

# Archaeology and Enslaved Life on Coke's Plantation: An Early History of the Governor's Palace Lands

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## Chapter 1 – Project Introduction

During the summers of 1998 and 1999, the Colonial Williamsburg Department of Archaeological Research (DAR), with the assistance of students from the College of William & Mary and the University of Texas-Austin field schools, conducted an excavation of site 44WB90 in Williamsburg, Virginia (Figure 1.1).

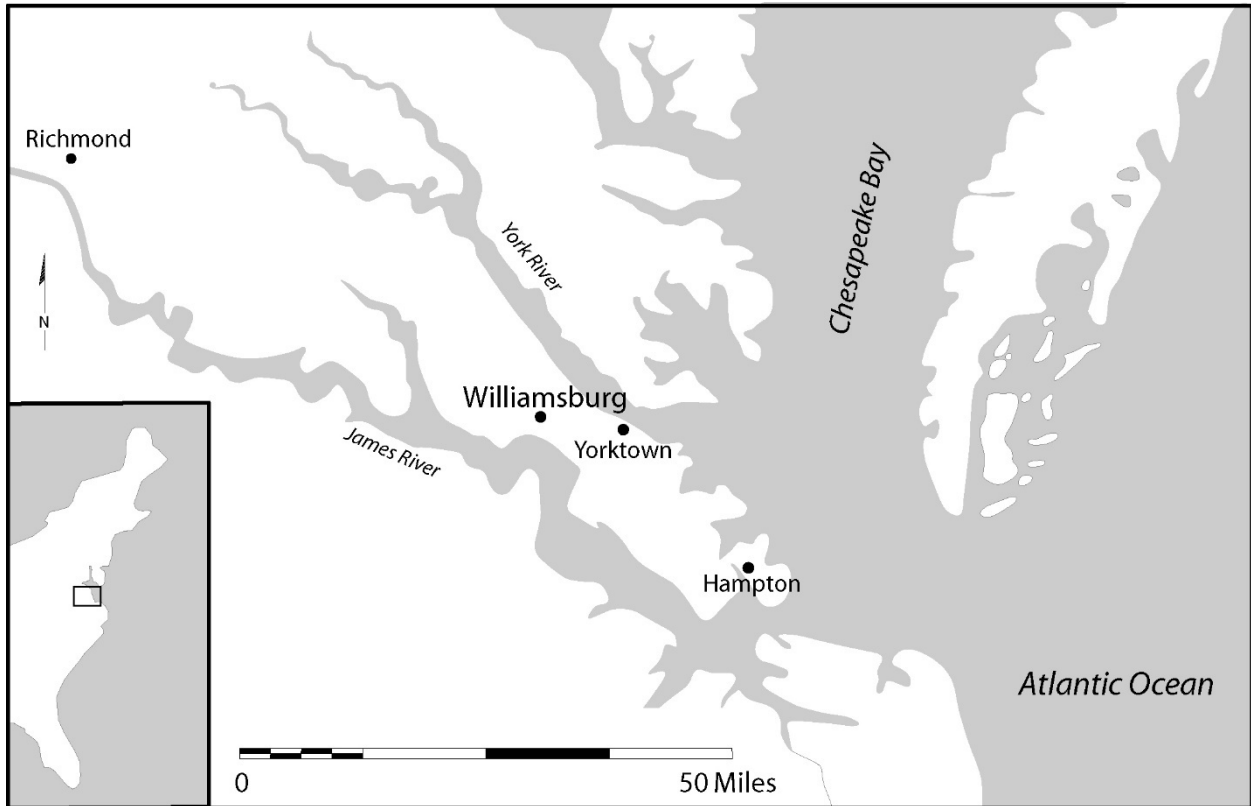


Figure 1.1. Williamsburg, Virginia.

This eighteenth-century, slave-related site was identified in 1996 during a Phase I survey of the Colonial Williamsburg (CW) Visitor Center complex (Figure 1.2; Pickett 1997). The site was once located on land that formed a portion of the Governor's Palace Lands from which it derives its name. This report summarizes the results of the Phase III data recovery of the site.

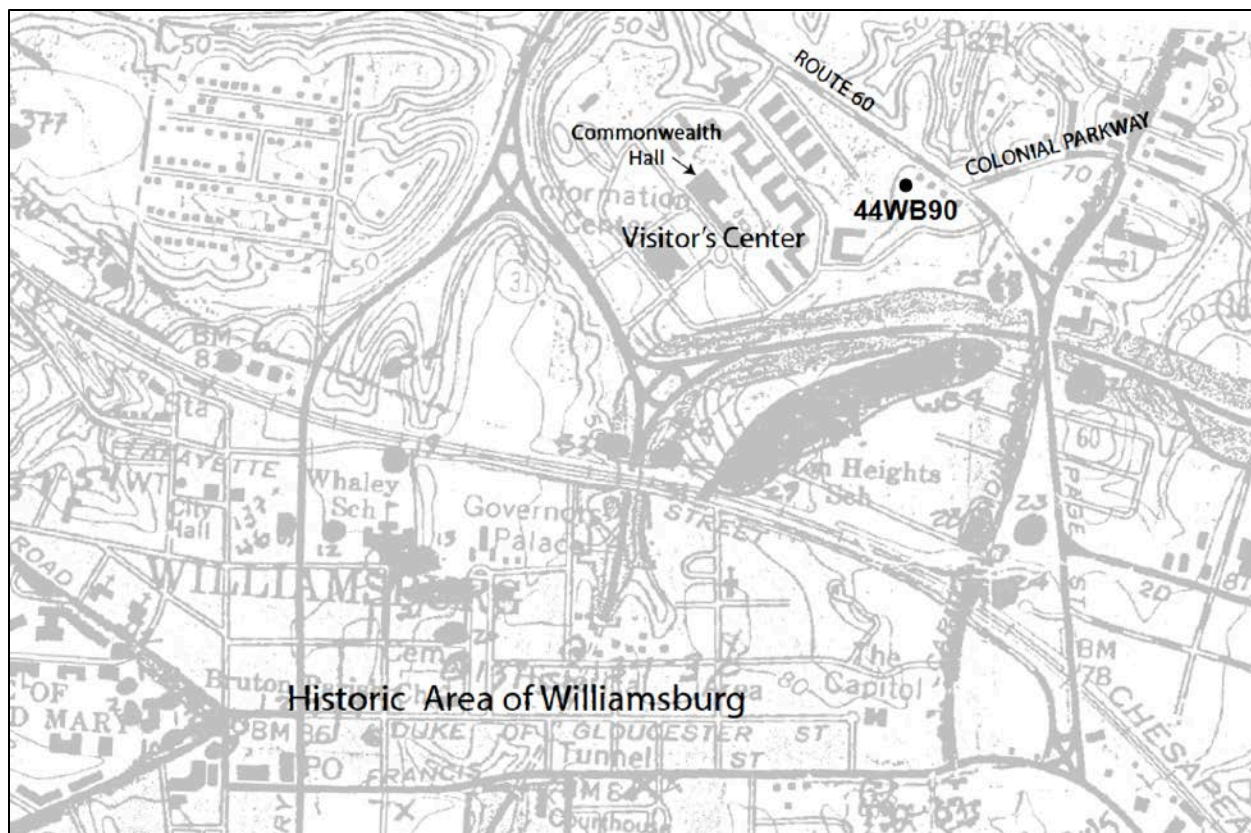


Figure 1.2. Visitor Center complex, Colonial Williamsburg, 2007.

The excavation was conducted under the direction of former DAR Research Associate Maria Franklin. Marley R. Brown III, then Director of the DAR, provided general supervision of the project. Staff archaeologists Andrew Edwards, Greg Brown and David Muraca provided logistical support. The field school teaching assistants included Anna Agbe-Davies, David Brown, Roxanne Lawson, Kerri S. Barile, Sean Maroney, and Rob Weber. Rob Weber and Greg Brown assisted enormously in the archival research of the site's history. Linda Rowe, Jennifer Jones, Nicole Mahoney, Terri Keffert, and Donna Sawyers catalogued the artifacts under the guidance of Bill Pittman and Kelly Ladd, and Joanne Bowen and Steven Atkins analyzed the faunal remains. Lucie Vinciguerra and Heather Harvey produced the graphics from original field drawings. Finally, my sincere thanks go to Hans Schwarz for his editing, attention to detail, and pulling it all together, and to Mark Kostro for ensuring that this report has a home.

In 2008, the Department of Archaeological Research was integrated with Historic Architecture and now operates as the Department of Architectural and Archaeological Research.

## Project Area

The Palace Lands site (44WB90) was located on the property of the Visitor Center complex between the Cascades Motel and Route 60 (Figure 1.3). The site was



situated on a terrace overlooking Route 60 that is still wooded and covered with dense ground vegetation. A house, occupied during the excavations, bordered the site and car parts, modern dishes, beer bottles, and other debris were scattered across the area.

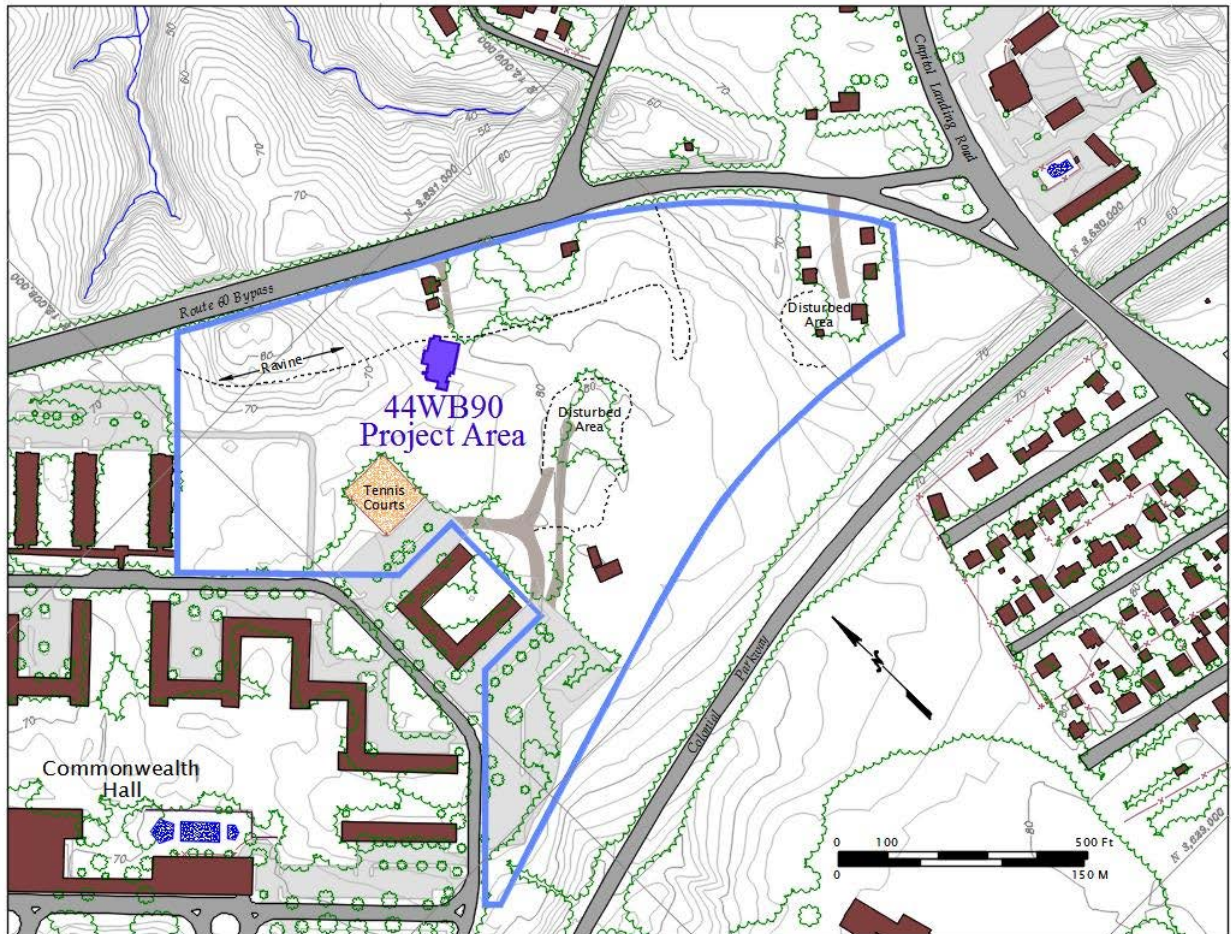


Figure 1.3. Project area, Palace Lands site (44WB90)

Due to planned renovations of the Visitor Center, Phase I and II surveys of site 44WB90 were undertaken in 1996 by the DAR (Cooper 1997; Pickett 1997). Artifacts recovered during Phase II testing dated primarily to the eighteenth century. This evidence, along with the site's location, tied the site to a 200-acre tract of land purchased by the Council sometime between 1769 and 1773 when the acreage became part of the Governor's Palace Lands. Subsequent research revealed that prior to this event the site was inhabited by enslaved Virginians who belonged to John Coke.

### Previous Archaeology, Site 44WB90

In June of 1996, the DAR conducted a Phase I survey of the Visitor Center, located south of the Woodlands Conference Center, as the area was slated for future development. Archaeologists David Muraca and Dwayne Pickett conducted the survey



which was intended to locate prehistoric and historic sites within the project area. Archaeologists dug 135 40-cm shovel tests at fifteen-meter intervals (Pickett 1997:5). There were 23 positive shovel tests (21 of which are indicated in Figure 1.4) and archaeologists recovered eighteenth-century artifacts from three of these. With eighteenth-century habitation evident in the area, the site was registered with the VDHR. Archaeologists recommended a Phase II survey of the site which commenced in November of 1996.

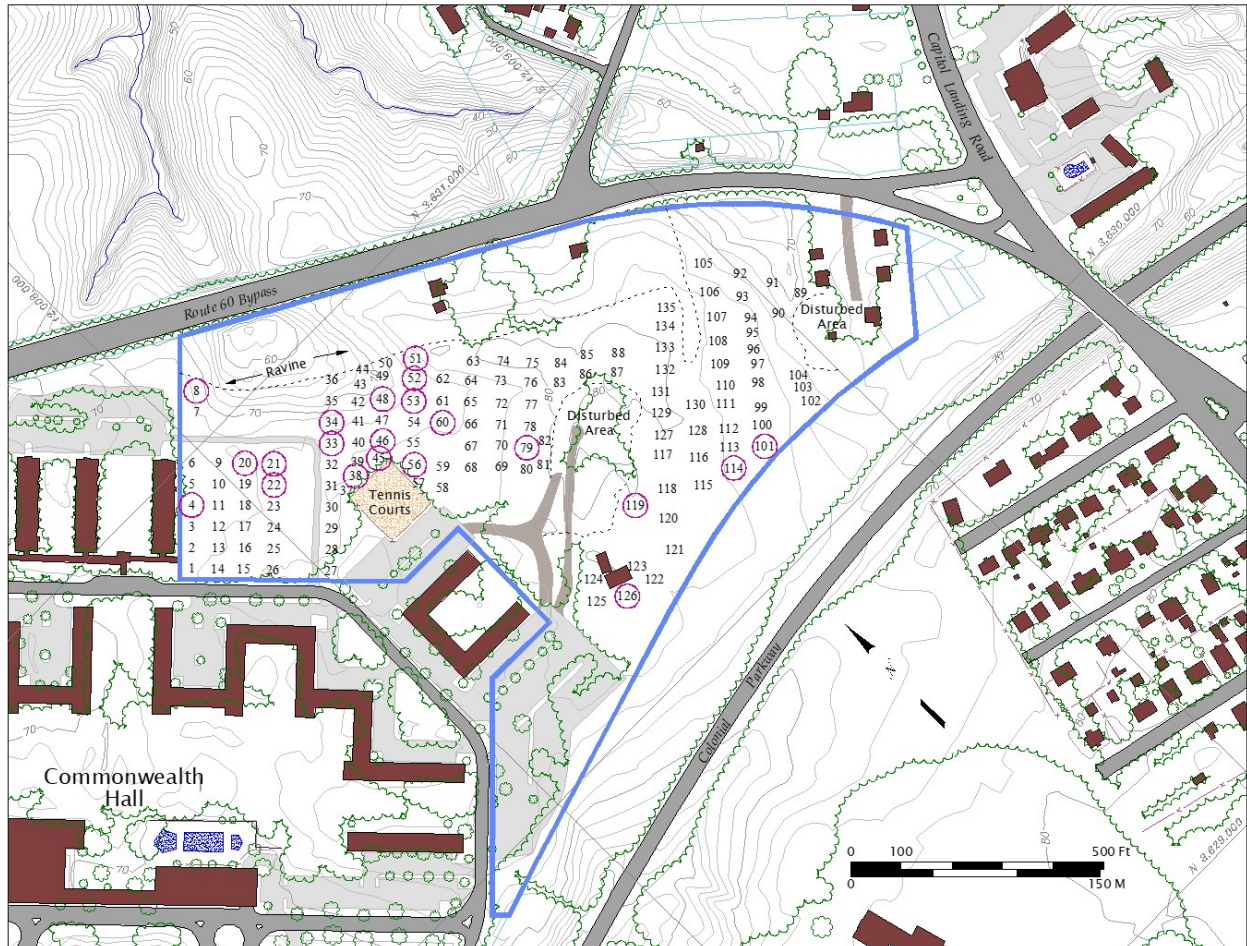


Figure 1.4. Phase I survey of CW Visitor Center, June 1996

The Phase II survey of site 44WB90 was supervised by Margaret Cooper and was intended to locate subsurface features and to delineate the site's boundaries (Cooper 1997; Figure 1.5). This survey focused on the area where eighteenth-century artifacts were previously recovered. Archaeologists dug 16 75 × 75 cm test units at ten-meter intervals and eight 75 × 75 cm test units at five-meter intervals. They also excavated two 1 × 1 m units and one 2 × 2 m unit. One test unit uncovered a portion of a brick chimney foundation (Cooper 1997). The 347 artifacts collected during the survey included 117 artifacts that were attributed to the eighteenth-century site occupation (Cooper 1997:16). The location of the chimney remains and a concentration of eighteenth-century artifacts in the area surrounding the feature led



to the decision to conduct a Phase III data recovery of the site. This stage of the investigation took place during two summer field seasons in 1998 and 1999.

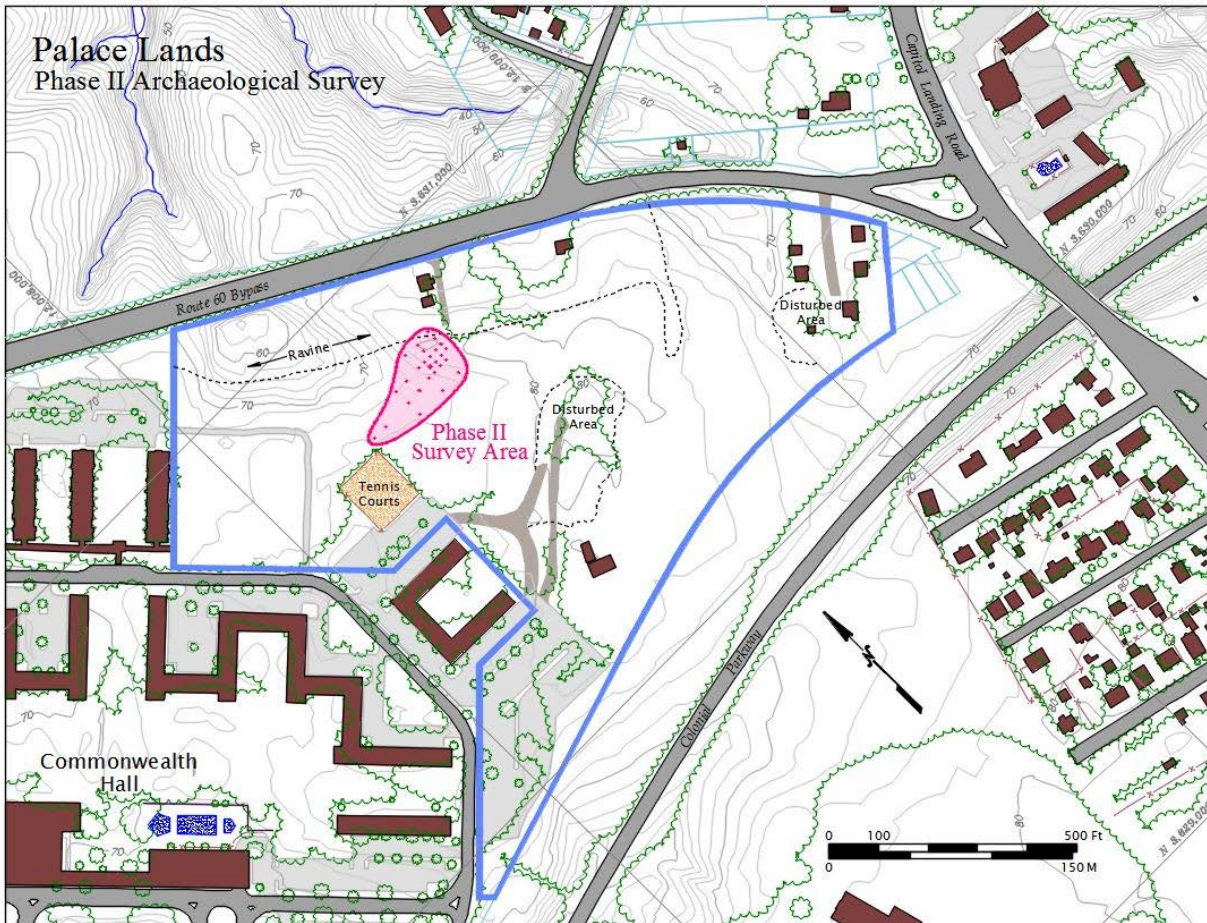


Figure 1.5. Phase II survey of CW Visitor Center, November 1996

### Site 44WB90: Coke's Plantation and the Palace Lands

Site 44WB90 was referred to as the Palace Lands Quarter following the Phase II survey. It was known prior to the surveys conducted that the area once formed part of the Palace Lands. The discovery of a potential slave quarter during Phase II testing, however, led to the reference of the site as the "Palace Lands Quarter." Yet while the site quartered enslaved Virginians and was part of the Palace Lands, subsequent research revealed that it was likely never both of these simultaneously. Instead, the Afro-Virginians who inhabited the site belonged to a prominent resident of Williamsburg by the name of John Coke.

John Coke was a goldsmith and tavern keeper who owned the land upon which the site was located from c. 1747-1767. It is clear from historical documents that he used the land for planting. Although he owned nine enslaved blacks upon his death in 1767, it is still not known which of these individuals lived at the Palace Lands site. Coke willed the plantation to his son Samuel who put the plantation, its livestock and

several enslaved blacks up for auction in 1769. In c. 1769-1773, but probably closer to 1769, the Council purchased the tract and it was incorporated into the Palace Lands.

Coke's 200-acre plantation became part of what was known at the time as the Palace "park." The last two royal governors, Botetourt and Dunmore, used the park for pasturage, raising crops, and for fuel (Gibbs 1980). In the years following the Revolution, the Palace Lands tract was vested, deeded and willed many times. A second occupation took place in the site's vicinity during the late eighteenth century, and this was followed by one or more settlements near the site starting in the mid-nineteenth century. Although a chain of title has been traced from 1704 to 1904, it appears that the land was leased to tenants, who remain anonymous, during these last two site phases.

Even though some variant of "Coke's Plantation" would be a more appropriate name for the site, this report most often refers to the site as the "Palace Lands" (without the "quarter" designation) for the sake of continuity.

## **Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS)**

The Palace Lands site is one of many Chesapeake slave-related sites that are inventoried in the DAACS database (<http://www.daacs.org/>). (DAACS was formerly known as the Digital Archive of Archaeology of Chesapeake Slavery.) In the writing of this report, unless otherwise noted, DAACS was consulted for all artifact analyses and to query mean ceramic dates. Since the DAACS' artifact queries will allow any individual to download the entire database, a summary finds list is not included in this report.

## **Chapter Summaries**

The remainder of this report is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 presents the project research design, field methodology, sampling protocols, and artifact treatment. Chapter 3 summarizes the site's historical context. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the excavation results and an interpretation of the site's chronology. In chapter 5, a descriptive analysis of the historic artifacts is presented. The report ends with Chapter 6 with an interpretation of enslaved domestic life at the Palace Lands site and addresses the questions raised by the research design.

## Chapter 2 – Research Questions and Methods

### Introduction

This chapter presents the project's research goals, and the field and lab methods, including all sampling protocols. The research goals were shaped by many factors which included the historical context of the Palace Lands site, the site's specific characteristics, the nature of the archaeological data recovered from the site, and the probable identity of the site's occupants. To summarize, the Palace Lands site was occupied during the third quarter of the eighteenth century by a group of enslaved Virginians who belonged to John Coke, a Williamsburg goldsmith and tavern owner. The domestic nature of the site and archaeological assemblage suggest that it was inhabited by a household that included a child or children.

The similarities and differences between Palace Lands and other contemporaneous slave-related archaeological sites in the region are worth noting. Although the Palace Lands site is small, with only one domicile represented, as with other slave quarter sites it still speaks to the question of enslaved social organization and the attempts by its residents to institute some form of household life. Further, as part of a 200-acre plantation, household members labored in the fields and raised livestock much like their counterparts at other slave quarters. Yet there are differences as well. First, the site's urban location stands in contrast to the majority of slave quarter sites excavated in the area which were usually situated on rural plantations (e.g., Carter's Grove, Utopia). At the Palace Lands, site inhabitants likely spent as much time in town as they did on the plantation. They may have even split their duties between the plantation and Coke's tavern, and maintained relationships with friends and family residing in town. Second, Coke's plantation could best be described as a quarter farm when compared to the grand plantation estates of his contemporaries at Carter's Grove, Green Spring, Wilton, or Shirley plantations. While Coke was relatively wealthy by the time of his death in 1767, his 200-acre plantation and slaveholding of nine individuals were modest when measured against, for example, the estate of Phillip Ludwell III who died in the same year. Ludwell owned nine plantations and well over 200 enslaved individuals (Franklin 2004). Since few archaeologists have excavated small to middling plantations in the Tidewater, the Palace Lands project offered an opportunity to investigate enslaved lifeways in these settings.

### Research Questions

Starting in the 1990s, the DAR, under the directorship of Marley R. Brown III, implemented a research agenda that prioritized the study of enslaved Virginians in the Tidewater region. In line with the CWF's attempt to present to the public a more inclusive history of colonial life, the DAR staff began, in earnest, to excavate slave-related sites, sharing their research with curators and African-American interpreters. Staff archaeologists investigated slave quarter sites at Carter's Grove and Rich Neck Plantation, and included interpretations in their reports of slave-related artifacts and

features associated with colonial-era dwellings and businesses in town. It was within this broader research context that the Palace Lands project took place.

By the time data recovery began at the site, and in the years that followed, the archaeology of slavery has made significant inroads, shedding light on Virginia plantation slavery and the experiences of enslaved Africans and blacks (e.g., Agbe-Davies 2015; Brown 2014; Crader 1990; Deetz 1993; Edwards 1995; Fesler 2004; Heath 1999a; Higgins and Blanton 2000; Kelso 1984; Kern 2005; Mrozowski et al. 2008; Neiman et al. 2000; Pogue 2003; Pullins et al. 2003; Reeves and Greer 2012; Sanford 1994; Samford 2007). This project's research questions were intended to contribute to the existing literature by both expanding on previous findings while hopefully adding new insights.

One observation, in particular, stands out regarding previous studies: most of the sites excavated in Virginia were occupied by enslaved individuals and families who were owned by wealthy planters (Pullins et al. 2003). Some of the most intensively-researched quarters were once part of the plantation holdings of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, George Washington, the Carters, and the Burwells. These men had at their disposal thousands of acreage for planting and raising livestock, and dozens of enslaved Virginians who made it possible. They were able to establish self-sufficient plantations by raising subsistence crops and training enslaved laborers as blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, and so on to produce most of what was needed to manage their holdings efficiently, including the provisioning of their enslaved workforce.

While the majority of those enslaved belonged to the planter elite, their counterparts living on the more numerous smaller holdings had experiences that differed in significant ways. Scholars have noted that enslaved family formation presented greater challenges on small and middling plantations where the opportunities to find a spouse were limited (Berlin 2003; Kulikoff 1986:331; Walsh 1997:30). In contrast, the quarters of large holdings tended to be populated by multiple kin-related households with members ranging in age (see, for example, Franklin 2004 and Walsh 1997; Kulikoff 1986:335-344, 364-371). As the property of wealthy slaveowners, these enslaved Virginians were less likely to be sold off during the colonial era than those who were part of smaller holdings. As a result, their families were more stable, and it was not uncommon to find two generations of the same family residing at a quarter. Scholars have characterized these communities as close-knit, with individuals socialized to care for one another, regardless of blood ties, and to practice mutual obligation that involved working cooperatively in the fields and at home (Jones 1985:29-43; Walsh 1997:50-51, 144-145). In these settings, the social networks that enslaved women maintained across households to share the burdens of childcare and domestic chores (White 1985) would have been absent or minimal on smaller plantations.

Coke was a man of means, and as a tavern owner and goldsmith, he was not wholly dependent on his plantation for turning a profit. Still, he was not a peer among the likes of a Carter or Jefferson and his plantation was on the low end of the scale of what passed as "middling" for the era (estimated at 200-800 acres). Would life have differed for the household residing at Coke's when compared to those occupying much larger quarters? Slavery was not a monolithic experience for those held in bondage



since gender, age, region, labor regiment, time period, whether one was African-born or not, and a host of other factors influenced one's experiences. The Palace Lands site provides an opportunity to consider further the heterogeneity of enslaved lifeways, and this line of inquiry is best approached through a comparative study.

To date, the majority of archaeological research on slavery has tended to be site-specific. There are a number of legitimate reasons for this, including the influence of post-processualism in historical archaeology, which has led to an emphasis on microscale analyses. More practical concerns are the differences in data recovery methods and artifact cataloging systems used for sites (Galle 2010:28). However, the Digital Archive of the Archaeology of Comparative Slavery, or DAACS, with its standardization of data has made it possible to conduct comparative studies. An analysis of the Palace Lands assemblage in isolation, while likely useful, would preclude the possibility of determining whether archaeological research can help to identify variations in enslaved lifeways between small and large plantations.

Artifacts recovered from slave quarters typically represent a range of practices and social relations, especially those embedded in domestic life: the household economy, cultural production, consumption, socialization, and leisurely pursuits. A comparative analysis of artifacts from the Palace Lands with those found at quarters associated with great plantations might potentially reveal how factors tied to a slaveowner's wealth and the size of his holdings shaped the home life of enslaved field hands who struggled to carve out some autonomous space within the quarters.

There are some key questions concerning the size of holdings, labor management, and provisioning systems between John Coke and elite planters that may have had implications for enslaved households: 1. Since the number of field hands at Coke's was much smaller, were they able to meet the various needs of their household? 2. Did Coke provision his enslaved field hands in similar ways to elite planters, and if not, how might this have influenced their home life? 3. To what extent were Coke's field hands able to participate in the consumer revolution that characterized the period? Each of these questions guided the analysis of the Palace Lands artifacts and is given further consideration below.

*1. Since the number of field hands at Coke's was much lower than at large plantation quarters, did this have detrimental effects on their ability to balance institutional with household labor?*

There are at least three interrelated factors to consider: the number of inhabitants at the quarter, how they socially organized domestic tasks, and how Coke managed his enslaved labor force. During the eighteenth century, the wealthiest planters who owned thousands of acres usually quartered ten full-time field hands and their families at each of their multiple plantations. As mentioned before, these enslaved communities generally consisted of multiple, kin-related households with some generational depth. Much of the domestic work was socially organized largely by gender, and males and females often worked in cooperative groups to complete tasks. In contrast, Coke's quarter was inhabited by a single household at any one time over a 20-year period. Without the cooperative, social networks of larger quarters, this household may have faced far more difficulty in balancing its domestic life with Coke's labor demands.

Relatedly, field hands on large plantations were mainly reserved for agricultural work since wealthy planters also had skilled laborers and full-time domestics at their disposal for other chores. Lorena Walsh's (2010:448-459) analysis of the profit margins and management of five middling plantations (300 acres in size) in York County sheds some light on the workloads of the enslaved field hands who occupied them. The four to eight adult field hands on each estate were responsible for a greater range of tasks than their counterparts on large plantations:

“Where there were only a few hands to plow the land, look after the livestock, run the dairy, shear the sheep, spin yarn, gather fodder, catch fish, make cider, plant a vegetable garden, sow and harvest wheat, beans and peas, tend corn, make casks, and keep fences and buildings in repair, few of the enslaved could tend a full cop of tobacco” (Walsh:2010:458).

Coke had nine enslaved individuals at the time of his death. Although this was a relatively high number compared to other Williamsburg slaveowners, Coke owned a number of enterprises where enslaved labor was needed. These nine were variously assigned to work primarily at his tavern, plantation, home, and perhaps his silver and goldsmithing business. In all likelihood, there was very little down time for his field hands who, in addition to covering all of the bases on his plantation, may have been hired out and also rotated between his other businesses to fill in as needed. How might this have influenced their ability to meet the needs of their household?

If their assemblage lacks the range of evidence for household-related activities typically seen with large quarters, this would suggest that the household needed to relinquish performing some of their domestic work. If the assemblages are comparable, it's likely that household members – lacking the cooperative networks of larger quarters – had to invest more time and energy toward domestic chores. They might also have practiced a more flexible arrangement in the social organization of tasks.

*2. Did Coke provision his enslaved field hands in similar ways to elite planters, and if not, how might this have influenced their home life?*

Successful, great plantations were run with efficiency, and slaveowners rationed food and distributed basic clothing once or twice a year to field hands along with work-related tools. Coke likely followed suit. What is less known is the extent to which other material resources were provided. Are there differences in provisions that might have had an impact on Coke's enslaved household?

*3. To what extent were Coke's field hands able to participate in the consumer revolution that characterized the period?*

In terms of material possessions, Afro-Virginians came by goods through a variety of means beyond provisioning. Individuals favored by slaveowners, usually domestics and skilled laborers, received the occasional gift and hand-me-downs. For the vast majority who were field hands, portable property came by barter, purchase, and by creating what they needed. Of these, consumerism appears to account for



most of the artifacts recovered from sites, including refined earthenware ceramics, wine bottles, and various small finds like buttons.

Previous studies have demonstrated that enslaved Virginians were active participants in the consumer revolution that occurred during the latter part of the eighteenth century (Breen 2013; Heath 2004; Galle 2006, 2010; Martin 2008). Whatever they were able to acquire for themselves lessened the burden of upkeep for slaveowners. Enslaved Virginians were expected to keep gardens (Heath and Bennett 2000), and with or without permission, regularly hunted or trapped game, and fished (Crader 1990; Franklin 2004). In turn, they were integral to the local market economy through selling produce, fowl, eggs, and fish. Moreover, some were allowed to hire themselves out to earn cash. The expectation is that those on middling plantations like Coke's were also able to exploit opportunities to shop. If so, the Palace Lands assemblage should include items often purchased by enslaved consumers, including clothing-related items (Galle 2010; Heath 2004).

## Remarks

To reiterate, many slave-related sites that archaeologists have investigated in Virginia were once owned by wealthy planters. These slave quarters were often occupied for decades as the land and its enslaved occupants were passed down to heirs who continued to profit from the cash crops raised. By the second half of the eighteenth century, multi-household communities composed of kin-related individuals typified the social organization of satellite plantations. Yet, while the majority of those enslaved belonged to these large holdings, middling plantations with as little as two enslaved field hands were more common across Virginia's landscape. John Coke's 200-acre plantation, situated on what would become part of the park lands of the Governor's Palace, numbered among them. The excavation of the site where a sole household resided for roughly 20 years provided an opportunity to consider what domestic life entailed for them.

The research questions proposed are basic, exploratory ones: are there any significant differences between enslaved household-related assemblages recovered from Coke's modest plantation versus those from large plantations? If so, are the differences potentially related to variations in institutional and household tasks, and the organization of those tasks, that might be tied to planter wealth? Were there different acquisition patterns for resources, and if so, what are the implications? Given that the material and social worlds are entwined and mutually constituting, these lines of inquiry are an attempt to move towards an interpretation of how specific external factors related to slavery influenced the materiality of everyday practice. We know that enslaved experiences were heterogeneous, yet archaeological studies have tended to focus on slave quarters that were part of large plantation holdings. Thus, our understanding of cultural and social practices within enslaved communities may be skewed. A comparative study of the Palace Lands assemblage with others recovered from the Williamsburg area is attempted in Chapter 6 in order to address this issue.

## Field Methods and Data Recovery

Archaeologists conducted an open area excavation of the Palace Lands site during the months of June and July in 1998 and 1999. For the Phase III data recovery, a new grid system set at two-meter intervals was established over the project area for horizontal control of feature excavations (Figure 2.1; see Chapter 4). The grid point at 996N/1011E served as both the grid datum and the elevation datum. All grid coordinates refer to the northwest corner of a unit.

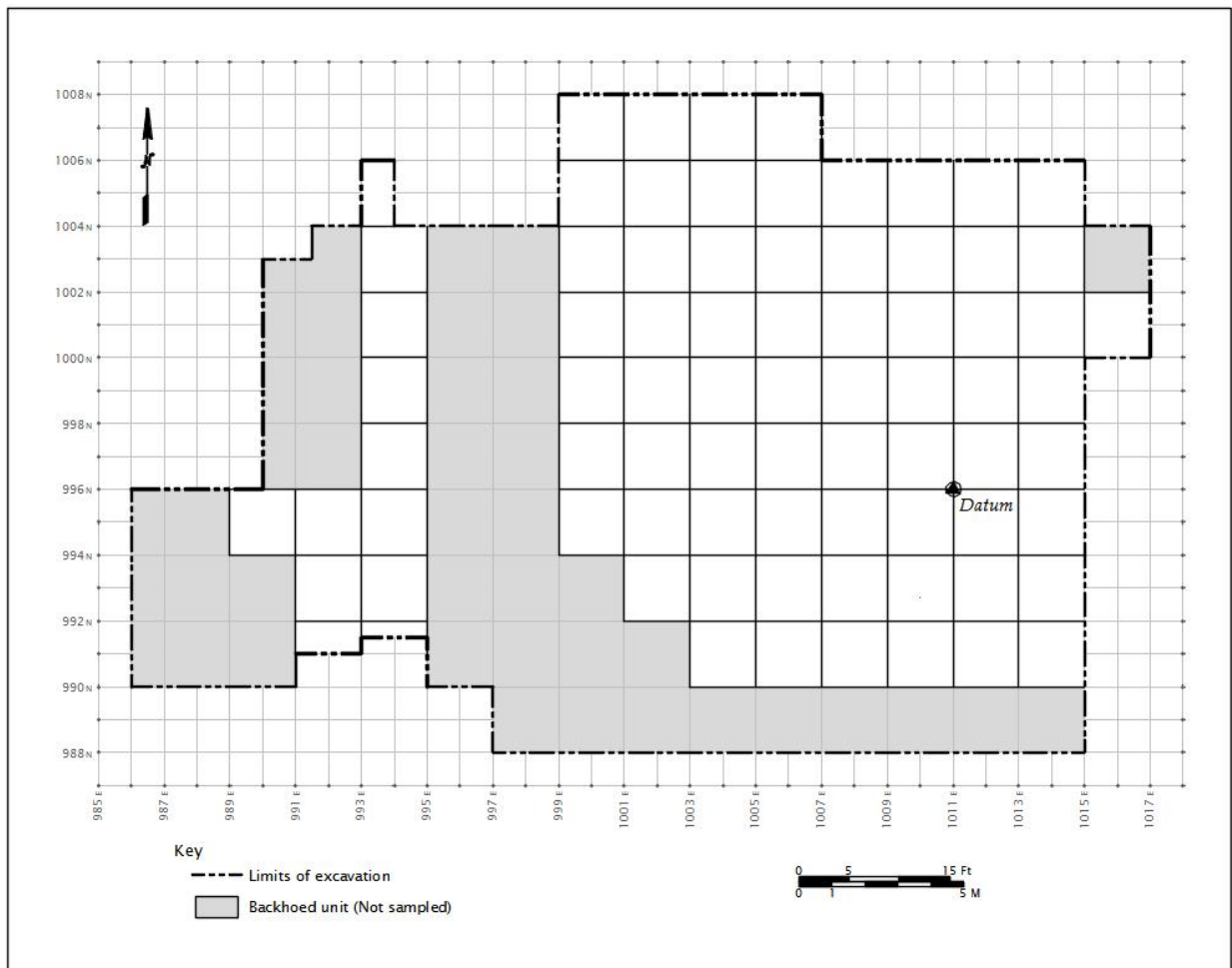


Figure 2.1. Block excavation plan, Palace Lands site

The on-site recording of the excavations followed the procedures outlined by the former Department of Archaeological Research's Field Manual. All context records related to the project were entered into the Re:Discovery database by former DAR staff, and were also archived in DAACS (<http://www.daacs.org/>).

## Excavation Units

Archaeological sites located in rural areas of the Tidewater are commonly sealed with a layer of plowzone that must first be removed in order to find features. At the Palace Lands site, excavators removed topsoil and plowzone together by shovel. The layers were generally removed in  $2 \times 2$  m excavation units, and assigned a context

number. The protocol established for dryscreening plowzone at the site called for a 25 percent sample from a 1 × 1 m quadrant of a unit, but this protocol was adjusted at times as the excavation progressed, mainly due to time constraints (see Chapter 4). The plowzone was dryscreened through 1/4-inch mesh. Excavators recorded soil type, texture, and color (based on Munsell soil color charts). The presence of animal bone, coal/clinker, charcoal, brick, mortar, shell, and marl inclusions was recorded on forms for each context.

In addition to the plowzone, excavators identified modern redeposited subsoil layers and silt layers within some excavation units. These were removed by shovel. Each stratum was distinguishable by color and texture from the plowzone and was assigned separate context numbers.

## Features

Features were excavated by trowel. All features were cross-sectioned and recorded with a plan and profile drawing. In addition to the single plans of features, an overall site plan was hand drawn in the field and updated as excavations progressed. A post-excavation site plan was also drawn in the field. Each feature was photographed in both black-and-white print film and color slide film prior to excavation, during excavation (to capture profiles), and after excavation.

Vertical control of the excavation was kept with a TDS that was set up over the elevation datum at 996N/1011E (see Figure 2.1). Elevations were recorded from the top and bottom of each feature (see Chapter 4).

Every distinctive episode of fill encountered within a feature was assigned a new context number. Soil inclusions, type, texture and Munsell color were recorded for each context within a feature. For large features, including the sub-floor pit (F01) and three ditches (F04, F05 and F06), a single deposit was often assigned multiple context numbers that coordinated with the various cross-sections of that deposit. In these instances, DAACS has assigned the context numbers associated with the same deposit with a Stratigraphic Group (SG) designation. The feature tables in Chapter 4 provide a summary list of all contexts and stratigraphic groups.

In general, feature fill was dryscreened through 1/4-inch mesh and flotation samples were collected from each deposit of fill (see “Flotation Samples” below). Although wetscreening was not a standard DAR field procedure, contexts within three major features were selected for wetscreening in order to aid in the recovery of small finds, microfauna and charred botanical remains (Appendix A). Since wetscreening is time-consuming, and since flotation samples were routinely collected from each feature deposit, excavators were selective in determining which deposits to wetscreen. Only those with ash or charcoal present, or those with a relatively high number of visible artifacts were wetscreened. Wetscreening was done on site through 1/16-inch wire mesh screens. Initially, a 10- to 20-liter sample from the first half of the context cross sectioned and excavated was wetscreened. If the results were poor (in terms of the number of finds recovered), excavators reverted to dryscreening.

Four of the deposits within the sub-floor pit (F01) had a high density of artifacts. The earliest deposit of this feature had heavy concentrations of charcoal and

ash. After flotation samples were collected from each deposit, the remainder of the fills was wetscreened (see Appendix A). For one ditch, F04, excavators wetscreened portions of five of the deposits. A sample of only one deposit was wetscreened within the last major feature selected for wetscreening (F05). The fourth major feature (F06), a third ditch, was excavated towards the end of the last field season. Due to time constraints, none of the fill from this feature was wetscreened.

## Sampling Protocols

The DAR established standard procedures for collecting environmental and soil samples, and these were outlined in the DAR Field Manual.

## Soil Chemistry Samples

Soil chemistry samples were collected from multiple deposits within the three ditches (F04, F05 and F06) and from postholes along both the north and south fencelines (Appendix B). The samples were collected in boxes obtained from the Soil Conservation Service at Virginia Polytechnic Institute for future analysis of soil chemistry and pH value.

## Phytolith and Pollen Samples

The analyses of phytoliths and pollen can aid in historic landscape studies by helping researchers to discern broad vegetation patterns and land-use strategies over time (Kelso 1991:2). Although the Palace Lands project did not include phytolith or pollen analysis as part of its research agenda, samples were collected in anticipation that future researchers might make use of the data.

Two methods for collecting samples were employed at the site: column sampling and horizontal sampling (Piperno 1988:110-113). Column samples are taken from wall profiles with clearly-defined strata, and are usually collected from a test pit or trench. Horizontal sampling involves the collection of small samples, or “pinches”, from within and outside of features, from ceramics, living surfaces, etc. All samples were collected using sterilized trowels and cups. Samples were placed in plastic bags that were sealed and then stored at the archaeology lab.

At the Palace Lands site, excavators collected samples from modern surface areas, plowzone contexts both near and away from features, and from feature fill. Modern control samples were taken from the surface areas of ten test units that were located along transects that led away from the excavation to the north and west (Appendix C). Unlike the area of site excavation, the test units were located in areas that were away from site activities and not cleared of vegetation. Of the ten samples from these units, two were column samples. The column samples were taken following the natural strata, and at ten-centimeter intervals within strata that were deeper than 10 cm. Samples were also collected from the plowzone layer from 2 × 2 m units along two transects at 992N and at 1001E across the general excavation unit. Samples were also taken from plowzone contexts 241 and 246. The samples from contexts 158, 160, 161 and 180 along 992N are questionable, however, since recent construction activities disturbed the layers from which the samples were taken.

Finally, samples were collected from the fill within site features (see Appendix C). All of the samples from within features were taken from discrete deposits and care was exercised in not mixing the samples between deposits. From within the sub-floor pit (F01) and two ditches (F05 and F06), excavators sampled every deposit of fill. From within the remaining ditch (F04), only three deposits were not sampled. One was a concentration of oyster shells (context 30, SG05) and another was a deposit of architectural debris (context 40, SG06). Both of these deposits rested on top of the ditch. The third deposit, a silt layer (SG08), was too thin to sample. Along the two fencelines identified at the site, a selection of posthole and postmold fills were sampled.

## Flotation Samples

The DAR's standard flotation sampling protocol was to obtain a 10-liter soil sample from undisturbed layers and feature deposits. We collected samples that exceeded the 10-liter minimum from nine out of the fifteen feature deposits sampled from within the sub-floor pit (F01) and the three ditches (F04, F05 and F06; Appendix D). Flotation samples were not collected from the postholes.

Soil samples were processed at the archaeology lab using a Flote-Tech flotation device equipped with fine, medium, and coarse screens. The processed samples were divided into light and heavy fractions. Upon identification, charred seeds, faunal remains, and small finds were isolated and removed for identification.

## Artifacts and Ecofacts

Nearly all of the finds identified in the field were bagged. In dealing with oyster shells, the standard procedure for the DAR was to collect only shells with whole or partial valves in order to determine season of harvest, salinity regime and site catchment areas. The rest of the shell fragments, along with brick fragments, were discarded after excavators noted their presence on field context forms.

All artifacts were processed at the archaeology lab and were catalogued in Re:Discovery. Objects requiring conservation were sent to the CW Curation Department for treatment. A partial assemblage of the ceramics and glass was set aside for crossmend analysis. These included the ceramics recovered from contexts within the cellar (F01), two ditches (F04 and F06), and seven postholes (F11, F13-F15, F17, F18 and F20) along the portion of the north fenceline that was adjacent to F04. The crossmending was conducted in order to assist in determining the depositional history of the site's features (see Chapter 4). Each unique ceramic or glass vessel was assigned an object number (see Appendix E for a list of ceramic vessels). Since the Palace Lands site was selected for inclusion in DAACS, the artifact assemblage was eventually re-catalogued by archaeologists at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. The CW object numbers for each vesselized sherd are indicated in the "Notes" entry of the DAACS artifact query for ceramics. The DAACS staff also completed the crossmending process, thus providing a minimum number of vessels count. Since DAACS object numbers were not assigned to these vesselized sherds, the author assigned a unique letter or dual letters ("a" through "z", and "aa" through "ee") to each vessel for the purpose of writing this report (see Appendix E).

Faunal remains were analyzed for the purpose of studying diet and subsistence strategies. Zooarchaeologists Joanne Bowen and Steven Atkins supervised the identification and analysis of micro- and macro-fauna. All faunal remains were counted and weighed. Bones were identified down to species where possible, and NISP (number of identified specimens) and biomass were determined for each taxa. The faunal specimens were cataloged in DAACS.



## Chapter 3 – Historical context

### Introduction

The history of the Palace Lands site is one that involves a succession of landowners spanning two centuries, the last two royal governors of Virginia, Patrick Henry and the Continental Army, and a group of enslaved Afro-Virginians who managed to establish a home life on what was once an urban plantation. The archaeological evidence indicates that the site was intensively occupied mainly during the third quarter of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 4) when John Coke held deed to the acreage. Coke owned the land from c. 1747-1767 and he probably kept a plantation on it over this 20-year period. Upon his death, his son Samuel continued to run the plantation until c. 1769. John Coke was not the average planter as he was also a Williamsburg silver and goldsmith, and tavern owner. His middling plantation, which consisted of 200 acres, undoubtedly provided him with additional income as he died a man of some wealth.

Coke's plantation would eventually be sold at auction and the land incorporated into the Governor's Palace Lands. The last two royal governors, Botetourt and Dunmore, used the land for raising livestock and crops, and for felling trees for fuel. With Dunmore's unceremonious departure from Williamsburg in 1775, the Palace Lands acreage was soon taken over by Patrick Henry, the newly-elected governor of the state. The removal of the capitol to Richmond soon after left the property subject to a number of land transactions that have been traced up until the early twentieth century.

This chapter summarizes the historical sources related to the Palace Lands site. Most of the sources concern land transactions dating from 1704 to 1904. Yet there is also information regarding the slaveholdings of John Coke and the last two royal governors that is pertinent to determining who may have lived at the site. Unfortunately, very little has been gained from the historical record about the enslaved Virginians themselves. Whatever else can be learned about the Afro-Virginians who lived at the Palace Lands site must be derived from the archaeological record.

### Slavery in Williamsburg

The location of the Palace Lands site, and its connections to John Coke and the last two royal governors, places it within the context of urban slavery in Williamsburg where enslaved blacks were commonplace. During the mid-eighteenth century, roughly half of Williamsburg's population was of African descent (Tate 1965:55). Blacks accounted for 52.4 percent of Williamsburg's populace (n=1880) by 1775 (Willis et al. 1998:586). Thad Tate (1965:50, 62) estimates that "easily five-sixths of the families in Williamsburg owned at least a single slave" during the 1780s.

Unlike their counterparts who mostly toiled as field hands for wealthy planters in rural areas beyond the capitol, the majority of Williamsburg's enslaved population served in a domestic capacity. There were also skilled and unskilled laborers who

worked in the printing office and tanyard, on building projects, in taverns, as shoemakers, butchers, carpenters and so on (Tate 1965:56-78; Willis et al. 1998). Yet the enslaved Virginians who occupied the Palace Lands site were caught up in two intertwined worlds. They would have been deeply familiar with the urban landscape, and lived close enough to move about town frequently and with ease. They also very likely maintained steadfast relations with friends and family in town. The rhythm of their work lives, however, revolved around a schedule and labor regime to which the majority of enslaved Virginians, who were field hands, were also accustomed.

Prior to the establishment of Coke's plantation, the Palace Lands site first appears in the historical record as part of a 300-acre lot in 1704. It changed hands a number of times over the next two centuries, and the parcel shifted in acreage along the way (Table 3.1). Most of the deed holders were well-to-do, if not wealthy. Almost all of them also owned houses in town, an indication that the Palace Lands parcel did not serve as their residence. Although it is unclear how every landowner made use of the land, the most likely explanation, based upon the landscape features and its few documented uses, is that for two-hundred years the property was mainly used for farming and pasturage, and the trees felled for fuel.

Table 3.1  
**Landowners, York County Tract 595A, 1704-1904**

<b>Size of Tract</b>	<b>Landowner Name</b>	<b>Years of Ownership</b>
<b>300 acres</b>	Mary Whaley	<b>1704-1737</b>
<b>200 acres</b>	John Custis	<b>1737</b>
	William Robertson	<b>1737-1739</b>
	Elizabeth Robertson Lidderdale and John Lidderdale	<b>1739-1742</b>
	John Baskerville	<b>c. 1742-1747</b>
	John Coke	<b>c. 1747-1767</b>
	Samuel Coke	<b>1767-1769</b>
<b>364 acres</b>	Governor's Palace Lands	<b>c. 1769-1784</b>
	College of William and Mary	<b>1784-1786</b>
	Edmund Randolph	<b>1786-1790</b>
	College of William and Mary	<b>1790</b>
	Rev. Dr. Samuel Smith McCroskey	<b>1790-1816</b>
	Robert Saunders, Sr.	<b>1816-1835</b>
<b>&lt;165 acres</b>	William Browne (deeded by Saunders, Sr.)	<b>c.1825-?</b>
<b>200 acres</b>	Robert Saunders, Jr. (inherited from Saunders, Sr.)	<b>1835-1838</b>
<b>200 acres</b>	John and Amanda Gregory	<b>1838-1841</b>
<b>200 acres</b>	Samuel S. Griffin	<b>1841 to some time prior to 1866</b>
<b>300 acres</b>	Dr. Robert M. Garrett	<b>Pre-1866 to 1883</b>
<b>293 acres</b>	Dr. Van F. Garrett	<b>1883-1904</b>
	<b>Southern Land Company</b>	<b>1904</b>

## Whaley's "Old Field": c. 1704-1747

The Palace Lands site is located on land that is linked to a series of property transactions that can be traced back to 1704 (see Table 3.1). In that year, Mary Page Whaley, widow of James Whaley (d. 1701), was recorded in the York County rent roll as owning 500 acres in Bruton Parish on both sides of Capitol Landing Road (YCP-RR 1704; Figure 3.1). Her property was divided into two parcels. One was a 300-acre lot that the road to Capitol Landing passed through (see "595A", Figure 3.1). The Palace Lands site is situated on what was the southern portion of this lot (see Figure 3.1). The second parcel was 200 acres in size and adjoined the first lot to the east (see "595C", Figure 3.1).

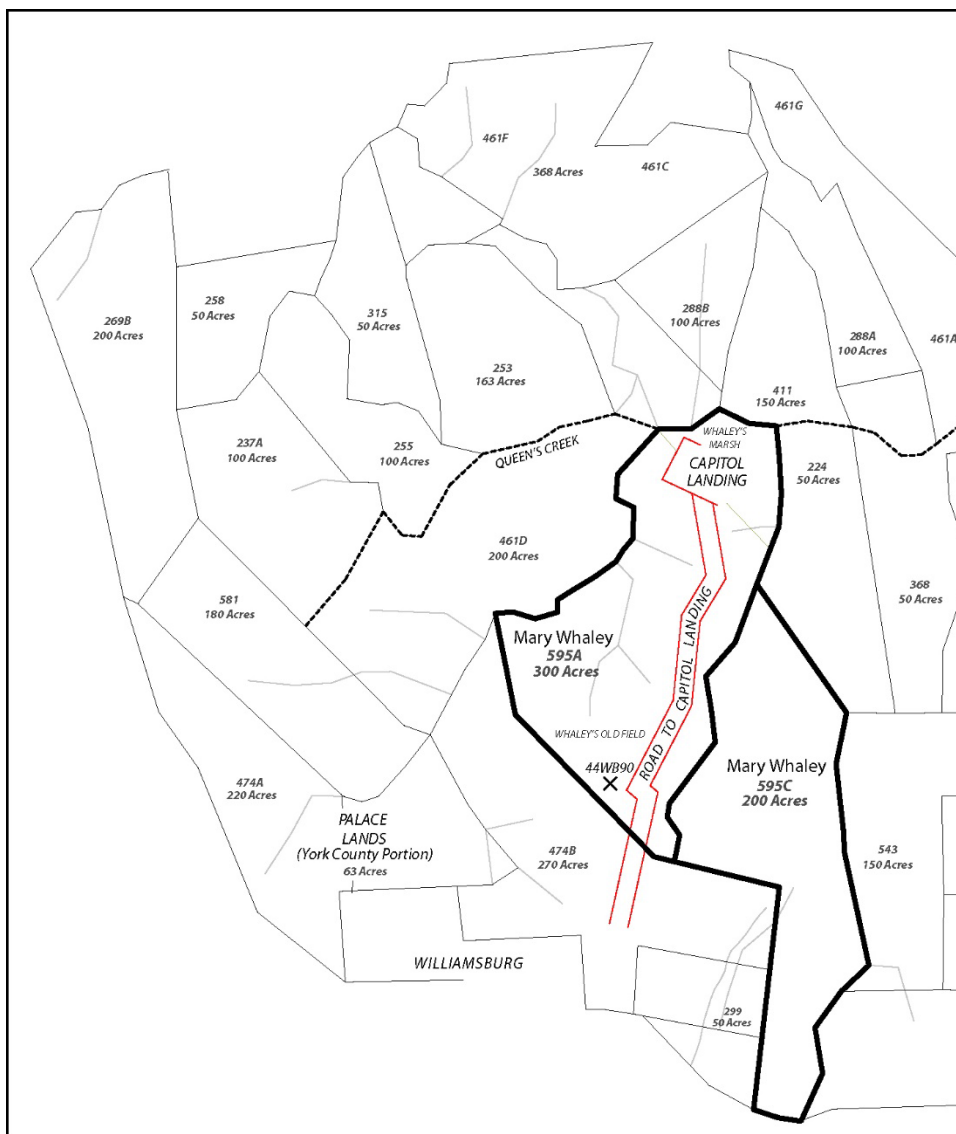


Figure 3.1. York County rent roll tract map, tracts 595A and 595C, 1704

Mary Whaley divided and sold portions of her property between 1707 and 1737 (Whaley, Mary, WPF; Figure 3.2). The Whaleys apparently resided on the larger lot (tract 595A) as a 1707 deed of the 200-acre lot (tract 595C; see Figure 3.2) to John Page describes tract 595A as “the plantation where James Whaley lived and Mary Whaley now lives” (Whaley, Mary, YCP-BF, M 1797, reel 93; Whaley to Page, YCDB 1701-1713, vol. 2, pp. 235-236, M-1.13). In 1711-1712, Whaley sold unspecified acreage of the northern portion of her remaining 300-acre parcel (tract 595A; see Figure 3.2) to David Bray (Whaley to Bray, YCDB 1701-1713, vol. 2, pp. 381-382, M-1.13). The parcel must have been less than 100 acres as she apparently retained some marshland on Queen’s Creek adjacent to Capitol Landing (also known as Queen Mary’s Port; see Figure 3.1) that she eventually sold (see below). The land deeded to Bray, which was also bounded by Queen’s Creek and Capitol Landing, passed through several owners before becoming the possession of Benjamin Powell in 1774 (York County Project summary cards, tract 595A). Unlike the remaining 200 acres (of tract 595A), the portion sold to Bray was never incorporated into the Palace Lands.

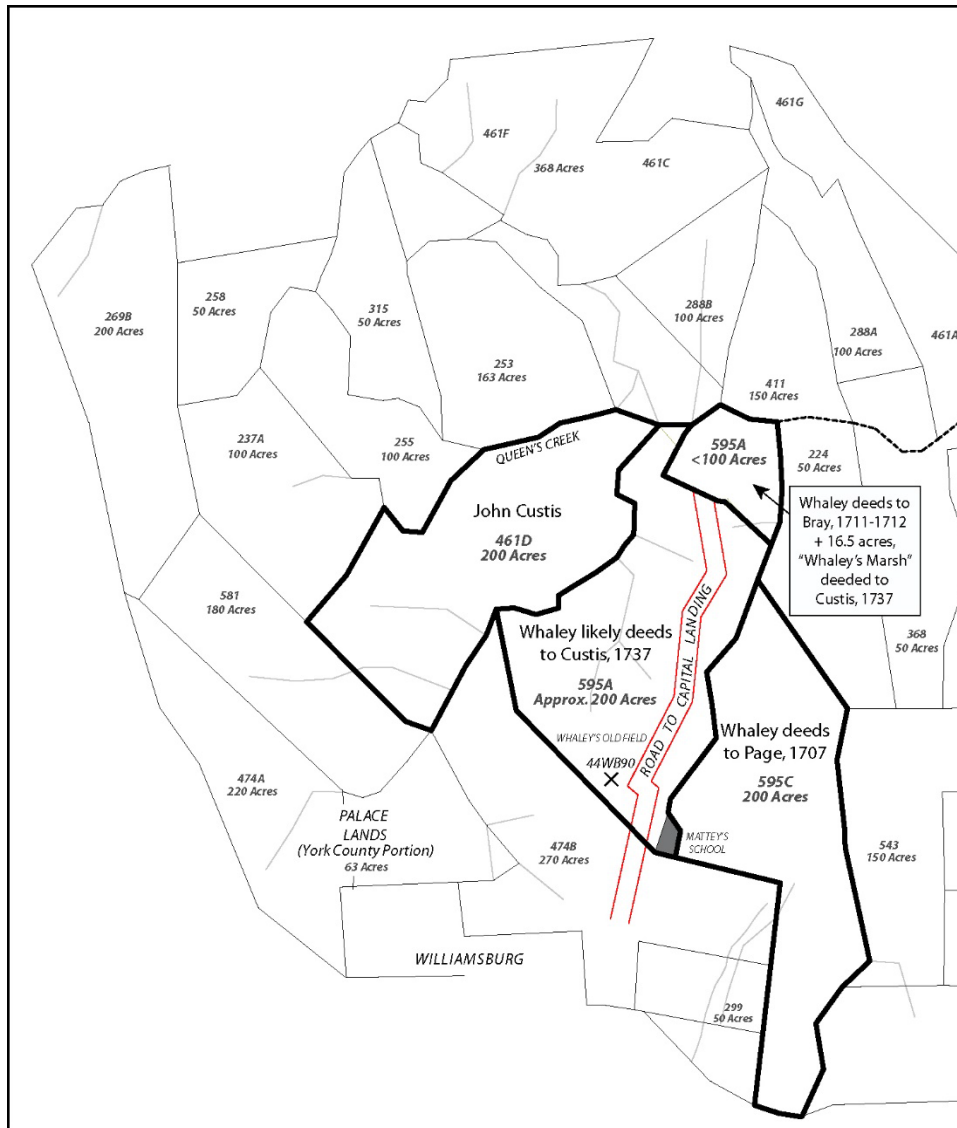


Figure 3.2. York County land transactions, tracts 595A and 595C, c. 1711-1737

Whaley held on to her 200 acres and the parcel of marshland at Capitol Landing for some time. She was residing in England by the time she began dealings with John Custis over her property. Custis was a prominent figure in Williamsburg. He was a member of the House of Burgesses and served on the governor's Council, and he was also a wealthy slaveowner. His son's widow, Martha Dandridge Custis, later married George Washington. In 1736, Custis came close to purchasing Whaley's land which adjoined his 200 acres (see Figure 3.2). In a letter dated that year to Robert Cary, his London merchant, he asked Cary to inform Whaley that her agent (Edward Jacquelin) had agreed to sell the land to him (Custis 2005:169-170). Apparently, the deal fell through. In an irate letter penned in 1737, Custis (2005:185-186) wrote to Whaley:

*I am informd that one Matt Moody and Martha Booker have writ to you a thousand lies diswadeing you not to let me have your land, the truth is this they both keep ordinarys close upon your Land; and have done it very great damage by Keeping their stock on it especially hogs wch roots up your Marsh and will make it good for nothing...the house you formerly lived is tore to peices and most of it carryd away and burnt...I should never have troubled my self about your Land; since you formerly denyd me, if you had not by Mr Jacquelin made me an offer of it; and unless someone has it that lives near it, it will soon be ruind— those 2 sorry people will never bee able to purchase it of it; nor indeed they Can have no reason to buy it; wn they have the full use of it for their stocks and firing without paying a farthing...*

Custis' remarks referred to one Mathew Moody who was appointed ferry keeper in 1734 at Capitol Landing, a busy site of trade and tobacco shipping during the colonial period (Bullock 1930). He also operated a tavern at the landing and owned lots in the adjacent area (Metz et al. 1998:100), though it seems he preferred to allow his livestock to roam on Whaley's marshland. Custis' letter clearly had its intended effect. Whaley sold the southern half of her 200 acres, referred to as Whaley's "Old Field", plus the marshland to John Custis for £100 on September 13, 1737 (Tyler 1895:7; YCP-RR, tract 595A, card III; Whaley, Mary, YCP-BF, M 1797, reel 93; Whaley to Custis, YCDB 1729-1740, no. 4, pp. 473-475, M-1.14). Excluded from the transaction was a ten-acre parcel located in the southeast corner of the land (see Figure 3.2). Whaley founded Matthew's School House (also known as "Mattey's School") at this location in honor of the Whaleys' only child who died in 1705 at the age of nine years. The charity school was established for the "neediest children" of the parish and operated well into the twentieth century (Tyler 1895).

Although a deed for the transaction has not been found, there is other evidence which indicates that Custis purchased not just 100 acres from Whaley, but the entirety of Whaley's land (see Figure 3.2). In his correspondence to Cary in 1738, Custis (2005:1989) wrote that he "kept the Land but 4 days." Custis sold Whaley's 100 acres and another parcel of land, presumably the adjacent 100 acres also formerly of Whaley's, to a William Robertson. The transaction was recorded on January 29, 1737, nearly eight months prior to the date of Whaley's deed to Custis (Custis, John, YCP-BF, M1797, reel 24; YCP-RR, tract 595A, card III; Lidderdale to Baskerville, YCDB 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 44-51, M-1.14). Custis proved to be a shrewd businessman as he noted further in his letter to Cary that he sold Whaley's "high Land" for the same

amount that he paid for it plus the “marsh.” Custis (2005:189) gleefully stated, “the high Land I was never fond of, the Marsh was all I then wanted wch I have got clear, or as good...I am now in possession of all I desired almost for A song.” The marsh was the very same land that Moody and Booker used indiscriminately for pasturage. It consisted of 16½ acres on Queen’s Creek adjoining Capitol Landing, the site where Moody operated the ferry and his ordinary (see Figure 3.2). The land was eventually deeded to Mathew Moody by John Custis in 1748-1749 (Custis to Moody, YCDB 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 272-274, M-1.14). The deed describes the lot as “that piece or parcel of Marsh commonly called Whaley’s Marsh” and as “all the marsh land which the said John Custis purchased of Mary Whaley”.

William Robertson, a clerk of the governor’s Council, owned the 200-acre lot purchased from Custis for two years before his death in 1739. He willed the property to his daughter Elizabeth, the wife of John Lidderdale (YCP-RR, tract 595A, card III; Lidderdale to Baskerville, YCDB 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 44-51, M-1.14). Lidderdale was a merchant who also sold enslaved Africans (Goodwin 1951:3). In 1742-1743, Lidderdale sold the property to a bricklayer by the name of John Baskerville. The deed of sale conveyed 200 acres on both sides of Capitol Landing Road, and the bounds of the property described in the deed clearly indicate that it was the 200 acres once owned by Mary Whaley (Lidderdale to Baskerville, YCDB 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 44-51, M-1.14). Baskerville may have established a plantation on the land. He placed an ad in the *Virginia Gazette* (January 9, 1746, p. 4, William Parks) asking for the owner to come and claim a cow and its calf that had both strayed “to the Subscriber’s Plantation, near Williamsburg.” Since there is no evidence in the York County records that Baskerville was a slaveowner, he likely lived at the plantation and worked the land himself or with hired laborers.

It is not certain when Baskerville released the land since records concerning its sale have not been found, nor have his will or estate inventory. Yet other property transactions concerning parcels adjacent to the 200-acre lot provide evidence which demonstrate that John Coke owned the property by August 17, 1747. A deed for this date conveys 52 acres of land from Benjamin Waller to James Keith (YCDB 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 212-216, M-1.14; Figure 3.3). The deed describes the land as bounded by “Mr. Coke’s Line” and has a sketch showing the 52 acres (see Figure 3.3) with “Mr. Coke’s Land” indicated for the property to the north which is the 200-acre lot in question. (Waller’s 52 acres would eventually be purchased in 1768 by the Council from Lt. Gov. Fauquier’s estate and incorporated into the Palace Lands as discussed below.) Subsequent deeds concerning land bordering the 200-acre parcel all mention Coke’s land in defining the lot boundaries (Custis to Moody, February 21, 1748-1749, YCDB 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 272-274, M-1.14; Moody to Cobbs, April 24, 1750, YCDB, 1741-1754, no. 5, pp. 370-371, M-1.14; Moody to Fauquier, July 11, 1760, YCDB 1755-1763, no. 6, pp. 249-251, M-1.15). It was during the period that John Coke owned the land that habitation of the site excavated at the Palace Lands took place.



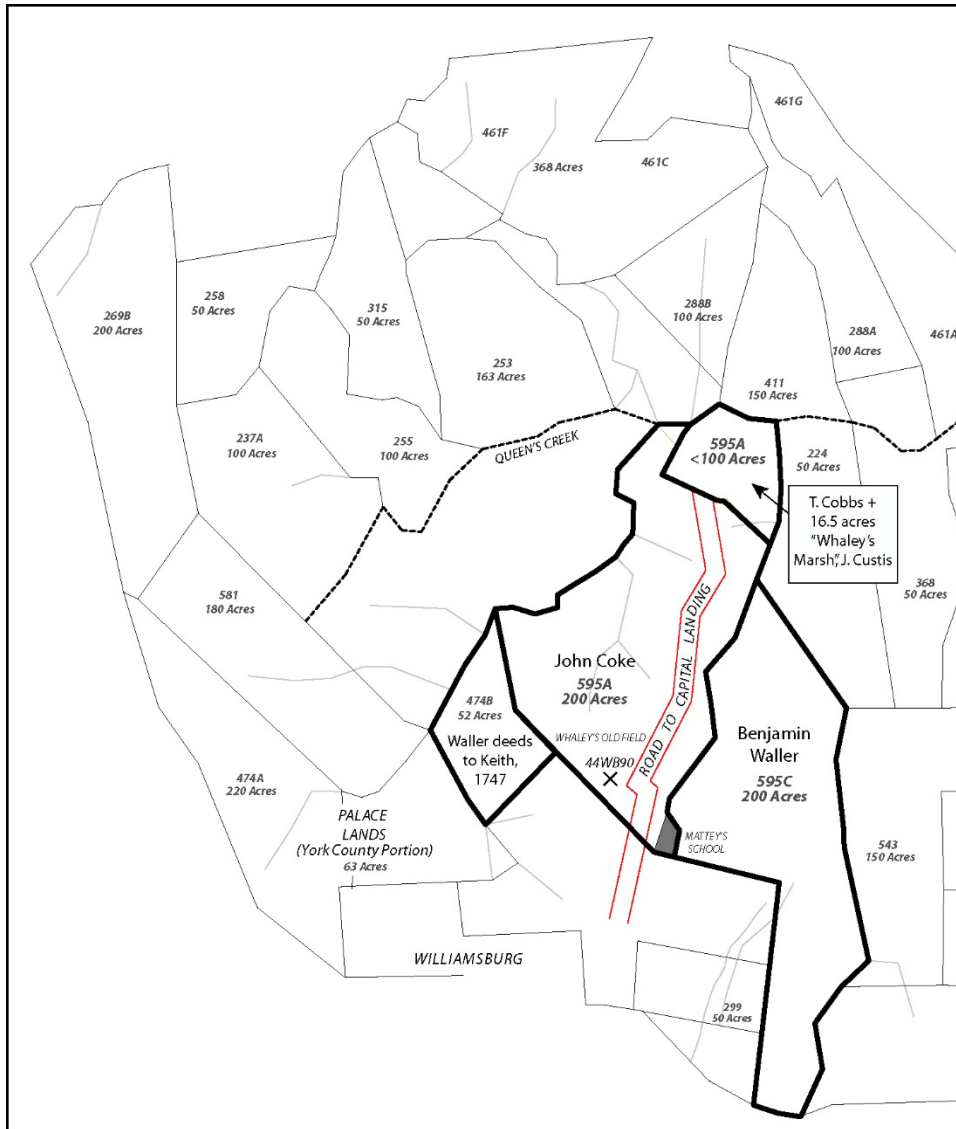


Figure 3.3. York County, tracts 474B, 595A and 595C, 1747

### John Coke's Plantation: c. 1747-1769

John Coke immigrated to Virginia in 1724 when he was twenty-years old. A native of Derbyshire, England, Coke was a silver and goldsmith (Bullock 1931; Daniel 1946:11). He married a woman named Sarah Hoge and they had three sons, one of whom died in infancy (Stephenson 1990[1953]:17). The two surviving sons were named Samuel and Robey (or Robie; WMQ 1898:127). By 1740, Coke owned a house and outbuildings on three contiguous lots (CW Block 27, colonial lots 281, 282 and 361) on Nicholson Street off Capitol Square and adjacent to the Public Goal (Buchanan 1961:2; Figure 3.4). It is at this location where the Cokes operated a tavern. In addition to purchasing the 200-acre lot by 1747, Coke acquired the two lots (CW Block 27, colonial lots 279 and 280) adjacent to his own in town on February 5,

1755 (Bullock 1931; see Figure 3.4). The Cokes' former residence, now known as the Coke-Garrett House, still stands in the Historic Area of Colonial Williamsburg.



Figure 3.4. John Coke's plantation and Williamsburg property, c. 1747-1767

Coke was a man of means by the time of his death in 1767, the year his will was probated. He was not only a silver and goldsmith and tavern keeper, but he also kept a plantation upon the 200 acres he purchased some twenty years before his passing. Although he was a tradesman, Coke's prosperity is evident in the amount of



movable wealth he possessed and this without doubt elevated his social standing. In their research on the standard of living in the colonial Chesapeake, historians Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh (1988:142) reckoned that those considered “rich” owned more than £225 of movable wealth, with enslaved blacks and livestock accounting for the bulk of this property. Moreover, individuals worth more than £490 were in the top 5 to 10 percent of the wealthholders (Carr and Walsh 1988:138). Coke’s estate, not including his plantation or town property, was worth just over £772 (Appendix F), an amount that clearly put him above the majority of his peers in terms of wealth. A number of his possessions also suggest that Coke had aspirations of gentility. Carr and Walsh (1988:143) noted the kinds of luxury items (amenities index) and objects needed to provide “comfort and cleanliness” (modern index) typically found among the inventories of the wealthy, which serve as a measure of gentility that even middling planters aspired to. Coke owned seven of the 12 items listed in the amenities index, including table knives and forks, bed linen, books, and coarse earthenware. He possessed 11 of the 12 items listed in the modern index, including chairs and tables, a pot for boiling plus a means of preparing food using an alternative method (which in this case included a fry pan, chafing dishes, a Dutch oven, and a cheese toaster), interior lighting, a mattress, and bedstead. It is certain that a number of these items, which in the case of beds, tables, chairs and tablewares were listed in multiple numbers in Coke’s inventory, were used for his tavern. Still, Coke and his family were undoubtedly privy to the same comforts as their paying guests.

According to his estate inventory, he owned nine enslaved blacks: five males and four females (YCWI, 21, 1760-1771, pp. 381-385, M-1.11; see Appendix F). While a number of them undoubtedly served his household and tavern, he kept the rest at his nearby plantation since there is no evidence to suggest that he leased the land or hired laborers to work the land. Moreover, when the plantation was put up for sale (see below), several enslaved blacks were also advertised for sale. These were likely the field hands that the family no longer had need of.

### John Coke’s Slaveholding

John Coke’s probate inventory, dated February 15, 1768, lists the following enslaved individuals and their values (listed below in the order that they appear in the inventory; see Appendix F):

1 Negro Man Tom	40..0..0
Squire	40..0..0
Debdford	55..0..0
James	55..0..0
Phill	55..0..0
Lucy	40..0..0
Alice	10..0..0
Sylvia	50..0..0
Judith	25..0..0

The seven individuals valued at £40 to £55 were more than likely within or near their prime years of age in terms of labor productivity, estimated by Lorena Walsh as starting at age 18 and extending into their early 30s (Walsh 1997:300). The man Squire is a case in point. His baptismal record for July of 1750 (Coke, John, YCP-BF,

M1797, reel 20) states that he was baptized as an adult which would have made him around 36 years of age when he was inventoried. Since it was common practice to list enslaved individuals in probates in the order of adult male, adult female, and children, Alice, valued at £10, was probably well past her prime. Judith, who is listed last and valued at £25, was probably a teen in 1768. Walsh (1997:301) noted that since slaveowners purchased few Africans from the slave trade after 1740, enslaved blacks born after that year were likely Virginia natives. If this holds true, most of Coke's enslaved Virginians (including Debdford, James, Phill, Sylvia and Judith) were most likely native-born.

Historical records indicate that Coke owned at least two other individuals besides the ones listed in his probate. One source for an infant named William reveals that he was born on January 20, 1748/1749 and baptized on February 5, 1748/1749 (Coke, John, YCP-BF, M1797, reel 20). Another enslaved male is referred to in a document dated on July 19, 1762, as "His old negro man Ralph for reasons appearing to the c[our]t was set levy free" (Coke, John, YCP-BF, M1797, reel 20). Since neither William nor Ralph appear in Coke's probate, they were either sold or died during Coke's lifetime.

Coke's slaveholding at the time of his passing of nine enslaved blacks was relatively large for Williamsburg. Although five-sixths of the families owned slaves in town, a large percentage of the slaveowners were of more modest means who owned one or two individuals (Tate 1965:55). In his study of Williamsburg's slaveholdings for 1782, Michael Nicholls' (1990) provided an idea of what the average slaveholding consisted of prior to the Revolution. He estimated that 74.4 percent of Williamsburg's households owned between one to six slaves. Just over a quarter of the households owned seven or more. Rather than simply suggesting that Coke was wealthier than many of his neighbors, these numbers indicate that he needed enslaved labor for other than domestic service, the work performed by most of the town's enslaved population.

Work at Coke's plantation, as on others, consisted of raising livestock and crops, and felling trees for fuel. Coke's estate included 24 head of cattle and 10 calves, oxen, and one sow (see Appendix F). He also owned five horses, several of which may have been kept at the plantation. Work-related tools listed in his inventory include six axes, seven hoes, three spades and a pair of sheep shears. Where the inventory was partially torn, there is also an entry for "79 barrels of" valued at £35. Presumably, the barrels held a cash crop that was raised at the plantation.

With regard to the management of the plantation, there are no sources that refer to Coke's hiring of an overseer. Since the plantation was located so close to his residence (see Figure 3.4), Coke or his sons more than likely supervised the work of the enslaved Virginians who lived there.

### **The Transfer of John Coke's Estate**

In his 1764 will (YCWI, 21, 1760-1771, pp. 366b-368, M-1.11), proved on November 16, 1767, Coke left instructions to divide his property between his two surviving sons and his wife. To his son Samuel, also a silversmith, he willed "my plantation containing 200 acres, more or less, lying on both sides of the Main Road which leads from the city of Williamsburg down to the Capitol Landing commonly



called Queen Mary's Port, to him and his heirs forever." Samuel also inherited "one Mulatto Man named Charles" whose name does not appear in Coke's estate inventory. It is possible that Charles was given to Samuel, sold to someone else, or died within the three-year interim from the will's creation to the date of its execution. Coke left to his son Robey, a wheelwright and house joiner (Willis et al. 1998:416), "all the houses and 5 lots or half acres of ground whereon I now live in the City of Williamsburg" (see Figure 3.4). Robey also inherited two individuals, Phillip and Sylvia. Sarah received what remained of Coke's estate which would have included the majority of his enslaved blacks. Yet she paid taxes on Phillip and Sylvia, in 1783 and 1784, which suggests that she had sold her own enslaved laborers sometime prior. Sarah undoubtedly used the two to help her run the tavern which she continued to operate after her husband's death. Interestingly, Phillip's name appears in a document that indicates he had a run in with the law. Not long after Coke's death, Phillip and Lewis (who belonged to one William Pearson) were accused of breaking into a house and stealing ten gallons of liquor, a pot of sweetmeat, and ten pounds of soap (Coke, John, February 12, 1768, OB 1765-1768, p. 433, YCP-BF M1797, reel 126).

In just over a year after inheriting his father's plantation, Samuel was ready to unload it. Samuel and his mother placed an ad in the *Virginia Gazette* to announce the auction of Coke's plantation that is telling. It reveals that Samuel continued to operate the plantation as his father had by raising livestock and cash crops. It also indicates that in selling or renting the plantation, the Cokes no longer needed several of their slaves who were also put up for auction along with the livestock. The Cokes' ad ran on January 12, 1769 (p. 4, Purdie & Dixon):

To be SOLD by publick auction, on Thursday the 2<sup>d</sup> of FEBRUARY next, at the late dwelling-house of JOHN COKE, deceased, in Williamsburg, ALL his HOUSEHOLD & KITCHEN FURNITURE, several valuable SLAVES, with the stocks of CATTLE, HORSES, and SHEEP; also a quantity of CORN and FODDER. At the same time will be sold, or rented, a plantation lying on both sides of the road to the Capitol landing, containing upwards of 200 acres; it is exceeding good land, and in order for cropping. Credit will be allowed for all sums above five pounds until the 20<sup>th</sup> of October next, the purchasers giving bond and security to

SARAH COKE, Executrix.

SAMUEL COKE, Executor.

The HOUSES in Williamsburg will be rented at the same time, on reasonable terms.

In all likelihood, the Council purchased the 200-acre plantation from Samuel at auction in 1769. Even though there are no records concerning such a transaction, there is one source that suggests that part of the land may have been leased by the Council for Governor Botetourt's use by 1768, and a second source that demonstrates that the land was certainly part of the Palace Lands by 1773. An ad placed in the *Virginia Gazette* on December 29, 1768 (p. 3, William Rind), and again on January 5, 1769, announces the sale of 100 acres of land "within a mile of the city of Williamsburg, *adjoining his excellency the Governor's pasture, the lands of John Coke* [emphasis added], and Daniel Parke Custis, Esq., deceased, and Queen's Creek." The land for sale was part of the estate of the late Lawson Burfoot (Figure 3.5). It was

formerly the northern part of Mary Whaley’s 300-acre lot situated at Capitol Landing and sold to David Bray in 1711-1712 (see Figure 3.2). Since the ad mentions that the land abutted both John Coke’s land and Governor Botetourt’s pasture, it may be that Samuel, or his father, had leased a portion of the plantation land to the Council. The other lots adjoining Burfoot’s 100 acres included land set aside for the county’s Poor House and parcels owned by Benjamin Waller and John Parke Custis. These lots were never incorporated with the Palace Lands (see Figure 3.5).

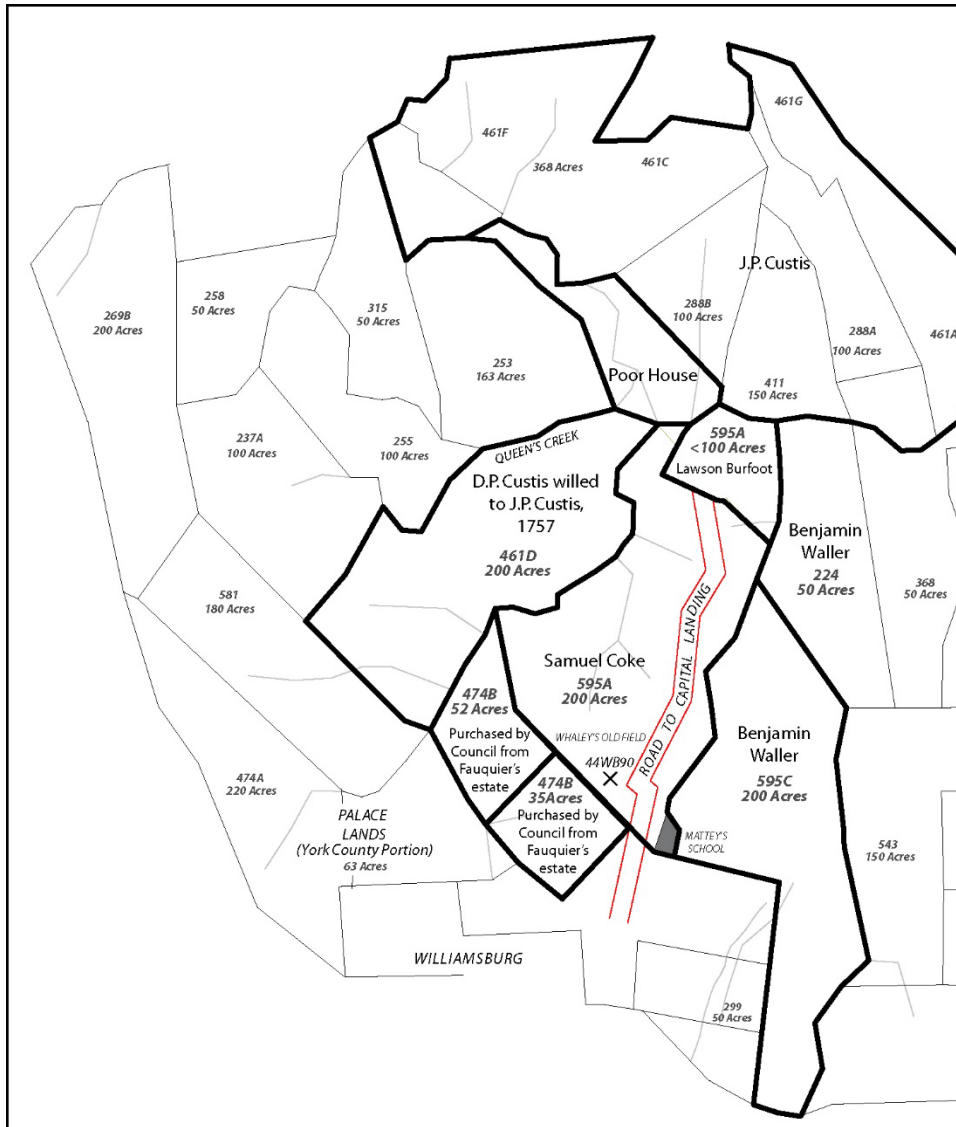


Figure 3.5. York County tract map, 1768

If the Council rented pasturage from the Cokes, they likely followed through with purchasing the plantation in 1769. Samuel Coke’s actions at the time disclose that he was ready to move on to another line of work. In the very same issue of the *Virginia Gazette* that the Cokes’ notice for the auction appeared, Samuel placed an additional ad (January 12, 1769, p. 3, Purdie & Dixon) looking to hire someone who could build a mill and mill house. The work was eventually completed as Samuel

would later advertise for a miller for his gristmill, known as Coke's Mill (*Virginia Gazette*, January 30, 1772, p. 3, Purdie & Dixon). On February 1, 1770, Samuel announced that he had rented Burwell's Ferry along with the house and was open for business (*Virginia Gazette*, February 15, 1770, p. 4, Purdie & Dixon). Burwell's Ferry was located on the James River at some distance from town. The implication of Samuel's dealings is that he sold his plantation in 1769, or very soon after, and successfully managed to shift occupations from planter to ferry keeper and mill owner. Samuel Coke was deceased by November 18, 1773. His widow, Judith, placed an ad in the *Virginia Gazette* that ran on this date to notify the public of the sale of Samuel's estate which did not include his plantation (November 18, 1773, p. 2, Purdie & Dixon).

Coke's plantation was part of the Palace Lands by June 10, 1773. In a deed dated to that year the 100 acres formerly of Lawson Burfoot's estate (see Figure 3.5) transferred from John Ferguson to John Tazewell. This time the land is described as "bounded by the Governor's Land," the acreage formerly owned by Samuel Coke (Ferguson to Tazewell, YCDB 1769-1773, vol. 8, pp. 343-347, 400-403, M-1.16). Thus, as early as February of 1769 but definitely by June of 1773, the Palace Lands property included Coke's plantation.

## The Governor's Palace Lands: c. 1769-1776

The beginning of the occupation span of the Palace Lands site dates to John Coke's ownership of the land where he, and then his son Samuel, operated a plantation. The archaeological evidence indicates that habitation continued near the site following the auction of the plantation in 1769 as a small number of late eighteenth-century to early nineteenth-century ceramics were recovered from the site. It is very unlikely that Samuel or Sarah Coke sold the enslaved blacks who resided at the site to Botetourt and that they continued to live there and work the land. There are no records of such a sale, and no matches exist between the names of slaves listed in John Coke's 1768 inventory with those listed in Botetourt's 1770 inventory (Department of Research 1930:198).

The historical record is not definitive with regard to when Coke's plantation was incorporated into the Palace Lands. What is likely is that the Council leased a portion of Coke's plantation as early as 1768, and it is certain that between 1769 and 1773 the plantation became part of the Palace Lands. With this event, the Palace Lands site became entangled with the history of the Governor's Palace and the last two royal governors of Virginia, both of whom were slaveowners.

The governors of colonial Virginia enjoyed the use of a landed estate that served as a residence, a means to support their households, and as a way to earn revenue through leasing land to tenants (Gibbs 1980:1). As early as 1618, the Virginia Company apportioned 3,000 acres near Jamestown for Governor George Yeardley's use. He and his successors received rents from this land up until the Revolution (Gibbs 1980). Just after the capitol moved to Middle Plantation (the early precursor to Williamsburg), the Council purchased a 75-acre tract in c. 1700 for the governor's residence (Gibbs 1980:2). Sixty-three acres of the tract were located in York County (see Figure 3.1) and 12 acres were situated within the city bounds. The Governor's Palace was built upon this lot and ready for occupation by 1715 (Hood 1991:38).

In 1758, Lt. Gov. Francis Fauquier arrived in Virginia with his wife and son and took up residence in the Governor's Palace. Fauquier purchased two lots adjoining the Palace Lands in 1760 (Gibbs 1980:3). The first purchase was of a 52-acre lot from John Ferguson for £250 (Ferguson to Fauquier, February 18, 1760, YCDB 1755-1763, no. 6, pp. 226-230, M-1.15). The second was for a 35-acre improved lot sold to Fauquier by Mathew Moody for £70. According to the deed, the property held "Moody's cornfield" and one or more houses (Moody to Fauquier, July 11, 1760, YCDB 1755-1763, no. 6, pp. 249-251, M-1.15). Both lots, totaling 87 acres, were bounded to the north by John Coke's plantation. Fauquier died at the Palace in 1768, and his 87 acres were subsequently sold to the Council (see Figure 3.5) which increased the size of the Palace Lands to about 162 acres (Gibbs 1980:3; Hillman 1966:288-289).

Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, would step ashore in Virginia in 1768 as the first full governor to have done so in sixty years (Hood 1991:12). Botetourt was clearly impressed with his accommodations, as he wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough: "My house is in admirable order, the ground behind it much broke, well-planted, and water'd by beautiful Rills; and the whole in every respect just as I could wish" (Hood 1991:71). Botetourt's tenure as governor, however, was short lived as he died in 1770. His replacement, John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, was the last royal governor. Dunmore began his residency at the Governor's Palace in 1771 and ended it abruptly when he fled the city four years later.

## The Palace Park

With the Council's purchase of the 200-acre lot formerly owned by the Cokes, the Palace Lands increased to 364 acres in size (Figure 3.6; see Table 3.1). The land was referred to as the "Palace Land" by the mid-nineteenth century, and it remained as a 364-acre parcel at least until 1816. Prior to its demise in 1781, the Georgian manor house and formal gardens were the property's visual focal points. Contemporary observers often mentioned the stately elegance of the Palace, although most wrote slightly kinder memoirs of Williamsburg than the following eyewitness did in 1736 (Department of Research 1930:123): "Williamsburg is a most wretched contriv'd affair... There is nothing considerable in it, but the College, the Governor's House, and one or two more, which are no bad Piles..." The rest of the Palace property was divided into specific utilitarian areas that served to support the governors' households. Patricia Gibbs' (1980) research on the Palace Lands estate provides the best account for how the land was used from c. 1769-1775.



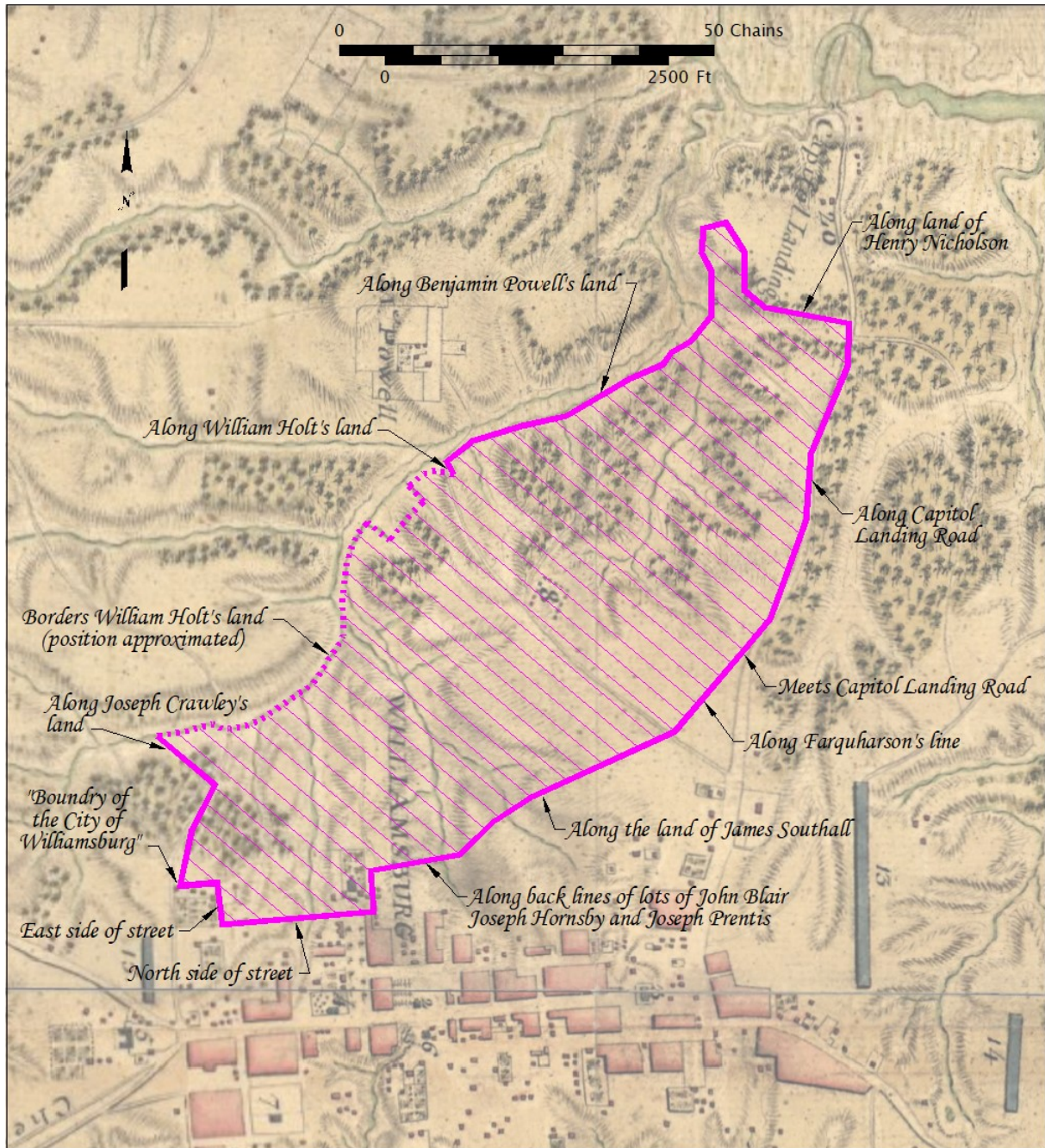


Figure 3.6. The Governor's Palace Lands, c. 1769-1816

Gibbs (1980) noted that the Palace Lands was partitioned into a number of subdivisions including those close to the Palace which included the kitchen yard, kitchen garden and orchard, stable yard, and formal garden and canal. Indentured servants and enslaved blacks worked and resided in the various outbuildings surrounding the Palace. The property also consisted of what eighteenth-century observers referred to as the "park" (Gibbs 1980:5). The park included the pastures and meadows, arable land, and woodland located in the hinterlands of the Palace property (see Figure 3.6). The 200-acre lot formerly of John Coke constituted the bulk

of the park, and the land was put to use as pasturage, for raising crops, and for collecting firewood.

One of the main functions of the park was that of pasturage for the governors' livestock. According to Gibbs (1980:23), the amount of pasturage needed by Fauquier, Botetourt and Dunmore can be determined by the number of livestock each owned. She estimated that Fauquier and Botetourt, based on the livestock listed in their estate inventories, needed 50 and 63 acres of pasture grounds respectively. Dunmore, however, required much more pasturage than his predecessors. In 1784, Dunmore attempted to recoup the losses he sustained when he was forced to leave Williamsburg. His schedule of losses (dated February 25, 1784) includes 154 head of cattle "in the Park at Williamsburg," 150 sheep, 13 coach and saddle horses, and four colts (Hood 1991:298). Dunmore's horses and livestock required 263 acres of pasturage and it is doubtless that Coke's former plantation served this need (Gibbs 1980:24).

Land set aside for pasturage needed to be cleared, and the same held for land used for cultivation. Arable land within the bounds of the Palace park is indicated on Desandroüins' (1781) map of Williamsburg, and some of this acreage may have been farmed (see Figure 3.6). The Cokes' 1769 ad (see above) states that the plantation was "good for cropping" and Gibbs (1980:26) observed that historical records associated with Botetourt indicate that farming took place during his tenure as governor. Stores inventoried in his outhouses include 23 bushels of Indian corn, 47½ bushels of oat, and 23 bushels of English wheat. Botetourt's inventory of his "park implements" also lists a broad hoe and a grubbing hoe, three scythes, and clover and rye grass seeds (Hood 1991:292).

Wooded acreage within the park served as fuel for the approximately 20 fireplaces within the Governor's Palace and its outbuildings (Gibbs 1980:29). Botetourt's inventory of his "park implements" includes tools for logging: axes, wedges, and a hand saw (Hood 1991:292). Fauquier, Botetourt and Dunmore all supplemented their firewood with coal that they purchased. Botetourt and Dunmore also required fuel to operate a forge. Botetourt brought over from England a blacksmith named John Draper, and Dunmore hired one locally (Gibbs 1980:29; Willis et al. 1998:355).

### **Slavery and Governors Botetourt and Dunmore**

Gibbs research demonstrates that the Palace park played a crucial role in the support of the governors' households. The park was enlarged by 200 acres probably during Botetourt's reign as governor (1768-1770). It was enslaved blacks who were put to work in this new addition to the park to cut firewood, and to raise livestock and crops.

Botetourt arrived in Williamsburg with twelve indentured servants. A letter from William Nelson to the Duke of Beaufort (Hood 1991:230) declares, "His Lordship brought over with him a good many white Servants, and, after a short Trial, found it convenient to purchase and hire Negroes to assist in the business of his Family, and do the Drudgery without Doors." The "short Trial" was short indeed. He purchased one woman, Hannah, from the estate of Lt. Gov. Fauquier sight unseen, and paid for



her six days after arriving in Virginia (Hood 1991:231; Willis et al. 1998:351). Botetourt eventually owned three men and four women, one with a child (Hood 1991:231). Those forced to “do the Drudgery without Doors” within the park, whether owned or hired, were under the supervision of land steward Silas Blandford, one of Botetourt’s indentured servants (Willis et al. 1998:350-351, 355).

Lord Dunmore’s slaveholding was much larger than that of his predecessor. He owned enslaved blacks not only for the support of the Palace and his household, which included his nine children, but to work on his three plantations. Between 1772 and 1773, Dunmore purchased Porto Bello and the Old Farm plantations in York County, and a plantation in Berkeley County. Unfortunately, there are no historical records that provide information on his enslaved Virginians, including how they were distributed between the Palace and each of Dunmore’s plantations (Willis et al. 1998:356). Dunmore’s Loyalist Claim for his Virginia property includes documents stating that he owned “57 Negroes” and the labor of “12 indented servants” when he left the Palace (Willis et al. 1998:356-357).

Botetourt and Dunmore clearly had no problems acclimating to the institution of slavery. Even Botetourt, who may have intended to keep an exclusively white household staff, made a quick turnaround to slaveowner. Both men hired enslaved blacks on a regular basis, including skilled laborers (Hood 1991:231). Dunmore must have also hired them to work on his plantations, as he claimed that he kept “100 to 150 Negroes constantly at work upon the farm” (Willis et al. 1998:356). The kind of work that was carried out within the Palace park was considered work suitable for the enslaved. There are no records of Palace park land being leased to tenants (Gibbs 1980:27), and as Botetourt’s and Dunmore’s indentured servants were tradesmen and domestics, it is safe to conclude that enslaved blacks were assigned to work within the park.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the Palace Lands site was mainly inhabited during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a period that overlaps with the tenures of both governors. It is not likely, however, that Botetourt’s enslaved Virginians occupied the site. Botetourt owned a relatively small number of enslaved blacks that included seven adults and one child. Yet it appears that they mostly worked as domestics and that Botetourt’s staff hired enslaved blacks to labor in the park (Willis et al. 1998:354). Dunmore, on the other hand, owned as many as 57 enslaved Virginians. Given his investment and interest in planting, and the number of livestock he kept at the park, it is possible that several of his enslaved laborers resided at the Palace Lands as early as 1771. Whether they took over residency of the dwelling identified at the site, however, may never be known. There is no archaeological evidence for this potential four-year site habitation that could be discerned from that left behind by Coke’s enslaved blacks, particularly since the occupation spans for each group would have been very close in time.

## **The Events of 1776**

On July 12, 1775, Lord Dunmore wrote in distress from aboard the HMS Fowey, which was anchored on the York River. His letter (Department of Research 1930:248) states: “...and they have taken possession of the Park/ a considerable piece of land adjoining and belonging to the Governors house for their cavalry, wantonly

cutting and maiming my cattle which they found there.” Dunmore fled the Palace a month before and sought refuge on the Fowey amidst a tide of revolutionary fervor that left Williamsburg in turmoil and the governor as unpopular as ever. Dunmore’s slaves and servants fled as well. The *Virginia Gazette* (July 14, 1775, p. 1, Alexander Purdie) proclaimed: “All his Lordship’s domesticks have now left the palace, and are gone, bag and baggage, to his farm at Porto Bello, about six miles from town.”

Patrick Henry was elected governor of the state of Virginia in June of 1776 and arrived at the Governor’s Palace where he would reside for the next three years. The Declaration of Independence was read at the Capitol, the courthouse, and at the Palace in late July. Just days before, Henry apportioned 200 acres of the Palace park for public use, which the Continental Army would soon occupy (Department of Research 1930:256, 258). On August 6, 1776, Henry (Department of Research 1930:258) made the recommendation that barracks for the Continental Army should be “built on that Part of the Park, which the governor lately gave up for the use of the Troops.” The order was carried through by the Council of the State of Virginia in September (Department of Research 1930:261). Humphrey Harwood was hired to build the brick barracks, and his account book demonstrates that he spent time between 1776 and 1779 in repairing them (HHAB 1776-1794, MS 33.01, folios 7 and 25).

Historical documents related to the Palace Lands for the years of the war indicate that much of the drudgery associated with the upkeep of the Palace and the surrounding grounds continued (Department of Research 1930). Enslaved blacks were hired to work in the gardens and soldiers were ordered to look out for the cattle and horses within the park and to ensure that the fences were in good order (Department of Research 1930:250, 252, 261). As Dunmore’s belongings and enslaved blacks were sold at auction, Henry ordered furnishings for the Palace. As late as September 18, 1779, an account book records payment to John Fenton for “work in ditchg & fencing the Public Pasture” (Department of Research 1930:270).

The Governor’s Palace burned to the ground in December of 1781. At the time, the Palace housed sick and wounded soldiers. Although the cause of the fire remains unknown, a letter penned to George Washington (Department of Research 1930:284) states: “It is generally thought the fire was laid into the lower rooms, where no sick were, by negroes or disaffected persons.”

### **Aftermath: c. 1784-1904**

The College of William & Mary acquired the 364-acre Palace Lands tract through an act of the General Assembly in 1784 (Department of Research 1930:290). On June 15, 1785, and again on January 12, 1786, the College attempted to sell the Palace Lands at auction (Department of Research 1930:290; Gibbs 1980:37). Edmund Randolph owned title to the Palace Lands through an unrecorded transaction by 1786, and he more than likely had purchased the land at the 1786 auction. Randolph mortgaged the tract to Robert Greenhow, a Williamsburg merchant, in August of 1788 (Department of Research 1930:291). The land reverted back to the College in 1790 and was subsequently sold that June to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Smith McCroskey (Gibbs 1980:4-5).



The history of the Palace Lands during the nineteenth century revolves around a succession of doctors, lawyers, and professors (see Table 3.1). Using the Palace Lands Papers (PLP 1815-[1866]1904, M1552), a chain of title can be traced for this century. Robert F. N. Smith administrated the estate of Rev. Dr. McCroskey in 1815 (Certificate of B. Upshur, Clerk, Northampton County Court, January 9, 1815, PLP, M1552). Robert Saunders, Sr., acquired the tract including all buildings at auction from the McCroskey estate for \$1150 an acre in 1816 (Deed, McCroskey estate to Saunders, April 4, 1816, PLP, M1552). Saunders sold one portion of the tract to William Browne some time before 1825. This sale is evidenced by another deed dated for December 17, 1825, between Richard T. Booker and William Browne. The deed concerns lots in Williamsburg which describes the lots as bounded “on the north by the land of William Browne called the Palace land” (Stephenson 1955:24). Saunders evidently sold to Browne about 164 acres of the south portion of the Palace Lands tract. Saunders willed the remaining 200 acres of the tract to his son Robert in 1835. In 1833, Robert Saunders, Jr., was hired as a professor of mathematics at William & Mary and in 1847 he became President pro tem. He also served as the head of the Eastern State Lunatic Asylum prior to the Civil War (Tyler 1915:217).

Robert Saunders, Jr., sold his 200-acre portion of the Palace Lands plus an additional lot referred to as “The Landing Field” to John and Amanda Gregory in 1838 for \$3,000. The deed (Saunders to Gregory, June 20, 1838, PLP, M1552) describes the York County lot as:

“...containing by estimation Two hundred acres be the same more or less, the same being sold in the gross and not by the acre, and the same being all that portion of the tract of land called ‘Palace Land’ together with that piece or parcel of land called ‘The Landing Field’ in said county which was held by Robert Saunders Senior the father of the granter at the time of his death, being all the said part of the ‘Palace Land’ and ‘The Landing Field’ which was not sold by the said Robert Saunders Senior to William Browne.”

John M. Gregory graduated from William & Mary with a law degree in 1830. He served James City County in the House of Delegates until 1841 when he was elected to the Council of State. He became lieutenant governor in 1842 and acting governor in 1843. Gregory was appointed a district attorney and then Circuit Court judge in succeeding years. He retired from public service in 1880 and died in Williamsburg in 1888.

The Gregorys sold the Palace Lands for \$3,300 to Dr. Samuel S. Griffin in July 1841 (Deed, Gregory to Griffin, July 10, 1841, PLP, M1552). Apparently, Dr. Griffin conveyed the Palace Lands parcel to Dr. Robert M. Garrett prior to 1866 as a deed of life interest for a house on the tract was acquired by Lovey T. Jackson from Dr. Garrett in that year (receipt for payment, Jackson to Garrett, May 9, 1866, PLP, M1552). Dr. Garrett was one of the Directors of the Eastern State Asylum and served as President pro tempore of its board during this time. Coincidentally, he also lived in the house on Nicholson Street once occupied by John Coke that is referred to now as the “Coke-Garrett house.”

The documentary evidence suggests that Dr. Garrett purchased 100 additional

acres of the Palace Lands for he owned 300 acres of farm land upon his death in c. 1883. Garrett willed to his son, Dr. Van F. Garrett, the 300 acres save for seven acres which Van was to share with his three sisters. The will describes the property as, “the farm of land attached to my present dwelling house in the City of Williamsburg, containing about three hundred acres of land, be the same, more or less, except about seven acres... as bounded on the North by the C. & O. Railroad, on the East by the street leading to the Captol Landig [sic] Road to Queen's Creek on the Wist [sic] by the lot of land belonging to W. W. Vest, and the jail lot and Dawson's lot and on the South by the Street in front of my dwelling house” (Daniel 1946:19).

In 1904, the Southern Land Company purchased the Palace Lands (now called Garrett Farm) from Dr. Van F. Garrett for \$5,000 (C.B. Chapman to the Peninsula Bank, August 9, 1904, PLP, M1552).

## Concluding Remarks

The Palace Lands site sits on land with a chain of title that has been traced for a period of two centuries. Situated in York County, the acreage was valuable for a number of reasons. It was adjacent to Williamsburg, providing easy access to the capitol city and its market economy. Capitol Landing Road, a major thoroughfare that is still in use, passed through the property allowing for ease of travel and the transport of goods. The road led to Capitol Landing on Queen’s Creek, a busy site of trade during the eighteenth century. Most importantly, the acreage was good for farming and pasturage, and the woodland provided fuel. All of these features of the land were significant in the sense that they each contributed in some way towards generating profit for the free white populace beginning with the landowner and extending to those who lived in town and within the colony. Crops and livestock raised on the land supported one’s household and were also sold or traded at market, or to various townsfolk. Supplies needed to maintain the plantation were undoubtedly purchased in town without difficulty. Goods shipped out could be effortlessly transported from the plantation and the city via Capitol Landing Road to ships at the landing where imported goods and enslaved Africans entered the colony for sale. For much of the Palace Lands’ history, it was enslaved Africans and creoles who provided the bulk of the labor to sustain these profitable enterprises.

A search of the archival records and secondary sources that might reveal information concerning the enslaved Virginians who lived at the Palace Lands site has not been completely exhaustive. There are always more documents to comb over for any one project. Still, what has been uncovered about the Palace Lands site has led to a commonplace and disappointing truth: there are far more records for colonial Virginia’s wealthy whites than there are for its enslaved blacks. The documented history of the site thus far is one that is overwhelming biased towards the men who operated businesses in Williamsburg, planters, and the prominent politicians who governed Virginia. The majority of these men were slaveowners. Very little has been gained from the archives about the enslaved Virginians who lived at the site. Instead, the historical record underscores the extent to which enslaved blacks were viewed as property. The sources cited in this study of the site include probate inventories, a will, a Loyalist Claim of property losses and an advertisement for the auctioning of slaves, all of which confirmed the ownership of people.

Nonetheless, the historical record has contributed to this study in several significant ways. It has assisted in the development of a site chronology, and in establishing who owned the land and to what purpose the land served during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In the end, however, the archaeological investigation of the Palace Lands site was initiated with the understanding that it might prove to be the best, if not only, means to interpret the social and cultural lifeways of the site's inhabitants.





## Chapter 4 – Excavation results and site chronology

### Introduction

Site 44WB90 is located in an area of the CW Visitor Center that, during the time of the excavation, was undeveloped (see Figure 1.2, Chapter 1). The site sits on a terrace that was wooded and covered with dense ground vegetation until it was mechanically stripped during the early stage of the excavation (Figure 4.1). Both natural and cultural processes impacted the site's formation over the years. The site was reclaimed for agriculture and subsequently plowed after abandonment. The heaviest site impacts were due to the expansion of Route 60, and subsequently, the construction of a house and outbuilding adjacent to the site sometime during the twentieth century. Machine push piles of redeposited subsoil overlay plowzone along the site's eastern boundary (in relation to the grid). Displaced subsoil, silt and plowzone layers were also evident along the south edge of the site. At times, these layers were difficult to discern from one another. Moreover, the site's east boundary was bordered by a ravine. The ravine appeared to have been at least partially created by machine grading and earth removal. Any features associated with the early habitation of the site that extended into this area were destroyed during these construction activities. Phase I and II test units in the area impacted by construction turned up both redeposited clay and modern artifacts (Cooper 1997; Pickett 1996), as did our excavation units.



Figure 4.1. Project area during early stage of excavation immediately prior to machine grading of ground vegetation, view to the south, June 1998

Field excavations at site 44WB90 revealed a bonded brick chimney foundation, a rectangular sub-floor pit, a series of ditches, and two fencelines (Figure 4.2). These features were filled with eighteenth-century debris. During all survey and excavations,



Figure 4.2. Palace Lands site, post-excavation, view to the west

archaeologists also recovered artifacts related to a late nineteenth-century domestic occupation, and site disturbance and artifact scatters associated with twentieth-century development, habitation, and recreational use of the area. While the data recovery phase focused on the excavation of site features, two transects were placed extending west and north of the general excavation unit in order to locate additional subsurface features.

The purposes of this chapter are twofold. First, a summary of the excavation (1998-1999) and survey (1999) results is presented. Second, an interpretation of the site's chronology is proposed. Unless otherwise noted, all proveniences are in reference to grid north.

## Soil Profile

The majority of excavation units consisted of a 5-6 cm layer of topsoil that sealed plowzone which overlay sterile subsoil or features (Figure 4.3). The topsoil was a brown (Munsell color 10YR 5/3) sandy clay loam with brick inclusions. The plowzone was a brown (10YR 5/3) sandy clay loam with brick, charcoal, mortar and shell inclusions and variously measured 11 to 56 cm in thickness.

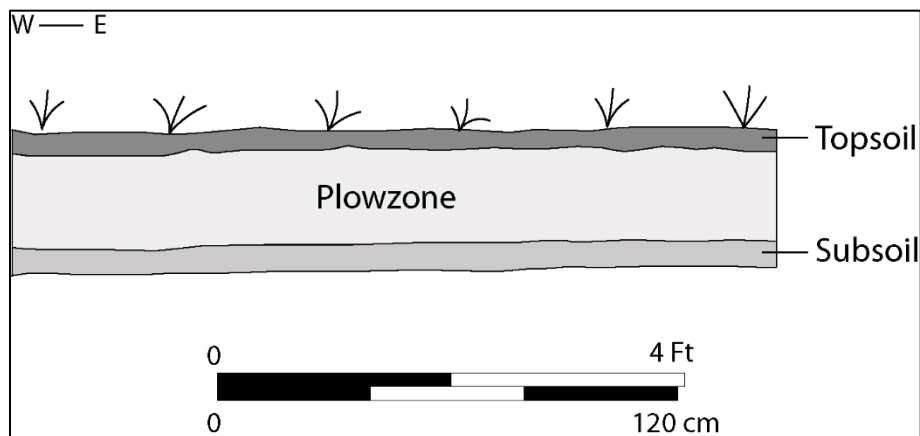


Figure 4.3. Context 2, 1006N/1005E, north profile

## Excavation Units

The excavated portion of the Palace Lands site, referred to below as the general excavation unit, encompassed an area that measured approximately 20 × 32 m (640 sq m). A block excavation of 2 × 2 m units was initiated in the area of the chimney foundation located during Phase II testing. Archaeologists dug a total of 75 2 × 2 m and two 1 × 2 m excavation units (Appendix G and Figure 4.4; DAACS 2006a). The plowzone, redeposited subsoil, and silt layers were removed by shovel-shaving to subsoil. In addition, three areas were machine graded down to the bottom of the plowzone and shovel-shaved to subsoil (see Figure 4.4). The test units will be discussed in a separate section below.



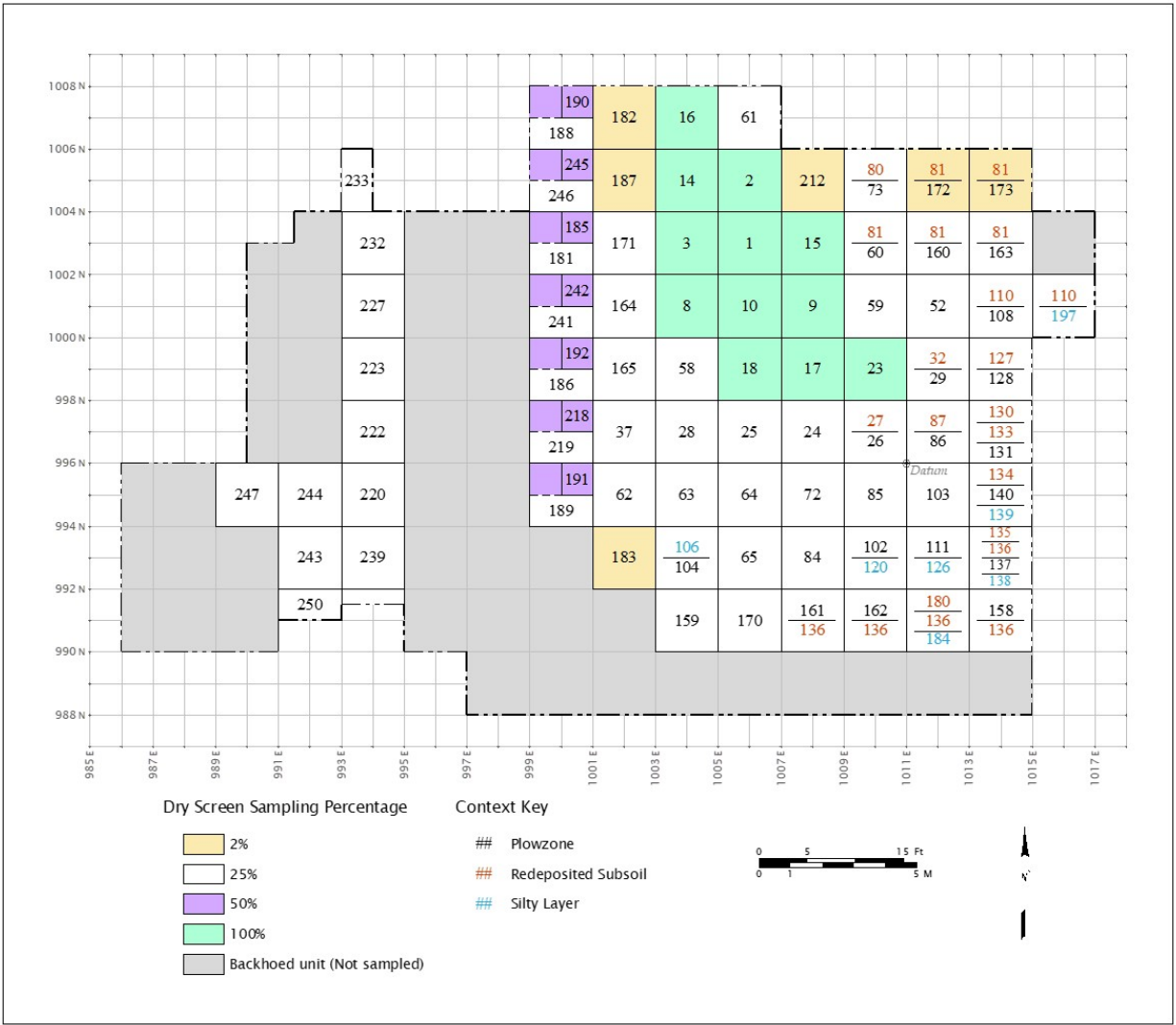


Figure 4.4. Block excavation plan showing areas of plowzone, redeposited subsoil, and silt, Palace Lands site

Most of the finds retrieved from plowzone contexts are eighteenth-century artifacts, including bottle glass, ceramics, and assorted architectural debris, although an assortment of both nineteenth- and twentieth-century artifacts were also recovered.

Layers of redeposited subsoil and/or silt were discovered in 23 excavation units (see Figure 4.4 and Appendix G). These layers were limited to the east and south areas of the general excavation unit. The redeposited subsoil was a yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) sticky clay that in most instances sealed plowzone contexts (Figure 4.5). In other cases (within the 2 × 2 m units at 992N/1011E, 994N/1009E and 1002N/1015E) there was no evidence of plowzone and only redeposited clay and/or silt layers were present (see Figure 4.5). The deepest deposit of the redeposited subsoil layer (context 81) occurred in the northeast corner of the site (see Figure 4.4) and extended to a depth of 60 cm below the topsoil. A 16m test trench was excavated down to subsoil through context 81 (at 1006N/1011E) to determine the nature of the deposit which extended across five 2 × 2 m units. Late twentieth-century debris was

scattered throughout the redeposited subsoil wherever it was identified. The artifacts retrieved included mouth-blown and machine-made bottle glass, ceramics, nails, and unidentified iron hardware.

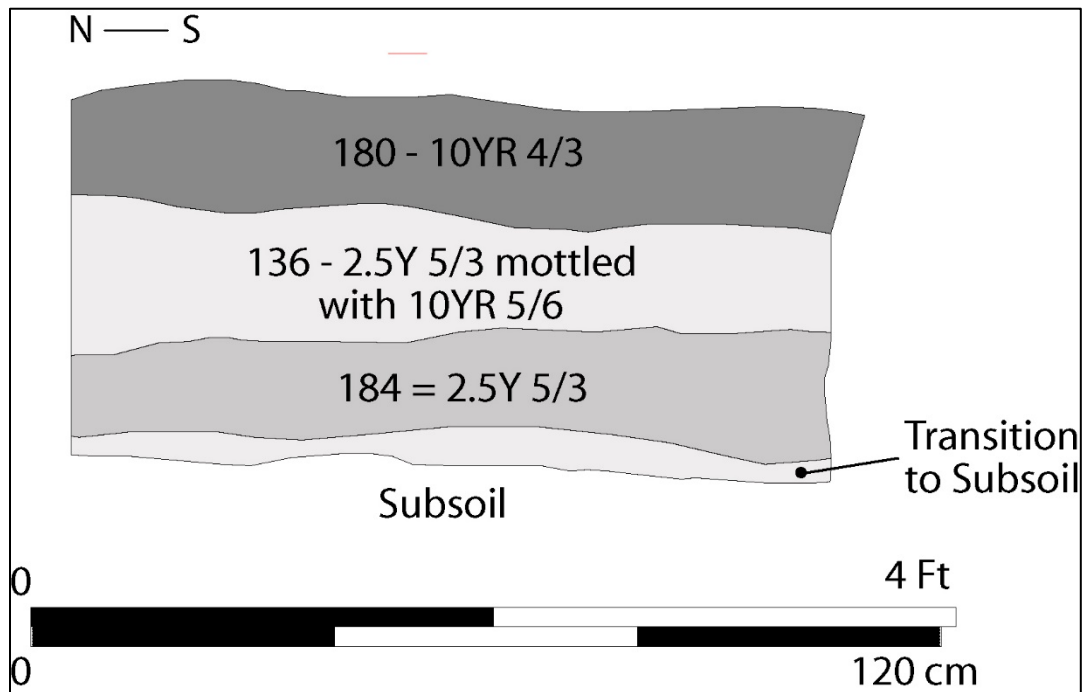


Figure 4.5. Contexts 180 and 136 (modern, redeposited subsoil), and context 184 (silt layer), 992N/1011E, northwest quadrant of unit, east profile

Silt layers (see Figure 4.5) were identified in seven  $2 \times 2$  m units, although portions of it extended into contiguous units. The silt was mainly concentrated in the southeast corner of the excavation (see Figure 4.4). It was a light olive brown (2.5Y 5/3) silty clay with rust-colored streaks that in most cases was sealed by plowzone. Although this would suggest that silting occurred sometime prior to plowing, the most likely interpretation of the stratigraphic sequence is that earth-moving equipment displaced layers and moved soil, including silt, from elsewhere onto the site. In some instances it was difficult to discern plowzone from silt layers. There were relatively few artifacts ( $n=87$ ) recovered from silt layers and these include window glass, nails, wine bottle glass and ceramics (DAACS 2006b). The 18 ceramic sherds include eighteenth-century wares ( $n=6$ ) and ironstone cup sherds ( $n=12$ ). The latter were discovered in one  $2 \times 2$  m unit (context 184).

## Recovery Methods

Every plowzone context was sampled for dryscreening through  $1/4$ -inch mesh (see Figure 4.4 and Appendix G). In units that were not 100-percent sampled, artifacts were also retrieved by hand and bagged. The approach to sampling shifted over the two field seasons in response to the more urgent need to focus on feature excavations, particularly during the second season. The team dryscreened 100 percent of the soil from the initial 12  $2 \times 2$  m units excavated that sealed or were



adjacent to the features that defined the dwelling (F01, F02 and F03). Two 1 x 2 m units were also 100-percent sampled for dryscreening (contexts 233 and 250). Subsequently, 25-percent samples were shovelled out and dryscreened from 49 excavation units. Due to time constraints, and the presence of modern layers in two units (contexts 172 and 173), excavators collected only 2-percent dryscreen samples from the northwest quadrant of six units.

A 50-percent sample was dryscreened from each of the seven 2 x 2 m units (contexts 188, 246, 181, 241, 186, 219, 189) located along transect 999E (see Figure 4.4). The samples were collected from each 2 x 2 m unit by first taking a 25-percent sample from the northeast corner of the unit and assigning a separate context number for this sample (contexts 190, 245, 185, 242, 192, 218, 191; see Figure 4.4). The remaining 25-percent sample was then removed from the northwest corner of the unit. The recovery method shifted for the units along this transect in order to slow the pace of excavation in anticipation of the discovery of features underlying them. One ditch, F06, and its associated fenceline extended into the east sidewalls of two units (contexts 189 and 219), and the sub-floor pit (F01) was located two meters to the east of the transect. Moreover, concentrations of eighteenth-century artifacts in adjoining units and the absence of site disturbance (in the form of redeposited subsoil) all indicated that if early features were to be found, it would be in this area of the site. We assigned separate context numbers to the 25-percent dryscreen samples from the northeast quadrant of these units in order to facilitate any future analyses of the site's plowzone artifacts. While F06 and two postholes (F28, F30) were uncovered, no other features were found within this transect.

Since the redeposited subsoil and silt were modern layers, where these layers appeared in 11 of the 23 units they were not dryscreened (see Figure 4.4 and Appendix G). Instead, the layers were shovelled out and when artifacts were encountered these were bagged.

## Test Transects

During the 1999 field season, the decision was made to conduct a limited survey of areas north and west of the general excavation unit. The objective was to locate subsurface features associated with the eighteenth-century occupation. These areas were chosen for further investigation since the Phase II survey revealed eighteenth-century artifact scatters roughly ten meters north of the sub-floor pit and to the west of the excavation. A crew excavated three 1 x 1 m test units extending north at 999E from the general excavation unit (Figure 4.5). One more unit was placed at 1028N/998E since a tree impeded testing at 1028N/999E. Six additional 1 x 1 m test units were placed along a west transect at 1008N (see Figure 4.5). The test units were placed at five-meter intervals. The soils from all ten units were removed by shovel and 100 percent of the soil was dryscreened. Phytolith samples were collected from each unit (see Chapter 2 and Appendix C).

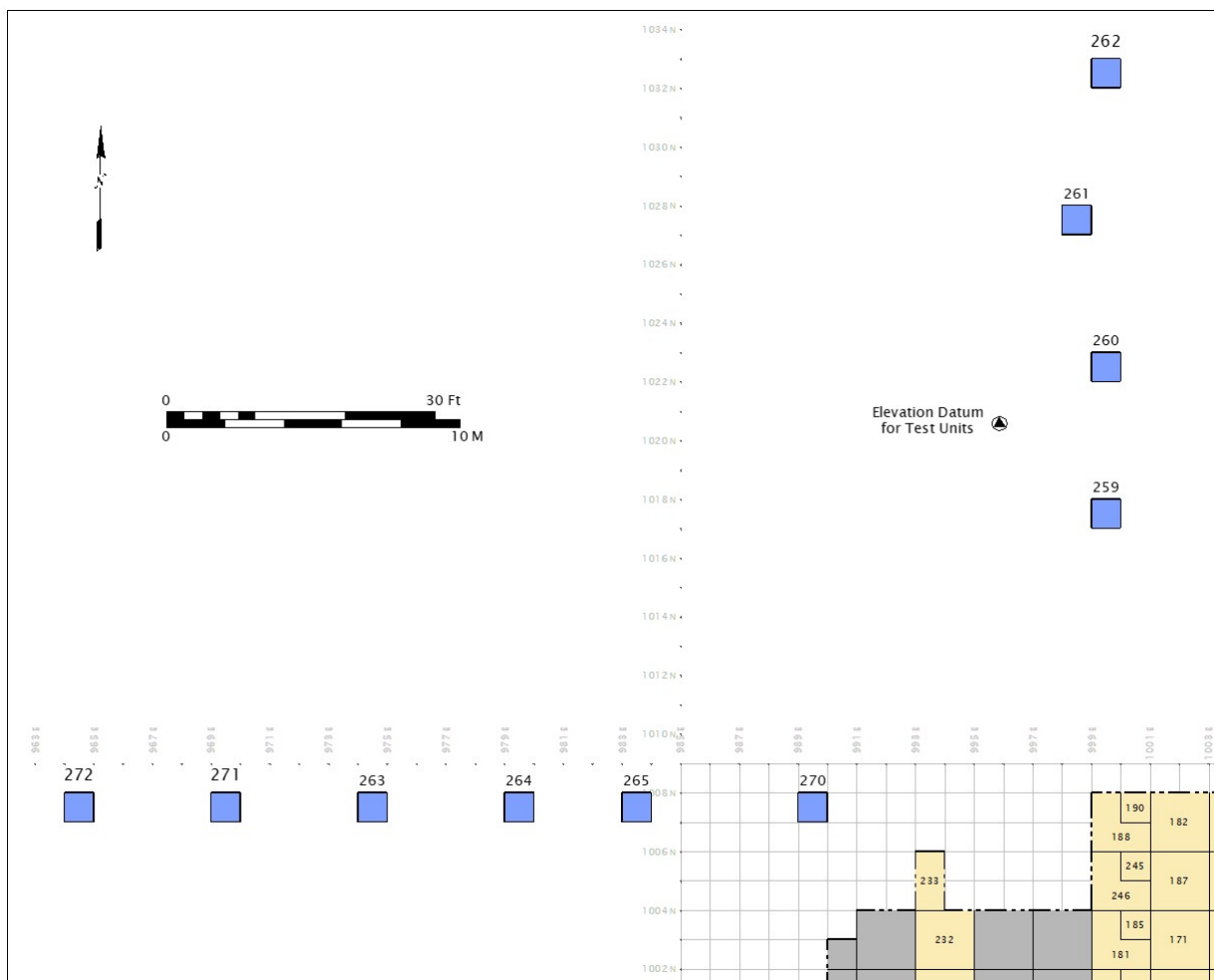


Figure 4.6. Plan of 1999 test units, Palace Lands site

Excavators did not locate any subsurface features within the test units. The stratigraphic sequence within the four north test units (contexts 259-262) was similar to that of most of the excavation units, with topsoil sealing plowzone which overlay subsoil. The plowzone was shallower, however, and averaged 12.5 cm in thickness. The assemblage (n=170) from the north test units includes nineteenth- to twentieth-century artifacts (ironstone ceramics and machine-made bottle glass) and eighteenth-century finds (DAACS 2006b). In the west test units (contexts 263-265 and 270-272) there was evidence of an eighteenth-century ravine at 1008N/974E (context 263; see Figure 4.6) and 1008N/969E (context 271). What was referred to as the plowzone stratum long the western transect was markedly deeper than anywhere else on the site, indicating instead that it was ravine fill. At 1008N/974E, subsoil was finally exposed 96 cm below the top of the unit (see Figure 4.6). The fill in these six units averaged 55.7 cm in thickness. Moreover, the 429 artifacts recovered from this transect all date to the mid-eighteenth century (DAACS 2006b). This evidence suggests that a colonial-era ravine once existed in this area that eventually filled in due to erosion. Site inhabitants likely used the ravine to dump refuse. The soil profiles within the Phase II tests in this area support this observation (Cooper 1997). In five of the test units, excavators discovered a layer that was highly similar in soil

color and texture to what was later identified as ravine fill. This stratum was similarly quite deep and extended from 50 to 79 cm from the top of the units to subsoil and contained only eighteenth-century materials.

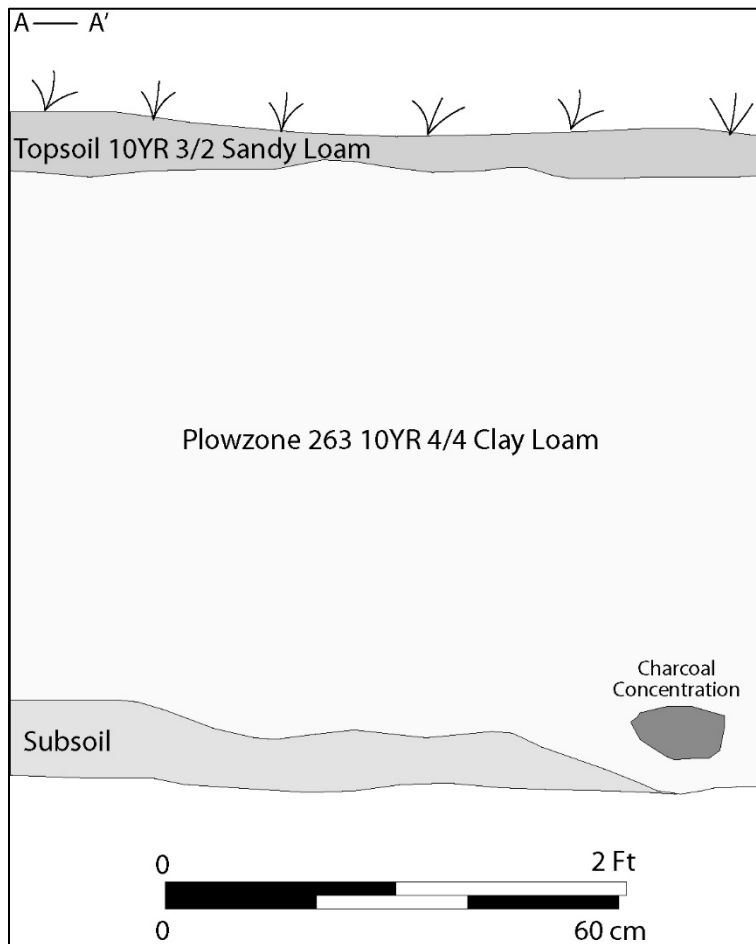


Figure 4.7. Context 263, 1008N/974E, south profile

## Features

The features associated with the Palace Lands site included a brick chimney foundation, a rectangular sub-floor pit, a series of three ditches, and two fencelines defined by postholes and postmolds (Figure 4.7 and Table 4.1; DAACS 2006a). All of the features were hand trowelled, except for five postholes (F22, F32, F34, F35 and F36) that were shovelled out at the end of the 1999 field season. Unless otherwise indicated in the discussion below or in Appendix A, the fills from the four major features (F01 and F04-F06) were dryscreened through 1/4-inch mesh (see “Field Methods and Data Recovery”, Chapter 2). The sampling protocols for soil, phytolith/pollen and flotation samples are discussed in Chapter 2 (see also Appendices B, C and D).

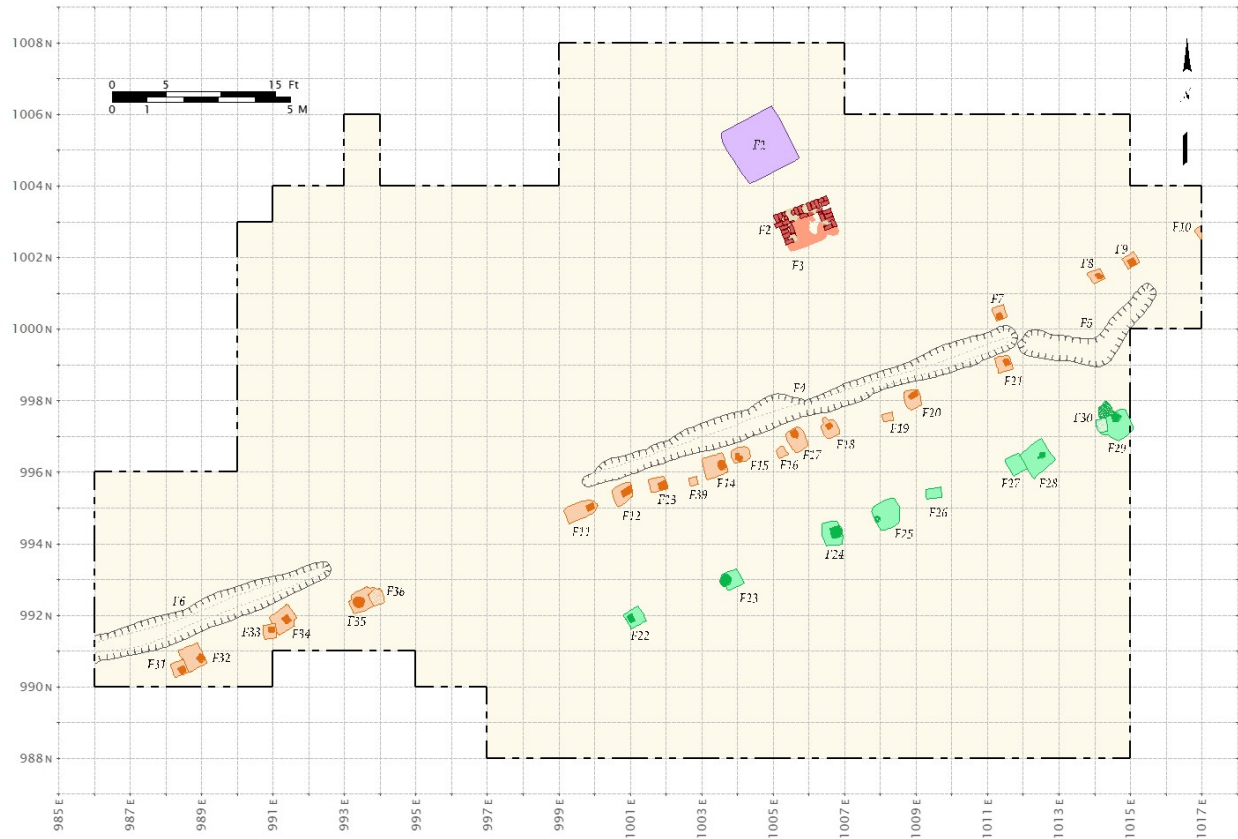


Figure 4.8. Plan of features (post excavation), Palace Lands site

Table 4.1  
**Summary of Features, Palace Lands Site**

Feature Description	Feature No.
Sub-floor pit/root cellar	F01
Brick chimney foundation	F02
Builder's trench for chimney	F03
Ditch	F04, F05, F06
North fence	F07-F21, F31-F36, F39
South fence	F22-F30
Animal burrow	F47, and contexts 123/124
Tree hole	F43, F46, F48, F49, F50
Unidentified feature	F37, F38, F40-F42, F44, F45, F51-F56

Feature elevations are listed in Appendix H. The elevation datum was located at grid point 996N/1011E (datum height = -0.618 m below the top of subsoil at the instrument). Only the top elevation was recorded for some features. These include the unexcavated chimney foundation (F02), an unexcavated posthole (F9), and three additional postholes (F13, F21, F22). Since more than one elevation was taken at the tops and bottoms for each of the major features (F01, F04, F05 and F06), the measurements for 'depth below grade' referred to in the discussion below are the deepest elevation recorded for a particular feature.

Stratigraphic Group (SG) designations are used below in reference to feature deposits. A Stratigraphic Group is defined by DAACS (2006c) as: “A group of separately excavated contexts that the original excavators of a site recognized were part of a single larger deposit. Stratigraphic groups are numbered uniquely within sites and carry a SG-prefix.”

### **F01: Sub-floor pit**

Feature 1 was a sub-floor pit, or root cellar, located adjacent to the remains of the chimney foundation (F03; Figure 4.8). It was rectangular in plan (Figure 4.9) and measured 173 m (5.68 ft) in length (north-south) and 175 m (5.74 ft) in width, and 76.5 cm (2.5 ft) in depth below grade. In profile, the feature exhibited straight sides and a flat bottom (Figure 4.10). There were four deposits within F01 (Table 4.2). The most recent deposit of fill, SG01 (context 12), was a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) sandy clay loam with bone, charcoal, mortar, shell, brick and marl inclusions. This deposit sealed SG02 (contexts 50 and 129), a dark brown (10YR 3/3) silt loam fill with bone, brick, and marl inclusions that also had an abundance of oyster shells and charcoal fragments. It sealed SG03 (context 53), a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) sandy loam with bone, charcoal, brick, mortar and shell inclusions and high concentrations of ash. The earliest deposit of fill within F01 was SG04 (context 54), a brown (10YR 5/3) silty clay loam with bone, coal, charcoal, brick, mortar, shell, and marl inclusions. There was evidence of wood lining at the bottom of the cellar in the form of a wood board.

Excavators dryscreened fill from the north half of SG01 (context 12), and wetscreened a 20-liter sample. Very few artifacts were retrieved from dryscreening, and none were recovered from the wetscreen samples, so the south half of the deposit was carefully trowelled and the artifacts retrieved by hand. Flotation samples were collected from each of the deposits (see Appendix D), and the remainder of the fills from F01 (contexts 50, 129, 53 and 54) were wetscreened. We recovered a total of 2,891 finds (including oyster shells and charcoal fragments) from F01 (DAACS 2006b). The assemblage includes colonowares, glass and copper alloy beads, three finger rings, a bone enema syringe, fan blade fragments, doll fragments, thimbles and scissors.





Figure 4.9. Features 1 (sub-floor pit) and 2 (chimney foundation), view to the northwest

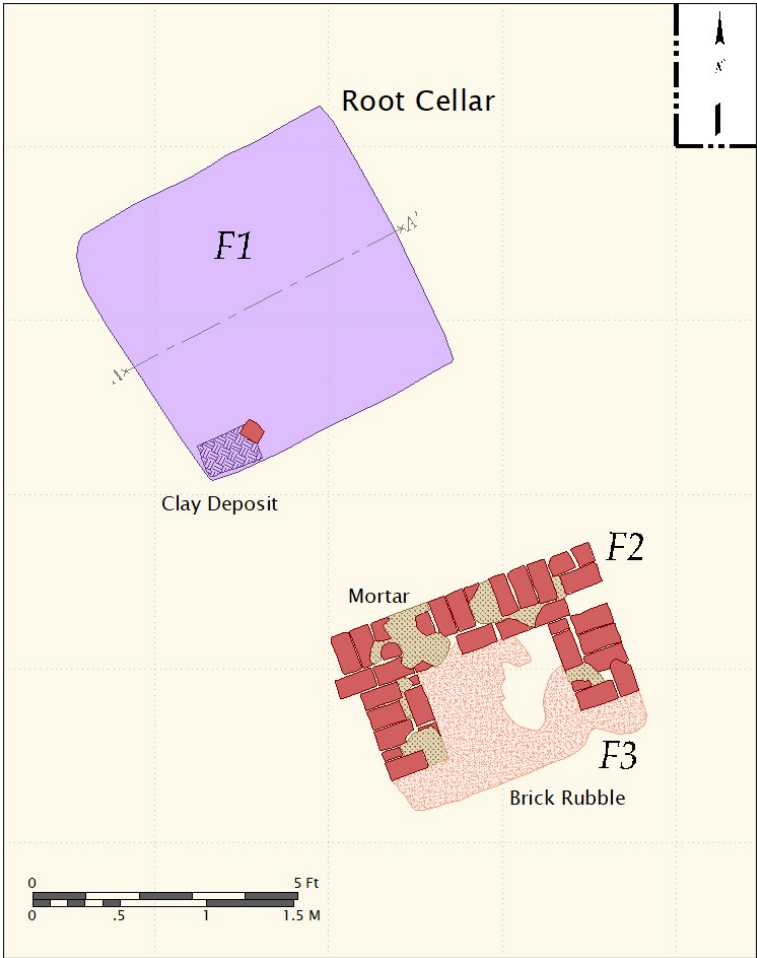


Figure 4.10. Plan of Features 1 and 2

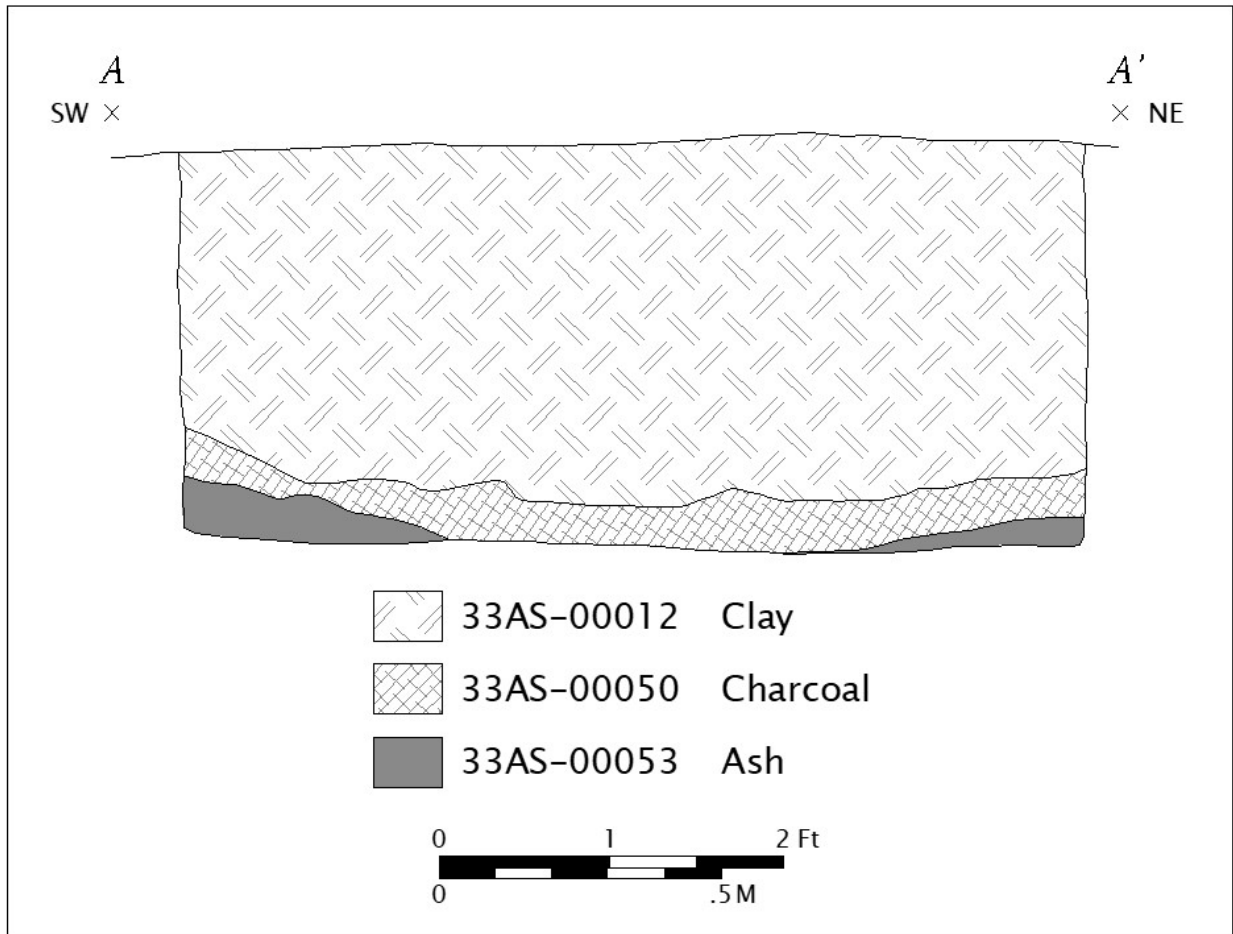


Figure 4.11. Feature 1 (F01), sub-floor pit, north profile

Table 4.2  
**Contexts and Stratigraphic Groups, Feature 1 (F01)**

Context No.	Stratigraphic Group
12	SG01
50 = 129	SG02
53	SG03
54	SG04
13	Feature cut

## F02 and F03: Brick Chimney Foundation and Builder's Trench

A mortared brick chimney foundation (F02) was the only structural remains of a building identified at the site (Figure 4.12). There were two courses of brick (context 4; see Figure 4.11) remaining. The bottom course was largely intact, while the top course exhibited evidence of robbing and plow disturbance. Shell mortar was used in the construction of F02, and large chunks of mortar and brick bats were discovered in the firebox and along the outside of the west chimney cheek. The feature measured 1.69 m (5.54 ft) east-west and 0.87 m (2.86 ft) north-south.

The builder's trench for F02 was F03 (context 5 was assigned to the trench fill). The artifacts recovered from trowelling on top of F03 to better define it includes shell mortar fragments, nails, and oyster shell fragments (DAACS 2006b). We did not excavate this feature.



Figure 4.12. Feature 2 (F02), brick chimney foundation, view to the north

## F04: Ditch

Feature 4 was one of three ditches that extended east-west across the site (see Figure 4.8). It measured 12.72 m (41.73 ft) in length and varied in width from 30 to 84 cm (0.98 to 2.76 ft). Feature 4 had an elevation of 0.225 m (0.74 ft) in depth below grade. The ditch was divided into sections for excavation (A-A' through H-H'; Figure 4.13). Excavators defined eight deposits of fill (SG05-SG09, SG11, SG13 and SG15), although only one deposit (SG07) extended across the entirety of the ditch (Table 4.3).

There were two discrete deposits resting on top of the ditch in different areas. One deposit, SG05 (context 30), was comprised mainly of whole oyster shells. The second, SG06 (contexts 40 and 276), was defined exclusively by architectural debris including shell mortar, brick fragments and window glass. Deposits SG05 and SG06 sealed SG07 (contexts 19, 204-207, 277, 278 and 318), a sandy clay loam (dark yellowish brown; 10YR 4/4) with bone, charcoal, brick and mortar inclusions. Since

SG07 extended across the length of the ditch, the deposit sealed a number of other fills. It overlay SG08 (contexts 47, 210, 216, and 282), a very thin lens of light brownish gray (2.5Y 6/2) silt that measured < 1 cm to 2 cm in thickness. Only two artifacts were recovered from SG08: one bottle glass fragment, and one nail. Contexts associated with SG07 also sealed SG09 (contexts 132, 213 and 221), a mottled yellowish red (5YR 4/6) and olive (5Y 4/4) silty clay loam with bone, charcoal and brick inclusions. Strata SG07, SG08 and SG09 sealed SG11 (contexts 48, 49, 211, 214, 217, 234 and 279). Stratum SG11 extended to subsoil, and was a silty clay loam that varied in mottling across the ditch. Portions of it (contexts 48, 49 and 279) were brown (10YR 5/3 and 6/3) to dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) with charcoal, brick, shell and mortar inclusions. The remaining portions (contexts 211, 214, 217 and 234) were dark yellowish brown (10YR 4/4) and yellowish brown (10YR 5/6 and 5/8) mottled clay with brick, bone, charcoal and shell inclusions. The clay mottling was the result of erosion of the ditch's sidewalls over time. Where the ditch terminated to the west, SG07 sealed SG13 (context 295), a brown (10YR 4/3) clay-mottled fill with bone, brick and shell inclusions. This deposit sealed subsoil. To the east, SG11 sealed SG15 (context 298), a silty clay loam (yellowish brown; 10YR 5/6) with brick, bone, charcoal and shell inclusions that extended to subsoil.

All of the fill from F04 was either dryscreened or wet-screened (see Appendix A), and flotation samples were taken from each deposit (see Appendix D). Excavators recovered a total of 1,639 finds from this feature, including 143 oyster shells (DAACS 2006b). The artifact assemblage includes lead shot, a fragment of writing slate, ceramics, tobacco pipes, mirror glass, and pharmaceutical bottle fragments. An American stoneware sherd recovered from context 295 provides a feature TPQ of 1787.

Table 4.3  
**Contexts and Stratigraphic Groups, Feature 4 (F04)**

Context No.	Stratigraphic Group
30	SG05
40 = 276	SG06
19 = 204 = 205 = 206 = 207 = 277 = 278 = 318	SG07
47 = 210 = 216 = 282	SG08
132 = 213 = 221	SG09
48 = 49 = 211 = 214 = 217 = 234 = 279	SG11
295	SG13
298	SG15
20	Feature cut



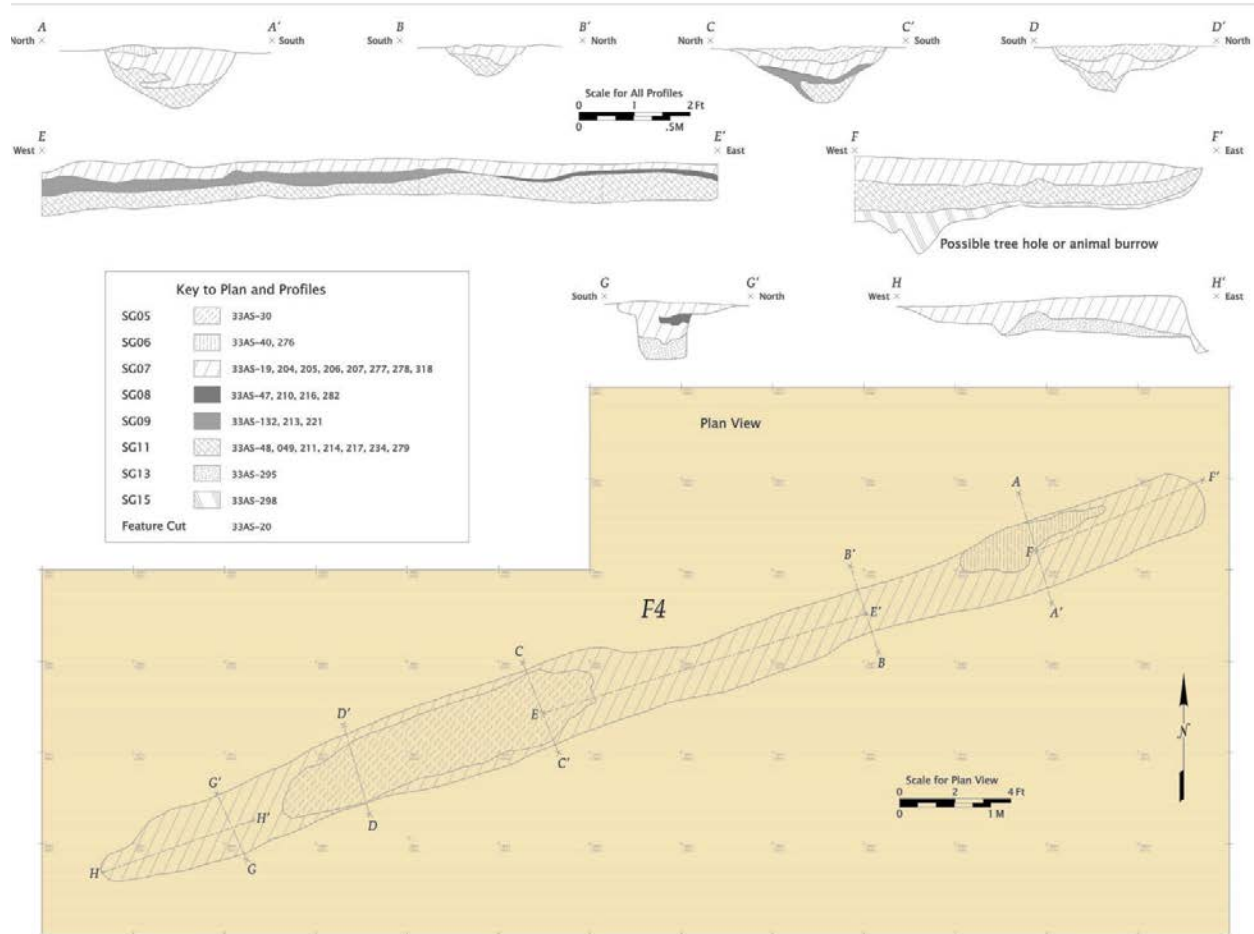


Figure 4.13. Plan and profiles of Feature 4 (F04)

## F05: Ditch

Feature 5 (Figure 4.14) was an L-shaped ditch that abutted F04 at its east end (see Figure 4.8). It measured 3.83 m (12.57 ft) across, and had an elevation of 25.8 cm (0.85 ft) in depth below grade. In profile, the north and south walls sloped down to a round-based bottom (see Figure 4.14). Excavators defined four deposits of fill in F05 (Table 4.4). The most recent deposit, SG16 (contexts 51 and 310), was a brown (10YR 4/3) silt loam with bone, brick and shell inclusions. This stratum sealed SG17 (contexts 274 and 319), a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) sandy clay loam with bone, charcoal, brick and shell inclusions. In the west half of the ditch, excavators uncovered SG18 (context 275), a brown (10YR 4/3) silt loam deposit with heavy concentrations of ash and charcoal that also had bone, charcoal, brick and shell inclusions. Given the presence of ash and charcoal, excavators first wetscreened 20 liters of fill, and upon finding fish bone and scales, collected the remainder of the fill for flotation. Deposit SG18 sealed SG19 (context 296), a yellowish brown (10YR 5/6) silty clay fill with a relatively high concentration of nails and oyster shells. Neither of these two deposits, SG18 and SG19, extended across F05 and these were not evident where the feature was cross-sectioned for a profile drawing.

Excavators recovered 424 finds from F05 (including 38 oyster shells and 10 charred seeds; DAACS 2006b). The artifact assemblage includes wine bottle and mirror glass, one gunflint, ceramics, iron hinge fragments, and tobacco pipe fragments. The feature TPQ of 1762 was based on creamware sherds.

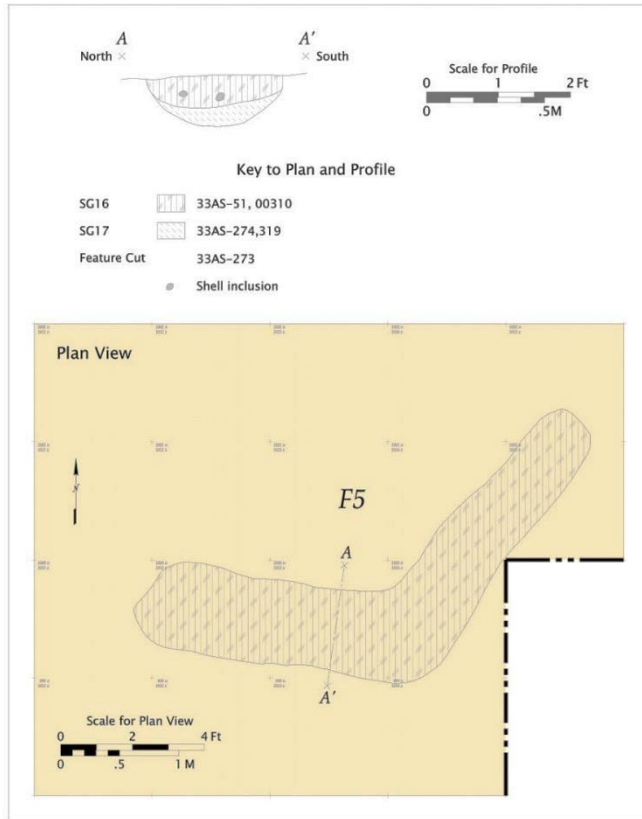


Figure 4.14. Plan and profile of Feature 5 (F05)

Table 4.4  
Contexts and Stratigraphic Groups, Feature 5 (F05)

Context No.	Stratigraphic Group
<b>51 = 310</b>	<b>SG16</b>
<b>274 = 319</b>	<b>SG17</b>
<b>275</b>	<b>SG18</b>
<b>296</b>	<b>SG19</b>
<b>273</b>	<b>Feature cut</b>

## F06: Ditch

Feature 6 was the last of the three ditches discovered at the site (see Figure 4.8). Since it was located at the end of the final field season, time constraints prevented the crew from excavating the plowzone that covered the remainder of the ditch. The portion of the ditch that was revealed measured 7.17 meters (23.52 ft) in length and 0.86 m (2.82 ft) in width (Figure 4.15). The deepest elevation taken from the bottom of this feature measured 28.6 cm (0.94 ft) below grade.

There were three deposits within F06 (Table 4.5). The most recent deposit, SG20 (contexts 248, 299 and 300-304) consisted of a brown (10YR 4/3) sandy clay loam with bone, charcoal, brick and shell inclusions. A relatively high number of oyster shell fragments was recovered from this fill. This deposit sealed SG21 (contexts 311-316 and 320), a brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) sandy clay loam with brick, charcoal and shell inclusions. The earliest stratum, SG22 (contexts 317 and 325), was a relatively thin (3-6 cm) deposit with no artifacts. This deposit was a brownish yellow (10YR 6/6) sandy clay loam with some charcoal inclusions. Unlike the two most recent deposits, SG22 was only found in a two-meter section of F06 between the D'-D and F'-F cross sections.

All of the fill from F06 was dryscreened, and flotation samples were collected from each discrete deposit (see Appendix D). We recovered 1,354 finds from F06, including 142 oyster shells (DAACS 2006b). The assemblage includes pharmaceutical and wine bottle glass, ceramics, window glass, and nails. Creamware sherds from the feature provide a TPQ of 1762.

Table 4.5  
**Contexts and Stratigraphic Groups, Feature 6 (F06)**

<b>Context No.</b>	<b>Stratigraphic Group</b>
<b>248 = 299 = 300 = 301 = 302 = 303 = 304</b>	<b>SG20</b>
<b>311 = 312 = 313 = 314 = 315 = 316 = 320</b>	<b>SG21</b>
<b>317 = 325</b>	<b>SG22</b>
<b>249</b>	<b>Feature cut</b>

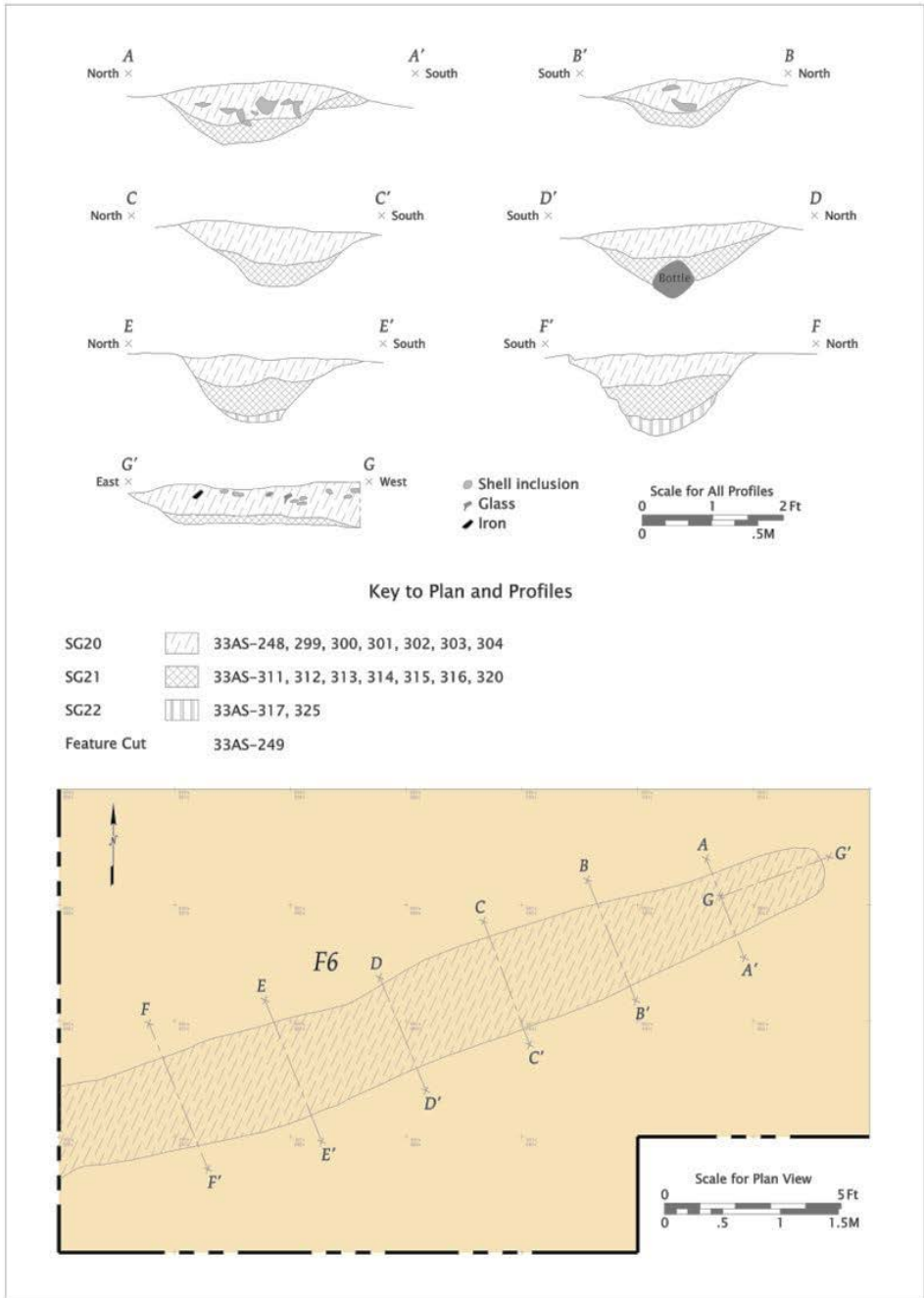


Figure 4.15. Plan and profiles of Feature 6 (F06)



## North Fence: F07-F21 and F31-F36

A post-and-rail fence defined by 22 postholes and postmolds once ran parallel to the ditch segments (see Figure 4.8; Appendix I). Of the 19 postholes, only two did not have postmolds. The first, F36, intruded F35 and was dug for a repair post. The second, F10, was not excavated as it was still partially sealed by redeposited subsoil at the end of the field season. In addition to the postholes, there were three postmolds along the fenceline: F16, F19 and F39. The fenceline clearly extended further to the west and east (see Figure 4.8). The section of the fenceline that was excavated measured 30.24 m (99.21 ft) in length from F31 to F10.

The features along this fenceline were generally rectangular in plan with a wider variation in profiles ranging from irregular to a flat-based “U” shape. The measurements of these features varied in length and width. The smallest feature (F16) was 24 × 19 cm (0.79 × 0.62 ft), and the largest feature (F35) measured 99 × 62 cm (3.25 × 2.3 ft). Five of the features exhibited evidence of fence repairs. Three postholes, F31, F33 and F36 each cut earlier postholes, and two others (F15 and F18) had two postmolds. The postholes and postmolds were set at irregular intervals which may indicate that there were more repair posts along the fence in addition to the five noted above. The postmolds F16, F19 and F39 were not in alignment with, and were much shallower than, the postmolds found within postholes. This suggests that these posts were added later to brace the fence. The elevations for the postholes and postmolds are provided in Appendix H.

Two of the 22 features, F9 and F10, were not excavated. Of the remaining 20, all but six of the features (F08, F12, F31, F32, F34 and F36) produced artifacts (see Appendix I for number of artifacts and TPQs). The assemblage (n=278) includes ceramics, nails, window and bottle glass, and tobacco pipe fragments (DAACS 2006b). A discussion of the feature TPQs follows in the section below regarding the site’s chronology.

## South Fence: F22-F30

Approximately three meters to the south of F06 we identified another fenceline that ran parallel to the series of ditches and the north fence. This former post-and-rail fence was defined by nine postholes (Appendix J; see Figure 4.8). As with the north fence, it is probable that this fence also extended further west and east, but no further investigations of the fenceline were conducted. The section of the fenceline that was revealed measured 14.65 m (48.06 ft) in length from F22 to F29 (see Figure 4.8).

Each of the postholes was rectangular in plan, and they varied in size. The smallest of these (F27) measured 33 × 40 cm (1.08 × 1.31 ft), and the largest posthole (F28) measured 81 × 77 cm (2.66 × 2.53 ft). The elevations for each feature are recorded in Table 4.3. Two of the postholes were dug for repair posts: F27 cut F28, and F30 cut F29 (see Figure 4.8).

Excavators retrieved artifacts from all but two (F27 and F29) of the nine postholes (see Appendix J). The assemblage (n=112) includes a glass jewel inset for

cufflinks, ceramics, drinking and wine bottle glass fragments, nails, and window glass (DAACS 2006b).

### Miscellaneous Features

There were 20 miscellaneous features identified at the site, including two animal burrows, five treeholes, and 13 unidentified features (see Table 4.1 and Appendix K). Excavators recovered four artifacts from one treehole (F43), including a tin-enameled ware sherd and a nail, and three brick fragments from an animal burrow (F47; DAACS 2006b).

### Interpretation of the Palace Lands Site Chronology

Based upon the existing evidence the site features and artifacts recovered from feature contexts are associated mainly with a single dwelling and its occupation dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In order to determine a site mean ceramic date (MCD), ceramics (vessels and non-vesselized sherds) recovered exclusively from feature contexts were used for the ceramic seriation analysis. The result was a site MCD of 1742 (Table 4.6). The seriation results, however, were skewed towards an earlier date due to the inclusion of Delftware and tin-enameled wares which had a long period of manufacture (1600-1802); together, they represented 43 percent of the ceramics recovered from feature contexts (n=420). Thus, another approach to dating the site was also employed. The manufacture periods of ceramic ware types provided by DAACS (2007) were used to estimate the site occupation span. The result suggested that the site was inhabited from the late 1740s to 1775 (Figure 4.16) which coincides with the years that Coke's plantation was in operation. With this in mind, and the other evidence at hand, the site's history begins to unfold. There are three site phases that can be discerned (Table 4.7). While the following interpretation is in agreement with the DAACS (2006d) site chronology with regard to the time spans assigned to the first two phases, it proposes a later date for the third phase.

Table 4.6  
**Ceramic Seriation, Feature Contexts, Palace Lands Site**

Ware Type	Decorative Technique	Date Range	Median Date	N sherds	N vessels	Total	Product (MD*N)
<i>COARSE EARTHENWARE</i>							
Buckley		1720-1775	1748	4	5	9	15732
Colonoware		1650-1830	1740	3	6	9	15660
North Midlands/Staffordshire slipware		1670-1795	1733	6	2	8	13864
Red-bodied slipware/Redware		1700-1900	1800	2	1	3	5400
Staffordshire mottled glaze		1680-1780	1730	0	1	1	1730
<i>PORCELAIN</i>							
Chinese porcelain		1660-1860	1760	5	1	6	10560
Chinese porcelain	painted, under free hand purple-blue	1660-1860	1760	6	3	9	15840
Chinese porcelain	painted, under free hand yellow-red	1660-1860	1760	0	1	1	1760
Chinese porcelain	painted, over free hand, unidentifiable	1660-1810	1735	0	1	1	1735
Chinese porcelain	painted, over free hand yellow-red, yellow	1660-1810	1735	0	2	2	3470
English soft paste		1745-1795	1770	1	2	3	5310
<i>REFINED EARTHENWARE</i>							
Creamware		1762-1820	1791	101	25	126	225666
Delftware, Dutch/British		1600-1802	1701	78	20	98	166698
Jackfield		1740-1790	1765	0	1	1	1765
Pearlware		1775-1830	1803	2	0	2	3606
Tin-enameled	unidentifiable	1600-1802	1701	84	0	84	142884
Whieldon-type ware		1740-1775	1758	4	3	7	12306
<i>STONEWARE</i>							
American stoneware	painted, under free hand purple-blue	1787-1920	1853	1	1	2	3706
Fulham type		1671-1775	1723	5	2	7	12061
German stoneware		1620-1775	1697	1	0	1	1697
Westerwald/Rhenish		1650-1775	1713	1	3	4	6852
White saltglazed stoneware		1720-1805	1763	22	7	29	51127
White saltglazed stoneware	engine turned, no applied color	1720-1805	1763	1	0	1	1763
White saltglazed stoneware	Moulded	1720-1805	1763	0	3	3	5289
White saltglazed stoneware	scratch/fill, purple blue	1744-1775	1760	0	1	1	1760
White saltglazed stoneware	scratch/fill, debased	1765-1790	1780	1	1	2	3560
<b>Totals</b>				<b>328</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>731801</b>
<b>MEAN CERAMIC DATE</b>		<b>1742.383333</b>					

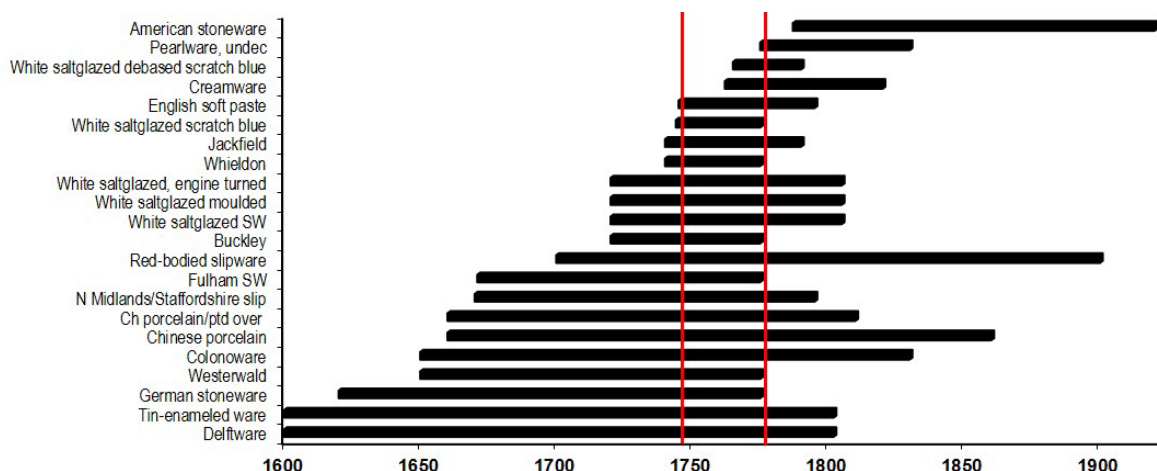


Figure 4.16. Periods of manufacture for ceramic ware types recovered from feature contexts

Table 4.7  
Site Phases, Palace Lands Site

Phase	Date	Occupants	Related Site Features
<b>I</b>	c. 1747-1769	Enslaved Virginians owned by John Coke, and then his wife, Sarah.	<b>All site features.</b>
<b>II</b>	Late-eighteenth century to early-nineteenth century	Tenants or enslaved blacks associated with Samuel Smith McCroskey. These individuals lived in the site's vicinity.	<b>Subfloor pit (F01), a ditch (F04), and north and south fences</b>
<b>III</b>	<b>Mid-nineteenth century to twentieth century</b>	<b>Farm tenants who probably leased the land from one or more of the following: Robert M. Garrett, Van F. Garrett, and the Southern Land Company. Tenants lived in the area of the site.</b>	<b>N/A</b>

A second occupation (Phase II) took place during the late eighteenth century to early nineteenth century. The individuals who lived in the site's vicinity continued to use the fences and repairs to both may be attributable to this group. A relatively small amount of this household's refuse made its way not only into several features along both fencelines, but also F04, a ditch (TPQ 1787; Table 4.8). The homestead associated with Phase II was abandoned after 1787. At least one other household lived near the site during Phase III. Artifacts from the plowzone associated with this phase date from the mid-nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century. By this period, the site was reclaimed for farming and plowed over, and none of the features were likely visible above ground.



In the following discussion, the historical (see Chapter 3) and archaeological evidence are considered together in an attempt to clarify the dates and to identify the landowners associated with each site phase.

Table 4.8  
Ceramic TPQs by Feature, Palace Lands Site

Feature	TPQ
<b>F01 (Subfloor pit)</b>	1765
<b>F04 (Ditch)</b>	1787
<b>F05 (Ditch)</b>	1762
<b>F06 (Ditch)</b>	1762
<b>F11 (context 230, posthole, North fence)</b>	1762
<b>F13 (context 68, posthole, North fence)</b>	1720
<b>F14 (context 33, posthole North fence)</b>	1740
<b>F14 (context 257, postmold, North fence)</b>	1775
<b>F15 (context 35, posthole, North fence)</b>	1762
<b>F15 (context 253, postmold, North fence)</b>	1720
<b>F18 (context 45, posthole, North fence)</b>	1762
<b>F18 (context 268, postmold, North fence)</b>	1762
<b>F20 (context 21, posthole, North fence)</b>	1787
<b>F20 (context 255, postmold, North fence)</b>	1762
<b>F25 (context 76, posthole, South fence)</b>	1720
<b>F26 (context 100, posthole, South fence)</b>	1671
<b>F28 (context 193, postmold, South fence)</b>	1775

### Phase I: c. 1747-1769

The initial habitation of the Palace Lands site can be tied to John Coke, who owned the land on which the site is located from c. 1747-1767 (see Table 4.7). His son, Samuel, inherited the plantation and continued to operate it for just over a year until c. 1769. Enslaved field hands first owned by John Coke, and then inherited by his wife, Sarah, lived and worked on the plantation during this time. Samuel and his mother, Sarah, put the plantation along with the livestock and “several valuable slaves” up for auction in 1769. The Council purchased the plantation sometime between 1769 and 1773 and the site was abandoned upon the conveyance of the plantation to the Council.

#### *Phase I Site Activities*

The artifacts provide some indication of the sequence in which the site’s features were constructed and filled. Its residents first built the dwelling, which is represented by the sub-floor pit and the brick chimney foundation. Sometime after the house was occupied its residents built the north and south post-and-rail fences. Postholes along both fencelines were filled with debris indicating that cultural activities had already taken place on site prior to their construction. Both fences were mended, yet some of these repairs were made during Phase II. What is unmistakable is that the site’s inhabitants took more precautions in preserving the north fence.

After its construction, they dug ditches along it in order to drain water away from the posts. Clay-mottled fill and silt layers found within the ditches indicate that these were kept relatively free of debris and left open to serve their purpose which led to the erosion of ditch walls and silting over time. Arbitrary filling of the ditches occurred over time, through foot traffic, sweeping, etc., since refuse was scattered around the homestead.

Prior to site abandonment, and likely in anticipation of their sale along with the plantation, the enslaved household residing at Coke's dumped refuse into the root cellar and nearby ditches. Most of the artifacts recovered from these features date to the third quarter of the eighteenth century (see Table 4.8). Two ditches (F05 and F06) and the root cellar with TPQs of 1762 were sealed during this phase. The third ditch (F04) was filled, but not sealed until Phase II. The fences were left standing.

## Phase II: Late Eighteenth Century to Early Nineteenth Century

With the plantation's incorporation into the Palace Lands, the acreage was made available to the last two royal governors of Virginia. Both Botetourt and Dunmore used the land for pasturage, felling trees for wood, and probably for raising crops, but their combined tenure of the Governor's Palace was short-lived: from 1768 to 1775. Dunmore retreated from the city in 1775, leaving the Palace Lands in the hands of American troops. The recovery of American blue-and-gray stoneware (TPQ 1787) sherds suggests a late eighteenth-century site presence that may have extended into the early nineteenth century (see Table 4.8). Thus, the Phase II occupation in the site's vicinity had no association with the royal governors.

There were three landowners who held deed to the property from 1786-1816 (see Table 3.1, Chapter 3). Of these, Samuel Smith McCroskey is the one who most likely owned it during the site's Phase II occupation. He purchased the property from William & Mary in 1790 and retained the land until his death in 1815. McCroskey's wife, Elizabeth, auctioned the property in 1816. Since the McCroskeys lived in town, the land was probably leased to tenants as McCroskey's will states that there were houses on the property. It is not known at this time whether the McCroskeys owned enslaved men or women who could have lived and worked on the land.

### *Phase II Site Activities*

There are very few artifacts associated with Phase II, which indicates that whoever discarded them lived in the site's vicinity, somewhere near the former quarter but not within it. The strongest evidence for this phase includes only eight sherds of American blue-and-gray stoneware (TPQ 1787) and ten pearlware sherds (TPQ 1775). Only four of these finds were retrieved from feature contexts (see Table 4.8). What they confirm is that the fences were still standing during Phase II. Two pearlware sherds were recovered from two postmolds (F14 and F28) along each fenceline; these fence posts rotted in place sometime after 1775. Moreover, one American stoneware sherd was found within F20, a posthole along the north fenceline, which suggests that it was dug for a repair post sometime after 1787. An American stoneware sherd was also retrieved from one ditch (F04). This ditch was partially filled, inadvertently and intentionally, during Phase I but sealed during Phase II.



### *Phase III Site Activities*

None of the features associated with the site were likely visible above ground by the time the first Dr. Garrett acquired the Palace Lands tract. While there is evidence that the fences were still standing when Coke's plantation was abandoned, the most recent TPQ for fence-related features is 1787.

In terms of the locus of Phase III site activities, the artifact distribution suggests that it could have been at any number of locations near the site. Again, there was very likely multiple occupations of the site over a period of decades. Although most of the sherds were retrieved from units south of the southern-most fence, the rest of the sherds, as well as machine-made and non-lead, colorless glass fragments were strewn across the site. Some of these artifacts were discovered in the 1999 test units located 20-25 meters north of the excavation. During the 1996 Phase II site survey, mid to late nineteenth-century artifacts, including wire nails (1880 TPQ), were also recovered from test units located beyond the boundaries of the excavation. The evidence suggests that a succession of tenant farming households lived somewhere in the site's vicinity, and probably resided in the same house.

### **The Ceramic Crossmend Evidence**

The ceramic crossmend evidence does little to clarify the interpretation of the site's chronology. A partial assemblage of ceramics was selected for crossmending from contexts within the cellar (F01), two ditches (F04 and F06), and seven postholes (F11, F13-F15, F17, F18 and F20) along the portion of the north fenceline that was adjacent to F04. Four vessels were partially reconstructed with contiguous mends between features. One vessel (226-33AS; see Appendix E) consists of sherds from both F04 and F01. Although the crossmends would seem to suggest that these features were filled at the same time, site inhabitants may have used a refuse midden to retrieve fill for sealing defunct features. Such was the case at the eighteenth-century Rich Neck Slave Quarter site in Williamsburg (Franklin 2004).

The crossmend evidence from Rich Neck demonstrated that site inhabitants made regular use of a communal refuse midden to gather fill for their defunct root cellars. As a result, sherds recovered from plowzone contexts within the midden mended with sherds from various deposits within the root cellars. Thus, the filling events of different root cellars with mends from the same vessel were not necessarily related. With this caveat in mind, the vessel crossmends (vessels 251-33AS and 288-33AS; see Appendix E) between a posthole (F15) and a ditch (F04) do not necessarily demonstrate the simultaneous filling of these features. In this scenario, the fence would have been constructed at the same time that the ditch was being backfilled with refuse. Yet, since the ditch served to drain rainwater away from the fence, it had to be dug out after the fence was standing. Instead, people probably tossed or swept refuse close to the ditches which inevitably wound up within them, and this most likely occurred at different times, but prior to the nineteenth-century.



## Remarks

The most important point to be made regarding the site's phasing is that the artifacts recovered from feature contexts are mainly related to Phase I, when Coke's enslaved field hands occupied the site. Monticello archaeologists came to this same conclusion, although there are also competing points of interpretation regarding the site's chronology. A descriptive summary of the artifacts is the focus of the next chapter. In light of the fact that the artifacts recovered from the plowzone include nineteenth-century and twentieth-century finds, the focus is on those found within site features.









There are 87 vessels and 360 sherds from feature contexts which constitute 34.3 percent of the Foodways Group (DAACS 2006b). Included in this group are ceramics for table service and consumption (6.8 percent), tea and coffee service (8.7 percent), food preparation and storage (16 percent), and unidentified ceramics (17.2 percent; see Table 5.2). The distribution of ceramics by ware type is shown in Table 5.3. The most popular ware types present are creamware, delftware, unidentifiable tin-enamelled ware and white salt-glazed stoneware. The 87 vessels are summarized by ware type and form in Table 5.4 (see also Appendix E).

Since the artifact analyses presented in this report relies on DAACS artifact queries, the DAACS categories used to describe the ceramics are reproduced here (Aultman, Grillo and Bon-Harper 2003). For clarification, “vessel category” refers to the general shape of a ceramic sherd or vessel, whether hollow or flat. “Vessel form” refers to the specific form of the original vessel (e.g., porringer, plate, teabowl, etc.). In a number of instances, vessel form can only be identified in general terms as unidentified “tableware”, “teaware” or “utilitarian.”

There are a number of unique vessels that CW lab technicians identified with regard to vessel form that were re-cataloged in DAACS in more general terms. There were 22 discrepancies and where these exist the author re-examined the ceramics to make a determination as to how to categorize a vessel for the purpose of analyzing the ceramics. In most cases, the CW and DAACS vessel descriptions with regard to vessel category and form are similar, but the form assigned by CW is more specific. For example, for vessel 264-33AS, DAACS categorizes the vessel as “tableware” and “flat”, while CW categorizes the vessel as a plate. Since the vessel is represented by a marley fragment, the “plate” identification is retained here. Where the CW-assigned form is used in place of the DAACS one, this is noted in Appendix E by an asterisk in the “Form and Vessel Category” column.

In order to assess the assemblage with regard to form and function, the unidentifiable ceramics (n=224) are excluded from the summaries of the three major categories of ceramics that follow.

Table 5.3  
**Ceramic Assemblage by Ware Type, Foodways Group**

<b>Ware Type</b>	<b>N vessels</b>	<b>N sherds</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>COARSE EARTHENWARE</b>				
Buckley	5	4	9	2.0
Coarse earthenware, unglazed	0	1	1	0.2
Coarse earthenware, lead-glazed	1	4	5	1.1
Colonoware	6	3	9	2.0
North Midlands/Staffordshire slipware	2	6	8	1.8
Red-bodied slipware/Redware	1	2	3	0.7
Staffordshire mottled glaze	1	0	1	0.2
<b>PORCELAIN</b>				
Chinese porcelain	8	11	19	4.3
English soft-paste porcelain	2	1	3	0.7
Porcelain, unidentifiable	0	8	8	1.8
<b>REFINED EARTHENWARE</b>				
Creamware	24	101	125	28.0
Delftware, Dutch/British	15	77	92	20.6
Jackfield	1	0	1	0.2
Pearlware	0	2	2	0.4
Tin-enameled ware	0	84	84	18.8
Whieldon-type ware	3	4	7	1.6
Refined earthenware, unidentifiable	0	13	13	2.9
<b>STONEWARE</b>				
American stoneware	1	1	2	0.4
Fulham type	2	5	7	1.6
German stoneware	0	1	1	0.2
Westerwald/Rhenish	3	1	4	0.9
White saltglazed stoneware	12	24	36	8.1
Stoneware, unidentifiable	0	1	1	0.2
<b>UNIDENTIFIED MATERIAL AND WARE TYPE</b>				
<b>Totals</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>360</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 5.4  
**Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type, Vessel Category and Form, Foodways Group**

Ware Type	Vessel Category and Form	N vessels	Total	%
American Stoneware	Tableware, hollow form	1	1	1.1
Buckley	Milk pan	2		
	Utilitarian, hollow form	3	5	5.7
Chinese Porcelain	Bowl	1		
	Plate	1		
	Saucer	2		
	Tableware, hollow form	1		
	Teabowl	1		
	Teaware, flat form	1		
	Teaware, hollow form	1	8	9.2
Coarse Earthenware, unidentifiable	Utilitarian, hollow form	1	1	1.1
Colonoware	Bowl	4		
	Plate	1		
	Porringer	1	6	6.9
Creamware	Coffee pot	1		
	Jug	1		
	Plate	3		
	Platter	1		
	Saucer	1		
	Sugar bowl	1		
	Teabowl	5		
	Teaware, flat form	1		
	Teaware, hollow form	8		
	Teaware, unidentified	2	24	27.6
Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl	1		
	Flat form, unidentified	1		
	Hollow form, unidentified	2		
	Plate	4		
	Punch bowl	2		
	Tableware, hollow form	3		
	Teaware, hollow form	1		
	Utilitarian, hollow form	1	15	17.2
English Soft-Paste Porcelain	Teaware, hollow form	1		
	Teaware, unidentified	1	2	2.3
Fulham Type Stoneware	Storage jar	1		
	Utilitarian, hollow form	1	2	2.3
Jackfield Type Earthenware	Teapot	1	1	1.1
North Midlands/Staffordshire Slipware	Mug/tankard	1		
	Tableware, flat form	1	2	2.3
Redware	Utilitarian, hollow form	1	1	1.1
Staffordshire Mottled Glaze	Mug/tankard	1	1	1.1
Westerwald/Rhenish Stoneware	Mug/tankard	2		
	Tableware, hollow form	1	3	3.4
Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer	1		
	Platter	1		
	Saucer	1	3	3.4
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	Bowl	1		
	Bowl, large	1		
	Plate	1		
	Plate or platter	2		
	Slop bowl	1		
	Tableware, flat form	1		
	Tableware, hollow form	2		
	Teabowl	1		
	Teaware, hollow form	2	12	13.8
	<b>Total</b>		<b>87</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Ceramic Tablewares

The ceramic tablewares constitute 6.8 percent of the Foodways Group. The assortment of tablewares (n=89) includes serving dishes and wares for the consumption of foods and beverages. Once the unidentifiable ceramics were excluded from the analysis, the tablewares represent 39.9 percent of the identifiable, foodways-related ceramic assemblage (Table 5.5).

One approach to the analysis of slave-related, ceramic assemblages is to consider the ratio of hollow forms to flat forms in order to determine to what degree African-influenced meals (e.g., stews or “one-pot” meals) were consumed by site inhabitants (e.g., Otto 1984). Sixty-five of the 89 tableware sherds and vessels can be identified with regard to vessel category (hollow or flat) or specific vessel form. Four general categories were evident for this assemblage: hollow forms for consuming liquid-based meals, flat forms for consuming “dry” meals such as roasted meat cuts, vessels for beverage service and consumption, and vessels for serving meals (Table 5.6). The majority of the identifiable tablewares, including all of the tableware sherds, consist of ceramics for individual servings of a meal. Of these, both flat forms (plates and plates/platters) and hollow forms (bowls and a porringer) are about equally represented (see Table 5.6). These include the six colonoware vessels represented in the Foodways Group. The colonoware vessels include four bowls, one plate and one porringer. One bowl (235-33AS) consists of an everted rim fragment with incised decoration (Figure 5.1). The colonoware porringer (237-33AS) is represented by a burnished handle (Figure 5.2). In terms of vessels used to serve and distribute food (3.1 percent), there are two platters, one each of feather-edged creamware and Whieldon-type ware (see Table 5.6). The fourth category, beverage service and consumption wares (9.2 percent), includes four mugs/tankards and two punch bowls (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.5  
**Identifiable Ceramics by Vessel Function and Form, Foodways Group**

Vessel Function	Vessel Form	N vessels	N sherds	Total	%	Totals	%
Tablewares	Bowl	8	0	8	3.6		
	Mug/tankard	4	0	4	1.8		
	Plate	10	1	11	4.9		
	Plate or platter	2	0	2	0.9		
	Platter	2	0	2	0.9		
	Porringer	1	0	1	0.4		
	Punch bowl	2	0	2	0.9		
	Tableware, flat form	2	14	16	7.2		
	Tableware, hollow form	8	11	19	8.5		
	Tableware, unidentified	0	24	24	10.8	89	39.9
Tea/Coffee Service	Coffee pot	1	0	1	0.4		
	Creamer	1	0	1	0.4		
	Saucer	4	2	6	2.7		
	Slop bowl	1	0	1	0.4		
	Sugar bowl	1	0	1	0.4		
	Teabowl	7	3	10	4.5		
	Teapot	1	0	1	0.4		
	Teaware, flat form	2	4	6	2.7		
	Teaware, hollow form	13	32	45	20.2		
Teaware, unidentified	3	38	41	18.4	113	50.7	
Food Preparation and Storage	Jug	1	0	1	0.4		
	Milk pan	2	0	2	0.9		
	Utilitarian, hollow form	7	10	17	7.6		
	Storage jar	1	0	1	0.4	21	9.4
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>84</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: The ceramics listed in this table are identifiable with regard to vessel form. The ceramics excluded from this table (n=224) can only be identified with regard to vessel category (hollow or flat), or are unidentifiable with regard to vessel form and category.

Table 5.6  
**Identifiable Ceramic Tablewares, Foodways Group**

	N vessels	N sherds	Total	%
Food consumption, flat form	14	15	29	44.6
Food consumption, hollow form	17	11	28	43.1
Beverage service and consumption	6	0	6	9.2
Food service	2	0	2	3.1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: The ceramics excluded from this table (n=24) can only be identified by vessel form as "tableware" but are unidentifiable with regard to vessel category (hollow or flat).





Figure 5.1. Colonoware bowl, rim fragment (235-33AS). Photo courtesy of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (<http://www.daacs.org/>)



Figure 5.2. Colonoware porringer handle (230-33AS). Photo courtesy of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (<http://www.daacs.org/>)

## Tea and Coffee Service Wares

The tea and coffee service wares (n=113) constitute 8.7 percent of the Foodways Group (see Table 5.2). This diverse assemblage includes pots for tea and coffee, teabowls and saucers, a sugar bowl, creamer and slop bowl (see Table 5.5). Of the identifiable foodways-related ceramics, the tea and coffee service wares represent 50.7 percent of the total (see Table 5.5). The ceramic vessels in this category were produced in a variety of ware types including creamware, white salt-glazed stoneware, Chinese and English soft-paste porcelains, Whieldon-type ware and Jackfield (see Table 5.4). A selection of the tea/coffee service vessels is shown in Figure 5.3.

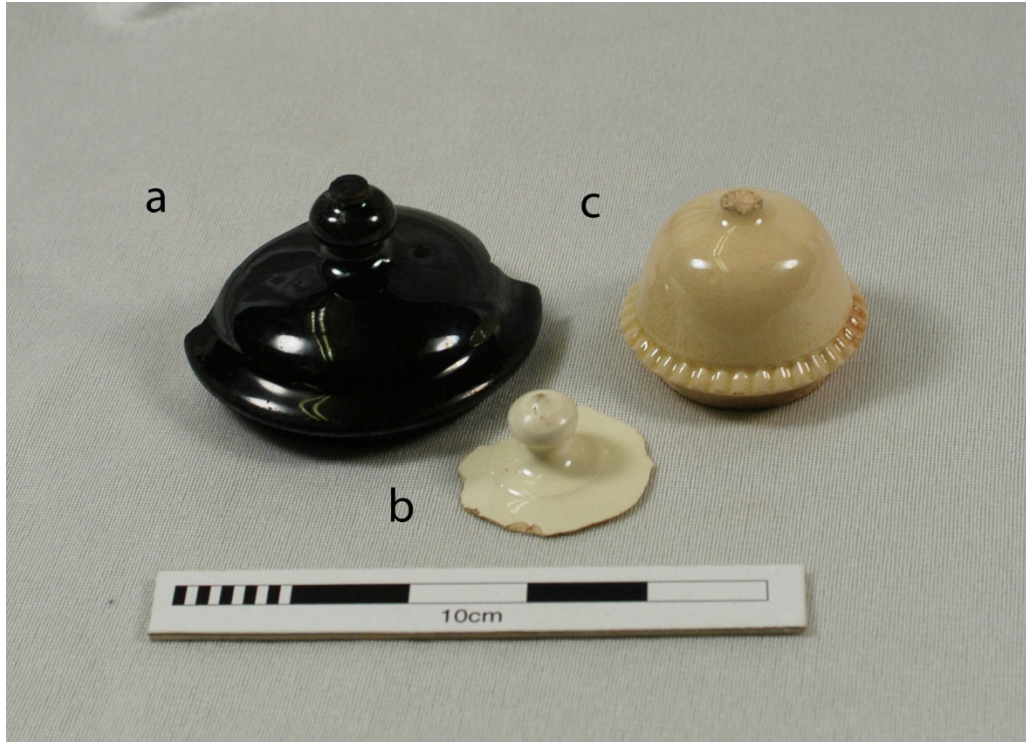


Figure 5.3. Tea/coffee service vessels, (a) Jackfield teapot lid (238-33AS), (b) creamware sugar bowl lid (183-33AS), (c) creamware coffee pot lid (284-33AS)

### Ceramic Food Preparation and Storage Wares

There are 11 vessels and ten sherds in this category, which constitute 16 percent of the Foodways Group (see Table 5.2). Of the identifiable foodways-related ceramic assemblage, the food preparation and storage wares represent 9.4% of the total (see Table 5.5). The vessels in this group include two Buckley milk pans and one Fulham stoneware storage jug (Figure 5.4; see Table 5.4). There is also one creamware jug. The rest of the assemblage (n=17) can only be identified as “utilitarian, hollow form”.



Figure 5.4. Food preparation and storage vessels, (a) Buckley milk pan (201-33AS), (b) Fulham-type stoneware storage jar (230-33AS)

### Unidentifiable Ceramics

There are 224 ceramic vessels (n=3) and sherds (n=221) that are either flat or hollow forms but their form types (e.g., tableware, teaware, utilitarian, etc.) cannot be identified, or the artifact was unidentifiable by vessel category and form (see Table 5.2). This portion of the ceramic assemblage includes three delftware vessels (253-33AS, 265-33AS and 269-33AS), two of hollow form and one of flat form (see Table 5.4), and 221 sherds.

### Glass Assemblage

Of the glass, there are 16 vessels and 819 fragments from feature contexts which constitute 64 percent of the Foodways Group (DAACS 2006b). There are glass tablewares, beverage storage vessels and containers, and unidentified glass (see Table 5.2). The glass beverage storage and container category, with wine bottles prevailing, represents the largest foodways-related category at 48.6 percent of the total. The 835 glass vessels and fragments are summarized by form, material and color in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7  
**Glass Assemblage, Foodways Group**

	Material and Color	<i>N</i> vessels	<i>N</i> sherds	Total	%	Totals	%
<b>Tablewares</b>							
Drinking glass	lead, colorless	0	2	2	0.2		
Tableware, unid	lead, colorless	2	55	57	6.8	59	7.1
<b>Beverage Storage and Containers</b>							
Bottle, unid	lead, colorless	0	3	3	0.4		
	non-lead, aqua	0	7	7	0.8		
	non-lead, green	0	19	19	2.3		
	non-lead, light green	0	10	10	1.2		
Case bottle	non-lead, green	2	0	2	0.2		
Wine bottle	non-lead, green	12	540	552	66.1		
	non-lead, light green	0	4	4	0.5		
Container, unid	lead, colorless	0	14	14	1.7		
	non-lead, aqua	0	18	18	2.2		
	non-lead, green	0	1	1	0.1		
	non-lead, light green	0	4	4	0.5	634	75.9
<b>Unid Glass</b>							
	lead, colorless	0	75	75	9.0		
	non-lead, aqua	0	25	25	3.0		
	non-lead, colorless	0	8	8	1.0		
	non-lead, green	0	12	12	1.4		
	non-lead, light green	0	21	21	2.5		
	non-lead, unid	0	1	1	0.1	142	17.0
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>16</b>	<b>819</b>	<b>835</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>835</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Glass Tablewares

The two vessels and 57 glass fragments from this category constitute 4.5 percent of the Foodways Group (see Table 5.2). Glass tablewares include drinking glasses and colorless lead glass that are probably fragments of either drinking glasses or stemmed glasswares (see Table 5.7).

## Glass Beverage Storage and Containers

There are 14 vessels and 620 glass fragments that in their original forms once served to store beverages. This category constitutes 48.6 percent of the Foodways Group (see Table 5.2) and includes case and wine bottles, unidentified bottles, and unidentified containers (see Table 5.7).

While only two case bottles are represented in this category, 66.6 percent of the glass foodways-related assemblage consists of non-lead, green or light green wine bottles (see Table 5.7). The unidentified bottles and containers exhibit a greater range of materials and colors (as compared to the wine bottles) from colorless, non-lead



glass, to lead glass in aqua, green and light green. The category of “container” consists of glass fragments that can only be identified as portions of hollow containers but are otherwise too fragmentary to categorize as a bottle or more specific vessel form (Aultman and Grillo 2003:5).

## Unidentified Glass

The unidentified glass constitutes 10.9 percent of the Foodways Group (see Table 5.2), and the 142 fragments of this group cannot be identified with regard to form. There are fragments of lead and non-lead, colorless glass and non-lead glass with colors ranging from aqua to green and light green which together represent 17 percent of the foodways-related glass assemblage (see Table 5.7).

## Table Utensils

The 23 objects in this category amount to 18 percent of the Foodways Group (see Table 5.2). All of the artifacts are incomplete, and just over half of the objects cannot be identified with regard to specific form. There are 11 spoon fragments and 12 unidentified handle fragments (Table 5.8; DAACS 2006b). Although 18 objects are listed in the DAACS “table utensils” query, five additional utensils can be found in the DAACS “all other artifacts” query (1008-00012-NOS-00239 and 1008-00050-WTS-00225; DAACS 2006b).

The majority of the utensils (47.8 percent) are molded spoon fragments of either tin or lead alloy (see Table 5.8). Two of these are handle fragments with marks. The first exhibits a maker’s mark of “H” (Figure 5.5), and the second has a post-manufacturing modification which consists of an incised Greek cross (Figure 5.6). The unidentifiable two-piece utensil handles include eight bone fragments. One is a pistol grip handle with evidence that the utensil once had a pointed tang. Two handles exhibit a carved lattice design, and four handle fragments exhibit a cross-hatched pattern. The last of the eight bone handles has a carved groove around the circumference of the handle which may be a post-manufacturing modification. One two-piece handle is tin plated (Figure 5.7). There are also three unidentifiable two-piece handles with rivet holes.

Table 5.8  
**Table Utensils, Foodways Group**

Form	Description	N	%
Spoon, one piece	Lead or tin alloy, molded	11	47.8
Handle, two-piece, unidentified	Bone, carved	8	34.8
	Tin plating, molded	1	4.4
	Unidentifiable	3	13.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>23</b>	<b>100.0</b>



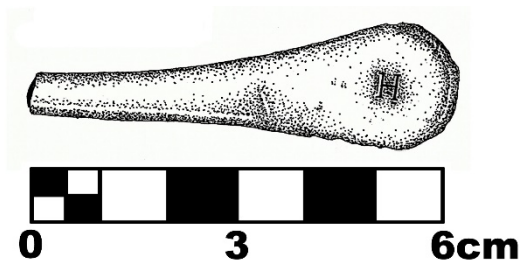


Figure 5.5. Table utensil, lead alloy spoon handle with maker's mark of "H" (63-33AS; 1008-00012-NOS-00239). Illustration by Will Russell

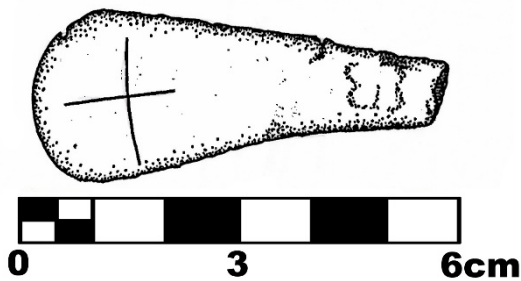


Figure 5.6. Table utensil, lead alloy spoon handle with incised Greek cross (20-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00152). Illustration by Will Russell



Figure 5.7. Table utensil, tin-plated, two-piece handle (1008-00050-WTS-00154, 1008-00050-WTS-00155, 1008-00050-WTS-00156 and 1008-00050-WTS-00157)

## Architectural Group

The artifacts within the Architectural Group account for 42.19 percent of the total number of artifacts (DAACS 2006b; see Table 5.1). This group is subdivided into two major categories: building materials and door and window hardware (Table 5.9). Of the Building Materials, most of the artifacts are either nails (54.55 percent) or window glass fragments (31.65 percent). There are no whole artifacts represented in the Door and Window Hardware category. The two window leads were retrieved from

Feature 1 (sub-floor pit) and there are no impressed dates evident. One of the 34 iron hinge fragments has a maker's mark of N&I (1008-00019-DRS-00166).

Although structural remains were nearly absent at the site, the architectural finds add a little more physical evidence to what the lone dwelling may have once looked like. Based entirely upon the absence of postholes and builder's trenches, the dwelling is interpreted as having been a loghouse (see Chapter 6). The brick fragments and shell mortar were used in the construction of the chimney that once heated one room of the house. The window glass and window leads suggest that the dwelling also had casement windows. It is possible that the lock part once served to secure the front door. The relatively low number (n=14) of plaster fragments indicate that the walls were plastered, although this does seem unlikely for a loghouse once occupied by enslaved individuals.

Table 5.9  
**Architectural Group**

	<b>Form</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Building Materials</b>	Nail, iron	1308	54.55		
	Window glass	759	31.65		
	Brick/daub	153	6.38		
	Mortar, shell	126	5.25		
	Plaster	14	0.58	2360	98.42
<b>Door and Window Hardware</b>	Hinge, unid, iron	34	1.42		
	Window came, lead	2	0.08		
	Latch, iron	1	0.04		
	Lock part, iron	1	0.04	38	1.58
	<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2398</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>2398</b>	<b>100.00</b>

### Sewing Equipment Group

There are 262 artifacts in this group comprising 4.61 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1; DAACS 2006b). All of the artifacts were recovered from the sub-floor pit (Feature 1). The majority of the artifacts (96.9 percent) are straight pins, which were produced in iron, copper alloy, and tinned copper alloy (Table 5.10). There are also two iron alloy needle fragments; one is a shank fragment and the other is a needle eye. The remainder of the assemblage includes two iron alloy scissor fragments and four complete copper alloy thimbles (Figure 5.8). Two of the thimbles are small and were most likely used by young girls.

Table 5.10  
**Sewing Equipment Group**

Form and Material	N	Totals	%
Pin, straight, copper alloy	240		
Pin, straight, iron	9		
Pin, straight, tinned copper alloy	5	254	96.9
Thimble, copper alloy	4	4	1.5
Needle, iron	2	2	0.8
Scissors, iron	2	2	0.8
<b>Total</b>		<b>262</b>	<b>100.0</b>



Figure 5.8. Sewing Equipment Group; (a) copper alloy thimble (97-33AS; 1008-00054-WTS-00048), (b) copper alloy thimble (24-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00190), (c) copper alloy thimble (83-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS-00108), (d) copper alloy thimble (98-33AS; 1008-00054-WTS-00049).

## Medicinal and Hygiene Group

The Medicinal and Hygiene Group includes objects that were once used for personal grooming and hygiene/sanitation, and for health and healing (Table 5.11; DAACS 2006b). The 118 objects in this group constitute 2.08 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1).

In terms of toiletries, there are three mirror fragments and two bone lice comb fragments (1008-00050-WTS-00232 and 1008-00129-WTS-00106; see Table 5.11). There is also one creamware chamber pot (292-33AS).

The bulk of the assemblage consists of health-related artifacts, including pharmaceutical bottles which account for 89 percent of the group. The three vessels and 102 fragments include leaded and non-lead glass (Table 5.12). Although most of the pharmaceutical bottles are represented by small fragments, one nearly-complete bottle and a base fragment were recovered from Feature 1 (sub-floor pit; Figure 5.9). There are drug jars/salve pots represented by five delftware vessels (254-33AS, 255-

33AS, 256-33AS, 258-33AS and 260-33AS) and one delftware sherd (1008-00050-FLT-00003). A mended salve pot (254-33AS) is shown in Figure 5.10. The last object in this group is a hollow bone nozzle portion of an enema syringe (50-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00231). One end would have been encased in a gasket for a friction fit into the rest of the syringe. The other end is pierced on both sides for internal irrigation in multiple directions.

Table 5.11  
**Medicinal and Hygiene Group**

<b>Form</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Pharmaceutical bottle	105	89.0
Drug jar/salve pot	6	5.1
Chamber pot	1	0.8
Mirror	3	2.5
Lice comb	2	1.7
Enema syringe	1	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 5.12  
**Pharmaceutical Bottle Assemblage, Medicinal and Hygiene Group**

<b>Material</b>	<b>Color</b>	<b>N vessels</b>	<b>N fragments</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Non-lead glass	Aqua	1	50	51	48.6
Non-lead glass	Light Green	1	26	27	25.7
Non-lead glass	Gray/Smoky	0	16	16	15.2
Lead glass	Colorless	1	9	10	9.5
Non-lead glass	Colorless	0	1	1	1.0
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100.0</b>



Figure 5.9. Medicinal and Hygiene Group, (a) non-lead glass, light green pharmaceutical bottle, base fragment (1008-00050-WTS-00001) (b) non-lead glass, light green pharmaceutical bottle (1008-00050-WTS-00053)



Figure 5.10. Medicinal and Hygiene Group, delftware salve pot (254-33AS). Photo courtesy of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (<http://www.daacs.org/>)



## Personal Group

The 32 artifacts in the Personal Group constitute 0.56 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The Personal Group is a catch-all group that includes objects associated with leisure activities and childrearing (Table 5.13; DAACS 2006b).

There are three objects related to past participation in the market economy. Two are coins: one is a Virginia halfpenny minted in 1773 (19-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00244) and the other is a George II halfpenny minted in 1748 (79-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS-00128). The third object is a small, round lead alloy weight stamped with the Roman numeral “1” (68-33AS; 1008-00019-DRS-00185; Figure 5.11). The rest of the assemblage includes artifacts that can loosely be described as leisure-related objects. The artifacts related to childrearing include two doll parts. One is a fragment of a white porcelain doll’s head with one black eye intact (1008-00054-FLT-00014). The other is a tear-shaped, white glass “eye” with a black dot painted in the center (70-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS-00134). There are also eight toy marbles that could have been used by both adults and children. A slate pencil fragment (1008-00277-DRS-00070) is also present; the fragment measures 1.25 inches in length and has a tapered end. The majority of the artifacts in this group, at 56.2 percent of the total, are bone fan blade fragments, all of which were found within Feature 1.

Table 5.13  
**Personal Group**

<b>Form</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Coin	2	6.3
Doll	2	6.3
Fan	18	56.2
Toy marble	8	25.0
Weight, unidentified	1	3.1
Writing slate	1	3.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100.0</b>



Figure 5.11. Personal Group, lead alloy weight with the numeral “1” (68-33AS; 1008-00019-DRS-00185). Illustration by Will Russell

## Furniture Group

There are only six objects in the Furniture Group, which represents 0.11 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The six objects are all copper alloy upholstery tacks (DAACS 2006e).

## Tobacco Group

There are 105 artifacts in this group which constitute 1.85 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1; DAACS 2006b). The tobacco pipes, all of which were imported, amount to 99.05 percent of the group (Table 5.14). There is also one green, non-lead glass snuff bottle (220-33AS; 1008-00019-DRS-00117, 1008-00019-DRS-00118, 1008-00278-DRS-00050 and 1008-00019-DRS-00119) that accounts for 0.95 percent of the group (see Table 5.14).

Of the 104 tobacco pipe fragments, there are 53 (51 percent) that have indeterminate bore diameters. The bore diameters for the remaining 51 pipe fragments are provided in Table 5.14. There are seven bowl fragments which exhibit either a maker's mark or some form of decoration (Table 5.15). The identifiable maker's marks include "SH" and "BU."

Table 5.14  
**Tobacco Group**

Form	<i>N</i>	% of Total Pipes (n=104)	% of Total Artifacts (n=105)
Tobacco pipe (4/64; 1740-1770)	37	35.6	
Tobacco pipe (5/64; 1710-1740)	13	12.5	
Tobacco pipe (6/64; 1680-1710)	1	1.0	
Tobacco pipe (indeterminate bore diameter)	53	51.0	
<b>Total Pipes</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>100.0</b>	99.05
Snuff bottle	1		0.95
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>105</b>		<b>100.00</b>

Table 5.15  
**Maker's Marks and Decorative Elements, Tobacco Pipes**

Maker's Mark or Decoration	Artifact ID
SH	1008-00053-FLT—00001
SH	1008-00053-WTS—00008
BU	1008-00050-WTS—00020
Geometric, unidentifiable	1008-00132-DRS—00001
Rouletted	1008-00275-WTS—00002
Punctated dots	1008-00129-WTS—00016
Unidentifiable maker's mark	1008-00012-NOS—00103

## Tool Group

There are five tools (Table 5.16; DAACS 2006b) representing 0.09 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). One tool (1008-00050-WTS-00205) cannot be identified. There is one iron alloy handle that may be a pocket corkscrew fragment (1008-00275-WTS-00023). The rake (1008-00050-WTS-00227) is represented by three prongs of a rake head. The assemblage also includes a whetstone (1008-00276-DRS-00003) and a fragment of a draw knife (1008-00050-WTS-00203).

Table 5.16  
Tool Group

Form and Material	<i>N</i>	%
Knife, draw, iron alloy	1	20.0
Rake, iron alloy	1	20.0
Tool, unidentified, iron alloy	1	20.0
Whetstone, sandstone	1	20.0
Handle, possible pocket corkscrew, iron alloy	1	20.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### Native American Group

The Native American Group includes 11 artifacts (Table 5.17; DAACS 2006b), or 0.19 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The prehistoric artifacts collected from feature contexts are included in this chapter for several reasons. First, these objects were probably found and curated by the site’s inhabitants as simple curiosities or as objects that were given special meaning. For example, at the Nash Site in Manassas, Virginia, an unearthened cache of six quartz crystals, a piece of galena, and a quartz projectile point were interpreted as having ritual significance (Jones 2001). The site was once occupied by an African-American family during the late nineteenth century. It is also possible that objects like scrapers with functional edges were re-used as tools by the site’s inhabitants. Finally, although the fire-cracked rock is categorized here as “Native American”, enslaved blacks also cooked outdoors and it is possible that these artifacts were instead used and discarded by the site’s inhabitants.

There are seven fragments of fire-cracked rock, one chert percussion flake, and one quartzite scraper (see Table 5.17). There are also two quartz projectile points. One is possibly a Savannah River Stemmed point (1008-00012-NOS-00223) dating to the Archaic Period, and the other point fragment is unidentifiable (1008-00314-DRS-00003).

Table 5.17  
**Native American Group**

Form	<i>N</i>	%
Fire-cracked rock	7	63.6
Flake, percussion, chert	1	9.1
Point, quartzite	2	18.2
Scraper, quartzite	1	9.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### Other Hardware Group

In this group, 29 artifacts are represented (Table 5.18; DAACS 2006b) constituting 0.51 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The majority of

the assemblage (58.6 percent) consists of barrel hoop fragments. The singular items include an iron hook, an iron pintle, an iron brace/angle fragment, a copper alloy screw, and a modern washer that made its way into a ditch (F04). There are also two iron tacks: one is complete and the other is a head and shank fragment. The three wrought-iron staples include two round staples and one square staple. The last two objects in this group are wrought-iron spikes.

Table 5.18  
**Other Hardware Group**

<b>Form</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Barrel Hoop	17	58.6
Brace/Angle	1	3.4
Hook, unidentifiable	1	3.4
Pintle	1	3.4
Screw, unidentifiable	1	3.4
Spike	2	6.9
Staple	3	10.3
Tack, unidentifiable	2	6.9
Washer	1	3.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Arms Group

There are 12 artifacts in this group (Table 5.19; DAACS 2006b) which constitute 0.21 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The group includes four lead alloy bullets and five lead alloy shot. The three gunflints include one incomplete English gunflint of grey flint (1008-00053-WTS-00041) and two flakes (one honey flint and one unidentifiable flint).

Table 5.19  
**Arms Group**

<b>Form and Material</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Bullet, lead	4	33.3
Shot, lead	5	41.7
Gunflint, flint	3	25.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Clothing and Adornment Group

This group consists of 99 artifacts which account for 1.74 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The artifacts in this group include clothing hardware such as buttons and shoe buckles, and adornment-related artifacts (Table 5.20; DAACS 2006b).

The clothing-related artifacts include one iron alloy clothing hook, four shoe buckle fragments, and 59 buttons (see Table 5.20). The four shoe buckles include one complete frame and three frame fragments with their tongues, hooks and pins missing. The objects are cast copper alloy, single-framed, square/rectangular buckles. Three of the four shoe buckles are shown in Figures 5.12 and 5.13. The buttons account for 59.6 percent of the Clothing and Adornment Group (see Table 5.20; DAACS 2006e). The assemblage is fairly diverse with regard to size, material, type and face decoration. In terms of type, most of the buttons are two-piece buttons (n=42), and these include two two-piece, domed buttons, and one two-piece, semi-domed button (Table 5.21). There are also three bone blanks/molds each with a single hole. Two copper alloy buttons are flat discs with concave backs, and there are also seven copper alloy flat-disc buttons and three pewter, flat-disc buttons. A single one-piece, mother-of-pearl button has a copper shank. One button is represented by a button shank only. With regard to material of manufacture (see Table 5.21), the majority of the buttons have copper alloy faces (n=32) or are entirely made of copper alloy (n=13). A selection of the buttons is shown in Figures 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16.

Table 5.20  
**Clothing and Adornment Group**

<b>Form</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Bead	23	23.2
Button	59	59.6
Earring	1	1.0
Hook, clothing	1	1.0
Jewel, glass	8	8.1
Ring, finger	3	3.0
Shoe buckle	4	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100.0</b>



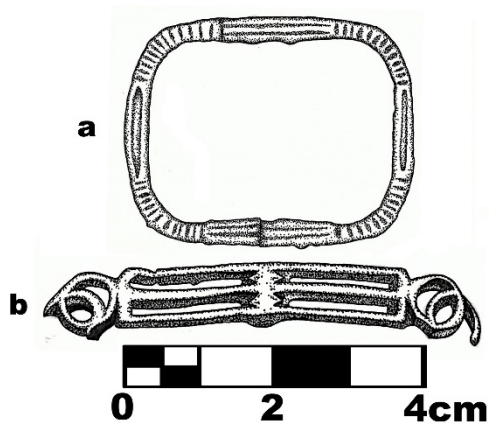


Figure 5.12. Clothing and Adornment Group, (a) copper alloy shoe buckle (25-33AS; 1008-00050-FLT-00020), (b) copper alloy shoe buckle (81-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS-00036). Illustration by Will Russell



Figure 5.13. Copper alloy shoe buckle (123-33AS; 1008-00129-WTS-00002). Illustration by Will Russell

Table 5.21  
**Button Assemblage, Clothing and Adornment Group**

Button Type	Face Material	Material	N	%
One-piece	Shell	Not Applicable	1	1.7
Two-piece	Cu Alloy	Bone	6	10.2
	Missing	Bone	5	8.5
	Cu Alloy	Cu Alloy	1	1.7
	Cu Alloy	Missing	25	42.4
	Cu Alloy	Unidentifiable	1	1.7
	Missing	Wood	1	1.7
Two-piece, domed	Cu Alloy	Cu Alloy	2	3.4
Two-piece, semi-domed	Cu Alloy	Cu Alloy	1	1.7
Blank/Mold	Not Applicable	Bone	3	5.1
Flat disc w/concave back	Not Applicable	Cu Alloy	2	3.4
Flat Disc	Not Applicable	Cu Alloy	7	11.9
	Not Applicable	Pewter	3	5.1
Unid (shank only)	Not Applicable	Unidentifiable	1	1.7
<b>Total</b>			<b>59</b>	<b>100.0</b>

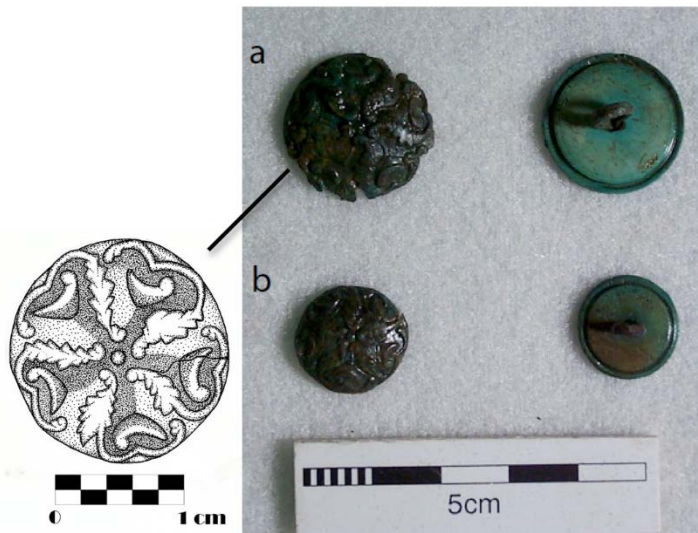


Figure 5.14. Clothing and Adornment Group; (a) copper alloy two-piece button with molded decoration and bone back (33-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00141 and 1008-00050-WTS-00142), (b) copper alloy two-piece button with molded decoration and bone back (36-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00147 and 1008-00050-WTS-00148). Illustration by Will Russell

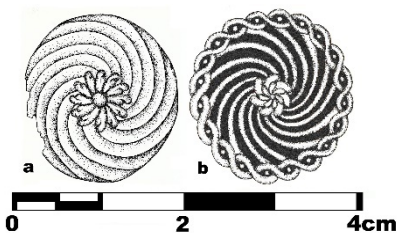


Figure 5.15. Clothing and Adornment Group; (a) copper alloy, two-piece button with molded decoration and missing back (34-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00143), (b) copper alloy two-piece button with molded decoration and bone back (87-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS--00081). Illustration by Will Russell



Figure 5.16. Clothing and Adornment Group; (left) tin alloy finger ring with a silver wash (76-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS-00130), (right) copper alloy flat-disc button with missing shank (102-33AS). Illustration by Will Russell

The adornment-related artifacts include beads and various forms of jewelry. There are 23 beads (7 bead fragments and 16 complete beads) comprising 23.2 percent of the Clothing and Adornment Group (see Table 5.20; DAACS 2006e). One is a wound, copper alloy bead, 15 are drawn glass beads and seven are wound glass beads (Table 5.22). The colors listed under the “basic color group” entry in Table 5.22 are “the common English color names associated with the Munsell color ranges” used by DAACS to catalog bead colors (DAACS 2006f). The discernable bead colors include green, light green, gray and black. The majority of the beads (39.1 percent) are black, barrel-shaped, drawn glass beads.

Of the jewelry, there is one small copper alloy ring that is probably an earring fragment (1008-00050-WTS-00239), three finger rings, and eight glass jewels (see Table 5.20). The finger rings include two carved bone rings (1008-00054-WTS-00061 and 1008-00129-WTS-00144) and a tin alloy ring with a silver wash (see Figure 5.16). The latter ring was recovered from context 53 within Feature 1 (sub-floor pit) attached to two other small copper alloy rings (Figure 5.17). The eight multi-faceted, glass

jewels are without their cufflink settings; seven are blue and one is colorless. Seven of the eight jewels were retrieved from Feature 1 (sub-floor pit) and are shown in Figure 5.18.

Table 5.22  
**Bead Assemblage, Clothing and Adornment Group**

Material and Manuf Tech	Shape	Basic Color Group	<i>N</i>	%
Copper/copper alloy, wound	Sub-Spherical	Not applicable	1	4.3
Glass, drawn	Barrel	Black	9	39.1
	Barrel	Green	1	4.3
	Barrel	Light green	1	4.3
	Barrel	Unidentifiable	2	8.7
	Unidentifiable	Light green	2	8.7
Glass, wound	Collared Spheroid	Unidentifiable	1	4.3
	Spherical	Unidentifiable	2	8.7
	Sub-Spherical	Gray	2	8.7
	Sub-Spherical	Black	2	8.7
<b>Total</b>			<b>23</b>	<b>100.0</b>



Figure 5.17. Clothing and Adornment Group; tin alloy ring with a silver wash (center; 1008-00053-WTS-00130) as recovered from excavation attached to two copper alloy rings (photo taken prior to conservation)



Figure 5.18. Clothing and Adornment Group, glass cufflink jewels/pastes (1008-00050-WTS-00223; 1008-00054-WTS-00064; 1008-00054-WTS-00065)

## Horse and Transport Group

The eight objects in this group (Table 5.23; DAACS 2006b) amount to 0.14 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The artifacts in this group are evidence that draft animals were used at the site and that a horse or horses were stabled there. The harness-related artifacts that were once used to attach either a cart or equipment to a draft animal (or possibly for a horse and carriage) include two copper alloy harness buckles. One buckle (1008-00053-WTS-00035) is a complete double-framed, D-shaped buckle and the other (82-33AS; 1008-00053-WTS-00037) is a fragment of a double-framed buckle (see Figure 5.12). There are also two harness hooks. The first hook (1008-00275-WTS-00021) was attached to a whiffletree hook and the second was a hook on the end of a whiffletree (1008-00302-DRS-00021). There are two bits in the assemblage, and also a fragment of a saddle tree and a stirrup fragment.

Table 5.23  
Horse and Transport Group

Form and Material	N	%
Bit, harness, iron	1	12.5
Bit, snaffle, iron	1	12.5
Harness buckle, copper alloy	2	25.0
Harness hook, iron	2	25.0
Saddle tree, iron	1	12.5
Stirrup, iron	1	12.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Unidentified Artifact Group

There are 1,294 unidentified artifacts (Table 5.24; DAACS 2006b) that comprise 22.77 percent of the artifact assemblage (see Table 5.1). The majority of this group (24.57 percent) consists of unidentifiable metal hardware. Although most of the artifacts are either too fragmented or too poorly preserved to identify with certainty, there are a small number of artifacts that have possible identifications. There is one fragment of a bone handle (1008-00050-WTS-00180) and two iron alloy handle fragments (1008-00012-NOS-00234 and 1008-00129-WTS-00117) that are probably table utensil fragments. Of the ten unidentifiable metal rings, seven are made of copper alloy; some of these could be curtain rings. The single, unidentified slate fragment (1008-00054-FLT-00002) may be a portion of a writing slate. The fragment has two or three parallel marks which may have been made with the slate pencil recovered from the site. One unidentified copper alloy hardware fragment (43-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00234) is possibly a decorative finial for a piece of furniture (Figure 5.19).

Table 5.24  
**Unidentified Artifacts Group**

Form	Material	N	%
Corrosion/Rust	Metal	278	21.48
Handle, unidentified	Bone	1	0.08
	Metal	2	0.15
Hardware, unidentified	Metal	318	24.57
	Unidentifiable	1	0.08
Pebble (4-64mm)	Metal	251	19.40
	Mineral	2	0.15
Ring, unidentified	Metal	10	0.77
Scrap/Waste	Metal	20	1.55
Shatter	Stone	3	0.23
Sheeting	Metal	120	9.27
Slag	Composite	14	1.08
Slate, unidentified	Stone	1	0.08
Stone, natural	Stone	1	0.08
Strapping	Metal	1	0.08
Unidentified	Ceramic	1	0.08
	Bone, carved	1	0.08
	Glass	97	7.50
	Metal	129	9.97
	Stone	25	1.93
	Synthetic	2	0.15
	Unidentifiable	1	0.08
	Vessel	Metal	7
Wire	Metal	8	0.62
<b>Total</b>		<b>1294</b>	<b>100.00</b>





Figure 5.19. Unidentified Artifact Group, copper alloy hardware, possible finial (43-33AS; 1008-00050-WTS-00234)

### Other Notable Artifacts

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the plowzone artifacts and organic finds (e.g., charcoal and shells) were to be excluded from the descriptive analysis of the artifact assemblage. There are, however, a small number of finds that are nonetheless worth commenting on.

The first artifact is a bottle seal (12-33AS; 1008-00023-DRS-00055) recovered from plowzone context 23. The bottle seal is complete and reads “T. Everard 1768” (Figure 5.20). Thomas Everard was twice mayor of Williamsburg and he owned a house on the Palace Green next to the Governor’s Palace. He was also a wealthy planter and slaveowner (Samford 1999:81-82). The bottle seal is noted here since it presents the intriguing possibility of an exchange network between Everard’s enslaved blacks and those who belonged to John Coke.

Another unique artifact recovered from the plowzone (context 14) is a lead alloy whirligig (8-33AS), a child’s toy. Ivor Noël Hume (1972:320-321) wrote that a whirligig was “a serrated-edged disc with two holes through the middle and mounted on a loop of string. By twisting the string and then pulling the ends tight the disc could be made to saw the air, creating a buzzing noise.”

Finally, although ecofacts were excluded from the discussion of the artifact assemblage, there are fossil shells that were recovered from feature contexts (including Feature 1) that may have been used for adornment. Some of the shells have wormholes centered near the hinge that would have allowed someone to string and wear them (Figure 5.21). Archaeologists recovered similar shells from the Rich Neck Slave Quarter site and the Utopia slave quarter site (Fesler 2004:383). This pattern suggests that enslaved Africans curated and used the shells during the eighteenth century, at least within the Williamsburg area.

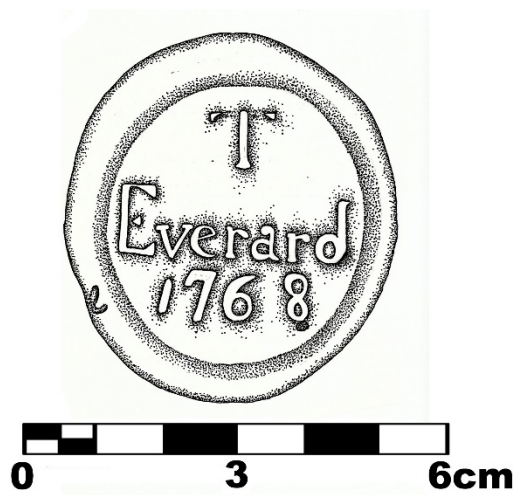


Figure 5.20. Bottle seal, “T Everard 1768” (12-33AS; 1008-00023-DRS-00055). Illustration by Will Russell

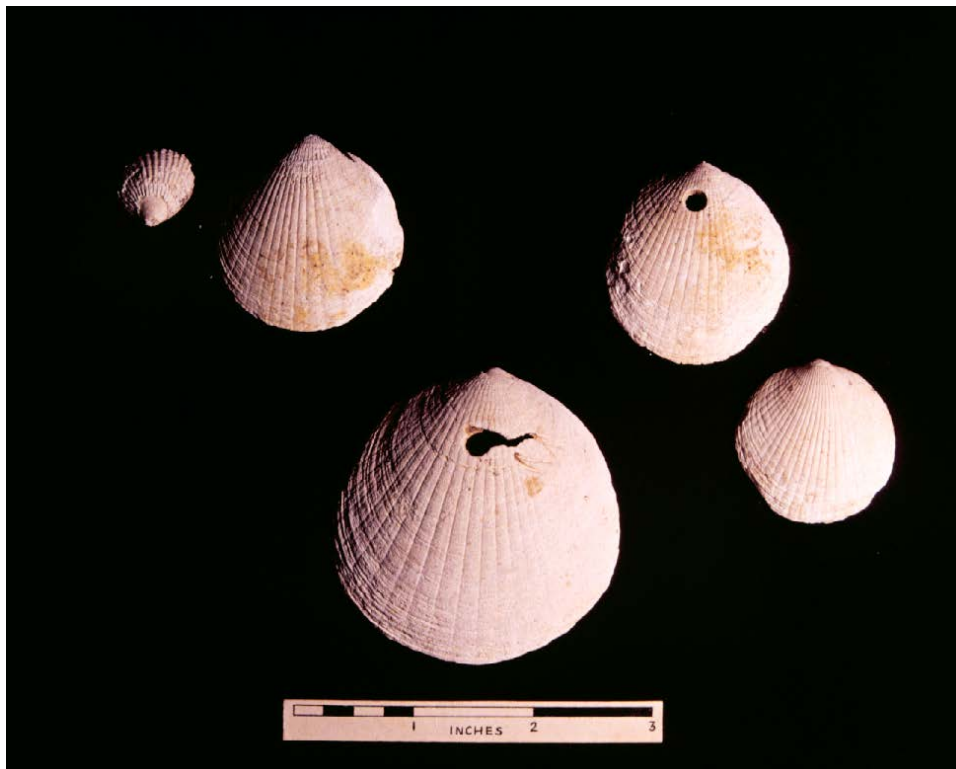


Figure 5.21. Selection of fossil shells recovered from the Palace Lands site



## Chapter 6 – Interpretations

### Introduction

Excavations at the Palace Lands site exposed the remains of a single dwelling and a number of landscape features associated with the tenure of enslaved Virginians from circa 1747-1769. These individuals lived and worked at what was then considered a middling plantation consisting of 200 acres on the margins of Williamsburg. Their owner, John Coke, was a goldsmith who managed to increase his wealth and earning potential by operating a plantation and tavern, as well as by investing in Williamsburg property. In addition to his acreage, Coke held title to a house and five lots in town that he leased. Along with the livestock and other items listed in his 1768 probate inventory (see Appendix F), Coke held nine individuals in bondage, more so than most of his neighbors at the time (see Chapter 3). As is so often the case, the archival record stops short of revealing who these individuals were beyond their name, relative age, and monetary value. While it was impossible to determine which of them were Coke's field hands, there are some clues regarding the site's inhabitants.

In addition to summarizing the evidence regarding the site's built environment, and the likely composition of the household that lived there, this chapter takes up the research questions posed earlier (see Chapter 2) regarding whether and how domestic life may have differed on Coke's plantation when compared to what enslaved field hands experienced on grander plantations. Given the relative dearth of archaeological research on middling plantations, it was decided that a comparative study, rather than one focused solely on the Palace Lands assemblage, would result in more potentially useful interpretations of enslaved lifeways. Of course, many aspects of everyday life, especially the drudgery of working in the fields, was shared across plantations both large and small. Enslaved field hands on Virginia plantations worked in teams from sun up to sundown and had to negotiate meeting their own needs and desires with that of the enforced labor demands. Despite the enormous constraints on household life imposed by slavery, we know that those living at plantations like Monticello (Kelso 1986), Poplar Forest (Heath 1999a), Carter's Grove (Walsh 1997), and Mount Vernon (Schwarz 2001) managed to assert some degree of autonomy within the domestic sphere. Did this hold true for the minority of field hands who labored on the hundreds of middling plantations that dotted the colonial landscape?

This concluding chapter begins with a discussion of the evidence related to the sole dwelling discovered at the site to try and determine how the house may have been constructed. It considers the landscape features related to the site's occupation as well. Using both the historic sources and archaeological data, I then attempt to address the question of who likely lived at the site. Finally, the bulk of this chapter's discussion focuses on the research questions that drove the artifact analysis. The results of the comparative analysis of the Palace Lands artifacts with two other slave quarter assemblages are presented.

## The Built Environment

By the time John Coke purchased his 200 acres in 1747, previous owners had already used the land for planting for at least 40 years prior. The Palace Lands site was located on the southernmost portion of the parcel that was referred to in early eighteenth-century land transactions as “Whaley’s Old Field,” where James and Mary Whaley established their plantation home (see Chapter 2). Still, with the work of a small number of enslaved field hands, the soil continued to yield subsistence and cash crops. When advertised in 1769 for sale or lease, the property was described as “...exceeding good land, and in order for cropping.” There was ample room for Coke’s cattle, horses, and sheep, and most of the acreage was wooded at the time providing lumber for sale and use on the plantation. Tributaries of Queen’s Creek wove through the property providing fresh water, and Capitol Landing Road crossed through it, which eased the transport of crops for sale, and the movement of people to and from town. The site’s inhabitants had plenty of natural resources at hand to help supplement their diet and clearly capitalized on their close proximity to woodlands and nearby Queen’s Creek. Among the faunal remains there was evidence for the consumption of raccoon, opossum, and turtle, and a range of freshwater fish (including striped bass, catfish, and white perch).

Whether the dwelling that once stood on the site was already there when Coke bought the land, or was built anew to house his enslaved blacks is unknown. There were ceramics recovered from the site that were produced prior to 1747 (e.g., Delftware, white salt-glazed stonewares), but these all have production dates that overlap with or exceed the site’s occupation span. According to architectural historian Willie Graham (personal communication, 2007), the house was likely a log structure that sat on the ground. The house probably started out as a one-room dwelling with a brick end chimney. A second room was then added and the dwelling’s inhabitants subsequently dug a large root cellar into the new addition’s dirt floor. The dwelling also had glass windows, shards of which were recovered from a number of feature contexts, including a dense concentration from Feature 4. The house was somewhat anomalous when compared to contemporaneous dwellings for enslaved Virginians which typically had multiple root cellars and a mud-and-stick chimney. The single root cellar suggests that the house was built to accommodate a family (Fesler 2004).

The feature TPQs (see Table 4.8, Chapter 4) indicate that the site’s ditches and post-and-rail fences were constructed following occupation of the house. In all likelihood, the fences were built first, probably to corral Coke’s livestock, and the ditches were added along one fenceline to prevent rainwater from prematurely rotting the wooden fence posts. Mottled clay and thin lenses of silt at the bottom of the ditches indicate that these were regularly dug out to catch rainwater which inevitably eroded ditch walls over time. Overlapping postholes and multiple postmolds in the same postholes point to the replacement of fence posts as needed. This occurred during the operation of Coke’s plantation and also during the subsequent occupation near the site.

Although enslaved Virginians commonly kept subsistence gardens (Heath and Bennett), no evidence of one was found at the site. The flotation samples (see Appendix D) collected have yet to be processed, but likely contain the remains of charred seeds of domesticated garden species. The site’s residents undoubtedly raised



domestic fowl as among the faunal remains there were domesticated turkey and chicken bones. The only other archaeological clues relating to landscape use were the remnants of past activities scattered across the area in the form of debris. Discarded pottery and container fragments, food remains and other refuse ended up in both postholes and ditches, and were deliberately used to fill in the defunct root cellar. Northwest of the house (in relation to the excavation grid), there was a deep ravine (see Figure 4.6, Chapter 4) that excavators tested. Filled only with mid-eighteenth-century artifacts, the ravine was a natural feature used to dispose of refuse.

Despite two intensive surveys of the site area, archaeologists identified the remains of only one dwelling. The artifacts recovered from its related features confirm that the dwelling's inhabitants lived there during Coke's ownership of the plantation. The quarter's likely social organization is addressed in the next section.

### **Social Organization at the Palace Lands Site**

By the second half of the eighteenth century, field hands on Chesapeake plantations increasingly raised corn, tobacco and wheat as the plantation economy shifted towards crop diversification. The number of field hands varied, but the wealthiest planters usually kept a minimum of ten full hands and their family members at each of their satellite plantations (Walsh 1993). Thus, it was common to find 15 to 20 full- and part-time field hands, including adults and children of varying ages, residing at any one quarter. Their communities were most often composed of multiple households which relied on one another both within the fields and the domestic sphere. Ties of kinship, both fictive and real, and the shared experiences of deprivation and enslavement fostered close-knit communities.

Coke's plantation quarter housed a much smaller population of field hands who bore the responsibility of raising his crops and livestock. Coke's probate inventory (see Chapter 3 and Appendix F) is the best historical source that can shed some light on who may have occupied the site. Its date of 1768 closely coincides with the end of occupation at the quarter around 1769, when his heirs put the plantation, livestock, and several enslaved individuals up for sale. There were five adult males – Tom, Squire, Debford, James, and Phill – three adult females – Lucy, Alice, Sylvia, and a child, Judith, listed in Coke's probate. Although it is not known for certain which of these individuals lived at Coke's plantation, the artifacts suggest that a woman and her female child were residing there at some point. Among the assemblage are doll fragments and two child-sized thimbles, presumably used by a young girl learning to sew. Since enslaved women were the primary caretakers of their children, the girl's mother was almost certainly living with her.

The mother's possessions included the sewing implements, a possible earring fragment, and portions of a fan recovered from the site. Enslaved households consisting of women with their children were not uncommon in colonial Virginia, but the evidence of firearms and metal buttons more often used for men's clothing suggests that at least one adult male lived at the site (Fesler 2004:378-384; Galle 2010). This individual(s) was more than likely related to the mother and daughter. By the time the quarter was occupied, it was common practice among slaveowners to

assign individual houses to families. Whether he was a spouse and father, or another child that reached adulthood on the plantation, will never be known.

Based on the evidence, it is proposed that a household composed of kin-related family members, including at least two females and one male, resided at Coke's plantation. However, given the twenty-year occupation span of the quarter, it's possible that different groups lived at the site over time, including ones composed of unrelated, single men. Garrett Fesler's (2004:95) study of household formation patterns across small (less than eight enslaved individuals present) and large plantations indicated that for the former, co-resident families of any kind were less frequent than for the latter. Thus, the presence of a household at Coke's was not the norm for middling plantations.

The handful of individuals assigned to live and work on Coke's plantation were responsible for a multitude of tasks. In addition to planting, his field hands tended Coke's cattle, sheep, and horses. With ample wooded acreage, the male(s) living there undoubtedly felled trees for use at Coke's various properties and for sale. There is also the strong possibility that the field hands were required to work from time to time off the plantation. Although he owned eight adults at the time of his death, Coke's various business interests coupled with maintaining a genteel home life with live-in domestics likely kept his enslaved workers constantly busy. One can imagine people filling in as needed at Coke's tavern, or doing miscellaneous chores at his home, shop, and rental properties. It was also common practice to hire out enslaved laborers. Thus, the range and scheduling of tasks for Coke – some of which required time away from the quarter – may have made it more difficult to balance institutional labor with household needs. Moreover, the cooperative network that typified slave quarter communities on grand plantations was absent at Coke's quarter. Its sole household would have shouldered the burden of the daily and weekly tasks deemed necessary for creating and maintaining a home life.

## Comparative Analysis of Household Assemblages

The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) facilitates a comparative analysis of assemblages by standardizing artifact identification and cataloging for the sites within its archive. In addition to the Palace Lands site, two other sites were chosen for this analysis based on their periods of occupation, location, and factors related to planter wealth: the demographic of the slave quarters, labor management, and likely provisioning system. The sites in question are the Rich Neck (44WB52) and Utopia IV (44JC787) slave quarters. It must be noted that previous publications on both sites are referenced in this chapter (Fesler 2004; Franklin 2004). Since the authors did not use DAACS-generated inventories to perform their analyses, and also included artifacts from a higher number of contexts for their research, there are discrepancies between their results and in what follows.

### The Rich Neck and Utopia IV Slave Quarters

Situated on the outskirts of Williamsburg, the Rich Neck slave quarter dates from circa 1700 to the 1770s with abandonment sometime after 1773. Rich Neck was

one of nine tobacco plantations owned by Phillip Ludwell III and operated as a “satellite,” or outlying, plantation consisting of 3,865 acres. The land had been in the family and used for tobacco planting since the 1660s. During the seventeenth century, Rich Neck was home to the slaveowning family, indentured servants, and enslaved Africans (Muraca et al. 2003). The Ludwells later removed to Green Spring plantation and a manager was hired to oversee work. In 1760, Ludwell III and his family departed to England where he died in 1767. Rich Neck is the only one of the three sites for which there is firm evidence, in the form of Ludwell’s 1767 probate, of who lived at the site at the time of his death. The quarter was home to 21 enslaved individuals of varying ages and genders; there were small children and women and men of advanced age. Given that the site was continuously occupied by field hands belonging to the same wealthy family over decades, its inhabitants undoubtedly formed multiple kin-related households with generational depth. The quarter’s occupation consisted of two dwellings, with the earliest (68AP) dating to circa 1700-1740 (Agbe-Davies 1999). The second dwelling (68AL), a two-room duplex with a central hearth, was inhabited between 1740 to the 1770s. Two households once resided in this duplex, and only the artifacts associated with their tenure were included in the analysis. Upon Ludwell III’s death, trustees controlled the property until his daughter Lucy Paradise inherited Rich Neck in 1770. Lucy and her husband, John, were also absentee slaveowners.

The second site, Utopia, was once part of the 1,280-acre Littleton/Utopia plantation located along the James River. Enslaved field hands occupied Utopia beginning in the 1670s when the plantation was owned by Thomas Pettus (Fesler 2004:6). As ownership of Littleton/Utopia changed over time, four sequential groups of enslaved laborers resided at the Utopia quarter until the 1770s. Archaeologists numbered each occupation phase and their related features ending with Utopia IV (circa 1745-1775). In 1745, Lewis Burwell IV acquired a portion of the original tract that included Utopia upon his marriage to James Bray III’s widow, Frances Thacker Bray. At the time, Burwell was already a wealthy planter and resided nearby on his 1,500-acre Kingsmill Plantation (Kelso 1984). By the 1760s, Burwell owned about 100 enslaved Virginians (Fesler 2004:135) and hired a succession of overseers to supervise his holdings. Fesler (2004:126) noted that 27 individuals, related through kinship and marriage, lived at Utopia IV. They were almost certainly the same field hands quartered there when their previous owner, James III, died. Utopia IV’s occupation was represented by three dwellings, including a duplex. Like the Rich Neck dwelling, two households occupied this duplex, referred to as Structure 140. Only the artifacts associated with Structure 140 were considered for analysis.

All three of the quarters were located within four miles of the colonial capital of Williamsburg. Coke’s plantation was less than a mile from town, Rich Neck within two miles, and Utopia was about four miles southeast of town. Unlike John Coke, Burwell and Ludwell were considered the elite of Virginia society, and possessed large slaveholdings and multiple plantations. Coke was likely the only one of the three who had direct and regular dealings with his field hands. His Williamsburg residence was close to his plantation and within an easy horse ride up Capitol Landing Road, and there is no evidence to suggest that he hired an overseer.

To summarize, the artifacts from the three quarters chosen for analysis date mainly to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. All three quarters were occupied

by field hands, and were located within a four-mile radius of Williamsburg. They differed, however, with respect to their number of inhabitants and the status and wealth of the planters who owned them. Coke owned nine enslaved individuals, of which several composed a single household quartered on his plantation for a period of 20 years. Over 20 individuals lived at each Rich Neck and Utopia IV. These communities were composed of multiple households whose members were kin-related, with some generational depth present among them. The duplexes (Structure 140 and 68AL) at both quarters each served as the residence for two households for a period of about 25-30 years.

## The Artifact Assemblages

The Palace Lands assemblage was used as the starting point to determine which artifact groups would be used for comparison (Table 6.1). As noted in Chapter 5, the assemblage is characteristic of those from Virginia slave quarter sites in general, even though Coke's plantation was a modest one. Thus, as expected, all of the artifact groups for the Palace Lands were likewise represented by both the Rich Neck and Utopia IV assemblages. Most of the specific artifact groups chosen for analysis reflect eighteenth-century activities that crossed racial and class lines: tobacco smoking, foodways, childrearing (including social reproduction), and health and hygiene. Some tasks straddled plantation and household labor, including raising subsistence crops and making repairs to fences and dwellings; artifacts within the Tools Group were implicated in both. Thus, while the use of categories for analytical purposes is helpful and necessary, they can simultaneously hinder interpretations if adhered to too closely. For example, items from the Clothing and Adornment group blur the boundaries between personal possession and individuality, and the role of the household in socializing children into gendered subjects.

Table 6.1  
**Artifact Groups and Related Forms**

Artifact Group	Forms
<b>Arms</b>	Bullet, Gunflint, Shot
<b>Clothing and Adornment</b>	Aiglet, Bead, Buckle, Button, Cufflink, Earring, Hook, Eye, Jewel, Pin, Ring, Stud
<b>Foodways</b>	Ceramic: Bowl, Coffee pot, Creamer, Cup, Jelly mold, Jug, Milk pan, Mug/can, Mug/tankard, Plate, Platter, Porringer, Punch bowl, Saucer, Slop bowl, Storage vessel, Sugar bowl, Teabowl, Tea pot, Unid: Tableware, Unid: Teaware, Unid: Utilitarian, Unid: Ceramics Glass: Case bottle, Stemware, Stopper, Tumbler, Unid:bottle, Wine bottle Metal: Cork screw, Flesh fork, Hook, pot; Lid, Pot, Pan, Utensil Bone: Utensil handle
<b>Furnishings</b>	Candlestick, Curtain ring, Furniture hardware, Heater insert, Upholstery tack
<b>Medicinal and Hygiene</b>	Chamber pot, Drug jar/salve pot, Enema syringe, Lice comb, Mirror, Pharmaceutical bottle
<b>Personal</b>	Coin, Cowrie shell, Doll, Fan, Fishing weight, Ice skate, Jaw harp, Marble, Strike-a-light, Unid weight, Writing slate
<b>Sewing</b>	Needle, Scissors, Straight pin, Thimble
<b>Tobacco</b>	Snuff bottle, Tobacco pipe
<b>Tools</b>	Auger, Axe, Chisel, Draw knife, Drill, Ferrule, File, Gimlet, Hammer, Hoe, Folding knife, Rake, Saw, Scythe, Socket chisel, Tool handle, Unid tool, Wedge, Whetsone

Most of the recovered finds were excluded from the analysis either because they didn't fall into one of the chosen artifact groups, or were not from archaeological contexts associated with the enslaved households in question. Of the former, these included architectural remains, horse and carriage hardware, miscellaneous hardware such as bolts and screws, slag, ecofacts (faunal and botanical remains), lithics, charcoal, and unidentified artifacts. There were also a number of artifacts with ambiguous identifications, such as "unidentified knife," "finial," or "boss" that could not easily be categorized into a specific group. Unidentifiable ceramics, however, were retained and categorized with the Foodways Group since most of the ware types were those commonly produced as tablewares and for tea service. The grand total of artifacts and ecofacts from each site is represented in Table 6.2, which also indicates the percentages of the finds that were ultimately considered for analysis.

Table 6.2  
**Total Number of Artifacts and Ecofacts by Site**

	Palace Lands		Str 140 Utopia IV		68AL Rich Neck	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b><i>N</i> artifacts used for analysis</b>	1802	5.5	2071	6.40	3026	1.00
<b><i>N</i> artifacts and ecofacts excluded</b>	30531	94.43	30307	93.60	301078	99.00
<b>Grand Totals</b>	<b>32333</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>32378</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>304104</b>	<b>100.00</b>



The much higher artifact count for Rich Neck (DAACS 2012a) is mainly due to the flotation sampling protocol followed during excavations (Franklin 2004; Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008). While flotation samples were also collected from Utopia and the Palace Lands, at Rich Neck nearly all of the feature fill underwent flotation. The vast majority of the 304,104 finds were faunal specimens, fish, in particular. With respect to the contexts chosen for analysis, the Palace Lands site witnessed a later site occupation, thus only those artifacts associated with the eighteenth-century site inhabitants (namely, from feature contexts) were included. For Utopia IV, only artifacts retrieved from feature contexts (mainly subfloor pits) associated with Structure 140 were included (Appendix L; DAACS 2012b). Likewise, only artifacts recovered from Structure 68AL feature contexts (Appendix M) at Rich Neck were considered.

It would have been ideal to compare single households across the sites, however, ceramic crossmend evidence for Rich Neck precluded this possibility. Contiguous crossmends linked the deposition of fill between features in both cabins of the duplex there, as well as with plowzone contexts (Franklin 2004). It was clear that as root cellars fell out of use over time, both households residing in the duplex used refuse gathered from their communal midden to backfill their cabin's subfloor pits. Thus, it was impossible to associate any of the artifacts with specific households. While there was no ceramic crossmend evidence for Utopia IV, it's probable that the inhabitants of Structure 140 likewise backfilled defunct subfloor pits in similar fashion.

## Research Questions

Each of the three research questions posed in Chapter 2 are considered in what follows.

*1. Since the number of field hands at Coke's was lower than at large plantations, did this have detrimental effects on their ability to balance institutional with household labor?*

More broadly speaking, this question is about how enslaved field hands on small plantations coped without the social networks typical of larger slave quarter communities that were crucial for a number of reasons. Inter-household dependence was based on cooperation in domestic and agricultural work, and strengthened through mutual obligations in sharing skills, knowledge, and resources. Moreover, most of these large quarter communities, including Rich Neck's and Utopia IV's, were related by blood and marriage (Kulikoff 1986; Walsh 1997). Parents could rely on their relations to care for their children in their absence, and elders too old to labor in the fields were often taken in by family members. This offered some sense of stability and peace of mind to enslaved field hands. In addition, Burwell and Ludwell had at their disposal a large labor force that included skilled artisans and domestics. Thus, field hands at Utopia IV and Rich Neck mainly spent their time on the plantation working. Coke's management of his workforce may have varied, with his enslaved men and women rotating between his different business interests as needed. If the scheduling of tasks required his field hands to work in town, there would have been

periodic disruptions in their home life. Unable to consistently invest time in the chores that were essential for creating and maintaining a domestic life, one would expect their assemblage to differ from that of Rich Neck's and Utopia IV's.

At first glance, the relative percentages of each artifact group, save for Tobacco, and to a lesser extent, Foodways and Sewing, are similar (Table 6.3 and Figure 6.1). Artifacts associated with foodways, especially wine bottles and ceramics, are typically the first or second largest artifact group (behind architectural remains) for historic dwelling sites owing to a number of factors including the use life and breakage patterns of ceramics and glass, their post-depositional preservation, and the predominance of food-related activities that took place at these sites. Other than the regularity with which they appear in much smaller numbers than architectural and foodways-related artifacts, there is not a well-defined pattern of relative frequencies for the remainder of identifiable artifacts from slave quarters. This holds true for the assemblages considered here. As mentioned previously, the assemblages are so alike as to suggest that the domestic life of enslaved field hands was strikingly similar in terms of the range of tasks they performed, their leisurely pursuits, and the material culture they had at their disposal.

Yet, in practice, there was one potential, significant difference: the burden of the workload, especially for gender-specific tasks. Enslaved women bore the responsibility for much of the domestic work, including food preparation, sewing, childrearing, laundering, and keeping house in general (Fesler 2004; Franklin 2001; Galle 2004; Jones 1985:29-43; Schwartz 1996; Wilkie 2003; Yentsch 1994). The female social networks of larger quarters helped to alleviate the stress of balancing agricultural work with domestic chores, as women came together to perform a number of these tasks (White 1985). The mother at Coke's quarter managed to meet the expectations of her household, but at what cost to herself? Without other women residing nearby, she was charged with raising her daughter and tending to the needs of her family while expected to work in the fields. There are two possible scenarios. One is that if the gendered social norms of household labor was adhered to at Coke's, the matriarch there had a greater domestic burden but was still able to meet the needs of her family. Alternatively, the adults of the household shifted to a more flexible social organization of chores, crossing gender lines as needed to complete tasks. Thus, it is important to consider the social organization of labor in addition to the kinds of labor suggested by the results of the artifact analysis.

Table 6.3  
**Artifact Groups by Site**

Artifact Group	Palace Lands		Str 140 Utopia IV		68AL Rich Neck	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Arms</b>	12	0.7	4	0.2	52	1.7
<b>Clothing and Adornment</b>	99	5.5	126	6.1	169	5.6
<b>Foodways</b>	1164	64.6	1004	48.5	1593	52.6
<b>Furnishings</b>	6	0.3	15	0.7	20	0.7
<b>Medicinal and Hygiene</b>	118	6.5	184	8.9	74	2.4
<b>Personal</b>	32	1.8	23	1.1	30	1.0
<b>Sewing</b>	262	14.5	66	3.2	261	8.6
<b>Tobacco</b>	105	5.8	609	29.4	811	26.8
<b>Tools</b>	4	0.2	40	1.9	16	0.5
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1802</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2071</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3026</b>	<b>100.0</b>

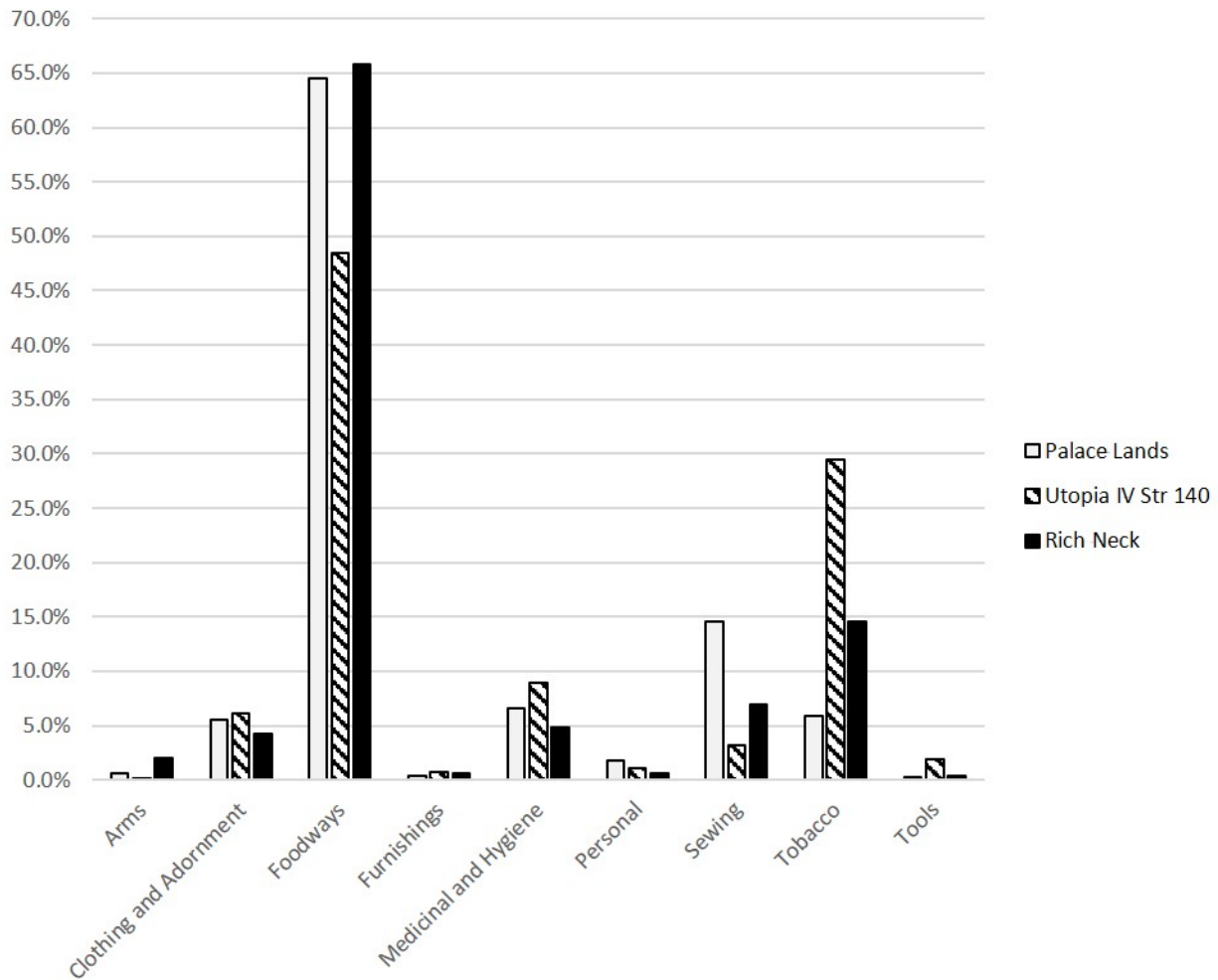


Figure 6.1. Percentages of artifact groups by site

2. Did Coke provision his enslaved field hands in similar ways to elite planters, and if not, how might this have influenced their home life?

Wealthy slaveowners like Ludwell and Burwell provided field hands with food rations, some clothing and shoes, a blanket, and a few basic provisions that included, usually, an iron pot and/or frying pan for cooking, and tools (Walsh 1997:90-93). It appears that Coke, although of more moderate means, followed suit. The archaeological remains of iron cooking wares and tools are normally either absent, or present in small numbers – almost always as fragments rather than whole – at slave quarter sites. There were no recovered metal cooking wares from Palace Lands, while small numbers were retrieved from Structure 140 at Utopia IV and Rich Neck (Table 6.4). Similarly, relatively low numbers of tools were recovered from all three sites (see Tables 6.3 and 6.5).

Table 6.4  
Metal Foodways-related Objects by Site

Form	Material	Palace Lands	Str 140 Utopia IV	68AL Rich Neck
		<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N</i>
<b>Corkscrew</b>	Iron	1	0	1
<b>Hook, pot</b>	Iron	0	6	0
<b>Lid</b>	Iron	0	1	0
<b>Pan</b>	Copper alloy	0	2	0
<b>Pot</b>	Copper alloy	0	0	1
<b>Pot</b>	Iron	0	4	1
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>

Table 6.5  
Tools Group and Related Activities by Site

Activity	Form	Palace Lands		Str 140 Utopia IV		68AL Rich Neck	
		<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Agriculture, gardening</b>	Hoe, Rake, Scythe	1	25.0	10	25.0	4	25.0
<b>Woodworking, construction</b>	Adze, Auger, Axe, Chisel, Drill bit, File, Gimlet, Hammer, Draw Knife, Saw, Socket chisel, Wedge	1	25.0	11	27.5	8	50.0
<b>Multi-purpose</b>	Folding Knife	0	0.0	10	25.0	0	0.0
<b>Blade Sharpener</b>	Whetstone	1	25.0	4	10.0	3	18.8
<b>Unidentified</b>	Ferrule, Handle, Unid Tool	1	25.0	5	12.5	1	6.3
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Cooking implements, in particular, seem to have been provisioned in low quantities: one to two pots or pans per quarter, not per household (Fesler 2004:357-358; Kern 2005:262). The 1767 probate inventory for Rich Neck lists axes, wedges,

three harrow teeth, 23 hoes, a grindstone, and two iron pots. The two pots were presumably shared by the quarter's three to four households. What Burwell provisioned for Utopia is unknown, but the 1726 probate for one former owner, James Bray II, lists one iron pot each for most of his outlying plantation quarters (Fesler 2004:427-431). Coke's 1768 probate does not distinguish between the various properties inventoried. However, it may be that the quarter was inventoried first. Nestled in between the itemization of livestock, including "24 head of cattle" and horses, is a one-line entry for "1 iron pot, 1 frying pan [torn] oxen." Near the bottom of the probate is a list of tools likely provisioned for the quarter: "6 axes, 3 spades, 7 hoes, garden rake, 2 forks." Not surprisingly, slaveowners ensured that field hands had ample tools for labor, but felt that upwards of three to four households should make do with one to two pots.

There are at least two reasons why metal tools and cook wares, though regularly used, constitute relatively low percentages of assemblages. Their durability was surely a factor, and they required less replacement over time. Thus, their discard rate was much lower than for ceramics, for example. Second, the tools and iron cook pots listed in probates, like people and livestock, were considered the property of slaveowners (Gaynor et al. 1988:32). At the time of site abandonment, these items, if still in working condition, were curated and re-used elsewhere or sold.

On a case-by-case basis, slaveowners provided firearms. Usually given to a trusted male for hunting, rather than as a provision for a quarter, evidence for firearms use is commonly recovered from slave quarter sites. As with tools and pots, however, artifacts related to their use are small in number (see Table 6.3; Table 6.6). It is important to note that the evidence of firearms use at slave quarters is almost always in the form of lead shot or bullets, gunflints, and more indirectly, the faunal remains of large game like white-tailed deer. Such was the case for the Palace Lands, Utopia IV duplex, and Rich Neck. It is rare to find gun or rifle parts at these sites (although seven fragments were discovered within other feature contexts at Utopia). As with metal pots, this is due to their durability, the care that owners imparted to firearms, that only one or two were used at a quarter, and curation.

Table 6.6  
Arms Group by Site

	Palace Lands	Str 140 Utopia IV	68AL Rich Neck
<b>Form</b>	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>N</i></b>
<b>Bullet</b>	4	0	1
<b>Gunflint</b>	3	0	13
<b>Shot</b>	5	4	38
<b>Totals</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>52</b>

Finally, planters were known to distribute blankets, clothing, and shoes to field hands. Clothing was usually of the roughest sort, as slaveowners were more concerned with durability and cost rather than comfort, fit, and fashion for his workforce (Baumgarten 1988; Kern 2005:274-275; Walsh 1997:187-191). In fact, since clothing was rationed to enslaved field hands once or twice a year on average, mainly one set each for summer and winter wear, most of the clothing-related artifacts



from slave quarters was likely acquired via purchase, not as provisions or hand-me-downs. Wealthy slaveowners in Virginia tended to dole out second-hand clothing to a domestic or groom, likely following the English practice of gifting old clothing to personal servants (Baumgarten 1988:12). This was usually an enslaved individual who stood high in the planter's hierarchy, who lived in close proximity to, or within, the mansion, and had frequent interactions with him. If second-hand clothing made it into the quarters, it was probably through bartering between enslaved individuals.

Thus, in the case of these three slave quarters, slaveowners' routine provisions seem not to have varied. Each quarter was provisioned with one or two metal cook pots, tools, and a trusted male or males living at each was given a firearm. The discard rate for these items was relatively low (and in the case of firearms, completely absent) despite their heavy use since these items were durable, and if still usable by the time of site abandonment, were curated. Slaveowners provisioned material resources like tools and pots, unlike clothing and food, per slave quarter, not per household, and the practice was likely the same regardless of plantation/quarter size.

Although the tools, pots and firearms provided were few in number at each quarter, they nonetheless played a significant role in enslaved domestic life. The iron kettles and frying pans were probably the main implements used for cooking since the vast majority of the foodways-related artifacts from the three assemblages were for food and beverage service, consumption, or storage. The various tools were used for both plantation and household labor. One can imagine a hoe being used to plant both cash crops and for subsistence gardening. With firearms, hunting game also put additional food on the table. Thus, the relatively low percentages of these items tend to mask their centrality to enslaved households.

### *3. To what extent were Coke's field hands able to participate in the consumer revolution that characterized the period?*

Enslaved consumerism is an important line of inquiry for addressing how households sought to improve their standard of living (Walsh 1997:183-186), and demonstrated preferences for particular kinds of goods. If slaveowners of both small and large plantations provisioned quarters with few material resources beyond tools and iron pots, and were unlikely to bestow hand-me-downs to field hands, then consumerism must have accounted for much of what is represented in the assemblages. Enslaved men and women earned cash through a variety of means, and coinage is regularly recovered from slave quarter contexts. Coins, undoubtedly lost by their owners, were found at all three of the sites: two each at the Palace Lands site, and from Structure 140 at Utopia, and 15 at Rich Neck. Importantly, there is stronger evidence for shopping versus provisioning or hand-me-downs to help explain how goods made their way into slave quarters.

Enslaved consumers included men and women, and those who worked at trades, in the big house, and in the fields. Virginia store ledgers and account books document their purchases, providing clues as to what kinds of items they favored. Chief among them were ready-made clothing, including hats and stockings, textiles, and adornment-related items (Heath 2004; Gaynor et al. 1988:33-36; Martin 2008:174-185). People also purchased buttons, dyes, ribbons, and sewing supplies: needles, pins, thread, and scissors. Sewing implements were recovered from all three

quarters (see Table 6.3; Table 6.7), and sewing and working with textiles in general was considered women’s work (Fry 1990; Galle 2004; Jones 1985:30-31). Females labored as seamstresses and spinners for wealthy slaveowners, and were responsible for making, altering, and mending clothes for their families. Two small thimbles recovered from the Palace Lands site were the likely possessions of a young female who learned to sew from her mother. There was clearly a demonstrated need to supplement their meager clothing rations, yet there were additional motivations for purchasing items related to dress.

Table 6.7  
**Sewing Group by Site**

Form	Palace Lands		Str 140 Utopia IV		68AL Rich Neck	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Needle</b>	2	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Pin, straight</b>	254	96.9	55	83.3	259	99.2
<b>Scissors</b>	2	0.8	6	9.1	1	0.4
<b>Thimble</b>	4	1.5	5	7.6	1	0.4
<b>Totals</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Two related observations stand out regarding the artifacts from the Clothing and Adornment group. First, most of the items must have been store-bought, being too ornate or superfluous for everyday wear for field hands to have been part of their rationed clothing. Second, enslaved men and women used clothing as a means to differentiate themselves and to work against the homogenizing effects of provisioned clothing (Galle 2010:28; Heath 1999b; Hunt 1996; Martin 2008:183-184; Thomas and Thomas 2004; Walsh 1997:187-191). Provisioned clothing was not only plain and cheaply made, but field hands of the same sex received the same items (Baumgarten 1988; Hunt 1996:229). Adding ribbons and fancy buttons to clothing, dyeing clothes, and accessorizing with a hat or scarf were forms of self-expression (Hunt 1996).

Table 6.8  
**Clothing and Adornment Group by Site**

Category	Form	Palace Lands		Utopia IV Str 140		68AL Rich Neck	
		<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Adornment</b>	Bead, Jewelry (Earring, Finger Ring)	27	27.3	54	42.9	78	46.2
<b>Clothes fastener</b>	Button, Hook and Eye, Stud, Cufflink (Sleeve button), Jewel for Cufflink, Stock Buckle	68	68.7	68	54.0	87	51.5
<b>Shoe hardware</b>	Buckle	4	4.0	0	0.0	2	1.2
<b>Other clothing</b>	Aiglet	0	0.0	4	3.2	1	0.6
<b>Unid clothing</b>	Buckle	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>169</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Among the clothing-related artifacts from all three sites are those once attached to ready-made garments, and clothing women made or embellished. Clothes fasteners constitute the majority of each assemblage (see Table 6.8). Most are buttons, with metal buttons, used mainly for men’s clothing (Galle 2010:25; White 2005:57-59), predominating. Although wood and bone buttons were common during the eighteenth century, fewer of these were recovered from each site. The buttons from the Rich Neck duplex are represented in Table 6.9 (see also Franklin 2004:125-127; DAACS 2012a). Nearly half of the buttons, 49 percent, from Structure 140 are copper alloy. Similarly, of the 59 buttons recovered from the Palace Lands, nearly all (n=45) have copper alloy faces or are entirely made of copper (see Chapter 5). More than a few of these buttons were cast or stamped with ornate designs. Stock buckles were another clothing item used by men. It was common for males to wear a neck handkerchief fastened with a stock buckle (White 2005:45). Four of these, made of copper alloy, were recovered from Structure 140. Artifacts related to adornment, namely beads and jewelry, were more than likely worn by women (see Table 6.8). Most of the beads are made of drawn or wound glass in a range of shapes and colors, including blues, greens, white, red, gray, and black. Some of the beads are colorless. Though fewer in number, there are also copper and porcelain beads. An individual(s) at the Rich Neck quarter also carved faceted and square-shaped beads from shell.

Table 6.9  
**Buttons by Material and Manufacturing Technique, 68AL Rich Neck**

<b>Form</b>	<b>Material</b>	<b>Manufacturing Technique</b>	<b>N</b>
<b>Button, 1 Piece</b>	Copper Alloy	Cast	1
<b>Button, 1 Piece, domed</b>	Pewter	Cast	1
<b>Button, 2 Piece</b>	Bone	Cut/Carved	8
<b>Button, 2 Piece</b>	Copper Alloy	Stamped	2
<b>Button, 2 Piece</b>	Missing	Not Applicable	5
<b>Button, 2 Piece</b>	Missing	Unidentifiable	4
<b>Button, 2 Piece, domed</b>	Missing	Unidentifiable	1
<b>Button, 2 Piece, semi-domed</b>	Copper Alloy	Cast	1
<b>Button, 2 Piece, semi-domed</b>	Copper Alloy	Stamped	2
<b>Button, Blank/Mold</b>	Bone	Cut/Carved	2
<b>Button, FD concave back</b>	Copper Alloy	Cast	4
<b>Button, FD concave back</b>	Copper Alloy	Spun Back, cast	3
<b>Button, FD concave back</b>	Pewter	Cast	1
<b>Button, Flat Disc</b>	Copper Alloy	Cast	7
<b>Button, Flat Disc</b>	Copper Alloy	Spun Back, cast	4
<b>Button, Flat Disc</b>	Copper Alloy	Stamped	4
<b>Button, Flat Disc</b>	Pewter	Cast	5
<b>Button, Not Recorded</b>	Not Recorded	Not Recorded	10
<b>Button, Unidentifiable</b>	Copper Alloy	Stamped	1
<b>Button, Unidentifiable</b>	Unidentifiable	Not Applicable	14
		<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>

The remainder of the clothing artifacts, including hooks and eyes (White 2005:74-75), was not used for gender-specific dress. Cufflinks, referred to more commonly in the past as “sleeve buttons,” were worn by men and women to dress up

clothing (White 2005:61-62). These were two buttons attached with either a metal chain link or bar. Colored glass jewels, or “pastes”, once used as insets for cufflinks were recovered from all three sites. Individuals used these fasteners for sleeves, at the neckline of shirts, and for women’s waistcoats (Cofield 2012:99, 102-106). Since cufflinks could be moved from garment to garment it was a convenient way to accessorize and personalize clothing. Their cost varied depending on the kind of metal and inset used, making them affordable for most (Cofield 2012:102-103; White 2005:61-62). Someone residing at the Rich Neck quarter, however, managed to buy a set of expensive silver sleeve buttons and a silver shirt stud.

If the artifacts are representative of what people regularly purchased in terms of clothing and adornment, then their choices were driven by desires to broadcast their gender subjectivities and as a means of self-expression (Heath 1999b; Thomas and Thomas 2004; White 2005). Rather than save money by buying cheaper buttons or making their own simply for functional purposes, people bought stock buckles, beads, finger rings, cufflinks, and fashionable buttons. Most of these were non-essential for everyday wear. In her comparative regional study of enslaved consumer practices, Jillian Galle (2010) found that certain men purchased expensive metal buttons at a higher rate than others in order to signal desirable traits (e.g., skills, mobility, earning potential) in their search for prospective spouses, or to solidify existing abroad marriages. Regardless of whether there were single men or men in abroad marriages at any of the three slave quarters considered here, the higher quantities of metal buttons relative to other kinds of fasteners does not mean that male consumers invested more in their appearance than women. Women were accustomed to using non-durable goods like ribbons, head scarves, or applied dyes to plain fabrics to stand out.

Other items that enslaved consumers purchased included tools, knives, lead shot and gunpowder, ceramics, cooking vessels, alcohol and food (e.g., sugar, molasses), mirrors, hardware, and drinking vessels (Heath 1999a:51-52, 2004:29; Katz-Hyman 2000:I-3; Martin 2008:174-175). Most of these are commonly recovered from slave quarter sites. Men probably purchased the folding knives recovered from Utopia IV, and undoubtedly the lead shot found at all three sites. Save for the food and beverages, enslaved consumers mainly purchased items that were portable and that they intended to take with them. It follows that sewing implements and clothing- and adornment-related artifacts, being small finds, likely made their way into the archaeological record through loss rather than discard.

It is possible that some of the ceramics from the Palace Lands site were hand-me-downs from John Coke. In comparing the ceramics, specific to the Palace Lands, there is a higher proportion of wares for tea and coffee service (50.7 percent) relative to tablewares and vessels for food preparation and storage (Table 6.10). Not only is there a higher frequency of tea and coffee wares for the Palace Lands, but a more diverse set of forms identified for this category and for tablewares (Table 6.11). The household at Coke’s quarter discarded fragments of a teapot, coffee pot, slop bowl, sugar bowl, creamer, teabowls, and saucers (see also Chapter 5). This is quite an array, and more diverse than the tea and coffee ceramics for the duplexes at the Rich Neck and Utopia IV sites combined. Although this could represent a purchasing pattern favoring teawares (Franklin 2004:224-228), it’s more likely that Coke’s enslaved field hands received second-hand ceramics from his tavern operation.

Table 6.10  
**Foodways-related Ceramics by Site**

Category	Palace Lands		Str 140 Utopia IV		68AL Rich Neck	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
<b>Tableware</b>	89	39.9	132	55.9	137	47.1
<b>Tea and Coffee Service</b>	113	50.7	63	26.7	99	34.0
<b>Food Preparation and Storage</b>	21	9.4	41	17.4	55	18.9
<b>Totals</b>	223	100.0	236	100.0	291	100.0

Table 6.11  
 Vessel Forms, Ceramic Tea/Coffee and Tableware by Site

Form	Palace Lands	Str 140 Utopia IV	68AL Rich Neck
<b>Bowl</b>	x	x	x
<b>Coffee pot</b>	x	-	-
<b>Creamer</b>	x	-	-
<b>Cup</b>	x	x	-
<b>Mug, can, tankard</b>	x	x	x
<b>Plate</b>	x	x	x
<b>Platter</b>	x	-	-
<b>Porringer</b>	x	-	-
<b>Punch bowl</b>	x	-	-
<b>Saucer</b>	x	x	x
<b>Slop bowl</b>	x	-	-
<b>Sugar bowl</b>	x	-	-
<b>Teabowl</b>	x	x	x
<b>Teapot</b>	x	-	-

In their research of Southall's Quarter (44JC969) in James City County, archaeologists raised the question of whether the quarter's location on a busy thoroughfare used for trade, and its distance from the manor house, allowed the field hands residing there to participate more freely and frequently in the local market economy (Pullins et al. 2003:7-10). The assemblage included pastry/pudding pans, platters, a possible sauceboat, tureen, and tureen stand, all vessels that are unusual for a slave quarter. Rather than suggest that these items were purchased, the authors concluded that these were second-hand items from James Southall's successful Williamsburg tavern (Pullins et al. 2003:171-173). As Southall ordered new wares for his business, he distributed the older ceramics to his field hands. John Coke probably did the same as the enslaved men and women who lived and worked in his home and tavern likely had less need for used ceramics. Chipped but still usable vessels and out-of-fashion wares probably ended up at Coke's quarter (see also Kern 2005:267). Thus, it may be that Coke's status as a tavern owner, and not just factors concerning his wealth or plantation management, had a direct influence on the materiality of domestic life within the quarter.



To date, there is little evidence to suggest that there were major constraints that generally kept enslaved field hands from participating in the local and regional market economies, both as producers and consumers. The authors of one study noted that, “Market regulations, by their very quantity in Virginia towns, imply a strong African American presence...Later eighteenth-century regulations of Virginia towns did not prohibit slave activity but tried to regulate it, most commonly through the requirement of written permission by owners to prevent the sale of stolen foods” (Walsh et al. 1997:88-89). Moreover, wealthy planters encouraged the practice since it benefitted their bottom line, going so far as to purchase produce and game from their enslaved workers (Heath 2004; Walsh 1997:183-186). Virginia planter Landon Carter wrote in his diary that, “My people always made things to sell and I oblige them to buy linnen to make their other shirt instead of buying liquor with their fowls” (Greene 1965:484). Proximity to markets does not appear to have dampened enslaved consumerism either. Heath’s (2004) study of enslaved producers and consumers at Poplar Forest included an analysis of store ledgers and daybooks from merchants in seven counties, indicating how widespread the practice was. Even enslaved individuals living in frontier areas of Virginia, like the Shenandoah Valley, found the means to shop (Martin 2008). Thus, the opportunities to participate in local markets were open to enslaved laborers from both small and large plantations, and those in both urban and remote locales. Still, it may have been easier for those living in large slave quarter communities to raise garden crops and chickens, to hunt and fish, and partake in other activities as a means of earning cash or to barter goods for store purchases. They had the benefit of pooling their labor with others for household-related chores, freeing up their time.

A comparison of the three assemblages demonstrates that households at all three sites made very similar consumer choices, favoring sewing implements, and items to dress up their appearance. Even artifacts from the Personal Group (Table 6.12), unique as they are (and often why they’re included in this category of miscellanea), suggest some consumer patterns. Toys and other items are represented in at least two of the three assemblages. With regard to who did the shopping, Heath (2004) observed that single men and women, and older adults whose children were no longer dependents, were most often consumers (see also Martin 2008:175). People often bartered or sold produce, eggs, and game, and those with young children needed all of the food they produced to feed themselves and their family. If this was the case at Coke’s quarter, the adults residing there may have delayed participating in the market system until their child was older.

Table 6.12  
**Personal Group by Site**

<b>Form</b>	<b>Palace Lands</b>		<b>Str 140 Utopia IV</b>		<b>68AL Rich Neck</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Coin</b>	2	6.3	2	8.7	15	50.0
<b>Fan Blade/Part</b>	18	56.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
<b>Fishing weight</b>	0	0.0	2	8.7	2	6.7
<b>Jews/Jaw Harp</b>	0	0.0	1	4.3	1	3.3
<b>Strike-a-light</b>	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.3
<b>Toy</b>	10	31.3	16	69.6	7	23.3
<b>Weight, unid</b>	1	3.1	2	8.7	1	3.3

<b>Writing Slate</b>	1	3.1	0	0.0	3	10.0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100.0</b>

## Conclusion

Archaeological research of the Palace Lands site provided an opportunity to investigate a slave quarter on a middling plantation. Since the majority of slave quarters excavated so far were once part of much larger holdings, it was hoped that this project could contribute to writing a more inclusive and holistic narrative of Virginia slavery. Did differences in demographics and planter wealth influence the dynamics of domestic life? Were there contrasts in plantation management, especially with regard to regular and special provisions doled out, that might have differentially impacted the materiality of everyday life? Was participation in the local market economy same for field hands on small and large plantations? These questions were best addressed via a comparative analysis, and a summary of the results follows below.

With regard to the first question: wealthy planters typically kept at least ten full hands at each of their outlying plantations, while middling planters like Coke had as little as two field hands but usually no more than eight. For the former, multiple kin-related households residing at a single quarter was the norm. With the inter-household cooperation in plantation work and domestic chores that this enabled, it was expected that those residing at Coke's found it more difficult to balance the two. Their artifact assemblage, however, was comparable in artifact types and the relative frequencies of artifact groups to those from Rich Neck and Utopia IV. The activities represented across the assemblages included food preparation and communal dining, hunting, and sewing. Socialization and childrearing at the Palace Lands were indicated by toys, including fragments of a doll, a miniature creamware saucer, and two complete thimbles. The implication is that there were two possible responses from the household. First, the elder female at Coke's plantation had a greater domestic workload than was typical of her peers on large plantations. Since women were responsible for many of the daily household chores, she likely struggled more so than her counterparts on large quarters to balance fieldwork, childrearing, and the upkeep of her domicile. Second, the male or males at the quarter helped with childrearing, food preparation, and other chores normally reserved for females.

The second question addressed provisions. Although wealthy slaveowners supplied few material provisions to field hands, these items proved to be essential to them beyond plantation work. At a minimum, enslaved households used provisioned tools for raising subsistence gardens, chopping wood for the fireplace, and for repairs to dwellings. Building a chicken coop, digging out a root cellar, crafting a bed or adding a loft to one's house are other likely possibilities for which tools were put to use. Access to provisioned tools also opened up opportunities to produce items and foodstuffs for local markets. The metal pots and pans were also essential household items. These are typically the only items once used for cooking that archaeologists recover from slave quarter sites. Based on the probate inventories, pots were provisioned per quarter rather than per household, with one or two pots being the norm. Cost certainly factored into the decisions slaveowners made regarding outfitting

a quarter. It may also be that they were aware that enslaved households often shared chores, and decided that one or two pots would suffice for multiple families.

In terms of the three quarters considered here, the provisions were probably comparable even though John Coke was not as wealthy as Ludwell or Burwell. Although the assemblage from Coke's quarter did not include the remains of metal cookwares or tools typically provisioned to field hands (with the exception of a rake fragment), his probate inventory suggests that his field hands had the same range of implements for labor and cooking as did those residing at Utopia and Rich Neck. The allocation of tools is not surprising, nor is their absence from the Palace Lands assemblage. The practice of curating usable tools and iron pots, which remained the property of slaveowners, means that few if any of these will be recovered from slave quarter sites. In terms of irregular provisions, Coke entrusted firearms to at least one individual and his field hands were probably given second-hand goods, especially ceramics, from his tavern. This would help to explain the higher quantities of tea and coffee wares from the site. While enslaved field hands relied heavily on these provisions which helped to sustain their household economy, it was through participation in local markets where they acquired the bulk of their movable possessions.

Despite the archaeological and historical evidence suggesting that enslaved individuals were active consumers, this is a topic for which there are few sources compared to others regarding enslaved lifeways. Moreover, slave quarter assemblages so often include "high end" goods that archaeologists tend to assume that wealthy slaveowners were in the habit of doling out their old clothes and household goods to their field hands. Yet planters like Jefferson and Ludwell owned dozens of field hands, making this unlikely. With regard to the Palace Lands case study, might factors such as higher workloads for Coke, or other constraints he might have imposed on his laborers circumscribed their ability to participate in Williamsburg's marketplace? The evidence suggests not.

Since field hands occupied the bottom rung of slaveowners' social order, minimal expenditures went into their clothing and food rations despite their overwhelming importance to the plantation economy and a slaveowner's prosperity. Given few material provisions by slaveowners, whatever possessions enslaved households managed to acquire was a result of their own efforts, and rather than an idiosyncratic or irregular activity, shopping must have played an integral role in their household economy. The artifacts retrieved from their former living spaces represent only a partial record of their material world, and yet it's enough to demonstrate that consumerism as a goal influenced decisions regarding household production and consumption that enslaved field hands made on a regular basis (Heath 2004). What garden crops could they grow in abundance to ensure that there was surplus to barter or sell? What kinds of wild game should they target for sale, and would their time and energies be better spent fishing or hunting on a Sunday? Could they spare a dozen eggs to purchase much-needed sewing supplies?

Although shopping gave enslaved men and women the opportunity to buy a range of goods, the existing literature reveals a pronounced pattern with respect to the kinds of items enslaved shoppers purchased. Even taking into consideration individuals' preferences for specific styles of cufflinks or buttons, or bead colors and

shapes, altogether there is uniformity in the categories of goods that enslaved consumers invested in at all three quarters. Folding knives, toys, jaw harps, alcohol, sewing implements, and myriad clothing- and adornment-related objects were represented across nearly all of the assemblages. Some items were undoubtedly purchased based on need, but they all speak to self-determination and a motivation to establish some semblance of a home life.

The comparative study of the Palace Lands, Rich Neck, and Utopia IV sites suggests that the social organization of those who occupied slave quarters was a significant criterion in terms of how everyday lifeways played out in these settings. The comparability between all three assemblages was largely due to their association with households made up of kin, and their domestic chores. The individuals who resided at Coke's plantation were socially organized as a kin-related household with at least one child, a female, present. This family lived within a social and material world that would have resonated with other enslaved households across Virginia's colonial-era landscape, most of whom lived on large plantations. In contrast, the number of enslaved Africans working on small plantations was often as low as one to two individuals who were mainly adults, and oftentimes male. While they may have formed households of their own, this is an issue that needs to be addressed and not something to be assumed. Thus, what was revealed about the enslaved household at Coke's plantation, specifically the range of domestic activities, may not apply to other small plantations where households did not form.

Where there were quarters for enslaved field hands, regardless of the size of the plantation, they probably received similar provisions: tools and a cook pot. The amount of food and the number of clothing rations varied even between wealthy slaveowners, and it is unknown what Coke rationed on a regular basis. Still, the enslaved family who resided at Coke's were clearly active as producers and consumers in the local market economy, and purchased items that underscored their determination to be seen as individuals, and to realize some domestic normalcy away from the fields. Meeting the high demands of institutional labor while undertaking labor that enabled one to participate in the consumer revolution would have been a tremendous challenge, and was one of the major obstacles to shopping. More so for families with children to rear. With dependents to care for, parents were less likely to shop (Heath 2004; Martin 2008). Yet some archaeological evidence for market consumerism can be expected at slave quarter sites both large and small, regardless of distance to markets and the presence of households. In general, where enslaved field hands formed households, there were shared norms in the acquisition of, and investment in, household and personal possessions and the roles that material culture played in daily life.

Finally, while the discussion in this chapter has revolved around households and the "everyday", it's important to emphasize that what's been referred to as "domestic" was never an autonomous, bounded space. The artifact categories used, while necessary for analytical purposes, also had the unintended effect of compartmentalizing activities and practices into domestic versus other. However, as previously mentioned, artifacts can and often do represent the overlapping spheres of daily life and plantation labor: a woman smoking a pipe filled with tobacco that she harvested months ago, a man repairing a fence on the plantation with a hammer that he will soon use to install a loft in his family's cabin. Extending the observation to

other practices, one can more easily realize how entangled the institution of slavery was with everyday life: a family consuming their weekly ration of corn from bowls they purchased in town, a wife brings out her sewing kit to mend a shirt her spouse received as part of his provisioned clothing. In the end, questions concerning enslaved lifeways, including the ones raised by this research, must continue to be contextualized within the broader structures and processes of slavery that enslaved Africans and creoles variously contested, negotiated or managed to live with.



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## Appendices



## Appendix A. Dryscreen and Wetscreen Samples, Features 1, 4, and 5 (F01, F04, and F05)

Feature No.	Feature Type	Context	Recovery Method
F01	Pit, subfloor	12	Dryscreened 50 liters; wetscreened 20 liters
F01	Pit, subfloor	50	Wetscreened 100%
F01	Pit, subfloor	129	Wetscreened 100%
F01	Pit, subfloor	53	Wetscreened 100%
F01	Pit, subfloor	54	Wetscreened 100%
F04	Ditch, other	19	Dryscreened; wetscreened 20 liters
F04	Ditch, other	204	Wetscreened 100%
F04	Ditch, other	205	Dryscreened north half; wetscreened south half
F04	Ditch, other	206	Wetscreened 100%
F04	Ditch, other	207	Dryscreened north half; wetscreened south half
F04	Ditch, other	277	Dryscreened; wetscreened 20 liters
F04	Ditch, other	278	Dryscreened; wetscreened 20 liters
F04	Ditch, other	213	Wetscreened 100%
F04	Ditch, other	221	Dryscreened north half; wetscreened south half
F04	Ditch, other	279	Dryscreened; wetscreened 10 liters
F04	Ditch, other	211	Dryscreened north half; wetscreened south half
F04	Ditch, other	214	Wetscreened 100%
F04	Ditch, other	217	Dryscreened north half; wetscreened south half
F04	Ditch, other	234	Dryscreened north half; wetscreened south half
F04	Ditch, other	295	Dryscreened; wetscreened 10 liters
F04	Ditch, other	298	Dryscreened; wetscreened 10 liters
F05	Ditch, other	275	Wetscreened 100%



## Appendix B. Soil Chemistry Samples

Feature No.	Feature Type	Context	Sample (N boxes)
F04	Ditch, other	204	1
F04	Ditch, other	205	1
F04	Ditch, other	206	1
F04	Ditch, other	207	1
F04	Ditch, other	277	1
F04	Ditch, other	278	1
F04	Ditch, other	318	1
F04	Ditch, other	213	1
F04	Ditch, other	221	1
F04	Ditch, other	211	1
F04	Ditch, other	214	1
F04	Ditch, other	217	1
F04	Ditch, other	234	1
F04	Ditch, other	279	1
F04	Ditch, other	295	1
F04	Ditch, other	298	1
F05	Ditch, other	51	1
F05	Ditch, other	310	1
F05	Ditch, other	274	1
F05	Ditch, other	319	1
F05	Ditch, other	275	1
F05	Ditch, other	296	1
F06	Ditch, other	248	1
F06	Ditch, other	299	1
F06	Ditch, other	300	1
F06	Ditch, other	301	1
F06	Ditch, other	302	1
F06	Ditch, other	303	1
F06	Ditch, other	304	1
F06	Ditch, other	311	1
F06	Ditch, other	312	1
F06	Ditch, other	313	1
F06	Ditch, other	314	1
F06	Ditch, other	315	1
F06	Ditch, other	316	1
F06	Ditch, other	317	1
F06	Ditch, other	325	1
F12	Posthole	228	1
F12	Posthole	336	1
F13	Posthole	68	1
F13	Posthole	340	1



Feature No.	Feature Type	Context	Sample (N boxes)
F14	Posthole	33	1
F14	Posthole	257	1
F15	Posthole	35	1
F15	Posthole	251	1
F15	Posthole	253	1
F16	Postmold	41	1
F17	Posthole	43	1
F17	Posthole	44	1
F18	Posthole	45	1
F18	Posthole	268	1
F20	Posthole	21	1
F20	Posthole	255	1
F21	Posthole	38	1
F21	Posthole	342	1
F22	Posthole	323	1
F22	Posthole	344	1
F23	Posthole	107	1
F23	Posthole	125	1
F24	Posthole	82	1
F24	Posthole	198	1
F25	Posthole	76	1
F25	Posthole	194	1
F27	Posthole	94	1
F27	Posthole	297	1
F27	Posthole	309	1
F28	Posthole	92	1
F28	Posthole	193	1
F29	Posthole	235	1
F31	Posthole	293	1
F31	Posthole	327	1
F32	Posthole	291	1
F32	Posthole	330	1
F33	Posthole	289	1
F33	Posthole	329	1
F34	Posthole	287	1
F34	Posthole	332	1
F35	Posthole	283	1
F36	Posthole	335	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>79</b>

## Appendix C. Phytolith and Pollen Samples

Feature No.	Feature Type	Deposit Type	Context	Sample Size (cups)	Column Sample
F01	Pit, subfloor	Fill	12	1	
F01	Pit, subfloor	Fill	50	1	
F01	Pit, subfloor	Fill	129	1	
F01	Pit, subfloor	Fill	53	1	
F01	Pit, subfloor	Fill	54	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	19	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	204	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	205	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	206	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	207	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	277	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	278	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	318	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	213	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	221	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	211	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	214	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	217	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	234	2	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	279	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	295	1	
F04	Ditch, other	Fill	298	1	
F05	Ditch, other	Fill	51	1	
F05	Ditch, other	Fill	310	1	
F05	Ditch, other	Fill	274	1	
F05	Ditch, other	Fill	319	1	
F05	Ditch, other	Fill	275	1	
F05	Ditch, other	Fill	296	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	248	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	299	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	300	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	301	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	302	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	303	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	304	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	311	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	312	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	313	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	314	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	315	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	316	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	320	1	
F06	Ditch, other	Fill	325	1	

Feature No.	Feature Type	Deposit Type	Context	Sample Size (cups)	Column Sample
F08	Posthole	Postmold	307	1	
F12	Posthole	Fill	228	1	
F12	Posthole	Postmold	336	1	
F13	Posthole	Fill	68	1	
F13	Posthole	Postmold	340	1	
F14	Posthole	Fill	33	1	
F14	Posthole	Postmold	257	1	
F15	Posthole	Fill	35	1	
F15	Posthole	Postmold	251	1	
F15	Posthole	Fill	253	1	
F16	Postmold	Postmold	41	1	
F17	Posthole	Fill	43	1	
F17	Posthole	Cut/Depositional Basin	44	1	
F18	Posthole	Fill	45	1	
F18	Posthole	Postmold	268	1	
F20	Posthole	Fill	21	1	
F20	Posthole	Postmold	255	1	
F21	Posthole	Fill	38	1	
F21	Posthole	Postmold	342	1	
F22	Posthole	Fill	323	1	
F22	Posthole	Postmold	344	1	
F27	Posthole	Fill	94	1	
F27	Posthole	Fill	297	1	
F27	Posthole	Fill	309	1	
F29	Posthole	Fill	235	1	
F31	Posthole	Fill	293	1	
F31	Posthole	Postmold	327	1	
F32	Posthole	Fill	291	1	
F32	Posthole	Postmold	330	1	
F33	Posthole	Fill	289	1	
F33	Posthole	Postmold	329	1	
F34	Posthole	Fill	287	1	
F34	Posthole	Postmold	332	1	
F35	Posthole	Fill	283	1	
F35	Posthole	Postmold	321	1	
F36	Posthole	Fill	335	1	
NA	NA	Plowzone	37	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	62	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	158	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	159	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	161	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	162	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	164	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	165	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	170	2	

Feature No.	Feature Type	Deposit Type	Context	Sample Size (cups)	Column Sample
NA	NA	Plowzone	171	2	
NA	NA	Modern layer	180	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	182	1	
NA	NA	Plowzone	183	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	241	2	
NA	NA	Plowzone	246	1	
NA	NA	Plowzone	259	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Plowzone	260	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Plowzone	261	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Plowzone	262	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Topsoil	263		0-6 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		6-10 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		10-20 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		20-30 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		30-40 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		40-50 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		50-60 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	263		60-70 cm
NA	NA	Possible 18th-century topsoil	263		70-78 cm
NA	NA	Sterile subsoil	263		78-86 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	264	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Plowzone	265	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Plowzone	270	1 - modern control; surface sample	
NA	NA	Topsoil	271		0-6 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	271		6-10 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	271		10-20 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	271		20-30 cm
NA	NA	Ravine fill	271		30-38 cm
NA	NA	Possible 18th-century topsoil	271		38-46 cm
NA	NA	Transition to subsoil	271		46-52 cm
NA	NA	Sterile subsoil	271		52-57 cm
NA	NA	Plowzone	272	1 - modern control; surface sample	



## Appendix D. Flotation Samples

Feature Type	Context	Sample Volume (liters)	Stratigraphic Group (SG)	Total Vol Per SG
Pit, subfloor	12	15	SG01	15
Pit, subfloor	50	20	SG02	
Pit, subfloor	129	50	SG02	70
Pit, subfloor	53	20	SG03	20
Pit, subfloor	54	5	SG04	5
Ditch, other	19	5	SG07	
Ditch, other	204	15	SG07	
Ditch, other	205	5	SG07	
Ditch, other	206	5	SG07	
Ditch, other	207	5	SG07	
Ditch, other	277	5	SG07	
Ditch, other	278	10	SG07	
Ditch, other	318	5	SG07	55
Ditch, other	213	5	SG09	
Ditch, other	221	5	SG09	10
Ditch, other	211	5	SG11	
Ditch, other	214	5	SG11	
Ditch, other	217	5	SG11	
Ditch, other	234	5	SG11	
Ditch, other	279	5	SG11	25
Ditch, other	295	5	SG13	5
Ditch, other	298	5	SG15	5
Ditch, other	51	12	SG16	12
Ditch, other	274	5.5	SG17	5.5
Ditch, other	275	14	SG18	14
Ditch, other	248	11	SG20	
Ditch, other	299	11.5	SG20	
Ditch, other	300	10	SG20	
Ditch, other	301	11	SG20	
Ditch, other	302	10	SG20	
Ditch, other	303	10	SG20	
Ditch, other	304	14	SG20	77.5
Ditch, other	311	11	SG21	
Ditch, other	312	10	SG21	
Ditch, other	313	11	SG21	
Ditch, other	314	10	SG21	
Ditch, other	315	12	SG21	
Ditch, other	316	10	SG21	
Ditch, other	320	10	SG21	74
Ditch, other	317	8.5	SG25	8.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>401.5</b>		<b>401.5</b>





## Appendix E. Ceramic Vessels

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
189	1008-00012-NOS--00121		12	F01	1	1	Redware	Utilitarian, hollow
190	1008-00019-DRS--00061		19	F04	1	1	Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00131		12	F01	1	1	Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00137		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00138		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00139		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00140		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00141		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00142		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00143		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00144		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00145		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00146		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00147		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00148		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00149		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00150		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00151		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00152		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00153		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00154		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00155		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00156		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00157		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00158		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00159		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00211		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00012-NOS--00212		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00277-DRS--00031		277	F04	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00277-DRS--00032		277	F04	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00277-DRS--00033		277	F04	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00277-DRS--00034		277	F04	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00295-DRS--00014		295	F04	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
191	1008-00298-DRS--00005		298	F04	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
192	1008-00129-WTS--00060		129	F01	1	1	Buckley	Milk Pan
193	1008-00012-NOS--00175		12	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Teaware, flat
194	1008-00050-WTS--00158		50	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Teabowl

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
195	1008-00012-NOS--00176		12	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00050-WTS--00105		50	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00050-WTS--00106		50	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00050-WTS--00107		50	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00050-WTS--00109		50	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00050-WTS--00112		50	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00053-WTS--00026		53	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00129-WTS--00071		129	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
195	1008-00129-WTS--00072		129	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Bowl
196	1008-00129-WTS--00003		129	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Saucer
197	1008-00054-WTS--00029		54	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Plate
197	1008-00054-WTS--00030		54	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Plate
198	1008-00050-WTS--00159		50	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Teaware, hollow
199	1008-00012-NOS--00122		12	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Saucer*
199	1008-00012-NOS--00123		12	F01	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Saucer*
200	1008-00050-WTS--00065		50	F01	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Tableware, hollow
201	1008-00012-NOS--00203		12	F01	1	1	Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00012-NOS--00204		12	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00050-WTS--00108		50	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00050-WTS--00110		50	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00050-WTS--00111		50	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00050-WTS--00127		50	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00053-WTS--00039		53	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00129-WTS--00004		129	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00129-WTS--00005		129	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
201	1008-00129-WTS--00006		129	F01	1		Buckley	Milk Pan
202	1008-00012-NOS--00116		12	F01	1	1	Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
202	1008-00012-NOS--00117		12	F01	1		Buckley	Utilitarian, hollow
203	1008-00012-NOS--00118		12	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Teabowl*
204	1008-00053-WTS--00017		53	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Bowl*
204	1008-00053-WTS--00018		53	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl*
205	1008-00278-DRS--00036		278	F04	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Teaware, hollow
206	1008-00012-NOS--00120		12	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Plate or platter
207	1008-00019-DRS--00059		19	F04	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Tableware, flat
207	1008-00278-DRS--00037		278	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Tableware, flat
208	1008-00019-DRS--00060		19	F04	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Slop bowl, teaware*
208	1008-00221-DRS--00001		221	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Slop bowl, teaware*
209	1008-00278-DRS--00038		278	F04	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
210	1008-00053-WTS--00019		53	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Plate
211	1008-00012-NOS--00125		12	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow
211	1008-00019-DRS--00066		19	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow
211	1008-00053-WTS--00020		53	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow
211	1008-00205-DRS--00007		205	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow
211	1008-00206-WTS--00008		206	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow
211	1008-00234-DRS--00001		234	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Tableware, hollow
226	1008-00019-DRS--00090		19	F04	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00019-DRS--00091		19	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00019-DRS--00092		19	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00019-DRS--00093		19	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00088		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00089		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00090		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00091		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00092		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00093		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00094		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00095		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00096		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00097		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00098		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00099		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00100		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00101		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00102		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00050-WTS--00103		50	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00129-WTS--00058		129	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00129-WTS--00059		129	F01	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
226	1008-00318-DRS--00019		318	F04	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
227	1008-00012-NOS--00168		12	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Plate or platter
228	1008-00012-NOS--00167		12	F01	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Teaware, hollow
230	1008-00050-WTS--00175		50	F01	1	1	Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00050-WTS--00176		50	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00050-WTS--00177		50	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00050-WTS--00178		50	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00050-WTS--00179		50	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
230	1008-00053-WTS--00027		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00028		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00029		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00030		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00031		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00093		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00094		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00095		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00096		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00097		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00098		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00099		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00100		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00101		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00102		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00053-WTS--00103		53	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
230	1008-00129-WTS--00101		129	F01	1		Fulham Type	Storage jar
231	1008-00318-DRS--00018		318	F04	1	1	Fulham Type	Utilitarian, hollow
232	1008-00019-DRS--00078		19	F04	1	1	Colonoware	Bowl
233	1008-00050-WTS--00124		50	F01	1	1	Colonoware	Bowl
233	1008-00129-WTS--00001		129	F01	1		Colonoware	Bowl
234	1008-00019-DRS--00077		19	F04	1	1	Colonoware	Plate*
235	1008-00050-WTS--00082		50	F01	1	1	Colonoware	Bowl*
235	1008-00278-DRS--00045		278	F04	1		Colonoware	Bowl*
236	1008-00019-DRS--00074		19	F04	1	1	Colonoware	Bowl
236	1008-00019-DRS--00075		19	F04	1		Colonoware	Bowl
236	1008-00019-DRS--00076		19	F04	1		Colonoware	Bowl
236	1008-00030-DRS--00010		30	F04	1		Colonoware	Bowl
236	1008-00278-DRS--00043		278	F04	1		Colonoware	Bowl
236	1008-00278-DRS--00044		278	F04	1		Colonoware	Bowl
237	1008-00050-WTS--00113		50	F01	1	1	Colonoware	Porringer*
238	1008-00012-NOS--00183		12	F01	1	1	Jackfield Type	Teapot
238	1008-00033-DRS--00005		33	F14	1		Jackfield Type	Teapot
238	1008-00035-NOS--00013		35	F15	1		Jackfield Type	Teapot
238	1008-00045-DRS--00019		45	F18	1		Jackfield Type	Teapot
238	1008-00050-WTS--00114		50	F01	1		Jackfield Type	Teapot
238	1008-00050-WTS--00115		50	F01	1		Jackfield Type	Teapot



CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
239	1008-00012-NOS--00119		12	F01	1	1	Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	Tableware, flat
240	1008-00012-NOS--00184		12	F01	1	1	Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	Mug/tankard*
240	1008-00012-NOS--00185		12	F01	1		Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	Mug/tankard*
240	1008-00012-NOS--00186		12	F01	1		Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	Mug/tankard*
240	1008-00012-NOS--00187		12	F01	1		Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	Mug/tankard*
240	1008-00012-NOS--00188		12	F01	1		Slipware, North Midlands/Staffordshire	Mug/tankard*
241	1008-00295-DRS--00013		295	F04	1	1	American Stoneware	Tableware, hollow
242	1008-00012-NOS--00189		12	F01	1	1	Westerwald/Rhenish	Mug/tankard*
242	1008-00012-NOS--00190		12	F01	1		Westerwald/Rhenish	Mug/tankard*
243	1008-00012-NOS--00191		12	F01	1	1	Westerwald/Rhenish	Mug/tankard*
244	1008-00030-DRS--00009		30	F04	1	1	Whieldon-type Ware	Platter*
245	1008-00012-NOS--00124		12	F01	1	1	Whieldon-type Ware	Saucer*
246	1008-00012-NOS--00192		12	F01	1	1	Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
246	1008-00012-NOS--00193		12	F01	1		Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
246	1008-00012-NOS--00194		12	F01	1		Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
246	1008-00053-WTS--00032		53	F01	1		Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
246	1008-00053-WTS--00033		53	F01	1		Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
246	1008-00053-WTS--00034		53	F01	1		Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
246	1008-00129-WTS--00062		129	F01	1		Whieldon-type Ware	Creamer*
247	1008-00050-WTS--00116		50	F01	1	1	Staffordshire Mottled Glaze	Mug/tankard
248	1008-00277-DRS--00050		277	F04	1	1	Porcelain, English Soft Paste	Teaware, unidentifiable
249	1008-00045-DRS--00016		45	F18	1	1	Porcelain, English Soft Paste	Teaware, hollow
249	1008-00045-DRS--00017		45	F18	1		Porcelain, English Soft Paste	Teaware, hollow
249	1008-00045-DRS--00018		45	F18	1		Porcelain, English Soft Paste	Teaware, hollow
250	1008-00129-WTS--00057		129	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00019-DRS--00103		19	F04	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00019-DRS--00105		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00035-NOS--00014		35	F15	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00045-DRS--00023		45	F18	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00045-DRS--00024		45	F18	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00049-DRS--00005		49	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00050-WTS--00121		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
251	1008-00279-DRS--00027		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Punch bowl*
252	1008-00019-DRS--00071		19	F04	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Teaware, hollow
252	1008-00019-DRS--00072		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Teaware, hollow
252	1008-00035-NOS--00010		35	F15	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Teaware, hollow
252	1008-00068-NOS--00008		68	F13	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Teaware, hollow

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
253	1008-00012-NOS--00160		12	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, hollow
253	1008-00012-NOS--00161		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, hollow
253	1008-00012-NOS--00162		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, hollow
254	1008-00019-DRS--00134		19	F04	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00135		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00136		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00137		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00138		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00139		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00140		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00141		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00142		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00143		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00144		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00145		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00146		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00147		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00148		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00149		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00150		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00151		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00152		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00153		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00154		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00155		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00156		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00157		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00158		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00159		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00160		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00161		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00162		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00163		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00019-DRS--00164		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00057		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00058		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00059		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
254	1008-00277-DRS--00060		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00061		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00062		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00063		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00064		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00277-DRS--00065		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00278-DRS--00051		278	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00279-DRS--00032		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00279-DRS--00033		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00279-DRS--00034		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00279-DRS--00035		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
254	1008-00279-DRS--00036		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00072		50	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00073		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00074		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00075		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00132		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00133		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00134		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00135		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00136		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
255	1008-00050-WTS--00137		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
256	1008-00012-NOS--00130		12	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
256	1008-00012-NOS--00132		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
256	1008-00012-NOS--00133		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
256	1008-00012-NOS--00134		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
256	1008-00012-NOS--00135		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
256	1008-00012-NOS--00136		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
257	1008-00050-WTS--00066		50	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
257	1008-00050-WTS--00067		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
257	1008-00050-WTS--00068		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
257	1008-00050-WTS--00069		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
257	1008-00050-WTS--00070		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
257	1008-00050-WTS--00071		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
258	1008-00050-WTS--00128		50	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00050-WTS--00129		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00050-WTS--00130		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
258	1008-00050-WTS--00131		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00073		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00074		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00075		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00076		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00077		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00078		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00079		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00080		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00081		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00082		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00083		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00084		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00085		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
258	1008-00129-WTS--00086		129	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
259	1008-00012-NOS--00195		12	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00012-NOS--00196		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00012-NOS--00197		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00012-NOS--00198		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00012-NOS--00199		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00012-NOS--00200		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00045-DRS--00020		45	F18	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00045-DRS--00021		45	F18	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00045-DRS--00022		45	F18	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00050-WTS--00122		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
259	1008-00050-WTS--00123		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
260	1008-00012-NOS--00169		12	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
260	1008-00012-NOS--00205		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
261	1008-00050-WTS--00104		50	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Plate*
262	1008-00012-NOS--00164		12	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Plate*
262	1008-00012-NOS--00165		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Plate*
262	1008-00012-NOS--00166		12	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Plate*
263	1008-00012-NOS--00163		12	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Plate*
264	1008-00298-DRS--00006		298	F04	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Plate*
265	1008-00053-WTS--00021		53	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, flat
266	1008-00019-DRS--00079		19	F04	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00019-DRS--00080		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
266	1008-00019-DRS--00081		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00019-DRS--00082		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00019-DRS--00083		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00019-DRS--00084		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00019-DRS--00085		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00019-DRS--00086		19	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00050-WTS--00076		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00050-WTS--00077		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00050-WTS--00078		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00050-WTS--00079		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00050-WTS--00080		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00050-WTS--00081		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00035		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00036		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00037		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00038		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00039		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00040		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00041		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00042		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00043		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00044		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00045		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00277-DRS--00046		277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00018		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00019		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00020		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00021		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00022		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00023		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00279-DRS--00024		279	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00298-DRS--00007		298	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
266	1008-00298-DRS--00008		298	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Bowl
267	1008-00019-DRS--00104		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00118		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00119		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00120		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
267	1008-00050-WTS--00163		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00164		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00165		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00166		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00167		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00168		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00169		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00170		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00171		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00172		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00173		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00050-WTS--00174		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00053-WTS--00091		53	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00053-WTS--00092		53	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00129-WTS--00100		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
267	1008-00277-DRS--00051		277	F04	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00019-DRS--00088		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00035-NOS--00011		35	F15	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00045-DRS--00012		45	F18	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00045-DRS--00013		45	F18	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00045-DRS--00014		45	F18	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00050-WTS--00083		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00050-WTS--00084		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00050-WTS--00085		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00050-WTS--00086		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00050-WTS--00087		50	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00053-WTS--00023		53	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00053-WTS--00024		53	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00054-WTS--00032		54	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00054-WTS--00033		54	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00129-WTS--00063		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00129-WTS--00064		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00129-WTS--00065		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
268	1008-00129-WTS--00067		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teabowl
269	1008-00019-DRS--00073		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teabowl
269	1008-00206-WTS--00009		206	F04	1		Creamware	Teabowl
269	1008-00234-DRS--00002		234	F04	1		Creamware	Teabowl



CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
270	1008-00012-NOS--00170		12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teabowl
270	1008-00019-DRS--00087		19	F04	1		Creamware	Teabowl
270	1008-00045-DRS--00015		45	F18	1		Creamware	Teabowl
270	1008-00205-DRS--00008		205	F04	1		Creamware	Teabowl
271	1008-00019-DRS--00089		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
271	1008-00030-DRS--00012		30	F04	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
272	1008-00205-DRS--00009		205	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teabowl
273	1008-00012-NOS--00172		12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
273	1008-00053-WTS--00025		53	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
273	1008-00054-WTS--00026		54	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
273	1008-00230-NOS--00001		230	F11	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
274	1008-00054-WTS--00028		54	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
274	1008-00129-WTS--00008		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
275	1008-00129-WTS--00068		129	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
275	1008-00129-WTS--00069		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
275	1008-00129-WTS--00070		129	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
276	1008-00012-NOS--00173		12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
277	1008-00019-DRS--00094		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Jug*
277	1008-00206-WTS--00011		206	F04	1		Creamware	Jug*
277	1008-00206-WTS--00012		206	F04	1		Creamware	Jug*
277	1008-00207-DRS--00004		207	F04	1		Creamware	Jug*
277	1008-00279-DRS--00025		279	F04	1		Creamware	Jug*
278	1008-00012-NOS--00206		12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Plate
278	1008-00012-NOS--00207		12	F01	1		Creamware	Plate
279	1008-00230-NOS--00002		230	F11	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, flat
280	1008-00206-WTS--00013		206	F04	1	1	Creamware	Plate*
280	1008-00318-DRS--00020		318	F04	1		Creamware	Plate*
281	1008-00295-DRS--00015		295	F04	1	1	Creamware	Plate*
282	1008-00054-WTS--00031		54	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
283	1008-00129-WTS--00056		129	F01	1	1	Creamware	Sugar bowl*
284	1008-00050-WTS--00117		50	F01	1	1	Creamware	Coffee Pot
285	1008-00129-WTS--00007		129	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
286	1008-00278-DRS--00048		278	F04	1	1	Coarse Earthenware, unidentifiable	Utilitarian, hollow
286	1008-00278-DRS--00049		278	F04	1		Coarse Earthenware, unidentifiable	Utilitarian, hollow
288	1008-00019-DRS--00095		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
288	1008-00035-NOS--00012		35	F15	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
289	1008-00050-WTS--00125		50	F01	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, hollow

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
289	1008-00050-WTS--00126		50	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, hollow
289	1008-00054-WTS--00027		54	F01	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Unidentifiable, hollow
290	1008-00012-NOS--00213		12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00214		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00215		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00216		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00217		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00218		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00219		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00220		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
290	1008-00012-NOS--00221		12	F01	1		Creamware	Platter
291	1008-00019-DRS--00106		19	F04	1	1	Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00107		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00108		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00109		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00110		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00111		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00112		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00113		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00114		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00115		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00019-DRS--00116		19	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
291	1008-00204-WTS--00019		204	F04	1		Creamware	Saucer
292	1008-00012-NOS--00174		12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00097		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00098		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00099		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00100		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00101		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00102		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00121		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00122		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00123		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00124		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00125		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00126		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00127		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
292	1008-00019-DRS--00128		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00129		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00130		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00131		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00019-DRS--00132		19	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00049-DRS--00004		49	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00049-DRS--00006		49	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00207-DRS--00005		207	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00047		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00048		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00049		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00052		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00053		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00054		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00277-DRS--00055		277	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00279-DRS--00026		279	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00279-DRS--00029		279	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00279-DRS--00030		279	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
292	1008-00279-DRS--00031		279	F04	1		Creamware	Chamberpot
	1008-00086-DRS--00005	a	86	N/A	1	1	Porcelain, Chinese	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00183-DRS--00014	a	183	N/A	1		Porcelain, Chinese	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00084-DRS--00003	aa	84	N/A	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00084-DRS--00006	aa	84	N/A	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00084-DRS--00021	bb	84	N/A	1	1	Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00084-DRS--00022	bb	84	N/A	1		Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00159-DRS--00003	c	159	N/A	1	1	Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00159-DRS--00004	c	159	N/A	1		Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00085-DRS--00003	cc	85	N/A	1	1	Whiteware	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00085-DRS--00004	cc	85	N/A	1		Whiteware	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00159-DRS--00007	d	159	N/A	1	1	Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00159-DRS--00008	d	159	N/A	1		Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00086-DRS--00001	dd	86	N/A	1	1	Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Bowl
	1008-00086-DRS--00002	dd	86	N/A	1		Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Bowl
	1008-00086-DRS--00003	dd	86	N/A	1		Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Bowl
	1008-00086-DRS--00004	dd	86	N/A	1		Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Bowl
	1008-00159-DRS--00025	e	159	N/A	1	1	Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat
	1008-00159-DRS--00026	e	159	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
	1008-00159-DRS--00027	e	159	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat
	1008-00073-DRS--00006	ee	73	N/A	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Teabowl
	1008-00073-DRS--00007	ee	73	N/A	1		White Salt Glaze	Teabowl
	1008-00161-DRS--00002	f	161	N/A	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00161-DRS--00003	f	161	N/A	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00164-DRS--00002	g	164	N/A	1	1	Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00164-DRS--00003	g	164	N/A	1		Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00164-DRS--00004	g	164	N/A	1		Whiteware	Tableware, flat
	1008-00164-DRS--00031	h	164	N/A	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00164-DRS--00032	h	164	N/A	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00164-DRS--00033	h	164	N/A	1		Creamware	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00170-DRS--00020	i	170	N/A	1	1	Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat
	1008-00170-DRS--00021	i	170	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat
	1008-00182-DRS--00011	j	182	N/A	1	1	Redware	Flower Pot
	1008-00182-DRS--00012	j	182	N/A	1		Redware	Flower Pot
	1008-00183-DRS--00018	k	183	N/A	1	1	Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat
	1008-00183-DRS--00019	k	183	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Tableware, flat
	1008-00184-DRS--00003	m	184	N/A	1	1	Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00004	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00005	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00006	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00007	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00008	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00009	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00010	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00011	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00012	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00013	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00184-DRS--00014	m	184	N/A	1		Ironstone/White Granite	Cup
	1008-00277-DRS--00003	o	277	F04	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Utilitarian, hollow
	1008-00277-DRS--00004	o	277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Utilitarian, hollow
	1008-00277-DRS--00005	o	277	F04	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Utilitarian, hollow
	1008-00318-DRS--00005	p	318	F04	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, unidentifiable
	1008-00318-DRS--00006	p	318	F04	1		Creamware	Teaware, unidentifiable
	1008-00002-DRS--00014	q	2	N/A	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00002-DRS--00015	q	2	N/A	1		White Salt Glaze	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00003-DRS--00009	r	3	N/A	1	1	Coarse Earthenware, unidentifiable	Utilitarian, hollow

CW Object No. (ends w/33AS)	Artifact ID (DAACS)	Other ID**	Context	Feature	N sherds	N vessels	Ware	Form and Vessel Category
	1008-00003-DRS--00010	r	3	N/A	1		Coarse Earthenware, unidentifiable	Utilitarian, hollow
	1008-00012-NOS--00017	s	12	F01	1	1	Creamware	Teaware, unidentifiable
	1008-00012-NOS--00018	s	12	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, unidentifiable
	1008-00012-NOS--00019	s	12	F01	1		Creamware	Teaware, unidentifiable
	1008-00012-NOS--00021	t	12	F01	1	1	Westerwald/Rhenish	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00012-NOS--00022	t	12	F01	1		Westerwald/Rhenish	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00017-DRS--00001	u	17	N/A	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Bowl
	1008-00017-DRS--00002	u	17	N/A	1		White Salt Glaze	Bowl
	1008-00026-DRS--00011	v	26	N/A	1	1	Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00026-DRS--00012	v	26	N/A	1		Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Teaware, hollow
	1008-00027-DRS--00004	w	27	N/A	1	1	Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00027-DRS--00005	w	27	N/A	1		Porcellaneous/English Hard Paste	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00028-DRS--00005	x	28	N/A	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
	1008-00028-DRS--00006	x	28	N/A	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Drug Jar/Salve Pot
	1008-00068-NOS--00001	y	68	F13	1	1	Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00068-NOS--00002	y	68	F13	1		Delftware, Dutch/British	Tableware, hollow
	1008-00073-DRS--00001	z	73	N/A	1	1	White Salt Glaze	Teabowl
	1008-00073-DRS--00005	z	73	N/A	1		White Salt Glaze	Teabowl
	<b>Total</b>				<b>537</b>	<b>116</b>		

Notes:

*\*\*Letter notations in this column were provisionally assigned to vesselized sherds by the report's author since none were previously assigned by CW or DAACS.*

*\*This vessel form was originally assigned by CW and was used for all descriptions and analyses in this report.*

## Appendix F. Inventory of Estate of John Coke, February 15, 1768

Item	Value
1 Bay Mare	£4..0..0
24 Head of Cattle	45..0..0
10 Yearlings	6..5..0
1 Iron Pot, 1 frying Pan [torn] Oxen	0..15..0
3 Horses £20 [torn] Wheel Barrow 7/6	28..7..6
1 Sow £3 [torn]	23..0..0
14 Silver [torn] Spoons 55/ [torn]	15..15..0 1..17..6
1 Punch Ladle 20/. 1 Walnut Cupboard 17/6	1..17..6
1 D°. 5/. 1 Pine D°. 12/6. 1 Looking Glass 20/	1..17..6
1 Oval Black Walnut Table 30/. 2 Pine Tables 15/	2..5..0
22 Knives 48 Forks 20/. 1 Corner Table 5/	1..5..0
1 Candle Stand 5/. 12 Leather Chairs 35/	2..0..0
1 old Mare 5/. 14 old Rush Bottom Chairs 14/	0..19..0
1 old Table 2/6. 4 pair flat Irons 20/	1..2..6
1 Warming Pan and Trivet 7/6. 1 Safe 15/	1..2..6
25 Candle Moulds and 2 Stands	1..17..6
1 Looking Glass 2/6. 3 Butter Pots 15/	0..17..6
2 Guns 25/. 1 P <sup>r</sup> . Tarniers 1 Gimblet 1 Lanthorn 2/6	1..7..6
5 Reap Hooks 7/6. 1 P <sup>r</sup> . Hand Irons & Tongs	0..12..6
1 P <sup>r</sup> . Scales and Weights 12/6. 12 Tin Cannisters 3/	0..15..6
1 P <sup>r</sup> . Cotton Cards 4 Brushes 1 P <sup>r</sup> . Money Scales Parcel old Mats 1 Hammer	0..15..0
1 Case with 9 Bottles 3 Jugs 1 Pickle Pot Wheat Seive Butcher's Steel 4 P <sup>r</sup> . Sheep Sheers 1 old Sword	1..15..0
1 Pair Garden Sheers 3/. Lime Squeezer 1/3	0..4..3
2 Sugar Canisters 4/. Sythe Stones 1/	0..5..0
1 Bed, Bedstead, Rug, Pillow, p <sup>r</sup> . Sheets & Pillow Case	6..0..0
1 Desk 50/. Parcel Books 30/. Walnut Table 12/6	4..12..6
1 Writing Desk 10/. 1 Close stool Chair 20/	1..10..0
1 old Trunk and Box	0..5..0
79 Barrels of [torn]	35..0..0
2 Pair Hand [Irons?] 1 Bed Q[uilt...Bla]nkets Counter[pain Beds]tead Pillow & Curtains	7..10..0
1 Pine Table [torn]	0..12..6
1 Bed Bedstead [torn] Pillows Rug Blanket	6..0..0
1 Bed Bedstead [torn]	6..0..0
1 Square Table [torn] £5	5..2..6
1 Spinning [Wheel...]	0..10..6
1 Spinning [Wheel...]	1..8..0
1 old Trunk [torn]	1..10..0
18 Pewter Dishes and 1 Cover	5..0..0
7 Pewter Basons 1 Water Plate.	1..0..0
7 Pewter Pots and Cullender	1..0..0
7 Dozn. Pewter Plates £7. Parcel old Pewter 10/	7..10..0
13 Brass Candlesticks & 4 Irons d°. 40/. 4 P <sup>r</sup> . Snuffers 15/	2..15..0
5 Copper Coffee Pots 50/. 3 Tea Kettles & 1 Chocolate Pot	1..0..0



Item	Value
3 Chafing Dishes 1 Cheese Toaster	0..10..0
4 China Bowls 30/. 23 China Saucers 21 Cups and 8 Chocolate Cups 30/	3..0..0
7 Tea Pots 5 Milk Pots 2 Slop Bowls	0..12..6
2 Mahogany Tea Boards 7/3. Mugs 3/.	0..10..3
10 White Stone Dishes 15/. 12 Stone Plates 6/	1..1..0
6 Delph Dishes and 6 Plates 10/. 31 Custard Cups	0..10..0
2 Cruet stands 10/. 3 Butter boats 2/. 4 Glass Tumblers 4/	0..16..0
23 Wine Glasses 11/. 1 Glass Decanter 2/6	0..13..0
3 Sugar Dishes 1/. 4 Pair Glass Salts 5/	0..6..0
7 Butter Pots 20/. 23 Milk Pans 11/. 18 fat Pots 25/.	2..16..0
15 Tin Pattipans, Tin Toaster 1 Dish	0..10..0
2 Square Black Walnut Tables	2..15..0
1 large Oval D°. £4 1 smaller D°. 25/	5..5..0
1 D°. 15/. 2 Pine D°. 15/	1..10..0
1 Square Walnut d°. 12/6. 1 Doz <sup>n</sup> . Walnut Chairs £6	6..12..6
2 Beds Bedsteads, 2 Rugs 2 Counterpains 2 Blankets 2 Hides 2 Pillows	14..0..0
2 Beds Bedsteads, 2 Coun[terpains...] Ruggs 2 Blankets [torn] Pillows	15..0..0
1 Bed Bedstead 2 Pillows 1 C[ounterpa]in in 1 Rugg	8..0..0
3 Pair hand Irons [torn]	1..0..0
1 Dozn. Rush Bottom [Chairs]	0..18..0
1 Square Pine [Table?]	0..10..6
1 Bed Beds[tead...] Mattress	7..0..0
3 Square [Tables?]	0..15..0
[...coun]terp[ain...ma]ttrass	2..10..0
1 Bedstead 5/. 28 Pair Sheets £28	28..5..0
10 Damask Table Cloaths £10. 6 Huckaback d°. 4.10/	14..10..0
6 Ozenbrigs Table Cloaths 1 White Linnen d°.	1..7..6
10 Ozb <sup>s</sup> . Towels, 16 Pillow Cases, 6 old Linnen Towels	2..7..4
2 Counterpains	1..15..0
1 Negro Man Tom	40..0..0
Squire	40..0..0
Debdford	55..0..0
James	55..0..0
Phill	55..0..0
Lucy	40..0..0
Alice	10..0..0
Sylvia	50..0..0
Judith	25..0..0
1 large Copper Kettle £7. Fish Kettle 40/	9..0..0
1 Pair large Hand Irons 35/. 6 Iron Pots £4	5..15..0
1 Copper Dutch Oven 40/. 3 Spits 15/	2..15..0
1 Skillet Stewpan Kettle and Saucepan	0..15..0
20 Water Tubs and Pales 30/. 3 frying Pans 7/6	1..17..6
5 Pair Pot-hooks 10/. Grid Iron 15/. 2 dripping Pans 7/6	1..12..6
1 Pair Tongs 2/6. Skimmer and Flesh fork 2/6	0..5..0
2 Mortars 7/6. 5 Wooden Trays 5/	0..12..6
4 Pot Racks 12/6. 6 Axes 17/6. 3 Spades 15/	2..5..0
7 Hoes 15/. Garden Rake 3/9. 2 Forks 3/9	1..2..6

Item	Value
<b>A parcel old [torn] Tubbs 10/. 1 Iron Cleaver 7/6</b>	0..7..6
<b>3 old Saddles [torn] 2 Ox Chains [torn]</b>	2..0..0
<b>1 old Safe 7/6 [torn] 25/. Wooden Churn 4/</b>	1..16..6
<b>2 ½ Gros Bott[les]</b>	5..7..6
<b>1 Brass Kettle [torn]</b>	<u>1..5..0</u>
	<b>£772..18..1</b>

We who[se names are under]written being first Sworn me[t and appraised the] Estate of John Coke deceased in Current Money abovementioned  
February 13<sup>th</sup>. 1768  
Alex<sup>r</sup>. Craig  
Blovet Pasteur  
Peter Powell  
Returned into York County Court the 15<sup>th</sup>. Day of February 1768 and Ordered to be Recorded  
Examined Teste  
Tho<sup>s</sup>. Everard Cl. Cur:

Creation of machine-readable version: Riadeen De las Alas  
Conversion to TEI.2-conformant markup: Wayne Graham  
York County Wills & Inventories 21, 1760-1771, pp. 381-385 and  
<http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=Probates\PB00241.xml&highlight=john%20coke>

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November 2000  
Wayne Graham  
Staff  
Transcription editing



## Appendix G. Excavation and Test Units

Context No.	Grid Coord	Deposit Type	Size	Seals Context No.	Dryscreen Sample %	Sample Area
1	1004N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
2	1006N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
3	1004N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
8	1002N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
9	1002N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
10	1002N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
14	1006N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
15	1004N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
16	1008N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
17	1000N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
18	1000N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
23	1000N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
24	998N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
25	998N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
26	998N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
27	998N/1009E	Redep. sub	2 × 2	26	25	NE
28	998N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
29	1000N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
32	1000N/1011E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	29	25	NE
37	998N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
52	1002N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	SW
58	1000N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
59	1002N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	SE
60	1004N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	SE
61	1008N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
62	996N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
63	996N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
64	996N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
65	994N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
72	996N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
73	1006N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
80	1006N/1009E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	73	0	
81	1004N/1009E	Redep. sub.	4 × 4	60, 160, 163, 172, 173	0	
84	994N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
85	996N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
86	998N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
87	998N/1011E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	86	0	
102	994N/1009E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	120	25	NE
103	996N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
104	994N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
105	996N/1011E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	103	0	
106	994N/1003E	Silt layer	2 × 2	104	0	
108	1002N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
110	1002N/1013E	Redep. sub.	4 × 2	108, 197	0	

Context No.	Grid Coord	Deposit Type	Size	Seals Context No.	Dryscreen Sample %	Sample Area
111	994N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2	126	25	NE
120	994N/1009E	Silt layer	2 × 2		25	NE
126	994N/1011E	Silt layer	2 × 2		0	
127	1000N/1013E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	128	25	NE
128	1000N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
130	998N/1013E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	133	0	
131	998N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NE
133	998N/1013E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	131	0	
134	996N/1013E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2	140	10	NW
135	994N/1013E	Unknown modern layer	2 × 2	136	25	NE
136	994N/1013E	Redep. sub.	8 × 2	137, 184	0	
137	994N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2	138	25	NE
138	994N/1013E	Silt layer	2 × 2		25	NE
139	996N/1013E	Silt layer	2 × 2		0	
140	996N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2	139	25	NW
158	992N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
159	992N/1003E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
160	1004N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
161	992N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
162	992N/1009E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
163	1004N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
164	1002N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
165	1000N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
170	992N/1005E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
171	1004N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
172	1006N/1011E	Plowzone	2 × 2		2	NW
173	1006N/1013E	Plowzone	2 × 2		2	NW
180	992N/1011E	Unknown modern layer	2 × 2	184	25	NW
181	1004N/999E	Redep. sub.	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
182	1008N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		2	NW
183	994N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		2	NW
184	992N/1011E	Silt layer	2 × 2		25	NW
185	1004N/1000E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
186	1000N/999E	Plowzone	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
187	1006N/1001E	Plowzone	2 × 2		2	NW
188	1008N/999E	Plowzone	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
189	996N/999E	Plowzone	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
190	1008N/1000E	Plowzone	2 × 2		100	
191	996N/1000E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
192	1000N/1000E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
197	1002N/1015E	Silt layer	2 × 2		25	NW
212	1006N/1007E	Plowzone	2 × 2		2	NW
218	998N/1000E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
219	998N/999E	Plowzone	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
220	996N/993E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW

Context No.	Grid Coord	Deposit Type	Size	Seals Context No.	Dryscreen Sample %	Sample Area
222	998N/993E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
223	1000N/993E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
227	1002N/993E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
232	1004N/993E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
233	1006N/993E	Plowzone	1 × 2		100	
239	994N/993E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
241	1002N/999E	Plowzone	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
242	1002N/1000E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
243	994N/991E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
244	996N/991E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
245	1006N/1000E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
246	1006N/999E	Plowzone	2 × 2 <sup>a</sup>		25	NW
247	996N/989E	Plowzone	2 × 2		25	NW
250	992N/991E	Plowzone	1 × 2		100	
259	1018N/999E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
260	1023N/999E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
261	1028N/998E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
262	1033N/999E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
263	1008N/974E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
264	1008N/979E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
265	1008N/983E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
270	1008N/989E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
271	1008N/969E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	
272	1008N/964E	Plowzone	1 × 1		100	

Note:

*All grid coordinates refer to the northwest corner of the unit.*

*<sup>a</sup>This 2 × 2 m unit had a 1 × 1 m unit excavated first from the northeast quadrant of the unit and assigned a separate context number.*





## Appendix H. Feature Elevations

Feature No.	Top	Bottom	Feature Depth (meters)
F01	0.114	0.879	0.765
F01	0.167	0.850	0.683
F01	0.200	0.841	0.641
F01	0.136	0.857	0.721
F02	0.004	-	-
F02	0.005	-	-
F02	0.017	-	-
F02	0.029	-	-
F04	0.047	0.272	0.225
F04	0.094	0.260	0.166
F04	0.135	0.230	0.095
F05	0.137	0.207	0.070
F05	0.070	0.258	0.188
F05	0.028	0.253	0.225
F06	0.441	0.609	0.168
F06	0.513	0.749	0.236
F06	0.691	0.977	0.286
F07	0.086	0.511	0.425
F08	0.124	0.435	0.311
F09	0.271	-	-
F10	-	-	-
F11	0.088	0.436	0.348
F12	0.077	0.448	0.371
F13	0.066	-	-
F14	0.022	0.586	0.564
F15	0.045	0.401	0.356
F16	0.020	0.122	0.102
F17	0.037	0.526	0.489
F18	0.026	0.398	0.372
F19	0.033	0.126	0.093
F20	0.022	0.445	0.423
F21	0.014	-	-
F22	0.094	-	-
F23	0.042	0.329	0.287
F24	0.009	0.423	0.414
F25	0.011	0.404	0.393
F26	0.004	0.544	0.540
F27	0.028	0.466	0.438
F28	0.015	0.596	0.581
F29	0.097	0.388	0.291
F31	0.590	0.746	0.156
F32	0.548	0.786	0.238
F33	0.472	0.692	0.220

<b>Feature No.</b>	<b>Top</b>	<b>Bottom</b>	<b>Feature Depth (meters)</b>
F34	0.467	0.737	0.270
F35	0.438	0.650	0.212
F36	0.356	0.768	0.412
F39	-	-	-

*Note:*

*The elevation datum was located at grid point 996N/1011E. The prism height and the instrument height were both 1.57m.*

## Appendix I. Summary of Features, North Fence

Feature No.	Context No.	Deposit Type	N artifacts	TPQ
<b>F07</b>	305	Postmold fill	-	
	306	Postmold cut	-	
	74	Posthole fill	5	<b>nda</b>
	75	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F08</b>	307	Postmold fill	-	
	308	Postmold cut	-	
	141	Posthole fill	-	
	142	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F09</b>	143	Postmold fill	-	
	144	Postmold cut	-	
	145	Posthole fill	-	
	146	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F10</b>	280	Posthole fill	-	
	281	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F11</b>	338	Postmold fill	-	
	339	Postmold cut	-	
	230	Posthole fill	7	<b>1762</b>
	231	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F12</b>	336	Postmold fill	-	
	337	Postmold cut	-	
	228	Posthole fill	-	
	229	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F13</b>	340	Postmold fill	-	
	341	Postmold cut	-	
	68	Posthole fill	9	<b>1720</b>
	69	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F14</b>	257	Postmold fill	21	<b>1775</b>
	258	Postmold cut	-	
	33	Posthole fill	7	<b>1740</b>
	34	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F15</b>	251	Postmold fill	5	<b>nda</b>
	252	Postmold cut	-	
	253	Postmold fill	5	<b>1720</b>
	254	Postmold cut	-	
	35	Posthole fill	53	<b>1762</b>
	36	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F16</b>	41	Postmold fill	4	<b>nda</b>
	42	Postmold cut	-	
<b>F17</b>	266	Postmold fill	3	<b>nda</b>
	267	Postmold cut	-	
	43	Posthole fill	10	<b>nda</b>
	44	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F18</b>	268	Postmold fill	14	<b>1762</b>
	269	Postmold cut	-	
	45	Posthole fill	39	<b>1762</b>
	<b>46</b>	<b>Posthole cut</b>	-	

Feature No.	Context No.	Deposit Type	N artifacts	TPQ
<b>F19</b>	56	Posthole fill	3	<b>nda</b>
	57	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F20</b>	255	Postmold fill	12	<b>1762</b>
	256	Postmold cut	-	
	21	Posthole fill	70	<b>1787</b>
	22	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F21</b>	342	Postmold fill	1	<b>nda</b>
	343	Postmold cut	-	
	38	Posthole fill	3	<b>nda</b>
	39	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F31</b>	327	Postmold fill	-	
	326	Postmold cut	-	
	293	Posthole fill	-	
	294	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F32</b>	330	Postmold fill	-	
	331	Postmold cut	-	
	291	Posthole fill	-	
	292	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F33</b>	329	Postmold fill	-	
	328	Postmold cut	-	
	289	Posthole fill	3	<b>nda</b>
	290	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F34</b>	332	Postmold fill	-	
	333	Postmold cut	-	
	287	Posthole fill	-	
	288	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F35</b>	321	Postmold fill	-	
	322	Postmold cut	-	
	283	Posthole fill	2	<b>nda</b>
	284	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F36</b>	335	Posthole fill	-	
	334	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F39</b>	66	Postmold fill	2	<b>nda</b>
	67	Postmold cut	-	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>278</b>	

## Appendix J. Summary of Features, South Fence

Feature No.	Context No.	Deposit Type	N artifacts	TPQ
<b>F22</b>	344	Postmold fill	1	nda
	345	Postmold cut	-	
	323	Posthole fill	1	nda
	324	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F23</b>	125	Postmold fill	4	nda
	240	Postmold cut	-	
	107	Posthole fill	1	nda
	109	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F24</b>	198	Postmold fill	1	nda
	199	Postmold cut	-	
	82	Posthole fill	21	nda
	83	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F25</b>	194	Postmold fill	7	nda
	196	Postmold cut	-	
	76	Posthole fill	6	1720
	77	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F26</b>	100	Posthole fill	6	1671
	101	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F27</b>	94	Posthole fill	-	
	297	Posthole fill	-	
	309	Posthole fill	-	
	95	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F28</b>	193	Postmold fill	55	1775
	195	Postmold cut	-	
	92	Posthole fill	8	nda
	225	Posthole fill	-	
	226	Posthole fill	-	
	93	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F29</b>	237	Postmold fill	-	
	238	Postmold cut	-	
	235	Posthole fill	-	
	236	Posthole cut	-	
<b>F30</b>	152	Posthole fill	1	nda
	153	Posthole cut	-	
		<b>Total</b>	<b>112</b>	





## Appendix K. Summary of Other Features

Feature No.	Context No.	Deposit Type
F37	166	Unidentified
	167	Feature cut
F38	168	Unidentified
	169	Feature cut
F40	176	Unidentified
	177	Feature cut
F41	174	Unidentified
	175	Feature cut
F42	178	Unidentified
	179	Feature cut
F43	150	Tree hole fill
	151	Feature cut
F44	90	Unidentified
	91	Feature cut
F45	88	Unidentified
	89	Feature cut
F46	78	Tree hole fill
	79	Feature cut
F47	154	Animal hole fill
	155	Feature cut
F48	148	Tree hole fill
	149	Feature cut
F49	200	Tree hole fill
	201	Feature cut
F50	202	Tree hole fill
	203	Feature cut
F51	112	Unidentified
	113	Feature cut
F52	118	Unidentified
	119	Feature cut
F53	121	Unidentified
	122	Feature cut
F54	114	Unidentified
	115	Feature cut
F55	116	Unidentified
	117	Feature cut
F56	208	Unidentified
	209	Feature cut
No feature no. assigned	123	Animal burrow fill
	124	Animal burrow cut



## Appendix L. Contexts, Structure 140, Utopia IV

Summary list of contexts associated with Structure 140 features.

Artifacts from these contexts were selected for the comparative analysis.

Feature Group	Context	Deposit Type	Feature Number
FG01	9	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F09
	10	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F10
	12	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F11/12
	13	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F13
	30	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F30A/D
	05A	Fill	F05
	05B	Fill	F05
	05C	Fill	F05
	05D	Fill	F05
	05E	Fill	F05
	05F	Colluvium/Wash	F05
	05G	Fill	F05
	05H	Fill	F05
	05J	Fill	F05
	05K	Colluvium/Wash	F05
	05L	Fill	F05
	06A	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F06A
	06B	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F06B
	06B1	Fill	F06B
	06B2	Fill	F06B
	06C	Fill	F06C/K
	06D	Fill	F06C/K
	06E	Fill	F06C/K
	06F	Fill	F06C/K
	06G1	Fill	F06G/H
	06G2	Fill	F06G/H
	06H	Fill	F06G/H
	06J	Fill	F06C/K
	06K	Fill	F06C/K
	06L	Fill	F06L/M/N
	06M	Fill	F06L/M/N
	06N	Fill	F06L/M/N
	06P	Fill	F06P/Q
	06Q	Fill	F06P/Q
	06R	Fill	F06R
	07A	Fill	F07
	07B	Fill	F07
	07C	Fill	F07
	07D	Fill	F07
	07E	Fill	F07
07G	Fill	F07	
08A	Fill	F08	

Feature Group	Context	Deposit Type	Feature Number
FG01	09A	Fill	F09
	09B	Fill	F09
	10A	Fill	F10
	10B	Fill	F10
	11A	Fill	F11/12
	11B	Fill	F11/12
	11C	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F11/12
	11C1	Fill	F11/12
	11C2	Fill	F11/12
	11D	Fill	F11D/E
	11E	Fill	F11D/E
	11F	Fill	F11/12
	11G	Fill	F11/12
	11H	Fill	F11/12
	11J	Fill	F11J
	12A	Fill	F12A/B
	12B	Fill	F12A/B
	12C	Fill	F11/12
	12D	Fill	F12D/L-N
	12E	Fill	F11/12
	12F	Fill	F11/12
	12G	Fill	F11/12
	12H	Fill	F11/12
	12J	Fill	F12J
	12L	Fill	F12D/L-N
	12M	Fill	F12D/L-N
	12N	Fill	F12D/L-N
	12P	Fill	F12P/W
	12Q	Fill	F12P/W
	12R	Fill	F12P/W
	12S	Colluvium/Wash	F12P/W
	12T	Fill	F12P/W
	12U	Fill	F12P/W
	12V	Fill	F12P/W
	13A	Fill	F13
	13B	Fill	F13
	29A	Fill	F29
	29B	Fill	F29
	30A	Clean-Up/Out-of-Stratigraphic Context	F30A/D
	30A1	Fill	F30A/D
	30A2	Fill	F30A/D
	30B	Fill	F30A/D
	30C	Colluvium/Wash	F30A/D
	30D	Fill	F30A/D
	30E	Fill	F30E/F
30F	Fill	F30E/F	

<b>Feature Group</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Deposit Type</b>	<b>Feature Number</b>
<b>FG01</b>	31A	Fill	F31A
	31B	Fill	F31B
	31C	Fill	F31B
	31D	Fill	F31B
	31E	Fill	F31B
	36A	Fill	F36
	36B	Fill	F36
	36C	Fill	F36
	37B	Fill	F37
	37C	Fill	F37
	38B	Fill	F38
	40A	Fill	F40
	40B	Fill	F40
	40C	Fill	F40
	41A	Fill	F41





## Appendix M. Contexts, Site 68AL, Rich Neck Slave Quarter

Summary list of contexts associated with Structure 68AL features.  
Artifacts from these contexts were selected for the comparative analysis.

Feature Group	Context	Deposit Type	Feature Number
FG01	AC01241	Fill	F06
	AC01243	Fill	F06
	AC01245	Fill	F05
	AC01247	Fill	F06
	AC01249	Fill	F06
	AC01251	Fill	F10
	AL00021	Fill	F19
	AL00025	Fill	F06
	AL00029	Fill	F08
	AL00030	Cut/Depositional Basin	F08
	AL00031	Fill	F09
	AL00034	Fill	F10
	AL00035	Cut/Depositional Basin	F10
	AL00036	Fill	F10
	AL00037	Fill	F10
	AL00042	Fill	F21
	AL00044	Fill	F11
	AL00047	Fill	F18
	AL00051	Fill	F18
	AL00053	Fill	F11
	AL00055	Fill	F24
	AL00057	Fill	F23
	AL00061	Fill	F05
	AL00063	Fill	F06
	AL00064	Fill	F05
	AL00066	Fill	F15
	AL00067	Cut/Depositional Basin	F15
	AL00068	Fill	F21
	AL00071	Fill	F14
	AL00083	Fill	F16
	AL00086	Fill	F21
	AL00090	Fill	F05a
	AL00091	Fill	F15
	AL00092	Fill	F05a
	AL00093	Fill	F20
	AL00095	Fill	F20
	AL00097	Fill	F05
	AL00101	Fill	F06
	AL00102	Architecture	F15
	AL00103	Fill	F05b
AL00105	Fill	F05a	
AL00109	Fill	F10	
AL00110	Fill	F23	

Feature Group	Context	Deposit Type	Feature Number
<b>FG01</b>	AL00113	Fill	F05c
	AL00117	Fill	F05a
	AL00121	Fill	F05b
	AL00122	Fill	F05b
	AL00123	Fill	F10
	AL00124	Fill	F12
	AL00126	Fill	F07
	AL00127	Fill	F10
	AL00128	Fill	F07
	AL00130	Fill	F21
	AL00132	Fill	F10
	AL00133	Fill	F10
	AL00134	Fill	F05a
	AL00136	Fill	F05b
	AL00137	Fill	F05b
	AL00141	Fill	F07
	AL00144	Fill	F17
	AL00158	Fill	F14
	AL00161	Fill	F07
	AL00162	Fill	F21
	AL00163	Fill	F21
	AL00164	Fill	F21
	AL00165	Fill	F21
	AL00166	Fill	F21
	AL00169	Fill	F21
	AL00170	Fill	F21
	AL00171	Fill	F21
	AL00173	Fill	F21a
	AL00176	Fill	F21a
	AL00177	Fill	F22
AL00179	Fill	F23	
AL00181	Fill	F21a	
<b>Not assigned</b>	AC01240	Not Applicable	-
	AC01242	Not Applicable	-
	AC01244	Not Applicable	-
	AC01248	Not Applicable	-
	AC01250	Not Applicable	-
	AC01255	Not Applicable	-
	AL00014	Fill	-
	AL00016	Fill	-
	AL00049	Fill	-
	AL00074	Fill	-
	AL00118	Fill	-
	AL00150	Fill	-
	AL00152	Fill	-
	AL00174	Fill	-