 1652 is 1,300 people, 385 of whom were associated with former Marylanders. Despite the possible misrepresentation

Table 1: Former Marylanders Moving to Virginia prior to 1652.

Name	Year Moved	Amount of Land Patented	Place of Origin in MD	Place Settled in VA	Last Reference from MD	Northumberland County Oath of Commonwealth (1652)
John Aires	1647		Kent Island		AOMOL 3:182	Y
James Baldridge	1647	840	St. Marys	Appamattucks	AOMOL 3:179	
Thomas Baldridge	1647	840	St. Marys	Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:453	
John Bennett	post 1642		Kent Island		AOMOL 1:30	
Giles Brent	1649	1808	St. Marys	Aquia	AOMOL 4:541	
Mary Brent	1649	1644	St. Marys	Aquia	AOMOL 4:259	
Walter Brodhurst	1647	500	St. Michaels?	Appamattucks	AOMOL 3:174	Y
Henry Brookes	1650	658	St. Michaels	Appamattucks	AOMOL 10:24	
Henry Cartwright	post 1639		Kent Island		AOMOL 10:62	Y
James Cloughton	post 1642		Kent Island	Chicacoan	AOMOL 3:125	Y
William Cocke/Cook	post 1642		St Clements		AOMOL 4:184	Y
John Cook	post 1650		St. George's		AOMOL 10:48	
John Gresham	post 1639	520	Kent Island		AOMOL 10:61	Y
John Hallowes	1647	2728	St. Michaels	Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:310	Y
William Hardidge	1647	1000		Appamattucks	AOMOL 10:122	
Edward Hudson	post 1650		Kent Island		AOMOL 10:109	Y
Nathaniel Jones	post 1647	600	St Clements		AOMOL 3:174	
John Kent	post 1644				AOMOL 4:260	Y
Thomas Kingwell	1648				AOMOL 1:209	Y
Peter Knight	1649		Kent Island		AOMOL 4:399	Y
William Medcalfe	post 1639		Kent Island		AOMOL 1:30	Y

Table 1: Continued.

Name	Year Moved	Amount of Land Patented	Place of Origin in MD	Place Settled in VA	Last Reference from MD	Northumberland County Oath of Commonwealth (1652)
Andrew Monroe	1647/8	640		Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:499	Y
Thomas Orely	post 1643	100	St. Michaels		AOMOL 1:145	
Nathaniel Pope	1647	1550	St. Marys	Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:21	
John Powell	post 1649	288	Kent Island		AOMOL 10:98	Y
Matthew Rhodon/Rhodes	post 1644		Kent Island		AOMOL 4:69	Y
Simon Richardson	post 1644		Kent Island		AOMOL 4:390	Y
John Rosier	1647	550		Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:378	Y
John Smith	post 1640		Kent Island		AOMOL 1:30	Y
Samuel Smith	post 1642	529	Kent Island		AOMOL 10:27	
Robert Smith	post 1651		St. Marys		AOMOL 3:178	
Thomas Speke	1647	1900		Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:333	Y
Richard Thompson	post 1642	560	Kent Island	Wicomico	AOMOL 3:104	
Thomas Thornbrough	post 1649	700			AOMOL 4:343	
Thomas Yuell	1647	300	Kent Island	Appamattucks	AOMOL 4:540	

of actual numbers for population due to abuses of the headright system, the proportion of 30% is still useful for understanding the population distribution of former Marylanders in Virginia's Potomac River Valley; indeed, it is likely an underestimate.[3] More detail on these intercolonial immigrants and their reasons for moving to Virginia are presented in Chapter 5.

After Ingle's Rebellion, the Northern Neck was legally opened to English settlement (Morgan 1975:231). The opening of lands north of the York River to settlement after 1648 led to the rapid growth of population in the Potomac River Valley throughout the rest of the century. From 1653 to 1674 the Northern Neck was the fastest growing area of Virginia, increasing in population from about 1,300 Europeans to 6,000 (Morgan 1975:244-245). Growth in the Northern Neck counties bordering the Potomac was just as rapid, more than quadrupling in size from 865 to 4,125 people from 1653 to 1682 (Morgan 1975:412-413). By 1665, less than twenty years after the massive population decline resulting from Ingle's Rebellion, the total population of Maryland had grown to around 8,000 (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:15). Up until the 1680s the Potomac River Valley continued to be settled by newly arrived immigrants, keeping sex ratios heavily imbalanced and the average age of the population low.

Starting in 1675, another rebellion erupted in the Potomac River Valley that reverberated throughout Virginia and had major implications for the future of the colony. The details of this rebellion and its associated causes are discussed in Chapter 5. Bacon's Rebellion, which lasted from 1675 to 1676 and stemmed from tensions between Virginia Indians, poor planters, the ruling elite of the Virginia Colony, and newly-arrived members of the gentry, plunged Virginia into turmoil (Morgan 1975:250-270; Brown 1996). Despite its quick end, the rebellion had

[3] Several former Marylanders do not have land patents recorded in VA, despite the fact that they lived there. These are usually the early immigrants and their grants may not have been recorded before 1652, as the patent process could take several years, or they may have died before they could obtain a grant.

several far-reaching effects in the Chesapeake. First, it set off a series of Susquehannock and Iroquois raids along the upper Potomac in both Maryland and Virginia during the 1670s (Rice 2009:151-160). These raids not only led to the deaths of several colonists and their Indian allies, but also served to strain relationships between the English and local Indian groups. This was particularly the case in Maryland where the Piscataways were constantly harassed by the northern raids and required protection from the Maryland government through the construction of a fort and provisioning of supplies (Rice 2009:151-160; Flick et al. 2012).

The rebellion also created significant tension between the ruling elites of Virginia and the rest of the planters in the area, many of whom were freed servants. Much of Bacon's popular support had come from the frontier areas of settlement, which were heavily populated by former servants. The events of the rebellion not only caused greater resentment on the part of the freedmen, but also caused fear of servant rebellion amongst the elites (Morgan 1975:269-270). Additionally, Bacon's Rebellion has been noted as a watershed moment in the history of the region, as it helped to solidify the Chesapeake gentry as a homogenous group whose ranks were becoming more difficult to break into (Morgan 1975:271-292). Finally, the tensions created between poor planters and the elite during the conflict forced a reevaluation of identity in the region, leading to the coalescence of a concept of white manhood tied to race as well as the creation of a fully racialized society (Brown 1996).

Starting around the time of Bacon's Rebellion the white population of the Potomac River Valley, like the white population of the entire Chesapeake region, started to reproduce on its own. At the same time immigration to the area started to decrease due to lowered prices for tobacco and the perception that fortunes could no longer be made on the crop (Rice 2009:174-188). In general, these perceptions were correct for the majority of small to middling planters

after 1680. Most of the well-situated tobacco land along the estuaries had been taken up, labor, particularly slave labor, was in short supply for most, and the ability to advance upward through the ranks of society in the Potomac was decreasing with every year that passed (Carr and Menard 1979; Rice 2009:174-188; Walsh 2010:362-393). These factors heavily influenced the society and demography of the Potomac River Valley from 1680-1720.

By the 1690s settlement in the Potomac River Valley and surrounding region had essentially stalled at the fall line. While some colonists ventured slightly beyond this barrier to attempt the establishment of settlements above the falls, regular migration west did not commence until the 1730s (Rice 2009:174-176). In general, this lack of movement west was likely due to the dependence of the Chesapeake economy on tobacco and the difficulty of shipping the product overland without the appropriate road infrastructure in place, in addition to political tensions with Virginia Indian groups beyond the falls (Rice 2009:177, 2012). As a result of the stall in westward expansion, European settlement in the Potomac River Valley from 1680-1720 tended to focus on lands below the falls that were not yet taken up in the 17th-century land rush. Often these parcels contained marginal soils for tobacco cultivation and were not situated adjacent to navigable waterways. Nevertheless, the land was still expensive and often only acquired by upper class planters (Rice 2009:178).

The difficulty of acquiring land during this period led to a major rise in tenancy and the outmigration of poorer planters. Although tenancy was common prior to 1680, it was often only an intermediary step to freeholding (Walsh 2010:109). However, starting after 1680, tenancy became a lifelong status for most small planters living below the falls who could not accumulate the capital necessary to purchase their own farms (Walsh 1985:375-376). In order to advance, the only option available to most small planters was to move out of the region to an area with more

economic promise. Many poor planters did just this, moving to Pennsylvania or other colonies outside the Chesapeake (Rice 2009:178).

A shortage of labor also pushed many poor immigrants and freemen from the Chesapeake during this period. First, the supply of white indentured servants sharply declined after 1680 due to a prolonged tobacco depression and international wars that disrupted shipping and decreased the perception of economic and social opportunity in the Chesapeake (Rice 2009:176; Walsh 2010:198-199). This fact was especially significant in the Potomac River Valley because in order to remain profitable, tobacco planters needed to produce far greater quantities of their oronoco strain than sweet-scented producers to the south, which required larger labor forces. In order to do this, the wealthy planters in the region switched the majority of their labor forces to enslaved Africans, which they had started to do in the mid-17th century (Coombs 2011:239-278).

However, smaller planters, who accounted for the majority of the population in the Chesapeake, could either not afford enslaved laborers or lacked the economic and social connections to procure them (Walsh 2010:198). Without connections to the larger ports in southern Virginia, it was extremely difficult to acquire enslaved laborers in the Potomac River Valley because Scottish merchants, who began to dominate trade in the 18th-century Potomac region, often did not deal in slaves (Rice 2009:176). However, there is good evidence that slave importation increased in the Potomac River Valley by the mid-18th century (Sweig 1985). As a result of the low amount of slave importation early in the century, smaller planters in the region had to rely on white indentured servants and convict laborers well into the first decades of the 18th century (Walsh 2010:405). Rather than struggling to compete in markets dominated by planters with large enslaved labor forces, many poor immigrants and planters chose to move out of the Potomac River Valley during this period, either to other colonies or to the west.

The ever-decreasing opportunities available to freed servants and poor immigrants in the Potomac River Valley fueled by the tobacco depression, land shortages, and labor shortages allowed the gentry in the region to solidify their positions at the top of the hierarchy. The native-born elite in the late-17th century possessed advantages that were insurmountable for poorer planters and immigrants (Walsh 2010:205-208). The major advantage that these elite planters possessed was the inheritance of both land and labor, since the capital outlay to start a plantation was so large by that time that most people were not successful (Rice 2009:178).

Starting in the 1680s, the sons of some of the first settlers of the Potomac River Valley, who had acquired the best land and started to invest in slave labor in the middle of the century, dominated the region. These families, who intermarried with one another to consolidate property and power, also controlled the majority of political offices (Rice 2009:179). Their political advantages came from the fact that they were born into a network of alliances between powerful planters that had been fostered in previous generations (Walsh 2010:208). By 1720, the ability of poor planters and immigrants to rise to the highest ranks of Potomac society was gone and a few wealthy and powerful planter families controlled the majority of land, labor, and political decisions in the region.

Chapter 4: Site Histories

Introduction

In order to understand and better interpret the role that material culture played in shaping gender identity, it is essential to know who lived at the sites and contributed to the respective archaeological remains that are studied in this dissertation. To do this, the colonial records of the appropriate Virginia counties, and Maryland localities when necessary, are thoroughly examined below in order to determine who likely lived at the sites, their occupations, family members, community connections, estate values, and other pertinent information. In instances where very little or no information is present about the site's inhabitants, previous work by Chesapeake social historians is used to outline a general experience for people of the appropriate social status and time period.

This chapter is divided into two distinct parts: Pre-Bacon's Rebellion sites and Post-Bacon's Rebellion sites. As stated previously, Bacon's Rebellion was chosen as an important event related to changing definitions of manhood because, as other scholars have argued, a profound shift occurred in gender relations around 1680, and the rebellion in 1676 acted as an impetus for these changes (Brown 1996; Norton 1996, 2011). Prior to this time women had more prominent public roles and gender, as a social construct, was more fluid for both men and women in colonial Virginia (Brown 1996:1-9). After the rebellion, however, gender ideology and roles became more rigid with the rise of an entrenched elite class, the increase in slave labor, and the stabilizing demography of the region.

Pre-Bacon's Rebellion Sites

Three distinct sites/phases that were occupied prior to Bacon's Rebellion include the John Hallowes site, the John Washington site, and Nomini Plantation. These sites/phases were included in the pre-Bacon's Rebellion category because they were either settled by people who had arrived on their respective sites long before Bacon's Rebellion and/or the site occupation spans were primarily before 1676. In the case of Nomini Plantation, the entire site history for all three phases is included in this section, despite the fact that only the first phase is included in the pre-Bacon's Rebellion category.

The John Washington site is included in this category even though the site occupation span straddles the division between the two categories. As will be seen below, the inhabitants of the Washington site maintained very strong connections with the community of settlers in Westmoreland County who had immigrated and settled decades before Bacon's Rebellion. As a result of these multi-generational community connections, I felt that the ideologies concerning power, gender, and plantation management of the occupants at the Washington site would have been more similar to those of the pre-Bacon's Rebellion settlers such as John Hallowes, Nathaniel Pope, and Thomas Speke. All of the sites included in this section reveal how interconnected the lives of these early settlers were and how these connections persisted through many generations.

The John Hallowes Site (1647-1681)

Located along the shores of Currioman Bay in Westmoreland County, Virginia, the Hallowes site was occupied by at least three distinct households from 1647 to1681 (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013). The land on which the site is located was first patented by John Hallowes in 1651 (VLP 2:282). However, archaeological and historical evidence, discussed

below, suggest that the site was first settled by Hallowes and his family as early as 1647. Based upon his land holdings, possession of public offices, and archaeological evidence, John Hallowes was one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in the Potomac Valley of Virginia during his lifetime. Additionally, he cultivated and maintained economic, political, and social connections throughout the colonies of Virginia and Maryland and within the broader Atlantic World from his arrival in the New World in 1634 until his death in 1657.

Upon his death, John Hallowes' property passed to his wife, Elizabeth, who married David Anderson, another wealthy planter from Westmoreland County. Elizabeth and David, along with their family, likely lived at the site until David moved the family up the Potomac to Stafford County around 1666. John Hallowes' daughter Restitute then inherited the property and rented it to tenants until the abandonment of the site in 1681 (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:4-7).

The History and Household of John Hallowes

John Hallowes was born in December 1615 in Lancashire, England to Henry and Elizabeth (Fishwick 1888:158). Hallowes came to Maryland on the *Ark* in March 1634, at the age of 19. He was a servant to Thomas Cornwalyes, an original Commissioner of the Maryland Colony, friend to Richard Ingle, a member of Leonard Calvert's inner circle, and one of the richest men in Maryland until the eighteenth century (Riordan 2004:24-26, 29, 195-196). The first reference to John Hallowes in the Maryland records places him on the *St. Margaret* when it was fired upon by William Claiborne in 1635 during the Chesapeake fur wars, in which Claiborne sought to defend his rights to the Kent Island fur trading post from Lord Baltimore (AOMOL 4:22; Fausz 1988:71; McMillan and Hatch 2012).

John Hallowes' indenture ended in 1639 and he married Restitute Tew on June 2, 1639 (AOMOL 4:52). He then acquired land on St. Michael's Hundred, near present day Point Lookout, probably near Hollis Lake. Hallowes was referred to as a mariner and carpenter throughout the 1640s and was referenced as transporting tobacco to Virginia as early as 1642 (AOMOL 4:67, 154, 169). In 1642, he participated in a raid on the Susquehannock tribe, organized and led by his former master, Thomas Cornwalyes, in retaliation for Indian raids on the Maryland colonists the previous year (Riordan 2004:113). Apparently, during this raid, Hallowes transported men up the Chesapeake Bay and into the Susquehanna River; two references indicated that he demanded pay for the hire of his boat for the expedition (AOMOL 3:119-120). Prior to the raid, however, he had been trading with Indians, evidenced by a warning from the Council about not observing the ban on unlicensed Indian trade (AOMOL 4:186). Until 1646, Hallowes appeared numerous times in the Maryland records suing or being sued for payments of tobacco, beaver, and Roanoke (AOMOL 4:164, 175-176, 192, 206, 220, 282). He was also warned against giving guns to Indians, again indicating his close association with the Indian trade in the upper Chesapeake Bay (AOMOL 4:259).

In 1645, Hallowes participated in Ingle's Rebellion against Lord Baltimore. Hallowes' role as a rebel is confirmed by the oath of fealty to Lord Baltimore he had to swear in January, 1647 (AOMOL 3:174). Edward Hill, a Virginian illegally appointed as governor of Maryland during the rebellion, made Hallowes his power of attorney to collect the salary he was owed from his tenure as governor (Riordan 2004:268), another piece of evidence that implicates John Hallowes as a rebel against the proprietary government. Whether Hallowes retrieved this pay for Hill is unknown, because by September of 1647 he left Maryland and began to be referenced as John Hallowes of Appamattucks, which is in present-day Westmoreland County, Virginia

(AOMOL 4:331). His reasons for leaving are ultimately unknown, but it is likely that he left because he did not approve of how the Maryland colony was being governed by Lord Baltimore, as discussed in Chapter 5.

By 1647, John Hallowes had established a residence along Nomini Bay in Northumberland County, present-day Westmoreland, as shown by the historical documentation and confirmed by the archaeological evidence (AOMOL 4:331; NCR 1650-1652:49; WCR 1653-1659:15). However, he still nurtured close ties to Maryland settlers after his flight from Lord Baltimore. The Maryland records from 1647 to 1657 are filled with entries that reference John Hallowes owing or being owed payments for services or loans (AOMOL 4:361, 419; AOMOL 10:93, 99, 102, 547). In fact, it appears that he made relatively frequent trips to the court at St. Mary's City. Why would he continue to return to Maryland after fleeing the oppressive government of Lord Baltimore? The answer to this question may lie in the fact that the population of the Potomac Valley was exceedingly low in the mid-seventeenth century. As others have noted, the small numbers of early Marylanders created an environment where people could not afford to be overly selective in terms of friends and especially business partners (Walsh 1988; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:138-139). While Hallowes would probably have preferred to sever many ties in Maryland, St. Mary's City was the closest urban center and his economic prospects would have suffered greatly had he not continued to do business there.

Clearly, business and trade were key components to John Hallowes' success both before and after he arrived in Virginia, demonstrated by the artifact assemblage associated with his house (Hatch 2012). The historical records also reveal the importance of trade in his life. First, there are numerous references to his interaction and trade, sometimes illicit, with local Algonquian Indians, most likely Matchotics (AOMOL 4:186, 259, 534; WCR 1653-1659:15).

Additionally, he was referenced as trading livestock to the colonists at Chicacoan, just down the Potomac (AOMOL 4:411, 415). Finally, he had international trading connections that are revealed through an account with the Dutch merchant, Abraham Jansen, which lists items such as shoes, alcohol, silk, and hose (WCR 1653-1659:41-42).

Hallowes was a wealthy man by the standards of the day, owning well over 5,000 acres of land and several servants. He served as a commissioner for Northumberland County from at least 1650, when records for the county begin (NCR 1650-1652:49; Nugent 1934:207, 252). Additionally, when Westmoreland County was created from Northumberland, Hallowes was appointed a commissioner for that county and major in the militia (WCR 1653-1659:36). He also served as a burgess for Westmoreland County in the General Assembly of 1654-1655, though his name was mistakenly written as Major John Holland (Hening 1823a:386-387). In 1655, Restitute Hallowes died and John married Elizabeth Sturman, the widow of John Sturman (WCR 1653-1671:16; Nicklin 1938:444). By 1657, the year that he died, Hallowes had been appointed Sherriff of the county, a position generally reserved for members of the gentry (WCR 1653-1659:80).

Apparently, his funeral was an event befitting a member of the Virginia elite in the mid-seventeenth century. Simon Overzee, a prominent Dutch merchant and tavern keeper in St. Mary's City, demanded payment in 1658 from the husband of Hallowes' widow for the funeral expenses (WCR 1653-1659:139). A 1658 administration of John Hallowes' estate by Elizabeth lists five servants: William Baltrop, Bushan Degnes (a Dutchman), John Addams, Burr Hallis, and William Crosier. Additionally, this document provides a brief description of the rooms in the dwelling, which included a lodging chamber, a chamber over that, and two lofts (WCR 1653-1659:103a-104).

The History and Household of David Anderson and Tenancy

Upon John Hallowes' death in 1657, his widow Elizabeth married David Anderson and probably lived at the site until 1666 when Anderson moved to Stafford County (Nicklin 1938:440). There is some question about the Anderson occupation of the Hallowes site, however. David Anderson first arrived in Westmoreland County about 1655 when he and Richard Cole took out a patent for 150 acres of land near Pope's Creek, which eventually became part of John Washington's landholdings (VLP 4:23). By the next year, Anderson was the sole owner of the property and had likely established a home there (Blades 1979:6). Anderson was not nearly as politically active during his stay in Westmoreland County as John Hallowes had been. While he appeared relatively frequently in county records as a witness, transferring land, suing, or being sued for debts, he did not hold any public offices (WCR 1653-1671:122; WCR 1661-1662:8a-10a, 19a-20a). However, upon his settlement in Stafford County, he became a vestryman of the local parish in 1667 (Moncure 1908:257).

The confusion as to whether Anderson lived at the Hallowes site or Elizabeth moved to Anderson's land near Pope's Creek stems from a reference to the transfer of his patent to John Washington in 1664. The transfer references "David Anderson and Elizabeth, wife of David, of Washington Parish, Westmoreland County," which seems to indicate that the Andersons may have been living in Washington Parish (WCR 1665-1677:252). If this were the case then they could not have been at the Hallowes site, which was in Westbury parish. The Anderson family's move to Stafford in 1666 indicates that the family was likely living at the Hallowes site when the land near Pope's Creek was transferred to Washington, otherwise they would have been without a home for two years. Archaeological evidence seems to indicate that occupation did not cease at the Hallowes site between 1657 and 1666, and that the house may have been enlarged and

improved (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:29-30). While it is possible that tenants may have made these improvements, it is more likely that the enlarged Anderson/Hallowes family would have needed the extra space provided by an addition. Furthermore, the use of place names in the mid-17th century was not standardized, particularly in this geographical region, and the reference to David and Elizabeth Anderson "of Washington Parish" may simply have served to indicate the location of the parcel of land in question rather than their residence.

Whatever the case may be in terms of Anderson's role at the Hallowes site after John Hallowes' death in 1657, it is clear that David and Elizabeth moved to Stafford County by 1668, as indicated by a patent he was granted for 800 acres near Passapatanzy Creek (VLP 6:130). It is likely that Anderson and his family moved to Stafford circa 1666, shortly after he sold his holdings near Pope's Creek to John Washington. The property on which the Hallowes site is located then passed to John Hallowes' daughter, Restitute, and her husband John Whiston, who re-patented the land in 1667. In 1674, Restitute, granddaughter of John Hallowes, and her husband, Matthew Steel, acquired the property. Upon Steel's death in 1680, Restitute married John Manley, who obtained permission to evict the tenants off their land the next year (Buchanan and Heite 1971:39). It is most likely that the site began to be occupied by tenants sometime in the 1660s, perhaps 1666, when the Andersons moved to Stafford. Tenants probably remained on the land until 1681, based on the historical reference to their eviction (WCR 1675-1689:220). A more detailed discussion of tenancy during this period is included below in the section on the Clifts Plantation site.

The John Washington Site (ca. 1660-ca. 1700)

The John Washington site is located along the Potomac River near its confluence with Bridges Creek on the George Washington Birthplace National Park. Based upon archaeological and historical evidence, it appears that the site was primarily occupied from ca. 1660 to ca. 1700 by as many as three different households. The land on which the site is located was first patented in 1655 by David Anderson and Richard Cole and occupied by Anderson soon thereafter (VLP 4:23). Anderson likely constructed a dwelling on the property by 1656 and lived there at least until 1657 (Blades 1979:6). By 1657, Anderson married John Hallowes' widow, Elizabeth, and probably moved to her house on Currioman Bay for the reasons stated above.

In 1664, David Anderson sold the Bridges Creek property to John Washington including "all edifices thereunto belonging" (Hatch 1979:25). This reference suggests at least some building or buildings on the property. Based upon archaeological evidence, however, it seems that John Washington may have actually been the owner that constructed the dwelling at the site. Washington was among the elite within both the county and the colony and maintained economic and social connections with other members of elite Virginia and Maryland society, in addition to cultivating trans-Atlantic relationships. Upon his death in 1677, the land passed to his son, John, Jr., who, while not as politically active as his father, was still counted among the elite of Virginia (Hatch 1979:27). Upon John Washington, Jr.'s death in 1698, his wife Ann likely continued to occupy the dwelling until her death in 1704. The site was probably abandoned at that point.

The History and Household of John Washington

John Washington was born about 1634 in either Purliegh or Tring, England, the first son of Reverend Lawrence and Amphilis Washington (Sulgrave Manor 2014). John's father was a staunch royalist during the English Civil War, and this alliance caused economic and social

hardships for both him and his family during that period and after Cromwell's victory. Little more is known of John Washington's early life, but by February of 1656 an historical reference in England shows that he had completed his duties as executor for his mother, who had died 18 months earlier. It is suspected that prior to this time he may have been engaged in trading in Barbados (Sulgrave Manor 2014). This trading experience and his family connections to Samuel Argall, former Governor of Virginia, and Sir Edwin Sandys, another founder of the Virginia Company, likely influenced his decision to take the position as second master of the *Sea Horse*, a tobacco trading vessel from London, because of his familiarity with the potential wealth available from colonial trading (Sulgrave Manor 2014).

In February of 1657, the *Sea Horse* was returning from a successful tobacco-trading voyage along the Potomac when it grounded on a shoal and sank during a storm near Nathaniel Pope's Clifts property, ruining all of its valuable cargo (Norris 1983:149; The George Washington Foundation 2012; Sulgrave Manor 2014). While making repairs to the ship, Washington decided to stay in Virginia and had a disagreement with the ship's master, Edward Prescott, over the cost of the wreck (Hudson 1956). Nathaniel Pope assisted Washington during this time, and evidently helped him to sever his ties with Prescott (The George Washington Foundation 2012; Sulgrave Manor 2014). Soon thereafter, in 1658, Pope's daughter Anne married Washington, almost certainly encouraged by Nathaniel Pope as a way for him to create connections with London merchants, thereby expanding his economic power in the area. Immediately after the marriage Nathaniel Pope gifted John Washington and his new bride 700 acres on Mattox Creek (Blades 1979:8). By September of 1659, Anne had given birth to a son, Lawrence (AOMOL 41:328; Norris 1983:150).

Washington's rise through the ranks of colonial Virginian society was meteoric, no doubt aided by his wealthy and powerful father-in-law, Nathaniel Pope. By 1662 he had been elected a vestryman, appointed coroner, and appointed as a commissioner of Westmoreland County (Hudson 1956). He was so popular and favored in the county that in 1664 the name of the parish in which he resided was changed from Appomattox to Washington, in John's honor (Hudson 1956). Later in that same year Washington purchased David Anderson's Bridges Creek property and acquired approximately 600 acres on which he established a new home, represented archaeologically by the excavated dwelling (Blades 1979:7; Hatch 1979:25). John and Anne Washington raised three children at this new home, Lawrence, John Jr., and Anne (Hatch1979:27).

Washington continued his rise through the ranks of Virginia society after his move, being appointed a colonel in the militia and serving as a burgess for Westmoreland County in the 1666-1667 session and again in the 1677 session (Hening 1823b:250; Stanard and Stanard 1902:81). His wife, Anne, died in 1668 and Washington soon remarried Anne Broadhurst, daughter of Thomas Gerrard, a prominent former Marylander and rebel against Lord Baltimore's government, and widow of Walter Broadhurst, one of the early settlers of Westmoreland and a former county commissioner (Tyler 1895:36; Blades 1979:8; Hatch 1979:26). In 1675, Anne died and Washington married her sister, Frances Appleton, in 1676 (Blades 1979:8). Frances, who lived at Nomini Plantation, was the widow of Thomas Speke, Valentine Peyton, and John Appleton, all of whom had been county commissioners and members of the elite of Westmoreland County. Interestingly, John Appleton witnessed Washington's will in 1675 (Toner 1891:202).

Washington played a major role in the events that precipitated Bacon's Rebellion, detailed in Chapter 5. It appears from the records that Washington and his family were away from his Bridges Creek plantation for much of the rebellion, perhaps leaving it in the hands of overseers. Soon after his return to the Bridges Creek plantation, John Washington died in 1677 and was buried in the Washington family cemetery near his dwelling. Upon his death, Washington had accumulated over 8,500 acres of land, underscoring his wealth in the colony (The George Washington Foundation 2012). At the end of his life Washington's household included his wife, three children, overseers, servants and slaves. He owned at least eight African slaves, as attested to by a court ruling giving Frances "eight negroes" from the estate (WCR 1675-1689:100). The majority of Washington's estate was passed to his first son, Lawrence. However, the Bridges Creek property went to his second son, John Jr., as stated in his will (Toner 1891:200-202).

The History and Household of John Washington, Jr.

At the time of his father's death, John Washington, Jr. was no older than 17, and likely a little younger, since his eldest brother, Lawrence was born in 1659 (AOMOL 41:328). Therefore, the property at Bridges Creek did not come under his legal ownership until 1681 at the earliest. As stipulated in Col. Washington's will of 1675, Thomas Pope was responsible for "the bringing up of my son John Washington and for to have the management of his estate" until he reached the age of majority or married (Toner 1891:202). By the time of the famous Chamberlaine Survey of 1683, the Washington house depicted in the plat was likely under the management of and inhabited by John Washington, Jr.

Eventually, when the younger John Washington obtained complete control over the property he married Anne Wickliffe. The couple had four sons: Lawrence, John, Nathaniel, and

Henry (WMQ 1905:146; Hatch 1979:27). John Washington, Jr. was significantly less politically active than his father had been. Nevertheless, by the time of his death he had become a vestryman and a captain in the militia (Hatch 1979:27). He appears to have done little to increase the wealth of his estate, selling off at least 400 acres of his total holdings on the Northern Neck. However, he would still have easily ranked among the elite of the county and maintained important connections with the powerful Pope and Hardidge families, both of whom ranked among the elite of the region and counted county commissioners, burgesses, and sheriffs among their ranks. John Washington Jr.'s will, dated 1697, bequeaths a ring "given to me by Captain Wm. Hardidge's will" to Elizabeth Hardidge, his daughter, both of whom lived at Nomini Plantation (WMQ 1905:148).

Upon his death in 1698, John Washington, Jr. was able to provide property for all four of his sons and his wife (WMQ 1905:146-148). His sons received land throughout the Northern Neck, primarily in Westmoreland and Stafford Counties, and his wife was given the Bridges Creek plantation for the rest of her natural life. Upon her death it was to pass to John III. Ann likely remarried after John's death, perhaps to Charles Ashton. Ann retained control of the site until her death in 1704, after which it passed to John Washington III (Hatch 1979:27). It is likely that the site was abandoned at or shortly after Ann's death based upon the archaeological evidence.

The Nomini Plantation Site (1647-1722)

Nomini Plantation is located along Nomini Bay in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The site contains two major components, a midden feature and a large brick mansion. For the purposes of this dissertation, only the midden feature was examined since the mansion primarily represents a mid-18th-century occupation. Based upon archaeological and historical evidence,

the midden appears to have been used from 1647 to 1722 by at least three different household groups, comprising at least six different owners. The refuse midden has been separated into three distinct phases: 1647-1679, 1679-1700, and 1700-1722 (McMillan and Hatch 2013). As a result of this phasing, and for the purposes of this section, the discussion will focus on the history and household groups within each phase.

The land on which Nomini Plantation is located was first patented in 1649 by Thomas Speke (VLP 2:207). However, it is likely that Speke had settled on his plantation by 1647 as a result of his participation in Ingle's Rebellion. Speke married Frances Gerrard, the daughter of Thomas Gerrard, after coming to Nomini. The earliest phase of occupation at the site represents the establishment of the plantation and the subsequent ownership by Thomas Speke and his wives, first Ann, whose surname is uknown, and then Frances Gerrard, and then Frances' ownership of the property with three successive husbands: Valentine Peyton, John Appleton, and John Washington. The second phase of occupation is represented by Frances Gerrard's marriage to William Hardidge II and Hardidge's ownership of the property until his death. Finally, the third phase is comprised of his daughter Elizabeth Hardidge's ownership and occupation of the site with her husband Henry Ashton. Upon her death in 1722, the portion of the site under study was likely abandoned.

The History and Households of Phase I (Speke, Peyton, Appleton, and Washington)

Thomas Speke was born about 1623 into a wealthy family in Somerset County, England and arrived in St. Mary's City, Maryland in 1639 as a free immigrant (Stone 1982:131; Norris 1983:105). Speke's career in Maryland is not as well-documented as that of John Hallowes, as he does not appear in the Maryland records with such frequency. What is clear is that he was a member of John Lewger's household at least until 1642, as evidenced by a reference that

indicates payment to Lewger for Speke's participation in the 1642 raid on the Susquehannock Indians (AOMOL 3:119; Stone 1982:121). It is likely that Speke lived at St. John's, Lewger's freehold in St. Mary's City, and probably worked for Lewger as an overseer (Stone 1982:121).

Thomas Speke probably was one of the rebels allied with John Hallowes, Nathaniel Pope, William Hardidge, and others during Ingle's Rebellion of 1645-1646, which is discussed further in Chapter 5, and likely influenced his move to Virginia in 1647. After his relocation to Virginia with his wife, Ann, Thomas Speke quickly rose through the political and social ranks. The first extant reference to Speke as a commissioner of Northumberland County was in September of 1652 (NCR 1652-1665:1). However, it is likely that he served as a commissioner for Northumberland from the county's inception in 1648. In March of 1652 he was appointed a burgess for Northumberland County and in the same year he signed the Northumberland County Oath of the Commonwealth along with other former Maryland rebels, including John Hallowes, Walter Broadhurst, John Tue, and Andrew Monroe, among others (NCR 1650-1652:72-73; Stanard and Stanard 1902:68). When Westmoreland County was formed from Northumberland in 1653, Speke became a commissioner of that county and by 1655 he held the rank of militia colonel and was the highest-ranking member of the quorum in Westmoreland (WCR 1653-1659:36). Sometime after 1655 Ann Speke died and Thomas married Frances Gerrard (WCR 1653-1659:53).

Upon John Mottram's death in 1655, Thomas Speke was appointed executor of his estate and guardian of his children Anne, John, and Frances (NCR 1652-1665:79, 96). This reference indicates that these two men had formed a strong alliance and bond that outlasted their service on the same board of commissioners and extended beyond their immediate geographical community. Thomas Speke died in 1659, and the majority of his estate passed to his wife

Frances, since his son did not live to the age of majority. His will and probate inventory describe a well-appointed house, list eight servants, three African slaves, and provide some insight into his family and community connections, including his son Thomas, brother John, father-in-law Thomas Gerrard, and brother-in-law Robert Slye (WCR 1653-1671:103-105; WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a). Soon after Thomas Speke's death, Frances married three wealthy men in succession, all of whom died without issue: Valentine Peyton, John Appleton, and John Washington.

The History and Household of Phase II (Hardidge)

After John Washington died, Frances married William Hardidge II. William Hardidge II was the son of William Hardidge, who had arrived in St. Mary's City, Maryland, by 1636. By 1648, William I had married Elizabeth Sturman, daughter of Thomas Sturman (Carr 2009d). It was this marriage that produced William II around 1652. William Hardidge I was one of the rebels during Ingle's Rebellion who played a major role in the overthrow of the Maryland government and fled to Westmoreland County in 1647 (Riordan 2004:132-140). Therefore it should come as no surprise that he married the daughter of Thomas Sturman another infamous rebel, and later, in 1659, Nathaniel Pope's daughter, Margaret. William I died in 1668, leaving his estate to his son, William II, who had not yet reached the age of majority. Thomas Yuell, another former rebel, was assigned as William's guardian until he reached the age of 21 in 1673 (WCR 1665-1677:148).

About 1679, William Hardidge II married Frances Washington and probably took up residence at Nomini Plantation (WCR 1675-1689:151). By 1680 he had become a county commissioner and court was held at his house, likely Nomini Plantation, in 1681 (WCR 1675-1689:183, 223). He became sheriff in 1683 and county coroner in 1692 (WCR 1675-1689:282;

WCR 1690-1698:58a). He also served as a burgess for Westmoreland County no fewer than five times between 1680 and 1693 (McIlwaine 1914:x-xvi). Sometime in 1691 Hardidge journeyed to England and purchased Nomini Plantation from Thomas Speke's heirs, indicating that he was probably living at the site (Sherman and Mitchell 1983:107). His purchase may also indicate that his wife, Frances, had died. Since she had acquired a life interest in the plantation by the will of her first husband, Thomas Speke, there was little impetus for her subsequent husbands to make the trip to England in order to purchase the land. Her death, on the other hand, probably spurred William Hardidge to legitimate his claim to the property on which he lived. However, he did not enjoy his sole ownership of Nomini for long. By 1694, William had died and passed the property to his daughter, Elizabeth (WCR 1690-1698:129).

The History and Household of Phase III (Ashton)

Apparently, Elizabeth Hardidge was the only living child stemming from William Hardidge's marriage to Frances and, as such, she inherited Nomini Plantation. In 1696, Elizabeth chose as her guardian Benjamin Blanchflower, the husband of her aunt Temperance Gerrard (WCR 1690-1698:197; Sherman and Mitchell 1983:107). By 1700 Elizabeth had married Henry Ashton and they continued to live at Nomini Plantation (WCR 1698-1705:87). Henry Ashton was a prominent member of Westmoreland County society serving as a colonel in the militia, a commissioner for the county, and a burgess (McIlwaine 1912:iv; WMQ 1898:116). Henry and Elizabeth likely disposed of their refuse in the midden at Nomini until Elizabeth's death in 1722, based upon archaeological evidence. Around that time, it appears that the refuse midden ceased to be used, perhaps indicating that the building near it was abandoned in favor of the large brick manor house, which had just been erected, to the east.

Post-Bacon's Rebellion Sites

This section outlines the histories and biographies of the occupants of four separate sites/phases occupied after Bacon's Rebellion: the Newman's Neck site, the Clifts Plantation site, the Henry Brooks site, and the Maurice Clark site. In addition to these sites, the latter two phases at Nomini Plantation, discussed above, are included in the post-Bacon's Rebellion category. I selected sites for this category based upon whether the majority of their occupation span occurred after 1676. The community connections fostered by the inhabitants of the majority of these sites are far more difficult to discern than those of the pre-Bacon's Rebellion sites.

While there is a wealth of documentary evidence related to the occupants of the latter two phases of the Nomini Plantation site and the Newman's Neck site, the remaining sites in this category were occupied by either tenants or small planters who are not well represented in the county court records. As a result, general experiences for tenants and small planters are outlined in the appropriate sections in order to offer a better understanding of what the typical experience of a person in those positions would have been. Nevertheless, tracing the ownership of these sites still reveals the strong multi-generational connections between the large planters of Westmoreland County, though not necessarily the site occupants.

The Newman's Neck Site (ca. 1670-ca. 1740)

Located along the Potomac River on a peninsula bounded by Presley Creek and Hull's Creek in Northumberland County, Virginia, Newman's Neck was occupied from approximately 1672 to 1747 by a succession of at least four separate middling planter household groups from two families (Heath et al. 2009:12-29). The land on which the site is located was probably first occupied in 1672 by Elizabeth and Daniel Neale, who likely constructed the dwellings, buildings, and landscape at the Newman's Neck site, starting after 1672 (Heath et al. 2009:17-

26). The land remained in the Neale family until about 1710 when it was passed to Hannah Neale and her husband John Haynie. The Haynie family then owned the site until at least the 1760s, but it was probably abandoned sometime in the 1740s (Heath et al. 2009:26-29).

The History and Households of the Neales

With the death of her father, Daniel Holland, in 1672, Elizabeth Holland inherited a portion of the property at Newman's Neck (Heath et al. 2009:17). Shortly after, in the same year, her mother, Joyce Holland, gifted the remainder of the property to Elizabeth (NCR 1710-1713:133-138). Elizabeth, and her husband, Daniel Neale, likely moved to the site and constructed the buildings there sometime shortly after 1672 to house their expanding family and labor force (Heath et al. 2009:18). Daniel and Elizabeth had at least six children, four sons and two daughters, before Elizabeth's death sometime between 1685 and 1695 (Heath et al. 2009:18). Daniel then remarried and had at least two more children before he died around 1700. In addition to his wife and eight children, Daniel Neale's household also contained at least three indentured servants (Heath et al. 2009:18). Although Daniel Neale was clearly not among the elite of Northumberland County, considering that he served neither as a burgess nor commissioner, his household could have been counted among the middling sort since he owned his property and controlled the labor of a small indentured workforce.

The history of inheritance of Daniel Neale's property between his death and 1710 is somewhat confused due to a courthouse fire that occurred in 1710 (Heath et al 2009:19). Evidence that has been pieced together by Heath and her students suggests that the property passed directly from Daniel Neale to his youngest son, Ebenezer (2009:19). Like his father, Ebenezer Neale was not heavily involved in local or regional politics, showing that he had not attained the elite status that people such as John Washington, William Hardidge, or Henry

Ashton possessed. However, he was a well-off planter of the middling sort, as evidenced by his possession of at least five enslaved Africans upon his death in 1710 and by the variety and amount of goods listed in his probate inventory (NCR 1710-1713:127-130, 132-136). A large proportion of the goods listed in his inventory likely represent property he had inherited since he died before the age of thirty and without a wife, which would have made it unlikely for him to have been able to acquire such a large amount of goods (Heath et al. 2009:23). Among other things, his probate inventory shows evidence of wool production, cidering, coopering, and raising grain, in addition to tobacco (Heath et al. 2009:23-24).

The History and Households of the Haynies

When Ebenezer Neale died in 1710, his estate was divided between his two sisters, Lucretia and Hannah. Hannah and her husband, John Haynie, received the dwelling and the land surrounding the site (Heath et al. 2009:26). John Haynie owned the site until 1725, during which time at least 11 people occupied the site, including John and Hannah Haynie, their three children, and six African slaves (Heath et al. 2009:26). Like the preceding owner/occupants of the site, John Haynie was not a member of the highest echelon of society, but did live the comfortable life of a middling planter, based upon the listing of his possessions at his death. His probate inventory lists various goods indicative of wool production, bee-keeping, cidering, and flax cultivation, all part of an agricultural diversification strategy beginning to take hold among wealthier planters like Robert "King" Carter (NCR 1718-1726:395; Walsh 2010:264-265).

The property and site at Newman's Neck was passed to William Haynie, the eldest son of John, upon his death in 1725. William Haynie was married before 1747 to an unknown wife who died. By that date, he had married a second time, to Ann Swan Edwards. Haynie had six children, two of whom were born to his first wife (Heath et al. 2009:28). He died around 1761

and his will lists 10 slaves. Compared to the other owners of Newman's Neck, William Haynie had a slightly higher status. While he was not heavily involved in the political offices of the county or colony, he did control a large household and owned several properties in Virginia and Maryland which he rented to tenants (Heath et al. 2009:29). In addition to this acquisition of more property, William Haynie also continued to diversify his plantation, having expanded into the commercial production of wheat before his death (NCR 1758-1762:499). However, based upon archaeological evidence, it appears that William Haynie did not spend his entire life at the Newman's Neck site. It appears the site was abandoned around the 1740s, most likely shortly after the death of his first wife or before his marriage to his second wife in 1747.

The Clifts Plantation Site (ca. 1670-ca. 1730)

The Clifts Plantation is located on a large cliff above the Potomac River approximately three miles upstream of the Hallowes site and five miles downstream of the Washington site in Westmoreland County, Virginia. The land on which the site is situated was first patented in 1651 by Nathaniel Pope, one of the Maryland rebels who had fled to Virginia in 1647 (VLP 4:32). The property stayed in the Pope family until 1716, passing from Nathaniel to his son, Thomas, in 1660, then to Thomas's wife, Joanna, in 1685, and finally to Thomas's son, Nathaniel, in 1708 (Neiman 1980:2-10). Nathaniel then sold the Clifts Plantation property to Thomas Lee in 1716. Lee moved to the property around 1730 and built Stratford Hall, likely coinciding with the abandonment of the Clifts site (Neiman 1980:10-13).

Despite a relatively complete history of ownership for the Clifts, it is unlikely that any of these owners resided in the dwelling that was excavated. Instead, from the settlement of the site around 1670 until its abandonment around 1730, the occupants of Clifts were probably tenants whose identities remain unknown. As a result of the primary occupation by tenants, after briefly

outlining the histories and community connections of the property owners, the general experience of tenants in the late-17th and early-18th century will be discussed.

The History of the Owners of Clifts (Popes and Lees)

It appears that the dwelling at the Clifts was constructed around 1670, during the ownership of Thomas Pope, who inherited the Clifts from his father upon his death in 1660. However, Thomas had not yet reached the age of majority, and, therefore, John Washington, his brother-in-law, was appointed to serve as his guardian (WCR 1661-1662:10). In 1664, he renewed his father's land patent for the Clifts parcel, likely an indication that he had reached the age of 21 (VLP 5:193). Around this same time, Thomas began to engage heavily in merchant activities in Bristol, England (Neiman 1980:4).

For the remaining twenty years encompassing his ownership of the Clifts he appears to have split his time between his home plantation along Pope's Creek in Westmoreland County and Bristol (Neiman 1980:4-5). Upon his death in 1685, the Westmoreland County court appointed John Washington II and William Hardidge II as trustees of his estate in order to manage the goods that Pope had in his possession at his death, underscoring the relationship between these men and their families that spanned generations, and the wealth of Thomas Pope (Neiman 1980:6).

The ownership of Clifts passed to two of Thomas' sons, Richard and John, with his wife, Joanna, maintaining a widow's third (Neiman 1980:8). It is unclear if Richard or John ever came to Westmoreland, but it is known that Joanna stayed in Bristol. By 1700 John had died, vesting Joanna with two-thirds of the estate. It is likely that Joanna was the primary manager of the estate even before she held the majority share (Neiman 1980:8). In 1708, Joanna ceded her

management of the Clifts plantation to her son Nathaniel, who had come to Westmoreland County at least four years earlier (Neiman 1980:9). Finally, in 1716 Nathaniel sold the Clifts tract to Thomas Lee of Machodoc Plantation in Westmoreland County (Neiman 1980:11). While it is possible that the Lee family could have moved to the dwelling at Clifts it seems unlikely since, based upon archaeological evidence, the site was abandoned around 1730 and because the Lees possessed numerous properties in the area to which they could have moved.

Tenancy in the Late-17th-Century Chesapeake

During the first few decades of English settlement in the Chesapeake region, wealthy planters first sought to establish a system of tenancy similar to that in the Old World in order to increase production on their lands (Walsh 2010:20). However, the vast quantities of unclaimed land in the Chesapeake served to undermine this aspiration, leading first to indentured servitude as the main form of labor and then to slavery. By the 1640s tenancy became an intermediate step between servitude and freeholding in the Chesapeake (Walsh 2010:109). In many cases, indentured servants who had recently completed their terms of service would lease parcels from wealthier planters until they were able to establish their own households on their own property (Walsh 1985:375). On the Northern Neck, however, the proprietorship made land ownership exceedingly difficult for free men who were not among the elite, leading to a greater reliance on tenancy in that region and a higher socioeconomic class among many tenants (Morgan 1975:220-222). This system served to benefit the landowner not only through rent payments but also through the improvement of often vacant parcels with buildings, fences, orchards, and cleared fields (Walsh 1985:375-376).

Lorena Walsh's research on tenancy in Maryland is perhaps the most complete and detailed work on this group of people that accounted for as much as half of the population of that

colony in the mid-17th century (1985, 2010:109). Although the majority of her conclusions are drawn from the examination of tenancies on the Jesuit tract on Cedar Point Neck in Charles County, Maryland, the completeness and details of the records related to these tenancies provide the best summary of a typical tenant experience in the 17th and 18th centuries. Additionally, the close geographical proximity and community connections between southern Maryland and the Northern Neck of Virginia may indicate that a typical tenant experience in the Potomac River Valley would not have been drastically different.

From 1640 to 1680 leases tended to be relatively short-term, compared to later arrangements, and ranged from 7 to 21 years costing 500 to 1,000 pounds of tobacco per year (Walsh 1985:374). Often tenants only remained on a leasehold for a few years, producing enough tobacco to purchase their own property elsewhere. These early tenants were often recently freed indentured servants and their families, and therefore were not wealthy. However, tenancy offered them the opportunity to improve their socioeconomic position in the fluid society of the mid-17th-century Chesapeake by providing them with the valuable experience of running a plantation and making it a productive venture while benefitting from supplemental supplies of corn, livestock, and credit from their landlord (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:162; Walsh 2010:109).

By the 1680s, around the time that the Clifts site was first occupied, large landowners began to shift their leasing strategies from short-term to long-term leases for three lives (Walsh 1985:375). These leases usually covered the lives of the primary renter, his wife, and his child who stood to inherit. Often tracts during this period were smaller, less than 200 acres, but the rent was higher, averaging between 650 and 1,200 pounds of tobacco per year (Walsh 1985:375). These new types of leases had advantages and disadvantages for both the tenant and the landlord.

For the tenant, the three life leases provided security, the potential for an inheritance to pass on, and the political privileges of free men despite the smaller parcels and higher rent (Walsh 1985:376). The landlord benefitted by a lower turnover rate and an ability to attract tenants who would better improve and care for the property in which they had a long-term interest. The major drawback for the landlord was a lack of flexibility, but that was often only an issue for smaller landholders who wanted to farm the parcel at a later date or settle their children on it (Walsh 1985:376).

Although tenants benefitted from the increased security provided by long-term leases in the late-17th century, economic, demographic, and social changes made it harder for them to rise through Chesapeake society like their predecessors had done just a couple of decades earlier (Carr and Menard 1979:206-242). Starting in the late-17th century, tenants were faced with both a labor shortage in the Chesapeake and a decline in tobacco prices (Walsh 1985:377). The scarcity of labor in the region was amplified for tenants who were often outbid by wealthier planters. The decreased ability to purchase labor by tenants made it more difficult to produce greater quantities of tobacco, which was needed to make up for its declining price at the same time. During this period of labor shortage and low tobacco prices, many tenants increasingly turned to producing other commodities to supplement their income including alcohol, livestock, and dairy products (Walsh 1985:378-379). Additionally, many also earned money from practicing some form of specialized skill such as carpentry, blacksmithing, or tailoring.

By the early 1740s, shortly after the Clifts site was abandoned, many of the first three life leases had expired (Walsh 1985:379). These long-term leases had provided important security and stability for late-17th-century tenants, but when coupled with labor shortages and declining tobacco prices they also served to widen the social gap between tenants and their landlords.

Multi-generation leases could serve to keep entire families from gaining in social status by making them dependent on their landlords due to high rent and the economic troubles that defined the late-17th century. These economic and social constraints on tenants were exacerbated by the fact that, starting in the 1680s, the ranks of the elite in the Chesapeake began to solidify with the increase of native-born gentry stemming from longer life expectancies and balancing sex ratios (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:151-166).

Based upon the archaeological evidence, the tenants at the Clifts may have been atypical in several ways. It is a distinct possibility that the occupants of the site were involved in a three life lease, considering the length of occupation for the site and the fact that improvements were continually being made, as evidenced by additions to the dwelling, construction of outbuildings, and increasing landscape complexity (Neiman 1980; Heath [2014]). The presence of a well-kept cemetery near the site also points to the fact that the inhabitants likely had a strong attachment to the property (Neiman 1980:128-144). Despite what appears to have been one, or perhaps two, multi-generational leaseholds at the Clifts, the archaeological remains at the site do not provide any strong evidence of the economic problems that affected other tenants at that time.

To start with, the dwelling at the site was much larger than most tenant houses, which measured on average 20 by 16 feet (Walsh 1985:384). The core of the dwelling at Clifts measured 18.5 by 41 feet (Neiman 1980:39). The constant improvements to the plantation also seem to indicate that the inhabitants of the site were not suffering from economic hardships. Finally, the presence of a separate quarter from the earliest phase of the site and the burials of at least ten people of African descent indicate that a labor shortage was likely not a problem for the residents of the Clifts site. The apparently high status of this tenant site is somewhat puzzling at first. However, it is possible that the tenant was an overseer, like Thomas Speke had been in

Maryland, or had been a free man with resources and experience in the Chesapeake, allowing his household to fare better during difficult times. Alternatively, the occupants could have been fairly well-off planters who chose to stay in the more populated regions of the Northern Neck and rent land, rather than own along the sparsely-populated frontier (Morgan 1975:220-222).

The Henry Brooks Site (ca. 1700-ca. 1725)

The Henry Brooks site is located along the Potomac River near its confluence with Bridges Creek, approximately 1,500 feet northeast of the John Washington site. While previous research had suggested that this site was first occupied in the middle of the 17th century (Blades 1979), evidence from the ceramic assemblage, analyzed for this dissertation, indicates that it was occupied from about 1700 to 1725, likely by tenants. The land on which the site is located was first patented in 1650 by Henry Brooks, who had fled Maryland in 1647 after his participation in Ingle's Rebellion (VLP 2:225). Upon Henry Brooks' death in 1683 the land passed to his daughter Jane, who had married Original Brown. It was Original Brown who enlisted Robert Chamberlaine to survey the property and produce the famous plat (Hatch 1979:20; Figure 3). Around 1700 the land passed to Jane Pope, daughter of Original Brown, and her husband Nathaniel Pope until it was purchased by Augustine Washington in 1726 (Blades 1979:6). The sale of the property to Washington appears to coincide with the abandonment and was likely the impetus for the cessation of the occupation.

The History of the Ownership of the Brooks Site

Around 1700 the land on which the Henry Brooks site is located passed to Original and Jane Brown's daughter, Jane Pope. Jane had married Nathaniel Pope, the grandson of Col. Nathaniel Pope, prior to 1698 (WCR 1691-1699:142a-144; Beale 1904:193-194). In all likelihood, based upon the archaeological evidence, the dwelling excavated at the Henry Brooks

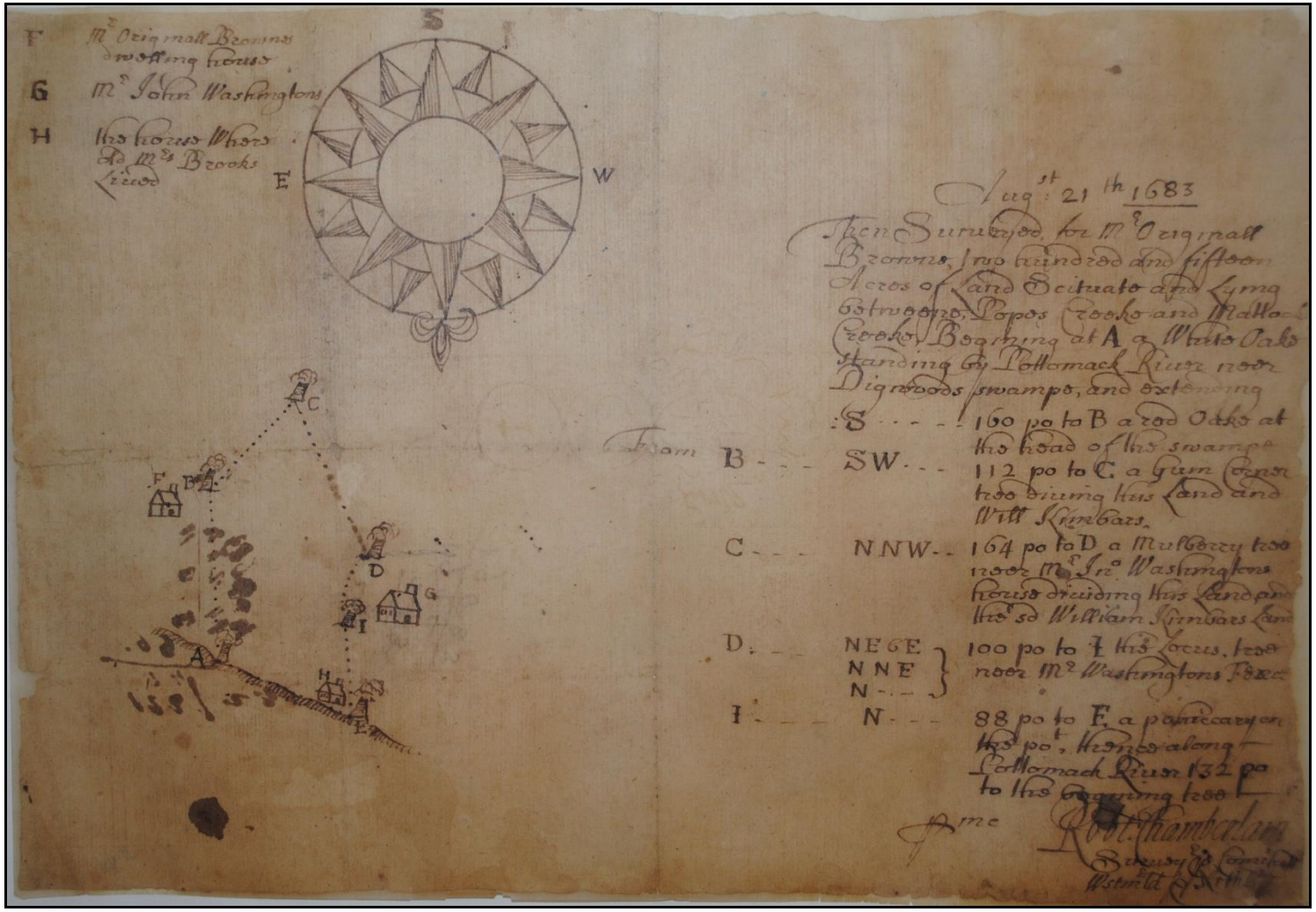

Figure 3: 1683 Chamberlaine Survey of the Washington Property (Courtesy GWBPNM).

site was constructed around this time. Considering that Nathaniel and Jane Pope likely lived elsewhere, the excavated dwelling probably represents the home of a tenant who may have leased the land around the time of Original Brown's death, in 1698, to provide an extra source of income for his widow (Blades 1979:4). Or, perhaps Nathaniel and Jane Pope first leased the land for similar financial reasons and to improve a property on which nobody was living. Nathaniel Pope died in 1719 and his wife took control of the property. In 1726, Augustine Washington, father of George Washington, purchased the property from Jane (Blades 1979:4). The 1726 transfer appears to coincide with the abandonment of the site and may have been the impetus for the destruction of the dwelling.

Tenancy at the Brooks Site

The tenants who likely occupied the Brooks site for the first quarter of the 18th century appear to have been more typical than either those at the Clifts site or the Hallowes site, based upon archaeological evidence. By the early-18th century long term leases for three lives were becoming the norm among larger landowners, which included Nathaniel and Jane Pope, but smaller planters, like Original and Jane Brown, still often leased for shorter terms (Walsh 1985:375-376). The size of the parcel in 1726, when it was purchase by Augustine Washington, was 215 acres, which was on the larger end for a leasehold in the period, but still within the range reported by Walsh for tenants in Maryland (Blades 1979:4; Walsh 1985:379). The fact that the site appears to have been abandoned around the time of Washington's purchase may indicate that the lease was short-term since a three life lease would likely have been longer than 25 years. However, like the tenants at the Hallowes site, those at the Brooks site may have been evicted regardless of their lease terms upon the change in property ownership. Unfortunately, no record of this eviction, if there ever was one, survives for the Brooks site.

The size of the dwelling at the Brooks site is also more typical for a tenant of the period, measuring approximately 20 by 19 feet (Blades 1979:23). Clearly, the building was significantly smaller than those of the upper class free planters in this study, which were twice as large or more. However, the home of the freedman Maurice Clark, dating to the same time period, was only slightly larger at 30 by 20 feet. The dwelling at the Brooks site did contain a large, almost 18 foot square, brick-lined cellar and a brick chimney base, indicating that the tenants at the site were able to acquire some architectural niceties (Blades 1979:20). The presence of an outbuilding may suggest either some form of specialization on the site or a separate quarter for laborers. However, the dating of this feature and its association with the dwelling are problematic (discussed in Chapter 6). In a general sense, based upon the archaeological evidence and previous research on tenancy in the Chesapeake, it appears that the inhabitants of the Henry Brooks site were fairly typical for the period, unlike those at Clifts.

The Maurice Clark Site (ca. 1700-ca. 1730)

Located approximately two miles below the falls of the Rappahannock River in Stafford County, Virginia, the Maurice Clark site was home to at least two households of small planters in the early-18th century (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006). The land on which the site is situated was first patented in 1666 by Col. John Catlett, a surveyor and land speculator with his primary residence on the south bank of the Rappahannock River in modern-day Essex County (VLP 5:623; Levy 2013:21). The property was then subdivided and sold to a series of owners in the late-17th century until a newly-freed indentured servant, John Hamilton, received a small 150-acre parcel that encompassed the site in 1694 (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:21). By 1710, Maurice Clark owned the property, but died soon thereafter passing it to Peter Waterson, another small planter. From a documentary perspective, little is known about the ownership of the site

until 1727, when William Strother purchased the parcel from Thomas Harwood and John Hartshorn. Strother and his heirs owned the property until 1738 when Augustine Washington acquired it and moved his family there (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:23). It is likely that the Maurice Clark site was abandoned shortly after Strother's purchase of the property.

The History of the Owners of the Maurice Clark Site (Hamilton, Clark, and Harwood/Hartshorn)

Through a series of sales, subdivisions, and inheritance, the 150-acre parcel on which the Maurice Clark site is located came into the possession of John Hamilton, likely a recently-freed indentured servant, in 1694 (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:21). Hamilton may have been responsible for constructing the dwelling at the Maurice Clark site, but his involvement is unclear since he left little impact on the historical record. The next reference to an owner of the site occurred in 1710 when Maurice Clark purchased the property from the Northern Neck proprietor. Like Hamilton, Clark was a small planter and probably a newly-freed indentured servant. Maurice Clark was also not very prominent in the historical record, but upon his death in 1711 he left a will that was recorded in Richmond County (RCR 1725-1753:40).

Clark's will acts as an important piece of evidence concerning the size and make up of his household and underscoring his position as a small planter. First, he died unmarried, likely indicating that he either had not yet had the opportunity to find a wife or that his location along the frontier and low social status made him a less than ideal candidate for a husband. Based upon his will, it appears that his household consisted only of him and a servant, Dennis Linsy, to whom he bequeathed 50 acres. The land he possessed at his death totaled 225 acres, 75 of which were not contiguous with the parcel surrounding his dwelling. The small size of his landholdings attests to his position as a small planter in the Chesapeake, with the average landholding in 1704 comprising 417 acres (Morgan 1975:341-342). References to steers, a cow, a mare, and a "sorrill

horse" show that Clark had some of his meager wealth invested in livestock, but it is unclear how much. At least one of the horses was kept in another planter's horse pen, indicating that Clark either did not possess the time, wealth, or labor to construct his own pen.

Maurice Clark's will passed the property on which the site is located to Peter Waterson, likely another recently-freed indentured servant, who had come to the Northern Neck in 1703 (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:22). No historical documentation relating to the property appears to exist from this point until 1727 and 1732 when William Strother purchased the property in two parcels from Thomas Harwood and John Hartshorn, respectively. Even less is known about Harwood and Hartshorn than Clark, but they were probably both married, had children, and were small planters like the previous site inhabitants (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:23, 52). Strother had constructed a house and outbuildings on the property, near the Maurice Clark site, by the time of his death in 1733 (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:23). Based upon this, and the archaeological evidence, it appears that the dwelling at the Maurice Clark site was abandoned around the time of Strother's acquisition of the property around 1730.

Small Planters in the Early-18th Century

One aspect that unites all of the households that occupied the Maurice Clark site is the fact that they were all likely small planters (Muraca et al. 2006:21-23). Despite their relatively light impact upon the historical record, the experience of contemporary planters within the same social class can be used to help better understand a more generalized experience for the people at the Maurice Clark site. By about 1680 the opportunities for advancement available to small planters in the Chesapeake had significantly declined (Carr and Menard 1979). The three decades or so prior to 1680 had been a period of prosperity and opportunity for small planters in the Chesapeake, who were often able to accumulate wealth and status in a short period of time, as

illustrated by the rise of John Hallowes from servant in Maryland to burgess in Virginia (Walsh 2010:131). As the distance between social classes began to increase at an accelerated rate at the end of the 17th century, the ability to accumulate wealth significantly declined and was all but gone by the first quarter of the 18th century.

Due to the land speculation led by large planters that occurred in the Chesapeake in the mid-17th century, small planters, many of whom were freed servants, found it increasingly difficult to find unclaimed land in longer-settled areas (Morgan 1975:220). As a result, former servants like John Hamilton moved to the frontier where land was still cheap and they could avoid the high rents charged by large landowners along the lower reaches of tidal rivers. Life along the frontier often created conflict between these small planters and local Native American groups (Morgan 1975:220). However, this was unlikely at the Maurice Clark site since the Native American presence in the area was not nearly as prominent or organized as it had been in previous decades (Rountree and Turner 2002:172-175). While there is no definitive historical documentation that Maurice Clark was a servant, his settlement along the Rappahannock frontier and his status as a small planter upon his death in 1711 strongly suggest that he was indentured prior to his occupation of the site.

Factors that led to the declining opportunities of ex-servants and small planters in the Chesapeake at the end of the 17th century included changing demography and a shifting labor force. During the 1680s and 1690s African slaves began to overtake European indentured servants as the primary form of labor on Chesapeake plantations (Walsh 2010:202-203). As a result, newly-freed servants, who often labored on plantations as free inmates, were no longer needed for this purpose, forcing them to establish their own households and contributing to their poverty (Carr and Menard 1979:238-239). Additionally, by the early-18th century, the white

population in Maryland and Virginia was composed of a majority of native-born people (Carr and Menard 1979:239). Again, this served to reduce the role of free inmate labor on plantations in the area, causing many free servants to move west.

Like tenants, small planters met with restricted opportunities due to the nature of the tobacco economy. While the location of the Maurice Clark site along the Rappahannock was advantageous in the sense that it gave direct access to trans-Atlantic shipping networks for the sale of tobacco, status as a small planter may have hampered access to these trade networks. Specifically, ships that transported tobacco may not have ventured as far up the Rappahannock to access the small amount of lower quality Oronoco tobacco grown by the small planters on the upper tidal reaches of the river. The scarcity of reliable transportation forced planters, like those living at the Maurice Clark site, to sell their tobacco to larger planters who could command the attention of tobacco merchants, thereby making the small planters dependent on the larger plantation owners (Morgan 1975:224). Clearly, fluctuations in the price of tobacco were more heavily felt by these small planters, and like tenants, they diversified in order to protect themselves from price fluctuations (Walsh 1985:378-379).

As the 18th century progressed, life for small planters improved in terms of both economic and social status. Decreasing European immigration led to a slowing of the rapid growth of free Europeans in the Chesapeake, allowing colonists, regardless of social status, to accumulate more wealth (Morgan 1975:341). Tobacco prices began to stabilize starting in the second quarter of the 18th century, allowing small planters to enjoy a greater amount of security and work to improve their lot (Morgan 1975:343). With the shift to a Lockean philosophy of government based upon consent in the late-17th century, it became crucial for people in the Chesapeake with political ambitions to court small planters, who were the majority of the voting

population (Morgan 1975:346-347). While this certainly did not provide small planters with active roles in the government, it did allow them to influence politics and have a voice, unlike their counterparts of previous generations. Finally, the institutionalization of racialized slavery in the Chesapeake automatically raised the social status of white colonists of all sorts, since they were placed above slaves by the law, starting in the late-17th century but becoming solidified by the 18th century (Morgan 1975:346). These changes in the plight of the small planters, however, were just beginning as the occupation of the Maurice Clark site was coming to an end, around 1730.

Chapter 5: Creating and Maintaining Manly Authority in the Early Modern Potomac Valley

Introduction

An important aspect of constructing a manly identity in the 17th-century English Atlantic was the possession, negotiation, and maintenance of authority. Starting in the mid-17th century, the older style of philosophy on both political and social aspects of authority that derived from Filmer's works began to be challenged. Filmerian arguments stated that authority derived from a combination of status, age, and gender, meaning that both men and women could possess types of patriarchal authority and power (Filmer 1680; Norton 1996:11). In a political sense, Filmerian authority was derived from divine right and invested in an unquestioned leader, which in the broader scale of English society consisted of the king or queen, though on smaller scales it could be a governor or even the head of a household. The system that began to challenge Filmer's ideas and that became accepted by the 18th century was first fully articulated by John Locke (1689; Norton 1996:11-12). In this system the social aspects of authority were fully vested in male heads of household and authority was only negotiated between men. However, politically, this system of authority was based upon social contract theory, or consent of the governed, meaning that the divine right of rulers was no longer acceptable.

This chapter traces the shift from a Filmerian system of authority to a proto-Lockean system of authority in the Potomac Valley. I use the term proto-Lockean here because many of the changes that occurred related to authority in this region took place prior to Locke's publication of his seminal work. However, many of the ideas were circulating in the English Atlantic long before Locke, particularly in relation to social contract theory, which was derived from the works of Grotius (1625) and Hobbes (1651), among others. I trace the proto-Lockean

leanings of men in the Potomac Valley in relation to political authority through their participation in conflicts related to politics in the region. I argue that the alliances that these men formed during the conflicts, and the communities that resulted and persisted, are indicative of their political beliefs. Although these men appear to have created a distinct community in the region that supported ideas about proto-Lockean political authority, they still seem to have favored Filmerian aspects of social authority. The role of women in the community shows both how a distinct Potomac identity was created through the dialectic between these two sometimes conflicting philosophies on authority, and how women served as important mediators of community cohesion and proliferation. Ultimately, the identities that men and women created along the southern shore of the Potomac River were a result of circumstances unique to their time and place.

Ingle's Rebellion and Creating a New Political Order

In the middle of the 17th century, English society was in the midst of upheaval. Perhaps the most visible event related to these changes was the English Civil War, spanning the years from 1642 to 1651. During this time King Charles I was executed, Charles II was exiled, the English countryside was ravaged by nearly a decade of conflict, and English government was reorganized. Concurrent with these events, and likely heavily influenced by them, English concepts of authority began to shift away from a Filmerian perspective toward a proto-Lockean perspective, as seen in the publication of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* in 1651. The divine right of kings was no longer seen as the primary mode of authority, rather social contract theory was becoming increasingly popular. These concepts about a new social order were developing well before Hobbes published his work, and Atlantic trading routes served to bring them and other

ideas and news associated with English Civil War to the Chesapeake (Amussen 1988; Norton 1996; Riordan 2004).

Specifically, the effects of the English Civil War came to the Potomac River Valley in the 1640s and manifested themselves in the conflict known as Ingle's Rebellion from 1645 to1646. The conflict, which took place in Maryland, has been viewed as an ancillary conflict of the English Civil War (Riordan 2004). While many of the underlying causes for Ingle's Rebellion are much more complicated and local than just the atmosphere related to the English Civil War, trans-Atlantic ideas, facilitated by trade routes, did play a major role in the inception of the rebellion. In the following pages, I argue that among the causes for this rebellion were competing ideas about authority between the rulers of Maryland, specifically Lord Baltimore and his allies, and well-connected planter-merchants in the colony. The specific experiences of many of the rebel leaders in Maryland prior to the rebellion helped to shape their ideas about authority, moving them toward a proto-Lockean perspective in contrast to Baltimore's Filmerian leanings. The flight of the rebels across the Potomac after the rebellion and their creation of a distinct community helps to underscore how these new concepts of authority were able to flourish in the Potomac Valley despite Baltimore's reclamation of the colony.

The Plundering Time

Although Ingle's Rebellion only lasted for a little less than a year, the tensions that led to the rebellion's success had been building for more than a decade in the Potomac River region. Disagreements over land ownership and access to trade, Indian raids from the north, events surrounding the English Civil War, and, most importantly to this research, conflict over authority within Maryland all contributed to Richard Ingle's invasion of Maryland and the support that he received from both within, and outside of, the Proprietary (Menard 1981; Riordan 2004). Rather

than being isolated within Maryland, Ingle's Rebellion was a cross-cultural Chesapeake, and arguably trans-Atlantic, conflict that was influenced by and served to influence both people and politics from England, Virginia, Maryland, to the upper reaches of the Chesapeake Bay. In order to fully understand the few months of rebel control in Maryland, and its aftermath, these broader contexts and causes need to be fully explored (Figure 4).

A complete history of Ingle's Rebellion necessarily must begin before the settlement of Maryland by the Calvert family and their allies in 1634. In the late 1620s and early 1630s, the beaver fur trade in the Chesapeake was booming, fueled by the latest European fashions and a slump in tobacco prices (Fausz 1988:61). However, prime quality beaver pelts were generally in short supply in the lower tidewater of Virginia, due primarily to environmental factors. The upper Chesapeake region, however, near the head of the bay, had the advantage of being located along Susquehannock trade routes that tapped in to the northern beaver fur trade. Knowing this, William Claiborne, the Secretary of State for the Virginia Colony, sought and was granted a license to establish a trading post on Kent Island, near present-day Annapolis, and a smaller station at Palmer's Island, near the head of the bay, in order to take advantage of these trade routes that granted him access to prime northern beaver furs (Fausz 1984:12, 1988:62).

In 1631, Claiborne received backing from the London merchant William Clobbery for his venture and the trading post on Kent Island, which maintained a small community to support the fur traders (Fausz 1988:62). While, Claiborne's gross income from the beaver trade was very high, he underestimated his ability to purchase enough trade goods to acquire a monopoly of the trade in the north and his business venture was soon losing money (Fausz 1988:63). Nevertheless, the Susquehannocks stayed loyal to Claiborne and his traders as business partners, essentially allowing them to gain a monopoly of the Chesapeake fur trade by 1634, when the first

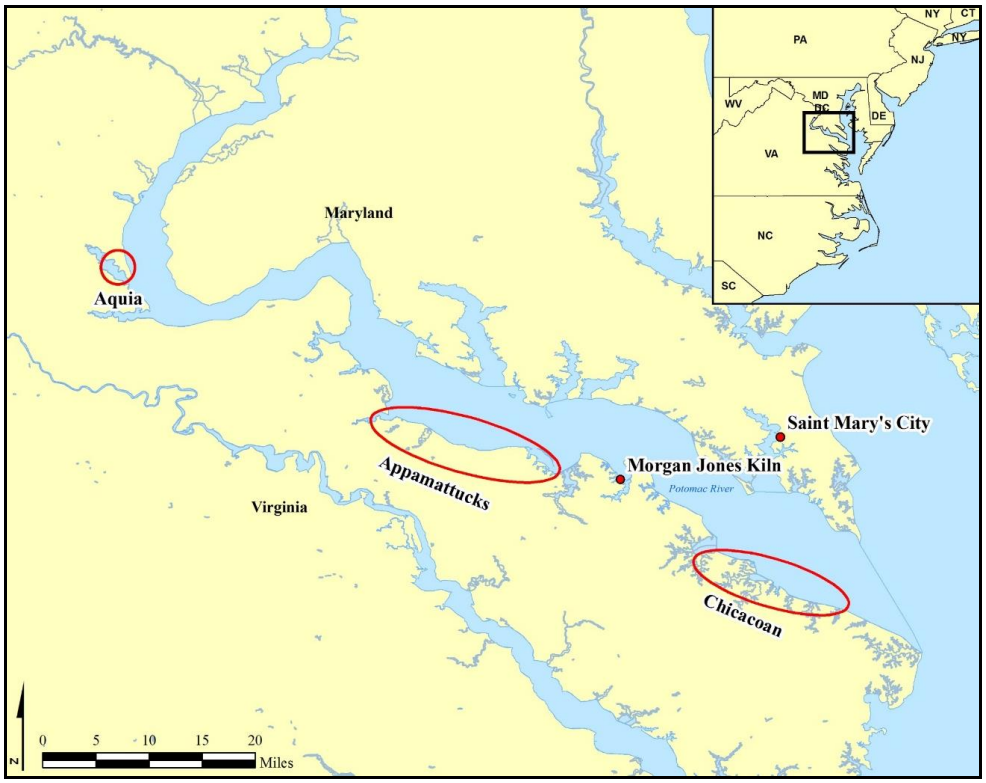

Figure 4: Map of the Potomac Valley with 17th-Century Settlements.

colonists sent by Lord Baltimore arrived in the Potomac River Valley (Fausz 1988:63-64). Despite that fact that the charter for Maryland, granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632, encompassed Kent Island, Claiborne and his traders maintained control of the island until 1638, serving to create both conflict and tension that would eventually become a factor in Ingle's Rebellion.

One of the factors that made Maryland attractive to Lord Baltimore as the location for a new colony was the ability to take advantage of the northern fur trade, as Claiborne had been doing at Kent Island (Fausz 1988:65). However, Maryland participation in the fur trade proved to be quite difficult since Claiborne and his Virginians were already established in the area, which led to the Marylanders struggling to gain a rapport and strong trade relationship with the Susquehannocks (Fausz 1988:63-64, 69-70). Additionally, Claiborne refused to cede control of Kent Island to Lord Baltimore, asserting that it was Virginia territory. As a result, the so-called "Chesapeake Fur Wars" began in 1635 when Kent Island ships attacked Maryland vessels commanded by Thomas Cornwalyes, in response to Maryland's seizure of a Kent Island pinnance (Fausz 1988:71; Riordan 2004:11). For the next three years there was a series of political actions taken by both Claiborne and Baltimore in relation to the ownership of Kent Island. Finally, in February of 1638, the Governor of Maryland, Leonard Calvert, and Thomas Cornwalyes led a force that invaded Kent Island and expelled Claiborne, effectively wresting control of the upper Chesapeake from Virginia (Fausz 1988:72-74).

The taking of Kent Island by forces allied with Baltimore not only angered William Claiborne in the years leading up to Ingle's Rebellion, it also served to alienate a significant portion of the population of the island, many of whom eventually moved to the southern shore of the Potomac River and helped to create the first English community along Virginia's Potomac shore. This community, centered on the Chicacoan and Wicomico areas, which are located

directly across the Potomac from St. Mary's City, was populated by a significant number of people who had fled Kent Island between 1638 and 1645. An examination of Virginia and Maryland court records and land patents from the period indicates that no fewer than 10 men who resided in Northumberland County prior to 1645 originally came from Kent Island, presumably with their families and others from the island (Table 2). Frederick Fausz has posited that the Chicacoan area of Virginia was settled in part by Kent Island traders because of the lack of regulation on this frontier in Virginia, which appears to be the case, considering that there were several planter merchants settled there at the same time, including John Mottram and George Fletcher (1988:74). Although few of these former Kent Islanders held political office in the county, their opinions of Lord Baltimore and his government clearly played a large role in the involvement of this community in the events surrounding Ingle's Rebellion, as discussed below.

Another major factor leading up to the Plundering Time of 1645 and 1646 was the conflict between the Maryland colonists and the Susquehannock Indians, and the political strife that resulted from it. Almost immediately upon their arrival in Maryland in 1634, Baltimore's colonists established a long-lasting alliance with the local Piscataway Indians. Unlike the Virginia colonists, decades before, who had made enemies of the local Native groups and allied with people further from the English settlements, the Marylanders fostered relationships with neighboring Indian groups as a buffer against raiding groups (Riordan 2004:33). Although not outwardly hostile toward the Susquehannocks from the start, since they were a key to the beaver fur trade, the Maryland colonists under Baltimore served to push them away due to the alliance with the Piscataways, who had long been enemies to the Susquehannocks (Riordan 2004:34; Rice 2009:102-103). The potential for alliance between the Marylanders and the

Table 2: Table Listing Men who Moved from Kent Island to Northumberland County prior to 1645 (AOMOL 1:30, 3:125, 104, 4:69, 390, 10:27, 30, 61, 62; NCR 1650-1652:72-73; VLP 2).

Name	**Year Moved**	**Place of Origin**	**Place Settled**
Henry Cartwright	post 1639	Kent Island	
John Gresham	post 1639	Kent Island	
William Medcalfe	post 1639	Kent Island	
John Smith	post 1640	Kent Island	
James Cloughton	post 1642	Kent Island	Chicacoan
Richard Thompson	post 1642	Kent Island	Wicomico
John Bennett	post 1642	Kent Island	
Samuel Smith	post 1642	Kent Island	
Matthew Rhodon/Rhodes	post 1644	Kent Island	
Simon Richardson	post 1644	Kent Island	

Susquehannocks was also hampered by the fact that Claiborne's Kent Islanders, and Claiborne himself, attempted to turn the Susquehannocks against Baltimore and his allies (Riordan 2004:35-37).

While there appears to have been no direct impetus for hostilities between the Marylanders and the Susquehannocks, the shifting nature of the fur trade, the influence of the Virginians, and the alliance with the Piscataways all came to a head in the summer of 1642 when the Susquehannocks began raiding colonial settlements in Maryland (Riordan 2004:35-38). The session of the General Assembly in Maryland that convened to address the troubles with the Susquehannocks prior to the raiding did little to address the problems in Anglo-Native relations, but did reveal that Maryland colonists took issue with the Calvert family's methods for ruling the colony. During the session, Robert Vaughn put forward a motion that the burgesses be divided into upper and lower houses that had veto power, which Governor Calvert quickly denied, knowing that it would erode his authority (Riordan 2004:37). The session that was convened after the raid, while eventually organizing a retaliatory raid on Susquehannock territory near the head of the bay, also brought up challenges to the authority of the Calverts. Giles Brent put forward a motion that freemen on Kent Island should be allowed to leave the province without permission of Governor Calvert, which Calvert quickly rejected (Riordan 2004:40). In the same meeting somebody protested Baltimore's power to adjourn the Assembly, which according to the Charter of Maryland, was his prerogative (Riordan 2004:42-43). This was yet another major challenge to Baltimore's authority and one that echoed the struggle taking place in England over King Charles' right to convene Parliament.

The challenge to Baltimore's right to adjourn the Assembly was the first effect of the English Civil War that helped lead to Ingle's Rebellion. However, the primary ways in which

this trans-Atlantic conflict led to the events of the Plundering Time are best understood through the person of Richard Ingle. Ingle was a prominent tobacco trader and captain of the ship, *Reformation*, who had been plying Chesapeake waters since at least 1639, and perhaps earlier (Riordan 2004:29). In February of 1643, while in the harbor trading at Accomac on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, Ingle was involved in an altercation with Argall Yeardly, the Commander of Northampton County, and his brother Francis. Ingle was entertaining the men in the cabin of his ship when the conversation turned to the Civil War in England, whereupon Francis, who was a Royalist like most Virginians, made disparaging remarks about Parliament. Ingle, being an outspoken Parliamentarian, made his own critical remarks about King Charles and the argument escalated. Soon after, on the deck of the *Reformation*, Argall attempted to place Ingle under arrest for treason, but, not accepting the authority of the King without invoking the name of Parliament, Ingle refused and chased both of the men off of his ship with a pole-axe and cutlass, threatening Argall with the sword (Riordan 2004:95-97). Ingle continued his trading mission in the Chesapeake, going to several places in Maryland that winter and spring all while boasting of the event and proclaiming his loyalty to Parliament (Riordan 2004:97).

Ingle's actions at Accomac and his boasting afterward in Maryland became a legal matter upon his return trip to the Chesapeake in January of 1644. A suit concerning the payment of debts between William Hardidge and Thomas Green, the boatswain of the *Reformation*, eventually led to Hardidge accusing Ingle of treason based upon his actions in Accomac the year before (Riordan 2004:130-132). Hardidge found a sympathetic ear in Giles Brent, who was serving as Governor while Leonard Calvert was in England and who had his own financial troubles with Ingle. Brent successfully had Ingle arrested and seized his ship in the name of the King. However, Ingle was released under the supervision of Thomas Cornwalyes, a friend and

powerful member of the Council in Maryland, and returned to his ship. While aboard, Ingle overpowered the Marylanders that were guarding him and took several hostages, including Cornwalyes, before eventually sailing away from St. Mary's. In his absence, Ingle was charged with three separate treasonous acts and found not guilty of all three. Ingle eventually returned to St. Mary's to trade in March, but left the next month, partially due to harassment from Brent (Riordan 2004:133-149).

The Plundering Time began in earnest in December of 1644. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that Ingle and Claiborne were in league with one another in their attempt to overthrow Maryland both for personal reasons and in the name of Parliament (Riordan 2004:174-175). Regardless of their conspiracy, in December of 1644, William Claiborne recruited a group of men from Chicacoan, many of whom likely served under him at the trading post on Kent Island, and attempted to incite a rebellion on Kent Island, under the guise of having a commission from the king to seize the island (AOMOL 4:458-459; Menard 1981:136; Fausz 1988:78; Riordan 2004:175). However, unfortunately for Claiborne, before the island was taken, most of the Chicacoan men abandoned the cause when Claiborne was unable to produce a convincing commission (Riordan 2004:175). Soon after this failed uprising, Richard Ingle made his own attempt to seize the colony at St. Mary's City.

In February, a few weeks after Claiborne's failed attempt at capturing Kent Island, Ingle left Maryland, where he had been trading, and sailed to Chicacoan to recruit men for an invasion. Among these Virginia mercenaries were William Hardidge, who had accused Ingle of treason a year earlier, and Thomas and John Sturman, who had been on Kent Island when William Claiborne ran the trading post there (Riordan 2004:186). Ingle sailed up the St. George's River to St. Mary's City in the *Reformation* on the morning of Valentine's Day, 1645, accompanied by a

ship from Chicacoan. Having allegedly passed secret letters to the prominent Protestants of Maryland in January indicating that he had a commission from Parliament to plunder the goods of all the Catholics in the colony, Ingle was counting on the local populous to support his attack (Riordan 2004:184). Immediately upon his arrival in St. Mary's Ingle captured a Dutch ship, the *Looking Glass*, and unsuccessfully attempted to take a Bristol pinnance, possibly the *Trewlove*, in the name of Parliament (Riordan 2004:184-191). Ingle then made his way to Thomas Cornwalyes's Cross House, which was both large and fortified, capturing it and making it his first base of operations (Riordan 2004:191-194).

During Ingle's attack on Maryland, Governor Calvert attempted to raise the militia, but most of the militia members, particularly those who were Protestant, sided with Ingle (Riordan 2004:201). Nevertheless, a small force was raised and made their base at St. Thomas fort, which was likely constructed near Margaret Brent's house, while the rebels shifted their base to a fort built around Calvert's house in St. Mary's, called Pope's Fort (Riordan 2004:202). Ingle's forces and Baltimore's forces fought to a stalemate before Governor Calvert left the colony for Virginia. As soon as Ingle had loaded his ship and the *Looking Glass* with both plunder and tobacco, he too left Maryland and headed back to England in late March or early April (Riordan 2004:205-218). By late summer, the Maryland rebels had captured St. Thomas fort and effectively ended the resistance to their rule. Little is known about what happened during the rebel control of the Maryland colony due to the lack of records, but presumably a measure of normalcy returned particularly when the Virginian, Edward Hill, was appointed Governor of Maryland and served in that position from July to December of 1646 (Riordan 2004:258-259).

During his absence from the colony, Leonard Calvert was busy recruiting a force and supplies in order to recapture Maryland from the rebels. With a group of men comprised of loyal

Marylanders who had fled during the rebellion and Puritan mercenaries from Virginia, Calvert invaded Maryland in late December of 1646 and reclaimed the colony in the name of Lord Baltimore with little to no resistance, perhaps due in part to a general pardon issued to Protestant rebels by him back in August (Riordan 2004:262-270). While this act effectively ended Ingle's Rebellion, the underlying problems in Maryland concerning land, trade, Indian relations, the English Civil War, and competing notions of authority would plague the Calvert family for the rest of the 17th century. The actions that Calvert took immediately after his return to Maryland and the response to these actions by many of the former rebels help to underscore the role that competing concepts of authority played in the rebellion and in the overwhelming support for Richard Ingle among most of the Maryland colonists.

Rebels along the Potomac

Even before the first ship with Calvert's settlers landed, Maryland was a colony steeped in a Filmerian concept of authority. In order to attract investors, Lord Baltimore offered large tracts of land, called manors, and manorial privileges to those who could transport five able-bodied men into the colony (Stone 1982:8-9). In addition to attracting men of standing, particularly the sons of England's gentry, George and Cecil Calvert hoped that this system would serve as a model for society in Maryland, with Lord Baltimore at the top (Stone 1982:7-10, 47-55). Despite the hope of reproducing a society in which the "divine" authority of a single patriarch was generally accepted as the norm, which had been common in early-17th century England, the unique conditions of the Chesapeake, coupled with changing paradigms about authority, served to undermine Calvert's plans.

While this strategy might have worked in England or Ireland, places where land was scarce and upward social mobility was difficult, the geography and economy of Maryland served

to undermine Filmerian ideas about authority in favor of a proto-Lockean system (Norton 1996). During the golden age of small planters in the Chesapeake, approximately 1630-1680, a combination of plentiful land, relatively high tobacco prices, unbalanced demography, and short periods of servitude allowed formerly indentured servants to rise through the ranks of society to become middling and upper status planters (Stone 1982:10; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991; Walsh 2010:122-193).

This very process, quite common throughout the Chesapeake during this period, led to major challenges to Lord Baltimore's Filmerian-influenced system of government that eventually culminated in Ingle's Rebellion. Unlike Bacon's Rebellion thirty years later, Ingle's Rebellion primarily drew both its support and leadership from freemen within Maryland (Riordan 2004:221). The rebel leaders and supporters were among the same men who had previously pressed Baltimore for greater popular power within the Assembly, challenged his right to adjourn the Assembly, and rejected the proposed bill that would have made opposition to the Proprietor high treason (Stone 1982:50). The actions of the Assembly of Maryland made it clear that they were leaning toward a proto-Lockean concept of authority where rule was determined by consent or social contract rather than Filmerian authority derived from birth or divine right.

The backgrounds of some of the participants in Ingle's Rebellion, who have ties to the archaeological sites analyzed in the next chapter, help to highlight the role that freemen played in the initial success of the rebellion. Among the first of Calvert's settlers to arrive in Maryland aboard the *Ark* was John Hallowes. Hallowes came to Maryland at the age of 19 as a servant to Thomas Cornwalyes, who was a prominent member of the Maryland Council and a manor lord (Riordan 2004:24-26). During his service to Cornwalyes, Hallowes participated heavily in the fur trade in the upper reaches of the Chesapeake on behalf of his master, helped to defend

Baltimore's claims to Kent Island, and acted as a privateer on behalf of the Proprietary, all serving to show that he at least tolerated, or was forced to tolerate, Calvert's Filmerian system of authority during the early years of the colony's settlement through his deference and support of Baltimore's claims to power (AOMOL 3:83-84, 4:22).

Hallowes was freed from his indenture in 1639 and started a plantation of his own soon after (AOMOL 4:52). He quickly became prosperous through the tobacco trade and his continued role as a mariner trading with Chesapeake Bay Indians. The first inklings of his resistance to Calvert's rule of the colony come from references that cite him for not observing the ban on trading with unlicensed Indians and trading guns to Indians after he had become a freeman (AOMOL 4:186, 259). Although not specifically referenced as assembled during the meetings, described above, that challenged Baltimore's authority, references to him in the very same meetings, related to other matters, indicate that he was present, and, based upon his later involvement in the rebellion and other actions, it is likely that his opinion lay with the challengers. His rise through the ranks of Maryland society and acquisition of property in all likelihood heavily contributed to his eventual decision to join the rebel faction during the Plundering Time. Like many who gained status in Maryland society, Baltimore's "little monarchy" began to seem excessively oppressive, particularly as proto-Lockean ideas concerning authority and social contract theory began to cross the Atlantic Ocean, around the time of the English Civil War.

Another man who came to Maryland as a servant and participated in Ingle's Rebellion as a freeman was William Hardidge I, the father of one of the owners of Nomini Plantation in Virginia during its second phase of occupation, starting in 1679. Hardidge was another early settler of the Proprietary, having arrived by 1636 as a servant (Carr 2009d). By 1642, Hardidge

was free and listed as a planter and tailor (AOMOL 1:170). Although Hardidge is not directly listed in any historical records as one of the rebels during the Plundering Time, his close association with other known rebels, such as Francis Gray, John Sturman, and Thomas Sturman, whose daughter he married, in addition to his settlement in Virginia along with former rebels immediately after the rebellion, indicate that he was on the rebel side of the conflict (Riordan 2004:275; Carr 2009d). This fact is particularly interesting considering that Hardidge disliked Richard Ingle and held a personal grudge against him (Riordan 2004:140). Hardidge was the one who accused Ingle of treason in January of 1644, setting in motion the events that led to the uprising (Riordan 2004:131).

Considering Hardidge's personal distaste for Ingle, it becomes clear that his participation in the rebellion went beyond Ingle's role as a charismatic leader. Hardidge's participation in the rebellion illustrates the fact that Ingle's initial attack on the Proprietary and his espousal of pro-Parliamentary rhetoric was merely the catalyst for revolt. The nearly yearlong success of the rebellion stemmed from the fact that freemen in the colony sought to break the yoke of a Filmerian system of authority in favor of a proto-Lockean system, which they had been pressing for in court. It appears that Hardidge was not overly concerned with the Parliamentarian aspects of the rebellion; his accusation of treason against Ingle makes it appear that he had Royalist leanings. However, his feelings about the Filmerian authority practiced by Lord Baltimore were made clear through his participation in an uprising that was fundamentally against that style of leadership, despite its inception by a man of whom he thought poorly.

Moving up in social status was not a prerequisite for disdain for the Calverts' Filmerian style of authority or subsequent participation in Ingle's Rebellion, however, as seen through the examples of both Thomas Speke and Nathaniel Pope. Speke, who eventually became the master

of Nomini Plantation, was born to a wealthy family in England before immigrating to Maryland in 1639 as a freeman (Stone 1982:131; Norris 1983:105). His choice to settle in Maryland indicates that he was not a first son and stood little chance of inheriting, instead choosing to seek his fortune in the tobacco colonies. In general, little is known of his career in Maryland, but he is listed as a member of the household of John Lewger, the Secretary of Maryland, and likely was employed by him as an overseer until at least 1642 (AOMOL 3:119; Stone 1982:121). Like Hardidge, there is no specific record that implicates Speke as a rebel, but his close association with known rebels and his settlement in Virginia after the end of the rebellion suggest that he sided with the rebel faction during the Plundering Time. Unlike Hardidge and Hallowes, however, Speke was never a servant and certainly would have been familiar with wielding Filmerian authority, judging from his wealthy upbringing in England. Speke's support for a rebellion that favored proto-Lockean concepts of authority may well have stemmed from his association with John Lewger and the new ideas about authority that were likely being discussed in his household.

Although Lewger clearly appears to have been a supporter of Baltimore, considering that he was taken captive by Ingle and acted as Baltimore's attorney in Maryland, a few records hint at him challenging the Calvert family's authority at times (Riordan 2004:198, 213-214, 308). First, and perhaps most importantly, during the 1642 Assembly that challenged Leonard Calvert's right to demand that freemen who wanted to leave the colony seek permission from him, Lewgar spoke in favor of the Assembly's rights rather than Calvert's, causing Calvert to back down from his position (Riordan 2004:41). While Lewgar cited Lord Baltimore's instructions as his reasoning for the comments on the Assembly's rights, he very clearly, although perhaps unintentionally, challenged Leonard Calvert's Filmerian authority as Governor.

After the rebellion was over, Lewgar was also forced to take the first Oath of Fealty in 1646, pledging his loyalty to Baltimore, an act which had generally been reserved for former rebels (AOMOL 3:174). Despite his support for Baltimore, his public challenge to Leonard Calvert's authority may have been enough to cause the Calvert family to suspect his true intentions.

Thomas Speke's support for the rebellion may well have stemmed from his close association with Lewger and the thoughts about the Assembly's rights that were almost certainly brought up in conversations within his house. Additionally, Lewgar would have had strong trans-Atlantic connections due to his vast wealth and role as Secretary of Maryland, which likely facilitated the transmission of proto-Lockean ideas from England to his household. These ideas likely stemmed from visitors to Lewgar's house, which served as the statehouse for Maryland and was been the scene of many of the challenges to Calvert's authority (Stone 1982:89-99). Speke may have also been reading about new concepts of authority as his probate inventory lists "a parcel of old books" (WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a).

Thomas Speke's decision to go against his employer during the rebellion was likely also influenced by the fact that Lewgar was one of the Maryland manor lords, and Speke, like many freemen in Maryland, resented the vast amounts of nearly unchecked power that men like Lewgar held. While Speke's true motivations will likely never be known, the fact that a freeman in a relatively wealthy household in Maryland rebelled against the government shows that participation in the events of the Plundering Time was motivated not only by class differences, but by differing ideologies on the appropriate way to govern, similar to the English Civil War happening simultaneously across the Atlantic.

Nathaniel Pope was another freeman participant in Ingle's rebellion, and perhaps one of its most notorious leaders. Pope, who originally patented the land on which the Clifts Plantation

was situated, came to Maryland as a freeman in 1638 with very little other than his 100-acre freehold (Riordan 2004:222-223). He apparently started off as a tobacco planter, but by 1642 had become quite prosperous, as evidenced by his purchase of Leonard Calvert's house in St. Mary's City (Riordan 2004:223). Additionally, in 1643, Pope had purchased 2,000 acres in Maryland, underscoring his economic prosperity (Riordan 2004:225). Although it is unclear how he gained so much wealth so quickly, Riordan has hypothesized that a combination of income from tobacco planting and the use of Calvert's house as an inn allowed Pope to prosper (2004:222-225). Along with his newfound economic place, Pope also began to participate more heavily in politics. He was a representative of St. Mary's Hundred in the 1642 Assembly where Robert Vaughn put forward a motion that the burgesses be divided into upper and lower houses that had veto power over the Governor, and served on two of the juries that exonerated Richard Ingle of treason (Riordan 2004:225).

There is little doubt about Pope's role as both a rebel and as a leader of the rebellion. First, there are court cases that were recorded after the rebellion implicating Pope in the plundering of John Lewgar's house and naming him responsible for certain costs of the rebellion (Riordan 2004:225). However, the fact that a stockade was constructed around Pope's house and the resulting complex, called "Mr. Pope's Fort," was used as the base of operations for the rebels, is perhaps the most convincing evidence of his prominent role (Riordan 2004:226-236). Although he came to Maryland as a freeman, Pope's rise through the ranks of society in the Proprietary mirrored that of men like Hardidge and Hallowes and, like them, Pope probably came to resent the strict form of authority practiced by the Calvert family once he became a landowner and gained a measure of authority over his own household. His trans-Atlantic connections through both the tobacco trade and the use of his house as an inn, which probably

housed trans-Atlantic visitors on occasion, likely spurred on his resentment, particularly when he began to learn of the discord surrounding the English Civil War. Considering his role in the Assembly that challenged Leonard Calvert's authority, in addition to his leadership role in the rebellion, it is likely that his inn not only served as a place where proto-Lockean ideas were introduced, but also served as a location for discussing objections to the Calvert family's Filmerian style of authority and ways of challenging it.

In the immediate aftermath of the recapture of Maryland by Leonard Calvert, actions of the former rebels in opposition to Calvert's wishes help to illustrate how Ingle's Rebellion was a conflict fundamentally concerned with disagreements over governing styles related to changing concepts of authority. One of the more convincing statements regarding this viewpoint from the historical record was written by Edward Hill, who was appointed Governor of Maryland in July of 1646, perhaps by Leonard Calvert or perhaps by the rebel Council in Maryland (Riordan 2004:258-259). Prior to coming to Maryland, Hill was a Burgess in Virginia, representing Charles City County, and sometimes serving as Speaker of the Assembly. When Leonard Calvert recaptured Maryland in December of 1646, Hill was expelled and apparently went to Chicacoan, based upon how he signed letters to the Council of Maryland during the period immediately after. The fact that he found shelter at Chicacoan, a known hotbed for rebels, and likely knew John Mottram, a supporter of the rebellion, indicates that Hill was probably appointed to the governorship by the rebel Council and not by Calvert.

After Governor Calvert's death in June of 1647, Hill began to write to the Council of Maryland, demanding payment for his term as Governor and claiming his legitimacy as current Governor until Lord Baltimore appointed somebody else. It was in one of these letters, written to

the Council of Maryland from Chicacoan and dated June 20, 1647, that Hill explicitly attacked Calvert's Filmerian-style of government saying:

> I doubt not but yo^{w} are sensible to what a slauery the Kings freeborne subiects & soe consequently yo^{r}selfes are inuolued in when the single power of the Gouerno^{r} should disanull his owne, and the country's Act, by a Countermand, his owne, I say, though acted by another person (AOMOL 3:188).

In this one statement Hill summed up the major grievance of the majority of the rebels in Maryland. Referencing Calvert's recapture of the colony and the governorship, Hill points out that his appointment months before was not just Calvert's choice, but that of the people of Maryland, presumably by vote of the Assembly. As members of the Assembly in Maryland had been pointing out and challenging in years previous, the Filmerian-style of government and authority within Lord Baltimore's colony was not universally accepted, particularly by the freemen of Maryland who sought to live under a proto-Lockean system based upon a social contract.

Despite the fact that the rebellion was clearly tied to the Calvert family's heavy use of power with little to no consent from the population of freemen, Leonard Calvert immediately began to pass laws restrictive to the free planters of the colony upon his return and without the input of the Assembly, as was his prerogative under a Filmerian system of authority. First, Leonard Calvert required an Oath of Fealty to be sworn to Lord Baltimore and his government by the rebels starting in January of 1647. Although the wording of the first oath is not recorded, an entry from *The Proceedings of the Council of Maryland* dated September of 1647 records what may well have been the words, substituting Thomas Greene for Leonard Calvert.

> The Oath Yo^{w} shalbe trew and ffaythfull so long as yo^{w} shall remaine in this Prouince as often as yo^{w} shall returne into the same to the Right Hono^{bl} the Lo: Proprietary of this prouince and his heires Lo^{rds} Proprietaryes of this prouince and to his Gouer^{r} Thomas Greene Esqr and his lawfull substitute or successor Gouer^{r} of the prouince for the tyme

> being: And all Conspiraces and practises as yo^{w} shall know or here of against them or any of them yo^{w} shall resist to yor power and reueale the same to them or some person in Authority under them. wthin 24 howers or sooner if yo^{w} may: And yo^{w} shall not vse any meanes or perswations directly or indirectly to draw any of the Inhabitants of this Collony to forsake the Prouince So helpe yo^{w} God and the Contents of this booke (AOMOL 3:193).

These oaths, of which four are recorded, list 84 individuals and serve as an important group of records indicating participation in the rebellion (AOMOL 3:174, 182, 228; Table 3). The oaths served to reaffirm the authority of Baltimore and his representatives, specifically Leonard Calvert, and reminded the rebels that they lived in a colony where ultimate power lay in the hands of one of these men regardless of the opinion of the free population. Publicly declaring their loyalty to the Calvert family without reference to the Assembly was also a renunciation of their proto-Lockean ideas on authority. However, Calvert did not stop at this, but also began to pass laws that restricted the rebels economically and challenged their manhood.

Soon after the first Oath of Fealty, Calvert passed an embargo for St. Mary's County on January 16, 1647, citing its necessity due to being in a state of warfare (AOMOL 3:174-175). This embargo prohibited anyone within the county from leaving without the permission of Leonard Calvert, in addition to prohibiting contact with anybody from outside the county without the knowledge of the Governor. The embargo was in effect for two months and specifically prohibited the trading of cattle or corn. While the law was enacted in order to reduce Kent Island, which was still in a state of rebellion, it was economically harmful to many of the free planters in the county, who made much of their trade within the colony and in neighboring Virginia, particularly in cattle and corn. Although the law was designed to help quell the rebellion on Kent Island and punish the rebels there, it served to further alienate the freemen of St. Mary's County who had previously been in rebellion and reinforce their disapproval of the Filmerian-style of authority practiced by the Calvert family in Maryland.

Table 3: Table Listing the Four Oaths of Fealty Given in Maryland after Ingle's Rebellion (AOMOL 3:174, 182, 228).

1646 Oath at St. Mary's City	1647 Oath at Kent Island	1647 Oath	1648 Oath
Mr Lewger	Robert Vaughan	Richard Brown	Thomas Asbrook
Mr Gerrard	Thomas Bradnox	Robert Kedger	John Asbrook
Mr Greene	Edward Commins	Thomas Waggott	Thomas Warr
Francis Gray	Edmund Lenin	William Wheatley	George Manners
John Hampton	John Malham	Thomas Bushell	Richard Brown
John Hatch	Thomas Pott	John Harwood	William Edwin
Francis Pope	Robert Short	John Grimesditch	John Shertcliffe
William Thompson	Walter Jones	John Paulett	James Langworth
Mr Bretton	Francis Lumbard	John Deara	Phillip Land
Nathaniel Pope	Francis Brookes	James Johnson	Cuthbert Fenwick
Thomas Sturman	John Ayres	John Courts	James Hare
John Hollis	Zacharias Wade	John Walton	John Ashley
John Tue	Richard Cotsford	William Yewell	Ralph Beane
Walter Beane	Walter King	Christopher Russell	
Nevett		Robert Ward	
John Nevill		Robert Smith	
William Wright			
John Norman			
Rowland Maze			
John Thompson			
Robert Edwards			
Walter Broadhurst			
James Walker			
John Hilliard			
Henry Spink			
William Perfaite			
Franics Sherwood			

Table 3: Continued

1646 Oath at St. Mary's City	1647 Oath at Kent Island	1647 Oath	1648 Oath
John Gore			
Nathaniel Jones			
William Rought			
Thomas Thomas			
Walter Pakes			
John Jarbo			
William Eltonhead			
John Mansell			
Franics Posey			
John Wheatley			
William Hungerford			
Stephen Salmon			
Thomas Petite			
Thomas Mitchell			

The final act that passed in relation to the rebellion prohibited the possession of arms or ammunition in the colony by any who had previously participated in the rebellion (AOMOL 3:193). This proclamation, passed on September 15, 1647 by Governor Thomas Greene, was a strict punishment for the former rebels because of the almost universal ownership of guns in the mid-17th-century Chesapeake by freemen (Brown 1996:177). While it might be possible that Greene only sought to prevent further armed uprising, the former rebel freemen of Maryland may well have seen this act as an affront to their manhood and a further way of undermining the authority that they sought within the government of Maryland (Hatch, Heath, and McMillan 2014:67-69). The possession of firearms by property-holding men came to symbolize colonial manhood, so much so that guns were passed down from fathers to sons as a form of "patrilineal continuity" (Brown 1996:177). By stripping these physical symbols of manliness from the rebel freemen, Greene continued Leonard Calvert's pattern of suppressing and punishing alternative forms of authority within the Maryland colony, eventually leading many of these former rebels to take action.

Rather than taking military action yet again, many of the rebel freemen in Maryland expressed their distaste for the form of authority practiced in Maryland by the Calvert faction through emigration. Russell Menard has estimated that the population of St. Mary's County only stood at around 100 souls at the beginning of 1647, when Calvert returned to Maryland. He bases this number on an estimate of 250 people residing in the colony by 1648, noting that many people likely fled during the rebellion and that the colony was only beginning to recover by the next year (Menard 1981:137). However, an examination of the Maryland and Virginia records for localities along the Potomac during this period shows that many rebels left Maryland for Virginia in 1647, after Calvert's return. Cross-referencing Maryland court records with Virginia

court records and land patents shows that at least 11 men came from Maryland to Virginia with their families within a year of Calvert's return, and that the majority of these men were former rebels, as identified by their listing on Oaths of Fealty and other Maryland records (Table 4). Land patents in Virginia exist for nine of the rebel immigrants, accounting for a total of over 10,000 acres, which, assuming 50 acres for every person transported to Virginia, provides an estimate of over 200 Maryland emigrants. Even if the estimate is halved, it would still account for over 100 people leaving Maryland in 1647, a very significant number considering Menard's estimate.

All of the former rebels, whose place of settlement in Virginia can be determined, made their new homes at Appamattucks, an area in Northumberland County, present-day Westmoreland, along the Potomac River between Nomini Bay and Mattox Creek. A conscious effort was made by the former rebels to live in this area as evidenced by Nathaniel Pope's speech trying to incite the Kent Islanders to rebellion in 1647 where he stated "that if they would come and liue at Apomatocks, he made noe question but in shortt tyme to get strength enough to get the Country againe," (AOMOL 3:192). Although the rebels who joined him in Virginia never did attack Maryland, they did succeed in forming a community of like-minded individuals who were able to put their proto-Lockean ideas about authority into practice, by serving in both the county and colony government. Former rebels dominated the county government of Northumberland prior to 1653, and then continued to rule in Westmoreland County after it was formed in that year (Table 5). Additionally, four of the former rebels who immigrated in 1647 served as representatives the House of Burgesses for their home counties in the 1650s (Table 6).

Table 4: Table Listing Men Who Moved from Maryland to Virginia in the Wake of Ingle's Rebellion (AOMOL 3:174, 179 ,182, 4:21, 310, 333, 378, 453, 499, 540, 10:122; NCR 1650-1652:72-73; VLP 2).

Name	**Year**	**Place of Origin**	**Place Settled**
James Baldridge	1647	St. Marys	Appamattucks
Thomas Baldridge	1647	St. Marys	Appamattucks
Walter Brodhurst	1647	St. Michaels?	Appamattucks
John Hallowes	1647	St. Michaels	Appamattucks
William Hardidge	1647		Appamattucks
Nathaniel Pope	1647	St. Marys	Appamattucks
John Rosier	1647		Appamattucks
Thomas Speke	1647		Appamattucks
Thomas Yuell	1647	Kent Island	Appamattucks
John Aires	1647	Kent Island	
Andrew Monroe	1647/8		Appamattucks

Table 5: Table Showing a Sampling of County Commissioners for Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties with Former Rebels Bolded (NCR 1650-1652:1, 5, 8, 11, 67; WCR 1653-1659:36).

Northumberland Commissioners 1651-1653	Westmoreland Commissioners 1655
John Mottram	**Thomas Speke**
George Fletcher	**Nathaniel Pope**
Thomas Speke	**John Hallowes**
John Trussell	John Hiller
William Mosly	**Walter Brodhurst**
John Hallowes	John Dodman
Walter Brodhurst	Gerrard Fowke
Sam Smith	**John Tew**
Nicholas Morris	**James Baldridge**
William Presly	Alex Bainham
Thomas Baldridge	Thomas Blagg
Nathaniel Pope	

Table 6: Table Showing Former Rebels who Served as Burgesses for Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties in Virginia (Stanard and Stanard 1902:68, 70-72; McIlwaine 1915).

Name	**Assembly Year**
John Hallowes	1654-1655
Thomas Speke	1652
Thomas Baldridge	1651-1652
Walter Broadhurst	1653

The lure of greater representation provided to freemen by the system of government in Virginia, through the board of commissioners within counties and the House of Burgesses on a colony-wide level, was undoubtedly a major reason that such a large contingent of former rebels fled across the Potomac. Their frequent and overwhelming participation in the government of Virginia helped to reinforce their proto-Lockean ideas about authority and government. Additionally, their near total control of politics in the Potomac counties of Virginia meant that they could steer the political future of those counties and the selection of its leaders over the coming decades. As the 17th century wore on, these former rebel leaders and those who took their place in the gentry class along the Potomac River would react in a completely different fashion when newly-freed servants and free planters rebelled along the Virginia frontier, led by Nathaniel Bacon.

Bacon's Rebellion and Solidifying the Social Order

Social and political unrest in the Chesapeake continued into the late-17th century, still related to Anglo-Native relations, the ability of freemen to advance in colonial society, and competing concepts of authority. The mid-1670s saw these issues come to a head in the Chesapeake and beyond in the form of King Philip's War in New England, the Susquehannock conflict in Maryland, and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (Rice 2012). By the end of the decade, the order of colonial society, particularly in Virginia and Maryland, had been solidified with the coalescence of an impenetrable gentry class, the full-scale adoption of a racialized form of slave labor among those other than the gentry, and the creation of a shared white male identity (Morgan 1975; Brown 1996). These changes served to heavily influence Chesapeake lifeways, politics, and society well into the 18th century and pave the way for the polite gentleman archetype to replace the anxious patriarch of the early decades of the 17th century.

By the time Nathaniel Bacon started his rebellion against Governor Berkeley in 1676, most of the prominent former rebels who had fled Maryland after Ingle's Rebellion for Virginia's Potomac Valley had died. However, their near complete control of county politics had insured that their legacy of proto-Lockean thinking continued in the next generation of local leaders. While there were multiple causes for Bacon's Rebellion, which I address below, it was partially, like Ingle's Rebellion, a very public and colony-wide conflict between Filmerian and proto-Lockean concepts of authority. As such, the role that prominent men along the Potomac played in this series of events serves to reinforce the proposition that they had already adopted proto-Lockean ideas as many as two decades earlier, and helps to explain why the violence and plundering perpetrated in Virginia's southern counties did not happen to the same degree along the Potomac. During this colonial conflict roles were reversed for the men living along the Potomac, with those in favor of authority based upon the concept of a social contract being the hegemonic group in the colony, and those, like Nathaniel Bacon, who believed in the "divine" authority of a single ruler being rebels.

Burning Jamestown

Like Ingle's Rebellion, the underlying causes of Bacon's Rebellion had also been building for more than a decade. Deteriorating Anglo-Native relations, a decrease in opportunity for European immigrants, economic problems, and growing challenges to the authority of the Virginia government from women, servants, and members of the gentry all converged by 1676, leading to armed conflict within the colony. Of particular importance to this dissertation are the challenges to authority faced by Governor William Berkeley after the conclusion of the English Civil War, specifically from members of the Royalist faction who fled England. Understanding these root causes not only provides a better context for the events of the rebellion, but also helps

to show how competing notions of Filmerian and proto-Lockean authority again clashed in the Chesapeake region.

Virginia colonists had a precarious relationship with local Indians from the very beginning of settlement in 1607. Settlers in the area south of the Rappahannock River had engaged in no fewer than three distinct wars with the local Powhatan Indians from 1610 to 1614, 1622 to 1626, and 1644 to 1646. However, violent conflict between English colonists and Indians remained a fact of life both between the wars and after 1646 (Morgan 1975:232-233; Rice 2009:71-173). While most local tribes had either been subdued and placed on reservations, or had left Virginia by the late 1660s, European expansion up the rivers began putting colonists into increasing contact with foreign and "northern" Indians, such as the Susquehannocks (Morgan 1975:233; Rountree and Turner 2002:170-176). This increased contact invariably led to conflict over access to land and damage to property, particularly livestock. Newly-freed servants and poor planters had little choice but to move west after the 1660s, since most of the prime agricultural land had been settled by mid-century, and they began to compete with Indians for land in the interior (Morgan 1975:232). As the English continued to encroach on Native territory, conflict manifested in physical violence, killing of livestock, destruction of crops, and damage to other property, as had been common decades before in the eastern tidewater region. Compounding this tension between English colonists and local Indians, was the fact that Susquehannock Indians from the north were raiding along the Potomac, particularly along the upper reaches from the mid-17th century onward (Rice 2009:136-146).

Anglo-Native conflict contributed to the inception of Bacon's Rebellion both directly, as discussed below, and indirectly. During the early years of his tenure as governor of Virginia, Berkeley was well-known in the colony as an Indian fighter, having put down the Powhatan

uprising of 1644, and successfully made most of the tribes in the settled areas of Virginia tributary to the government (Morgan 1975:231). However, the settlement of these tributary tribes on marginal lands on which poor planters and newly-freed servants were forced to live created tension and caused many poor freemen to suspect that Berkeley favored the Indians over the colonists. This fear was confirmed for the freemen when Berkeley refused to allow unjustified attacks on tributary Indians in the colony immediately prior to the rebellion. Berkeley, however, did not favor the Indians over the colonists. Instead, he realized that it was important to have Indian allies as a buffer against hostile tribes, particularly those located to the north and south, such as the Susquehannocks, and that by attacking tributary Indians, multiple groups might be united against the Virginia colonists (Morgan 1975:250-257). Berkeley had proposed annihilating and enslaving the inimical northern tribes in 1666, illustrating his disdain for Indians in the colony (Morgan 1975:233).

The conflicts with Indian groups along the frontier of Virginia were directly connected to the decreasing opportunity available to immigrants in Virginia after the 1660s. Although still technically defined as the age of the small planter due to the social and economic opportunities available to this class of colonists in the Chesapeake, a slump in the tobacco economy starting in the 1660s began to limit the social mobility of planters (Morgan 1975:236). The tobacco price slump meant that capital was not as easy to accumulate as it had been decades earlier near the time of Ingle's Rebellion, when it was not uncommon for men to rise from servant to local gentry in a matter of years. The lack of capital derived from tobacco made social advancement much more difficult in the 1660s and 1670s, as did the lack of prime tobacco land. Most of the best tobacco-growing land had been taken up by mid-century, forcing servants freed after that time to either move to the edges of European settlement or become tenants (Morgan 1975:227).

It appears that New Kent County and the Southside counties of Surry, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, and Norfolk became home to more of these poor freemen than other counties in Virginia (Morgan 1975:227-230).

Many of those who moved westward and upriver clearly came into conflict with Indians. However, their discontent with the government also stemmed from their loss of privilege in colonial society. The counties that acted as homes to the majority of these poor planters supplied the fewest representatives to Jamestown, despite their close geographical proximity, clearly contributing to the feeling that the government of Virginia cared little for these men (Morgan 1975:229-230). This lack of colony-wide representation combined with Governor Berkeley's tendency to allow county elites to control the majority of wealth and political power within their respective counties, provided little access to social mobility for either newly-arrived immigrants or newly-freed servants in longer-settled counties (Brown 1996:154). Additionally, in 1670 the Virginia Assembly passed a law prohibiting these poor planters and newly-freed servants from voting, reasoning that only householders and property owners had a real stake in the government (Morgan 1975:238). Due to all of these hindrances, small planters began to protest the fairness of taxes levied on them as well as their responsibility of muster (Brown 1996:155-156). Governor Berkeley clearly saw these protests as challenges to his authority, as evidenced by the fact that he attempted to silence this group politically by revoking their voting rights. However, the population of freemen had grown so large by the 1670s that they were becoming a threat to the colonial elite (Morgan 1975:238-240).

Challenges to colonial authority, leading up to Bacon's Rebellion, also came from servants, women, and other members of the elite. Male patriarchal authority and its benefits were intentionally delayed for the young servants who labored on tobacco plantations in the 17th

century. As terms of servitude became longer and conditions worsened in the 1660s and 1670s, English servants initiated several plots against their masters in order to either gain freedom or better conditions (Brown 1996:149-151). Virginia lawmakers responded to these plots by further restricting servant interaction and mobility through legislation. However, like freemen, discontent among servants continued to grow.

Women became important sources of information within their communities during this period through gossip networks (Brown 1996:145-149). These networks provided women with a great deal of power because of their ability to influence local opinions and to affect the reputations of others, both men and women. Women's ability to influence community thought through their words clearly undermined the patriarchal authority of men, particularly their husbands. As a result of this, in 1662, the Virginia Assembly passed a law stating that husbands of slandering women had the option of sending their wives to the ducking stool for punishment, rather than paying a fine on their behalf (Brown 1996:148). This law helped to reinforce male authority in the household, but also acknowledged the power that women had in society.

The most important group whose challenges to authority led to Bacon's Rebellion, however, were members of the elite in Virginia. During the 1650s and 1660s, Virginia saw an influx of wealthy settlers, many of whom were Royalists fleeing England in the aftermath of the Civil War (Brown 1996:138). Many of these men were quickly adopted into the upper echelons of colonial government by William Berkeley due to the high social status they had already acquired in England. Among these new members of the Virginia elite were several men who would play important leadership roles in the coming rebellion against Berkeley, including Giles Bland, William Byrd, and Nathaniel Bacon (Brown 1996:158). Men like Bland, Byrd, and Bacon were unlike most of the elite planters in Virginia in the 1660s and 1670s, who had acquired their

wealth and status on account of their settlement in Virginia. The newcomers, on the other hand, arrived in Virginia with wealth and status, similar to Calvert's manor lords more than three decades earlier. Bacon had been born into an elite family, educated in England, arrived in Virginia with a vast sum of money, was related to a former Virginia councilor, as well as Lady Berkeley, and was immediately appointed to the Council by Governor Berkeley (Morgan 1975:254; Brown 1996:160).

Despite their quick incorporation into the Virginia elite, these newcomers became scornful of their peers, particularly those who had worked their way up from lower beginnings, as was made clear by Bacon in his 1676 manifesto.

> Trace these men in Authority and Favour to whose hands the dispensation of the Countries wealth has been committed; let us observe the sudden Rise of their Estate compared with the Quality in which they first entered this Country Or the Reputation they have held here amongst wise and discerning men, And lett us see wither their extractions and Education have not bin vile (Billings 1975:277-279).

Bacon's words make it clear that one of the major causes of the rebellion, according to its leaders, was a conflict over the proper mode of authority. During the 1660s and 1670s Virginia was ruled by elite men who had climbed up the social ladder from "vile" beginnings, particularly at the county level. Bacon, and other elites who had arrived after the English Civil War, felt that only men of noble birth, like them, should rule in the colony (Brown 1996:158). In this sense, the rebellion can be viewed as yet another conflict between Filmerian and proto-Lockean authority. Bacon and his supporters believed in the natural, or divine right, of certain individuals to rule in society. On the other hand, the ability of men to rise within the social ranks prior to 1660 and the power that county officials held in Virginia, had created a society with a proto-Lockean type of authority within its government. Although Berkeley was the undisputed head, access to government was not limited by birth and the majority of freemen, prior to 1670, were allowed to

participate, thus providing their consent. As a conflict over these two concepts of authority, Bacon's Rebellion can be viewed as the turning point in Virginia history when the colony's government completely shifted to a proto-Lockean mode of authority, based upon social contract theory.

The tensions that had been building over Anglo-Native relations, lack of opportunity, and authority, finally boiled over in Stafford County, along the Potomac River, in July of 1675. The conflict began when a group of Doeg Indians, a post-contact tribe made up of dispossessed peoples along the Potomac, disagreed over a trading transaction with Thomas Mathew and ended up taking some of his hogs (Morgan 1975:251; Potter 1993:197; Rice 2009:137). Mathew or some of his servants pursued the Doegs and reclaimed the hogs, killing or beating several Indians in the process. As a result, the Doegs retaliated in a raid that killed Mathew's overseer, Robert Hen (Morgan 1975:251; Rice 2012:3-9). At this point depredations against Indians on the frontier began to spiral out of control when George Mason and Giles Brent, the son of the Brent who participated in the events surrounding Ingle's Rebellion, took a group of local militiamen across the Potomac and killed a group of Doegs under the pretense of a parley in addition to killing more than a dozen Susquehannocks who had not been involved in the preceding events at all (Morgan 1975:251; Rice 2012:6-8).

Berkeley took more than a month to respond to these actions when he finally commissioned John Washington and Isaac Allerton, both of Westmoreland County, to find and punish the Susquehannocks who had been raiding settlements in Virginia due to Brent and Mason's indiscriminate killing of their countrymen. In late September of 1675, Washington and Allerton led a joint force of Virginia and Maryland militia against the Susquehannock fort along the Potomac in Maryland. Again, the Virginians killed five Susquehannocks under the pretense

of a peace talks and at the suggestion of John Washington then settled in for a siege (Morgan 1975:251; Rice 2012:18-24). The siege, which was leaky from the start, lasted until November when the Susquehannocks killed ten of the militiamen and escaped (Morgan 1975:252). Soon, the Susquehannocks crossed into Virginia and continued raiding plantations along the upper Rappahannock River and points south, spreading fear throughout the colony, particularly among those who lived along the frontier, like most of the small planters (Morgan 1975:252-253).

Raids on frontier plantations continued into the spring of the next year and Berkeley's indecisiveness, and general lack of action, regarding these raids only served to feed the discontent among the poor frontier planters. By April of 1676, a group of planters from the Southside sought an appointment from Berkeley for someone to lead them in a march against the hostile Indians. However, when Berkeley denied this commission, likely thinking that a large group of armed freemen would cause more trouble than it would solve, Nathaniel Bacon met the group at Jordan's Point and offered to lead them (Morgan 1975:255-256).

Berkeley refused a commission to Bacon as well, and when Bacon proceeded to gather more men and lead them in a massacre of the friendly Occaneechees along the Roanoke River in May, he and his men were branded rebels (Morgan 1975:259-260). Berkeley still refused to grant Bacon a commission, but by the end of June Bacon marched on Jamestown with 500 supporters and took his commission from Berkeley by gunpoint (Morgan 1975:263-266). By the end of July, Bacon's crusade against the Indians had also turned into a crusade against those elites whom he had deemed of "vile" beginnings. Berkeley, unable to raise a force with which to combat Bacon, fled to the Eastern Shore of Virginia and the plundering of the Indians and the estates belonging to those members of the gentry that did not support Bacon began in earnest (Morgan 1975:266).

Plundering by the Baconites continued through much of the rest of the summer in Virginia. Meanwhile, Bacon continued to pursue Indians in the backcountry, which Berkeley saw as an opportunity to reclaim the colony. Raising a force of some 800 men on the Eastern Shore, Berkeley sailed for Jamestown in early September. His forces dug in to defend the town from Bacon's force of 300 that was just returning from taking Pamunkey prisoners (Morgan 1975:268; Brown 1996:165-166). After a brief siege, Berkeley's forces were demoralized by Bacon's growing numbers and retreated on their ships in the middle of the night, leaving the town to the rebels (Rice 2012:95). Bacon then had his men fire the town on September 19 so that it could not harbor any more loyalists who might challenge him (Morgan 1975:268; Brown 1996:166); Rice 2012:95-96). As the town burned, Berkeley and his men watched from their ships that had anchored only a short distance away at the lower end of the island (Rice 2012:96).

After Bacon's great triumph in Jamestown, he set up his headquarters at Green Spring, Berkeley's home (Brown 1996:166). The plundering continued throughout the colony for more than a month. However, on October 26, Bacon suddenly died of the bloody flux (Morgan 1975:269). With the death of their leader, the fast-approaching winter, the crop harvest schedule, and the arrival of armed vessels from England investigating the troubles in the colony, support for the rebellion quickly died out (Morgan 1975:269; Brown 1996:166). The rebels began to shift their loyalty back to Berkeley when it became clear that their cause was lost and they suffered numerous setbacks at the hands of Berkeley's forces; the governor finally returned to his home at Green Spring in January of 1677 (Morgan 1975:269; Rice 2012:110-117). Berkeley's return to power heralded yet another time of plunder and chaos that included the execution of several former rebels against his government.

By May of 1677, Berkeley returned to England under orders from King Charles II, but not before he had exacted his revenge on many of the former rebel leaders, including William Drummond, the former governor of Carolina, whom he had executed. Berkeley died shortly after his return to England, but the effects of the rebellion stemming from his disagreements with Nathaniel Bacon over colonial authority led to permanent changes in Virginia society. Part of these changes was political and implemented by the royal commissioners sent to Virginia to help restore order in late 1676. Colonial government in Virginia was restructured with the governor at the head and distinct from an appointed council. Additionally, Burgesses were elected by landowners in the colony (Brown 1996:173-174). While this policy kept much of the actual power in Virginia in the same hands, it helped to make it more accessible to all male elites, reducing factionalism and uniting the gentry (Brown 1996:174).

Bacon's Rebellion acted as a turning point in terms of political authority in Virginia, indicating a complete shift from a Filmerian philosophy to a proto-Lockean concept of power. Nathaniel Bacon's distaste for the "vile" beginnings of those who held power in Virginia was indicative of his, and by extension, his elite followers' acceptance of Filmerian concepts of authority. However, Bacon's defeat, and the consolidation of power by a unified gentry in Virginia after the rebellion, finally put Filmerian authority to rest in the colony. Although patriarchy was still alive and well in Virginia households, it was no longer the basis for political authority in the colony. Rather, colonial political power derived from consent, albeit the consent of the white property-holding men. This consolidation of power in the hands of a unified white male gentry also helped to pave the way for a more public culture of white manhood, discussed in the next chapter (Brown 1996:185-186).

Status Quo on the Potomac

The events surrounding Ingle's Rebellion and the movement of the former Maryland rebels to Virginia had helped to establish the southern shore of the Potomac as a center of proto-Lockean authority by the mid-17th century. Did the rebellious traditions of the people in this part of Virginia lead them to participate in Bacon's Rebellion against Governor Berkeley, or were these men, who believed in authority based upon consent and not lineage, able to place like-minded leaders at the heads of their communities that resisted the Baconites almost three decades later? Examining the actions, and reactions, of several inhabitants of Virginia's Potomac shore during the events of Bacon's Rebellion helps to show how former Maryland rebels were able to pass on their proto-Lockean ideas to the next generation of Potomac gentry, leading them to be supporters of William Berkeley and men that Nathaniel Bacon included amongst those with "vile" beginnings who were unfit to rule the colony.

The fact that the Anglo-Native conflict that sparked the rebellion occurred along the Potomac was not coincidental and likely traces its roots to the migrations associated with Ingle's Rebellion in the late 1640s. As discussed above, many of the former rebels who were at odds with Baltimore's style of authority fled the Proprietary in the 1640s and established themselves along the southern shore of the Potomac, creating strong proto-Lockean communities. After these communities had been established, the Northern Neck of Virginia became the fastest-growing part of the colony in the years from 1653 to 1674 (Morgan 1975:244-245). While the Northern Neck includes the entire peninsula between the Potomac and Rappahannock, an investigation of titheables from only the counties bordering the Potomac reveals that population in these counties quadrupled from 1653 to 1682, going from 846 to 4,125 people (Morgan

1975:412-413). The infrastructure provided by these early communities of intercolonial immigrants no doubt made the area attractive to trans-Atlantic immigrants in the 1650s and later.

However, the rapid growth of European settlement along Virginia's Potomac shore also brought an increasing number of settlers who had little experience interacting and living with Indians into a volatile Native interaction sphere, particularly above the bounds of Westmoreland County. A drawn out war between the Susquehannocks and the Iroquois brought with it a great deal of anxiety to the people, both Native and European, living along the Potomac due to a fear that it would spread south. The fact that the Maryland government had allied with the Susquehannocks and, in 1675, provided them with land for a fort at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, meant that conflicts between local and non-local Native groups were a common occurrence in the area (Rice 2009:144-146).

Conflict between Europeans and local Natives along the Potomac, particularly in Stafford County, also increased. The spread of Europeans upriver pushed local Indians onto ever-shrinking parcels and led to the reorganization of Native groups, particularly the Doegs, who would play a major role in starting Bacon's Rebellion. The dispossession of the Patawomecks by the colonists in Stafford, then Westmoreland, County in the 1660s is a prime example of how increasing European population led to conflict. In 1661, Giles Brent, who had moved from Maryland in 1649, and other prominent planters living near Patawomeck, attempted to claim what land was still in the possession of the Patawomeck tribe near Aquia Creek. In order to do this, Brent and others attempted to frame the Patawomeck werowance, Wahanganoche, for a murder (Rice 2009:134-135). While Brent and his coconspirators were found out, Wahanganoche was mysteriously murdered on the way back from his trial in Jamestown, near the Camden site in Caroline County, Virginia. Conflict continued between these two groups in

1663, when Gerrard Fowke, who had been associated with Brent's dealings against the Patawomecks, led a war against the Patawomecks with local militia. In 1665, a law was passed by the council that allowed for the sale of the Patawomeck land and in 1666, the Governor's council declared war on the Patawomecks. By 1669, no Patawomecks were recorded in the census of Indian warriors (Rice 2009:135).

It becomes clear that the events and consequences of Ingle's Rebellion over three decades earlier played a major role in the Anglo-Native conflict that precipitated Bacon's Rebellion. However, many of the prominent residents that resided in counties where proto-Lockean communities had formed in the 1640s remained loyal to Governor Berkeley despite the conflicts happening on their frontiers, likely because they disagreed with the Filmerian concepts of authority espoused by Bacon and his elite allies. John Washington is perhaps the best example of a Berkeley supporter who was incorporated, and perhaps indoctrinated, into the proto-Lockean community on the Potomac, and likely represents how many elites in both Westmoreland and Northumberland County reacted to Bacon's Rebellion. Washington's biographical details are documented in Chapter 4. However, it is important to mention that Nathaniel Pope, one of the major leaders of Ingle's Rebellion, became an important benefactor to John Washington upon his arrival in Virginia, helping him dissolve his partnership with a shipmaster, providing him with land on which to live, and providing Washington with a wife from among his daughters. By 1675, Washington was easily counted among the elite of Westmoreland County serving as a vestryman, coroner, commissioner, and Burgess.

When Anglo-Native conflict spilled into the Potomac Valley in 1675 with the murder of Thomas Mathew's servant, Robert Hen, Washington was among the first men whom Berkeley called on to investigate the troubles. As discussed above, the expedition led by Washington and

Isaac Allerton, Jr. did not have the effect that Berkeley desired. The murder of the Susquehannock leaders at the outset of the siege was Washington's suggestion, saying the militia should "knock them on the head…and get the forte" (AOMOL 2:483). Ultimately, this brash action by Washington led to further troubles that culminated in Bacon's Rebellion. Despite his apparent disdain for the non-local Indians along the frontier, which brought many to Bacon's side, Washington remained loyal to Berkeley throughout the rebellion, sometimes to his detriment. Washington remained away from his Bridges Creek plantation for much of the rebellion, likely fighting for Berkeley. In order to protect his plantation products and keep supplies out of the hands of Baconites, Washington had his servants remove corn, meat, and other supplies from his plantation and take them to Maryland (Blades 1979:8-9). Nevertheless, his plantation was still seized by the rebels in 1676, but was re-captured by loyalist troops shortly thereafter (Blades 1979:9).

Washington was clearly not a supporter of Virginia's alliance with Indian groups on the frontier, as evidenced by his actions at the Susquehannock fort. He was also apparently not a member of Berkeley's inner circle, as he was not listed in Bacon's manifesto, nor was he a member of the council. Why, then, should he have remained loyal to Berkeley during the rebellion, hazarding both his life and property? The answer to this question may well lie in the fact that Washington disagreed strongly with Bacon's interpretation of who should wield authority in Virginia.

Living in close contact and joining the family of the former Maryland rebels no doubt influenced Washington's thinking on the proper modes of political authority. Specifically, the proto-Lockean concept of authority deriving from consent, or a social contract, rather than lineage was likely both well-known and accepted by Washington, considering the fact that

Nathaniel Pope had apparently hand-selected Washington to carry on as a leader in Westmoreland County. Nathaniel Bacon's hatred for men with "vile" beginnings within the ranks of the elite of Virginia that he made known through both speeches and writing was in direct opposition to Washington's experience in the colony. The ruling elite of Westmoreland that preceded Washington, including Nathaniel Pope, Thomas Speke, and John Hallowes, all came from relatively humble beginnings. Washington himself did not become a member of the gentry class until he settled in Westmoreland.

Bacon's designs to replace the ruling elite of Virginia who had risen through the social ranks with true elites from England, such as himself, would have completely disenfranchised men like Washington in much the same way that the manorial and proprietary systems of Maryland had led to tensions in the 1640s and later. By 1676, members of the gentry along the Potomac, particularly in Westmoreland and Northumberland Counties, had been engrained with proto-Lockean concepts of political authority tracing their origins back to Ingle's Rebellion. Although Berkeley was the head of the government of Virginia, these men were giving their consent through service in the House of Burgesses, as county commissioners, and in other local offices. Bacon sought to strip these men of their power and replace them with high-born Englishmen. Resistance to this strategy by men like Washington helps to show how Filmerian concepts of political authority were no longer tenable in this part of Virginia and how a solidified creole gentry had started to emerge in the region.

Elite men, however, were not the only people who supported proto-Lockean concepts of authority in Virginia's Potomac Valley. Women in the region also appear to have been adherents to these concepts around the time of Bacon's Rebellion. While women are known to have been important conveyors of information during the rebellion, their actions can also reveal their

political leanings when their words no longer survive (Brown 1996:159-167; Norton 2011:9-36). Among these women was Frances Gerrard. Both Gerrard's family ties and marriage record make it clear that she was sympathetic to proto-Lockean concepts of authority and likely supported them, and Berkeley, in Bacon's Rebellion because of the opportunity and wealth she had received as part of that community.

Frances Gerrard was the daughter of Thomas Gerrard, who had come to Maryland aboard the *Ark* as one of Baltimore's manor lords, claiming St. Clement's Manor, located across the Potomac from Appamattucks (Stone 1982:20). Thomas Gerrard was a successful manor lord; however, based upon his actions, it appears that he was dissatisfied with Baltimore's rule of the Maryland colony. First, during Ingle's Rebellion it appears that he was a participant allied with men like Hallowes, Speke, and Pope due to the fact that he is listed on the first Oath of Fealty (AOMOL 3:174). By 1650, he patented a large parcel of land near Nomini Bay in Virginia amongst the other rebels who had fled, though he likely remained in Maryland (VLP 2:249). However, his participation in a later rebellion against Lord Baltimore, Fendall's Rebellion of 1660, led to his banishment from the colony and his permanent settlement in Virginia (AOMOL 3:407). Clearly, like many of the men involved in Ingle's Rebellion, Gerrard disagreed with Baltimore's rule of the colony. He likely stayed in Maryland longer because of his status as a manor lord, but when it became clear that the system would not change and when his ability to hold office was stripped from him in the wake of Fendall's Rebellion, he moved to Virginia (AOMOL 3:407).

Frances Gerrard would have been well-aware of her father's political leanings and had likely heard a great deal about them through the discussions and conspiracies that occurred in the Gerrard household. Her first marriage to Thomas Speke around 1655, though probably not

entirely her decision, clearly indicated both her and Thomas Gerrard's sympathy toward the proto-Lockean concepts of authority supported by those who participated in Ingle's Rebellion (WCR 1653-1659:53). Her later husbands, however, were likely chosen by her and further indicate her leanings toward proto-Lockean concepts of authority.

Specifically, her third marriage to John Washington in 1676 shows that she was a supporter of Berkeley and the authority of the creole gentry who had risen from "vile" beginnings. Interestingly, her sister Anne had also been married to Washington, and the Ingle ally Walter Broadhurst previously, indicating that much of the Gerrard family was sympathetic to proto-Lockean ideology (Tyler 1895:36; Blades 1979:8; Hatch 1979:26). Frances' fifth, and final, marriage to William Hardidge II about 1679, further supports her sympathy toward the proto-Lockean political ideology espoused by many of those who lived along the southern shore of the Potomac. Hardidge's father was a prominent rebel during Ingle's rebellion, his mother was the daughter of Thomas Sturman, another infamous rebel, and his guardian was Thomas Yuell, yet another ally of Ingle (WCR 1665-1677:148). Clearly, Hardidge was probably heavily indoctrinated with proto-Lockean ideas from the time of his birth and Frances Gerrard saw him as a well-connected, and like-minded, match.

The role that women like Frances Gerrard played in perpetuating and strengthening proto-Lockean concepts of authority in Virginia's Potomac Valley should not be understated. While no records survive that clearly indicate the political leanings of these women, their actions, specifically their choice in marriage partners, hint at their opinions. By continuing to marry within a strongly proto-Lockean community, Frances Gerrard was able to help perpetuate this ideology by keeping wealth and power in the hands of like-minded thinkers. By the time she married William Hardidge II, Frances had become both a wealthy and politically well-connected

woman in the region. She had inherited vast amounts of property, including the entire estate of Thomas Speke, valued at over 39,000 pounds of tobacco, and at least eight African slaves, from her previous husbands and had established far-reaching economic and social relationships (WCR 1653-1671:103-105; WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a; WCR 1675-1689:100). She could vastly improve the status of the partner she chose, and by choosing Hardidge, who had been so heavily influenced by proto-Lockean ideology, she was keeping those concepts strong in the region. While other examples of similar women in the region exist, such as Elizabeth Sturman and Anne Pope, Frances provides the best example due to her well-documented background, connections, and prominence in the historical record.

The actions of tenants in the Appamattucks region of Virginia may be an indicator of their sympathy for proto-Lockean concepts of authority, or at least their denouncement of Nathaniel Bacon's cause. Although tenants are extremely difficult to find in the historical record and have generally been associated as allies of Bacon, the erection of the palisade at the Clifts Plantation, a tenant site, may signal a fear of plunder by Baconites and the inhabitants' support for Berkeley. The palisade at Clifts, which was put up circa 1675 or 1676, consisted of upright posts placed in a ditch that surrounded the main dwelling with round bastions on opposite corners (Neiman 1980:72-74).

While Neiman originally interpreted this fortification as a reaction to Doeg and Susquehannock raids prior to the outset of Bacon's Rebellion, the location of the raids and the site do not appear to support this conclusion (Neiman 1980:75). The majority of raids that happened prior to Bacon's Rebellion took place in the frontier areas of the Potomac, like Stafford County, and not in the long-settled areas such as Appamattucks. Rather, the primary fear during Bacon's Rebellion in the settled area around Clifts was likely raids from European belligerents,

as happened at Washington's Bridges Creek Plantation in 1676. As a result, the construction of the palisade at Clifts may have likely served as a means of protecting the site and its inhabitants from other Virginians.

Determining which side the tenants at Clifts supported, however, is somewhat more difficult, but it can be suggested based upon the ownership of the plantation and the status of the tenants. The property was owned in 1676 by Thomas Pope, the son of Nathaniel Pope. As noted above, Nathaniel Pope had been a prominent leader during Ingle's Rebellion and a harsh critic of Baltimore's Filmerian style of authority. It is quite likely that Nathaniel passed these beliefs on to his son, like William Hardidge I had passed his on to William Hardidge II. Although Pope's political leanings would not necessarily reflect those of his tenants at Clifts, the favorable lease agreement and the long tenure of the occupants may indicate that Pope had a good relationship with the tenants. If this were the case, then it is quite possible that Pope and his tenants shared beliefs about proper modes of political authority.

Another piece of evidence that may indicate that the tenants at the Clifts site built the palisade to defend against Baconites and perhaps had proto-Lockean leanings is the fact that they were quite wealthy for tenants of the period. The amount and variety of artifacts recovered from the site, particularly small finds, coupled with the large size of the dwelling and constant improvements to the landscape, indicate that despite their relatively low social status, the tenants at Clifts were economically well off. Having seen how their elite neighbors had risen through the ranks of society, the tenants at Clifts may well have aspired to do the same. Undoubtedly, they also noticed how the proto-Lockean system of authority in the region had benefitted these men who came from humble beginnings in Maryland, and perhaps supported those ideas as they strove to climb the social ladder. Ultimately, this did not happen for the tenants at Clifts, as their

names are still unknown, not having achieved the social and political status afforded to men like Hallowes, Speke, or Pope. However, in 1676, the goal of becoming gentry may have still seemed achievable to that first generation of tenants at the site and they may have rejected Bacon's Filmerian ideas about authority because they themselves were men of "vile" beginnings who sought to become local gentry.

Not everybody along the Potomac supported Berkeley and proto-Lockean authority, however. One man stands as a prime example of both a supporter of Bacon and of Filmerian political authority, Giles Brent II. Giles Brent II, who participated in Bacon's Rebellion, was the son of Giles Brent of Ingle's Rebellion fame. The elder Brent had been a staunch supporter of Baltimore's Filmerian authority in Maryland, and was the acting Governor of Maryland who prosecuted Richard Ingle for treason (Riordan 2004:133-149). The elder Brent was captured by Richard Ingle and taken back to England as a hostage (Riordan 2004:206). Although the Brent family was at the forefront of political life after Baltimore's reclamation of the colony, they left the colony about 1649 as a result of the changing political landscape (Riordan 2004:214, 326). Rather than settling near Appamattucks or Chicacoan, the two more settled areas of Virginia's Potomac Valley, however, Brent chose to separate himself from the former rebels by settling far upriver near Aquia Creek (WMQ 1907:37). The physical separation between Brent and the proto-Lockean thinkers downriver, was undoubtedly related to their disagreements about authority in the English Atlantic.

Like the sons of Ingle's allies, who inherited their fathers' ideas regarding proto-Lockean concepts about authority, Giles Brent II likely inherited his father's ideas about Filmerian authority. His role in Bacon's Rebellion as a Baconite underscores his political leanings. Brent played a prominent role in Bacon's Rebellion, acting as the commander of Bacon's forces in

northern Virginia (Rice 2012:83). In August of 1676, Bacon and Brent led an expedition against the Pamunkey Indians, which proved to be relatively unsuccessful due to delays from weather and the better knowledge of the terrain by the Pamunkeys, but did result in the plundering of a Pamunkey camp (Rice 2012:85).

However, Brent, like his father more than two decades earlier, was subject to change his allegiance based upon political factors. When he heard that Berkeley had occupied Jamestown, Brent abandoned Bacon's men and began to raise a force of loyalists to break Bacon's siege, though too late (Rice 2012:94). For the remainder of the rebellion Brent continued to switch sides (Rice 2012:100). By the end of the rebellion Brent was closely watched in order to determine if he would take up Bacon's cause again. However, after a search of his house and a semi-forced period of confinement at the house of loyalist, William Fitzhugh, Brent was left to go back to his plantation in Stafford (Rice 2012:174).

The part played by Brent in Bacon's Rebellion shows that proto-Lockean thinking was not accepted by all of the elite members of Virginia's Potomac Valley. Like his father before him, Brent was likely strongly Filmerian in his opinions, as that concept of authority had served to greatly benefit his family in Maryland, and perhaps he hoped it would benefit them again in Virginia. While the Brent family faded from the ranks of elite Virginians, not all Baconites along the Potomac fared as poorly in the long run. George Mason, who had led some of Bacon's troops, was suspended from holding office in the aftermath (Rice 2012:74, 174). However, his family clearly adapted to the new proto-Lockean concepts of authority, and one of his descendants, also named George Mason, became an outspoken proponent of social contract theory, authoring the Virginia Constitution.

Women and Authority

Authority in Early Modern Virginia was not just constructed and maintained through political conflict between men. Women played a vital role in the creation of manly authority during the 17th and early-18th century in very public ways. As discussed in Chapter 2, the actions of women were important to how men viewed themselves and how they were viewed by other members of society in the English Atlantic (Shepard 2003, 2005; Harvey 2005). Women were able to bolster male authority because marriage was a prerequisite to the sexual control of women and helped to define men as householders, both of which were vital to manhood in the 17th century (Shepard 2003, 2005). At the same time, women were able to challenge male authority, particularly in the mid-to-late-17th century, because a measure of patriarchal authority was still available to women, especially if they possessed high social status.

Several of the women who lived on the sites examined in this dissertation provide significant examples of how women both contributed to and challenged manly authority and identity in the Early Modern Potomac Valley. Marriage patterns illustrate how the proto-Lockean community that formed in the region was able to reproduce itself and maintain cohesion. Additionally, marriages show that manhood, authority, and power in the region were intimately tied to the kinship networks created and reinforced through matrimony. Challenges to male authority are best seen through inheritance practices and the execution of wills. Due to the high mortality rate in Virginia during the 17th century, widows were able to gain a significant amount of power and authority reflected in the matrilineal inheritance of land, the execution of their husbands' wills, and the management of plantations. All of this indicates that women were not passive observers of manhood in the 17th-century Potomac Valley, but active participants that

played an important role in determining who achieved the highest levels of manly authority and identity.

Marriage, Manhood, and Community

Besides either being involved in Ingle's Rebellion or being sympathetic to the proto-Lockean concepts of authority espoused by the rebels, all of the men who were early community leaders in Virginia's Potomac Valley were also married householders. It was no coincidence that the men in the region with the highest levels of political authority had wives, since the control of women through marriage, and the control of others through householding, was a typical means of achieving manhood in the 17th century and displaying a measure of authority to others (Foyster 1999:65-94; Shepard 2003:93-126). However, the choices that women made in marriage partners, particularly for second or third marriages, indicate their political leanings, their ability to raise themselves and their husbands up in society, and the role that they played in maintaining and reinforcing both manhood and authority in the region. Marriage served to strengthen community bonds, perpetuate proto-Lockean ideology on political authority, and increase monetary wealth for men and women along the southern shore of the Potomac.

Due to the way in which records were kept during the 17th century, men were often the focus of legal documents that reveal marriage patterns. Although this section focuses heavily on the bonds created between men through marriage, it also attempts to reveal how women's ideas, authority, and power within the community were enacted through their choices in partners. Prior to the outbreak of Ingle's Rebellion in 1645, alliances between people with similar concepts of authority were already being created through marriage in Maryland. John Hallowes' marriage to Restitute Tew in 1639 was among the first of these alliances cemented through the kinship ties created through marriage (AOMOL 4:52). Restitute provided John Hallowes with numerous

advantages in Maryland society that helped to influence his decision to rebel against Baltimore in 1645.

First, Hallowes' marriage provided him with a claim to authority that many men in the society of the early colonial Chesapeake would not have possessed due to a strongly imbalanced sex ratio. Restitute's added labor in the Hallowes household would likely have led to increased production not only of farm products, but perhaps also of domestic items and services that increased the wealth of the household (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:55-75). As Baltimore attempted to restrict the power of freemen in Maryland, Hallowes was particularly affected because of the authority, social status, and economic status he had gained in Maryland, in large part due to his marriage to Restitute. Challenges to his own patriarchal authority, specifically at the time of the English Civil War, when the legitimacy of Filmerian authority was being questioned, likely aided in Hallowes' decision to rebel against Baltimore's government. His relationship to John Tew, another rebel and Restitute's father, also probably spurred him on to rebellion (AOMOL 3:174).

Restitute, however, was not simply a commodity to John Hallowes or a symbol of his manhood, but a trusted partner vested with her own measure of authority. Both Restitute's authority and John Hallowes' trust of her in running his affairs is seen in references to her acting as his power of attorney in Maryland courts. In February of 1650, years after the Hallowes family had relocated to Virginia, Restitute appeared in court in St. Mary's City Maryland as John's "Attorney to Answer to the Suit of Marks Pheipo" (AOMOL 10:100). Clearly, John trusted Restitute's ability to manage his business affairs in Maryland and the larger community apparently accepted her authority in the matter. Restitute appears to have been a long-trusted and relatively powerful member of the community because prior to this occasion, in 1647, she served

as a witness to a contract (AOMOL 4:334). While no firm evidence exists, it is tempting to suggest that she may have even played a role in Ingle's Rebellion as a mouthpiece for the rebels in the community, as so many well-respected women later did in Bacon's Rebellion.

When Restitute died in 1655, John Hallowes' second wife, Elizabeth Sturman, helped to reinforce both his status and authority within the community as well as his commitment to proto-Lockean ideas about political authority. Elizabeth was the widow of John Sturman, who had been present on Kent Island during the troubles between Claiborne and Baltimore, was among the mercenaries that Ingle recruited to invade Maryland in 1645, and was one of the men that moved to Appamattucks after Baltimore's reclamation of the Proprietary in 1647 (Nicklin 1938:444; Riordan 2004:186). John Sturman was also the son of Thomas Sturman, another infamous rebel and outspoken proponent of proto-Lockean political authority. Due to all of the strong kinship ties to former rebels and men who had clear proto-Lockean leanings from perhaps as early as the 1630s, Elizabeth was steeped in these early rebels' concepts of authority. The fact that she chose John Hallowes as a partner likely indicates that she agreed with this proto-Lockean ideology, as widows had more choice in their marriage partners due to their *femme sole* status.

The match was beneficial for Hallowes as it provided him with a measure of access to her wealth that had been inherited through her husband. More importantly, however, it gave him a higher status among former rebels because it allied him with some of the most well-known proto-Lockean adherents in the region and leaders of the rebellion, the Sturmans. Elizabeth gained benefits as well. By continuing to be associated with the ruling elite of the county she maintained or improved her social standing, providing her with a measure of authority that was still available to high status women in the 17th century. She also profited economically, gaining

a measure of access to Hallowes' wealth, which included the one of the largest landholdings in Virginia's Potomac Valley at the time.

Unlike John Hallowes, who was able to consolidate power and perpetuate his proto-Lockean leanings through his marriages, John Washington's marriage partners served to incorporate him, as an outsider, into the proto-Lockean community of the Potomac Valley. As outlined in Chapter 4, Washington was born in England and ended up in Westmoreland County due to a fateful storm that grounded the ship on which he was trading in 1657. Interestingly, Washington's father had been a royalist during the English Civil War, which might seem to indicate that his family leaned toward more Filmerian concepts of political authority. However, this was not always necessarily the case, as John Washington's later actions indicate. It is quite likely that Nathaniel Pope, who helped Washington establish himself in Westmoreland, saw the young English merchant as an important ally in terms of maintaining strong trade connections across the Atlantic that could bring better access to information, goods, and possibly slaves to the area around Appamattucks. In an effort to both ally himself with Washington and to bring Washington into the proto-Lockean community of the Potomac, Pope offered his daughter Anne in marriage.

Washington married Anne Pope in 1658 and they moved to a small parcel given to them as a gift by Nathaniel Pope on Mattox Creek. Washington's alliance to the Pope family and incorporation into the community through marriage was a major factor in his rise through the ranks of society. By 1662 he had become a commissioner of the county and only two years later Appamattox parish was renamed Washington parish in his honor, illustrating his prominence and popularity in the community (Hudson 1956). Washington even rose to prominence at the colony-wide level, serving as a burgess from 1666-1667 (Hening 1823b:250). In 1668, having raised

three children with John, Anne died. Washington's second wife, whom he married soon after, was Anne Gerrard Broadhurst. Anne Broadhurst was the widow of Walter Broadhurst, a prominent former rebel in Ingle's Rebellion, a commissioner of Westmoreland County, and a strongly proto-Lockean thinker. Additionally, her father was Thomas Gerrard, a former Maryland manor lord who had rebelled against Baltimore twice and moved to the Appamattucks region of Westmoreland, likely because of his proto-Lockean beliefs about authority (AOMOL 3:407).

This marriage illustrates two important aspects of John Washington's character. First, Anne Broadhurst's choice of Washington as a husband shows that he was a well-known and respected supporter of proto-Lockean beliefs on political authority. Just like Elizabeth Sturman and Restitute Tew, Anne Broadhurst came from a family and previous husband that clearly supported the concept of social contract theory. This fact likely played a vital part in her selection of Washington as her husband. Secondly, John Washington's marriage to a prominent woman in the proto-Lockean community reinforced his commitment to this philosophy and served to elevate him in the eyes of his peers, as John Hallowes' marriage to Elizabeth Sturman had elevated him.

Anne Gerrard Broadhurst Washington died in 1675, and John Washington again sought to reaffirm his place within the community and his commitment to proto-Lockean ideas through his next marriage to Anne's sister, Frances. As noted above, Frances was the widow of Thomas Speke, a prominent rebel during Ingle's Rebellion, Valentine Peyton, and John Appleton, all of whom had been county commissioners and members of the elite in the community (WCR 1665-1677:127; WCR 1675-1689:90). Like his marriage to Anne Broadhurst, John Washington's partnership with Francis benefitted both parties, with Frances retaining her authority as an elite

female, and John reinforcing his commitment to the proto-Lockean ideals of the community, despite his outsider status, in addition to increasing his economic and social status. The reaffirmation of his commitment to the community's concepts of political authority was especially important upon his marriage to Frances because Bacon's Rebellion was underway. The marriage clearly signaled his political leanings and confirmed him as a supporter of Berkeley even though his actions during the siege of the Susquehannock fort in Maryland had helped to start the rebellion. However, like many marriages in Virginia during the 17th century, John and Frances' partnership was cut short with John's death in 1677. Frances, however, continued her pattern of selecting proto-Lockean mates.

Frances Gerrard was perhaps one of the greatest supporters of proto-Lockean ideas on political authority in the Potomac Valley. However, unlike the men of the region who supported these ideas through military action and political maneuvering, Frances, like many other women noted above, supported it through incorporating men into the proto-Lockean community by means of marriage. Frances was born into a wealthy proto-Lockean Maryland family and continued to associate with like-minded men through her marriages, beginning with Thomas Speke, a participant in Ingle's Rebellion.

The political ideology of her next two husbands, Valentine Peyton and John Appleton is less clear from the historical records since they were not involved in Ingle's Rebellion. However, the fact that they were both county commissioners in Westmoreland indicates that they likely were proto-Lockean thinkers since men of similar minds tended to control access to those positions. Her choice of John Washington as a husband clearly showed her support for proto-Lockean ideology since Washington had been wholly incorporated into the proto-Lockean community by both the Pope and Gerrard families. Her final husband, William Hardidge II,

whom she married in 1677, was as steeped in proto-Lockean family ties as she was, making him the perfect match and a clear illustration of what she favored in a mate and how women tied the proto-Lockean community together.

The union between Frances Gerrard and William Hardidge II merged real and fictive kinship connections between no fewer than eight distinct families that were supporters of proto-Lockean concepts on authority: the Gerrard, Hardidge, Speke, Hallowes, Sturman, Washington, Pope, and Yuell families. These connections could be traced even further considering that Elizabeth Hallowes had a connection to the Tew family through her husband John, Thomas Speke served as the guardian to John Mottram's children, and Anne Gerrard was the wife of Walter Broadhurst. The fact that all of these connections to prominent rebels converged in the marriage of Frances Gerrard to William Hardidge II shows the length to which women in the region went to perpetuate a proto-Lockean community and keep power in the hands of those who supported it. Ultimately, these women were quite successful in maintaining the community that had been created by movements associated with political unrest in Maryland during the first half of the 17th century.

William Hardidge II was one of the first creole members of the proto-Lockean community of elites in the Potomac Valley, having been born in Virginia around 1652. His marriage to Frances Gerrard shows how ideology and authority was being passed down through generations in the region. Additionally, the same process was happening in the Washington family around the same time. John Washington II and his wife Anne Wickliffe continued to maintain and perpetuate the proto-Lockean community in the region through their marriage circa 1683 (WMQ 1905:146; Hatch 1979:27). Prior to his marriage, Washington II already had strong connections to the proto-Lockean community through his mother, Anne Pope, and his guardian

Thomas Pope, not to mention his father (Toner 1891:202). Washington II also maintained connections with the Hardidge family, as evidenced by his possession of a ring, given to him by the will of William Hardidge II (WMQ 1905:148). Anne Wickliffe also had connections within the proto-Lockean community, since her grandmother, Jane Wickliffe, had married Henry Brooks, who had been a rebel during Ingle's Rebellion and moved to Virginia in 1647 (Carr 2009c). Although not as strong and complex, the connections to proto-Lockean supporters that both Washington II and Wickliffe possessed helped to maintain the community and perpetuate proto-Lockean ideas in the native-born generation along the Potomac's southern shore through the end of the 17th century.

Women, Inheritance, and Administration

While women in the Potomac Valley played a vital role in reinforcing manly authority by strengthening and reproducing the proto-Lockean community that formed there, the peculiar demographic circumstances of the region also allowed them to challenge patriarchal authority directly and indirectly. The high mortality rate in the Chesapeake often led to women running plantations, executing wills, and possessing large amounts of land and capital, roles that served to challenge the possession of patriarchal authority solely by men, but appear to have been relatively common, particularly among high status women in the mid-17th century. The public role of women in the Potomac through the administration of estates and inheritance and control of property serves to illustrate the tensions between the proto-Lockean political ideology of the region and the remnants of Filmerian social order. Although the complete shift to a Lockean philosophy of authority recognized women as separate from and inferior to men, restricting most from inheritance and access to patriarchal authority, the adherence to a measure of Filmerian

social order in the region allowed these women of high status to visibly participate in public and political arenas (Norton 2011:1-8, 76-104).

Despite the political leanings of the men along the southern shore of the Potomac in the 17th century, their society was still heavily influenced by Filmerian thinking and the anxious patriarch model. This is best illustrated by the importance placed upon the sexual control of women by men from the same community that rebelled against Baltimore's Filmerian political system. Among these men was John Hallowes, who despite his rejection of the Filmerian political system in Maryland was still subject to a Filmerian social order both while he was in Maryland and after he had moved to Virginia. In 1642, before the political unrest that led to Ingle's Rebellion had reached its zenith, Hallowes and his wife, Restitute, brought a complaint to Maryland court against Thomas Boys. The complaint was a defamation suit against Boys, who had called Restitute a whore (AOMOL 4:149-150). This statement was a major challenge to Hallowes' manhood and his patriarchal authority that required remediation. Being cuckolded was perhaps the most significant challenge to manly authority under a Filmerian system because it undermined a man's sexual control of his wife and his authority within his household (Shepard 2003:93-126). The fact that Restitute acted as a co-plaintiff with John Hallowes also indicates that she felt that her honor and womanhood had been challenged along with her husband's.

The Hallowes' suit against Boys is unsurprising in a colony that was heavily influenced by Filmerian thinking on authority. However, after Hallowes had moved to Virginia, remarried, and lived in a strongly proto-Lockean community, the same situation arose. In 1655, shortly after he had married his second wife, Elizabeth, she was accused of being a whore and thief (WCR 1653-1659:43). Again, Hallowes sought satisfaction, this time in the courts of Westmoreland County. Hallowes' reaction to accusations of being cuckolded in his newly-formed proto-

Lockean community indicate that while the people on the southern shore of the Potomac leaned toward proto-Lockean ideas about political authority, Filmerian concepts still dominated social life in many ways. Women's actions continued to reflect on men's authority within the household and within society and a man's control over his wife and the members of his house was still viewed as an essential part of his identity. These tensions between proto-Lockean concepts of political authority and Filmerian concepts of social order did not end with the first generation of this community, but continued into the late-17th century and extended beyond wives.

In 1691, William Hardidge II's servant, Margaret Brown, had an illegitimate child with Charles Porter. As a result, Hardidge II was forced to pay a fine for his servant's fornication and six months of service were added on to Brown's term (WCR 1690-1698:24a). Bastardy, particularly among servants, was seen as yet another major challenge to male authority in the Filmerian system because, like cuckoldry, it represented the loss of sexual control over members of a man's household and a general lack of control of that household. Additionally, chastity was seen as important for female servants because servant marriage could create a conflict in authority between masters and husbands that would have been difficult to mediate in a Filmerian system (Brown 1996:193). The fine that Hardidge II paid served as a reminder to keep control of his household in a proper Filmerian fashion. However, the addition of six months onto Brown's term of service was indicative of the economic loss that Hardidge suffered from her inability to work during and immediately after her pregnancy. This type of punishment for bastardy was common in Virginia during the 17th century because it served to help maintain social order and protect a master's economic investment, illustrating how people in the Chesapeake adapted English concepts to the unique social and economic environment of the region.

In addition to women's sexual behavior, real or perceived, acting as a challenge to male authority and indicating the tensions between proto-Lockean ideas about political authority and Filmerian concepts of social order, the wielding of authority by high status women underscored the competition between these two philosophies and the ways in which people along the southern shore of the Potomac adapted to their environment. In a Filmerian system, which was strongly associated with the one-sex biological model, authority was based upon a combination of age, gender, and status (Norton 1996:11). As a result, women could, and did, have a measure of authority in both the public and private spheres. Although the Lockean system, and the associated two-sex biological model, tended to limit women's authority, the power that women possessed in Virginia's Potomac Valley reveals a Filmerian social order at work and the adaptations required by the conditions of the Chesapeake.

Returning to the examples of John Hallowes' wives Restitute and Elizabeth, both of whom are quite well-documented for their time and place, shows how men in the region willingly accepted the authority of women in certain situations. On February 25, 1649, Restitute Hallowes appeared in a St. Mary's City court acting as her husband's attorney to answer a suit (AOMOL 10:100). This reference illustrates several points. First, it shows that her husband felt that she was able to conduct business dealings in his absence, indicating that she was aware of the details of his transactions and could successfully defend him in court. It also reveals that men in Maryland were willing to accept a woman's authority in such a situation, particularly a high status woman like Restitute Hallowes. John Hallowes's appointment of his wife as attorney reveals that, despite his proto-Lockean ideas about political authority, he still ascribed to Filmerian concepts of social order and believed that women could wield public authority in certain situations. Finally, Restitute's role as her husband's attorney in Maryland shows that

male/public and female/private spheres were definitely not part of society in the Potomac during this period, since women like Restitute clearly had public roles that they fulfilled.

John Hallowes continued this pattern with his second wife Elizabeth when he made her the administratrix of his estate (WCR 1653-1659:103a-104). Like the appointment of Restitute as his attorney, Elizabeth's administration of his estate shows that John trusted her business acumen. It likely indicates that she played a strong role in his business transactions and the running of his plantation. The fact that Hallowes had one of the larger estates on the Northern Neck at the time of his death, particularly in terms of land, shows that he had little issue with the investment of authority over his life's work in his wife. Like the Maryland court's acceptance of Restitute as John's attorney, the acceptance of Elizabeth as his administratrix illustrates that the men of the proto-Lockean community took little issue with the Filmerian concept of women wielding public authority, particularly high status women. Both of these examples of women with authority show the complexity and contradiction of these concepts along the southern shore of the Potomac. While the people of the region clearly leaned toward new ideas about political authority, they were still heavily invested in an old system of social order. However, to them, it does not appear to have been an issue, indicating that they were cobbling together a distinct identity from both old and new ways of thinking that suited the situation they encountered.

The high mortality rate in the region during the 17th century was another factor that led to women obtaining authority, primarily through the inheritance of property, specifically land, which often continued to pass through the female line. When John Hallowes died in 1657 he had no male heirs. His wife, Elizabeth, retained control of his property, likely holding it in trust until his only daughter, Restitute, came of age. Apparently, this happened about 1666 when Elizabeth and her new husband, David Anderson, moved to Stafford County and Restitute and her

husband, John Whiston, re-patented the land in 1667. The property then continued to pass through the female line of the family, when Restitute, John Hallowes' granddaughter, inherited the land in 1674 with her husband Matthew Steel (Buchanan and Heite 1971:39).

In this way, the property on which the Hallowes site was located was kept in the Hallowes family for three generations, but passed through the female line due to a lack of male heirs. Although all of the women that possessed the land were married, the fact that they were associated with this landholding, which was among the largest on the Northern Neck at the time of John Hallowes' death, provided them with a significant amount of power. The wealth afforded to them by inheritance allowed them to be more discerning in choosing husbands and endowed them with an elevated status. Additionally, the fact that land was able to come down through the female line indicated that people within the community felt that women were quite capable of possessing such estates without openly challenging male authority.

The marital career of Frances Gerrard serves as a similar example of how women were able to acquire property and the authority that came with it through the course of the multiple marriages that were common due to the high mortality rate in the Chesapeake. Frances Gerrard was able to amass enough property and land through the course of her marriages to rival many of the elite men in the region. Beginning with the death of her first husband, Thomas Speke, Frances was granted by will the plantation at Nomini, half of Speke's cattle and hogs, a negro woman and half of her future offspring, a horse, and half of the household goods (WCR 1653-1671:103-105). To put this in perspective, Speke's inventory lists goods worth more than 39,000 pounds of tobacco, which is almost double Walter Broadhurst's valued goods upon his death, and more than John Mottram's estate, which was valued at almost 34,000 pounds of tobacco (NCR 1652-1665:114b-121a; WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a, 47a-48a). Both Broadhurst and Mottram

were well-respected members of the gentry on the Northern Neck, and Frances Gerrard's inheritance placed her in the same economic bracket as these men.

While the inheritance that Frances obtained from her next two husbands is more difficult to discern based upon a lack of records, it is quite likely that the proportion of inheritance was similar, which added to the vast wealth that she already possessed. Upon John Washington's death, Frances inherited 8 Negroes from the estate (WCR 1675-1689:100). Not only would these people have been worth a great deal monetarily, their possession, coupled with what she had gained from her first marriage, likely made her the largest female slave-holder on the Northern Neck, and perhaps in the entire Chesapeake, at the time. Her vast wealth made her an exceedingly attractive mate to most men in the region, but it also allowed her to be very discerning in her choice of a husband, which she appeared to be, only marrying men of similar political convictions and of high status. Her land, goods, and chattel also endowed her with a great deal of authority that many lower-status men could never achieve. Although there are no specific historical references that indicate it, Frances was well within her bounds, based upon the Filmerian social leanings of the people in the area, to exercise her authority in the public arena.

The Nomini Plantation site passed through Frances Gerrard through the course of five marriages, but after her death about 1691, William Hardidge II became the first man since Thomas Speke to own the property. However, ownership soon passed again to a woman with Hardidge II's death in 1694. The property then passed to Elizabeth Hardidge, the daughter of William and Frances (WCR 1690-1698:129). Like the inheritance of the Hallowes property, the land at Nomini went to Elizabeth as a result of a lack of male heirs and the high mortality of the Chesapeake region. As with Frances Gerrard, the property at Nomini allowed Elizabeth Hardidge to select a like-minded and high status husband, which she did with Henry Ashton in 1700, a

prominent member of the Westmoreland gentry with connections to the Washington family (WCR 1698-1705:87). Once again, the property and authority granted to a woman along the southern shore of the Potomac had allowed her to improve her status and the status of her family for generations.

The role of women and their access to property and authority in the proto-Lockean community on the Northern Neck in the 17th century illustrates how people in the region assembled an identity from disparate, and sometimes competing, concepts. Filmerian societal norms were still very much alive in this community that ascribed to proto-Lockean political ideas. Although women who wielded authority tended to stand in contrast to Lockean principles in later years, the men along the Potomac apparently felt that these women were well within their bounds in wielding authority in the public realm and possessing vast amounts of property and wealth. Men like John Hallowes and Thomas Speke felt that their wives were capable of representing them in legal venues, running their estates, and disposing of their property appropriately after their deaths. Not only do these women illustrate the fact that authority was available and accepted among women in the community, they also show that men apparently did not see these practices as being in competition with their own authority. It appears that men and women in the region were able to, and did, separate societal norms from political beliefs in the creation of their identity.

Conclusion

Authority and identity in Virginia's Potomac River Valley were intimately intertwined beginning almost from the first European settlement of the region. Conflict between the Virginians on Kent Island with Lord Baltimore, and later between Ingle's rebels and Baltimore helped lead to the creation of a distinct community of people on the southern shores of the

Potomac that shared proto-Lockean concepts of authority. With the help of complex and calculated kinship networks, this community was able to flourish and control Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties through the rest of the 17th century. As the century wore on, these proto-Lockean thinkers found themselves on the side of the loyalists during Bacon's Rebellion when wealthy newcomers to the colony and men on the frontier made a final effort to return the colony's political system to a Filmerian one. The political leanings of most of the men along the Potomac, however, kept much of the plundering and destruction that defined Bacon's Rebellion in southern Virginia because large numbers of Bacon supporters were not able to be mustered in this long-standing proto-Lockean community.

While many of the men in the proto-Lockean communities along the Potomac were fully in support of Lockean philosophy concerning political authority, as evidenced by their actions, they still tended to lean toward Filmerian viewpoints about society. This seeming contradiction in ideas about authority is seen in the role that control over women played in constructing manly authority and the ability of women to obtain and wield authority in very public ways. Although women were able to own property, run plantations, administer estates, and engage in legal affairs on behalf of their husbands, men in the region do not appear to have taken these female roles as challenges to their authority. In the society of Virginia's Potomac Valley men favored social contract theory in the political arena, with male householders representing their entire households. But, they saw authority within the community as something that was defined by a combination of age, status, and gender, meaning that women could have a measure of authority depending on circumstances. This dichotomy lasted into the 18th century and is representative of how people in this region negotiated an identity in an environment that was drastically different from England and adapted differing concepts about politics and society to fit their needs. While

this chapter has outlined the intellectual foundations and shifts in manhood that took place during the 17th century in the Potomac Valley, Chapter 7 seeks to use archaeological evidence to determine if changes in the definitions of manly identity affected the daily practices of life in the region and if these practices varied based upon contextual factors such as status, location, and time.

Chapter 6: Archaeological Materials and Methods of Analysis

Introduction

This chapter addresses the excavation of the sites, the features and contexts used in my analyses, and the composition of the assemblages, specifically the ceramics and faunal remains. Evidence for dating and phasing of the collections is also presented and related to the occupants of the sites known from historical records. The relationship of phases and collections to specific households is significant because it allows variation in material culture to be assessed with regard to changes in demography, status, and politics, all of which are important in understanding changing ideologies about manhood. The following chapter also outlines the methods I use to examine the ceramics and faunal remains over time, which focus on minimum vessel counts, measures of taxonomic abundance, age categories, and skeletal part frequency. Finally, I discuss issues of site comparability in terms of recovery methods, sampling, and taphonomy. Problems invariably stem from comparing sites excavated over the past eight decades, and here I offer solutions about how these problems can be minimized.

Archaeological Collections

The archaeological collections selected for analysis in this dissertation represent a century of occupation (1647-1747) in Virginia's Potomac River Valley by English colonists and the African that they enslaved. These specific collections were selected because they represent all of the accessible large-scale excavations performed on 17th and early-18th-century sites along the Potomac River in Virginia. While the Maurice Clark site is not technically in the Potomac River drainage, it is immediately adjacent to it and shares a similar geography, being located on the tidal Rappahannock. Additionally, the site was occupied by low status freed planters, a group

not represented by any of the other sites in this dataset, which include tenants, middling planters, and gentry planters.

Artifact assemblages ranged in size from 2,000 to over 79,000 individual artifacts. The collections were excavated between the early 1930s and the early 2010s by both professional and amateur archaeologists. The different levels of training for excavators and the length of time between excavations mean that no two sites were excavated in exactly the same way (discussed below). Of particular note for this dissertation are the ceramic and faunal assemblages. The ceramic assemblages were all relatively large, ranging from 60 to 400 vessels for entire site occupations. However, when assemblages were phased, the average vessel assemblage was 102 with a range of 60 to 199. All of the data, for both ceramics and faunal remains, were organized and analyzed in Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. The raw data will eventually be posted on the *Colonial Encounters* website (www.colonialencounters.org).

Faunal assemblages ranged in size from 2,397 fragments to 24,749 fragments, averaging 7,332. When the assemblages were phased, the average number of fragments was 3,009, ranging from 418 to 11,785. In a general sense, the assemblages were moderately-sized to large. I attempted to only use assemblages that were comprised of 1,000 fragments or more. While this number is arbitrary, a relatively high count of fragments does have a tendency to produce more fragments that are identifiable to the genus or species level, which provides a better understanding of assemblage compositions. Only two phased assemblages did not approach 1,000 fragments, the two latter phases of the Nomini Plantation assemblage, which contained 535 and 418 fragments, respectively. However, these two assemblages were combined, since they are in the post-Bacon's Rebellion category, which makes their combined assemblage size approach 1,000 fragments. The slightly smaller size of the Nomini assemblage, however, is

likely insignificant due to the higher proportion of identifiable fragments compared to the other collections. More detailed discussion of selecting samples for analysis is included below.

The John Hallowes Site (44WM6)

Virginia Sherman and William T. Buchanan, Jr. first identified the John Hallowes site in 1968 during a survey prior to construction on the lot on which the site is located (Buchanan and Heite 1971:38). Archaeological excavations at the site lasted from July 1968 to August 1969 and were conducted by a crew of volunteers under the direction of William Buchanan, Jr. and Edward Heite with some support from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission (Buchanan and Heite 1971:40). The excavations revealed the remains of a fortified dwelling and associated landscape features in addition to recovering over 8,000 artifacts including ceramics, faunal remains, glass, small finds, and architectural material. Prior to 2013 no formal report on the excavations or artifacts had ever been completed. Instead, an article published by Buchanan and Heite in *Historical Archaeology* was the only document outlining methods and findings (1971). In 2013 Hatch, McMillan, and Heath completed a reanalysis report for the site that refined and challenged dates and interpretations that had been generally accepted for four decades. The remainder of this section summarizes the results of that reanalysis. However, for more detail the report should be consulted (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013).

Excavations followed standard practices of historical archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s. A grid system was established on the site and 10 by 10 foot units were laid out. The units were then excavated to subsoil with a shovel and artifacts were likely picked out by sight, since there is no mention of screening or photographs of screens and the artifacts appear to be generally much larger than one quarter of an inch. Prior to excavation every weekend, the volunteer crew would surface collect the site, accounting for the majority of the artifacts in the

collection. However, the site appears to have been either partially stripped or at least disturbed by a bulldozer at some point during the excavation. After the plowzone was removed, the excavators then scraped the subsoil and examined it for features. Features were measured and drawn, though not all were photographed, and horizontal control was kept by mapping with a transit. While layers were designated in several features, including Feature 17 and the structural post holes, no profile drawings were made.

Excavation of features appears to have been more careful than plowzone excavation. Judging from photographs, all features were trowel-excavated and distinct layers were noted, recorded, and, in many cases, kept separate, although some post hole and post mold fills were combined. Like their counterparts in plowzone, the artifacts within these features were probably picked out by sight rather than screened. However, the recovery within features appears to have been better than in plowzone judging from the smaller size of artifacts, likely a result of more careful trowel excavation. These excavation methods have biased the assemblage in favor of larger and more noticeable artifacts, probably leading to a lack of beads, straight pins, and small animal bones in the collection.

The excavations revealed a single post-in-ground dwelling with a brick chimney base and ditch-set bastions at opposite corners, several possible ditch-set fence lines, a shallow basin-like feature (Feature 63) located in the southwest bastion, and a large pit feature (Feature 17) directly north of the dwelling, among other small features in the yard and within the building (Figure 5). The site was divided into at least two distinct phases using *termini post quem* (TPQ), historical documents, and spatial relationships of features. A mean ceramic date (MCD) for the site was calculated to be 1667, while the MCD for features was 1662 (South 1977). The ceramic intersection range for the site was 1650-1675. Pipe stem dating for all contexts on the site

Figure 5: Plan Map Showing Features Uncovered at the Hallowes Site (Map Courtesy of Crystal Ptacek).

yielded a Binford date of 1660 and a Hanson date of 1665, while the same two methods for the features yielded dates of 1657 and 1662, respectively. Harrington histograms for both the overall assemblage and the feature assemblage placed the site in the 1650-1680 brackets, skewing slightly to the earlier end of the range. Based upon archaeological dating methods and historical documents, it appears that the site was occupied from 1647-1681 (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:106-109).

The first phase, dating from 1647-1666 and representing the occupation and ownership of the site by John Hallowes and David Anderson, included the dwelling, bastions, Feature 17, and Feature 63 (Figure 6). The core of the dwelling measured 50 by 20 feet and likely had a cross-passage plan that divided the interior into a hall and parlor with a small unheated room on the southern end of the house (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:23). At the same time the house was constructed, or shortly thereafter, two large trapezoidal ditch-set bastions were placed on opposite corners of the house (Hatch, Heath, and McMillan 2014). Within the smaller of the two bastions on the southwest corner of the dwelling, a shallow pit (Feature 63) was excavated, likely to create a firing step within the bastion. Feature 17, a large pit to the north of the house, was also constructed and filled during the first phase of occupation. The original function of the feature is difficult to discern, but it may have been a temporary shelter that was used during the construction of the dwelling (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:29; Table 7).

The second phase, dating from 1666-1681 and representing the occupation of the site by tenants, included the construction of an addition to the house, the destruction of the bastions, and the construction of several ditch-set fences in the yard. The addition to the dwelling on the east façade likely measured 20 feet square and resulted in a floor plan similar to those seen in the early phase of the Clifts Plantation dwelling and the dwelling at Newman's Neck, both dating to

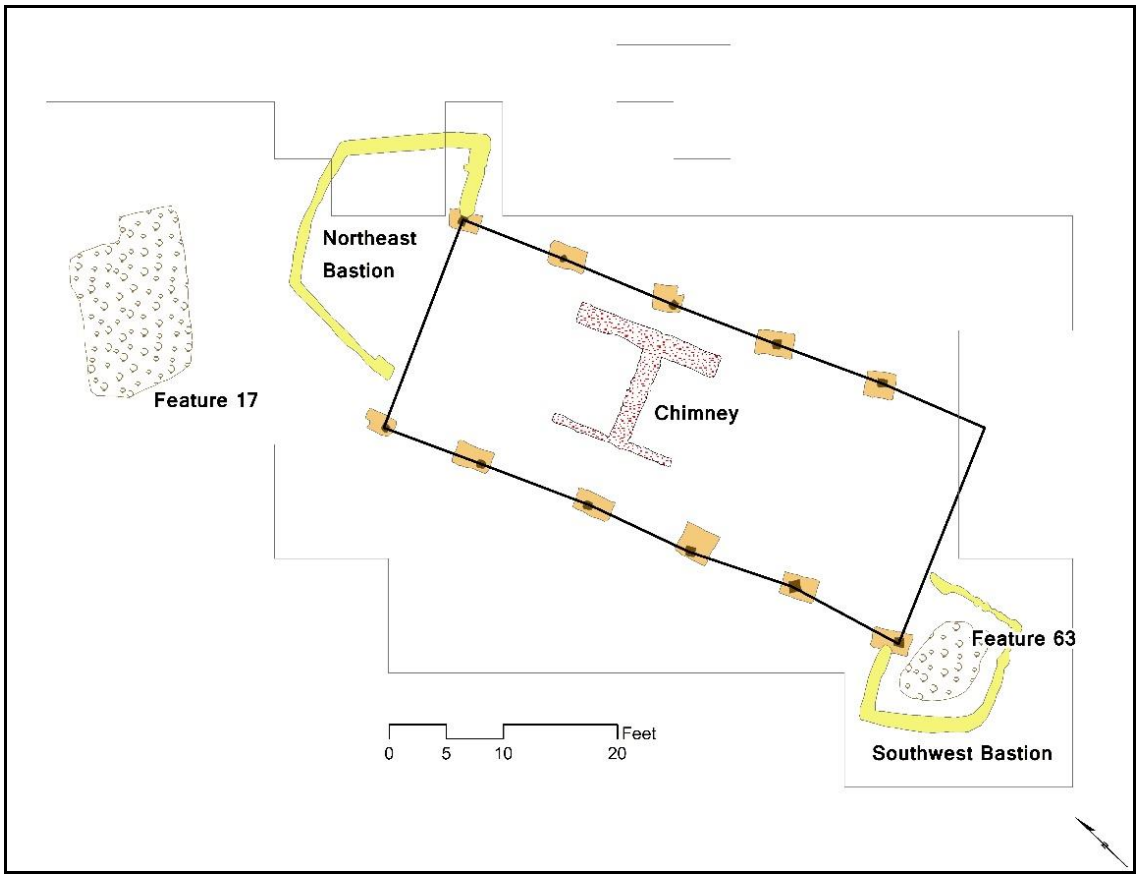

Figure 6: Map of Phase I Features at the Hallowes Site (Map Courtesy Crystal Ptacek).

Table 7: Dating Methods and Results for the John Hallowes Site (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:107).

Dating Method	**Entire Site**	**Features**
TPQ (adjusted)	1675	1675
MCD (adjusted)	1667	1662
Binford	1660	1657
Hanson	1665	1662
Harrington	1650-1680	1650-1680
Ceramic Intersection	1650-1675	1650-1675
Historical Records Range	1647-1681	
Historical Records Mean	1664	

the 1670s (Neiman 1978, 1980a:39-47; Heath et al. 2009; Figure 7). Several ditch-set fences were also constructed in the yard during this later phase. The addition to the dwelling and fences made the bastions obsolete by obstructing lines of sight, and likely indicates that these defensive fortifications were taken down either prior to or early on in the this phase of occupation (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:30-31).

Of the 8,256 artifacts recovered from the site, 3,675 were faunal remains. Of these, 2,757 were excavated from features, 2,448 of which came from pre-1666 feature contexts. Since only faunal remains drawn from features are used for the analyses in this dissertation (discussed below), and because such a large majority came from pre-1666 contexts, it was determined that only the pre-1666 faunal assemblage should be used in the analyses for this site. Using only faunal remains from the first phase of occupation allows for a better understanding of who discarded these food remains, namely the households of either John Hallowes or David Anderson.

The ceramic assemblage, which consisted of 1,599 sherds, is not as easy to assign to a single phase. Only 216 ceramic sherds came from features. Unlike faunal remains, however, ceramics from all context types were used in the analyses (discussed below). Therefore, while individual sherds or vessels may be more difficult to assign to distinct households at the Hallowes site, it is quite likely that the majority are associated with the first phase since the occupation span was longer and the households were probably larger.

The John Washington Site (44WM204)

The John Washington site was first identified in 1930 by James Latane, under the direction of National Park Service (NPS) engineer O. G. Taylor and in cooperation with the

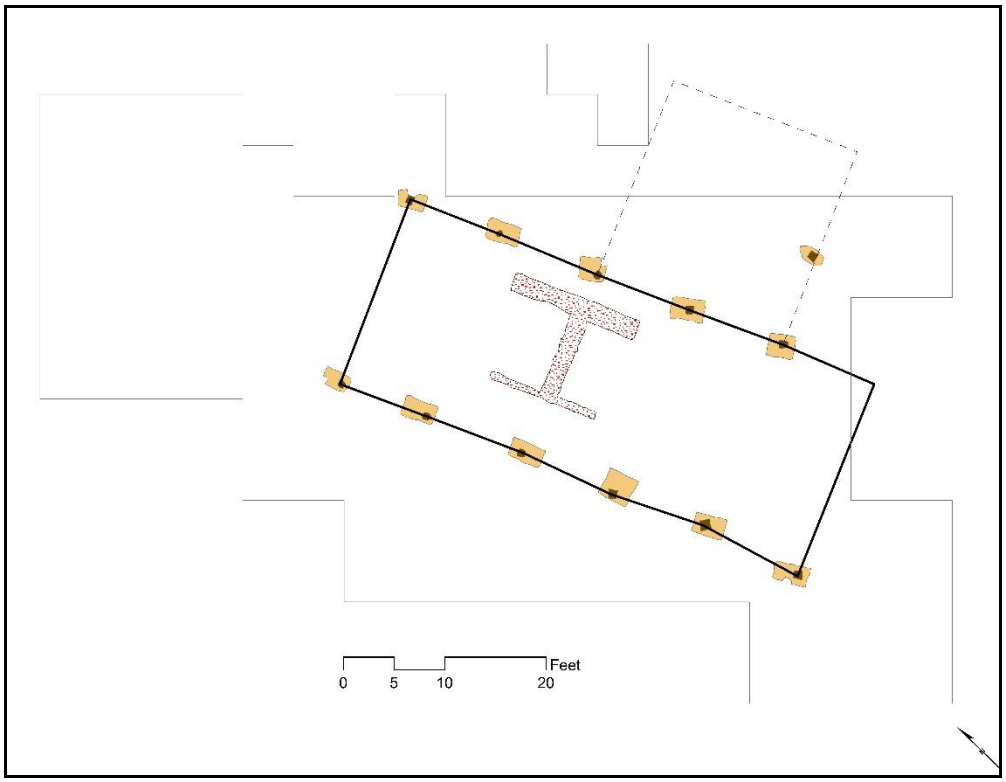

Figure 7: Map of Phase II Features at the Hallowes Site (Map Courtesy Crystal Ptacek).

Wakefield National Memorial Association (Blades 1979:11). This investigation, which was quite preliminary, identified a structure with brick foundations containing spaces at the corners for posts, later known as Outbuilding A. However, no further work was completed at the site until 1932, after the NPS took over the administration of the property. The excavations that took place in 1933 or 1934, conducted by the NPS, revisited Outbuilding A and completely excavated the cellar beneath it, recovering thousands of artifacts. Additionally, the site appears to have been trenched during this period, leading to the discovery of a brick chimney base associated with the John Washington dwelling; however no formal report for these early excavations exists (Blades 1979:62).

At this point, archaeology at the John Washington site ceased until 1977 when Brooke Blades led a large-scale preliminary archaeological investigation of the site, under the direction of John Cotter (Blades 1979:1). These excavations exposed the remains of at least 3 structures and associated landscape features and recovered over 2,000 artifacts. The results of the 1977 excavation and a summary of previous archaeological work at the site was completed by Blades in 1979 and is used here, in conjunction with site records, to discuss the archaeology that took place and the resulting artifact collection.

The methods used during the 1930s excavations are difficult to discern. However, based upon references to letters written in the 1930s concerning these excavations in the 1979 report and archaeological evidence from the 1977 investigation, it appears that the site was first trenched in order to identify architectural features. After these features were discovered, specifically the foundation of Outbuilding A, the area immediately surrounding the structure was opened and the cellar was excavated. There is some evidence that the excavation of the cellar involved screening, but the extent to which it was screened is unknown (Blades 1979:12). The

accession number, 246, that represents these early excavations describes the provenience as "outbuilding cellar and trenching." Therefore, while the majority of these artifacts likely came from the cellar in the outbuilding, many probably also originated in the plowzone or other features on the site. There is no evidence that the outbuilding was excavated stratigraphically or that the excavators even recorded the stratigraphy within the building's cellar. Thousands of artifacts were recovered during these investigations, including the majority of the ceramics used for the analyses performed on this site.

The 1977 excavation methods are outlined in the site report (Blades 1979:16). Since the purpose of these investigations was to better understand the extent of the site and to identify and reveal the physical and spatial relationships between structures, the plowzone at the site was mechanically stripped. After removing the plowzone, the features at the site were recorded and mapped, creating a site plan (Figure 8). Selected features were then partially excavated in order to better understand their nature and extent and to attempt the recovery of dateable artifacts. Features were excavated stratigraphically and profiles were recorded. While Blades does not explicitly note that screening took place at the site, it appears to be quite likely that all soils were screened through quarter-inch mesh based upon artifact size and his notation about screening during the 1930s excavation. The archaeological work conducted at the site in 1977 recovered a total of 2,258 artifacts (Blades 1979:77).

The 1977 excavations uncovered at least three structures on the John Washington site along with associated landscape features. The largest building was a post-in-ground dwelling with a core measuring 40 by 20 feet. This structure had a brick chimney on the east gable end and a stick and mud chimney on the west gable end. There was a small root cellar in front of the hearth on the west side of the building that measured approximately 7.5 by 5 feet (Blades

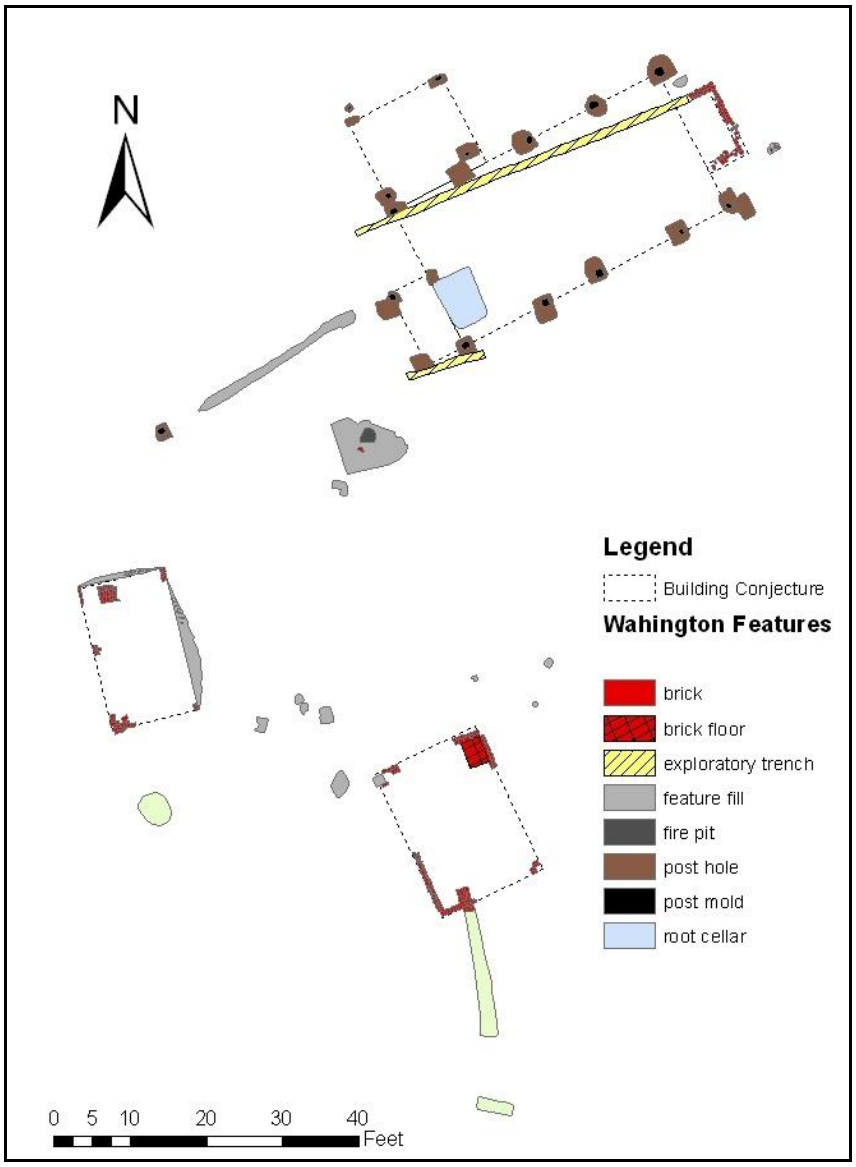

Figure 8: Plan Map Showing Features Uncovered at the John Washington Site (Map Courtesy of Scott Strickland).

1979:61). There also appears to have been an addition on the north façade of the structure that measured roughly 10 feet square (Blades 1979:62). Sectioning of one of the structural post holes revealed a lack of European artifacts in the post hole fill, indicating that the building was likely constructed shortly after the site was first settled, perhaps as early as the mid-1650s (Blades 1979:79). A MCD was calculated using the vessels from the minimum vessel count (MVC) that I performed for this collection. While the MCD was designed to use ceramics at the sherd level rather than vessels, a brief, non-scientific, test of this method on the other sites in this study for which both sherd and vessel information were calculated, showed that the results were comparable (South 1977). The MCD yielded a date of 1686 with a ceramic intersection range of 1660-1720 (Table 8). The end date of 1720 stems from the presence of Buckley coarse earthenware at the site. However, research has shown that this date is not absolute and that there is a light presence of this ware type in the Potomac Valley starting in the very late-17th century (MAC Lab 2012). Based upon this archaeological evidence and historical records, it appears that the site was likely occupied from 1664-1704.

The functions of the two outbuildings at the site are somewhat more enigmatic. Outbuilding A, discovered and excavated in the 1930s, was located 48 feet south of the dwelling and consisted of a brick-lined cellar measuring approximately 20.5 by 15 feet (Blades 1979:64). The cellar walls did not join at the corners, instead leaving spaces for wooden posts, which likely supported the structure above the cellar. Ceramics recovered from the 1930s excavation of this outbuilding suggest that the cellar was filled with refuse dating from approximately 1660-1700, and perhaps as late as 1720. Therefore, the building was likely in use during the John Washington and John Washington, Jr. occupations of the site. Outbuilding B was discovered in the 1977 excavation and was located 42 feet west of the dwelling (Blades 1979:68). This

Table 8: Dating Methods and Results for the John Washington Site.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ	1720
MCD (Adjusted and Based upon MVC)	1686
Ceramic Intersection	1660-1720
Historical Records Range	1664-1704
Historical Records Mean	1684

structure consisted of a brick-lined cellar measuring approximately 20 by 11.5 feet which probably supported a frame structure above it. A small test unit excavated in the cellar revealed that a portion of the cellar wall was constructed with yellow bricks. Over 900 artifacts, indicating a late-17th or early-18th-century date, were recovered (Blades 1979:77-79).

While the large post-in-ground dwelling is likely the home of John Washington, John Washington, Jr., and perhaps David Anderson, the purposes of the two outbuildings are undetermined. The presence of a brick chimney in the dwelling, like the John Hallowes site and Nomini Plantation, is likely indicative of the wealth and high status of the site occupants. Despite using some brick in the dwelling, it seems unlikely that either John Washington or his son constructed outbuildings with brick foundations while they still lived in a post-in-ground structure. The 1979 site report indicates that the three buildings are contemporaneous, but the artifact sample, particularly from Outbuilding B, is fairly small in terms of temporally diagnostic materials.

Of particular note at this site is the fact that the majority of artifacts, particularly ceramics, were excavated from the cellar of Outbuilding A in the early 1930s. While this building was, in all likelihood, constructed after the dwelling, the refuse deposited in the cellar clearly dates to the Washington occupation of the site. Only one fragment of Astbury refined earthenware, representing one vessel, definitively post-dates 1700. Pipe stem dates were not available for this site, but the presence of William Evans marks and Bristol-style rouletting on fragments also corroborates a third or fourth quarter of the 17th century date. Therefore, it is assumed that the majority of the over 6,000 artifacts recovered from this site are associated with the Washington occupation of the site. Ceramics from all contexts, which included sealed

features, plowzone, and surface collection, (n=2,083) were used in the following analyses, with the exception of the clearly intrusive Astbury vessel. Additionally, faunal remains from this site were excluded from analysis because there were very few recovered (n=676), and even fewer from sealed layers or features. However, a report on the faunal assemblage from the site was completed shortly after the 1977 excavations (Burnston 1978).

The Nomini Plantation Site (44WM12)

A team of volunteers and avocational archaeologists from the Archeological Society of Virginia (ASV) conducted excavations at Nomini Plantation from 1970-1982 under the direction of Vivienne Mitchell (Mitchell 1975:204, 1983:34). The first four years of fieldwork revealed the remains of a cross-shaped brick manor house dating from ca. 1730-ca. 1770 and associated outbuildings (Mitchell 1975). However, the archaeological materials used in this dissertation were excavated from a large midden feature located approximately 150 feet west of the brick manor house and first identified in 1974 (Mitchell 1976:83). The excavation of the midden yielded well over 11,000 artifacts dating from ca. 1650-ca. 1720. Despite the sheer volume of data generated by this project, no formal report was ever written about either portion of the site. Instead, Mitchell published several articles on specialized material culture analyses, specifically addressing tobacco pipes and wine bottles (Mitchell 1975, 1976, 1983; Mitchell and Mitchell 1982). As part of this dissertation research, a reanalysis of the midden material was conducted with the help of Lauren McMillan, focusing on the ceramics, tobacco pipes, and faunal remains. The reanalysis, which is currently being written up as a technical report, revealed that the midden contained good stratigraphic integrity representing three distinct phases of occupation (McMillan and Hatch 2013).

The methods used to excavate the midden at Nomini Plantation were never outlined in any detail in the articles published about the site (Mitchell 1976:83-84). Nevertheless, field notes, maps, photographs, and artifacts provide some important clues that allow the excavation methods used at the site to be reconstructed. It appears that the excavators established a grid on the site, and then cut two exploratory trenches through the south half of the midden area. These two trenches crossed each other and the first, running north-south, measured 20 feet long by 3 feet wide, while the second trench, running east-west, measured 10 feet long by 3 feet wide. After this, thirteen 10 foot by 10 foot units, two 5 foot by 5 foot units, and six units of various sizes were excavated in the midden (Figure 9). The six units of varied size seem to have been near the slope of a ravine and had to be adjusted to the topography. All units were excavated by hand with shovels and trowels and artifacts were hand-picked during excavation. There was no screening. Faunal remains were recovered from only six of the units, all of which William Kelso and his crew excavated as volunteers, suggesting that bone was not saved during the excavation of the other units. Nearly all of the units had profile drawings, which proved essential to the reanalysis and phasing of the site, and overall plan maps of the entire site and midden were made.

The excavation of this block of units that measured approximately 60 by 40 feet did not reveal the limits of the midden. However, it did show that this midden, which was along the edge of a ravine, consisted of domestic refuse dating from ca. 1650-ca. 1720. While the excavators felt that the collection was beyond phasing due to mixing of layers and three different labeling methods for the artifacts, reanalysis has revealed that the midden is actually quite well-stratified and retains most of its temporal integrity (Mitchell 1983:9). The midden yielded no fewer than

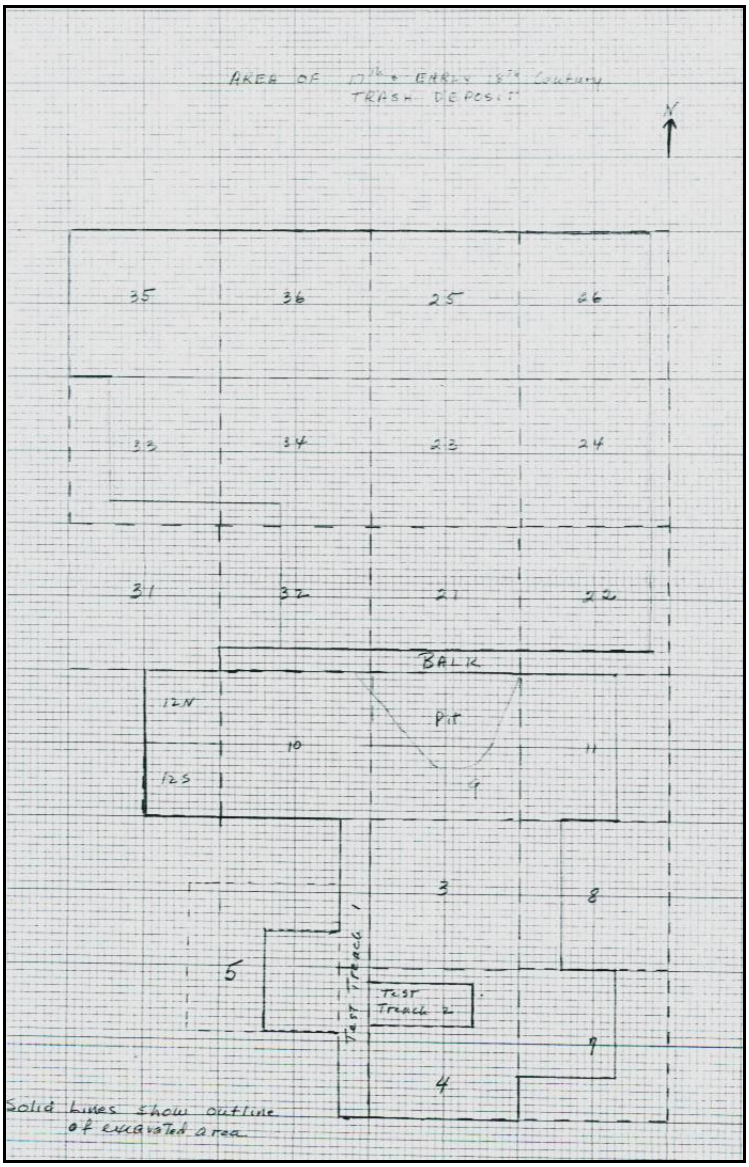

Figure 9: Plan Map of Midden Excavation at Nomini Plantation (Map Courtesy VDHR).

11,000 artifacts, considering that only ceramics, tobacco pipes, and faunal remains account for this number.

Archaeological excavations also revealed a brick chimney base approximately 20 feet east of the midden. Although this feature was only exposed and not excavated, it likely represents the remains of the dwelling from which the refuse in the midden was discarded. It appears to have been an end chimney and the probability that the dwelling was similar in plan and size to the John Washington house is quite high. Pipe stem dates and a MCD were calculated for the entire assemblage. The Heighton and Deagan pipe stem formula yielded a date of 1691 with a Harrington histogram suggesting a 1650-1680 occupation date slightly skewed toward the latter end of that period. The MCD was 1685 with a ceramic intersection range of 1660-1720 (Table 9).

In the course of the reanalysis of the site, the midden was divided into three distinct phases based upon stratigraphic similarity and confirmed through the use of TPQs, pipe stem dates, and MCDs (McMillan and Hatch 2013). The first phase of the site spans the period from ca. 1650 to ca. 1675. This phase is defined by Stratum III in the midden and likely represents the initial settlement of the site by Thomas Speke in 1647, his occupation, and the occupation of his wife Frances until her marriage to William Hardidge II in 1679. This phase contains the majority of the earliest artifacts excavated from the midden and has a TPQ90 of 1675, a Heighton and Deagan pipe stem date of 1674, and a MCD of 1678 (Table 10). The second phase of the midden was deposited from ca. 1675-ca. 1700. Stratum II accounts for this phase, which probably represents the occupation of the site by Frances and William Hardidge II from their marriage in 1679 to his death in 1694, and prior to their daughter's marriage in 1700. The TPQ90 for the second phase is 1675, the Heighton and Deagan pipe stem date is 1684, and the MCD is 1682

Table 9: Dating Methods and Results for the Overall Occupation at Nomini Plantation.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ	1720
MCD (Adjusted)	1685
Ceramic Intersection	1660-1720
Harrington	1650-1680
Heighton and Deagan	1691
Historical Records Range	1647-1722
Historical Records Mean	1685

Table 10: Dating Methods and Results for the First Phase of Occupation at Nomini Plantation.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ90	1675
MCD (Adjusted)	1678
Ceramic Intersection	1660-1671
Harrington	1650-1680
Heighton and Deagan	1674
Historical Records Range	1647-1679
Historical Records Mean	1663

(Table 11). Finally, the third phase of the site represents refuse from ca. 1700-ca. 1720 and is associated with Stratum I. This phase probably corresponds with Elizabeth Hardidge's marriage to Henry Ashton and their occupation of the site until her death in 1722. The TPQ90 for this phase is 1720, the Heighton and Deagan pipe stem date is 1703, and the MCD is 1704 (Table 12).

The ceramic assemblage from the entire midden consisted of 3,367 fragments. However, only the sherds that could be placed into one of the three phases were used in the analyses below, meaning that unprovenienced vessels or vessels from surface contexts were discarded. The first phase contained 1,135 sherds, the second phase contained 1,038 sherds, and the third phase contained 905 sherds. Despite being phased, the vessel count was based upon both sealed midden contexts and plowzone because the plowzone comprised a significant portion of the third phase of occupation at the site since plowing only disturbed the uppermost strata of the midden. A total of 2,661 faunal remains was recovered from the midden at Nomini Plantation. Like the ceramics, only the faunal remains that could be assigned to a phase were used in the analyses below. Therefore, the first phase contained 982 fragments, the second phase contained 535 fragments, and the third phase contained 418 fragments. While the assemblages from the latter two phases are smaller than the John Washington faunal assemblage, which was excluded for its small size, the assemblages from these two phases are actually combined in the following faunal analyses in order to increase the sample size and because they both represent post-Bacon's Rebellion occupations.

Table 11: Dating Methods and Results for the Second Phase of Occupation at Nomini Plantation.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ90	1675
MCD (Adjusted)	1682
Ceramic Intersection	1660-1720
Harrington	1650-1680
Heighton and Deagan	1684
Historical Records Range	1679-1700
Historical Records Mean	1690

Table 12: Dating Methods and Results for the Third Phase of Occupation at Nomini Plantation.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ90	1720
MCD (Adjusted)	1704
Ceramic Intersection	1690-1720
Harrington	1680-1710
Heighton and Deagan	1703
Historical Records Range	1700-1722
Historical Records Mean	1711

The Newman's Neck Site (44NB180)

The site at Newman's Neck was first identified by Stephen Potter in 1978 during the course of his dissertation research in the area (Hodges 1990:1-2; Heath et al. 2009:12). However, excavations at the site did not take place until 1989 when Charles Hodges led a team, funded by the Threatened Site Program of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR), in a salvage excavation of the site ahead of its development (Heath et al. 2009:12). Hodges' crew worked on the site from May 1989 to January 1990 excavating the remains of a dwelling and its associated outbuildings and landscape features (Figure 10). During the course of these excavations the archaeologists recovered over 9,000 artifacts including ceramics, glass, faunal remains, tobacco pipes, and small finds. A brief report on the excavations was written in 1990, but no specialized or detailed analyses of the material culture recovered at the site were performed (Hodges 1990). In 2009, Barbara Heath and her students at the University of Tennessee received funding from the VDHR to reanalyze the site and write a complete technical report (Heath et al. 2009). This report refined the date of the site and placed the archaeological findings into a regional historical context.

The methods used to excavate the site were outlined briefly by Hodges in his report on the excavations and further defined by Heath et al. in their reanalysis report (Hodges 1990:16-19; Heath et al. 2009:30). Prior to excavation, the site had been cleared and minimally disturbed due to preparation by the site developers. A judgmental shovel test survey was performed at the site in order to concentrate excavation efforts, but no notes or artifacts appear to have survived from this portion of the investigation. The site was mechanically stripped of plowzone and then features were identified, mapped, and excavated. Generally, most features were only sampled, usually by being bisected or excavated in quarters. The majority of the features were screened

Figure 10: Plan Map of Features Uncovered at the Newman's Neck Site (modified from Heath et al. 2009:24).

through quarter-inch mesh, with selected features being water screened through sixteenth-inch mesh. Additionally, profile drawings were made of the excavated features. Volunteers processed the artifacts at the VDHR and prepared a preliminary paper catalog, but detailed cataloging was completed during the course of the reanalysis.

Excavations at the site revealed seven post-in-ground buildings, a cellar-set building, pit features, a brick clamp, and fence lines (Hodges 1990:91; Heath et al. 2009:34). Based upon TPQs and spatial relationships, the site was divided into two distinct phases. A MCD was calculated for the entire site and for the features and yielded dates of 1717 and 1713, respectively. The TPQ for feature contexts was 1740 and the ceramic intersection range was 1669-1740 (Heath et al. 2009:125-128). Binford pipe stem dates for the entire site and feature contexts yielded 1685 and 1676, respectively. A Harrington histogram for the site placed it in the 1650-1680 bracket, though heavily skewed toward the latter end. Clearly, the dating methods used at this site do not concur for reasons which are unknown. However, based upon the ceramic assemblage, which the authors of the reanalysis report felt were more reliable for dating, and historical documents, it appears that the site was occupied from around 1670-1740 (Heath et al. 2009:127; Table 13).

The first phase of occupation at the site dates from ca. 1670-1725 and encompasses the households of Daniel Neale, Ebenezer Neale, and John Haynie (Heath et al. 2009:129; Figure 11). This phase included several structures and landscape features including the largest building on the site, Structure 1, which measured approximately 40 by 20 feet with a 21 by 13 foot addition on the western façade. This structure has been interpreted as the dwelling at the site. Immediately adjacent and to the south of the dwelling stood a building that measured roughly 21 feet square, which was likely a kitchen/quarter. Two outbuildings, a tobacco barn, and a well

Table 13: Dating Methods and Results for the Newman's Neck Site (Modified from Heath et al. 2009:125).

Dating Method	Entire Site	Features
TPQ	1841	1740
MCD	1717	1713
Ceramic Intersection	1695-1740	
Harrington	1650-1680	1650-1680
Binford	1685	1676
Historical Records Range	1672-1747	
Historical Records Mean	1710	

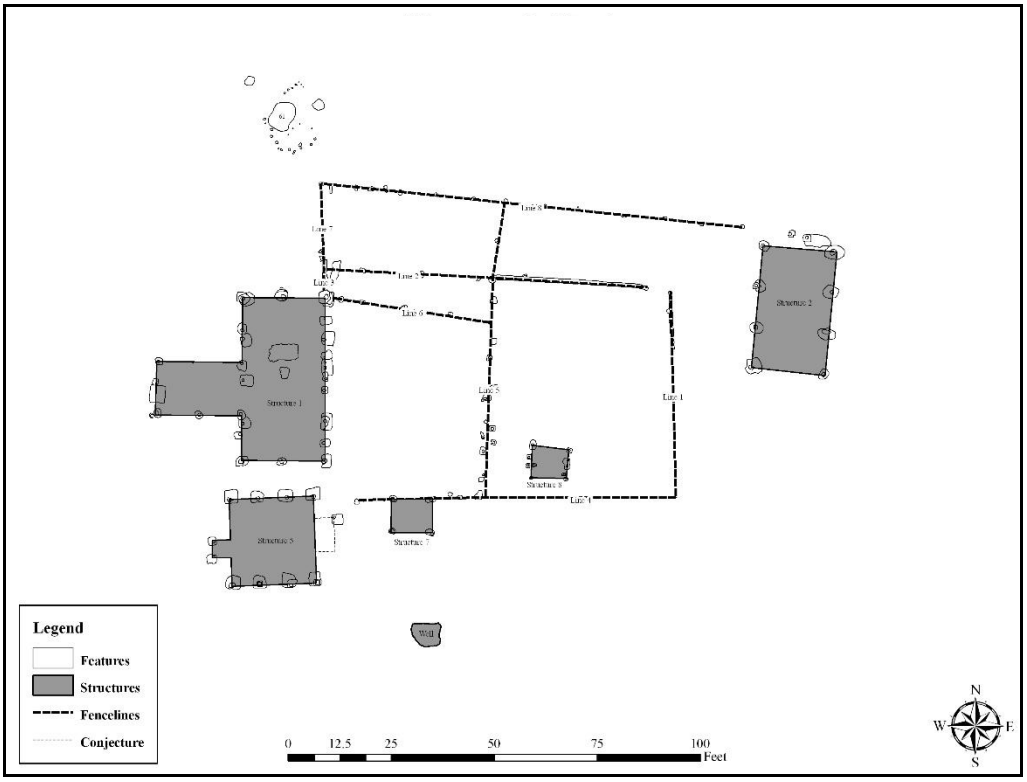

Figure 11: Map of Phase I Features at Newman's Neck (modified from Heath et al. 2009:25).

accounted for the remaining structures constructed during this phase. Additionally, the yard to the east of the dwelling was divided into two spaces of almost equal size by fences.

The second phase of occupation, dating from 1725-1747, likely represents the occupation of the site by William Haynie and his household until abandonment (Heath et al. 2009:130; Figure 12). During this phase a cellar-set building, a large barn, and a quarter were constructed. Additionally, the original barn and the well were abandoned during this period. The fenced and divided landscapes persisted during this period and fences enclosed larger portions of the yard and incorporated new buildings into the designed landscape (Heath [2014]).

Of the 9,419 artifacts recovered from the site, 2,931 were faunal remains. Of these, 2,684 were excavated from features, 1,891 of which came from phase one feature contexts and 793 of which came from phase two contexts. Only faunal remains drawn from the first phase were used in this analysis because the second phase extended too far beyond the temporal span of this dissertation, which ends around 1720. Additionally, it should be noted that the cataloging for a sample of these faunal remains was performed by Jonathan Baker at the University of Tennessee prior to my cataloging and analysis of the entire collection (Heath et al. 2009:212-224).

The ceramic assemblage, which consisted of 439 sherds, was not phased for this analysis because of the already small number of vessels. Only 253 ceramic sherds came from features. Unlike the faunal remains, ceramics from all context types, surface and feature, were used in the analyses (discussed below). Therefore, individual sherds or vessels may be more difficult to assign to distinct households at Newman's Neck. However, based upon the temporal phasing used for sites in this dissertation, all, or almost all, of the vessels should represent the post-Bacon's Rebellion period and the majority likely come from the first phase of occupation.

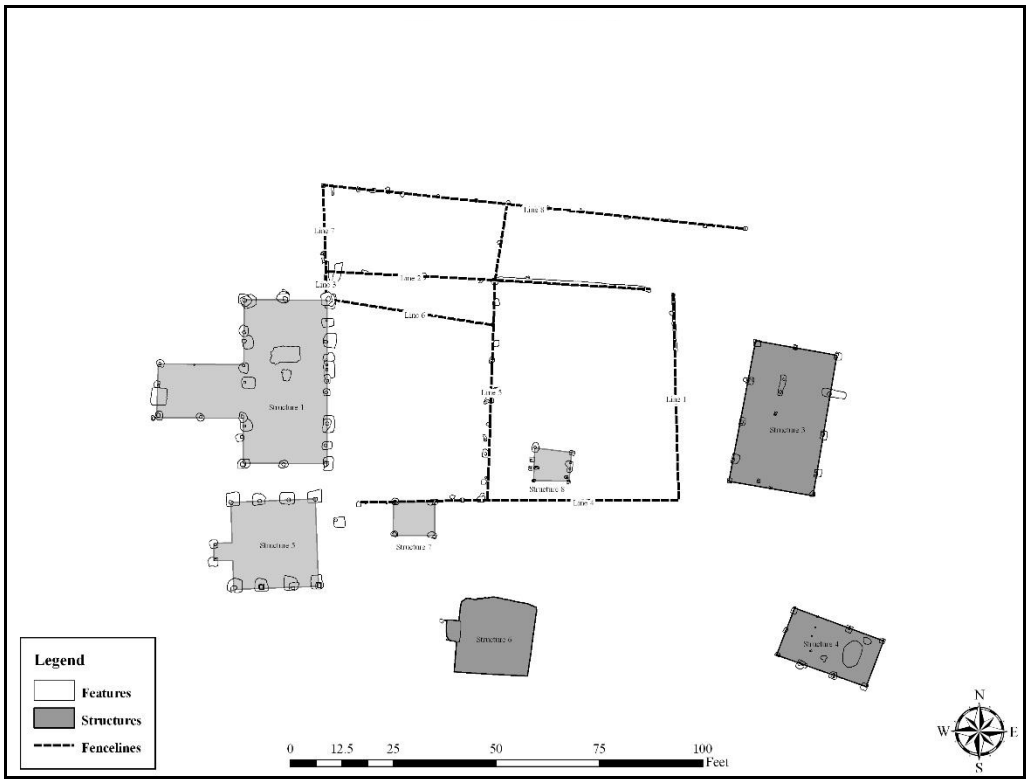

Figure 12: Map of Phase II Features at Newman's Neck (modified from Heath et al. 2009:58).

The Clifts Plantation Site (44WM33)

First identified by members of the ASV in the late 1960s and minimally excavated by amateur archaeologists shortly thereafter, the Clifts Plantation site was intensively excavated between June 1976 and January 1978 by the Robert E. Lee Memorial Association (RELMA), under the direction of Fraser Neiman (Neiman 1980:21-22). Neiman's excavations revealed the remains of a large plantation complex dating from ca. 1670-ca. 1730 that included a dwelling, quarter, outbuildings, associated landscape features, and a cemetery. In addition to the archaeological features identified at the site, the excavators recovered over 79,000 artifacts including ceramics, faunal remains, tobacco pipes, glass, architectural material, and numerous small finds. A formal site report was written in 1980 and data from the site has been used in several scholarly publications (Keeler 1978; Neiman 1978, 1980, 1990; Heath [2014]). The original report, completed in 1980, is used here to discuss the excavation of the site and its associated artifact assemblage.

The methods used for surface collection and limited excavation at the site prior to Neiman's work are not well-known. However, based upon Neiman's examination of the site, artifacts, and related notes it appears that little provenience information was kept and that features were fully excavated or trenched (Neiman 1980:21). As a result of the lack of provenience, Neiman excluded these artifacts from his analyses. The pre-Neiman artifacts are also excluded from this dissertation for the same reasons. The methods used in Neiman's excavation of the Clifts site are detailed in the report (Neiman 1980:22-24). First, a grid was established on the site and 132 10 by 10 foot plowzone units were excavated and screened through quarter-inch mesh. After this, the site was mechanically stripped and features were excavated by hand. All feature fill was screened through quarter-inch mesh with samples from

features with high artifact or ash content being floated. An overall map of the site was drawn in addition to plan and profile drawings of individual features. Analysis of artifacts was conducted by Neiman with the help of others for specialized analyses (Angel 1980; Bowen 1980).

Excavations at the Clifts Plantation revealed no fewer than 15 structures, including a palisaded dwelling, quarters, and outbuildings, in addition to pits, landscape features, and a cemetery (Neiman 1980:31). The site was divided into at least four distinct phases of occupation based upon TPQs, spatial relationships, and presence/absence seriation (Neiman 1980:24-30). Dating at the site relied exclusively on TPQs and *termini ante quem* (TAQ). Therefore, no MCD or pipe stem dates were ever reported by Neiman (see McMillan 2010 for selected pipe stem dates). Rather, the beginning date for the site was determined based upon the presence of Morgan Jones-type coarse earthenware, having a TPQ of 1669, according to Neiman, and the construction of the palisade at the site, providing a TAQ of 1675 (Neiman 1980:28). It is quite likely that the site was first occupied closer to the TAQ date of 1675, perhaps no earlier than a year or two before that. The end date for the site is derived from the presence of two fragments of plain white salt-glazed stoneware, which according to Neiman, were not common in Westmoreland County until around 1730 (Neiman 1980:29). Since the historical record is silent in terms of who was living at the Clifts Plantation, the occupation span for the site comes directly from the archaeological evidence, which places it from ca. 1670-ca. 1735 (Table 14).

The first phase of occupation at the site, dating from ca. 1670-ca. 1685, includes the construction of the dwelling, a palisade around the dwelling, and a quarter located south of the dwelling (Figure 13). The core of the post-in-ground dwelling measured 41 by 18.5 feet with an addition on the north façade measuring 15 by 12.5 feet, a porch entry on the south façade measuring 9.5 by 8.5 feet, and a closet on the east gable end measuring 9.5 by 8.5 feet (Neiman

Table 14: Dating Methods and Results for the Clifts Plantation Site (Modified from Neiman 1980:25-30).

Phase	**Range**	**TPQ**	**TAQ**
Overall	1670-1735	1730	
Phase I	1670-1685	1669	1675
Phase II	1685-1705	1680	
Phase III	1705-1720	1702	
Phase IV	1720-1735	1730	

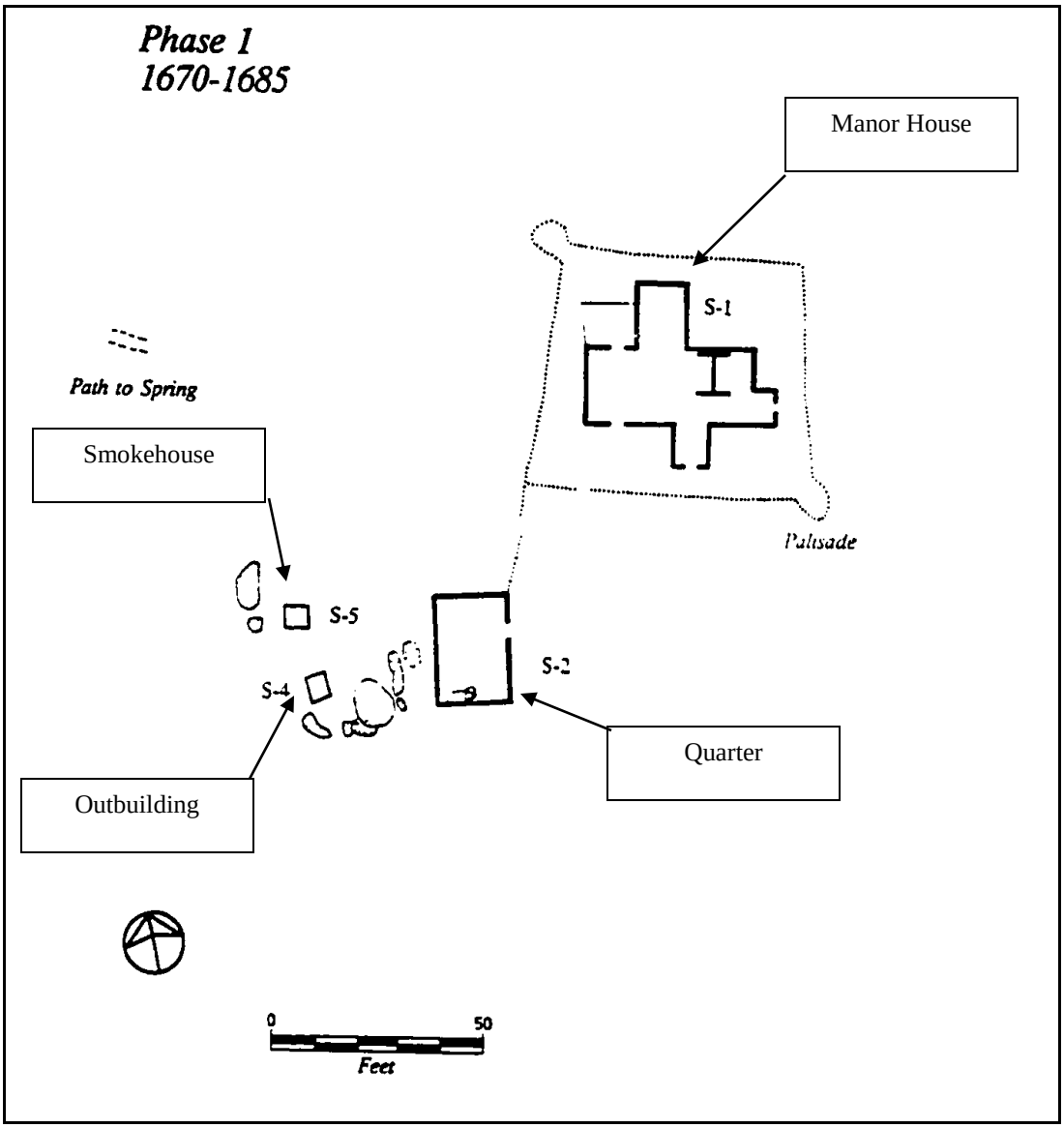

Figure 13: Phase I Site Plan for the Clifts Plantation (Modified from Neiman 1990:302).

1980:39). The dwelling likely had a cross-passage plan, similar to that at the Hallowes site, and contained a central chimney likely made of wattle and daub. The palisade at the site consisted of ditch-set posts surrounding the dwelling with roughly equal-sized rounded bastions at the northwest and southeast corners. Additionally, a palisade line connected the quarter to the larger palisade around the dwelling. Finally, the post-in-ground quarter measured roughly 25 by 18.5 feet and was located approximately 40 feet southwest of the dwelling. The quarter may have contained a fire pit, but likely never had a hearth (Neiman 1980:82).

The second phase of occupation dated from ca. 1685-ca. 1705, during which the palisade was removed and the dwelling was repaired (Figure 14). Very few structural or landscape changes can be assigned to this period and overall the site looked, and probably functioned, much the same as it did in the first phase (Neiman 1990:312). The end of the second phase and the beginning of the third phase, dating from ca. 1705-ca. 1720, saw major changes to the site (Figure 15). During the third phase, major renovations were completed on the dwelling, the old quarter was demolished, and a new quarter, measuring 36 by 19 feet, was constructed nearer to the dwelling as well as at least five other outbuildings (Neiman 1990:315-319, 321-324). In addition to these structures, the inhabitants of the Clifts Plantation also constructed a complex landscape through the use of ditch-set fences (Neiman 1990:319-321; Heath [2014]). The fourth phase, dating from ca. 1720-ca. 1735, was defined by restructuring the landscape through the use of post and rail fencing, repairing the dwelling, and constructing at least three new outbuildings (Neiman 1990:326-332; Heath [2014]; Figure 16).

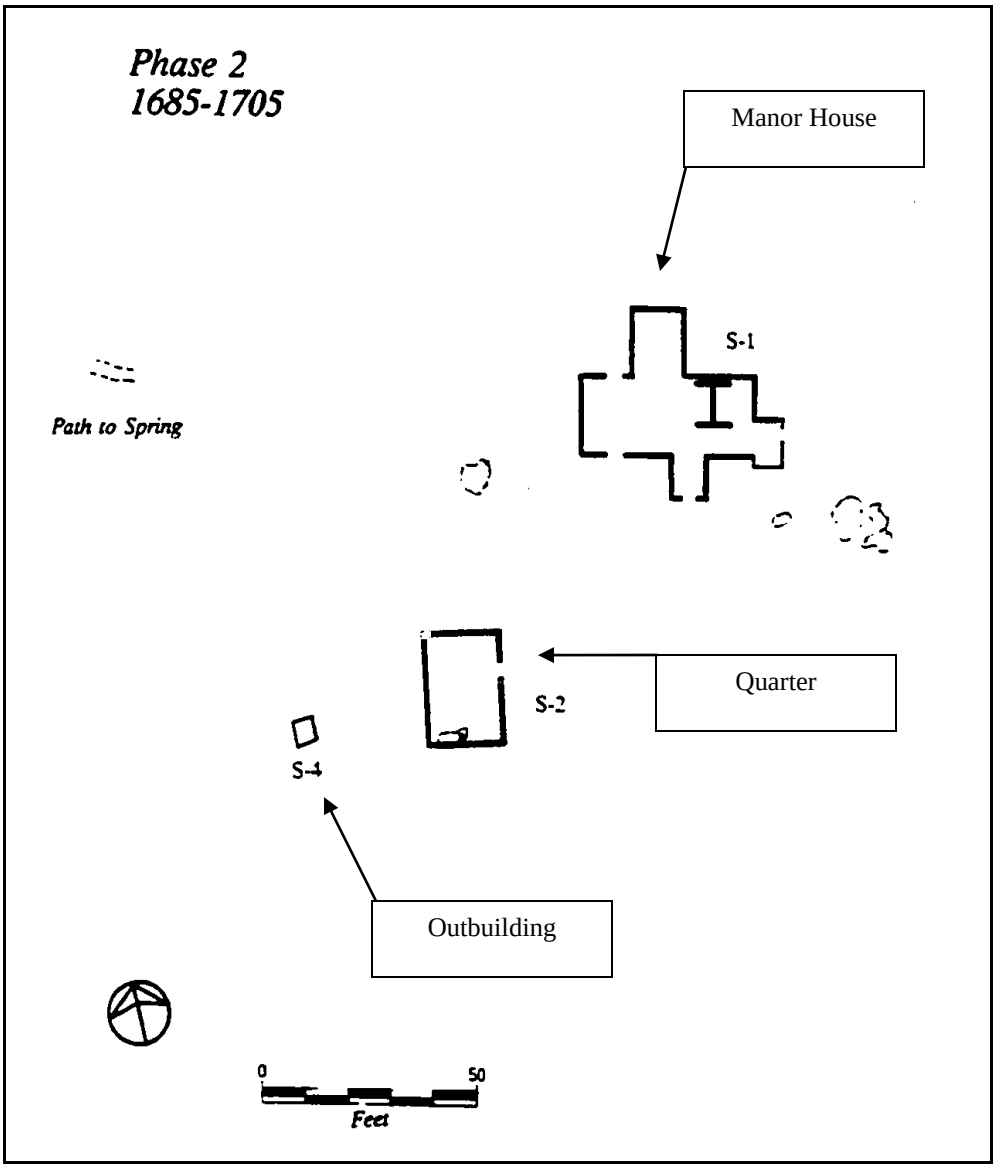

Figure 14: Phase II Site Plan for the Clifts Plantation (Modified from Neiman 1990:313).

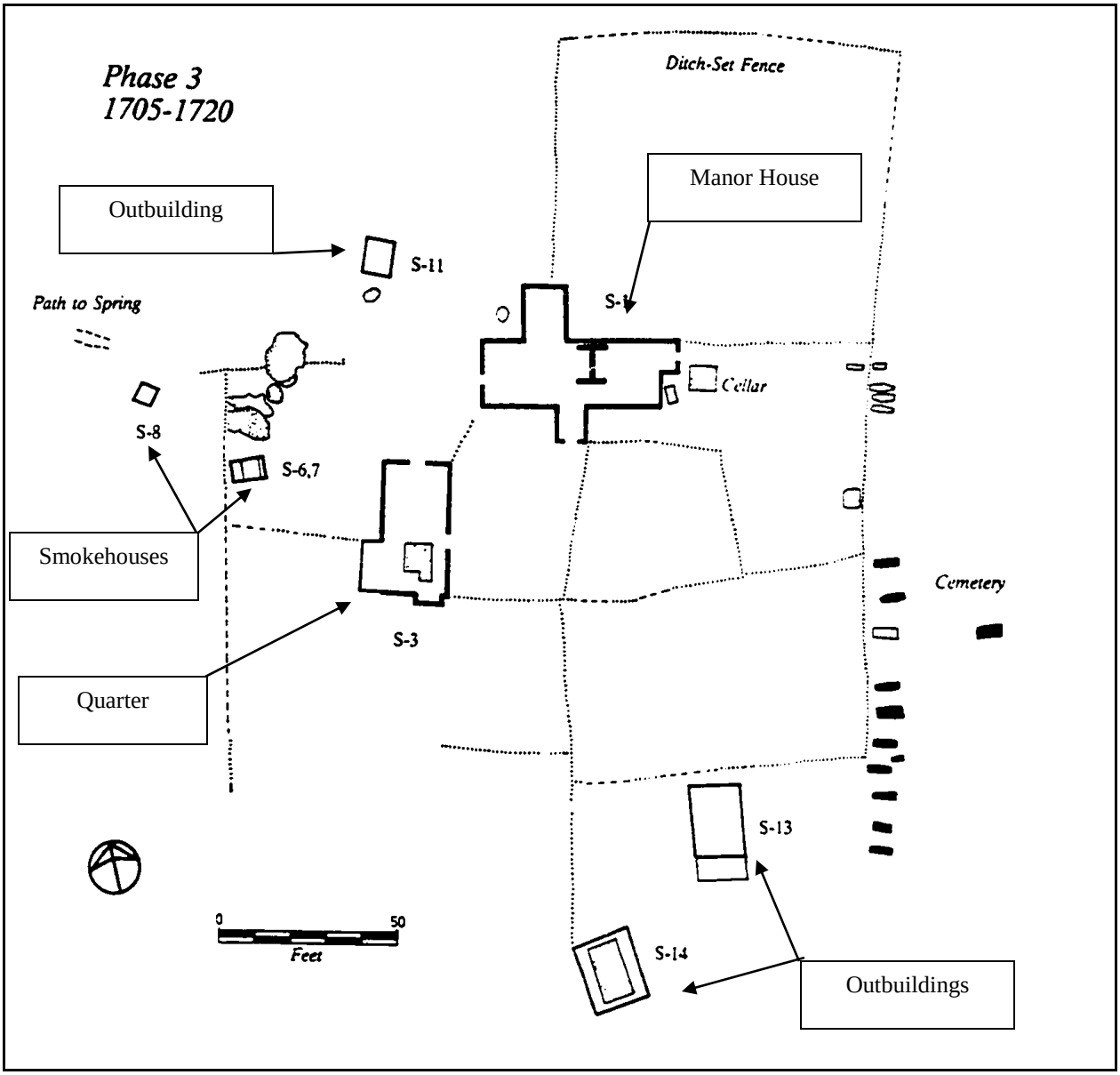

Figure 15: Phase III Site Plan for the Clifts Plantation (Neiman 1990:320).

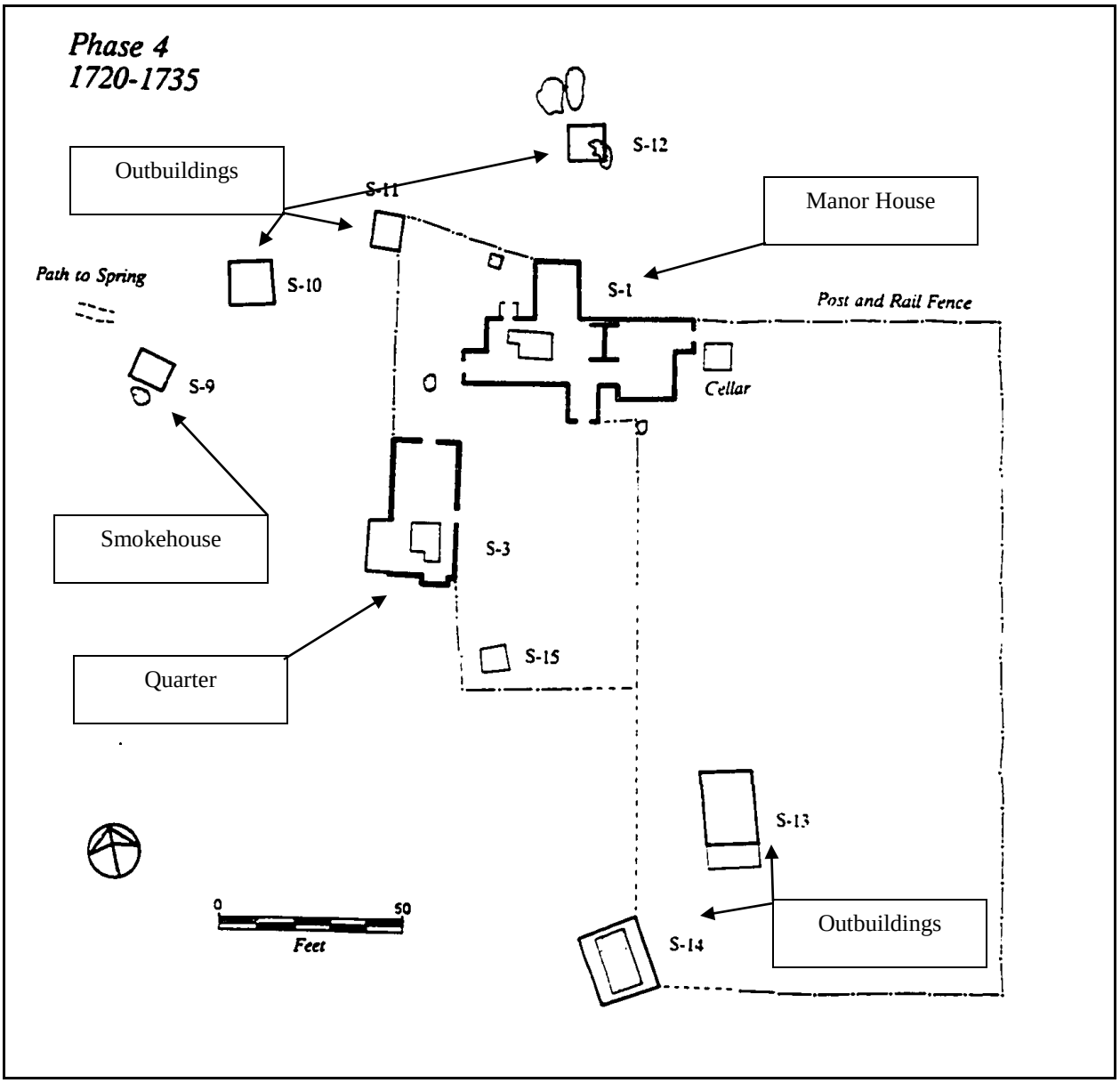

Figure 16: Phase IV Site Plan for the Clifts Plantation (Modified from Neiman 1990:327).

In total, over 43,000 artifacts were recovered from phased features at the Clifts Plantation site. Of these, 24,749 were faunal remains. While all of the phases at Clifts fall primarily into the Post-Bacon's Rebellion phase, only phases I-III were used for the ceramic and faunal analyses because they respect the temporal bounds of this dissertation. The faunal assemblage from this site was the only one within the faunal database for this dissertation that was not cataloged and initially analyzed by me. Instead, this assemblage was analyzed by Joanne Bowen shortly after the excavations were completed (Bowen 1980). Nevertheless, the methods used in both her analysis and mine are comparable and should not greatly affect the comparison of this assemblage to the others (discussed below).

The phased ceramic assemblage at the Clifts Plantation consisted of at least 2,253 sherds. Like the faunal assemblage, only ceramic sherds and vessels that were phased were used. Additionally, these vessels were drawn from both plowzone and feature contexts. It should be noted that the ceramic assemblage from this site and Newman's Neck were the only two within the ceramic database for this dissertation that were neither cataloged nor analyzed by me. Fraser Neiman cataloged and vesselized the Clifts assemblage shortly after the excavation and Heath and her students cataloged and vesselized the Newman's Neck assemblage as part of their reanalysis (Neiman 1990:409; Heath et al. 2009).

The Maurice Clark Site (44ST174)

The Maurice Clark site was first identified in 1991 during an archaeological survey of Ferry Farm, George Washington's Boyhood Home, by Espy, Huston, and Associates, Inc. (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:9-10). In 1996, volunteers under the direction of Paul Schuster excavated a single test unit in the cellar of the dwelling at the site, misinterpreting it as a ravine filled with material from the mid-18th century (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:10). Large-scale

excavations at the site, from which the collections used in the following analyses were recovered, did not commence until 2002. Starting in this year, the Archaeology Department of the George Washington Foundation (GWF), under the direction of David Muraca, began seasonal excavations at Ferry Farm that have continued to this day. From 2002-2003, however, the focus of these excavations was the Maurice Clark site. Archaeology at the site revealed the remains of a small planter's farm dating from ca. 1700-ca. 1730, including a dwelling with cellars, borrow pits, and a possible smokehouse (Figure 17). In addition to the features at the site, the archaeologists uncovered over 25,000 artifacts including, ceramics, faunal remains, glass, tobacco pipes, and small finds. A brief summary report of the 2002 and 2003 excavations was written shortly after the excavations and is used below to discuss the excavations at the site (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006).

The methods used to excavate the Maurice Clark site were the most modern and rigorous of all the sites used in this dissertation and are described in the summary report (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:30-31). First, a grid was established at the site and tied to the United States Geological Survey (USGS) coordinate system. Plowzone on the site was removed by excavating 5 by 5 foot units with a shovel and screening the matrix through quarter-inch mesh. Features were fully exposed, mapped, and excavated. Features were excavated by hand and all artifact-rich feature fill was screened though sixteenth-inch mesh. Most small features were completely excavated, while larger features, such as the cellar in the dwelling, had three quarters of the fill removed. Plan and profile drawings of all features were made. Finally, soil chemistry, flotation, and phytolith samples were taken from selected features. Artifact cataloging and preliminary analysis was performed by the staff of the Archaeology Department at GWF.

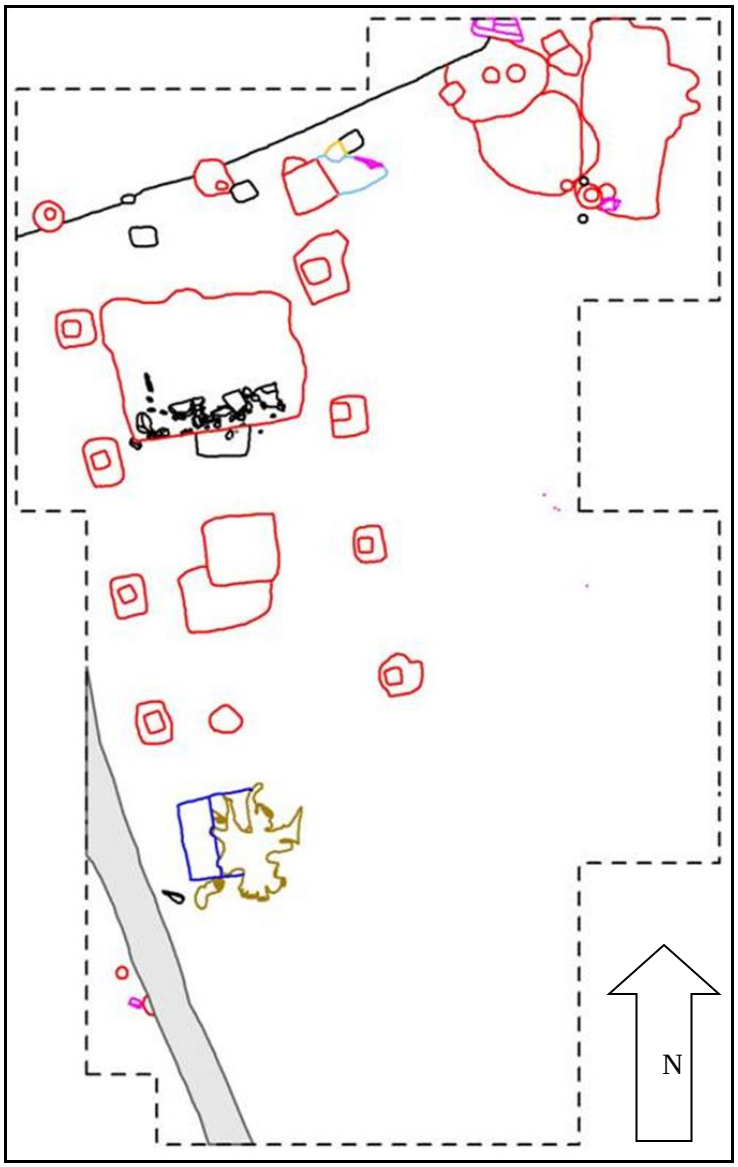

Figure 17: Plan View of Features Uncovered at the Maurice Clark Site, Maurice Clark Period Feature in Red (map courtesy GWF).

Excavators have divided the Maurice Clark site into two distinct phases based upon TPQs and spatial relationships of features at the site. Dating of the site in the preliminary report relied primarily on TPQs and general impressions about the composition of the artifact assemblage (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:41-50). No MCDs or pipe stem dates were reported by the excavators. However, Lauren McMillan's Master's thesis (2010:39) reports pipe stem dates for the major features at this site, and I have calculated a MCD for the features at the site using the catalog for the 2002 and 2003 excavations. The MCD for features at the Maurice Clark site yielded a date of 1711 with a TPQ of 1725 and a ceramic intersection of 1700-1725. Pipe stem dating for the features yielded a Hanson date of 1736 with a Harrington Histogram indicating an occupation between 1710 and 1750. Based upon this archaeological evidence and historical references to the site, it appears that the Maurice Clark site was occupied from 1694, when John Hamilton likely built the dwelling, to 1727, when William Strother purchased the property and constructed a new dwelling (Table 15).

The first phase of occupation at the site encompasses the period from the first settlement of the site by John Hamilton around 1694 to the death of Maurice Clark in 1711. During this phase, the dwelling at the site was constructed, a root cellar within the dwelling was dug and filled, a cellar within the dwelling was dug, and three borrow pits were dug near the house (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:41-46). The dwelling was of post-in-ground construction and measured 30 by 20 feet with a wattle and daub chimney on the south gable end. Within the dwelling there was a root cellar measuring roughly 6.5 by 4.5 feet in front of the hearth and a large cellar measuring 13 by 10 feet in the northern portion of the house. In order to build the wattle and daub chimney for the house, three clay borrow pits were dug to the north and east of the house measuring 7.5 by 3.5 feet, 6 by 6 feet, and 6 by 4 feet.

Table 15: Dating Methods and Results for the Maurice Clark Site.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ	1725
MCD	1711
Ceramic Intersection	1700-1725
Harrington	1710-1750
Hanson	1736
Historical Records Range	1694-1727
Historical Records Mean	1711

The second phase of occupation spans the period from Maurice Clark's death in 1711 to the abandonment of the site in 1727 and likely represents the occupation of the Harwood or Hartshorn family. During this phase, a major renovation of the dwelling took place that included replacing the wattle and daub chimney with a stone and brick chimney, filling the large cellar, and digging a replacement root cellar (Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006:46-50). Additionally, an outbuilding, which likely functioned as a smokehouse, was also constructed during this phase. The new root cellar measured roughly 5 feet square and was placed just to the north of the old root cellar, while the large cellar in the house was filled due to erosion that caused the northern wall to extend outside the building. Finally, during this phase, the occupants of the site constructed a small outbuilding that likely functioned as a smokehouse to the south of the dwelling, defined by a small pit feature.

Of the over 25,000 artifacts recovered from the Maurice Clark excavations over 252 were ceramics from phased contexts. Only phased ceramics were used in the following analyses of this collection because several occupations dating from 1700-1900 overlap in the plowzone at Ferry Farm. Therefore, definitively assigning sherds, particularly those with long date ranges such as tin-glazed earthenware, to a single occupation is essentially impossible with plowzone material in the vicinity of the Maurice Clark site. The faunal assemblage from phased contexts consisted of 4,581 fragments, 2,708 of which came from pre-renovation phase contexts and 1,873 of which came from post-renovation phase contexts (Hatch 2012). However, since the site is clearly in the post-Bacon's Rebellion period, and the occupation is so short, both phases are combined in the analysis.

The Henry Brooks Site (44WM205)

The first archaeological investigations at the Henry Brooks site occurred in 1933, at the same time the John Washington site was being excavated (Blades 1979:13). Up to three structured were identified during these early NPS investigations, one of which had brick foundations. The cellar of the building with brick foundations, identified as Outbuilding A, was completely excavated in the 1930s, resulting in the recovery of well over 1,000 artifacts (Blades 1979:38). Archaeology at the site resumed in 1977, led by Brooke Blades, under the direction of John Cotter (Blades 1979:1). The 1970s excavations exposed at least two structures and associated landscape features, as well as recovering over 1,000 artifacts. Blades completed a summary of the previous archaeology at the site and the results of his excavations in 1979, which is used here, in conjunction with site records, to discuss the archaeology and artifacts at the site.

There is little documentation related to the 1930s excavations, but, judging from references to letters written during the 1930s and archaeological evidence from the 1977 excavations, it appears that the site was surface collected and trenched in order to identity architectural remains. When the foundation of Outbuilding A was discovered by the 1930s excavators, the area immediately surrounding this structure was stripped and the cellar was excavated. It is highly unlikely that the feature fill or plowzone was screened. The accession number that represents these early excavations, 279, describes this provenience as “outbuilding and surface.” Therefore, while the majority of the artifacts likely came from the cellar of outbuilding A, many of them probably also originated in the plowzone. Additionally, there are no records of the stratigraphy in this feature, and it is unlikely that the cellar was excavated stratigraphically. Over 1,000 artifacts were recovered from Outbuilding A, which comprise the majority of the ceramics used for the analyses performed in this dissertation.

The methods used during the 1977 excavations are better understood because of the report produced on the site (Blades 1979:16). The plowzone at the site was mechanically stripped in order to better understand the extent of the site and the physical and spatial relationships of structures. A site plan was created and selected features were partially excavated in order to understand the temporal dimensions of the site (Figure 18). Features were excavated stratigraphically and their profiles were recorded. Although Blades' report does not explicitly note screening at the site, it is likely that all soils were screened through quarter-inch mesh based upon a visual examination of artifact size and Blades' notation about screening during the 1930s excavations. A total of 1,131 artifacts were recovered during the 1970s excavations (Blades 1979:77).

The 1977 excavation revealed at least two structures and associated landscape features at the site. The largest building was represented by a brick-lined cellar measuring approximately 20 by 19 feet. This structure had a brick chimney on the north end and was likely either constructed with shallow piers, or possibly with sills laid on the brick cellar walls (Blades 1979:23). There appears to have been a small root cellar in front of the hearth measuring approximately 9 by 2.5 feet, which was replaced by the large brick cellar (Blades 1979:28). This building was most likely a dwelling. A MCD was calculated using the vessels from the MVC that I performed for this collection. The MCD yielded a date of 1718 with a ceramic intersection range of 1700-1725 (Table 16). Based upon the archaeological evidence and historical records, it appears that the site acted as a tenancy for Jane and Nathaniel Pope from about 1700, when Jane took possession of the property, to 1726, when she sold it to Augustine Washington.

The function of the outbuilding at the site is more difficult to discern. Outbuilding A, discovered and excavated in the 1930s, was located about 48 feet northwest of the dwelling and

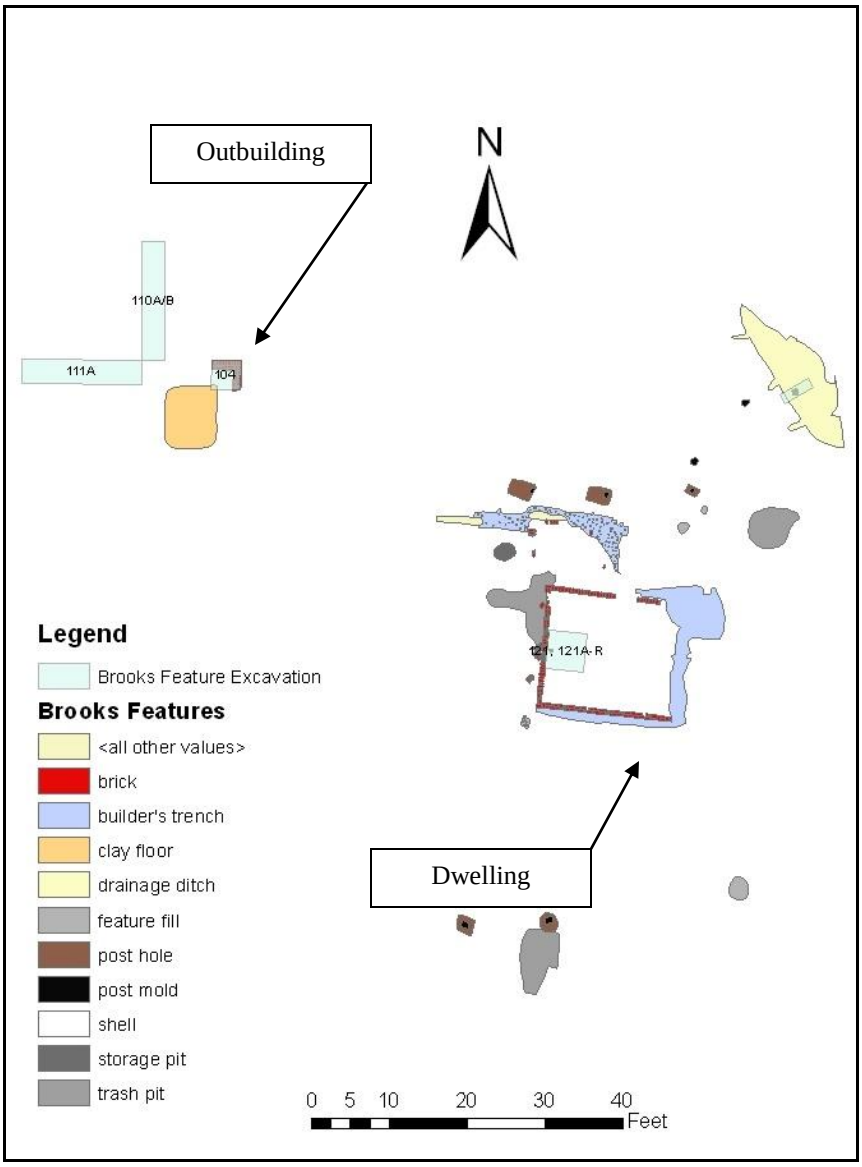

Figure 18: Plan Map of Features Uncovered at the Henry Brooks Site (map courtesy Scott Strickland).

Table 16: Dating Methods and Results for the Henry Brooks Site.

Dating Method	**Result**
TPQ	1725
MCD (Adjusted and Based upon MVC)	1718
Ceramic Intersection	1700-1725
Historical Records Range	1700-1726
Historical Records Mean	1713

consisted of a brick-lined cellar measuring approximately 13.5 by 12.5 feet (Blades 1979:38). The cellar contained a raised pad of clay in the center of the floor, likely created during the construction of the building (Blades 1979:38). Ceramics recovered from the 1930s excavation of this outbuilding suggest that the cellar was filled with refuse dating from approximately 1700-1720. Therefore, the building was likely in use during the Jane and Nathaniel Pope ownership of the site. While the artifacts suggest that the building may have been abandoned slightly before the dwelling, it is likely that the two structures were abandoned at the same time, since only a single sherd of Astbury refined earthenware accounts for the 1725 TPQ for the dwelling. Outbuilding A may have served as a quarter, kitchen, dairy, or combination of the three, judging from its size, artifact assemblage, and construction.

Of particular note at this site is the fact that the majority of artifacts, particularly ceramics, were excavated from the cellar of Outbuilding A in the early 1930s. Despite slightly different TPQs, this outbuilding and the dwelling were likely contemporaneous and abandoned at the same time. Pipe stem dates were not available for this site, but the generally low proportion of decorated pipes in combination with bowl and juncture shapes point to an early-18th-century occupation. Therefore, it is assumed that the majority of the over 2,000 artifacts recovered from this site are associated with the Jane and Nathaniel Pope ownership of the site and likely represent the occupancy of a tenant, based upon the ownership history detailed in Chapter 4. Ceramics from all contexts (n=814), which included features, plowzone, and surface collection, were used in the following analyses, with the exception of the clearly intrusive North Italian Slipware vessel. Additionally, faunal remains from this site were excluded from analysis because there were very few recovered (n=548), and even fewer from sealed layers or features. However,

a report on the faunal assemblage from the site was completed shortly after the 1977 excavations (Burnston 1978).

Analytical Methods for Ceramic Assemblages

The primary quantitative and analytical methods used for the ceramic assemblages from the sites described above focus on determining the minimum number of ceramic vessels at each site and/or within each phase (Table 17). Historical archaeologists working in the Chesapeake and elsewhere have long recognized the utility of quantifying and analyzing ceramic assemblages using MVCs (Stone 1970; Stone, Little, and Israel 1972; Yentsch 1990, 1991; Voss 2002; Voss and Allen 2010; Poulain 2013). The calculation of a MVC has become a somewhat standard practice in historical archaeology. The utility of this method comes from the fact that it provides a way of quantifying vessel forms on a site in order to better understand vessel use (Voss and Allen 2010:1).

Significantly, MVCs also help to mediate taphonomic factors within ceramic assemblages on historic sites, especially differential fragmentation of ceramic types. For example, more durable utilitarian wares, such as Buckley milk pans, tend to break into fewer pieces than thinly-potted fine wares, such as Chinese porcelain tea cups. If only sherd counts were compared for these two types, then the finer wares would tend to be over-represented, while sherd weights would likely favor the heavier coarse wares. MVCs provide a less-biased method of quantification for ceramic assemblages on sites, particularly when the assemblages are drawn from different context types, such as plowzone and features, as they are for the majority of the assemblages analyzed here.

Table 17: Summary of Ceramic Assemblages Used in Analyses.

Site	**Range**	**Ceramic Sherd Count**[4]	**Minimum Vessel Count**
John Hallowes (44WM6)	1647-1681	1,599	199
John Washington (44WM204)	1664-1704	2,083	181
Nomini Plantation Phase I	*1647-1679*	*829*	*124*
Nomini Plantation Phase II	*1679-1700*	*951*	*75*
Nomini Plantation Phase III	*1700-1722*	*782*	*58*
Total Nomini Plantation (44WM12)	1647-1722	3,367	264
Newman's Neck (44NB180)	1672-1747	439	60
Clifts Plantation Phase I	*1670-1685*	*218+*	*34*
Clifts Plantation Phase II	*1685-1705*	*97+*	*37*
Clifts Plantation Phase III	*1705-1720*	*294+*	*79*
Clifts Plantation Phase IV	*1720-1735*	*1,644+*	*186*
Total Clifts Plantation (44WM33)	1670-1735	2,253+	417
Henry Brooks (44WM205)	1700-1726	814	100
Maurice Clark (44ST174)	1694-1727	252+	86

[4] + indicates the minimum number of phased sherds. However, based on crossmends these numbers are likely higher that what is presented here.

While MVCs tend to be less biased in their quantification of ceramic assemblages, they can have significant problems, particularly when assemblages are compared. Therefore, it is essential to outline the methods used to calculate the MVC for an assemblage (Voss and Allen 2010:1; Poulain 2013:108-109). Generally, there are two ways to calculate a MVC for a ceramic assemblage, quantitative or qualitative. The quantitative method, known as Estimated Vessel Equivalency (EVE), relies on determining the percentages of vessels that rim, base, or other measureable diagnostic sherds represent (Orton and Hughes 2013:203-218; Voss and Allen 2010:1; Poulain 2013:109-110). For example, if an analyst were to have six plain white tin-glazed earthenware plate rims, four of which had a diameter of 100mm, one of which had a diameter of 120mm, and one of which had a diameter of 130mm, the analyst could count the 120mm and 130mm rims as one vessel each and would then have to calculate the percentage of a 100mm rim that was represented by the 100mm fragments. If this percentage were less than 100, the sherds would represent one vessel, if it were between 100 and 200 the sherds would represent two vessels, and so on. Orton and Hughes argue that this method is the best for analyzing ceramic assemblages because of its statistical robustness and ease of comparability across different sites and assemblages (2013:206-212). This method tends to work well with assemblages that are dominated by standardized mass-produced ceramics (Voss and Allen 2010:1). However, it tends to disregard body sherds as well as variations in paste, temper, and glaze. Therefore, for assemblages dominated by ceramics with large degrees of variation, such as locally-made earthenwares, or produced prior to the large scale industrialization of the ceramic industry, as most 17th-century ceramics were, EVEs are not always the best option.

The qualitative method for calculating MVCs, which is used in this dissertation, takes multiple aspects of the ceramic assemblage into account and assigns sherds to vessels based upon

similarities in paste, glaze, temper, and other attributes that the analyst deems significant (Voss and Allen 2010:1; Poulain 2013:109-110). For example, if an analyst has an assemblage of sherds identical to the EVE example above, he or she may easily arrive at a different vessel count, particularly if he or she notices a distinct glaze or paste variation between the sherds of the same rim diameter. Additionally, sherds of vessels such as lobed dishes, whose rim diameters are nearly impossible to measure, necessarily require qualitative vessel estimates. Needless to say, this method is less replicable than EVE because different analysts will see the ceramic assemblage in different ways. It is imperative that the methods for the calculation of a qualitative MVC are outlined in detail so that future analysts can understand how the analyst arrived at their result.

MVCs for ceramic assemblages used in this dissertation were calculated by me, with the exception of the Clifts Plantation and Newman's Neck sites. However, the method that I used to calculate MVC I feel is similar enough to those used at Clifts and Newman's Neck that comparison should not be hindered. The MVCs at both sites were calculated using the qualitative method (Neiman 1990:408-410; Heath et al. 2009:88). In order to calculate the MVC at the sites I analyzed, I first sorted the ceramics by ware type. I then placed all of the ceramics of a single type on a table and attempted cross-mends. Sherds were then sorted by rim, base, or body fragment. I then calculated the MVC based upon rims or bases, whichever was more numerous since these vessel portions are most diagnostic in terms of form.

During the calculation I took into account rim and base forms, rim and base diameter, paste, glaze, vessel form, and other variation to either lump separate rim sherds that did not mend together, or to separate them as distinct vessels. After this portion of the exercise I examined the rims and bases to ensure that no other distinct forms were present that might account for a

different vessel. In the case of decorated ceramics, such as tin-glazed earthenware, I also used decorative motifs on body, rim, and base sherds as indicators of unique vessels, although I attempted to be as conservative as possible with this method since decoration on a single vessel can vary, is difficult to determine on small sherds, and the count can easily be biased in favor of decorated vessels due to their ease of recognition.

Vessel forms were primarily assigned using the Potomac Typological System (POTS) for vessels where a distinct form could be determined (Beaudry et al. 1983). I selected the POTS typology because it tends to be the standard for 17th-century sites in Virginia and Maryland and it allows for comparability with previously-analyzed sites in the region (Yentsch 1990, 1991). The POTS typology was also used by Neiman in his MVC for the Clifts Plantation site and by Heath et al. in the MVC for the Newman's Neck site (Neiman 1990:408-410; Heath et al. 2009:88). In some cases, however, a vessel could only be assigned to hollow ware or flat ware. Additionally, certain vessels were encountered that were not defined by POTS. Examples include lobed dishes, an alembic, and a dipper. Finally, there were certain vessels that could be narrowed down to two forms, but not definitively associated with one or the other. For example, cups and drinking pots are very similar in form, but are distinguished by capacity (Beaudry et al. 1983:29-30). In several cases this degree of distinction could not be determined so the vessel was listed as cup/drinking pot.

After the MVC was completed, vessel forms were compared between sites and phases in order to understand change and variation in ceramic use over time and between households. This included examining distinct forms and their distribution as well as categories of use. For this comparison I chose to use functional groups as a proportion of their respective assemblages due to the ease of comparability with previous work on 17th-century ceramic assemblages in the

region (Yentsch 1990, 1991, 1996; Pogue 1997). I also compared the counts of vessels to expected counts based upon the creation of contingency tables for the assemblages. Comparison of any measure of frequency or abundance between archaeological assemblages is affected by numerous issues concerning excavation, taphonomy, and analytical methods. In order to choose an appropriate method for comparison, all of these factors need to be addressed and their effect on assemblages must be understood.

The comparison of relative frequencies has been heavily critiqued because of the interdependence of many classes of artifacts (Banning 2000:99; Galle 2006:166-167). In comparing percentages of artifacts, the total must always equal 100%, meaning that if one category increases, others must decrease, even if their abundance is constant (Banning 2000:99). Following this line of reasoning, it is quite likely that ceramics in different functional groups had discard rates that were interrelated. Galle has suggested the use of two other methods of comparison to help alleviate the biases of relative frequencies related to interdependence, artifact densities and abundance indices (2006:167-175). Artifact densities measure the number of artifacts in a given unit, usually a unit of volume. This measure is generally an improvement over relative frequencies, but requires some comparable unit among sites (Galle 2006:167-168). In the case of the assemblages used in this dissertation, there is no comparable unit because recording methods for the sites varied considerably. None of the sites excavated prior to the late 1970s had depth measurements for features or plowzone units, making measures of volume, and density, impossible to calculate. Therefore, measures of artifact density are unable to be calculated or compared across all of the sites.

Galle's other suggested method for comparing data across sites is an abundance index (2004; 2006:172-175). This method measures the discard of various artifact categories in relation

to a single artifact category whose discard rate either does not change, or changes in a predictable manner. Artifact abundance indices have two underlying assumptions associated with their use. The first assumption is that access to the baseline artifact type is similar, or at least predictable, across all of the sites being compared. This is a particularly problematic assumption when sites of varying geographic locations and socioeconomic status are examined and compared. For the assemblages used in this dissertation, the strong connections between the early sites coupled with the multiple socioeconomic groups represented and their geographical locations would likely have made access to all artifact categories somewhat uneven. The second underlying assumption of abundance indices, and most important to this analysis, is that recovery methods at sites are comparable between artifact classes. This is perhaps the greatest hindrance to the use of this method for the assemblages here because of recovery methods that ranged from picking artifacts during excavation, to quarter-inch screening, to sixteenth-inch screening. Additionally, differing proportions of the sites were excavated, meaning that specialized disposal areas that could have contained more of the baseline artifact type might not have been sampled, which would significantly affect the results.

Although other methods for comparing data between sites are available that are technically more robust than relative proportions, their underlying assumptions would rule out many of the assemblages used here because of the variation in archaeological methods that have been employed since the 1930s. While interdependence is a problem, comparing relative frequencies of vessel categories is the best option for all of these assemblages because the recovery of ceramic sherds on each site should have been roughly standard within their respective sites. In addition to using relative proportions, raw counts are also compared and tested for variation using a chi-square test for significance and the associated contingency tables.

While this statistical test does not mediate the problems of interdependence, it does help to confirm variation or stability within categories and between sites. Finally, the use of relative proportions of vessel categories also serves to make my data comparable with other studies of ceramic use in the 17th-century Chesapeake, providing a baseline with which to compare my results (Yentsch 1990, 1991, 1996; Pogue 1997).

To facilitate the comparison of assemblages, the vessels were assigned to five distinct categories defined by Anne Yentsch in her studies of Chesapeake ceramic assemblages: Food Preparation and Storage, Food Distribution, Food Consumption, Traditional Beverages, and New Beverages (Yentsch 1990, 1991; Table 18). The Food Preparation and Storage category is comprised entirely of coarse earthenware and stoneware vessels and contains three subcategories of Dairy, Household, and Beverage Storage. Dairy vessels include milk pans and butter pots. Household vessels include all other kitchen-related vessels used for storage or cooking including pipkins, bowls, dripping pans, chafing dishes, and pots. Beverage Storage vessels are comprised entirely of bottles.

The Food Distribution category is comprised primarily of earthenware vessels in the 17th century, which can often be decorated, and includes vessels such as dishes, chargers, decorated earthen pans, large bowls, and platters. The Food Consumption category is comprised mostly of earthenware vessels in the 17th century, the majority of which are decorated, and includes plates and porringers. The Traditional Beverages category is comprised of earthenware and stoneware vessels contains two subcategories of serving and consumption. Serving vessels within this category include pitchers, ewers, and syllabub pots. Traditional Beverage Consumption vessels include cups, drinking pots, mugs, and jugs. The New Beverage category is comprised primarily of earthenware and porcelain vessels and contains three subcategories of Punch, Tea Wares, and

Table 18: Functional Divisions of Pottery and Associated Vessels (Modified from Yentsch 1990).

Category/Subcategory	**Ware Category**	**Vessel Forms**
Food Preparation and Storage	Coarse Earthenware and Stoneware	
Dairy		Milk Pans, Butter Pots
Household		Bowls, Pipkins, Chafing Dishes, Pots, Dripping Pans
Beverage Storage		Bottles
Food Distribution	Earthenware	Dishes, Chargers, Large Bowls, Pans, Platters
Food Consumption	Earthenware	Plates, Porringers
Traditional Beverages	Earthenware and Stoneware	
Serving		Pitchers, Ewers, Syllabub Pots
Consumption		Cups, Drinking Pots, Mugs, Jugs
New Beverages	Earthenware and Porcelain	
Punch		Punch Bowls
Tea Wares		Teapots, Teacups, Slop Bowls
Coffee/Chocolate		Coffee Pots, Capuchines
Health/Hygiene	Earthenware	Galley Pots, Chamber Pots
Other	Earthenware	Candlesticks, Ink Pots, Flower Pots

Coffee/Chocolate. The Punch category includes punch bowls, the Tea Ware category includes teapots, teacups, and slop bowls, and the Coffee/Chocolate category includes coffee pots and capuchines.

In addition to Yentsch's five major categories for ceramic vessels, I have also included two more categories in order to encompass all vessel types in the assemblages. The first of these categories, Health/Hygiene is comprised of earthenware vessels and includes galley pots and chamber pots. The final category, Other, consists of all other vessels that are not easily assigned to another category. Some examples include candlesticks, ink pots, and flower pots. While I believe that analyzing ceramic assemblages based solely on these seven categories can mask important variability between assemblages, the categories facilitated comparison between previously published assemblages from the Chesapeake, allowing the data I have generated here to be easily compared. As mentioned above, however, I also examined the distribution of individual forms, such as milk pans or chargers, within and between sites.

Analytical Methods for Faunal Assemblages

The methods used in this dissertation for the analysis of the faunal assemblages include the calculation of three measures of taxonomic abundance, number of identified specimens present (NISP), minimum number of individuals (MNI), and biomass, in order to understand relative proportions and presence or absence of certain species within the diet of the site inhabitants (White 1953; Reitz and Cordier 1983; Reitz et al. 1987; Reitz and Wing 1999:72; Table 19). In addition to this, I also employed skeletal part frequencies for the major domestic mammals in the assemblages (cow, pig, sheep/goat) and deer, in order to address questions including preference for certain cuts, cooking or serving practices, and sale or trade of meat

Table 19: Summary of Faunal Assemblages Used in this Analysis.

Site	Range	NISP	MNI	Biomass (kg)
John Hallowes (44WM6)	1647-1666[5]	2,448	37	76.747
Nomini Plantation Phase I	1647-1679	982	24	132.06
Nomini Plantation Phase II	1679-1700	535	20	94.15
Nomini Plantation Phase III	1700-1722	418	18	46.61
Total Nomini Plantation (44WM12)	1647-1722	2,484	73	390.04
Newman's Neck (44NB180)	1672-1725[6]	1,659	56	36.99
Clifts Plantation Phase I	1670-1685	4,786	33	928.10
Clifts Plantation Phase II	1685-1705	2,673	12	812.38
Clifts Plantation Phase III	1705-1720	5,505	36	2,132.12
Total Clifts Plantation (44WM33)	1670-1720[7]	12,964	81	3,872.6
Maurice Clark Phase I	1694-1711	2,708	21	33.07
Maurice Clark Phase II	1711-1727	1,873	34	9.37
Total Maurice Clark (44ST174)	1694-1727	4,581	55	42.44

[5] The Hallowes site faunal remains are only drawn from phase I since assemblage from the second phase of occupation was very small.

[6] The Newman's Neck faunal remains are only drawn from phase I since the second phase of occupation extends well beyond the temporal bounds of this dissertation.

[7] The Clifts Plantation faunal analysis was performed by Joanne Bowen in 1980, prior to the standard use of the biomass calculation in faunal analysis (discussed below). Therefore, for the purposes of this dissertation her useable meat weight calculation has been converted to kilograms and used to compare with biomass since later work by her has shown the measures to be comparable (Bowen and Atkins 2004:303). Additionally, the faunal assemblage from phase IV was excluded because it extended beyond the temporal bounds of this dissertation.

(Binford 1978; Reitz and Wing 1999:202-221; Klippel 2001). The final major method of analysis employed here involves determining age at slaughter for the major domestic mammals in the assemblage in order to address herd management and husbandry practices (Reitz and Wing 1999:178-179).

With the exception of the Clifts Plantation, which will be discussed in more detail below, I identified and analyzed all of the faunal assemblages. A sample from the Newman's Neck assemblage was identified by Jonathan Baker at the University of Tennessee and was incorporated into my complete analysis of the collection. The methods I used in the identification and analysis of these assemblages are outlined here. The assemblages were identified using the comparative zooarchaeological collection at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Fragments were identified to the lowest taxonomic level possible. Element, portion, and side of the bone were also recorded and all bone was weighed. Fragments that could not be identified to class were counted and weighed as unidentified. Bone modifications such as butchering marks, rodent and carnivore gnawing, burning, and root etching were also noted in order to better understand taphonomy on the sites. Additionally, epiphyseal fusion was recorded for specimens in order to better understand age structure of the assemblages. The assemblages were then quantified using three standard zooarchaeological measures: NISP, MNI, and biomass.

NISP is simply a count of fragments. This measure, like all methods for quantifying faunal assemblages, has both positive and negative aspects (Grayson 1984). Specifically, NISP has a tendency to be affected by numerous factors, including the analyst's ability to identify elements in different animals, laboratory techniques, cultural and natural site formation processes, and recovery methods (Reitz and Wing 1999:192). Despite the biases that come along

with these data they are included in the analyses because of their ease of replication and standard use and presentation in zooarchaeological analyses. In a general sense, NISP is perhaps the most comparable of taxonomic measures because, short of a counting error, every analyst should come to the same result.

MNI was calculated using the method outlined by White (1953) and taking age of the specimens into consideration, which results in a slightly more accurate estimate. Like NISP, however, this method also has biases that are affected by the same factors (Reitz and Wing 1999:195). In addition, the way in which the data are aggregated in the calculation of MNI can affect the result (Grayson 1984:90-92; Horton 1984:269). For the purposes of this dissertation faunal remains were aggregated based upon either discrete features or site phases for the calculation of MNI. This method was chosen with the assumption that artifacts and refuse from different phases were distinct. For the cases of Newman's Neck and Hallowes, it was determined that feature assemblages were distinct based upon the fact that no cross-mends existed between features. This was not the case with the Maurice Clark site, which had some overlapping features. The Nomini assemblage clearly all came from one midden feature, but its phases were distinct.

Aggregating based upon phase was particularly useful because all of the faunal assemblages used here have been divided into at least two distinct phases. While I have decided to combine phases from the sites to match my pre- and post-Bacon's Rebellion categories, I did this by adding the calculations from each phase together, rather than calculating new MNIs or biomass measurements. Overall, I felt that this better represented the assemblages by not artificially lowering biomass or MNI calculations and it allowed me the opportunity to explore intrasite variability.

The final taxonomic abundance measure used for these faunal assemblages is the biomass measure obtained by using the allometric regression formulae described by Reitz and Wing (1999:72; see also Reitz and Cordier 1983; Reitz et al. 1987). This method relies upon the biological principle that bone weight and meat weight are correlated. In addition, this relationship is the same throughout time; therefore this method of meat weight estimation from bone weight has less potential room for error than other methods (Reitz and Wing 1999:227). However, like MNI, the way in which the units of excavation are grouped can affect the biomass, therefore biomass calculations were completed within phases and then combined, like the MNI calculations. Additionally, other concerns with the use of biomass have been raised (Jackson 1989), however it is necessary to employ some form of dietary contribution calculation for species in order to conduct intrasite and intersite comparisons of the relative contribution of species to diet. Biomass appears to be the least biased of the methods available and it has the advantage of being comparable to the useable meat calculations employed in previous large-scale faunal analyses in the Chesapeake (Bowen 1980, 1994, 1996, 1999; Miller 1984, 1988; Bowen and Atkins 2004:303).

In addition to the measures of taxonomic abundance, a skeletal part frequency analysis was performed on the collections in order to address questions of preference for certain cuts of meat, cooking and serving, and trade (Binford 1978; Reitz and Wing 1999:202-221; Klippel 2001). An analysis of skeletal part frequency, based on NISP, was performed where elements were assigned to five categories: head, axial, foot, front quarter, and hind quarter. The archaeological assemblage was then compared to a standard specimen of the same species using percentages. Taxa analyzed using this method include the major domestic mammal species (cow, pig, and sheep/goat) as well as deer.

Elements were assigned to the skeletal categories as follows. The head category counted the entire skull as one element, the mandible as two (hyoid bones and the teeth). The axial category included the pelvis and all ribs and vertebrae, with the exception of caudal vertebrae. The foot category consisted of all elements including and below the metacarpals and metatarsals. The hind quarter category was represented by the femur, tibia, and patella. Finally, the front quarter category consisted of the scapula, humerus, radius, and ulna.

Determining the age at death for specimens in faunal collections can be used to address a variety of questions including herd management, specific harvest strategies, seasonality, and production (Reitz and Wing 1999:178-179). In general, determining the age for most mammals is done through the examination of tooth eruption, tooth wear, and epiphyseal fusion. For the purposes of this dissertation, only epiphyseal fusion of individual elements was examined for the major domestic mammals in the assemblages (cow, pig, sheep/goat) and deer. These elements included proximal and distal ends of long bones as well as vertebra, pelvis, and calcaneus fragments.

The fusion of elements is not as specific as tooth eruption and wear, and often occurs within a time range of a few months and can be affected by various factors (Reitz and Wing 1999:75). Tooth eruption was not used in this analysis because fewer than 15 mandibles for each species were present in all of the collections combined that were complete enough to use. Therefore, I relied upon the fusion data generated by Silver (1970), Schmid (1972:75), and Purdue (1983) to age individual specimens. Additionally, fusion ages for sheep were used for the sheep/goat category where necessary. Elements were then placed into one of three distinct age classes: early fusing (generally less than 12 months), middle fusing (generally 12-30 months), and late fusing (35-42 months) after Chaplin (1971:Table 10). The age ranges for these groups in

months are only estimates, and as a result of the nature of epiphyseal fusion, it should be realized that the ages are relative and the actual age for a specimen may be slightly older or younger than indicated. However, the three groups do allow specimens to be assigned to a juvenile, subadult, or adult category, which can be useful in understanding harvest strategies and the multiple uses of animals. While fusion data from the Clifts site was computed using a slightly different method, counts of elements were present, which allowed me to create slightly modified age categories that were comparable with my own (Bowen 1980). Both skeletal part frequency and age analyses were performed within distinct phases, when appropriate, and also for combined phases in order to examine intrasite variability and long terms trends before and after Bacon's Rebellion.

Taphonomy, Recovery Methods, and Comparing Assemblages

The primary difficulty in the interpretation of multiple archaeological assemblages stems from the comparability of those assemblages in terms of recovery methods, contexts of recovery, and post-depositional processes. While I have attempted to structure questions that minimized these issues of comparability I also sampled data in such a way that minimized compatibility problems. In a general sense, the assemblages used in this dissertation are similar enough that general trends should not be obscured, but a more detailed discussion of sampling strategies used at these sites for both the ceramic and faunal assemblages is warranted.

The types of contexts sampled in the field necessarily influence the types of analyses that can be performed. For example, a site with little or none of the plowzone excavated is likely not the best candidate for the analysis and interpretation of spatial distributions of artifacts and the use of space. In the same line of thinking, if a site were occupied for more than a century, artifacts only recovered from the plowzone are likely not appropriate for answering questions

that require fine-grained temporal resolution. For this dissertation, very fine-grained temporal resolution is not necessary, but it is important to be able to associate artifacts and faunal remains with one or two households in order to make contextual interpretations about how material culture was used to construct and maintain ideas of manhood in the context of those households. In order to achieve the goal of associating artifacts with one or two distinct households, only assemblages with relatively short date ranges were used. While some of the sites, such as Nomini, Clifts, and Newman's Neck, were occupied for long periods of time, the sites and assemblages were able to be phased in such a way that assemblages could be associated with distinct people.

This phasing was particularly important in terms of the faunal assemblages. While ceramics have temporally diagnostic features that can help archaeologists to tell time, faunal remains are non-diagnostic. However, faunal materials recovered from phased features can be confidently associated with certain households based upon their contexts of recovery. Only faunal remains from phased features were used in the following analyses in order to allow these household associations to be made. In the case of ceramics, sherds from both feature and plowzone contexts were used in all cases but one (discussed below), because this approach increased the sample size and because in most cases vessels could either be phased or the assemblage represented a short period of time, allowing household associations to be made. The ceramic assemblage from Newman's Neck could not be phased for various reasons. First among these is that fact that if the assemblage were phased it would have greatly reduced the sample size, making interpretations both difficult and relatively meaningless due to an extremely small number of vessels. Therefore, I decided to keep the assemblage as a whole since it clearly represented the post-Bacon's Rebellion period and because the households represented at the site

were related and of a similar socioeconomic status, likely indicating that they shared similar ideologies.

Computing a MVC from both plowzone and feature contexts has the potential to underestimate vessels in the plowzone due to increased fragmentation. The fact that the majority of the assemblages used in this analysis were not screened, however, likely reduces or eliminates this bias. The comparison of average sherd sizes between plowzone and feature contexts at the Hallowes site confirms that feature and plowzone ceramics are comparable on these unscreened or minimally screened sites. The average ceramic sherd size for context 21 at the Hallowes site, the general surface/plowzone context, was 35 mm, while the average sherd size for contexts 29, 105A, and 105B, which represented the two major pit features on the site, was 37 mm. Although the comparison reveals sherd size to be slightly higher in the feature contexts at the Hallowes site, a difference of two mm should not significantly affect the assignment of a sherd to a specific vessel. The visual inspection of sherds at the John Washington and Henry Brooks sites during the course of my analysis indicated that sherd sizes were comparable with Hallowes, perhaps even slightly larger, at these two sites. The Clifts Plantation site, which was the only site other than Maurice Clark where plowzone was systematically sampled and screened, does contain a few vessels from the plowzone, but over 80% of the ceramics that are phased have at least one sherd, and often more, from a feature context, indicating that great care was taken when assigning individual sherds to vessels. Additionally, plowzone vessels appear to have been phased based upon distinct spatial relationships with features. Therefore, it seems unlike that an underestimate of plowzone vessels at Clifts will greatly affect my analysis because I only used phased vessels.

The only site for which I did not perform a MVC using both feature and plowzone contexts was the Maurice Clark site. Only phased features were used for the Maurice Clark

MVC. While there were ceramics in the plowzone from the site area that were associated with this occupation, their definitive assignment to the site was dubious. The primary reason for this is the fact that there are at least three other 18th-century occupations within about 100 feet of the Maurice Clark dwelling. Since many of the ceramic types from the Maurice Clark site overlap with the other sites, I chose to be conservative in my assignment of vessels to this site by only using ceramics from features that I knew to be associated with this occupation. Despite the limitations, the number of vessels in the assemblage was relatively robust at 86.

The types of features sampled are also related to differing taphonomic processes on the sites and the resulting comparability of assemblages, particularly in relation to faunal remains. Faunal assemblages were only drawn from features because assemblages from plowzone tend to be highly fragmented and tend to have an extremely high proportion of unidentifiable bones (Lyman and O'Brien 1987:495-497). Additionally, preservation of bone within plowzone contexts can be a major issue in the Chesapeake region where soils tend to be acidic (Miller 1984:203-205). As a result, the inclusion of bone from plowzone would have only likely increased the counts of unidentifiable bone in the assemblages and led to interpretive problems relating to preservation factors.

Preservation of bone in features, however, tends to be good in the Chesapeake region due to neutral or basic soils, stemming from the deposition of ash and/or shell in many features (Miller 1984:202-205). The deposition of ash and shell was very common for the features used in this analysis, particularly the larger pit features from which the majority of faunal remains were drawn. An examination of the composition of the assemblages confirmed this fact since all of the assemblages contained a fairly large number of less robust elements that might be expected to deteriorate under poor preservation conditions, such as bird bones and fish bones. Therefore, it

appears that the use of faunal remains drawn solely from features has helped to control for bone preservation biases at these different sites.

Another factor that needs to be addressed for these assemblages is the recovery methods used in the excavations. The collections used in this dissertation were excavated from the 1930s to the 2010s. There were numerous methodological advances over this period of time and, in terms of excavation methods, each assemblage is a product of its time. The earliest collections, including Hallowes, Nomini, Washington, and Brooks, were all excavated when historical archaeology as a field was either non-existent or very new. These sites were either minimally screened, or not screened at all. Therefore recovery rates were not standard. While it appears that ceramics were recovered at regular rates at these sites, likely due to their ease of identification and visibility, faunal remains clearly were not. Nomini is a prime example of the differential recovery rates for faunal remains. The only faunal remains from Nomini come from the units excavated by William Kelso and his volunteers. Since it is unlikely that bone only occurred in Kelso's units, it appears that it was not collected in the other units. Luckily, Kelso's recovery of faunal remains from his excavation units has provided a large and likely representative sample of this artifact type for the entire midden. Recovery of bone at the Hallowes site, however, appears to have been relatively good, as indicated by the amount recovered and the fact that several different kinds of species are represented. Nevertheless, small faunal specimens and small artifacts such as beads and straight pins are probably underrepresented at both of these sites.

The Newman's Neck and Clifts collections were excavated by professional archaeologists after the field had been established. These excavations employed better recovery methods that included screening soil through quarter-inch mesh and water screening or floating selected soil samples. These excavation strategies served to standardize recovery at the sites as

well as aiding in the recovery of smaller faunal specimens and artifacts that might have been lost without screening. The most recently excavated collection, Maurice Clark, employed the best recovery methods of all of the assemblages. This included quarter-inch screening and the water screening of all feature fill through sixteenth-inch mesh. The recovery methods used at the Maurice Clark site greatly increased the recovery rates for artifacts and faunal specimens, which is shown in the number of small species, particularly fish, represented at the site.

The different recovery methods used at the sites clearly influence the types of questions that can be addressed using all of the collections. Small animal species tend to be drastically underrepresented in non-screened and quarter-inch screened samples (Schaffer 1992; Gordon 1993; James 1997; Klippel, Synstelien, and Heath 2011). Comparisons of the types and numbers of small animal species between these sites are impossible since it is unknown how many small species are missing from the early collections. In his dissertation, Henry Miller noted that no small fish species were being missed in the St. Mary's City collections from the 17th century after he water-screened samples of fill (Miller 1984:206). However, without a similar test for collections used in this dissertation, the definitive answer to how much was missed is unknown. In general, it appears that most, if not all, of the larger and identifiable faunal specimens were collected at all of the sites. Therefore, the more detailed analyses of skeletal portions and age distributions focus on these species, which include cows, pigs, sheep/goats, and deer. Despite these recovery biases, I still examine assemblage richness and proportions of wild meat in the assemblages, simply noting that these values may have been higher if more fine-grained recovery techniques were used.

The effect of different recovery techniques on the ceramic assemblages is likely not as pronounced as it is on the faunal assemblages. While smaller ceramic fragments may not have

been recovered, the presence and proportion of certain ware types was probably not heavily influenced. It also appears that excavators were more vigilant in their recovery of ceramic sherds on the non-screened sites, alleviating recovery bias for this artifact category. The types of contexts selected for ceramic analysis probably have a greater effect on the assemblages than the different recovery techniques. However, as discussed above, the contexts used are similar across all but one of the sites.

Clearly, the use of existing archaeological collections recovered over the course of 80 years limits the types of analyses that can be undertaken. In order to help control for sampling biases I have attempted to draw materials from only certain types of contexts that are broadly comparable when possible. However, conditions unique to each site and sample size limitations did not always allow for a completely consistent sampling method, as in the case of the Newman's Neck and Maurice Clark ceramics. Rather than discard these two collections, which I feel would be detrimental to the goal of this research, it is best to understand how their analyses were slightly different from the other sites. Since the goal of this dissertation is to examine changes and variation in the material culture of Virginia's Potomac River Valley during the early modern period, I felt it was best to include all of the sites from that time and place that might help to understand that topic.

Very few sites are completely comparable. There are numerous natural and cultural factors that affect site formation that cannot be controlled for through sampling protocols in the field or laboratory. Rather than have a rigid set of requirements for the sites used in this dissertation, I started with the collections that I thought would best help me to answer questions about material culture and plantation management in the Potomac River Valley. I then relied on a flexible approach to sampling the collections that helped to reduce biases stemming from

differential recovery methods and taphonomy. Although I acknowledge that biases still exist within the collections, I believe that the combination of the archaeological materials with a rich historical context aids in the understanding of these materials and what they meant to the people who discarded them. This work represents the only synthesis of 17th-century ceramic and faunal collections from Virginia's Potomac Valley, and as such, the more archaeological material that can be included the better.

Chapter 7: Material Culture, Plantation Management, and Manhood

Introduction

Changing concepts of authority and the adaptation of those concepts to specific colonial contexts in Virginia's Potomac River Valley had a strong influence on manly identity starting in the 1640s and solidifying after Bacon's Rebellion. At about the same time, definitions of manhood in the English Atlantic began to shift from the anxious patriarch archetype to the polite gentleman mode of conduct. Work by historians of Early Modern England and colonial America has indicated that the shift from Filmerian to Lockean concepts of authority was often associated with these changes in concepts of manliness (Brown 1996; Norton 1996; Harvey 2005). As previously noted, anxious patriarchs achieved manhood through marriage, reaching middle age, and house-holding, which provided them control over others within their families (Shepard 2003, 2005). However, because of the way in which Filmerian authority was structured, a man's authority could be challenged by women within their households and within society at large. The polite gentleman archetype, which coalesced around the last quarter of the 17th century, was defined less by strict sexual control over women and others within the household and more by self-control, sociability, and proper social interaction (Harvey 2005:301-304). While women, servants, children, and other men could still challenge and resist patriarchal authority, that resistance no longer challenged a man's authority within the broader society or the structure of that society because the family was no longer seen as the primary building block of the state (Norton 1996:5, 11). In a general sense, this polite gentlemanliness coincided with a shift to Lockean concepts of authority that occurred around the late-17th century in English society.

One of the major aspects contributing to manly identity in relation to the polite gentleman archetype of the late-17th century was the practice of good oeconomy (Harvey 2012b:169-190).

Oeconomy, or the management of the household and property, reflected manly skills because of its connection with sociability, politeness, and a man's hypothetically unquestioned authority over all members of his household (Pennell 1998:213-214; Harvey 2012b:99-133). The relationship of oeconomy to manhood necessarily complicates the notion of separate spheres because it not only associates work and objects typically viewed as female/domestic with manly identity, but it also reveals the ways in which the actions of women continued to affect manhood long after Filmerian authority was out of style (Weatherill 1986:154).

The concept of good oeconomy and plantation management easily articulates with John Locke's philosophy on authority and property. Locke's ideas about property state that a person lays claim to property by means of his own labor upon that property (1689). Specifically, the application of labor to property brings it into the possession of a person because the person owns his labor, and mixing his labor with the land creates an entity that contains a part of himself, allowing him to lay claim on the land. However, he noted that this labor must be productive and increase the goods available to others in society, ruling out the possession of land by many hunter-gatherer groups (Waldron 2004). The integration of good oeconomy, which emphasized efficient plantation and household management for the purposes of producing as much as possible from available resources, with Lockean ideas about the ownership of land are especially clear considering Locke's emphasis on productive labor. Additionally, the increasing amount of acreage seized from or sold by Indians to colonists in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion was likely heavily influenced by this line of thinking, which was circulating through the English Atlantic long before Locke wrote it down (Walsh 2010:369). Starting in the middle decades of the 17th century, one of the requirements for claiming a patent in Virginia was seating, or improving, it through the construction of a house and the planting of crops (Morgan 1975:220).

Clearly, the ideas of investing productive labor into land in order to gain possession of it were circulating in Virginia society long before John Locke's treatises. An emphasis on productivity in relation to land ownership, however, can be viewed as another way in which proto-Lockean concepts were making their way into Chesapeake society along with new concepts of manliness.

Artifacts related to good oeconomy and the management of the household, in this case ceramics and faunal remains, provide an important line of evidence to help understand how, and to what extent, the polite gentleman mode of manliness was adopted in Virginia's Potomac River Valley. This chapter seeks to understand how objects in the food domain, which has generally been associated with women, contributed to manly identity. I examine ceramic vessel assemblages focusing on their role in sociability and food processing, preparation, and storage. These assemblages show a great deal of variation through time with no distinct pattern of change, which I argue is indicative of the continuing negotiation of manly identity in the region even after a general consensus had been reached on the adoption of proto-Lockean modes of authority. Significantly, the variability between assemblages reveals how individuals adapted to these new concepts of manhood in relation to unique contextual factors, and illustrates how identity in the region was still in flux despite historical findings that colonial manhood solidified after Bacon's Rebellion (Brown 1996).

The examination of faunal remains, specifically in relation to herd and landscape management, speaks to issues of changing property management strategies and how these strategies aided in the construction of manhood through the practice of good oeconomy. Like the ceramic analysis, a high degree of variability defines these assemblages through time, suggesting multiple strategies for the management of plantations in the region. A close examination of this variability shows that planters adapted their management strategies to their own geographical,

economic, and social conditions, further illustrating that the material expressions of manhood in the region were not solidified, and that a consensus on the proper methods for expressing manhood through material culture had not been reached in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia. I conclude by examining how these two lines of material evidence work together to reveal changing plantation management strategies and the adoption of good oeconomy by men in their attempts to adapt a polite gentlemen form of manhood to their distinct situations.

Ceramics

I use ceramics as one of my two primary sources for the material evidence of manly identity in the Early Modern Potomac River Valley for three reasons. First, ceramics are some of the most abundant and most recognizable artifacts on the sites used in this analysis. Their ease of identification as significant historical artifacts means that they were likely collected in a regular fashion at all of the sites regardless of the training of the excavators. Second, ceramics are often the best-surviving artifacts, in any appreciable amount, related to food consumption and production on most 17th-century sites. As such, they provide the most reliable material dataset for measuring household food consumption and production practices because of their ubiquity and relative durability. Additionally, their strong role in foodways practices on plantations makes them sensitive markers of the exercise of household and plantation management, particularly when changes in forms or types are examined. Third, and finally, ceramics have tended to be associated with women's work on the plantation and have often been viewed as indicators of feminine identity. Rather than focusing explicitly on specific tasks as a means of creating identity for the performer, however, I focus on how tasks and their associated material culture served to create and maintain the identity of the head of the household.

The association of feminine identity with ceramics stems from the fact that the majority of tasks in which ceramics were used tended to be performed by women, including food preparation, production, and storage (Carr and Walsh 1977; Gibb and King 1991; Yentsch 1991). In the Chesapeake, however, the unbalanced sex ratios sometimes forced men and boys to perform traditionally female-related tasks, such as grinding corn (Brown 1996:87). In wealthier households these tasks would be performed by servants, but in poorer homes necessary tasks could be performed by anybody. Due to the gendered nature of tasks associated with ceramics, household composition has the potential to influence the ceramic assemblages. For example, dairying, a traditionally female task, may be more prevalent on sites with either a larger number of free women or servants.

In order to examine the effect of household composition on ceramic assemblages, the sites would need to be phased in ways that are able to correlate households of similar compositions. While many of the sites analyzed here are phased, the phases tend to correspond with multiple households where the compositions of some households are not known. On other sites, such as Henry Brooks, there is little known about the site occupants or their households from the historical record, making household composition even more difficult to assess. Additionally, the splitting of phases would serve to make the majority of the ceramic assemblages so small that any conclusions would be weak. On the other hand, upper status sites, those occupied by men who held elected office, tended to have the largest households composed of their wives, children, and servants, while lower status sites tended to have smaller households, such as the poor planter households at the Maurice Clark site. Therefore, there is likely a connection between household composition and status at the majority of these sites that has the potential to influence the practice of household management and the ceramics associated with it.

Ceramics related to household management and sociability are used here to measure how, and if, men in Virginia's Potomac River Valley adopted the new styles of manly identity, exemplified by the polite gentleman. I hypothesize that a shift toward the polite gentleman style of manliness and the ascription to good oeconomy led to standardization in ceramic vessel assemblages as plantation management practices and their associated material culture became more homogenous and controlled by good oeconomists, particularly in similar geographical regions. This standardization should specifically be seen in ceramics related to food production and processing, particularly coarse earthenwares. Additionally, the importance of sociability to polite gentlemen should be visible through the examination of ceramic vessels related to entertaining or serving. Men who fully embraced the polite gentleman model should not only have relatively higher than expected proportions of serving vessels compared to other sites, but also fashionable forms, such as new beverage containers.

In order to test these hypotheses about manly identity and its relationship to shifts in manly authority, I examined the data using different groupings. First, I examined the ceramics across all of the sites using a temporal organization. Specifically, I looked for trends in ceramic vessel assemblages prior to Bacon's Rebellion and after the rebellion in order to determine if this event, which has been viewed as the turning point for manly identity in Virginia, could be correlated with any noticeable shifts in vessel assemblages. The temporal analysis of these assemblages revealed that, while there were some weak trends through time, ceramic assemblages tended to vary rather heavily, with no indication of standardization over time.

Due to this strong variation in assemblages, I then examined the assemblages by grouping sites based upon their inhabitants' individual biographies, including status[8], community and kinship networks, and geographical location. I employed these smaller, more contextualized, studies in order to determine how manly identity was negotiated by individuals based upon their own experiences and how alternative forms of manhood were enacted through material culture. These contextualized groups revealed that men on these sites were still in the process of adapting the material aspects of polite gentleman manhood to their individual situations. While certain factors, such as social status or community connections, appear to have heavily influenced the materiality of manly identity, the expression of manhood was still a highly individual aspect of life in the region that had not yet been fully defined.

Overall Trends

Ceramic assemblages from eight grouped phases derived from seven sites were used in this analysis. These assemblages represented 928 vessels and no fewer than 38 distinct forms (See Appendix: Table 50). The vessel assemblages were analyzed using a modified version of Anne Yentsch's functional divisions for pottery (1990). While the assignment of certain vessel types to one functional category over another may be controversial for some archaeologists and somewhat arbitrary, it is perhaps the best and most replicable way to examine ceramic vessel assemblages on a large scale without comparing individual forms. The following analysis, however, does highlight selected forms in order to examine how ceramics helped to construct manly identity.

[8] For the purposes of this analysis, status is determined based upon whether a man held elected office and owned property in addition to his material wealth. These two criteria were chosen because they are able indicate acceptance and power within the community as well as economic wealth and because their determination possesses a factor that is independent of the archaeological record. Therefore, they offer a means of ranking sites that is not solely influenced by the potential biases of recovery related to excavation. The rankings of individual sites in this study are discussed below.

Overall sample size and differing sample sizes for individual assemblages also have the potential to affect interpretations in this analysis. While my samples cannot be considered statistically robust, it is not the goal of this dissertation to statistically model material culture change in Virginia's Potomac River Valley. Nevertheless, some basic statistics are employed in order to examine variation between the assemblages as a means of exploring changes in gender ideology. The assemblages used here represent all of the intensively excavated sites dating to the Early Modern Period in Virginia's Potomac River Valley. For better or worse, they are the entire population and, as such, must be used to discuss the use of material culture in the construction of identity for that time and place. Given the limitations of the datasets, I have chosen to examine general trends in the material culture of the region in relation to local, regional, and trans-Atlantic historical trends in Early Modern Virginian and English society. Like all archaeological analyses, however, as more data become available, interpretations will be reevaluated. This is a first step in understanding the material conditions of life in Virginia's 17th-century Potomac River Valley on a multi-site scale.

The comparison of functional categories as percentages of their respective assemblages shows a few weak, but noteworthy, temporal trends (Table 20; Figure 19). Assemblages are organized here in rough chronological order based upon their median dates of occupation. Clearly, there is a high degree of variation between assemblages, which I believe is explained by contextual factors and will be addressed in the following section. This variation is confirmed by performing a chi-square test on all of the assemblages as a group (See Appendix: Table 51). This test yields a chi-square statistic of 165.05 when the primary functional categories are used. In this case, the critical value for significance at the 0.05 level is 58.12 based upon the 42 degrees of freedom. The high value of the chi-square statistic leads us to reject the hypothesis that

Table 20: Comparison of Functional Categories between Assemblages Arranged by Median Date.

	Nomini Phase I (1663)		Hallowes (1664)		Washington (1684)		Clifts Plantation Phases I-III (1695)		Nomini Phase II-III (1701)		Newman's Neck (1710)		Maurice Clark (1711)		Henry Brooks (1713)	
Functional Category	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Food Preparation and Storage	58	49.2%	106	60.6%	70	39.8%	52	34.7%	54	45.0%	21	45.7%	17	26.2%	28	35.9%
Dairy	40	33.9%	81	46.3%	50	28.4%	30	20.0%	45	37.5%	20	43.5%	14	21.5%	25	32.1%
Household	13	11.0%	25	14.3%	15	8.5%	18	12.0%	8	6.7%	0	0.0%	3	4.6%	2	2.6%
Beverage Storage	5	4.2%	0	0.0%	5	2.8%	4	2.7%	1	0.8%	1	2.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
Food Distribution	8	6.8%	3	1.7%	13	7.4%	18	12.0%	11	9.2%	5	10.9%	4	6.2%	2	2.6%
Food Consumption	28	23.7%	42	24.0%	44	25.0%	19	12.7%	24	20.0%	2	4.3%	24	36.9%	18	23.1%
Soup/Stew/Pottage	17	14.4%	42	24.0%	19	10.8%	7	4.7%	9	7.5%	0	0.0%	18	27.7%	10	12.8%
Solid Food Consumption	11	9.3%	0	0.0%	25	14.2%	12	8.0%	15	12.5%	2	4.3%	6	9.2%	8	10.3%
Traditional Beverages	12	10.2%	23	13.1%	36	20.5%	42	28.0%	19	15.8%	10	21.7%	18	27.7%	26	33.3%
Consumption	12	10.2%	18	10.3%	29	16.5%	38	25.3%	18	15.0%	10	21.7%	18	27.7%	26	33.3%
Serving	0	0.0%	5	2.9%	7	4.0%	4	2.7%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
New Beverages	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	3.3%	5	4.2%	7	15.2%	1	1.5%	0	0.0%
Punch	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	2.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tea Wares	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.3%	5	4.2%	7	15.2%	1	1.5%	0	0.0%
Coffee/Chocolate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Health/Hygiene	11	9.3%	1	0.6%	13	7.4%	14	9.3%	6	5.0%	1	2.2%	1	1.5%	4	5.1%
Other	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	118	100%	175	100%	176	100%	150	100%	120	100%	46	100%	65	100%	78	100%

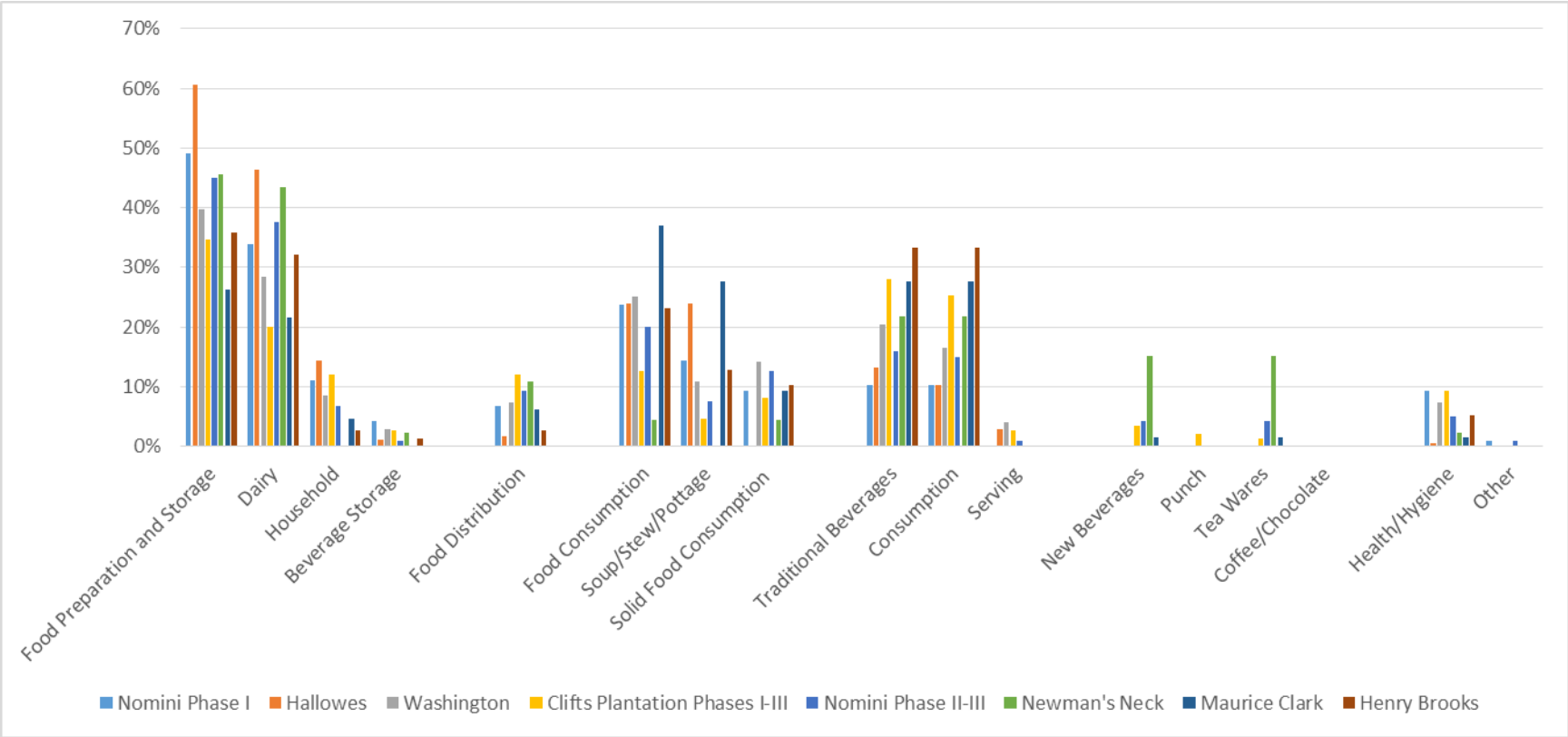

Figure 19: Comparison of Functional Categories for Ceramic Vessels Organized by Median Date.

variation is random between the assemblages. Therefore, using a 95% confidence level, we conclude that there is variation in the sample of ceramic assemblages and the variation is not the result of random chance. The chi-square statistic for the broken down categories is even larger, at 284.58. The critical value for this dataset at the 0.05 significance level is 98.48 with 77 degrees of freedom, resulting in the same conclusion as the previous test.

Looking at the proportions of vessels, some temporal patterns in the distribution of ceramic functional categories over time appear to be evident. Perhaps most clearly, vessels associated with sociability and serving food and drink in individual portions tend to increase in proportion over time. These ceramic forms are particularly important to this analysis because they have a strong association with the material aspects of entertaining that became important in the polite gentleman style of manhood. However, if the differences between the observed and expected values for these categories are examined using data from the contingency table, it becomes clear that time does not appear to be a factor in the increase of decrease of any of these functional groups, perhaps with the exception of new beverages (Table 21 and Table 22). There appears to be much more variation in certain functional groups and stability in others compared to what the proportions indicate.

In order to discern if any temporal trends were being masked by the combination and analysis of all of the assemblages together and to determine whether Bacon's Rebellion or the shift in definitions of manhood that occurred in the late-17th century correlated with the composition of ceramic assemblages, I split the data into a pre-1680 group and a post-1680 group. Pre-1680 assemblages included the first phase of Nomini, Hallowes, and Washington, while Post-1680 assemblages included Phase I-III at Clifts, Phase II-III at Nomini, Newman's Neck, Maurice Clark, and Henry Brooks. The Chi-square statistics for the pre-1680 grouping

Table 21: Observed and Expected Values for Ceramic Functional Categories at all Sites.

Functional Category		Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation	Nomini Phase II/III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	58	106	70	52	54	21	17	28	406
	expected	51.625	76.5625	77	65.625	52.5	20.125	28.4375	34.125	
Dairy	observed	40	81	50	30	45	20	14	25	305
	expected	38.78233	57.51616	57.84483	49.29957	39.43966	15.11853	21.36315	25.63578	
Household	observed	13	25	15	18	8	0	3	2	84
	expected	10.68103	15.84052	15.93103	13.57759	10.86207	4.163793	5.883621	7.060345	
Beverage Storage	observed	5	0	5	4	1	1	0	1	17
	expected	2.161638	3.205819	3.224138	2.747845	2.198276	0.842672	1.190733	1.428879	
Food Distribution	observed	8	3	13	18	11	5	4	2	64
	expected	8.137931	12.06897	12.13793	10.34483	8.275862	3.172414	4.482759	5.37931	
Food Consumption	observed	28	42	44	19	24	2	24	18	201
	expected	25.55819	37.90409	38.12069	32.48922	25.99138	9.963362	14.07866	16.8944	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	17	42	19	7	9	0	18	10	122
	expected	15.51293	23.00647	23.13793	19.71983	15.77586	6.047414	8.545259	10.25431	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	11	0	25	12	15	2	6	8	79
	expected	10.04526	14.89763	14.98276	12.7694	10.21552	3.915948	5.533405	6.640086	
Traditional Beverages	observed	12	23	36	42	19	10	18	26	186
	expected	23.65086	35.07543	35.27586	30.06466	24.05172	9.219828	13.02802	15.63362	
Consumption	observed	12	18	29	38	18	10	18	26	169
	expected	21.48922	31.86961	32.05172	27.31681	21.85345	8.377155	11.83728	14.20474	
Serving	observed	0	5	7	4	1	0	0	0	17
	expected	2.161638	3.205819	3.224138	2.747845	2.198276	0.842672	1.190733	1.428879	
New Beverages	observed	0	0	0	5	5	7	1	0	18
	expected	2.288793	3.394397	3.413793	2.909483	2.327586	0.892241	1.260776	1.512931	
Punch	observed	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	expected	0.381466	0.565733	0.568966	0.484914	0.387931	0.148707	0.210129	0.252155	

Table 21: Continued

Functional Category		Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation	Nomini Phase II/III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Tea Wares	observed	0	0	0	2	5	7	1	0	15
	expected	1.907328	2.828664	2.844828	2.424569	1.939655	0.743534	1.050647	1.260776	
Health/Hygiene	observed	11	1	13	14	6	1	1	4	51
	expected	6.484914	9.617457	9.672414	8.243534	6.594828	2.528017	3.572198	4.286638	
Other	observed	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
	expected	0.25431	0.377155	0.37931	0.323276	0.258621	0.099138	0.140086	0.168103	
Total		118	175	176	150	120	46	65	78	928

Table 22: Comparison of Difference between Observed and Expected Values from Contingency Table.

	Nomini Phase I	**Hallowes**	**Washington**	**Clifts Plantation Phase I-III**	**Nomini Phase II-III**	**Newman's Neck**	**Maurice Clark**	**Henry Brooks**
Food Preparation and Storage	6.375	29.4375	-7	-13.625	1.5	0.875	-11.4375	-6.125
Dairy	1.217672	23.48384	-7.84483	-19.2996	5.560345	4.881466	-7.36315	-0.63578
Household	2.318966	9.159483	-0.93103	4.422414	-2.86207	-4.16379	-2.88362	-5.06034
Beverage Storage	2.838362	-3.20582	1.775862	1.252155	-1.19828	0.157328	-1.19073	-0.42888
Food Distribution	-0.13793	-9.06897	0.862069	7.655172	2.724138	1.827586	-0.48276	-3.37931
Food Consumption	2.44181	4.095905	5.87931	-13.4892	-1.99138	-7.96336	9.921336	1.105603
Soup/Stew/Pottage	1.487069	18.99353	-4.13793	-12.7198	-6.77586	-6.04741	9.454741	-0.25431
Solid Food Consumption	0.954741	-14.8976	10.01724	-0.7694	4.784483	-1.91595	0.466595	1.359914
Traditional Beverages	-11.6509	-12.0754	0.724138	11.93534	-5.05172	0.780172	4.971983	10.36638
Consumption	-9.48922	-13.8696	-3.05172	10.68319	-3.85345	1.622845	6.162716	11.79526
Serving	-2.16164	1.794181	3.775862	1.252155	-1.19828	-0.84267	-1.19073	-1.42888
New Beverages	-2.28879	-3.3944	-3.41379	2.090517	2.672414	6.107759	-0.26078	-1.51293
Punch	-0.38147	-0.56573	-0.56897	2.515086	-0.38793	-0.14871	-0.21013	-0.25216
Tea Wares	-1.90733	-2.82866	-2.84483	-0.42457	3.060345	6.256466	-0.05065	-1.26078
Health/Hygiene	4.515086	-8.61746	3.327586	5.756466	-0.59483	-1.52802	-2.5722	-0.28664
Other	0.74569	-0.37716	-0.37931	-0.32328	0.741379	-0.09914	-0.14009	-0.1681

were 35.05 for the major functional categories and 80.02 for the breakdown of the categories (See Appendix: Table 52). These two tests had critical values of 18.31 and 31.41 with 10 and 20 degrees of freedom, respectively. The tests indicate that the variation in the pre-1680 category is significant at the 95% confidence level. For the post-1680 grouping, the chi-square statistics were 67.07 for the major categories and 173.35 for the breakdowns (See Appendix: Table 53). Critical values for this grouping were 36.42 with 24 degrees of freedom and 65.18 with 48 degrees of freedom, respectively. Therefore, like the pre-1680 grouping of assemblage, the post-1680 grouping has significant variation at the 95% confidence level. Comparing differences between observed and expected values in the contingency tables confirms this variation.

Using the expected values derived from the contingency tables, I calculated expected percentages of functional categories and compared them between the pre-1680 and post-1680 assemblages (Table 23-Table 25). The results of this comparison show decreases in the proportion of food preparation and consumption vessels between the two time periods and increases in beverage vessels and food distribution vessels. In general, the vessel forms that show an increase in proportion between the two time periods are related to the practice of sociability. Food distribution vessels include dishes, chargers, large bowls, and platters, all of which were used in the serving of solid foods and stews and have an association with entertaining. The beverage vessels that increase in proportion between the two periods represent both individualized vessel forms for the consumption of traditional beverages, such as cider, and forms for consuming and serving new and fashionable beverages such as punch and tea. Interestingly, at the same time that these vessels related to sociability appear to increase in proportion, vessels related to food production, and plantation management, appear to decrease in proportion.

Table 23: Observed and Expected Values for Pre-1680 Assemblages.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	58	106	70	234
	expected	58.8742	87.31343	87.81237	
Dairy	observed	40	81	50	171
	expected	43.02345	63.80597	64.17058	
Household	observed	13	25	15	53
	expected	13.33475	19.77612	19.88913	
Beverage Storage	observed	5	0	5	10
	expected	2.515991	3.731343	3.752665	
Food Distribution	observed	8	3	13	24
	expected	6.03838	8.955224	9.006397	
Food Consumption	observed	28	42	44	114
	expected	28.6823	42.53731	42.78038	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	17	42	19	78
	expected	19.62473	29.10448	29.27079	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	11	0	25	36
	expected	9.057569	13.43284	13.50959	
Traditional Beverages	observed	12	23	36	71
	expected	17.86354	26.49254	26.64392	
Consumption	observed	12	18	29	59
	expected	14.84435	22.01493	22.14072	
Serving	observed	0	5	7	12
	expected	3.01919	4.477612	4.503198	
Health/Hygiene	observed	11	1	13	25
	expected	6.289979	9.328358	9.381663	
Other	observed	1	0	0	1
	expected	0.251599	0.373134	0.375267	
Total		118	175	176	469

Table 24: Observed and Expected Values for Post-1680 Assemblages.

Functional Category	Calculation	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	52	54	21	17	28	172
	expected	56.20915	44.96732	17.23747	24.3573	29.22876	
Dairy	observed	30	45	20	14	25	134
	expected	43.79085	35.03268	13.42919	18.97603	22.77124	
Household	observed	18	8	0	3	2	31
	expected	10.13072	8.104575	3.106754	4.389978	5.267974	
Beverage Storage	observed	4	1	1	0	1	7
	expected	2.287582	1.830065	0.701525	0.991285	1.189542	
Food Distribution	observed	18	11	5	4	2	40
	expected	13.0719	10.45752	4.008715	5.664488	6.797386	
Food Consumption	observed	19	24	2	24	18	87
	expected	28.43137	22.7451	8.718954	12.32026	14.78431	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	7	9	0	18	10	44
	expected	14.37908	11.50327	4.409586	6.230937	7.477124	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	12	15	2	6	8	43
	expected	14.05229	11.24183	4.309368	6.089325	7.30719	
Traditional Beverages	observed	42	19	10	18	26	115
	expected	37.5817	30.06536	11.52505	16.2854	19.54248	
Consumption	observed	38	18	10	18	26	110
	expected	35.94771	28.75817	11.02397	15.57734	18.69281	
Serving	observed	4	1	0	0	0	5
	expected	1.633987	1.30719	0.501089	0.708061	0.849673	
New Beverages	observed	5	5	7	1	0	18
	expected	5.882353	4.705882	1.803922	2.54902	3.058824	
Punch	observed	3	0	0	0	0	3
	expected	0.980392	0.784314	0.300654	0.424837	0.509804	

Table 24: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Tea Wares	observed	2	5	7	1	0	15
	expected	4.901961	3.921569	1.503268	2.124183	2.54902	
Health/Hygiene	observed	14	6	1	1	4	26
	expected	8.496732	6.797386	2.605664	3.681917	4.418301	
Other	observed	0	1	0	0	0	1
	expected	0.326797	0.261438	0.100218	0.141612	0.169935	
	Total	150	120	46	65	78	459

Table 25: Comparison of Expected Proportions of Ceramic Vessels before and after 1680.

	Pre-1680 Expected	Post-1680 Expected
Food Preparation and Storage	49.9%	37.5%
Dairy	36.5%	29.2%
Household	11.3%	6.8%
Beverage Storage	2.1%	1.5%
Food Distribution	5.1%	8.7%
Food Consumption	24.3%	19.0%
Soup/Stew/Pottage	16.6%	9.6%
Solid Food Consumption	7.7%	9.4%
Traditional Beverages	15.1%	25.1%
Consumption	12.6%	24.0%
Serving	2.6%	1.1%
New Beverages	0.0%	3.9%
Punch	0.0%	0.7%
Tea Wares	0.0%	3.3%
Coffee/Chocolate	0.0%	0.0%
Health/Hygiene	5.3%	5.7%
Other	0.2%	0.2%

Before examining what these changes in proportions between the two groups might mean for the construction of manly identities, it is important to first examine an alternative explanation for the cause of this change. The decrease in food preparation vessels, which are composed primarily of dairying and cooking vessels, may very well be related to the movement of these activities and servants out of the main dwelling and away from the house. By the late-17th century ideas of race and conflicts between householders and their servants began to lead to the spatial segregation of planter families and their laborers, both enslaved and indentured (Upton 1982; Neiman 1993; Epperson 2001). As servants began to move out of the manor houses so did many of the tasks they performed within the house. Food production was likely one of the tasks that shifted focus away from the manor house to the detached quarters/kitchens associated with plantation laborers. The fact that the Clifts Plantation, Nomini Plantation, and Newman's Neck are all known to have had separate servant's quarters and other buildings related to food production, such as dairies and smokehouses, provides support for the idea that food production activities may have been moving out of the house (WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a; Neiman 1980; Heath et al. 2009). However, the fact that both Clifts and Newman's Neck are known to draw their ceramic assemblages from contexts associated with these ancillary buildings in addition to the main house would indicate that this explanation may not be the only reason for the decrease in food production vessels.

One of the major problems with comparing proportions is that as one category increases or decreases in importance, others must increase or decrease, since the percentages always have to add to 1 (Banning 2000:99). Therefore, the decrease in the proportion of vessels related to food production may actually be a function of an increase in other categories, in this case beverage vessels and food distribution vessels. The increase in the importance of these food

distribution vessels may indicate a tendency toward entertaining guests and possibly distributing individual servings from a carefully displayed and prepared entrée. On the other hand, the increase in food distribution vessels may also be indicative of a growing labor force and their move out of the house, if assemblages are drawn primarily from contexts associated with the manor house, which is not the case for at least two of the post-1680 assemblages. Vessels related to new beverages, specifically punch, tea, coffee, and chocolate, also increase proportionally over time. Vessels such as teapots, saucers, and punch bowls were strongly associated with entertaining and sociability among both men and women starting in the late-17th century (Yentsch 1996; Harvey 2012a).

Food consumption vessels also appear to decrease in importance after 1680. When this decrease is broken down into vessels associated with liquid food and those associated with solid food, however, it becomes clear that this decrease is more complex. Liquid food vessels strongly decrease in importance after 1680, but solid food vessels exhibit an increase. Again, the overall decrease may be related to the reduction of household size due to the movement of servants to quarters. However, the overall decrease in this category, coupled with the increase in solid food consumption vessels may also indicate shifting dining practices and changes in the types of material culture associated with food consumption, reflecting changes in fashion.

Despite the relatively small sample used here, ceramic vessel assemblages do appear to show some change through time in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia, though with a high degree of variability. In the mid-17th century, ceramic assemblages tended to be dominated by food preparation and storage vessels and food consumption vessels. However, by the early-18th century, assemblages had shifted to a heavier reliance on ceramic vessels for beverages, both new and traditional, as well as food distribution vessels. These temporal trends raise several

questions relating to why beverage containers became more important, why food consumption vessels became less important, why food production and storage vessels became less important, how these trends were related to larger trends in sociability and plantation management, and, ultimately, how colonial male identity was constructed using these ceramics.

The trends in these ceramic assemblages within Virginia's Potomac River Valley have been identified elsewhere in the Chesapeake by Anne Yentsch, who interpreted them as evidence of a shift from folk foodways practices, which focused on communal vessels, to courtly foodways practices that emphasized individual settings (1990). While this interpretation clearly reflected the influence of James Deetz's Structuralist model of Georgianization, other scholars have interpreted the same patterns as evidence of modern discipline from a Marxist perspective, and as evidence of a burgeoning consumer revolution (Deetz 1977; Leone 1988; Shackel 1992; Carson 1994; Pogue 2001). In terms of the relation of ceramic vessels to sociability, the consumer revolution model for material culture change is most useful here. Briefly, the model argues that demographic changes in England led to traditional models of status based upon local knowledge and heredity no longer being functional due to the movement of large numbers of people (Carson 1994:523). As a result, the elite began to display their status using objects as symbols that were recognized by others within society so that local knowledge of power relations was no longer necessary.

In the Chesapeake, the coalescence of an impenetrable gentry around the time of Bacon's Rebellion corresponds well with this shift in material culture and offers a strong explanation of why these changes took place. As the gentry sought to display their status to others, it became more important to keep up with fashionable dining practices and to display these practices to others through social and well-ordered meals. The increase of dining vessels related to serving,

display, and individual settings may help to explain the proportional increase of food distribution, traditional beverage, and new beverage vessels after about 1680 that can be seen in the post-Bacon's Rebellion assemblages at Clifts Plantation, Phases II and III at Nomini, Newman's Neck, Henry Brooks, and Maurice Clark. It does not offer a clear explanation, however, as to why ceramic food consumption vessels appear to decrease at these sites compared to the pre-Bacon's Rebellion sites including Phase I at Nomini, Hallowes, and John Washington.

With the increase in individual place settings after 1680, one would expect food consumption vessels to increase with beverage consumption vessels. However, the ceramic evidence from the sites analyzed here does not bear out that assumption. Expected proportions for food consumption vessels drop from an average of 24.3% prior to 1680 to 19% after 1680, though their proportion within individual assemblages is more variable (Table 23-Table 25). Vessels used for the consumption of soups and stews drop from an expected proportion of 16.6% to 9.6%, and vessels such as plates, used for the consumption of solid foods increase from 7.7% to 9.4%. The explanation for this discrepancy from a hypothesized vessel assemblage may either be related to a shift in social relations within the household due to the movement of servants out of the house, discussed above, or to a shift in materials used for food consumption vessels.

As Ann Smart Martin's research on late-18th-century Virginia has shown, pewter tableware was an important part of the colonial foodways system that is often overlooked by archaeologists due to its general paucity in the archaeological record (1989). Additionally, evidence from probate inventories from owners of Nomini Plantation, Newman's Neck, and two other members of the 17th-century community in Virginia's Potomac River Valley show evidence for the use of pewter, silver, and wooden vessels as early as 1660 (WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a, 8a-10a, 47a-48a; NCR 1710-1713:127-130, 1718-1726:395). Based upon Martin's work, and

the historical evidence from the region, I suggest that as display became more important in dining, people in Virginia's Potomac River Valley, with the economic means to do so, began to replace their ceramic plates, porringers, and bowls with pewter, or in some cases silver, vessels rather than abandoning individual vessels for food consumption. This trend appears to have started earlier among the elite in the county, including Thomas Speke, Walter Broadhurst, and Nathaniel Pope, whose inventories all list pewter or silver food consumption vessels in relatively large quantities (WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a, 8a-10a, 47a-48a). Although the percentage of ceramic plates in assemblages increased slightly between the two periods, it is likely that those same vessels, made in other materials, were even more prevalent with the increased emphasis on individualized dining.

The Consumer Revolution that swept through the English Atlantic World in the late-17th century aided in the construction of a polite gentleman style of manhood, illustrating how broader societal trends related to identity drew from and supported one another. The tendency of people to use material symbols as markers of status to a greater extent with the onset of the Consumer Revolution was commonplace for polite gentlemen in the late-17th-century, who understood the importance of social display and public interaction as an aspect of their manhood (Harvey 2005:301-304). The opposite, however, would also have been true, in that the social display required by polite gentleman in constructing their identity helped feed the Consumer Revolution. The increase in ceramic vessels related to display and entertaining using individual place settings could be viewed as a function of both processes. For the men subscribing to a proto-Lockean concept of authority, however, sociability and the use of material culture as signifiers of status were a very visible way for them to further reject Filmerian ideas.

One of the major causes for the Consumer Revolution was the fact that people became more mobile in the 17th century, leading to a breakdown of long-standing, locally-known, systems of authority, often based upon birthrights (Carson 1994:223). Clearly, these older systems of authority were Filmerian in nature, due to their focus on heredity and the divine right to rule. A similar process happened in the Potomac River Valley with the challenging of Baltimore's Filmerian authority during Ingle's Rebellion, as discussed in Chapter 5. Participation in, and the spread of, the Consumer Revolution throughout English society was a major force in the fall of Filmerian authority because it allowed a larger part of the population access to the material symbols of authority at the same time that social contract theory was becoming more favorable amongst people.

Participation in the Consumer Revolution by individuals did not necessarily mean an outright rejection of Filmerian authority, or acceptance of proto-Lockean ideas. However, for men who were known to have proto-Lockean leanings or who lived in proto-Lockean communities, such as those in Virginia's Potomac River Valley, the use of objects to challenge the old system of authority may have been an added incentive for participation in the Consumer Revolution, particularly early on. Their participation would also have been a visible way of rejecting Filmerian authority since these consumer goods were meant to be seen by others in public rituals such as tea drinking, punch parties, and dining.

These public displays of goods, particularly ceramic vessels, occurred during events that demonstrated the host's sociability to others and helped to further cement his role in society as a polite gentleman, aiding in the construction of a manly identity. Dining was one such event in which ceramics helped to construct manhood by exhibiting sociability and politeness. The increase in proportions of food distribution and drinking vessels in the ceramic assemblages after

1680 indicates that entertaining guests at the dinner table in a more formalized way was becoming more important. Prior to this time, the generally lower numbers of these types of vessels appears to indicate that guests ate in a more communal, and perhaps less ritualized, fashion (Deetz 1977; Yentsch 1996). Clearly, the segmentation offered by individualized vessels and place settings at meals served to display status to people without local knowledge of those relationships. It also signaled to the diner, however, that sociability was important to the host and that his house was well managed because of his ability to entertain guests with the proper dinner equipage in a contemporary fashion. The male host had likely chosen and purchased many of the ceramics that were used in dining, reflecting his role as a good oeconomist (Harvey 2012b).

Tea was another important aspect of sociability to polite gentlemen and a way in which to express their manliness through ceramics. Like many aspects of the foodways system, tea has often been associated with feminine identity (Norton 2011:162-170; Gray 2013). However, as Anne Yentsch and Lorna Weatherill have argued, tea and its material culture, like dining, was a ritual in which people gathered a great deal of information about the household and which heavily reflected upon the head of the household (Weatherill 1986:140; Yentsch 1996:344). Therefore, teawares, especially in the late-17th and early-18th century, were part of the male domain. Tea strongly reflected a man's ability to manage his household and keep up with appropriate fashions, aiding in the construction of his manly identity. Although teawares were not major portions of the assemblages, they do generally show up in the post-1680 contexts, indicating that men were attempting to keep up with and display their knowledge of these fashions (Table 20). Ultimately, the proper use of these vessels related to new beverages signaled a well-maintained and fashionable household, contributing to the household patriarch's identity as a polite gentleman.

Dining vessels were not the only ceramics that were used in the construction of manly identity, however. Vessels related to food preparation and storage are able to reflect the more mundane activities of a plantation that were just as important to proper household management and manhood as entertaining guests. Specifically, food preparation and storage vessels help to reveal the less publicly visible aspects of food and plantation management. In a general sense, these vessels appear to decrease in proportion on the post-1680 sites. This decrease is most clearly seen among dairying vessels, whose expected proportions drop from 36.5% to 29.2% after 1680, and household vessels, which drop from 11.3 % to 6.8% (Table 25).

Within the food preparation and storage group, dairying vessels predominate. These vessels, which are represented by milk pans and butter pots, were used in the production of butter, cream, milk, and perhaps cheese, all of which were important parts of the diet on the plantation. Traditionally, tasks associated with dairying were performed by women in English society and in the Chesapeake (Carr and Walsh 1977; Gibb and King 1991). While the objects associated with this task were often used by women, they should not be viewed solely as women's artifacts. The presence of a dairy, its associated material culture, and the task of dairying on a plantation was a strong marker of the plantation master's interest in good oeconomy. A man's interest in extracting the maximum return from his resources through a specialized activity, like dairying, showed his commitment to sound and somewhat diversified plantation management practices, despite the tobacco monoculture of the Early Modern Chesapeake region. It also aligned with Lockean philosophies of property ownership and the necessity of labor and productivity for the claiming of property over others (Waldron 2004). Despite the fact that they decrease slightly in proportion over time, the relative importance of ceramic vessels related to dairying, which comprise the majority of the expected assemblages

both before and after 1680, shows that men in Virginia's Potomac River Valley were quick to adopt and maintain this aspect of manly authority even if they had not started to adopt the material trappings of sociability.

Household ceramic vessels within the food preparation and storage group, however, show a tendency to decrease over time. These vessels included forms that were used in cooking and preparing meals, such as pipkins, small coarse earthenware bowls, and other types of cooking forms. This drop likely indicates either a shift in food cooking and preparation practices around this time, specifically a shift away from stews and more communal meals toward roasting cuts of meat that were served in an individual fashion, or the movement of cooking activities to detached kitchens, or both. The individualization of food accompanied the individualization of place settings as part of the segmentation related to the Consumer Revolution and has been noticed elsewhere in the Chesapeake and the English Atlantic (Johnson 1996:155-178; Shackel 1992; Pogue 2001:47-48).

Like food consumption, this change in food preparation reflected upon and aided in the construction of a polite gentleman identity. Keeping up with current fashions in English cuisine indicated both proper management of the house and sociability related to contemporary dining and entertaining practices. If the drop in household ceramics related to the movement of cooking activities to detached kitchens it could have reflected the plantation master's control and segregation of his household. Moving servants, particularly enslaved Africans out of the house was a method of racializing them and helping to reinforce a white male identity, which began to coalesce after Bacon's Rebellion (Brown 1996; Epperson 2001). In many ways this type of racialized identity was different from a polite gentleman identity that emphasized sociability and

good oeconomy, but it did become a major factor in defining white manhood in Virginia starting in the late-17th century.

The late-17th century serves as an important temporal marker for ceramic assemblages in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia and elsewhere in the Chesapeake. Vessels related to individualized dining and the material ritualization of consuming food began to first appear and become important within the households of the region. Although access to many of these forms, particularly those related to new beverages, has been interpreted as being brought about by the Consumer Revolution (Yentsch 1990; Pogue 1997, 2001), the changes in manly identity that occurred around the same time likely also heavily influenced their adoption and the ways in which they were used. Many of the men who likely purchased these vessels related to ritual and individualization probably understood that not only did these objects help to reinforce their patriarchal authority, but also reaffirmed and strengthened their identity as polite gentlemen interested in the proper management of their households and keeping up with trans-Atlantic fashions.

However, the ceramic assemblages also indicate that plantation management was an important aspect of manly identity even before the first appearance of new beverage containers in the Potomac River Valley. The relative importance of dairying vessels through time shows that this subsistence practice and method of extracting the maximum amount of product from sometimes limited cattle herds was important long before the introduction of individualized place settings and new beverages. The efficient running of the plantation through dairying and other diversified plantation activities was likely one way that men in the pre-1680 period were defining their identities. Although the men in this study from that period had adopted aspects of proto-Lockean thought on authority, it is more difficult to say, based upon ceramic evidence, if they

began to adopt aspects of the polite gentleman identity as a group. The role that dairying played for men in both the pre-1680 and post-1680 group, however, does speak to the emphasis they placed upon good plantation management strategies and, therefore, good oeconomy, and may indicate the early adoption of some aspects of the polite gentleman identity in the region.

Variation in Assemblages

As was the case with the historical analysis of manly authority in the region, the variation in ceramic assemblages as indicators of plantation and household management is able to illuminate the different ways in which men strove to attain an ideal form of manhood and, in some cases, alternative manliness. In the following pages, ceramic assemblages are examined individually based upon factors including status, community and kinship relations, and geographical location. This more detailed examination of the assemblages helps to relate objects and assemblages to individuals rather than a generalized and amorphous group of men in the Potomac River Valley, placing individual experiences at the forefront of defining manhood. Additionally, it shows how people negotiated their identities and places within society during times of great political, social, and demographic change along the Virginia shore of the Potomac.

In order to determine if, and how, the adoption of proto-Lockean ideas about authority coincided with the beginnings of a shift to the polite gentleman model of manliness, I first examined the ceramic assemblages of men known to have been proto-Lockean thinkers either based upon their involvement in Ingle's Rebellion or their immediate family's involvement in that conflict. These criteria narrowed the sample down to four assemblages that included Phases I-III at Nomini, Hallowes, and John Washington. The connections of the inhabitants of these sites to Ingle's Rebellion and the community that formed in its wake have been detailed in previous chapters, but it is worth noting that male heads of household at both Hallowes and

Nomini Phase I were participants in the rebellion, and that male heads of household at the Washington site and Phase II and III at Nomini were related to rebels either by birth or marriage and were clearly accepted into the proto-Lockean community.

A contingency table was created using these four assemblages in order to determine if variability was significant and to create expected values for vessel categories for comparative purposes (See Appendix: Table 54). The chi-square statistic for the major functional categories was 57.86, and the statistic for the breakdown of categories was 114.26. Both of these chi-square values were much larger than the critical values at the .05 level of significance for 18 and 30 degrees of freedom, respectively. Therefore, the variation that exists between these proto-Lockean assemblages is significant at the 95% confidence level. The expected proportions for functional categories in the proto-Lockean assemblage appear very similar to the pre-1680 grouping of assemblages, primarily because three of the four assemblages comprise the pre-1680 group (Table 26). Due to the weight of the pre-1680 assemblages in calculating expected values for this grouping, and with the knowledge that variation between the assemblages is significant, it becomes more useful to examine these assemblages individually, highlighting differences from expected values since patterns in the data are not readily apparent. In order to do this for these proto-Lockean assemblages, I rely on the expected values calculated using all of the assemblages in Table 21.

Beginning with the two Nomini assemblages reveals some interesting patterns that aid in understanding how the performance of sociability and manhood changed on the same site between households (Table 22). During the first phase of occupation at Nomini, most of the functional categories for ceramic vessels were near expected values. The two categories with the most variation were traditional beverage containers, which were more than 11 vessels lower than

Table 26: Observed and Expected Values for Proto-Lockean Assemblages.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Nomini Phase II-III	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	58	106	70	54	288
	expected	57.69779	85.56876	86.05772	58.67572	
Dairy	observed	40	81	50	45	216
	expected	43.27334	64.17657	64.54329	44.00679	
Household	observed	13	25	15	8	61
	expected	12.22071	18.12394	18.2275	12.42784	
Beverage Storage	observed	5	0	5	1	11
	expected	2.203735	3.268251	3.286927	2.241087	
Food Distribution	observed	8	3	13	11	35
	expected	7.011885	10.39898	10.4584	7.13073	
Food Consumption	observed	28	42	44	24	138
	expected	27.64686	41.0017	41.23599	28.11545	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	17	42	19	9	87
	expected	17.42954	25.8489	25.9966	17.72496	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	11	0	25	15	51
	expected	10.21732	15.1528	15.23939	10.39049	
Traditional Beverages	observed	12	23	36	19	90
	expected	18.03056	26.74024	26.89304	18.33616	
Consumption	observed	12	18	29	18	77
	expected	15.42615	22.87776	23.00849	15.68761	
Serving	observed	0	5	7	1	13
	expected	2.604414	3.862479	3.88455	2.648557	
New Beverages	observed	0			5	5
	expected	1.001698	1.485569	1.494058	1.018676	
Tea Wares	observed	0			5	5
	expected	1.001698	1.485569	1.494058	1.018676	
Health/Hygiene	observed	11	1	13	6	31
	expected	6.210526	9.210526	9.263158	6.315789	
Other	observed	1	0	0	1	2
	expected	0.400679	0.594228	0.597623	0.40747	
Total		118	175	176	120	589

expected, and food preparation vessels, which were more than six higher than expected. The difference in the traditional beverage category stemmed primarily from a lower value of consumption vessels, while the increased frequency of food preparation vessels related to greater quantities of both beverage storage vessels and household vessels. The lower than expected amount of beverage consumption vessels in the first phase may be related to Thomas Speke's possession of pewter, tin, and brass ware, all of which are listed in his 1660 probate inventory and likely included tankards and other beverage consumption vessels (WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a). The beverage storage and household vessels in the first phase assemblage at Nomini only range between two and three vessels more than expected and may not be particularly significant. However, they do reveal that traditional cooking methods using pipkins and/or cooking pots, of which there were five in this assemblage, were being employed at Nomini during this period of occupation.

The ceramic assemblage from the second and third phases of occupation at Nomini reveals that the inhabitants of the site were beginning to adopt more fashionable dining practices and material culture related to the practice of sociability. First, although food consumption vessel are slightly less than expected for this this phase, this is related to a reduction in vessels related to liquid food, while solid food consumption vessels increase. The combination of this pattern in relation to the lower than expected value of household vessels related to cooking would seem to indicate that the household at Nomini was shifting to dining on more fashionable individual cuts of roasted meats, rather than traditional soups and stews. While pipkins/cooking pots are still present within the assemblage, the appearance of forms such as chafing dishes and dripping pans indicate a shift in food preparation practices from the first phase. This change is probably not due to moving food preparation out of the house between these two phases since Speke's inventory

lists a separate kitchen present on the site as early as 1660 (WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a). Additionally, the movement of servants out of the house also fails to explain this change since a separate quarter is also listed in the 1660 inventory.

At the same time that dining practices were becoming more fashionable at the Nomini site, the consumption of tea was also beginning to take place. The phase II and III Nomini assemblage is the only proto-Lockean assemblage that contains teawares. While this likely has more to do with the timing of the introduction of tea than anything else among these four assemblages, its presence at Nomini does show that the householders were participating in the latest fashions through the sociable practice of taking tea. It appears as if tea may have been an important aspect of sociability at this site that was heavily invested in since the tea wares appear to match, at least in decorative style and ceramic type, consisting of blue hand-painted tin-glazed earthenwares (Figure 20). The increase in fashionable dining practices, as seen through the material culture of food consumption and preparation, and the taking of tea reflected heavily on the identity of the male householders at Nomini during the latter phases of occupation.

While Thomas Speke, and others in the first phase of occupation, may have accepted proto-Lockean ideas about authority, their households were still heavily reliant on traditional forms of dining, as seen through their ceramic assemblages. Traditional dining forms and practices may have partially been a function of time during the first phase, since new forms did not begin to appear until around the third quarter of the 17th century, when the first phase of occupation at Nomini was ending. However, Speke, and his successors, still displayed changing concepts of manhood as it related to race by segregating their servants in a separate quarter. Speke's construction of a separate quarter for his servants, two of whom were African, contributed to the coalescence of a distinct form of manhood in the region based upon race. This

Figure 20: Tin-Glazed Earthenware Teapot Lids from Nomini Plantation (courtesy VDHR).

form of white male identity in Virginia was not fully accepted until after Bacon's Rebellion (Brown 1996), but the actions of Speke, and men like him, in relation to their plantation labor forces laid the groundwork for these new ideas about white colonial manhood.

During the latter phases of occupation, the ideas surrounding white manhood continued to play a major role in the identities of the householders at Nomini, but concepts of fashion, sociability, and good oeconomy were also beginning to play significant roles in defining manhood. The latest dining practices that emphasized individual roasted portions of food over communal meals became more important after 1680 at Nomini Plantation along with the consumption of tea. Both of these practices indicated that the household patriarch was knowledgeable about the practice of sociability, an important aspect of the new polite gentleman identity. Their good oeconomy is also evident in the ceramic assemblage from the latter phases, particularly in relation to the activity of distilling at the site, indicated by the presence of an alembic.

An alembic is a distilling apparatus that was placed on top of a vessel and used to catch the evaporating liquid and funnel it into a container. The vessel from Nomini, which was likely produced by the local potter, Morgan Jones, who will be discussed below, dates to the last quarter of the 17th-century, placing it within the household of William Hardidge II (Figure 21). All that remains of the vessel is a small finial, but it likely resembled the alembic recovered from Martin's Hundred Site A, which dated to the early 17th-century (Noël Hume 1982:101-102). This alembic was a fairly large, cone-shaped, vessel with an attached pipe for funneling the evaporating liquid. Often these vessels were made of metal, particularly copper, but ceramic examples are also known to have been used and would not have been out of the ordinary (Noël Hume 1982:101-102).

Figure 21: Morgan Jones Alembic Fragment from Nomini (courtesy VDHR).

The discovery of one of these distilling vessels is quite unique in the Chesapeake, particularly in light of the fact that distilling alcohol was not common in the area, even by the 18th century (Meacham 2009:59). In general, distilling required a high degree of expertise and was often quite dangerous due to the volatile chemical reactions involved in the process (Meacham 2009:61). Despite the costs and risks associated with producing distilled spirits, however, it could prove very profitable and act as a significant generator of income on plantations due to the fact that most liquor had to be imported to the colonies (Meacham 2009:61). Additionally, by the late-17th century, English writers were encouraging men who wished to improve their estates to take up the science of alcohol production (Meacham 2009:95). The practice of distilling in the household of William Hardidge II was a major reflection of his role as a good oeconomist. Not only would this practice have earned him greater profits from his plantation, in keeping with Locke's philosophy of property ownership, but it also indicated a knowledge of current trends in the management of English Atlantic households. Additionally, this practice asserted his prominence within the community, as he was likely one of a few people, or perhaps the only person, distilling spirits in Virginia's Potomac River Valley in the 17th century.

The patterns of ceramic consumption at the John Washington site generally conform to expected values, with the exception of vessels related to dairying and solid food consumption vessels, both of which have the potential to indicate aspects of manly identity in the late-17th century. Particularly striking within this assemblage is the number of plates, which is the largest of all of the assemblages, accounting for more than 10 vessels over the expected value (Table 22). All of these vessels were tin-glazed earthenware and likely indicate a focus on serving and consuming individual cuts and portions at the dinner table. The assemblage also shows a lower

than expected number of liquid food consumption vessels, and may indicate that dining at the site had shifted from the more traditional communal style to the new and fashionable individual style, as it had during the latter phases of occupation at Nomini. Unfortunately, this site is not phased and somewhat straddles the pre-1680 and post-1680 groupings, so it is unclear as to whether this shift in dining was initiated within the household of John Washington or that of his son. Nevertheless, the heavy focus on solid food consumption vessels within the ceramic assemblage indicate fashionable dining practices that reflected on the sociability of the householder by way of indicating a knowledge and practice of contemporary English dining, serving as a reflection on his good oeconomy and the proper management of his household.

Although dining practices suggest good household management at the John Washington site, ceramics related to dairying indicate less of a focus on this plantation management activity than any of the other proto-Lockean assemblage and pre-1680 assemblages. The Washington assemblge contained almost eight vessels fewer than expected perhaps indicating that dairying did not play as large a role within this household as it did in others, or that it was taking place away from the house. Despite the lack of any evidence for a dairy at this site, it is likely that one existed somewhere away from the main dwelling, since several of the other contemporaneous sites in this study have either archaeological or historical evidence suggesting their presence. The placement of the dairy away from the main dwelling at the John Washington site may have acted as a way of segregating tasks on the plantation. The fact that John Washington is known to have owned at least eight African slaves, whom his widow Frances eventually inherited, shows that he was likely taking part in the widespread racialization of African slaves happening in the 17th century (WCR 1675-1689:100; Morgan 1975; Upton 1982; Brown 1996; Epperson 2001). Moving servants, and activities associated with them, such as dairying, away from the house was

a way in which Washington reinforced a white manhood that was beginning to take shape in Virginia around the last quarter of the 17th century (Brown 1996). Additionally, the compartmentalization of plantation tasks was a reflection of good oeconomy since it likely aided in the efficiency of production at the site and the effective management of the plantation.

Of all of the proto-Lockean ceramic assemblages, the Hallowes site is easily the most unexpected in terms of its composition. The ceramic vessels from several categories vary greatly from what is expected and serve to illustrate ways in which the Potomac River Valley elite created their identities in alternative ways, even within the same communities. Ceramics from this site show a much higher instance of food preparation vessels, particularly dairy and household vessels, in addition to liquid food consumption vessels. At the same time, food distribution vessels, solid food consumption vessels, and traditional beverage consumption vessels are all far lower than expected (Table 22).

Food distribution vessels at the site accounted for almost 10 fewer vessels than expected, the largest negative difference in this category among all of the sites. The number of food distribution vessels at Hallowes indicates that, unlike the other proto-Lockean assemblages that were fairly close to expected values, specialized food service vessels, and perhaps keeping up with changing fashions in dining, were not a major emphasis of the Hallowes household. The number of traditional beverage consumption vessels shows a similar pattern to the food distribution vessels, being the largest aberration, positive or negative, among all sites in the sample for that category. In general, these vessels tended to be for the individual consumption of beverages such as cider or beer and were used at dinners that helped to reinforce the householder's authority and sociability. However, it is important to point out that the same

category of vessels at Nomini during its first phase of occupation was also much lower than the expected value.

The generally lower number of food distribution and beverage consumption vessels might be a result of a greater dependence on pewter, silver, or wooden ware at the site. John Hallowes was among the wealthiest men on the Northern Neck at his death, and almost certainly purchased "parcells of pewter," just like his neighbors Thomas Speke, Nathaniel Pope, and Walter Broadhurst. Unfortunately, no will or inventory survives for Hallowes and no archaeological evidence of these wares were recovered from the site. The Hallowes household did not reject a movement toward individualized food consumption, however. The food consumption vessels at the site were distinctly lower in terms of solid food consumption forms, but contained the highest number of liquid food forms in both raw numbers and when compared to expected values. A total of 42 liquid food consumption vessels were identified on the site, the majority of which consisted of small Merida bowls, which were used for individual servings, based upon their size (Figure 22-Figure 23). Indeed, 34 of these bowls were definitively identified in the Hallowes assemblage, comprising 19% of the total assemblage.

Rather than representing a rejection of changing dining practices, the ceramic vessels related to food consumption and serving at the Hallowes sites appears to indicate a mixing of old and new ideas. Judging from the ceramics, food preparation at the site appears to have focused on liquid-based meals, such as soups and stews, in a more traditional, or folk, foodways system. The large number of individual portion-sized bowls present in the collection, however, points to an increasing tendency toward individualized dining at the site. Additionally, the sheer quantity of these bowls, almost all of which are the same in form and size, suggests that the entertaining of guests may have been taking place at the site with some frequency. This entertaining and the

Figure 22: Small Merida Bowl Fragments from the Hallowes Assemblage (Hatch, McMillan, and Heath 2013:36).

Figure 23: Small Merida Bowl from Nomini, Identical to Vessels in the Hallowes Assemblage (Courtesy VDHR).

individualization of food reflected on the manly identities of the householders at the site through the ability to recognize and participate in changing dining fashions. The continued reliance on traditional preparation methods, however, also showed that the Hallowes household had not fully accepted the changing styles. Traditional food preparation practices at the site is supported by the higher than expected value of household vessels, most of which are bowls that were used for cooking liquid-based foods. John Hallowes' wealth and connections to other men in the area that were more accepting of the new trends in the material culture of sociability was not the deciding factor in the use of ceramics within his household. This likely illustrates that despite the changes in ideas about manliness that were occurring during his lifetime, the way men constructed their identities was still very much an individual choice.

The most striking aspect of the Hallowes ceramic assemblage is the percentage of dairying vessels. More than half of the ceramic assemblage, 61%, is composed of food preparation and storage vessels, and dairying vessels alone account for 46% of the entire assemblage. Dairying vessels at the Hallowes site also account for the largest difference between observed and expected values for any category at any site within this study. The exceedingly large proportion and amount of these vessels at the site indicate that dairying played a large role in the economy of the Hallowes household.

Although dairying was important on most sites in the 17th-century Chesapeake, as evidenced by the other assemblages in this study, it was often not undertaken on a large scale due to the amount of work required to produce surplus milk, butter, and cheese (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:73-75). However, it appears that Hallowes was accustomed to engaging in more diverse economic practices than just tobacco planting. Historical references indicate that he traded cattle as a form of income and archaeological evidence suggests that he was heavily

involved in the deer skin trade, as discussed below (AOMOL 4:411, 415; Hatch 2012). Therefore, the production and sale of surplus dairy products within the community by members of the Hallowes household seems quite likely based upon the known economic activities and diversified agricultural practices of the plantation. The fact that the ceramic assemblage from Hallowes contained no fewer than 68 milk pans speaks to the importance of this practice and the production of milk products as being more than just subsistence-related. Their high occurrence in the assemblage may also indicate that dairying was taking place in, or near the house, unlike Nomini where a dairy was located in a separate building on the plantation landscape.

This style of plantation management was in stark contrast to that of Hallowes' neighbors on the Washington and Nomini sites, whose ceramic assemblages tended to fluctuate around the expected values for dairying vessels, likely indicating the role of dairying as a subsistence-related, rather than economically-profitable, activity. Nevertheless, it proved successful for Hallowes, who had accumulated a large amount of wealth and respect from men on the Northern Neck at the time of his death, evidenced by his service as a county commissioner, burgess, sheriff, and owner of over 5,000 acres of land. There would have been little question about his ability to properly run his household and his results with his diversified practices spoke for themselves, helping to reinforce his role as a practitioner of good oeconomy and as a man. The profits he gained from his, and his servants', labors in diversified economic activities on his plantation were also in keeping with Lockean concepts about property ownership that emphasized production, and were undoubtedly circulating within the English Atlantic years before Locke wrote them down. The variation at the Hallowes site helps to show that plantation management practices and sociability were far from standard in the mid-17th century and that

avenues to manhood were not yet rigid, just as concepts of how to operationalize proto-Lockean authority were still being negotiated in the region, as shown in Chapter 5.

One final aspect of these proto-Lockean ceramic assemblages that can reveal aspects of the community that formed in the wake of Ingle's Rebellion is the distribution of the locally-produced earthenware known as Morgan Jones. This ceramic type was produced from the early 1660s, when the eponymous potter arrived in Maryland as a servant, until he died in the early 1690s (Kelso and Chappell 1974; Straube 1995:24-27). The majority of forms tend to be utilitarian in nature, with butter pots and milk pans being particularly common, but other known forms include cups, bowls, candlesticks, pitchers, a dripping pan and an alembic recently identified from Nomini, and discussed above. Although John Hallowes and Thomas Speke had both died before Jones arrived in the colony, the relationships forged between those individuals along the Potomac that believed in proto-Lockean authority persisted through the distribution of this form of material culture. The relationships within this proto-Lockean community also likely influenced the settlement of Jones in Westmoreland County in the 1660s, illustrating how the shift in manly authority permeated even the mundane aspects of peoples' lives in the region for generations.

Morgan Jones' wares trace their connection to this proto-Lockean community not only through geographic proximity, since Jones operated out of Charles County, Maryland, and Westmoreland County until the late 1670s, but also through the kinship and community connections of Robert Slye, Jones' master from 1661 to 1667 (King and Breckinridge 1999). Robert Slye was the son-in-law of Thomas Gerrard and brother-in-law of Frances Gerrard Speke (WCR 1653-1671:103-105; WCR 1661-1662:4a-6a). Slye's marriage into such a staunchly proto-Lockean family indicates his own leanings on manly authority and certainly influenced the

members of his household, if not in terms of ideology, at least in terms of interaction spheres. The family and community connections between these people in the Potomac River Valley, which are detailed in Chapter 4, are likely the primary reasons for the prevalence of Morgan Jones ceramics on sites associated with the early proto-Lockean thinkers in Virginia's Potomac River Valley.

Historical records indicate that Jones was producing pottery while still indentured to Slye in Charles County, Maryland, in the early 1660s (King and Breckenridge 1999). The connections that Slye maintained with the proto-Lockean community through his father-in-law Thomas Gerrard likely provided Morgan Jones with access to a relatively large economic network that spanned the Potomac River. The strong economic connections that Jones maintained with these proto-Lockean men likely influenced his decision to move to Westmoreland County in the 1660s so that he could be geographically closer to some of the major consumers of his wares. His construction of a kiln at Glebe Harbor, only a few miles from Nomini Bay, on the land of Thomas Yowell in 1677 helps to support the hypothesis that he was a significant supplier of ceramics to the proto-Lockean community (Kelso and Chappell 1974). Thomas Yowell, alternatively spelled Yuell, was a rebel during Ingle's Rebellion and was the guardian of William Hardidge II, one of the owners of Nomini Plantation (WCR 1665-1677:148). It is likely no coincidence that these former rebels welcomed Jones into their community by providing land for his kiln. The exposure to the relatively cheap and available wares produced by Jones, starting in the 1660s, caused the men in Westmoreland County to become accustomed to a steady and abundant supply of ceramic vessels during that period. By encouraging Jones to settle in their county and near their community at Appamattucks, they ensured continued access to, and perhaps a measure of control over, his ceramic distribution network (Figure 4).

The distribution of Jones' wares in the archaeological assemblages studied here shows a particularly high concentration in the assemblages with direct connections to men who participated in Ingle's Rebellion, particularly Thomas Speke and John Hallowes. Morgan Jones' wares account for 55% and 31 % of the total ceramic assemblages at Hallowes and Phase I of Nomini (Table 27). While it is certain that these wares came to the sites after the deaths of both Speke and Hallowes, the community and kinship connections forged by these two men allowed for continued interaction and preference within Jones' ceramic distribution network. The Washington, Clifts, and latter two phases of Nomini also contained significant proportions of Morgan Jones ceramics, though not nearly approaching the early assemblages. Interestingly, Newman's Neck contains the lowest percentage of Morgan Jones wares for sites that are early enough to contain this type.

The lower percentages of Jones' wares at these sites likely stem from a combination of time and geography. Morgan Jones had left Westmoreland County and moved to Lower Norfolk County by 1681, south of Jamestown. He did not return to the Potomac River Valley, settling in Dorset County, Maryland, and dying there in 1691 (Kelso and Chappell 1974:53). It appears that after his move, his wares became difficult to acquire at these sites, with the percentages of Morgan Jones ceramics decreasing steadily through time. Although Clifts, the latter phases of Nomini, and Newman's Neck were all occupied starting toward the end of Jones' time in Westmoreland, it is important to note the much smaller proportion of Jones' wares in the Newman's Neck assemblage. Newman's Neck was located the farthest from Jones' kiln at Glebe Harbor and the inhabitants of the site maintained few direct connections with the community of proto-Lockean men at Appamattucks, both of which likely affected the distribution of this ware to the site.

Table 27: Comparison of Morgan Jones Wares in Ceramic Assemblages.

	Nomini Phase I	**Hallowes**	**Washington**	**Clifts Plantation Phase I-III**	**Nomini Phase II-III**	**Newman's Neck**	**Maurice Clark**	**Henry Brooks**
Number of Morgan Jones vessels	38	109	32	23	20	5	0	0
% of Morgan Jones vessels in assemblage	31%	55%	18%	15%	15%	9%	0%	0%
Distinct Morgan Jones Vessel Forms	7	6	7	5	8	2	0	0
Total distinct forms in all ware types	17	12	18	23	21	10	10	12
% Morgan Jones forms	41%	50%	39%	22%	38%	20%	0%	0%

The community connections between the proto-Lockeans and Jones are also evident in the degree to which ceramic assemblages relied on Morgan Jones' wares in terms of the percentage of different vessel forms. Again, the most heavily reliant on Morgan Jones forms were Phase I at Nomini and Hallowes, which is likely indicative of direct kinship and community ties with Thomas Gerrard and Robert Slye, in addition to occupations that coincide with Jones' peak of production in the Potomac River Valley. However, the Washington and latter phase Nomini assemblages also show a strong reliance on Jones' forms with well over a third of distinct vessel forms on the sites being Morgan Jones. These two sites also possessed kinship connections to the Gerrard and Slye families through marriage, but none of the owners were participants in Ingle's Rebellion.

Clifts, despite having a comparable raw percentage of vessels, shows a much lower percentage of forms that is more akin to that at Newman's Neck. This discrepancy may be related to the occupation of Clifts by tenants. While the Pope family owned the site, likely bringing it into the major distribution network of the wares, the tenants themselves may have chosen to purchase more forms in other ware types because of a lack of kinship and community connections to Jones and his former master. It appears that the acquisition and possession of large amounts and various forms of Morgan Jones wares acted as an indicator of community membership. Alternatively, the owners of these sites may have purchased these wares to reinforce their kinship and community ties by supporting a craftsman in the region who perhaps shared similar ideas about manly authority, or at the very least was associated with a family that did.

As a result, on many of these sites, Morgan Jones ceramics incorporated many meanings in different contexts. In a broad sense their purchase and possession in large quantities helped to

reinforce a community identity based upon a proto-Lockean sense of manly authority. As objects related to the practice of good oeconomy and plantation management they helped to construct a manly identity that was changing to focus on the proper running of the household. Finally, as the day to day objects used in tasks performed primarily by women, they gained different meanings in terms of the construction and maintenance of female identity.

The examination of ceramics specifically in the proto-Lockean community of Virginia's Potomac River Valley generally leaves out the assemblages at Clifts, Newman's Neck, Maurice Clark, and Henry Brooks because of their lack of strong and direct connections to Ingle's Rebellion. Because of the lack of strong connections to the proto-Lockean community it is important to understand the variation in these assemblages and their relationship to manliness through the examination of the role of status in constructing manhood. High status assemblages include Hallowes, all phases of Nomini, and Washington. Since all of these assemblages have been addressed in the previous discussion of the proto-Lockean group, they will not be re-examined here.

I class the assemblage from Newman's Neck as that of a middling free planter. Middling planters would not have been included in the same social groups as the county-wide elite, evidenced by the fact that they had not been elected or appointed to government positions. Men like those at Newman's Neck were still economically well-off, but lacked the social standing of men like Thomas Speke, John Hallowes, or John Washington. The Maurice Clark site is that of a poor freeman. While still a freeholder, Clark and the other men who owned the site were on the edge of poverty and had very little social standing within their larger community. The Clifts assemblage has been labeled as that of an upper class tenant because of the material wealth encountered on the site. However, the social standing of these tenants may have been relatively

low since there is no known evidence of them in the historical record, they probably held no local office, and did not own the land on which they lived. Finally, the Henry Brooks site has been classed simply as that of a tenant. Like Clifts, little is known of the occupant of the site, but the smaller size of the dwelling and generally poorer artifact assemblage indicates less material wealth. As will be seen below, these four assemblages show both differences and similarities that cross-cut, and in some cases complicate, these status categories (Table 22).

The most striking aspects of the Clifts Plantation ceramic assemblage stem from the higher than expected numbers of food distribution and beverage consumption vessels and the lower than expected numbers of food consumption and dairy vessels. Food distribution vessels at Clifts have the largest positive deviation from the expected value for all of the sites in the sample. A strongly lower than expected number of liquid food consumption vessels also indicates that more traditional methods of cooking and consuming foods were not heavily emphasized at the site and that food was likely being served and consumed in individual portions. This method of dining was important to the male householders at Clifts because it displayed a knowledge of contemporary fashion that both reflected and allowed for the enactment of the host's sociability, one aspect of a polite gentleman identity.

However, the structured serving and individualization of a meal also served to reinforce the authority of the patriarch within the household by indicating a measure of control over the house through the ritual of dining. These same kinds of measures to impose control over the plantation landscape and household are seen in the plan of the house over time and its landscape arrangement (Neiman 1990; Heath [2014]). Many of these changes have been interpreted in relation to the movement of servants out of the house and the increasing segregation and racialization of African slaves. The contribution of the men at Clifts to the racialization of their

African labor force helped to create and maintain the identity of white colonial manhood that became more common after Bacon's Rebellion (Brown 1996). Although the men at Nomini were already engaging in the creation of white colonial manhood around the 1660s through the ownership of African labor and their segregation in separate quarters, the adoption of some of these same concepts by men at Clifts shows that it had spread to the non-elite after about a decade, serving to unite white men of differing status in the colony in a way that had not existed prior to Bacon's Rebellion (Morgan 1975; Upton 1982; Epperson 2001).

Non-elite men, like those at Clifts, were also creating a manly identity drawing on prevailing concepts of English manhood and adapting them to individual circumstances, just as the elite in the area did. One way that the men at Clifts did this was through the individualization of dining and keeping up with certain fashions in English cuisine. Another was through the ritual consumption of new beverages. Among these beverages were tea, whose consumption vessels were present at the site in nearly expected amounts, and punch. Clifts Plantation was the only assemblage that contained evidence of ceramic vessels related to punch, specifically three punch bowls. Punch began to be consumed in the English Atlantic around the middle of the 17th century, but did not become common until the last quarter of that century (Harvey 2012a:173). While consumed by people of all social statuses, punch became equated with the middling sort since it was less expensive than the wines associated with the gentry, but more expensive than the cheaper drinks such as beer and cider (Harvey 2012a:180).

The three punch bowls recovered from Clifts are all tin-glazed earthenware and likely represent two small bowls of about two quarts or less in volume and one large bowl of more than one gallon in volume, judging from their footring diameters which range from 3.2 to 8 inches (Breen 2013:265). The different sized bowls indicate both smaller punch drinking events,

perhaps consisting only of household members, and larger consumption events that likely included guests. All of the bowls are associated with phase III of the occupation at Clifts, placing them between 1705 and 1720. During the 18th century, Harvey notes that excessive drinking, as occurred at punch parties, was seen as a manly pursuit and was associated with sociability (2012a:184). Additionally, the social gatherings centered on punch drinking were strong displays of both cultural capital and the authority of men within the household and within society, helping to maintain those aspects of the identity of men at the Clifts Plantation. (Harvey 2012a:213-214).

Despite an emphasis on ceramics related to sociability and manly identity at the Clifts Plantation, there is a strikingly lower than expected number of dairying vessels, a finding that is especially surprising considering the relatively large bound labor force at the site. Their presence is evidenced by a separate servant's quarter, household arrangement, and the buried remains of African laborers (Neiman 1980, 1990). It may be the case that these vessels were discarded in an area that was unexcavated, but that is unlikely, considering the vast scale of excavation at the site and the presence of a dairy. In this specific case, it appears that the men at Clifts made conscious decisions to place less emphasis on dairying, perhaps to focus on other aspects of diversification. The landscape at the site suggests that there was an orchard, which was a common landscape feature in the late-17th century, and the complexity of landscape arrangement may indicate specialized activity areas, likely related to specific plantation tasks (Neiman 1980, 1990; Heath [2014]). Although the men at Clifts did not focus as heavily on dairying as the men at other sites, they still participated in good economy and household management practices.

Good household and plantation management at Clifts is especially visible in the changing landscape and house plan at the site, which became more complex, segregated, and specialized as time went on (Heath [2014]). Like the landscape at Newman's Neck, the increasing

complexity of outdoor spaces served to not only compartmentalize activities, likely making plantation work more efficient, but it also served to segregate people and reinforce plantation hierarchy and white manhood (Upton 1982; Neiman 1993; Epperson 2001). The same process happened within the house at the Clifts, where the house plan moved from open areas that facilitated free-flowing movement to segregated areas with controlled access (Neiman 1990, 1993). Ultimately, while the social status of the tenants at Clifts may not have allowed them access to all of the aspects of polite gentleman manhood, such as heavier diversification, they were able to adopt other methods of good oeconomy and household management that reinforced hierarchy within the home and on the plantation, helping to reinforce their place as patriarchs.

The ceramic assemblage from Newman's Neck tends to show nearly expected values for the majority of vessel categories associated with sociability. In general, it appears that the households at the site engaged in relatively contemporary dining practices focusing on new methods for food preparation and consumption, evidenced by a slightly higher than expected value for food distribution vessels and lower than expected values for liquid food consumption vessels and household cooking vessels. While solid food consumption vessels show a lower than expected value, it is likely that these forms were either pewter or wood as both Ebenezer Neale's and John Haynie's inventories list these wares (NCR 1710-1713:127-130; NCR 1718-1726:395). The lower than expected values for these solid food consumption vessels at Clifts also probably have a similar explanation, considering the similarity between the two sites in terms of time and wealth, based upon the archaeological remains. The increasing focus on these vessels related to contemporary dining fashions indicates that men at Newman's Neck and Clifts were performing aspects of polite gentleman manhood through sociability and that a slightly lower social status did not preclude the participation in the culture of English Atlantic manhood.

Particularly indicative of the ways in which sociability was performed at Newman's Neck are the vessels related to tea. This site contained the largest amount of positive deviation from the expected value within this category of new beverages as well as containing the highest raw number of tea vessels at any site in the study, with seven. The tea-related assemblage at Newman's Neck consisted of one tea pot and at least six tea bowls. Unlike the assemblage from the latter phases of Nomini, which consisted entirely of hand-painted blue tin-glazed earthenware, the tea vessels at Newman's Neck consisted of porcelain, tin-glazed earthenware, white salt-glazed stoneware, and Staffordshire slipware. These different ware types may either represent several matching sets of different wares, or a single set consisting of multiple wares. Taking tea at Newman's Neck would have been a much different experience, materially, than at Nomini, with such a diversity of ware types.

The presence of these vessels indicates that the men at Newman's Neck clearly understood the importance of this new beverage and likely understood the proper methods for performing a polite gentleman style of manliness. Multiple sets of different wares may have been a way of keeping up with changing trends in ceramic fashions for the household at Newman's Neck. As new ware types became popular, new sets of tea wares may have been purchased in order to entertain in the most up-to-date fashion. However, a mismatched set would have set them apart from the household at Nomini. While it is likely that the men at Newman's Neck could have afforded to match their tea set, based upon the amount and variety of goods listed in their inventories, they may have chosen not to. Perhaps they did not fully comprehend the prestige associated with matching tea sets, or perhaps they chose to devote their economic resources to other things. Regardless, the comparison of the tea assemblage at Nomini and at Newman's Neck shows that sociability could be performed in different ways with the same

group of material culture. Drinking tea either from mismatched vessels or having multiple matching sets of different fashionable wares at Newman's Neck indicates that the performance of sociability was being adopted by middling planters in the region, but like the elite, they were adapting it to suit their needs, thereby deviating from hegemonic ideas of manhood and enacting alternative identities.

As the two lower status sites in the study, the Maurice Clark and Henry Brooks assemblages show some broad similarities in composition that can indicate how men of limited economic means and low social status were constructing their identities. First, at the Maurice Clark site, dining appears to have been more focused on traditional food preparation and consumption methods than any of the post-1680 sites in the sample. Specifically, the higher amounts of food consumption vessels for liquid meals, rather than solid foods, indicate that food preparation was likely done in a more traditional manner, as had been the case in the mid-17th century. The higher than expected number of liquid versus solid food consumption vessels is also seen at the two earliest assemblages in the study, Phase I at Nomini and Hallowes, hinting at the likelihood of traditional cooking methods, as opposed to the more fashionable roasting of individual cuts of meat. Despite the less fashionable cooking methods at the Maurice Clark site, there still appears to have been an attempt to serve food individually. Relatively high proportions of small bowls and plates may indicate that individual place settings were used at the site. Additionally, the relatively high number of traditional beverage consumption vessels at Maurice Clark and Henry Brooks, particularly mugs, also indicates individual beverage consumption at the table. The more traditional methods of cooking at Maurice Clark may have been related to the location of the site on the frontier, as the analysis of the faunal assemblage also indicates a more traditional range of meats on the site, discussed below.

Among those who were materially less well off, such as the poor freeholders on the frontier at the Maurice Clark site and the tenants at the Henry Brooks site, less emphasis was placed on the trappings of sociability in terms of food distribution vessels, vessels for entertaining, and ceramics related to changing fashions in dining. This is confirmed by the lack of new beverage vessels at the Henry Brooks site and their very low presence at Maurice Clark. The people at both of these sites had access to these vessels due to their early-18th-century site occupation dates, but likely chose not to invest in such wares, perhaps because of a greater focus on day-to-day subsistence. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the men at these sites used similar alternative strategies to participate in a culture of sociability that was important in defining manhood by the 18th century.

The Maurice Clark and Henry Brooks sites contain the highest proportions of food consumption vessels for any of the post-1680 sites as well as containing much higher than expected values for traditional beverage vessels. Due to these high amounts, I contend that the men on these sites were enacting sociability through the means available to them by using traditional dining vessels in more contemporary fashions. While economic constraints likely kept the male householders at the two sites from purchasing the most fashionable dining vessels in large quantities and practicing the newest preparation methods compared to people with better economic means, they were still able to participate in a modified form of sociability by providing guests with individualized place settings that served to signify household hierarchy and reflect manly identity. However, this was an alternative form of sociability and manliness, likely only familiar to people of similar socio-economic status. Upper and middling status free men, and probably even the wealthy tenants at Clifts, would likely not have viewed this display of manhood as equal to, or even approaching, their more fashionable types of sociability. The men

at the Maurice Clark and Henry Brooks sites were adapting the notion of polite gentleman manhood to their own situations and using it to reinforce their own manly identities among their community of peers. In many ways it was a combination of both old and new forms as members of colonial society adjusted to changing notions of identity in the Chesapeake and the broader Atlantic World.

Dairying vessels are also conspicuously lower in number than expected at both of these lower status sites, likely indicating less of a focus on this diversified plantation activity within these households. At both sites it is likely that the majority of the plantation workforce was devoted to tobacco production for the purpose of earning as much money as possible. The households at both of these sites were likely small with few to no servants, limiting the amount of labor available to engage in diversified plantation activities. It is known from historical records that Maurice Clark had only one other person in his household, a servant man and that the later households were made up of small families (RCR 1725-1753:40; Muraca, Nasca, and Levy 2006). The relative material poverty and low social status of the people at the Henry Brooks site also suggests that the size of their labor force was comparable to that at the Maurice Clark site. The constraints placed upon the men at both of these sites limited their ability to practice good oeconomy and plantation management strategies at the same level as the wealthy men living on sites with larger bound labor forces. While the men at these sites may have practiced other forms of diversification or methods of household management in order to adopt aspects of the polite gentleman form of manliness, they are not readily evident in the ceramic assemblage and are certainly different from what is seen in the upper class assemblages, indicating yet another aberration from the more hegemonic forms of manhood practiced by the upper status men in the region.

Ceramics clearly show that the paths to manhood in the Early Modern Potomac River Valley of Virginia were varied and heavily influenced by multiple factors, including community relationships, political ideology, time, social status, and wealth. Generally, wealthier men had greater access to all of the aspects of polite gentleman manliness, but their acceptance of these ideals varied from person to person, particularly prior to 1680, before this form of identity had gained a foothold in English society. Sociability and good oeconomy were both important to these wealthy men in the region, as seen through the ceramics related to these practices within their assemblages. However, for those who were unable to maintain the same level of access to fashionable ceramics or devote as much time to plantation and household management, other avenues to manhood were available.

Men altered the ideal polite gentleman archetype to fit their own circumstances in the region. In some cases they mixed old dining practices with new, moving toward individual place settings while still dining on old fashioned meals of soups and pottages. In other cases they chose to emphasize certain aspects of sociability or household management over others. All of these examples show that identity was in flux during the Early Modern Period and that all of the men represented by these assemblages were in the process of negotiating their places within colonial Virginian society.

Faunal Remains

Faunal remains are the other major line of material evidence that I use here for understanding how men in the Early Modern Potomac River Valley negotiated their identity. Faunal material, specifically the remains of vertebrates, was selected for this study because it represents differing aspects of the foodways system on plantations when compared to ceramics, and is able to provide a more complete understanding of how food production and consumption

shaped everyday life. These animal bones not only reflect what people ate, but also how they ate it and how livestock was managed in the face of changing social, environmental, and economic conditions. Therefore, while this section of the material culture analysis does address changing dining habits as a way of performing sociability, the primary focus is on the management of plantations and livestock, particularly cattle.

Like the ceramic analysis, the overall number of assemblages is relatively small; only six contained enough faunal remains to warrant analysis. I compare relative proportions with the knowledge that these assemblages represent the entire population to this point. Clearly, faunal assemblages have a greater tendency toward bias based upon taphonomic factors, but by focusing on the larger mammals within the assemblages I hypothesize that sampling and preservation bias problems will be mitigated to an extent. Coupled with the contextual examination of individual assemblages, the examination of faunal remains from these sites provides an important dataset to better aid in the understanding of the adoption of changing plantation management practices.

I have formulated several hypotheses about how this form of material culture was used to construct manly identity in Virginia's Potomac River Valley. First, I hypothesize that men who began to adopt aspects of the polite gentleman form of manhood concentrated on a few domestic species, particularly cows and pigs, rather than consuming a larger proportion of wild game. This trend reflected changing fashions among the elite in the Chesapeake, which moved toward presenting a few common species on the table in more complex ways rather than a variety of animals (Bowen 1996:103). Additionally, the decrease in wild species was indicative of a better-controlled landscape and a shift toward more traditional English husbandry practices (Miller 1984:372-382; Graham et al. 2007). Specifically, the presence and proportion of sheep in

assemblages can act as a proxy for controlled landscapes when no other evidence is present, because sheep require cleared pastures and greater attention in order to thrive (Walsh 2010:146). Greater control of landscape as seen through sheep rearing can be indicative of both good oeconomy, as a result of stricter plantation management, and sociability, since consuming mutton was quite fashionable in English society (Miller 1988:195). Finally, I hypothesize that as men began to focus on good oeconomy, the management of livestock should become more standardized, which should be most evident in the management of cattle herds.

In order to examine these hypotheses, I group the faunal assemblages in similar ways to the ceramic assemblages. I begin with an examination of change in faunal assemblages over time in the study area, focusing specifically on pre-Bacon's Rebellion and post-Bacon's Rebellion sites. This temporal focus is employed to determine if, and how, this major event in Virginia history affected the construction of manly identity through material culture. Ultimately, the temporal examination of these assemblages shows that variability defines the faunal remains through time. Therefore, I focus heavily on this variation between assemblages based upon contextual factors such as community and kinship connections, status, and geography. The more focused analysis shows that these factors, rather than time, played a much larger role in the composition of the faunal assemblages and how men constructed their identity, often following strategies for sociability and plantation management inferred from the ceramic assemblages.

Overall Trends

The potential biases of examining faunal remains and comparing assemblages has already been addressed above and in Chapter 6. In general, the faunal assemblages used here were all relatively large, numbering from a low of 952 fragments to a high of 12,961 fragments, for a total of 23,885 bone fragments. The assemblages were analyzed using measures of taxonomic

abundance, specifically biomass or meat weight estimates, skeletal part frequency, and age distributions. All of the bones used in the analysis were derived from sealed contexts, which allows for the association of these remains with individual households or household groups. Feature contexts also help to alleviate some taphnomic biases because bone tends to preserved better in features and artifacts tend to be collected more carefully during feature excavation. The primary issue affecting the assemblages is sampling bias resulting from excavations that have been conducted from the 1960s to the present day. However, focusing on the large species, whose bones tend to be collected because of their larger size, should help to alleviate any sampling problems.

In order to compare assemblages I selected seven species or taxonomic groups that I felt were both well-represented in all of the assemblages and were the most useful in discussing plantation management and diet on the sites. These seven species/groups include cattle (*Bos taurus*), swine (*Sus scrofa*), caprines (*Ovis/Capra*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), chickens (*Gallus gallus*), and bony fishes (*Osteichthyes*). These domestic species are the major animals represented on plantations in colonial Virginia, while deer and fish comprise the primary sources of wild meat in European contexts in the region (Miller 1984; Bowen 1996). Although I acknowledge that the presence and proportion of fish in assemblages is likely to be biased due to differential recovery methods, they were present on all sites and should at least offer some insight into the consumption of wild species other than deer.

The overall comparison of the proportions of biomass/meat weight estimates for these species shows little in terms of temporal patterning (Figure 24). When an analysis of variance was performed on these data it showed that variation between the sites was significant with a p-value of 0.002. This indicates that variation exists between the assemblages and is not random.

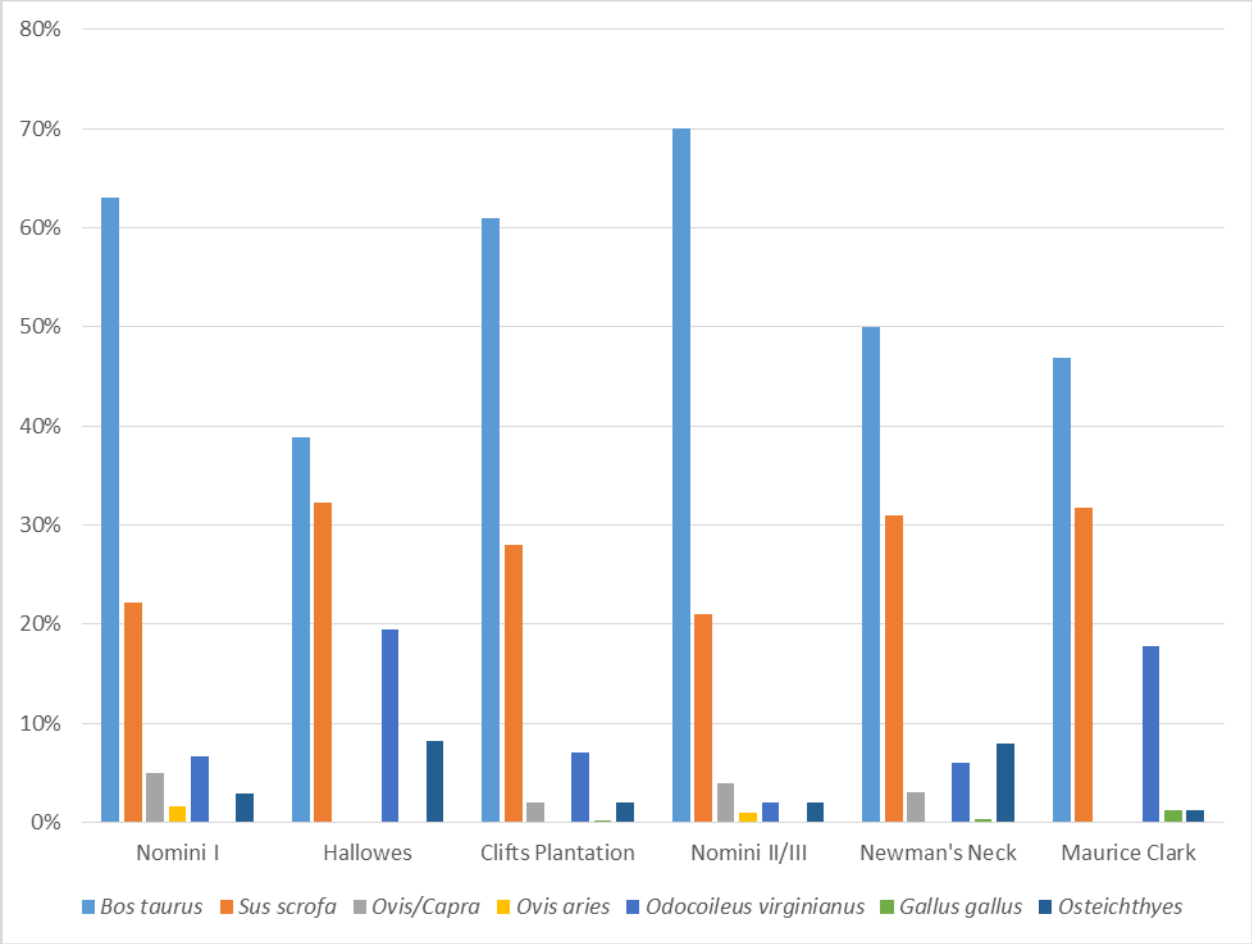

Figure 24: Comparison of Biomass/Meat Weight for Selected Species. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

The variation seems quite high and no species or group appears to either increase or decrease in any predictable fashion through time (Table 28). In the most general sense, the data reveal that beef is the most significant contributor to diet across all sites followed by pork, and then, in most cases, deer. It is interesting to point out that fish make up the lowest proportion of the diet at the Maurice Clark site, the site with the most fine-grained recovery methods, where 100% of feature fill was waterscreened with fine mesh (Table 29). While the Maurice Clark site does have the third highest count of fish bones from these assemblages, this fact shows that greater counts do not always equal greater importance for diet on sites.

Splitting the assemblages into pre-1680 and post-1680 groups underscores the variation present in the assemblages. Only two assemblages, Phase I at Nomini and Hallowes, fall into the pre-1680 group and therefore pattern recognition is not possible. However, the striking differences between just these two assemblages serves as an indicator that factors other than contemporaneity have major influences on the composition of faunal assemblages in this study. Comparing the averages for the seven species/groups between these two time periods shows almost no change at all in any category (Table 30). While there is a great deal of variation between individual assemblages it does not appear even remotely correlated to time or the events surrounding Bacon's Rebellion, considering the similarity of the pre-1680 and post-1680 groups.

Comparing the contribution of wild game and fish to these assemblages shows a great deal of variation through time (Figure 25; Table 31). The range of 4% to 29% wild game in assemblages shows how there was little consensus on how much wild game was appropriate in the diet. Comparing domestic versus wild species in the pre-1680 and post-1680 groups reveals a slight decrease in wild meat in the latter period, but not in any significant amount (Table 32).

Table 28: Table Comparing Biomass/Meat Weight for Selected Species and Showing Averages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

Taxa	Nomini I	Hallowes	Clifts Plantation I-III	Nomini II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Average
Bos taurus	63.3%	39.3%	60.5%	70.7%	50.4%	47.3%	55%
Sus scrofa	22.3%	32.6%	27.5%	21.5%	31.7%	32.1%	28%
Ovis/Capra	3.1%	0.0%	1.9%	3.2%	3.5%	0.1%	2%
Ovis aries	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0%
Odocoileus virginianus	6.7%	19.7%	7.2%	2.3%	5.9%	18.0%	10%
Gallus gallus	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	1.2%	0%
Osteichthyes	3.0%	8.3%	2.1%	1.6%	8.2%	1.3%	4%

Table 29: Table Comparing Counts of Fish Bones in Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

	Nomini I	Hallowes	Clifts Plantation I-III	Nomini II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Average	Standard Deviation
NISP	281	556	251	131	518	424	360	151.6788

Table 30: Table Comparing Average Biomass for Selected Species Prior to and After 1680.

Taxa	**Pre-1680 Average**	**Post-1680 Average**
Bos taurus	51%	57%
Sus scrofa	27%	28%
Ovis/Capra	2%	2%
Ovis aries	1%	0%
Odocoileus virginianus	13%	8%
Gallus gallus	0%	0%
Osteichthyes	6%	4%

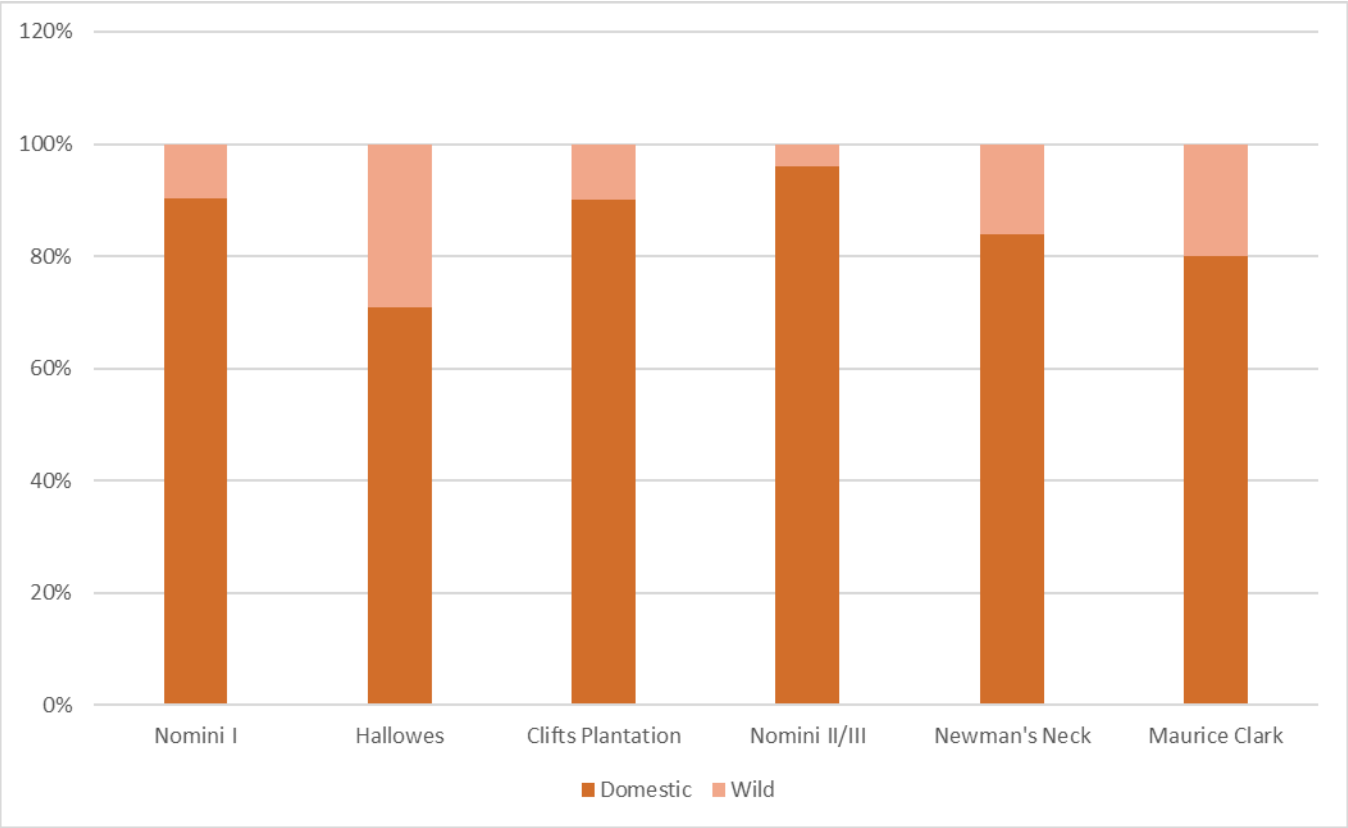

Figure 25: Comparison of Wild versus Domestic Biomass/Meat Weight in the Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

Table 31: Comparison of Wild versus Domestic Biomass/Meat Weight in the Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

	Nomini I (n=122.36 kg)	**Hallowes (n=47.896 kg)**	**Clifts Plantation I-III (n=7271.84 lbs)**	**Nomini II-III (n=167.11 kg)**	**Newman's Neck (n=25.61 kg)**	**Maurice Clark (n=31.27 kg)**
Domestic	90%	71%	90%	96%	84%	80%
Wild	10%	29%	10%	4%	16%	20%

Table 32: Comparison of Wild versus Domestic Biomass/Meat Weight in the Assemblages Prior to and After 1680.

	Pre-1680 Average	**Post-1680 Average**
Domestic	81%	88%
Wild	19%	13%

Generally, the proportions remain relatively stable through time with high degrees of variability between individual assemblages.

This relative stability among the assemblages through time is especially interesting in relation to previous syntheses of faunal data that have focused on this time period in the Chesapeake region. Henry Miller's original examination of diet in the Chesapeake from 1620-1745, which was later expanded on by Joanne Bowen, showed that a fairly regular pattern existed in the diets of colonists through time (Miller 1984, 1988; Bowen 1996; Graham et al. 2007; Carson et al. 2008). Over time, Miller and Bowen have found that the contribution of wild species to diet fell to below 10%, particularly between Miller's second period, 1660-1700, and third period, 1700-1745, which encompasses all of the sites in this study (Miller 1984:307-308; Bowen 1996:103). Miller also notes that the variation in the percentage of wild game is minimal after 1680 in his sample (1984:307; Figure 26). The results of this study, on the other hand, show a range between 4% and 20% in the post-1680 assemblages, which is far from minimal variation.

Examining and comparing some of the results for the seven categories of animals analyzed here to similar categories from Miller and Bowen also reveals a lack of fit to these previously recognized temporal patterns in diet. Miller's analysis of Chesapeake subsistence, in part, focused on the proportions of meat contributed by a few distinct species over time, including cattle, swine, caprines, domestic fowl, deer, and fish. For the most part, these species or species groupings mirror those used in this analysis and allow for the comparison of our results to one another. In Miller's second and third periods, the contribution of the major domestic species and deer to diet remained relatively stable on average (Miller 1984:294; Bowen 1996:100-106). Fish were the only species grouping to show any real change, decreasing significantly as a contributor to diet. Although Miller does not explicitly state that variation in

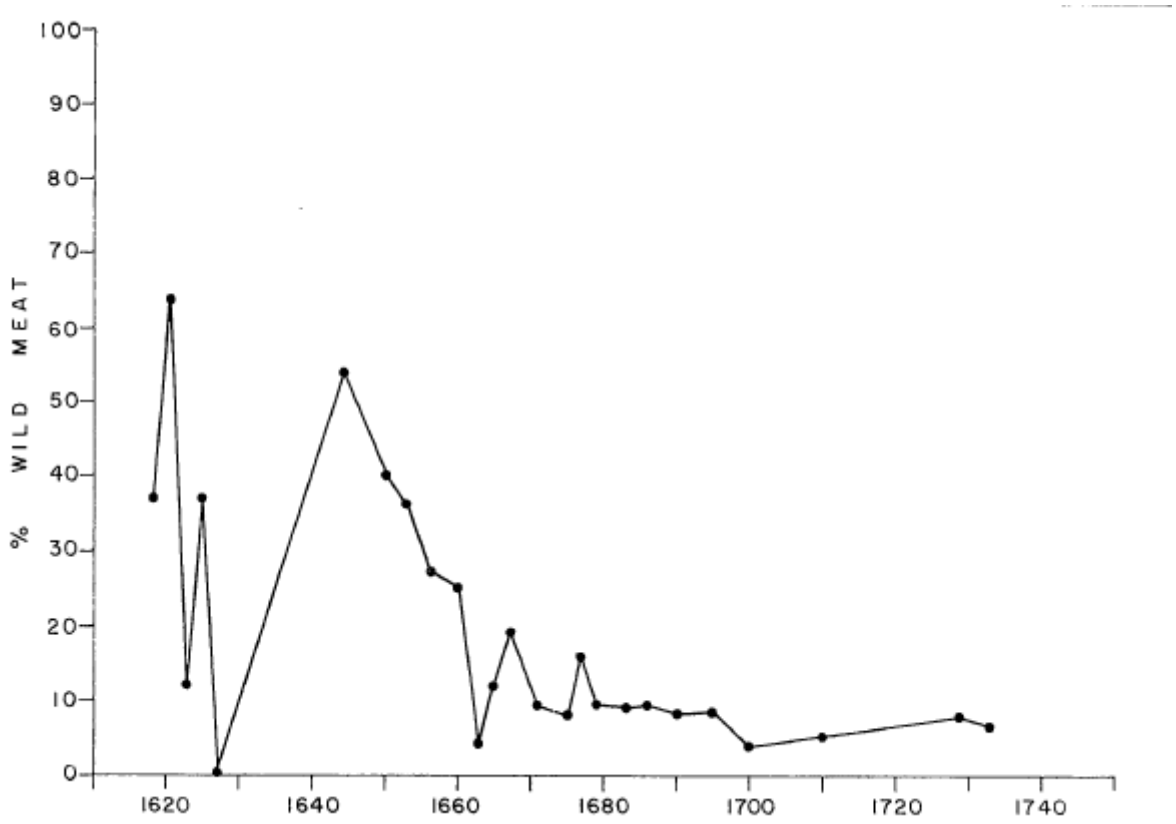

Figure 26: Wild Meat Contribution to Faunal Assemblages in the Chesapeake (Miller 1984:308).

diet decreases through time for these species, it appears to be an underlying assumption considering his discussion of decreasing variation in wild meat contributions (Miller 1984:306-307).

Examining the data in this study reveals similar trends of general stability in terms of average contribution of selected species to diet, with the exception that fish did not decrease over time. Variation in the assemblages also slightly decreases after 1680, but not appreciably, as seen in the contribution of cattle to these post-1680 sites, which has a range of over 20%. Clearly, these differences in variation could be related to discrepancies in database size, since Miller's second period included nine assemblages and his third period included six (1984:198). However, the variation present between the assemblages would likely not be mitigated by the addition of only a few more assemblages to the study. Miller's examination of species contribution to diet exclusively in the Potomac River Valley during the same time periods also reveals similar trends toward stability (1984:335). This fact is particularly interesting, considering that all but one of Miller's Potomac sites in his latter two periods are located in Maryland, mostly in St. Mary's City, perhaps hinting at a difference in rural and urban diet.

The variation in species contribution to diet, as represented by the faunal assemblages in this analysis, is more comparable to Miller's findings for his 1620-1660 sites than it is to his 1660-1700 sites despite the fact that the majority of the assemblages used here would fall into the post-1660 period. Also, the striking difference between Virginia assemblages in the Potomac River Valley and contemporary Maryland assemblages is somewhat unexpected, considering that Miller found broad similarities between Potomac sites and James River sites during the same period. While it is tempting to suggest that these differences relate to the unique nature of the community formed in Virginia's Potomac River Valley during the 17th century, more data would

need to be compiled to better test that assertion. What the data do reveal, however, is the fact that diet, and species contribution, was quite variable between these sites and across time. The primary contributors to meat diet, namely cattle and swine, remained the primary focus across all of the sites, but the ways in which planters supplemented these main sources of meat and the degree to which they relied on them shows a distinct amount of variability that does not appear to correlate with time.

Previous studies have shown that diet became more focused by the late-17th century, with wealthy planters presenting more complex dishes prepared with one or two species as opposed to presenting a vast array of meats on the table (Bowen 1996:103). While the assemblages in this study all clearly focus on cattle and swine, the variability in the contribution of these species and wild species speaks to the fact that planter's tables may have still been quite diverse. The number of non-commensal species represented in assemblages actually shows a slight increase, and at the very least stability, from the pre-1680 assemblages to the post-1680 assemblages (Table 33). These data appears to indicate that diet changed relatively little through the time period represented here.

Ultimately, these data reveal that men in this area do not appear to have been adopting all of the aspects of fashionable dining in any patterned or predictable way over time. Skeletal part frequency analysis of cattle within the assemblages from which these data are available help to support the assertion that food preparation practices changed little over time, since proportions of distinct parts are almost identical prior to and after 1680 (Table 34-Table 36). However, like the rest of the faunal analysis, this analysis also shows a high degree of variability. Just as the ceramics suggest, the faunal data indicate that men adopted different aspects of the polite gentleman form of manhood at different rates and for different reasons. Bacon's Rebellion does

Table 33: Number of Non-Commensal Species in Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

	Nomini I	**Hallowes**	**Clifts Plantation I-III**	**Nomini II-III**	**Newman's Neck**	**Maurice Clark**
Non-commensal species	9	9	12	9	10	19

Table 34: Comparison of Skeletal Part Frequency between Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

	Head	**Foot**	**Axial**	**Front Quarter**	**Hind Quarter**
Nomini I (n=218)	16%	19%	46%	12%	6%
Hallowes (n=57)	25%	14%	53%	4%	5%
Nomini II-III (n=294)	18%	24%	43%	10%	4%
Newman's Neck (n=26)	42%	15%	31%	4%	8%
Maurice Clark (n=42)	17%	19%	43%	14%	7%

Table 35: Average Skeletal Part Frequency for Pre-1680 Assemblages.

	Head	**Foot**	**Axial**	**Front Quarter**	**Hind Quarter**
Observed %	20%	17%	49%	8%	6%
Standard Deviation	6%	4%	4%	6%	1%
Expected %	21%	37%	36%	4%	3%

Table 36: Average Skeletal Part Frequency for Post-1680 Assemblages.

	Head	**Foot**	**Axial**	**Front Quarter**	**Hind Quarter**
Observed%	26%	20%	39%	9%	6%
Standard Deviation	15%	5%	7%	5%	2%
Expected %	21%	37%	36%	4%	3%

not appear to have been a major factor affecting the ways in which manhood was created or displayed using material culture. Instead, the late-17th and early-18th centuries appear to a have been a time of flux in terms of how men constructed their material identity. Like the variability in ceramic assemblages, these faunal assemblages and their relationship to manhood are best understood in relation to unique contextual factors that reveal alternative manliness in the region. Before I turn to examine the variation, however, how these faunal assemblages illustrate differences in herd management practices over time and how that might relate to good oeconomy and polite gentleman manhood must be addressed.

Both Henry Miller's and Joanne Bowen's work on faunal assemblages in the Chesapeake has shown that the management of cattle herds changed appreciably between the mid-17th century and the early-18th century (Miller 1984; Bowen 1994, 1996). Specifically, earlier in the 17th century cattle tended to be almost exclusively four years old or older, but by the 18th century younger cattle began being slaughtered (Bowen 1994:160-165). Bowen interprets this change in mortality profiles, in combination with historical evidence from probate inventories, as evidence of a changing herd system. The presence of younger cattle in faunal samples indicates that planters were beginning to focus more on managing their cattle specifically for meat and perhaps penning and fattening some individuals rather than letting them all run free in a woodland pasture system. She, and Miller, interpret this evidence of diversification as a possible reaction to a slumping tobacco economy. However, she does acknowledge that variation tended to define cattle kill-off patterns in the region, rather than change (Bowen 1994:162).

Evidence for cattle kill-off patterns at the sites in this study indicates that most animals tended to be over four years old when they were slaughtered and that this pattern was relatively constant through time (Table 37-Table 39). Sites from both the pre- and post-1680 periods show

Table 37: Comparison of Long Bone Fusion for Cattle within Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

		Nomini I (n=60)	**Hallowes (n=8)**	**Nomini I-II (n=66)**	**Newman's Neck (n=6)**	**Maurice Clark (n=17)**
Early (<12 months)	*%Fused*	35%	50%	53%	50%	29%
	%Unfused	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Middle (12-30 months)	*%Fused*	2%	13%	18%	17%	24%
	%Unfused	7%	0%	8%	0%	6%
Late (35-42 months)	*%Fused*	43%	25%	12%	33%	35%
	%Unfused	13%	13%	9%	0%	6%

Table 38: Averages and Standard Deviations of Long Bone Fusion for Cattle in the Pre-1680 Assemblages.

	Early (<12 months)	**Middle (12-30 months)**	**Late (35-42 months)**
%Fused	43%	7%	34%
Standard Deviation	11%	8%	13%
%Unfused	0%	3%	13%
Standard Deviation	0%	5%	1%

Table 39: Averages and Standard Deviations of Long Bone Fusion for Cattle in the Post-1680 Assemblages.

	Early (<12 months)	**Middle (12-30 months)**	**Late (35-42 months)**
%Fused	44%	19%	27%
Standard Deviation	13%	4%	13%
%Unfused	0%	4%	5%
Standard Deviation	0%	4%	5%

evidence of some younger animals being slaughtered, however, particularly those in the two to four year range. The variation between sites in terms of slaughtering younger animals would appear to indicate that there was no consensus on the best way to manage herds during this period. It is quite likely that factors such as geography, labor force size, and the degree to which the inhabitants could diversify their plantation practices heavily affected these kill-off patterns. In addition to the reliance on cattle over four years old, the data suggest that animals under one year were almost never slaughtered, an observation also noted by both Miller and Bowen in their work. Because sample sizes are small from some of the sites used here, particularly Hallowes and Newman's Neck, the data should be viewed as suggestive rather than conclusive.

The lack of major changes in cattle slaughter ages does not indicate that plantation management practices were static throughout the late-17th century; rather it suggests that diversification and shifts in strategies were subtle and that variation is important. Miller and Bowen also note the increasing presence of sheep on sites in the Chesapeake as indicators of more controlled herds, landscapes, and better pasture systems (Bowen 1994:162). The relationship between this species and better-controlled herding systems stems from the fact that sheep need protection from predators such as the wolves that still roamed the Chesapeake in the 17th century, pastures to graze, and open space to prevent damage to their wool (Bowen 1994:162). Miller found that sheep tended to increase starting in the late-17th century, attributing this rise to frontier processes and the settling of the landscape (Miller 1984:296). Regardless of the reason for the increase in sheep, it is clear that their presence does appear to indicate that pasture systems were in use to some extent.

Data from these assemblages indicate that sheep were present on half of the sites, though never in any large quantities (Table 40). Bone definitively identified as sheep appear at sites in

Table 40: Comparison of Sheep Presence and Absence in Assemblages. Assemblages Organized by Median Date.

	Nomini I	**Hallowes**	**Clifts Plantation I-III**	**Nomini II-III**	**Newman's Neck**	**Maurice Clark**
Sheep Present in Faunal Assemblage?	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
Sheep Present in Documents?	no	no documentation	no documentation	no documentation	yes	no

both the pre-1680 and post-1680 periods, however, indicating that pasturing and controlled landscapes do not appear to be a function of time for these sites. While the presence of sheep can be used as a proxy for more controlled landscapes, and therefore stricter plantation management strategies, their absence does not necessarily indicate a lack of landscape development. No sheep were present in the Newman's Neck assemblage, but the landscape like that of the Clifts Plantation, was well-ordered and controlled (Neiman 1990; Heath [2014]). However, sheep do appear in the inventories from Newman's Neck, showing that they were present on the site, and perhaps indicating that organized domestic landscapes facilitate the keeping of these species.

As a result of the subtlety in plantation management practices and the large amount of variation between these faunal assemblages, it becomes more important to understand assemblages as products of their own unique circumstances. Both ceramic assemblages and faunal remains have shown that, during the period encompassed by these sites, ideas about sociability and plantation management were far from standard. Examining the differences in these assemblages based upon the experiences of the individuals who ran the plantations can provide a better understanding of how men in the Potomac River Valley of Virginia were incorporating, rejecting, or adapting new ideas about the proper forms of manhood that were beginning to permeate the English Atlantic World.

Variation in Assemblages

As I did for the ceramic assemblages, in this section I examine the faunal remains individually, or in smaller groups, in order to understand how men at these specific sites were constructing their identities in relation to contextual factors such as status, community, or

geography[9]. While much of the ceramic analysis focused on the role that sociability played in the creation and maintenance of a manly identity, the faunal analysis will focus more on aspects of plantation management, specifically herd management, economy, and control of the landscape. The small number of assemblages make generalizations about the experiences of all men in the region difficult. Nevertheless, the households represented by the faunal assemblages do provide a cross section of men with different circumstances in the region, allowing for the exploration of different ways in which they enacted their identity and adopted, adapted, or rejected aspects of polite gentleman manhood and good oeconomy.

The sites owned by men who had direct ties to Ingle's Rebellion include the assemblages from all phases at Nomini and the Hallowes site. However, the Hallowes site faunal assemblage, discussed below, appears quite different in composition from the Nomini assemblages, as it did with regard to ceramics. Therefore, the two Nomini assemblages, which show broad similarities and appear to meet, or at least aspire to, the standards for hegemonic manhood are discussed together, while Hallowes is treated separately.

While sociability and fashionable dining are not the focus on the faunal analyses, there are some aspects of taxonomic abundance in the two Nomini assemblages that aid in the understanding of how aspects of polite gentleman manliness were enacted at this site. Between the first and second phase of the site, the percentage of wild game in the diet decreases by more than half (Table 31 and Table 41-Table 42). At the same time, the reliance on beef at the site increases, generally replacing the losses of wild meat. I argue that this shift in diet at the site reflects the same patterns seen in other areas of the Chesapeake and, as Bowen (1996:103) asserts, reveals a change from presenting a variety of meats on the table to presenting one or two

[9] Here I use geography to mean both the similar oronoco tobacco subregion in which the sites are located and differing local geographical conditions, specifically in regard to the frontier setting of the Maurice Clark site.

Table 41: Measures of Taxonomic Abundance for the Phase I Nomini Assemblage.

Taxa[10]	**NISP**	**MNI**	**Weight (g)**	**Biomass (kg)**	**% biomass with UID and commensal removed**
Mammalia					
Bos taurus	230	3	7068.5	76.63	63%
Cf. Bos taurus	4		25.7	0.49	0%
Sus scrofa	154	3	2163.4	26.4	22%
Cf. Sus scrofa	8		42.1	0.76	1%
Capra hircus	1	1	14.3	0.29	0%
Ovis aries	7	2	124.9	2.03	2%
Ovis/Capra	15	1	194.5	3.02	2%
Cf. Ovis/Capra	7		39.7	0.72	1%
Odocoileus virginianus	15	2	447.9	6.4	5%
Cf. Odocoileus virginianus	8		103.4	1.71	1%
Artiodactyla	218		685.1	9.38	
UID Mammalia	25		15.3	0.31	
Aves					
Gallus gallus	5	1	4.5	0.08	0%
Meleagris gallopavo	1	1	8.8	0.15	0%
UID Aves	2		0.5	0.01	
Osteichthyes					
Archosargus probatocephalus	48	8	109.9	1.2	1%
cf. Pogonias Cromis	1	1	14.4	0.28	0%
UID Osteichthyes	232		199	2.15	2%
Reptilia					
Testudines	1	1	1.9	0.05	0%
Total	982	24	11263.8	132.06	

[10] For common names of taxa see Appendix: Table 55.

Table 42: Measures of Taxonomic Abundance for the Phase II and Phase III Nomini Assemblage.

Taxa	**NISP**	**MNI**	**Weight (g)**	**Biomass (kg)**	**% biomass with UID and commensal removed**
Mammalia					
Bos taurus	307	8	10403.16	116.28	70%
Cf. Bos taurus	7		66.9	1.23	1%
Sus scrofa	186	6	2803.98	35.73	21%
cf. Sus scrofa	1		2.6	0.06	0%
Capra hircus	2	2	46.4	0.85	1%
Ovis aries	5	3	63.8	1.18	1%
Ovis/Capra	24	3	309	4.9	3%
cf. Ovis/Capra	6		21.2	0.41	0%
Odocoileus virginianus	10	2	196.5	3.22	2%
Cf. Odocoileus virginianus	1		29.9	0.56	0%
Procyon lotor	1	1	5.5	0.12	
Artiodactyla	268		950.7	13.47	
UID Mammalia	1		2.2	0.05	
Aves					
Gallus gallus	1	1	4	0.07	0%
UID Aves	1		0.3	0.01	
Osteichthyes					
Archosargus probatocephalus	17	8	79.9	0.94	1%
cf. Archosargus probatocephalus	3		15.7	0.21	0%
cf. Pogonias cromis	16	2	35.8	0.61	0%
Ameiurus sp.	1	1	0.5	0.01	0%
UID Osteichthyes	94		53.5	0.85	1%
Total	952	37	15091.54	180.76	

in complex dishes. One way to test this argument would be to examine change in skeletal part frequencies for cattle between the phases to determine if there is a shift in cuts of meat perhaps indicating more fashionable roasted portions. However, the context of the site as a rural plantation where cattle were slaughtered on site complicates this analysis, since all portions of this species are present in roughly equal proportions over time (Table 34). Regardless, the shift away from a diet with a significant reliance on wild game does indicate the participation in more fashionable dining practices that were becoming common in the region during the late-17th century and, therefore, the adoption of certain aspects of sociability related to polite gentleman manhood.

While the men who lived at Nomini appear to have been keeping up with dining fashions, they also appear to have been soundly managing their plantations from the time Thomas Speke first established his home there in 1647. The presence of sheep in both the first phase and latter two phases of occupation at the site strongly suggest that the plantation owners strictly managed their landscape. Although the surrounding yards at Nomini were not excavated, the presence of this species in the faunal assemblages would suggest that all phases of occupation at Nomini likely exhibited controlled landscapes with fences and distinct activity areas. The investment of time and labor that the owners of Nomini put into sheep and the controlled landscape in which they existed was a clear and visible signal that the plantation was well managed, an important aspect of good oeconomy that identified them as polite gentlemen who had adopted aspects of new hegemonic male identities that were appearing in the mid-17th century.

Management of the cattle herds at Nomini also reflected aspects of good oeconomy beginning in the earliest period of occupation. Cattle kill-off patterns at this site generally remain constant from the first phase to the latter phases with a conservative estimate of between 9% and

13% of the cows represented in the assemblage being under four years of age, with a significant proportion of these likely under three years old (Table 37). While Bowen (1994:160-165) notes a slight change in the kill off patterns in the Chesapeake starting in the late-17th century that begins to focus on younger animals, the plantation managers at Nomini appear to have been ahead of this trend and willing to more drastically change their herd management style. The presence of younger cows in these assemblages indicates that these animals were likely being raised specifically for beef, rather than being used for multiple purposes such as dairy and draft animals (Bowen 1994:162). The controlled landscape, as indicated by the presence of sheep at the site, also aided in the raising of beef, since cattle would need to be penned and fattened before slaughter or sale.

Like sheep's wool, beef also contributed to economic diversification, since planters are known to have sold preserved meat and live cattle as early as the mid-17th century (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1990:73; Walsh 2010:322). The landscape of raising beef, as for sheep, was a signal of good oeconomy to people in the area or visiting the plantation. However, the movement of beef as a commodity from Nomini, both in the immediate area around the plantation, and perhaps as a provision to New England or the Caribbean, indicated a well-managed plantation to others well beyond the Potomac River Valley. Therefore, by participating in good plantation management strategies and engaging in a more diversified economy, the owners of Nomini were able to display their knowledge of, and participation in, new aspects of manly identity to multiple audiences that existed well beyond their immediate surroundings.

The faunal assemblage at the Hallowes site also shows aspects of good oeconomy and a diversified economic strategy (Table 43). However, he and his heirs appear to have combined new and old forms and practices in order to display aspects of manly identity. One of the newer

Table 43: Measures of Taxonomic Abundance for the Hallowes Assemblage.

Taxa	**NISP**	**MNI**	**Weight (g.)**	**Biomass (kg.)**	**% biomass with UID and commensal removed**
Mammalia					
Bos taurus	57	4	1303	18.61	39%
Sus scrofa	155	7	1047.6	15.439	32%
Odocoileus virginianus	111	7	650.6	9.326	19%
Procyon lotor	1	1	0.4	0.012	
Sciurius carolinensis	1	1	0.1	0.003	0%
Scalopus aquaticus	4	1	0.4	0.012	
Artiodactyla	1255		1709	22.605	
UID Mammalia	313		394.1	6.168	
Aves					
Gallus gallus	3	2	1.8	0.037	0%
Meleagris gallopavo	3	1	3.3	0.061	0%
Branta canadensis	2	2	6.3	0.116	0%
UID Aves	6		2.6	0.054	
Osteichthyes					
Archosargus probatocephalus	132	7	190	2.005	4%
Pogonias cromis	13	1	20.8	0.368	1%
UID Osteichthyes	376		132.4	1.565	3%
Reptilia					
Testudines	16	3	23.8	0.366	1%
Total	2448	37	5486.2	76.747	

practices that Hallowes employed to manage his plantation was the raising of cattle specifically for beef. Kill-off patterns at the site indicate that at least 13% of the cattle in the assemblage were under four years of age (Table 37). While no sheep are present, the raising of cattle for beef does indicate some form of landscape control since penning and fattening would be essential to producing good beef. While the site plan does hint at these practices through the presence of a few ditch-set fences, they appear to date to the later period of the site's occupation. However, pens for cattle could have been constructed with worm fences, which would leave little to no archaeological signature. The participation of Hallowes in the raising and sale of beef is confirmed by historical references where he is a buyer or seller of cattle (AOMOL 4:415, 534, 10:95; WCR 1653-1659:684; WCR 1653-1671:15). Like the raising of beef at Nomini, cattle at Hallowes was a clear signal to people both near and far that he was engaged in plantation management strategies that were economically lucrative, signaling his good oeconomy and his adoption of aspects of polite gentleman manliness.

Perhaps one of the more lucrative and unique aspects of economic diversification and plantation management at the Hallowes site, however, does not relate to domestic animals, but instead focuses on wild game at the site. The trade in deer appears to have played a major role in the economy at the site and required the adept management of economic interactions by Hallowes despite the fact that the skin trade was beginning to go out of fashion in the Upper Chesapeake by the mid-17th century. While John Hallowes' role in the deer trade and the archaeological and historical evidence for it is discussed at length in a previous article (Hatch 2012), I will very briefly summarize it here in order to discuss how it reflects good oeconomy and an adaptation to changing concepts of manhood.

The Hallowes site has the largest proportion of wild meat of any assemblage in this study, with the majority coming from deer. The high proportion of deer on the site is unique in that skeletal portions are heavily weighted toward high utility parts, specifically quarters and axial portions and no head portions are present from reliable contexts (Table 44). This specific pattern in skeletal portions appears to indicate that deer were being brought to the site from elsewhere, having already been dressed. Based upon strong evidence of the interaction with local Indians at the Hallowes site in the form of historical references and other artifacts indicative of Indian trade, it is hypothesized that deer were brought to the site by local Indians and traded to the Hallowes household. It is also hypothesized, based upon age categories for the deer that showed a focus on older, likely larger, specimens, that these animals were being hunted for their skins and that those skins were also likely being traded to the Hallowes site (Table 45).

The deer skin trade was a major part of Native economies in the mid-17th century, particularly in the southern part of Virginia (Lapham 2005). As noted in previous chapters, the fur trade was also important to the economy in the Upper Chesapeake, though it tended to focus on beaver skins, particularly prior to 1650. John Hallowes had participated in these interactions on behalf of his former master, Thomas Cornwalyes, and likely understood the profit that could be made trading skins if managed properly. By the time Hallowes settled in Virginia, the trade in skins in the eastern portion of the colony was beginning to fall out of favor for an economy that focused on plantation-based tobacco production (Lapham 2005:142-144; Walsh 2010). Equipped with his previous experience and connections in the Indian trading sphere, however, Hallowes chose to continue with an economic strategy that was falling out of favor with most planters in the region, in addition to growing tobacco. Despite the risk, he was clearly successful in his

Table 44: Skeletal Part Frequency for Deer in the Hallowes Assemblage.

	Teeth	Head	Foot	Axial	Front Quarter	Hind Quarter
NISP Observed	0	1	9	52	33	16
% Observed	0%	1%	8%	47%	30%	14%
NISP Expected	32	12	104	72	8	6
% Expected	14%	5%	44%	31%	3%	3%

Table 45: Long Bone Fusion for Deer in the Hallowes Assemblage.

	Early (<20 months)	Middle (20-30 months)	Late (>35 months)
NISP Fused	15	12	8
% Fused	37%	29%	20%
NISP Unfused	0	3	3
% Unfused	0%	7%	7%

economic endeavors, and was one of the wealthiest men on the Northern Neck when he died in 1657.

Although participating in the deerskin trade in the Upper Chesapeake after the mid-17th century may not have been the most current form of economic diversification in which a good oeconomist could have engaged, it proved to be economically sound for John Hallowes and his heirs. Hallowes' ability to profit from a business on the decline in the region and his very visible success indicated that he was a good oeconomist, knew how to successfully manage a plantation, and was at least partially an adherent to the polite gentleman style of manliness. However, his use of a somewhat older style of diversification shows that he adapted his older, perhaps less fashionable, ways of thinking to contemporary trends within his society, just as he had with his ceramic assemblage and sociability. His connections with men like Thomas Speke, who apparently did adopt some of the more fashionable forms associated with manliness, apparently did not heavily influence Hallowes' economic strategies, although he still understood the importance of diversification to good plantation management. John Hallowes appears to have continued many of the economic activities he participated in while a Maryland resident, but the aptitude he had for plantation management that made him successful in the proprietary continued to benefit him in Virginia and helped to cement his manly identity among his peers.

The faunal assemblage from Newman's Neck illustrates how concepts of proper plantation management strategies such as diversification and herd management were enacted by middling plantation owners in the region who had access to certain aspects of polite gentleman manliness, but unlike the elite, were not able to operationalize all of the most fashionable strategies. The composition of the faunal assemblage at Newman's Neck, like all of the sites, indicates that domestic species provided the bulk of meat on the site (Table 46). However, unlike

Table 46: Measures of Taxonomic Abundance for the Newman's Neck Assemblage.

Taxa	**NISP**	**MNI**	**Biomass (kg)**	**% biomass with UID and commensal removed**
Mammalia				
Bos taurus	26	7	12.74	50%
Sus scrofa	67	11	8	31%
Ovis/Capra	10	3	0.89	3%
Felis domesticus	1	1	0.07	
Odocoileus virginianus	9	1	1.49	6%
Sciurus sp.	4	3	0.07	0%
Rattus sp.	7	3	0.02	
Rodentia	27		0.02	
UID Mammalia	771		10.41	
Aves				
Gallus gallus	7	3	0.08	0%
Branta canadensis	2	2	0.11	0%
Branta/Anser	3	1	0.02	0%
Anatidae	5	3	0.07	0%
UID Aves	190		0.87	
Osteichthyes				
Archosargus probatocephalus	42	10	0.97	4%
Lepisosteus osseus	11	4	0.08	0%
UID Osteichthyes	465		1.02	4%
Reptilia				
Testudines	5	2	0.07	0%
Total	1652	54	37	

many other sites in the Chesapeake during the late-17th century, where wild species accounted for 10% or less of the diet, the Newman's Neck assemblage has a slightly higher reliance on wild game, at 14% of the biomass contribution. While this difference may simply be due to sampling variation, other aspects of the assemblage indicate that diet at the site might have been affected by the economic constraints of a middling planter of the period. The percentage of beef in the assemblage is lower than the typically expected proportion of over 60% (Miller 1984; Bowen 1996). Apparently, the owners of Newman's Neck made up for this deficit by relying more heavily on pork, which is around 5-10% higher than what is expected during the same period.

Based upon this assemblage composition, it appears that sociable dining at the site was being adapted to the economic conditions of its inhabitants. The decreased contribution of beef coupled with the increase in pork may suggest that the managers of the plantation were making the choice to substitute beef, the most expensive domestic animal on most plantations, for pork, from one of the most prolific domestic animals on the plantation (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1990:47-48; Walsh 2010:145-146). This substitution still allowed the people at Newman's Neck to provide meals that focused on one or two domestic species prepared in complex ways, rather than an array of wild meats. However, the lower amount of beef would have been noticeable, particularly when juxtaposed to an elite table, such as that at Nomini, and was a clear adaptation of sociable dining to the economic constraints of a middling planter. While not able to reach the same level of sociability as the elite members of Virginian society along the Potomac, the men at Newman's Neck were aware of the fashion for dining in the period and attempted to reproduce these meals with what they had readily available, striving to attain the trappings of polite gentleman manliness, but creating alternative ways to manhood through their attempts.

Like their attempts at sociability through dining, their plantation management strategies were also somewhat alternative. The age analysis for cattle in the assemblage show that none of the specimens appeared to be younger than four years old (Table 37). While this may be due, in part, to small sample size, the generally lower proportion of beef in the assemblage would indicate that raising cattle on the plantation was not as important at Newman's Neck as it was at other sites. Although inventories for Ebenezer Neale and John Haynie list many more cows than pigs, this may be a relic of the way inventories were taken, since cows had a significant amount of economic value, while pigs did not (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991:50). Additionally, pigs were much harder to count, particularly since they were nearly feral during the late-17th and early-18th centuries (Walsh 2010:145-146). Despite a lack of faunal evidence indicating strict management of cattle herds, archaeological evidence for plantation management does exist, though in the form of landscape features. The landscape immediately surrounding the manor house at Newman's Neck reveals a great deal of complexity in the form of fencelines and outbuildings that are clear indicators of the ordering of space on the plantation (Heath [2014]). These fences served to create distinct outdoor spaces that likely served specialized functions, including work areas, or even animal pens. The faunal assemblage does contain the remains of caprines, which may have been sheep, perhaps penned near the house, or the pens may have been used for fattening cows. Either way, the proper management of livestock and space at Newman's Neck was clearly important to the owners and would have been visible to anybody who saw the layout of the plantation core.

The diversification efforts at Newman's Neck might not have been as large a part of the economy on that plantation as they were at an elite site like Hallowes, but they were present and a clear attempt at good oeconomy by the men who owned Newman's Neck. Historical

documentation also reveals some important efforts at diversification that took place under Ebenezer Neale's ownership. Neale's probate inventory indicates that he had partially diversified into grain agriculture by the time of his death in 1710 and had the accoutrements for cider making, bee keeping, and raising geese (NCR 1710-1713:127-130; Heath et al. 2009:14-15). Cider-making implements imply that there was an orchard somewhere on the site. These diversification efforts caused Neale to be seen as a good oeconomist because of his attempt to manage his property for the maximum amount of profit available. Although men like Neale did not have the economic means or labor supply to diversify to the same degree as the men at Nomini or the Hallowes site, they still employed aspects of good oeconomy and plantation management. Their smaller scale attempts at diversification and plantation and landscape management indicate that they sought to be good oeconomists and created a manly identity for themselves based upon a modified, but not altogether dissimilar, version of the fashionable polite gentleman form of manhood practiced by many of the elite of the late-17th century.

The faunal assemblage at the Clifts Plantation, much like its ceramic assemblage, shows how despite their lower social status as tenants, the plantation managers at that site had somewhat better access to the trappings of polite gentleman manliness, or perhaps accepted the concept to a greater degree than others, and were better able to perform certain aspects of this identity than either the middling planters at Newman's Neck or the poor free planters at the Maurice Clark site, as will be seen below. The composition of the faunal assemblage at Clifts is very close to what should be expected at a late-17th century site in the Chesapeake in terms of proportions of species (Table 47). Although the proportion of wild game is somewhat on the high end, it is very close to the averages for the period as defined by Miller (1984) and Bowen (1996). These data indicate that diet at the site was heavily focused on beef with some pork and the

Table 47: Measures of Taxonomic Abundance for the Clifts Plantation Assemblage.

Taxa	NISP	MNI	Useable Meat (lbs.)	% biomass with UID and commensal removed
Mammalia				
Bos taurus	361	11	4400	61%
cf. Bos taurus	8			
Equus caballus	4	3	1200	
cf. Equus caballus	2			
Sus scrofa	425	20	2000	28%
cf. Sus scrofa	5			
cf. Ovis aries	1			
Ovis/Capra	16	4	140	2%
Canis familiaris	5	1	25	
Felis domsticus	24	2	12.6	
Odocoileus virginianus	64	7	525	7%
cf. Odocoileus virginianus	10			
Procyon lotor	2	2	28	
Artiodactyla	17			
Carnivora	1			
Aves				
Gallus gallus	16	5	11.2	0%
cf. Gallus gallus	1			
Meleagris gallopavo	2	2	19.2	0%
Branta	4	3	19.2	0%
Quiscalus quiscula	1	1	0.64	0%
Osteichthyes				
Archosargus probatocephalus	229	13	124.8	2%
cf. Archosargus probatocephalus	2	1	9.6	0%
Pogonias cromis	7	2	19.2	0%
cf. Pogonias cromis	1			

Table 47: Continued.

Taxa	**NISP**	**MNI**	**Useable Meat (lbs.)**	**% biomass with UID and commensal removed**
Lepisosteus osseus	11	1	1.6	0%
Morone americana	1	1	1	0%
Reptilia				
Terrapene carolina	1	1	0.4	0%
Unidentified	11740			
Total	12961	80	8537.44	

occasional wild meat, likely indicating that meals at the site focused on more complex dishes with fewer species. This should come as no surprise, since the ceramic assemblage at Clifts also showed evidence of fashionable dining in the form of new beverage containers and serving vessels. Apparently, men at Clifts were attempting to keep up with fashions in dining and saw sociability as an important aspect of their manly identity that needed to be maintained, perhaps as a way of making up for their lack of land ownership.

As discussed above in the ceramic section, diversification at Clifts differed somewhat from the other sites in that dairying was not as heavily emphasized. Cattle, however, do appear to have been an important part of the economy at the site, but for the meat they produced rather than their milk. Kill-off charts were produced by Joanne Bowen for the Clifts assemblage and, as a result, differ slightly from the categories I use. However, in general, age groupings are comparable within a few months and are used here in a form slightly modified from the original. The kill-off patterns indicate that cattle were beginning to be raised for beef due to the presence of specimens under four years of age (Table 48). About 8% of cattle at the site were under four years old, and at least some specimens were under 18 months old.

While these proportions of younger cows are not as large as those at Nomini or Hallowes, where raising beef seems to have been a significant part of the plantation economy, they are worthy of note and indicative of changing plantation management strategies at Clifts. Combining the faunal data with the archaeological evidence of at least six smokehouses during the occupation span at the site would appear to indicate that the production, preservation, and, likely, sale of meat was still an important part of the plantation economy at Clifts (Neiman 1980:113-122). Speculating as the reason of the smaller proportion of young cattle at Clifts I would suggest that the men who ran the plantation were slightly more conservative in their diversification

Table 48: Long Bone Fusion for Cattle in the Clifts Plantation Assemblage (n=98).

	Early (7-18 months)	**Middle (24-42 months)**	**Late (42-48 months)**
%Fused	65%	13%	6%
%Unfused	1%	6%	8%

strategies, and rightly so. They likely lacked the vast social and trade networks that men like Thomas Speke, William Hardidge II, and John Hallowes possessed to profit from their diversified plantation products. The wealth that is evident in the archaeological remains of the Clifts Plantation was likely achieved through a great deal of work over time and the men who ran the plantation were probably cautious in their business decisions.

Nevertheless, they did diversify, and likely profited from this diversification, on a smaller scale in the form of orchards and cidering that accompanied it. Like Newman's Neck, the landscape at Clifts also shows evidence of strict plantation management practices in the form of the segmentation of space and possible locations for animal penning and specialized tasks, as discussed above. The men at Clifts never achieved the social status of the elite in Westmoreland County, but the wealth that they accumulated through the sound management of their plantation helped them to achieve a measure of the polite gentleman identity that might not have been available to less well-off tenants. The fact that these people remained tenants despite their wealth and achievements in terms of creating a manly identity serves to underscore how difficult social mobility had become in the region by the late-17th century. The gentry class had become almost impenetrable after Bacon's Rebellion and the ability of free planters to climb the social ladder as they had in the middle of the century was gone (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1990:157-166). While men like those at Clifts could aspire to hegemonic forms of manhood, they could never completely achieve them due to their inability to rise through the social ranks. Nevertheless, their adoption of aspects of polite gentleman manhood allowed them to create their own identities in reference to other men.

The Maurice Clark faunal assemblage is the primary example in this analysis of how social and economic status limited the avenues available to men seeking to enact aspects of

polite gentleman manhood even into the 18th century and how economic diversification was a luxury available only to those with a certain degree of wealth. The composition of the Maurice Clark assemblage is vastly different from typical faunal assemblages of the early-18th century. Other than the Hallowes site, which is considerably earlier, the Maurice Clark assemblage has the highest proportion of wild meat and the lowest proportion of beef of all of the other assemblages (Table 49). While there could be multiple factors contributing to the composition of this assemblage, it most likely stems from the low socioeconomic status of the inhabitants of the site.

As newly-freed servants and small planters, the inhabitants of the site were among the poorest free people in the Chesapeake, which likely influenced their decision to move to the edge of European settlement on the Northern Neck. The lower percentage of cattle present in the assemblage likely stems from the fact that these species were some of the most expensive domestic animals on a plantation and the high proportion of wild game is probably related to the frontier conditions of the site in the early-18th century. The ability of the inhabitants to engage in fashionable cuisine at Maurice Clark was severely hindered by their inability to afford large amounts of beef. While dinners may have tended to focus on domestic species most of the time, the presence of a variety of fish and deer on the table was more comparable to the early style of dining in the Chesapeake. Therefore, it appears that the men at the site expended little effort to engage in the latest fashions concerning food, despite ceramic vessels that suggest some attempt at fashionable dining practices. They may have chosen not to aspire to hegemonic ideas of manhood, instead focusing on class-based definitions of manliness that did not resemble elite behavior.

Table 49: Measures of Taxonomic Abundance for the Maurice Clark Assemblage.

Taxa	NISP	MNI	Weight (g)	Biomass (kg)	% biomass with UID and commensal removed
Mammalia					
Bos taurus	40	4	1054.01	14.38	46%
cf. Bos taurus	2		12.93	0.26	1%
Sus scrofa	192	9	658.86	9.74	31%
cf. Sus scrofa	4		8.86	0.2	1%
Ovis/Capra	1	1	0.77	0.02	0%
cf. Ovis/Capra	1	1	2.92	0.02	0%
cf. Felis domesticus	1	1	0.05	0.001	
Odocoileus virginianus	36	4	342.64	5.11	16%
cf. Odocoileus virginianus	4	2	22.69	0.47	2%
Didelphis marsupialis	1	1	2.39	0.06	0%
Sylvilagus floridanus	12	2	3.74	0.1	0%
Sciurus niger	2	2	0.78	0.024	0%
Sciurus carolinensis	1	1	0.96	0.03	0%
Scalopus aquaticus	13	1	0.33	0.01	
Bovidae	2		0.74	0.001	
Artiodactyla	460		443.12	6.79	
Rodentia	1		0.01	0.0004	
Peromyscus	9	3	0.16	0.0058	
UID Mammalia	1200		229.4	4.11	
Aves					
Gallus gallus	54	5	19.25	0.33	1%
Cf. Gallus gallus	12		2.97	0.04	0%
Meleagris gallopavo	1	1	0.36	0.01	0%
Branta canadensis	1	1	0.98	0.02	0%
Anas platyrhynchos	1	1	0.33	0.01	0%
cf. Anas crecca	1	1	0.37	0.01	0%

Table 49: Continued.

Taxa	NISP	MNI	Weight (g)	Biomass (kg)	% biomass with UID and commensal removed
Anatidae	4	1	2.04	0.044	0%
Passeriformes	2	1	0.07	0.0013	
UID Aves	103		14.32	0.247	
Osteichthyes					
cf. Acipenser oxyrhynchus	2	1	1.45	0.04	0%
Lepisosteus Osseus	8	1	0.41	0.02	0%
Scomber scombrus	1	1	0.1	0.005	0%
Ameiurus sp.	1	1	0.04	0.0009	0%
Morone americana	13	4	0.94	0.026	0%
cf. Morone americana	1		0.16	0.006	0%
Perca flavescens	3	2	0.2	0.007	0%
cf. Lepomis sp.	1	1	0.01	0.0008	0%
Cyprinidae	4	1	0.17	0.007	0%
UID Osteoichthyes	390		12.26	0.28	1%
Amphibia					
Anura	1		0.06		
Unidentified					
Indeterminate	1995		145.07		
Total	4581	55	2986.92	42.4372	

While there is a general lack of evidence for fashionable social dining at the Maurice Clark site, the faunal remains do appear to show some attempts at productive plantation management. Cattle kill-off patterns show that men at the Maurice Clark site began to shift their, apparently limited, cattle husbandry to focus on raising beef, as evidenced by the presence of a small proportion of specimens less than four years old, and likely less than three years of age. This shift, albeit subtle, indicates that the men at the Maurice Clark site recognized the importance of diversification, but were probably conservative in their diversification efforts due to a lack of labor and capital. This is confirmed by Maurice Clark's 1711 will wherein he left the majority of his estate to his single servant, and only other member of his household (RCR 1725-1753:40). The fact that he specifically listed cattle, horses, and land among his worldly goods underscores the fact that he recognized the value of cattle.

In addition to the evidence of shifting cattle husbandry practices at the site, there is also indirect evidence of specialized landscape arrangement. Faunal analysis at the site showed that food refuse disposal patterns appeared to shift between the first and second phases of occupation (Hatch 2014). Faunal remains from the first phase of occupation were concentrated in features near the dwelling while faunal remains from the second phase of occupation tended to be light in features near the dwelling and concentrated in features away from it. This spatial distribution appears to indicate that a shift happened between the first and second phases of occupation in terms of refuse disposal. This shift may have been related to the creation of a more controlled landscape, but no yard features exist to confirm this. This small shift, however, coupled with the first inklings of a change in cattle husbandry at the site do appear to indicate that good oeconomy and plantation management was seen as a worthy pursuit by at least some of the men at the site.

The poorer planters living at the Maurice Clark site appear to have shown little interest in attempting to enact aspects of the polite gentleman form of identity. Fashionable cuisine was likely economically out of reach for these men as was significant economic diversification. As a result, these men may have ascribed to an alternative form of manhood defined by frontier life. The conflict between ideas of backcountry manliness and elite manliness was one of the major factors that led to Bacon's Rebellion decades earlier (Brown 1996:139). In that form of frontier manhood there was a populist tone that rejected being mistreated by the elite and supported taking Indian land by force, if necessary. The form of manhood on the Northern Neck frontier in the early-18th century was likely different from this if for no other reason than there were no significant numbers of Indians in the area and the period of popular rebellion in the colony had mostly passed. How the men at the Maurice Clark defined their manliness is somewhat difficult to determine archaeologically. They apparently did not compare themselves to the elite polite gentlemen of the day, as the faunal assemblage from the site shows few aspects of sociability or good oeconomy. They likely compared themselves to each other, but without further data on similar assemblages or historical data from the area, little can be gleaned of frontier manhood in this place and time.

Conclusion

The material evidence for enacting manly identity in Virginia's Potomac River Valley reveals several important aspects of that time and place, and the role of individual experience in the creation and maintenance of identity. Although a proto-Lockean mode of authority had generally been accepted through much of the Potomac River Valley in Virginia by the late-17th century, the material evidence discussed above indicates that defining what it meant to be a man was still being debated. These new concepts of authority tended to coincide with changing

definitions of manhood in other parts of the English Atlantic, with a shift toward the polite gentleman mode of manhood beginning in the middle of the 17th century and becoming generally accepted by the 18th century (Harvey 2005:301-304). The fact that these two broader changes tend to coincide with what others have interpreted as a coalescence of colonial identity and authority after Bacon's Rebellion would seem to suggest that there was little debate over how to properly enact manliness (Brown 1996).

Material remains related to sociability and plantation management, two of the major components of the polite gentleman form of manhood, indicate that the performance and maintenance of manliness was far from solidified. For the entire period under study here, variation was the defining factor in these forms of material culture. There appears to have been little to no shift in either sociability or plantation management among these sites after Bacon's Rebellion. Like Ingle's Rebellion, Bacon's Rebellion may have indeed been a turning point in terms of ideology, but the daily practices of identity by the men in the region changed little in the aggregate. The artifacts seem to indicate that time was not the defining factor for manly identity in this period. Much more important to creating and maintaining a manly identity were contextual factors such as community connections, wealth, and status.

In general, it appears that either elite men, or men who were directly connected to the proto-Lockean community that formed in the wake of Ingle's Rebellion, were the ones who adopted aspects of polite gentleman manhood in the form of sociability and good oeconomy most frequently. Unfortunately, the distinction between men in the proto-Lockean community and elite men is unclear because all of these examples overlap. Regardless, this observation indicates two things. First, that proto-Lockean thought about authority does appear to coincide

with the polite gentleman form of manhood and, second, that elite status likely provided greater access to the material trappings of a fashionable manly identity.

However, not all wealthy proto-Lockeans completely subscribed to this new form of identity. John Hallowes and his heirs performed aspects of polite gentleman manhood, but often did so using more traditional means, such as providing individual servings of food in the newest fashion, but doing it with more traditional stews and pottages. Additionally, Hallowes appears to have been an excellent plantation manager with a diverse economy, but his economic diversification was based heavily on the deerskin trade, which was beginning to go out of fashion in the eastern portion of Virginia starting in the mid-17th century (Lapham 2005:138-149). Hallowes' adaptation to these new concepts of manhood shows how identity and its performance were being negotiated constantly, even among the highest members of colonial society during a time of great social and political change in the Potomac River Valley.

The data indicate that while many other men in the region often attempted to perform a polite gentleman form of manhood, their ability to do so was often affected by their social or economic status. Men at Newman's Neck acquired a large percentage of new beverage vessels to display their sociability and diversified their plantations as an attempt at good oeconomy, but were unable to do so on the same level as the elite. Their tea services, which may have comprised several sets of fashionable ware types could in one instance represent a desire to keep up with the latest fashions in ceramic wares and the material culture of tea. On the other hand, if they were mismatched or acquired in a piecemeal fashion due to economic constraints they may have represented differing ideas about how to enact manhood or alternative strategies for achieving it. Additionally, their diversification efforts were much smaller than what had taken place at plantations such as Nomini where labor and capital were not an issue. Interestingly, the

tenants at Clifts, who were lower in social status than the middling planters at Newman's Neck, were equal to, and sometimes more successful than, the men at Newman's Neck in terms of enacting and displaying hegemonic aspects of polite gentlemanliness. While somewhat conservative in their plantation management practices, likely as a result of a lack of access to broad social and trade networks, the men at Clifts likely shared similar values with the men at Newman's Neck in terms of ceramics related to sociability.

The tenants at the Henry Brooks Site and Maurice Clark apparently had the most difficult time performing aspects of the new manly identity. These men had little to no access to the wealth and labor required to fully enact polite gentlemanliness and, as a result, ascribed to alternative forms of manhood. These alternate forms may not have been recognized by the elite in the region or even resembled hegemonic forms of manhood, but they serve as an important example of how multiple forms of competing identities were present in the region even into the 18th century. Manhood in Virginia's Potomac River Valley was far from concrete as men of all social and economic standings were in the process of adapting ideas about what it meant to be a man to their own unique circumstances. Importantly, however, is the fact that this new form of manhood was being negotiated between men, rather than between men and women, as had been the case with the earlier anxious patriarch style of manhood. Even as these ideas and practices were being worked out between men, they were often using the labor of women, children, servants, and slaves to reflect on and create their own identities, as shown through the fact that so much of manly identity was immersed in the foodways system of the late-17th century.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The analysis of historical documents and material culture on sites in the Early Modern Potomac River Valley of Virginia has revealed a significant amount of detailed, and sometimes conflicting, information on the construction of manly identities in the region during that time. Historical records show that colonial conflict in the 17th century was partially fueled by competing notions of manly authority in the English Atlantic. These competing concepts helped to create a distinct community on Virginia's Potomac shore that was instrumental in shaping the politics and society of that region throughout the latter half of the 17th century. As new ideas about how men should maintain their authority coalesced in this part of Virginia, the practices related to performing manly identity were also shifting in English society. This new form of manhood, which emphasized sociability and good oeconomy, was associated with numerous plantation and household tasks that have archaeological correlates. While elite, and even some non-elite, members of Virginia's Potomac River Valley were fairly quick in their adoption of many aspects of the new proto-Lockean authority, the uptake of a polite gentleman style of manliness was somewhat less standard. Social status, varying economic strategies, and community connections all played major roles in determining how men defined and practiced their identity, showing that identity in the region had not solidified even into the early-18th century.

Manly Authority

As new ideas about social contract theory, or rule by consent, began to permeate the Chesapeake in the middle of the 17th century, the Potomac River Valley became a flashpoint for the struggle over what concept of authority would define the society of the region. In Maryland, Lord Baltimore, and many of his close associates who controlled politics in the proprietary, were

strong adherents to the old Filmerian system of authority that recognized the divine right of a ruler and saw the household as the building block of the state. In this system a man's authority had to constantly be reinforced because it could easily be challenged by any person in his household over whom he lost strict control (Norton 1996, 2011; Foyster 1999; Harvey 2005). This system of ruling quickly began to break down along the northern banks of the Potomac because of the tobacco economy and the social mobility that resulted from it.

When the first generation of smaller planters and former servants, who had arrived in Maryland in the 1630s, began to prosper on their own freeholds in the 1640s, they also began to resent the unchecked authority of the Calvert family and their associates. Perhaps they had been exposed to ideas about social contract theory by the merchants who brought goods and the latest news from across the Atlantic up the Chesapeake Bay, or it may have been dissent stirred up among the populace by William Claiborne's former Kent Island traders who took up residence on the southern shores of the Potomac, or perhaps it was simply their newly-acquired socioeconomic status, made possible by the tobacco economy, that made them question the old system of authority. In practice, their dissatisfaction with the Calvert system of government was probably a combination of these factors and others. What is clear, however, is that in 1645, one of those merchants who was very vocal about his disdain for Filmerian authority ignited a rebellion in Maryland that took his name (Riordan 2004).

Ingle's Rebellion, and its aftermath, helped to both create and reinforce a community identity in the Potomac River Valley that had proto-Lockean ideas about social contract theory at its center. The flight of former Maryland rebels to Virginia in the wake of Ingle's Rebellion helped to populate a large section of the Northern Neck, leading to the formation of a new county and facilitating increased European settlement up the Potomac River (Hatch 2013; Hatch, Heath,

and McMillan 2014:61-64). More importantly for this dissertation, however, is the fact that local government was essentially monopolized by these former rebels for more than a decade after their arrival in Virginia. As a result of their newfound political clout, they were able to foster a distinctly proto-Lockean community on the southern shores of the Potomac. The fact that the same degree of plundering and violence that defined Bacon's Rebellion, the last gasp of Filmerian political authority in Virginia, in southern Virginia did not occur in Virginia's Potomac River Valley helps to underscore the degree to which people in that area had accepted proto-Lockean concepts of political authority.

Despite the general acceptance of proto-Lockean political authority in Virginia's Potomac River Valley by the late-17th century, aspects of Filmerian thinking still played a large role in defining social relationships and identities. Filmerian concepts are particularly evident in the role that women played in this decidedly proto-Lockean political community. The public roles of women and the authority they gained through administering their husbands' estates, serving as powers of attorney, running plantations, and owning property show that they had not been relegated to a private and domestic sphere and that authority within society was still available to them, as it had been under a Filmerian system. The ability of a well-connected wife to increase the status of a man within the proto-Lockean community along the Potomac, or incorporate him into it, also indicates how male identity remained heavily intertwined with women. While proto-Lockean thought was dominant in the politics of Virginia's Potomac River Valley, aspects of Filmerian thinking were still alive and well in the region into the late-17th century. Men in Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties were adopting characteristics of both of these ways of thinking and applying them to their own situations, creating a unique Potomac Virginian identity.

Manly Identity

At the same time that concepts of manly authority were changing in the English Atlantic, changes in the ways men defined other aspects of their identity were also taking place. Although a major aspect of the shift from Filmerian to proto-Lockean authority included a change toward the negotiation of authority primarily between men only, this did not indicate a separation of gendered spheres, as others have suggested for the late-17th and early-18th centuries (Norton 1996, 2011:76-104; Meacham 2009). Rather, a man's role in the household was reinforced through this shift as the home, its proper maintenance, and entertaining within it, all became strong and public representations of a man's authority over his household and his identity (Harvey 2012b). A well-maintained and economically sound household, coupled with the knowledge and practice of the latest fashions in sociability, became the cornerstone of performing manhood in the polite gentleman style, which began to replace the Filmerian anxious patriarch form of manliness that dominated in the first half of the 17th century (Harvey 2005).

Archaeological remains related to plantation and household management, in addition to sociability, show that this shift in the performance of manly identity is not as clear as broader historical studies of manhood in England or the Chesapeake would suggest (Harvey 2005; Shepard 2005; Brown 1996). Ceramics and food remains related to fashionable dining practices and entertaining show a great deal of variation, suggesting that a consensus on how to practice sociability had not been reached. Even the members of the gentry in Westmoreland County, who had participated in Ingle's Rebellion and were clearly proponents of proto-Lockean authority, still relied on many old-fashioned forms of dining and showed significant variation in the degree to which they employed the material culture of sociability. A lack of the most fashionable forms, however, did not necessarily mean that men at certain sites did not participate in rituals of

sociable dining. In many cases older forms, both of food and ceramics, were used in ways that indicated sociability. For example, the high proportion of single serving bowls at the Hallowes site clearly indicates that John Hallowes was entertaining multiple guests, but he was doing so with more traditional foods, such as stews, while still moving toward individual servings, which was associated with more fashionable practices.

Sites occupied by men with less than elite status showed similar variability. As time progressed and fashionable ceramic forms, such as tea wares, became more accessible, they were adopted by members of all social statuses. However, the simple presence of fashionable forms did not mean that men on those sites had reached the pinnacle of polite gentlemanliness. The tea assemblage at Newman's Neck stands as a significant example of the use of new and fashionable forms in alternative ways. While tea wares comprised the largest amount of ceramics at this site compared to the others, they represented an amalgam of different ware types that may have either represented multiple matching sets or a single set acquired in piecemeal fashion. This assemblage stood in contrast to the contemporary tea ware assemblage at Nomini, which consisted almost exclusively of blue hand-painted tin-glazed earthenware. The ability to serve tea signaled the acceptance of aspects of sociability related to changing forms of manly identity, but the ability to do so with a matched set of tea wares conveyed messages about the wealth, status, and authority. Depending upon the meaning of the different ware types for tea wares at Newman's Neck, the men there could have been keeping up with changing trends in ceramic fashion as a way of signaling their sociability despite their lower social status compared to the men of Nomini. Alternatively, if the tea set was mismatched, it may have represented an adaptation to prevailing notions of manhood. This conscious decision to modify aspects of

sociability through material culture speaks to the alternative forms of manhood available to, and being created by, men at the time.

The multiple ways that men in Virginia's Potomac River Valley adapted concepts of sociability to their own circumstances based upon social status, community connections, or economic status shows that ideas related to the polite gentleman form of manhood were beginning to be adopted in the area. Like proto-Lockean concepts of authority, however, they were never perfectly achieved by anybody in the region during the period under study. Instead, men of all ranks were attempting to create their own identities using these larger concepts, and each other, as reference points. The comparisons and struggles over how to perform manly identity in one's daily life is perhaps best illustrated in plantation management strategies employed at these various sites.

Household management, and by extension plantation management, was essential to good oeconomy, a defining aspect of the polite gentleman identity. Considering that in a proto-Lockean system manhood was often defined between men, it would be expected that the proper strategies for the running of the household and plantation would also be formulated in relation to what other men in the region were doing (Norton 1996:11, 405; Shepard 2005). The data do not bear out this assumption, however. Ceramic vessels related to dairying, one method for diversifying the plantation economy and extracting maximum profit from resources, and faunal remains related to herd management practices show that plantation management strategies were often very individualized. While the degree to which planters were able to engage in diverse economies tended to correlate with higher social or economic status, the types of diversification strategies used by these men were often tailored to individual circumstances and experiences.

Although raising cattle for meat, dairying, or participating in the deerskin trade never replaced tobacco cultivation, or likely even brought in a significant portion of income compared to sotweed, they did indicate that the plantation master had the labor and management skills to participate in these diversified economic practices. While acknowledging these diversified practices among 17th-century planters, Chesapeake historians have tended to downplay their importance in relation to the economic, social, and political importance of the tobacco system (Middleton 1954; Main 1982; Menard 1988; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1990; Horn 1994; Walsh 2010). Clearly, tobacco was the main source of income for almost all planters in the region during this period and much of a man's worth in economic, social, and gender terms was wrapped up in the success of his crop. However, his ability to manage his household well and display the aspects of a polite gentleman would have also been tied to his ability to extract the maximum amount of profit from his plantation through other economic activities.

Lorena Walsh has shown that the wealthy elite were among the first to truly diversify their plantation economies in the first half of the 18th century, primarily due to the amount of labor and capital that they controlled (2010:624-632). By the 1730s, these elite men began keeping better records of their plantation accounts and managing their holdings for future generations as examples of good oeconomy for all to follow (Walsh 2010:631). While the men that lived in the 17th-century Potomac River Valley of Virginia may not have been as explicit in the management of their plantations through the keeping, or survival, of plantation accounts, the archaeological evidence offers clear indications that they were managing their affairs for maximum profit. As was the case in the 1730s, the elite were most successful at these diversified management practices due to the labor, capital, and trade connections that they possessed. All men, except for those in the lowest socioeconomic classes, however, made some visible effort to

more efficiently manage their plantations, indicating that good oeconomy and changing concepts of manhood were permeating the region and causing men to reassess this part of their identity.

Management strategies, however, varied significantly from plantation to plantation. In general, archaeological remains can only indicate a few ways in which plantations engaged in economic activities other than tobacco planting, such as raising cattle for beef, dairying, or cidering. Nevertheless, all of the sites in this study show some different degree or combination of these and other economic activities, indicating that plantation management was highly individualized. With no consensus on how to operationalize good oeconomy, the measure of a good oeconomist, and a man, was success. If his plantation prospered through his management decisions, a plantation owner had achieved a measure of manhood as a polite gentleman, and there were as many paths to this form of identity as there were men. The wealthier a man was, the easier the path, but even men who were not among the elite were able to create their own forms of manhood and good oeconomy through differing plantation management strategies that suited their conditions.

Ultimately, these differing strategies helped to construct a unique Potomac concept of manliness that continued to affect and define later generations of planters in the area. April Hatfield has shown that a defining aspect of the Potomac River Valley in the 17th century was a more diversified plantation economy, arising from a focus on oronoco tobacco (2004:43). As these diversified practices were clearly a major part of the identity of men in the region, likely related in part to the early acceptance of proto-Lockean concepts of authority, it is no surprise that by the 1730s planters in the region began to fully embrace diversification, good oeconomy, and a polite gentleman style of manliness, which had started to take root in the mid-17th century (Walsh 2010:472-538). The debates over how to properly manage plantations and enact

sociability that took place during the late-17th and early-18th centuries in Virginia's Potomac River Valley helped to set it apart from the southern areas of the colony, which had grown and adapted to a different set of environmental, social, and political circumstances during the same period.

Future Research and Implications

This dissertation has provided one of the first major syntheses of historical archaeological data from Virginia's Potomac River Valley in the 17th century, as well as the first archaeological examination of manhood in the region. Nevertheless, much work remains to be done both regionally and topically in order to better understand the history and material culture of the Potomac River Valley and its relationship to other parts of the Chesapeake. Currently, that work is underway in the form of numerous projects including Julia King's NEH-funded *Colonial Encounters* project that has cataloged, synthesized, and will make publicly available data from numerous sites in the lower Potomac River Valley dating from 1500-1720 (King 2011). Lauren McMillan's dissertation on trade, exchange, and community in the Potomac River Valley, which is currently being completed, examines tobacco pipe assemblages from sites in both Virginia and Maryland dating to the 17th century, including many of the sites I have used in this work (McMillan 2015). Finally, Barbara Heath's on-going excavations at the Coan Hall site in Northumberland County are employing the latest theoretical and methodological advancements at a 17th century plantation context on the Northern Neck, the first of its kind excavated in over three decades (McMillan and Heath 2013; Heath 2014). These examples show that an interest in the historical archaeology of the Early Modern Potomac River Valley is blooming and is sure to provide important information on the history of the region for years to come.

As this dissertation and the above projects show, the river valley is beginning to show its utility as a unit of analysis in Chesapeake historical archaeology. Philip Morgan has called for a focus on the history of river valleys as a new direction for scholars in the Chesapeake because of the variation in politics, economy, and trade networks that defined these areas (Morgan 2011). Rice's history of the Potomac (2009), and current archaeological examinations by King, Heath, McMillan, and me are showing that a focus on riverine systems has much to contribute to how we understand the past and the people in it. This dissertation has shown that river valley studies hold a great deal of promise in the Chesapeake because deeper contexts can be interrogated. The 17th-century Potomac River Valley had many unique aspects that affected the lives of the people living in it. Without understanding these Potomac contexts, a large part of the story of both the people and their region would be overlooked.

The influence of, and reaction to, the Calvert's system of government in Maryland was a major factor in the settlement of the Northern Neck of Virginia that might otherwise have been missed in a broader study of the Chesapeake as a region, or even of the oronoco subregion (Walsh 1999). Transportation and trade networks that relied on waterborne transportation meant that rivers, such as the Potomac, were connections to other parts of the Atlantic world that facilitated the exchange of people, goods, and ideas. The movement of these objects, people, and ideas across the Potomac to Virginia in the mid-17th century was instrumental in the creation of new identities for men in that region. While this dissertation has focused on Virginia, the role of the people and politics of Maryland should not be understated because the Potomac served less as a border, in our modern political sense, and more as a facilitator of contact between the two colonies. The community of men that populated the southern shore of the Potomac interacted a

great deal with their Maryland counterparts and often defined their identity in opposition to them.

The ways in which these Virginians defined their identity also has some important implications to the study of gender in the Chesapeake. First, as historians of Early Modern England have recognized for some time, the separation of spheres concept is no longer tenable for that period (Foyster 1999; Shepard 2005; Flather 2007; Harvey 2012b). As this dissertation has shown, activities often associated with the work of women, such as dairying and taking tea, had significant implications for defining manly identities because of the connection between household management, hospitality, and manhood that arose in the 17th century. Even from a logistical standpoint, the small houses that defined the Chesapeake in the 17th century made the enforcement of separate spheres nearly impossible (Flather 2007). At the same time, however, context of both objects and people are vitally important to understanding how gender identities were defined and performed. Due to the unique demographic, political, and material conditions of the Potomac River Valley, no ideal gender identity was ever achieved. Rather, people adapted general concepts of identity to their particular circumstances, leading to the creation of alternative identities. Not surprisingly, the elite were able to achieve forms of identity most resembling ideal notions, indicating the importance of status in identity. However, even the wealthy enacted alternative forms of identity that fit their own purposes, as shown in the case of John Hallowes. Therefore, the ability to contextualize the actions and materials of people through a deep understanding of their social, economic, and political conditions is essential to the interpretation of identity in archaeological and historical contexts.

The history and archaeology of the Potomac River Valley, and the broader Chesapeake, is much more complex and nuanced than researchers two to three decades, and longer, ago

recognized in their sweeping studies of the Chesapeake (Middleton 1954; Morgan 1975; Main 1982; Menard 1988; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991; Horn 1994). Future studies adopting the deeply contextualized river valley model, used here, need to be performed in different areas of the Chesapeake in order to begin to compare the experiences of people in the broader region and tease out variations in economy, identity, and history. While starting with the 17th century is the best way to understand how these distinct regional identities were formed, the temporal scope must be expanded into the 18th century in order to determine how these localized identities changed and affected the lives of people in later generations. The examination of existing archaeological collections offer the perfect opportunity for these studies. As shown here, the application of the latest advancements in theory and method can allow these, sometimes long-forgotten, materials to say new things about the past that might otherwise have been unknown.

Moving forward, different aspects of identity should also be examined in terms of gender, class, and race. The ways in which women's identities were affected by local and trans-Atlantic politics, demography, and ideology have only been briefly addressed in this work. However, there is much data on this topic in both the archives and archaeological assemblages of the Potomac River Valley. The role of bound labor in constructing plantation owners' identity and the identities created for and by those laborers should also be addressed to a greater degree in the time period and region studied here. Using a highly contextualized model that relies on a detailed understanding of the historical circumstances of the region and individuals combined with archaeological data can serve to contribute much to our understanding of life in the past. Ideally, the continued application of modern field methods to archaeological excavations in the region will allow for more the more nuanced analysis of data. The standardized use of flotation and waterscreening for features rich in cultural material at these sites will allow future analysts to

compare and contrast faunal remains, botanical remains, and other artifacts in much more detailed ways that will help to better address questions concerning, trade, economy, environment, identity, and society. This dissertation has only addressed a small aspect of identity for a small group of people in the Early Modern Potomac River Valley, but as more data become available the scope of this work can, and should, be expanded to encompass a much larger portion of the population over a much longer period of time, thereby contributing to our growing knowledge of plantation life on the tobacco coast.

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Appendix

Table 50: Summary of Vessels Identified in this Study.

	Nomini Phase I	**Hallowes**	**Washington**	**Clifts Plantation Phases I-III**	**Nomini Phase II-III**	**Newman's Neck**	**Maurice Clark**	**Henry Brooks**	Total
Alembic					1				1
Baking Dish			1						1
Baluster Jar		1							1
Barber's Basin				1					1
Basin				5					5
Bottle	5	1	5	3		1		1	16
Bottle/Jug	1								1
Bowl	10	52	15	8	8		16	11	120
Bowl/mug		2							2
Bowl/ointment pot		1							1
Bowl/Pan	1	1	5						7
Bowl/pitcher		4							4
Bowl/Porringer	1			1					2
Bowl/pot		5							5
Bowl/Saucer					1				1
Butter Pot	2	3	3	3	1				12
Butter pot/milkpan		1							1
Chafing Dish					1				1
Chamber Pot			2	7	3	1	1	2	16
Chamberstick	1								1
Charger	3	3	12		8				26
Charger/Plate							4		4
Cooking Pot	1		4						5
Costrel		1		1	1			1	4
Cup				17					17
Dipper					1				1
Dish				13	1				14

Table 50: Continued.

	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation Phases I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Dish/Charger						5			5
Drinking Pot				1					1
Drinking Pot/Bowl					3				3
Drinking Pot/Cup	2		9		1		2	2	16
Dripping Pan					1				1
Ewer			1						1
Flask		1							1
Galley Pot				6					6
Jar				2					2
Jug	4	16	19	7	6	1	6	7	66
Jug/Pitcher						5			5
Lobed Dish	3		1		2			2	8
Milk Pan	28	68	28	9	27	13	9	22	204
Milk Pan/Bowl							1		1
Milk Pan/Chamber Pot						1			1
Mug		1		13					14
Mug/pitcher		1							1
Oil Jar	2		7						9
Ointment Pot	11		11		3			2	27
Pan		9		8				1	18
Pan			1						1
Pan/Bowl	2								2
Pipkin				1					1
Pipkin/Cooking Pot	5				2				7
Pitcher		2	6	4	1				13
Pitcher/pot		2							2

Table 50: Continued.

	Nomini Phase I	**Hallowes**	**Washington**	**Clifts Plantation Phases I-III**	**Nomini Phase II-III**	**Newman's Neck**	**Maurice Clark**	**Henry Brooks**	Total
Plate	11		19	12	15	2	6	7	72
Plate/Charger	1								1
Plate/Dish	1								1
Porringer	7			5	1				13
Porringer			7						7
Porringer/Bowl					3				3
Pot	10		19	7	17		3	3	59
Pot/Butter Pot				10		6			16
Pot/Cooking (Flesh) Pot				1					1
Pot/Milk Pan							1		1
Punch Bowl				3					3
Saucer				2	1				3
Saucer/Bowl							5		5
Tankard						4			4
Tankard/Mug	6		1		8		10	17	42
Tea Bowl						4			4
Tea Bowl/Capuchine						1			1
Tea Bowl/Cup						1			1
Tea Cup					2				2
Tea/Coffee Pot					1	1			2
Teapot							1		1
Total	118	175	176	150	120	46	65	78	928

Table 51: Contingency Table for All Ceramic Assemblages.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	58	106	70	52	54	21	17	28	406
	expected	51.625	76.5625	77	65.625	52.5	20.125	28.4375	34.125	
	o-e	6.375	29.4375	-7	-13.625	1.5	0.875	-11.4375	-6.125	
	o-e squared	40.64063	866.5664	49	185.6406	2.25	0.765625	130.8164	37.51563	
	o-e squared/e	0.787228	11.31842	0.636364	2.82881	0.042857	0.038043	4.600137	1.099359	
Dairy	observed	40	81	50	30	45	20	14	25	305
	expected	38.78233	57.51616	57.84483	49.29957	39.43966	15.11853	21.36315	25.63578	
	o-e	1.217672	23.48384	-7.84483	-19.2996	5.560345	4.881466	-7.36315	-0.63578	
	o-e squared	1.482726	551.4906	61.54132	372.4734	30.91743	23.82871	54.21593	0.404211	
	o-e squared/e	0.038232	9.588445	1.063904	7.555307	0.783917	1.576125	2.537825	0.015767	
Household	observed	13	25	15	18	8	0	3	2	84
	expected	10.68103	15.84052	15.93103	13.57759	10.86207	4.163793	5.883621	7.060345	
	o-e	2.318966	9.159483	-0.93103	4.422414	-2.86207	-4.16379	-2.88362	-5.06034	
	o-e squared	5.377601	83.89612	0.866825	19.55774	8.191439	17.33717	8.315268	25.60709	
	o-e squared/e	0.503472	5.2963	0.054411	1.440443	0.754132	4.163793	1.413291	3.626889	
Beverage Storage	observed	5	0	5	4	1	1	0	1	17
	expected	2.161638	3.205819	3.224138	2.747845	2.198276	0.842672	1.190733	1.428879	
	o-e	2.838362	-3.20582	1.775862	1.252155	-1.19828	0.157328	-1.19073	-0.42888	
	o-e squared	8.056299	10.27728	3.153686	1.567893	1.435865	0.024752	1.417845	0.183937	
	o-e squared/e	3.726942	3.205819	0.978149	0.57059	0.653178	0.029373	1.190733	0.128728	
Food Distribution	observed	8	3	13	18	11	5	4	2	64
	expected	8.137931	12.06897	12.13793	10.34483	8.275862	3.172414	4.482759	5.37931	
	o-e	-0.13793	-9.06897	0.862069	7.655172	2.724138	1.827586	-0.48276	-3.37931	

Table 51: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
	o-e squared	0.019025	82.24614	0.743163	58.60166	7.420927	3.340071	0.233056	11.41974	
	o-e squared/e	0.002338	6.81468	0.061226	5.664828	0.896695	1.052849	0.051989	2.1229	
Food Consumption	observed	28	42	44	19	24	2	24	18	201
	expected	25.55819	37.90409	38.12069	32.48922	25.99138	9.963362	14.07866	16.8944	
	o-e	2.44181	4.095905	5.87931	-13.4892	-1.99138	-7.96336	9.921336	1.105603	
	o-e squared	5.962438	16.77644	34.56629	181.9592	3.965592	63.41514	98.43291	1.222359	
	o-e squared/e	0.233289	0.442602	0.906759	5.600601	0.152573	6.364833	6.991637	0.072353	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	17	42	19	7	9	0	18	10	122
	expected	15.51293	23.00647	23.13793	19.71983	15.77586	6.047414	8.545259	10.25431	
	o-e	1.487069	18.99353	-4.13793	-12.7198	-6.77586	-6.04741	9.454741	-0.25431	
	o-e squared	2.211374	360.7544	17.12247	161.794	45.91231	36.57121	89.39213	0.064674	
	o-e squared/e	0.14255	15.68056	0.740017	8.204636	2.910288	6.047414	10.46102	0.006307	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	11	0	25	12	15	2	6	8	79
	expected	10.04526	14.89763	14.98276	12.7694	10.21552	3.915948	5.533405	6.640086	
	o-e	0.954741	-14.8976	10.01724	-0.7694	4.784483	-1.91595	0.466595	1.359914	
	o-e squared	0.911531	221.9394	100.3451	0.591971	22.89128	3.670858	0.217711	1.849366	
	o-e squared/e	0.090742	14.89763	6.697373	0.046359	2.240834	0.937412	0.039345	0.278515	
Traditional Beverages	observed	12	23	36	42	19	10	18	26	186
	expected	23.65086	35.07543	35.27586	30.06466	24.05172	9.219828	13.02802	15.63362	
	o-e	-11.6509	-12.0754	0.724138	11.93534	-5.05172	0.780172	4.971983	10.36638	
	o-e squared	135.7426	145.816	0.524376	142.4525	25.51992	0.608669	24.72061	107.4618	
	o-e squared/e	5.739435	4.157213	0.014865	4.738204	1.061043	0.066017	1.897496	6.873764	
Consumption	observed	12	18	29	38	18	10	18	26	169

Table 51: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
	expected	21.48922	31.86961	32.05172	27.31681	21.85345	8.377155	11.83728	14.20474	
	o-e	-9.48922	-13.8696	-3.05172	10.68319	-3.85345	1.622845	6.162716	11.79526	
	o-e squared	90.04537	192.3661	9.31302	114.1305	14.84906	2.633625	37.97906	139.1281	
	o-e squared/e	4.190257	6.036036	0.290562	4.178033	0.679484	0.314382	3.208427	9.794485	
Serving	observed	0	5	7	4	1	0	0	0	17
	expected	2.161638	3.205819	3.224138	2.747845	2.198276	0.842672	1.190733	1.428879	
	o-e	-2.16164	1.794181	3.775862	1.252155	-1.19828	-0.84267	-1.19073	-1.42888	
	o-e squared	4.672679	3.219086	14.25713	1.567893	1.435865	0.710097	1.417845	2.041696	
	o-e squared/e	2.161638	1.004138	4.421999	0.57059	0.653178	0.842672	1.190733	1.428879	
New Beverages	observed	0	0	0	5	5	7	1	0	18
	expected	2.288793	3.394397	3.413793	2.909483	2.327586	0.892241	1.260776	1.512931	
	o-e	-2.28879	-3.3944	-3.41379	2.090517	2.672414	6.107759	-0.26078	-1.51293	
	o-e squared	5.238574	11.52193	11.65398	4.370262	7.141795	37.30472	0.068004	2.28896	
	o-e squared/e	2.288793	3.394397	3.413793	1.502075	3.068327	41.81012	0.053938	1.512931	
Punch	observed	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
	expected	0.381466	0.565733	0.568966	0.484914	0.387931	0.148707	0.210129	0.252155	
	o-e	-0.38147	-0.56573	-0.56897	2.515086	-0.38793	-0.14871	-0.21013	-0.25216	
	o-e squared	0.145516	0.320054	0.323722	6.325659	0.15049	0.022114	0.044154	0.063582	
	o-e squared/e	0.381466	0.565733	0.568966	13.04491	0.387931	0.148707	0.210129	0.252155	
Tea Wares	observed	0	0	0	2	5	7	1	0	15
	expected	1.907328	2.828664	2.844828	2.424569	1.939655	0.743534	1.050647	1.260776	
	o-e	-1.90733	-2.82866	-2.84483	-0.42457	3.060345	6.256466	-0.05065	-1.26078	
	o-e squared	3.637899	8.001339	8.093044	0.180259	9.36571	39.14336	0.002565	1.589556	
	o-e squared/e	1.907328	2.828664	2.844828	0.074347	4.828544	52.64498	0.002441	1.260776	
Health/Hygiene	observed	11	1	13	14	6	1	1	4	51

Table 51: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
	expected	6.484914	9.617457	9.672414	8.243534	6.594828	2.528017	3.572198	4.286638	
	o-e	4.515086	-8.61746	3.327586	5.756466	-0.59483	-1.52802	-2.5722	-0.28664	
	o-e squared	20.386	74.26056	11.07283	33.1369	0.35382	2.334837	6.616204	0.082161	
	o-e squared/e	3.143604	7.721434	1.144785	4.019744	0.053651	0.923584	1.852138	0.019167	
Other	observed	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
	expected	0.25431	0.377155	0.37931	0.323276	0.258621	0.099138	0.140086	0.168103	
	o-e	0.74569	-0.37716	-0.37931	-0.32328	0.741379	-0.09914	-0.14009	-0.1681	
	o-e squared	0.556053	0.142246	0.143876	0.104507	0.549643	0.009828	0.019624	0.028259	
	o-e squared/e	2.186514	0.377155	0.37931	0.323276	2.125287	0.099138	0.140086	0.168103	
Total		118	175	176	150	120	46	65	78	928

Table 52: Contingency Table for Pre-1680 Assemblages.

Functional Category[11]	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	58	106	70	234
	expected	58.8742	87.31343	87.81237	
	o-e	-0.8742	18.68657	-17.8124	
	o-e squared	0.764226	349.1878	317.2804	
	o-e squared/e	0.012981	3.999245	3.613163	
Dairy	observed	40	81	50	171
	expected	43.02345	63.80597	64.17058	
	o-e	-3.02345	17.19403	-14.1706	
	o-e squared	9.141275	295.6347	200.8052	
	o-e squared/e	0.212472	4.633339	3.129241	
Household	observed	13	25	15	53
	expected	13.33475	19.77612	19.88913	
	o-e	-0.33475	5.223881	-4.88913	
	o-e squared	0.112061	27.28893	23.90355	
	o-e squared/e	0.008404	1.379893	1.20184	
Beverage Storage	observed	5	0	5	10
	expected	2.515991	3.731343	3.752665	
	o-e	2.484009	-3.73134	1.247335	
	o-e squared	6.170298	13.92292	1.555844	
	o-e squared/e	2.452432	3.731343	0.414597	
Food Distribution	observed	8	3	13	24
	expected	6.03838	8.955224	9.006397	
	o-e	1.96162	-5.95522	3.993603	
	o-e squared	3.847955	35.46469	15.94887	

[11] New Beverage category removed because there were no new beverage vessels at any of these sites.

Table 52: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Total
	o-e squared/e	0.63725	3.960224	1.770838	
Food Consumption	observed	28	42	44	114
	expected	28.6823	42.53731	42.78038	
	o-e	-0.6823	-0.53731	1.219616	
	o-e squared	0.465537	0.288706	1.487464	
	o-e squared/e	0.016231	0.006787	0.03477	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	17	42	19	78
	expected	19.62473	29.10448	29.27079	
	o-e	-2.62473	12.89552	-10.2708	
	o-e squared	6.889226	166.2945	105.4891	
	o-e squared/e	0.351048	5.713708	3.603904	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	11	0	25	36
	expected	9.057569	13.43284	13.50959	
	o-e	1.942431	-13.4328	11.49041	
	o-e squared	3.773037	180.4411	132.0294	
	o-e squared/e	0.416562	13.43284	9.77301	
Traditional Beverages	observed	12	23	36	71
	expected	17.86354	26.49254	26.64392	
	o-e	-5.86354	-3.49254	9.356077	
	o-e squared	34.38109	12.19782	87.53617	
	o-e squared/e	1.924652	0.460425	3.285409	
Consumption	observed	12	18	29	59
	expected	14.84435	22.01493	22.14072	
	o-e	-2.84435	-4.01493	6.859275	
	o-e squared	8.090325	16.11963	47.04965	
	o-e squared/e	0.54501	0.732214	2.125028	
Serving	observed	0	5	7	12

Table 52: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Total
	expected	3.01919	4.477612	4.503198	
	o-e	-3.01919	0.522388	2.496802	
	o-e squared	9.115507	0.272889	6.234019	
	o-e squared/e	3.01919	0.060945	1.384354	
Health/Hygiene	observed	11	1	13	25
	expected	6.289979	9.328358	9.381663	
	o-e	4.710021	-8.32836	3.618337	
	o-e squared	22.1843	69.36155	13.09236	
	o-e squared/e	3.526928	7.435558	1.395527	
Other	observed	1	0	0	1
	expected	0.251599	0.373134	0.375267	
	o-e	0.748401	-0.37313	-0.37527	
	o-e squared	0.560104	0.139229	0.140825	
	o-e squared/e	2.226175	0.373134	0.375267	
Total		118	175	176	469

Table 53: Contingency Table for Post-1680 Assemblages.

Functional Category	Calculation	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	52	54	21	17	28	172
	expected	56.20915	44.96732	17.23747	24.3573	29.22876	
	o-e	-4.20915	9.03268	3.762527	-7.3573	-1.22876	
	o-e squared	17.71695	81.5893	14.15661	54.12984	1.509847	
	o-e squared/e	0.315197	1.814413	0.82127	2.222325	0.051656	
Dairy	observed	30	45	20	14	25	134
	expected	43.79085	35.03268	13.42919	18.97603	22.77124	
	o-e	-13.7908	9.96732	6.570806	-4.97603	2.228758	
	o-e squared	190.1875	99.34747	43.17549	24.76092	4.967363	
	o-e squared/e	4.343088	2.835851	3.215047	1.304852	0.218142	
Household	observed	18	8	0	3	2	31
	expected	10.13072	8.104575	3.106754	4.389978	5.267974	
	o-e	7.869281	-0.10458	-3.10675	-1.38998	-3.26797	
	o-e squared	61.92558	0.010936	9.651919	1.932039	10.67965	
	o-e squared/e	6.112654	0.001349	3.106754	0.440102	2.027279	
Beverage Storage	observed	4	1	1	0	1	7
	expected	2.287582	1.830065	0.701525	0.991285	1.189542	
	o-e	1.712418	-0.83007	0.298475	-0.99129	-0.18954	
	o-e squared	2.932376	0.689009	0.089087	0.982647	0.035926	
	o-e squared/e	1.281867	0.376494	0.126991	0.991285	0.030202	
Food Distribution	observed	18	11	5	4	2	40

Table 53: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
	expected	13.0719	10.45752	4.008715	5.664488	6.797386	
	o-e	4.928105	0.542484	0.991285	-1.66449	-4.79739	
	o-e squared	24.28621	0.294289	0.982647	2.77052	23.01491	
	o-e squared/e	1.857895	0.028141	0.245128	0.489103	3.385847	
Food Consumption	observed	19	24	2	24	18	87
	expected	28.43137	22.7451	8.718954	12.32026	14.78431	
	o-e	-9.43137	1.254902	-6.71895	11.67974	3.215686	
	o-e squared	88.95079	1.574779	45.14435	136.4163	10.34064	
	o-e squared/e	3.128614	0.069236	5.177725	11.07252	0.699433	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	7	9	0	18	10	44
	expected	14.37908	11.50327	4.409586	6.230937	7.477124	
	o-e	-7.37908	-2.50327	-4.40959	11.76906	2.522876	
	o-e squared	54.45089	6.266351	19.44445	138.5108	6.364902	
	o-e squared/e	3.786812	0.544745	4.409586	22.22954	0.85125	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	12	15	2	6	8	43
	expected	14.05229	11.24183	4.309368	6.089325	7.30719	
	o-e	-2.05229	3.75817	-2.30937	-0.08932	0.69281	
	o-e squared	4.211884	14.12384	5.333181	0.007979	0.479986	
	o-e squared/e	0.299729	1.256365	1.237579	0.00131	0.065687	
Traditional Beverages	observed	42	19	10	18	26	115
	expected	37.5817	30.06536	11.52505	16.2854	19.54248	
	o-e	4.418301	-11.0654	-1.52505	1.714597	6.457516	
	o-e squared	19.52138	122.4422	2.325791	2.939843	41.69952	
	o-e squared/e	0.519438	4.072533	0.201803	0.18052	2.133788	

Table 53: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
Consumption	observed	38	18	10	18	26	110
	expected	35.94771	28.75817	11.02397	15.57734	18.69281	
	o-e	2.052288	-10.7582	-1.02397	2.422658	7.30719	
	o-e squared	4.211884	115.7382	1.048505	5.869272	53.39502	
	o-e squared/e	0.117167	4.024534	0.095111	0.376783	2.856447	
Serving	observed	4	1	0	0	0	5
	expected	1.633987	1.30719	0.501089	0.708061	0.849673	
	o-e	2.366013	-0.30719	-0.50109	-0.70806	-0.84967	
	o-e squared	5.598018	0.094365	0.251091	0.50135	0.721945	
	o-e squared/e	3.425987	0.07219	0.501089	0.708061	0.849673	
New Beverages	observed	5	5	7	1	0	18
	expected	5.882353	4.705882	1.803922	2.54902	3.058824	
	o-e	-0.88235	0.294118	5.196078	-1.54902	-3.05882	
	o-e squared	0.778547	0.086505	26.99923	2.399462	9.356401	
	o-e squared/e	0.132353	0.018382	14.96697	0.941327	3.058824	
Punch	observed	3	0	0	0	0	3
	expected	0.980392	0.784314	0.300654	0.424837	0.509804	
	o-e	2.019608	-0.78431	-0.30065	-0.42484	-0.5098	
	o-e squared	4.078816	0.615148	0.090393	0.180486	0.2599	
	o-e squared/e	4.160392	0.784314	0.300654	0.424837	0.509804	
Tea Wares	observed	2	5	7	1	0	15
	expected	4.901961	3.921569	1.503268	2.124183	2.54902	
	o-e	-2.90196	1.078431	5.496732	-1.12418	-2.54902	
	o-e squared	8.421376	1.163014	30.21406	1.263787	6.497501	

Table 53: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Clifts Plantation Phase I-III	Nomini Phase II-III	Newman's Neck	Maurice Clark	Henry Brooks	Total
	o-e squared/e	1.717961	0.296569	20.09892	0.594952	2.54902	
Health/Hygiene	observed	14	6	1	1	4	26
	expected	8.496732	6.797386	2.605664	3.681917	4.418301	
	o-e	5.503268	-0.79739	-1.60566	-2.68192	-0.4183	
	o-e squared	30.28596	0.635824	2.578158	7.19268	0.174975	
	o-e squared/e	3.564424	0.093539	0.989444	1.953515	0.039602	
Other	observed	0	1	0	0	0	1
	expected	0.326797	0.261438	0.100218	0.141612	0.169935	
	o-e	-0.3268	0.738562	-0.10022	-0.14161	-0.16993	
	o-e squared	0.106797	0.545474	0.010044	0.020054	0.028878	
	o-e squared/e	0.326797	2.086438	0.100218	0.141612	0.169935	
	Total	150	120	46	65	78	459

Table 54: Contingency Table for Proto-Lockean Assemblages.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Nomini Phase II-III	Total
Food Preparation and Storage	observed	58	106	70	54	288
	expected	57.69779	85.56876	86.05772	58.67572	
	o-e	0.302207	20.43124	-16.0577	-4.67572	
	o-e squared	0.091329	417.4355	257.8505	21.86237	
	o-e squared/e	0.001583	4.878364	2.996251	0.372597	
Dairy	observed	40	81	50	45	216
	expected	43.27334	64.17657	64.54329	44.00679	
	o-e	-3.27334	16.82343	-14.5433	0.993209	
	o-e squared	10.71479	283.0278	211.5074	0.986464	
	o-e squared/e	0.247607	4.410142	3.276985	0.022416	
Household	observed	13	25	15	8	61
	expected	12.22071	18.12394	18.2275	12.42784	
	o-e	0.779287	6.876061	-3.2275	-4.42784	
	o-e squared	0.607288	47.28022	10.41678	19.6058	
	o-e squared/e	0.049693	2.608716	0.571487	1.577571	
Beverage Storage	observed	5	0	5	1	11
	expected	2.203735	3.268251	3.286927	2.241087	
	o-e	2.796265	-3.26825	1.713073	-1.24109	
	o-e squared	7.819097	10.68147	2.934619	1.540296	
	o-e squared/e	3.548111	3.268251	0.892815	0.687299	
Food Distribution	observed	8	3	13	11	35
	expected	7.011885	10.39898	10.4584	7.13073	
	o-e	0.988115	-7.39898	2.541596	3.86927	
	o-e squared	0.976372	54.74492	6.45971	14.97125	
	o-e squared/e	0.139245	5.264451	0.617657	2.09954	
Food Consumption	observed	28	42	44	24	138
	expected	27.64686	41.0017	41.23599	28.11545	

Table 54: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Nomini Phase II-III	Total
	o-e	0.353141	0.998302	2.764007	-4.11545	
	o-e squared	0.124709	0.996607	7.639734	16.93693	
	o-e squared/e	0.004511	0.024306	0.185269	0.602406	
Soup/Stew/Pottage	observed	17	42	19	9	87
	expected	17.42954	25.8489	25.9966	17.72496	
	o-e	-0.42954	16.1511	-6.9966	-8.72496	
	o-e squared	0.184506	260.8581	48.95247	76.12488	
	o-e squared/e	0.010586	10.09166	1.883033	4.294785	
Solid Food Consumption	observed	11	0	25	15	51
	expected	10.21732	15.1528	15.23939	10.39049	
	o-e	0.782683	-15.1528	9.760611	4.609508	
	o-e squared	0.612592	229.6074	95.26953	21.24756	
	o-e squared/e	0.059956	15.1528	6.251532	2.044904	
Traditional Beverages	observed	12	23	36	19	90
	expected	18.03056	26.74024	26.89304	18.33616	
	o-e	-6.03056	-3.74024	9.106961	0.663837	
	o-e squared	36.36766	13.98938	82.93674	0.44068	
	o-e squared/e	2.017001	0.523158	3.083948	0.024033	
Consumption	observed	12	18	29	18	77
	expected	15.42615	22.87776	23.00849	15.68761	
	o-e	-3.42615	-4.87776	5.991511	2.312394	
	o-e squared	11.73848	23.79253	35.8982	5.347165	
	o-e squared/e	0.760947	1.039985	1.560216	0.340853	
Serving	observed	0	5	7	1	13
	expected	2.604414	3.862479	3.88455	2.648557	
	o-e	-2.60441	1.137521	3.11545	-1.64856	
	o-e squared	6.782974	1.293955	9.706028	2.71774	

Table 54: Continued.

Functional Category	Calculation	Nomini Phase I	Hallowes	Washington	Nomini Phase II-III	Total
	o-e squared/e	2.604414	0.335006	2.498624	1.026121	
New Beverages	observed	0			5	5
	expected	1.001698	1.485569	1.494058	1.018676	
	o-e	-1.0017	-1.48557	-1.49406	3.981324	
	o-e squared	1.003398	2.206915	2.232208	15.85094	
	o-e squared/e	1.001698	1.485569	1.494058	15.56034	
Tea Wares	observed	0			5	5
	expected	1.001698	1.485569	1.494058	1.018676	
	o-e	-1.0017	-1.48557	-1.49406	3.981324	
	o-e squared	1.003398	2.206915	2.232208	15.85094	
	o-e squared/e	1.001698	1.485569	1.494058	15.56034	
Health/Hygiene	observed	11	1	13	6	31
	expected	6.210526	9.210526	9.263158	6.315789	
	o-e	4.789474	-8.21053	3.736842	-0.31579	
	o-e squared	22.93906	67.41274	13.96399	0.099723	
	o-e squared/e	3.693577	7.319098	1.507476	0.015789	
Other	observed	1	0	0	1	2
	expected	0.400679	0.594228	0.597623	0.40747	
	o-e	0.599321	-0.59423	-0.59762	0.59253	
	o-e squared	0.359186	0.353106	0.357153	0.351091	
	o-e squared/e	0.896442	0.594228	0.597623	0.861637	
Total		118	175	176	120	589

Table 55: Scientific and Common Names for Identified Faunal Specimens.

Taxa	**Common Name**
Mammalia	Mammal
Bos taurus	Cow
Equus caballus	Horse
Sus scrofa	Pig
Capra hircus	Goat
Ovis aries	Sheep
Ovis/Capra	Sheep/Goat
Canis familiaris	Dog
Felis domesticus	Cat
Odocoileus virginianus	White-tailed Deer
Procyon lotor	Raccoon
Didelphis marsupialis	Opossum
Sylvilagus floridanus	Eastern Cottontail
Sciurus niger	Fox Squirrel
Sciurus carolinensis	Gray Squirrel
Scalopus aquaticus	Eastern Mole
Rattus sp.	Rat
Peromyscus	Mouse
Carnivora	Carnivore
Rodentia	Rodent
Bovidae	Bovid
Artiodactyla	Even-toed Ungulate
Aves	Bird
Gallus gallus	Chicken
Meleagris gallopavo	Wild Turkey
Branta canadensis	Canada Goose
Anas platyrhynchos	Mallard
Anas crecca	Teal
Quiscalus quiscula	Common Grackle
Branta/Anser	Goose/Duck
Anatidae	Waterfowl
Passeriformes	Perching Birds
Osteichthyes	Bony Fishes
Acipenser oxyrhynchus	Atlantic Sturgeon
Archosargus probatocephalus	Sheepshead
Pogonias cromis	Black Drum
Scomber scombrus	Atlantic Mackerel
Lepisosteus osseus	Longnose Gar
Morone americana	White Perch

Table 55: Continued.

Taxa	**Common Name**
Perca flavescens	Yellow Perch
Lepomis sp.	Sunfish
Ameirus sp.	Catfish
Cyprinidae	Minnow
Reptilia	Reptile
Terrapene carolina	Common Box Turtle
Testudines	Turtle
Amphibia	Amphibian
Anura	Frog/Toad

Vita

Brad Hatch was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, to Danny and Sheena Hatch. As the eldest of four sons he grew up in the White Oak community of Stafford County, Virginia, and attended high school at Fredericksburg Academy. During the summer between his junior and senior year of high school Brad participated in an archaeological fieldschool at George Washington's Ferry Farm as part of his senior project. Upon graduation from high school, in 2003, Brad entered Mary Washington College and majored in historic preservation. While at Mary Washington he assisted with field schools at Stratford Hall Plantation. Brad graduated from Mary Washington in 2007 and entered the Master's program in historical archaeology at the College of William and Mary. His thesis focused on subfloor pits in Virginia. While writing his thesis, Brad began working for Dovetail Cultural Resource Group. After completing his thesis, in 2009, Brad entered the Ph.D. program in anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. While at the University of Tennessee Brad served as a teaching assistant and manager of the Faulkner Archaeology Lab. Brad also worked on several excavations in Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee during his time as a doctoral student. In 2014, Brad accepted a position as Project Archaeologist at Dovetail Cultural Resource Group, where he currently works. Brad graduated from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in 2015.