

5: Artifact Descriptions

This chapter presents descriptions of the artifacts recovered during the data recovery at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Prehistoric artifacts are discussed first, followed by historic artifacts, which represent the primary component of the site that was the focus of data recovery.

PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS

Data recovery at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 yielded 21 prehistoric artifacts, all of which were recovered from historic deposits (and thus were redeposited, either intentionally or inadvertently, by the historic-era occupants of the two sites). Of this amount, one (5%) is from Feature 1 at Site 44NR0009 and 20 (95%) are from Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012. The prehistoric assemblages for each site are briefly described below and summarized in Table 3 and Appendix A.

Treatment of artifacts in this section is descriptive and intended to give a general characterization of the material. Artifacts are described according to standard categories, as defined in Chapter 2.

Site 44NR0009

INFORMAL TOOL

Stratum II of Feature 1 yielded one utilized quartzite flake.

Site 44NR0012

DEBITAGE

Two pieces of debitage (one quartz and one quartzite) were recovered from Stratum I of Feature 6.

HAFTED BIFACE

One complete hafted biface was recovered from Feature 6 (Stratum I). This heavily sharpened, or retouched, hafted biface, fashioned from jasper, most closely resembles the Big Sandy type, which has been dated to the Early Archaic period (8000–6000 BC) (Justice 1995:60–63) (Figure 5.1).

INFORMAL TOOLS

Two informal quartzite tools were recovered from Feature 6. One of these is a broken hafted biface with utilized edges from Stratum I, and the other is a utilized flake from Stratum II (Figure 5.2).

INFORMAL GROUNDSTONE TOOLS

Archaeologists recovered five informal groundstone tools all from Feature 6 deposits. Represented types include two complete quartzite hammerstones (Stratum I), one quartzite mano/pestle (Stratum I), one quartzite metate (Stratum III), and one unidentified, groundstone tool fragment (Stratum III) (see Figure 5.2).

FIRE-CRACKED ROCK

Feature 6 yielded 10 pieces of fire-cracked rock (six quartzite, three quartz, and one unidentified). Seven of these came from Stratum I, two from Stratum II, and one from Stratum III.

HISTORIC ARTIFACTS

The study of the recovered artifact assemblage and material culture offers a valuable means of gaining insight into the daily lives and behavior of



*Figure 5.1. Site 44NR0012, Big Sandy hafted biface (8000–6000 BC)
(Feature 6 Stratum I).*



*Figure 5.2. Site 44NR0012, selected prehistoric artifacts (hammerstone (F6 I); mano (F6 I);
hafted biface (F6 I); unidentified, broken hafted biface [F6 III]).*

ARTIFACT TYPE	QUARTZ	QUARTZITE	JASPER	UNIDENTIFIED
<i>HAFTED BIFACES</i>				
Big Sandy			1	
<i>Subtotal</i>			1	
<i>INFORMAL TOOLS</i>				
Utilized Flakes		2		
Utilized (Broken) Hafted Biface		1		
<i>Subtotal</i>		3		
<i>INFORMAL GROUNDSTONES</i>				
Hammerstones		2		
Mano/Pestle		1		
Mettate		1		
Unidentified				1
<i>Subtotal</i>		4		1
<i>DEBITAGE</i>	1	1		
<i>FIRE-CRACKED ROCK</i>	3	6		1
TOTAL	4	14	1	2

Table 3. Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, prehistoric artifacts by raw material.

the historic period occupants at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Analysis of ceramics, glass, and faunal remains, for example, can provide clues about socioeconomic status, diet, and refuse disposal patterns of households and the community over time, which can provide a much better understanding of how communities like Newtown and its inhabitants shaped and contributed to the history of colonial Virginia and the United States than the incomplete record, alone, can provide. The following is a presentation of the results of certain analyses of artifacts recovered from features and deposits associated with the occupants of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 during the first quarter of the eighteenth century into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The assemblages from these sites have been examined to

interpret time periods of activity and deposition, in consideration with the features and deposits from which they came, to interpret possible changes in site development and usage over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As described in the previous chapter, the thousands of artifacts and dozens of features from these sites are vestiges of a rich, seemingly unbroken continuum of activity in highly discrete concentrations that can be tapped for valuable information about the people who lived here over the course of Newtown's existence.

The analysis focused on ceramic artifacts, but includes others as well, such as glass, faunal remains, architectural material, tools, and personal items. The data are integrated with historical and archaeological evidence to help identify the

socioeconomic status of the occupants at Site 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 and to reconstruct their life ways. This presentation is preceded by a discussion of ceramic cross-mendings and mean ceramic dates for the sites. This information contributes to the interpretation of the sites by revealing refuse disposal patterns, activity areas, and intensity of occupation, and episodes of abandonment. Artifact analyses, coupled with feature data, are used to address research issues in Chapter 6.

Summary of Historic Ceramic Cross-mend and Mean Ceramic Date Analyses

Ceramic cross-mending is a valuable analytical tool for establishing relationships between features and strata (Noel Hume 1985: 267). It has the potential to provide information on refuse disposal practices and activity areas. Ceramic cross-mending at Site 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 was undertaken as part of the vesselization of sherds (see Laboratory Methods in Chapter 2). Site 44NR0009 yielded a minimum of 139 ceramic vessels, while vesselization and mending analysis resulted in identification of a total of 312 vessels, at minimum, represented in the assemblage from Site 44NR0012 (see Appendices A and E).

Site 44NR0009 includes two vessels with cross-mends from different features. Specifically, fragments of a single Staffordshire slipware chamber pot (Vessel 78) were recovered from Features 4 and 56, contiguous trash pits in the northwest corner of the site. In addition, fragments from a single Buckley coarse earthenware bowl (Vessel 14) were recovered from Feature 4 and from cellar Feature 1. Features 1 and 4 are the most spatially distinctive early colonial period features on the site, separated by nearly 27 m (88.5 ft.). Both features yielded among the highest number of artifacts ($n=1,283$ and $n=1,725$, respectively) of any features at the two sites, and each was abandoned about the same time during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Site 44NR0012 ceramic cross-mends exist between 65 vessels throughout Feature 6 deposits, but mostly from Strata I–III. At least 12 different forms are represented, including bowls, saucers, plates, cups, pans, mugs, dishes, tea bowls, tea pots, pots, jars, and chamber pots (see Appendix E).

Glass vessel fragments from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, though not as prolific as ceramics, represent portions of 132 identified vessels. The 26 glass vessels from Site 44NR0009 include 16 wine bottles, three tumblers, three phials, two stemware, one case bottle, and one indeterminate tableware. Site 44NR0012 glass vessels ($n=106$) include 42 wine bottles, 26 phials, 13 stemware, eight tumblers, eight case bottles, three dram glasses, two indeterminate tableware vessels, and one each of a salt, a possible sugar bowl, an oil/vinegar bottle and a bottle of indeterminate function.

The distribution of vessel mends at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 suggests that refuse was not transported in large amounts across these sites. At least nine ceramic vessels (Vessels 6, 14, 44, 60, 71, 78, 87, 90, and 92) at Site 44NR0009 document cross-mends and an association between deposits, some of these at quite a distance from each other such as Vessels 14, 44, and 89 from Features 1 and 4. Cross-mends between strata within features, such as in Feature 4 at Site 44NR0009, and in Features 6 and 10 at Site 44NR0012, suggests that these features may have been filled over a fairly brief period of time, though the presence of a few pieces of creamware suggests that the initial deposits were probably capped with additional deposits later in the eighteenth century, as the initial fill deposits subsided over time creating surface depressions that once again became attractive for trash disposal.

In general, the broader periods within the eighteenth century in which temporally diagnostic artifacts and features can be categorized include ca. 1720–1750s (Period I), ca. 1750–1770s (Period II), and ca. 1770–1820s (Period III).

The mean ceramic date formula developed by Stanley South (1977:68–82) has become an accepted standard type of analysis used to establish the period of major activity at British-American colonial sites, based upon the relative quantities of various ceramic ware types represented in a given assemblage in light of the documented manufacture date ranges for the specific ware types. The period of major activity may also be thought of as the period of major sherd breakage. South's formula is based on sherd counts and assumes a high frequency of sherds are those that were in greatest use. The mean ceramic date derived from the formula should, according to South, approximate the median occupation time frame of the archaeological sites.

Mean ceramic dates were calculated for Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 as a whole, for each of Periods I–III, and for selected features, where there was sufficient data to permit the calculations (Tables 4 and 5). The mean ceramic dates for Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, at large are 1727 and 1712, respectively. Using the occupation bracket date of ca. 1697–1820 from Newtown's documented history, the mean ceramic dates are 31 and 46 years earlier than the known median historic date of 1758 (see Chapter 3). The mean ceramic dates for major features and deposits at Site 44NR0012 range from 68 years to 19 years earlier than the median date, except for Feature 3 (II), which exceeds the historical median date by four years. These differences may reflect the use of older ceramics (and ceramic types that had a long production span) by the site's occupants, and/or perhaps an assigned end bracket occupation date that is too late. This latter interpretation is suggested by the characteristics of the Period III assemblages at sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, which are relatively sparse. These materials (e.g., creamware, pearlware) were contained almost exclusively in capping deposits in cellars and trash pits, though had the most substantial presence in two of the abandoned wells at the two sites (Features 3 and 34), which were both abandoned

relatively late in the occupation of the two sites. The Period III artifacts likely represent ephemeral activity or much less intensive occupation very late in the history of settlement in Newtown, or perhaps even following abandonment of the town, as the landscape transitioned back into farmland. Given that most of the mean ceramic dates and TPQs for the features and deposits generally fall within the first half of the eighteenth century, activities on the sites may have indeed peaked late in Period I or early in Period II, a decade or so prior to the American Revolution and other (transitional) events in Newtown's history (see Chapter 3, Historical Background).

Site 44NR0009: Period I Assemblage (ca. 1720–1750s)

The Period I assemblage for Site 44NR0009 comprises 4,207 artifacts, representing 78% of the total historic artifacts (n=5,403), and includes many of the day-to-day items that were either lost or discarded by the early occupants of Site 44NR0009. These objects were found in feature deposits described in Chapter 4 and summarized in Table 6 (see Table 1 for feature designations).

KITCHEN GROUP

This group consists of ceramics, bottle and table glass, utensils, and animal bone. The assemblage includes 808 food/beverage-related ceramics sherds. Of this group, 658 (81%) are tablewares and 150 (19%) are cooking/storage. Three hundred and thirty-three (51%) tableware sherds were recovered from Feature 1 (Strata I–III), 184 (28%) from Feature 4 (Strata II–IV), 48 (7%) from Feature 5 (Strata I–III), and 44 (7%) from Feature 56 (Strata I–II). Only 6% or less of the tableware ceramic sherds came from each of Features 39 (Strata II, III), 64 (Strata I, III–V), and 40 (Stratum I). Fifty-two (35%) of the cooking/storage vessel fragments are from Feature 66 (Stratum I), while 41 (27%) fragments were

FEATURE/ STRATUM	MEAN CERAMIC DATE	FEATURE/ STRATUM	MEAN CERAMIC DATE
1 (I)	1710.14	5 (II)	1690.71
1 (II)	1725.37	5 (III)	NDA
1 (III)	1722.5	5 (IV)	NDA
64 (I)	1715.53	40 (I)	1734.7
64 (II)	NDA	56 (I)	1727.05
64 (III)	1718.57	56 (II)	1728.80
64 (IV)	NDA	65 (I)	NDA
64 (V)	1708	66	NDA
39 (I)	NDA	7	1725.30
39 (II)	1724.8	8	1727.42
39 (III)	1708.86	6	1739.66
39 (IV)	NDA	35	1729.16
4 (I)	1721.41	36	1731
4 (II)	1731.6	37	1728
4 (III)	NDA	3 (I)	1727.73
5 (I)	1715.22	3 (II)	1762.39

Table 4. Site 44NR0009, mean ceramic dates (MCD) of feature contexts.

FEATURE/ STRATUM	MEAN CERAMIC DATE
6 (I)	1715
6 (II)	1717
6 (III)	1711
6 (IV)	1718.20
10 (I)	1732
10 (II)	1710
10 (III)	1737
34 (I)	1733.71
34 (II)	1767.38

Table 5. Site 44NR0012, mean ceramic dates (MCD) of feature contexts.

	COUNT	WEIGHT
KITCHEN GROUP		
Ceramics*		
Beverage Serving/Consumption	25	
Food Serving/Consumption	21	
Tea Drinking	8	
Indeterminate Table Hollowware	6	
Unidentified Utilitarian Hollowware	7	
Food Preparation/Cooking	4	
Beverage/Food Storage	4	
Glassware*		
Wine Bottles	12	
Tumblers	3	
Stemware	2	
Case Bottles	1	
Indeterminate Tableware	1	
Utensils		
Knives	2	
Unidentified	1	
Metal Cookingware		
Cast Iron Pot	3	
Historic Faunal/Ethnobotanical		
Animal Bone	1,552	
Fish Scales	217	
Oyster Shell		410.4 kg
MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP		
Indeterminate Ceramic Fragments	21	
Chamber Pot*	3	
Phial (vessel count)	2	
Wig Curler	1	
PERSONAL GROUP		
Book Clasps	2	
Whirligig	1	

	COUNT	WEIGHT
CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED		
Leather Shoe Frags.	16	
Shoe Buckle Frags.	5	
Belt Buckles	1	
Straight Pin	1	
FURNITURE GROUP		
Tin-enameled Earthenware Tiles*	2	
SMOKING GROUP		
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Stem	169	
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl	10	
ARMS GROUP		
Lead Bird Shot	2	
ARCHITECTURE GROUP		
Hand Wrought Nails	796	
Window Glass	133	
Hand Wrought Spikes	23	
Paving Tile	1	
Architectural Stone	1	
Hand Made Brick		430.85 kg
Shell Mortar		1.27 kg
UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL GROUP		
Possible Lock Fragments	9	
Pig Iron	5	
Copper and Iron Strapping	5	
Possible Draw Knife	3	
Copper Alloy Spur	1	
Bridal Bit	1	
Horse Shoe	1	
Copper Alloy Rulers	1	
Whetstone	1	
Coral	1	
Wooden Well Post	1	
Other	114	

Table 6. Site 44NR0009, Period I artifact assemblage by group (* refers to vessels).

recovered from Feature 4, 36 (24%) from Feature 1, and 6% or less were recovered from each of Features 40, 64, 39, 5, 56, and 38.

Most of the ceramic sherds are Staffordshire slipware (34%, n=274), followed by white salt-glaze stoneware (17%, n=136), tin-enameled earthenware (13%, n=104), Buckley coarse earthenware, (7%, n=26), and English mottle glaze coarse earthenware (5%, n=40). Other identifiable types (i.e., Rhenish blue and gray, Staffordshire black coarse earthenware, Yorktown coarse earthenware, English stoneware, Jackfield, Chinese porcelain) represent 6% or less of the assemblage (see Appendix A).

The Period I assemblage includes at least 75 food/beverage-related ceramic vessels (see Appendix E). This group comprises beverage serving/consumption (33%, n=25), food serving/consumption (28%, n=21), and tea drinking (11%, n=8). Unidentified utilitarian hollowwares represent 9% (n=7) and unidentified table hollowwares represent 8% (n=6) of the assemblage; beverage/food storage and food preparation/cooking each represent 5% (n=4) of the assemblage (see Appendix E).

Ware types include coarse earthenware (Vessels 1, 12, 14, 16–18, 21, 26–28, 34, 35, 39, 40, and 42–44) and Staffordshire slipware (Vessels 79–81, 83–95, and 98), each at 23% (n=17); followed by tin-enameled earthenware (17%, n=13) (Vessels 99–105 and 107–112), white saltglaze stoneware (12%, n=9) (Vessels 118–121, 124, 127, 133, 134, and 136), Chinese porcelain and English Brown stoneware (each at 7%, n=5) (Vessels 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 53–55, 59, and 60), Rhenish stoneware (5%, n=4) (Vessels 73–76), white slip dipped white saltglaze stoneware (3%, n=2) (Vessels 136 and 137), and Jackfield, cream-colored earthenware, and miscellaneous refined earthenware (Vessels 47, 63, and 66), each at 1% (n=1).

Identifiable functional groups include dishes (19%, n=14), followed by mugs (12%, n=9), bowls (11%, n=8), plates (9%, n=7), cups (9%, n=7), tea bowls (5%, n=4), pots and saucers, (each

at 4%, n=3) and coarse earthenware bowls and pans (each at 3%, n=2), and jugs, jars, and tea pots (each at 1%, n=1). As previously noted, unidentified utilitarian hollowware comprises 9% (n=7) of the food/beverage-related vessel assemblage and unidentified table hollowware, 8% (n=6). A selection of identifiable hollowwares is shown in Figures 5.3–5.6 (see Appendix E). The assemblage includes 212 beverage-related glass fragments: 194 pieces of dark green bottle glass, 12 tumbler fragments (Feature 4), five stemware (Features 1 and 66), and one indeterminate tableware fragment (Feature 40). Eighty-one of the bottle glass fragments came from Feature 4 (Strata II–IV), 63 came from Feature 1, 16 from Feature 39, 10 from Feature 40, nine from Feature 64 (Strata I–IV), nine from Feature 5, and five or less from each of Features 38 and 56. From this group, a minimum of 19 food/beverage-related vessels were identified, including 12 wine bottles, three tumblers, two stemware, one case bottle, and one indeterminate tableware.

In addition to the ceramics, the kitchen assemblage includes two iron knives and one unidentified utensil, and three fragments of cast iron pots.

The kitchen group contains 1,552 pieces of animal bone, 217 fish scales, and 410.4 kg (904.8 lb.) of oyster shell. Three hundred and seventy-seven (24%) of the bones are from Feature 1, 632 (41%) are from Feature 4, 233 (15%) are from Feature 5, 147 (9%) are from Feature 39, and 8% or less are from Features 64, 38, 40, 56, 65, and 66. Six hundred and sixty-one faunal specimens were analyzed from Features 1, 4, 39, and 64. At least 11 different domestic and wild species are represented, including cow, swine, sheep/goat, and raccoon (see Appendix B).

MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP

This group is represented by three chamber pots (Vessels 68, 69, and 78) from Features 1 and 4, seven phial fragments representing a minimum of two vessels from Feature 1 (Stratum I, East



Figure 5.3. Site 44NR0009, Staffordshire slipware dish, ca. 1720s–1750s, 13³/₈ in. diameter, 2³/₄ in. high (Vessel 84) (F1 I West Half).



Figure 5.4. Site 44NR0009, Staffordshire slipware dish, ca. 2nd/3rd quarter 18th c., 6³/₁₆ in. diameter (Vessel 94) (F1 II West Half).



Figure 5.5. Site 44NR0009, coarse earthenware cup, $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. rim diameter, $4\frac{7}{16}$ in. high (Vessel 18) (F1 II West Half).



Figure 5.6. Site 44NR0009, Staffordshire slipware dish, ca. 2nd/3rd quarter 18th c., $13\frac{7}{8}$ in. approximate diameter, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. high (Vessel 95) (F4 IV).



Figure 5.7. Site 44NR0009, Staffordshire slipware chamber pot, ca. 1720s–1740s, 6½ in. approximate maximum body diameter, >5¾ in. high (incomplete) (Vessel 78) (F4 III, F4 IV).

Half, and Stratum II, East Balk), one wig curler from Feature 1 (Stratum II, East Half), and 21 unidentified medicinal/hygiene-related ceramic items from Features 1 (Stratum I, East and West Halves), 39 (Strata II and III), 4 (Strata I and II), 5 (Stratum I), and 38 (Figure 5.7).

PERSONAL GROUP

This group consists of a lead whirligig from Feature 1 and two copper alloy book clasps with iron tacks from Feature 4 (Stratum IV) (Figure 5.8; see Figure 4.10).

CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED

This group consists of 16 leather shoe fragments from Feature 64 (Stratum V), five copper alloy shoe buckle fragments from Features 1 (Stratum I West Half) and 4 (Stratum I and IV), one possible copper alloy belt buckle from Feature 56 (Stratum

II), and one copper alloy straight pin from Feature 64 (Stratum III) (Figures 5.9 and 5.10).

SMOKING GROUP

This group consists of 169 white clay pipe stems and 10 white clay pipe bowls. Two of the stems are decorated, one with an impressed diamond band and one is rouletted. One hundred and forty-six (87%) of the stems were recovered from Feature 1. Seventeen stem fragments (10%) were recovered from Feature 4. The pipe bowls came from Features 1, 4, 5, 9, and 64 (see Figure 4.9).

FURNITURE GROUP

This group consists of two tin-enamelled earthenware fireplace tiles (Vessels 114 and 115) from Feature 1 (Stratum II East Half). One of these is decorated blue with a ship, and the other, manganese, with an architectural scene (Figure 5.11).



Figure 5.8. Site 44NR0009, book clasps (F4 IV).



Figure 5.9. Site 44NR0009, selected leather shoe fragments from well (F64 V).

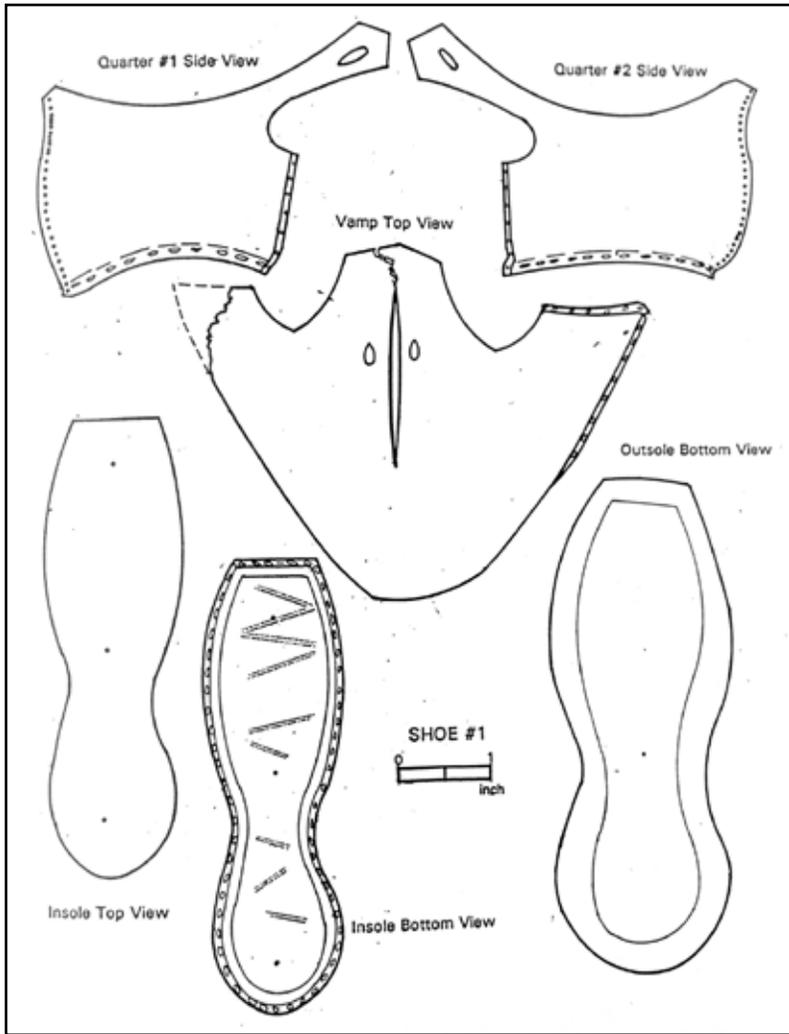


Figure 5.10. Plan and profile drawings of seventeenth-century shoe components similar to those recovered from Feature 64-V at Site 44NR0009 (Morgan et al. 1997:28, 32).

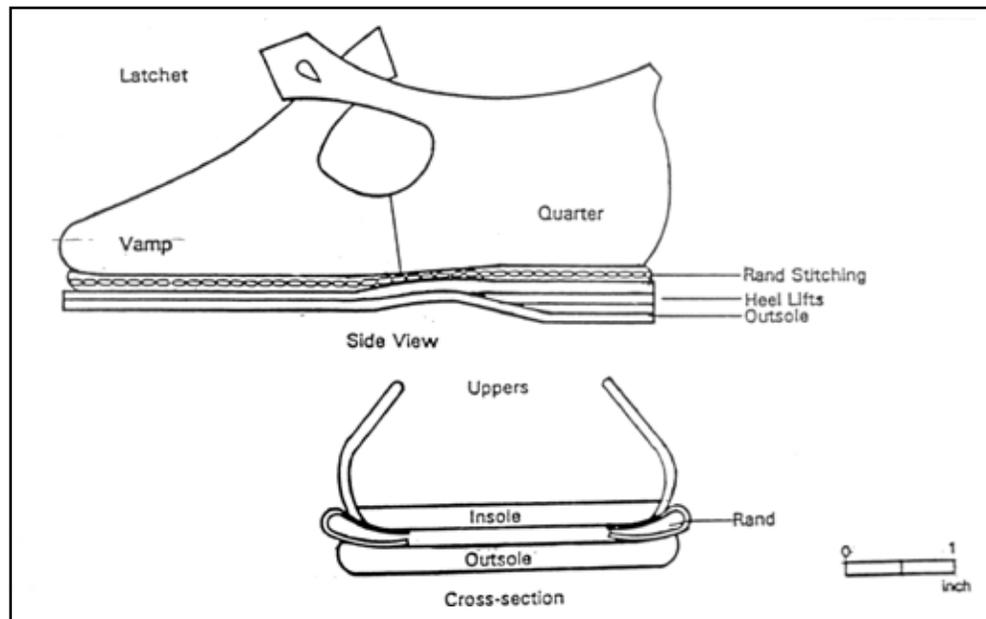




Figure 5.11. Tin-enameled earthenware fireplace tiles (left - Vessel 114, ca. 1740s–1750s; right - Vessel 115, general 18th c. [both - F1 II East Half]).

ARMS GROUP

This group includes two lead bird shot, one each from Feature 1 (Stratum I) and Feature 39 (Stratum IV).

ARCHITECTURAL GROUP

This group consists of 954 architectural artifacts, including 796 wrought nails, 133 pieces of window glass, 23 hand wrought spikes, one paving tile, one architectural stone, 430.85 kg (949.86 lb.) of handmade brick, and 1.27 kg (2.79 lb.) of shell mortar. Two hundred and sixty-four (33%) of the nails came from Feature 4, 150 (19%) came from Feature 1, 155 (19%) came from Feature 39, and less than 10% came from each of the other Period I feature deposits.

UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP

This group consists of 143 unassigned and/or miscellaneous artifacts, including possible lock

fragments, a bridal bit, a horse shoe fragment, a copper alloy spur, a copper alloy ruler, draw knife fragments, a whetstone, and unidentified glassware, among other artifacts (Figure 5.12).

Site 44NR0009: Period II Assemblage (ca. 1750s–1770s)

The Period II assemblage includes 1,477 artifacts, representing 27% of the total historic artifacts (n=5,403) recovered from Site 44NR0009. The assemblage includes artifacts from the kitchen, clothing, architectural, furniture, and arms groups (Table 7). These items were recovered from feature deposits identified in Table 1.

KITCHEN GROUP

This group consists of ceramics, bottle and table glass, utensils, and animal bone. The assemblage includes 253 food/beverage-related ceramics sherds. Of this group, 225 (89%) are

tablewares and 28 (11%) are cooking/storage. One hundred and twenty-five (56%) tableware sherds were recovered from Feature 6, 53 (24%) were recovered from Feature 4 (Stratum I), 33 (15%) were recovered from feature 7, and 4% or less came from Features 8 and 35. Ten (36%) of the cooking/storage vessel fragments are from Feature 4 (Stratum I), 12 (43%) were recovered from Feature 6, and 11% or less were recovered from each of Features 7, 8, 35, and 37.

Most of the sherds are white saltglaze stoneware (39%, n=99), followed by Staffordshire slipware (12%, n=31), tin-enameled earthenware (9%, n=24), Chinese porcelain (9%, n=22). Other identifiable ware types (i.e., Rhenish blue and gray, Yorktown coarse earthenware and Jackfield) represent 6% or less (see Appendix A).

The Period II assemblage includes at least 41 food/beverage-related ceramic vessels (see Appendix E). This group is comprised mostly of teaware and beverage serving/consumption ves-

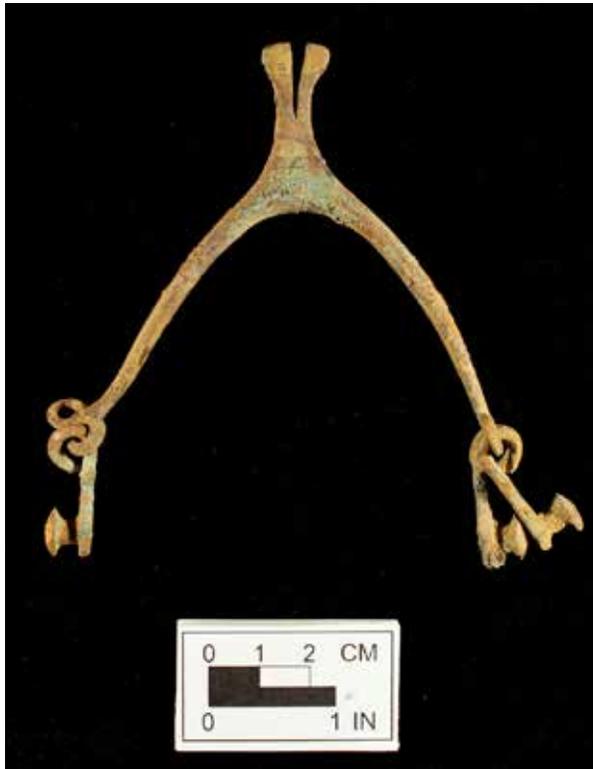


Figure 5.12. Site 44NR0009, spur (F56 II).

sels (each at 22%, n=9), followed by unidentified utility hollowware (20%, n=8), unidentified table hollowware (15%, n=6), food serving/consumption (12%, n=5), and food preparation/cooking and beverage/food storage vessels (each at 5%, n=2) (see Appendix E).

Ware types include coarse earthenware (37%, n=15) (Vessels 13, 19, 20, 22–25, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36–38, and 41), white saltglaze stoneware (24%, n=10) (Vessels 122, 123, 125, 126, 128–131, 132, and 135), and Chinese porcelain (12%, n=5). Cream-colored ware, Rhenish stoneware, Staffordshire slipware, and tin-enameled earthenware, each constitute 5% (n=2) of the assemblage, and English porcelain, miscellaneous refined earthenware, and English Brown stoneware, each constitute 2% (n=1) of the assemblage.

Vessel forms include saucers and unidentified utility hollowware (each 20%, n=8) (Vessels 8, 9, 22–25, 29, 31, 32, 61, 106, and 128–132), followed by unidentified table hollowware (15%, n=6) (Vessels 3, 45, 46, 67, 122, and 123), mugs (12%, n=5) (Vessels 36–38, 60, and 67), plates (7%, n=3) (Vessels 5, 113, and 125); dishes, cups and jars (each at 5%, n=2) (Vessels 19, 21, 34, 58, 82, and 96) and coarse earthenware bowls, punch bowls, pans, jugs, and tea bowls (each at 2%, n=1). (Figure 5.13; see Table 7) (see Appendix E).

The assemblage includes 110 beverage-related glass fragments comprising three fragments of colorless table glass (Feature 8) and 103 pieces of dark green bottle glass. The latter group includes four bases and two necks from Feature 7 that date to ca. 1730s–1750s, and four bases and one neck dating to circa 1720s–1740s. Fifty-five (53%) fragments of the bottle glass came from Feature 7, 24 (23%) fragments came from Feature 6, 14 (14%) fragments came from Feature 4 (Stratum I), and less than 9% came from Features 8 and 35. Identified glass vessels include a minimum of five vessels, all of which are wine bottles.

The kitchen group contains 231 animal bones, 3 fish scales, 235.2 kg (518.7 lb.) of oyster shells, and one periwinkle shell (0.0025 kg [0.005 lb.]).

	COUNT	WEIGHT
KITCHEN GROUP		
Ceramics*		
Tea Drinking	9	
Beverage Serving/consumption	8	
Unidentified Utility Hollowware	8	
Food Preparation/cooking	6	
Beverage/food Storage	6	
Food Serving/consumption	2	
Unidentified Table Hollowware	2	
Glassware		
Wine Bottles*	5	
Indeterminate Tableware	3	
Utensils		
Unidentified	1	
Metal Cookingware		
Cast Iron Pot	2	
Historic Faunal/Ethnobotanical		
Animal Bone	231	
Fish Scales	3	
Oyster Shell		235.2 kg
Periwinkle	1	2.5 g
MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP		
Chamber Pot*	3	
Phial*	1	
CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED		
Straight Pins	5	
Shoe Buckle Fragments	2	

	COUNT	WEIGHT
FURNITURE GROUP		
Tin-enameled Earthenware Tiles*	2	
SMOKING GROUP		
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Stem	7	
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl	2	
ARMS/MILITARY		
Lead Shot	2	
ARCHITECTURE GROUP		
Hand Wrought Nails	313	
Window Glass	42	
Hand Wrought Spikes	5	
Hand Made Brick		130.5 kg
Shell Mortar		17.1 g
UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP		
Indeterminate/other	5	
Wooden Well Ring	3	
Tapered (Well) Planks with Spikes	2	
Wooden (Well) Lift Pump	1	
Unidentified Iron Hinge-like Strapping	1	
Copper and Iron Strapping	1	
Indeterminate Iron Pull-like Object	1	
Grindstone	1	
Iron Sheet Metal	2	

Table 7. Site 44NR0009, Period II artifact assemblage by group (* refers to vessels).



Figure 5.13. Site 44NR0009, white saltglaze stoneware plate (Vessel 125) (F6) (1740–1775).

One hundred and ten (48%) of the bones are from Feature 6, 105 (45%) are from Feature 4 (Stratum I), and less than 6% are from Features 7, 8, and 35. The Period II assemblage includes domestic and wild species such as cow, pig, sheep/goat, shark, and raccoon (see Appendix B).

MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP

This group is represented by four chamber pot fragments, three pieces of phial glass, and 28 Rhenish stoneware and tin-enameled earthenware sherds, which are probably remnants of either chamber pots or ointment jars. Of this assemblage, a minimum of three chamber pots (Vessels 15, 70, and 71) have been identified from Features 6 and 7, and one glass phial from Feature 6.

CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED

This group consists of five copper alloy straight pins from Feature 5 (Stratum I), and two copper alloy shoe buckle fragments from Feature 4 (Stratum I).

SMOKING GROUP

This group consists of seven plain white clay pipe stems and two undecorated white clay pipe bowls. The stems were recovered from Features 4 (Stratum I) and 35, and the bowls came from Features 4 (Stratum I) and 6.

FURNITURE GROUP

This group consists of two tin-enameled earthenware fireplace tile fragments, one plain from Feature 8, and the other, with black transfer print, from Feature 37.

ARMS GROUP

This group is represented by two pieces of lead bird shot from Feature 8.

ARCHITECTURAL GROUP

This group consists of 360 architectural artifacts, including 313 wrought nails, 42 pieces of window glass, five hand wrought spikes, 130.5 kg (287.7 lb.) of handmade brick, and 0.017 kg (0.037 lb.)

of shell mortar. Over one half (63%, n=226) of the quantified material (i.e., nails, spike, and window glass) came from Feature 6, 31% (n=111) came from Feature 4 (Stratum I), and less than 3% came from each of Features 7, 8, and 35. Most of the brick came from Feature 6 (79.5 kg [175.2 lb.]), followed by Feature 4 (Stratum I) (28 kg [61.7 lb.]), and Feature 7 (23 kg [50.7 lb.]).

UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP

This group consists of a grindstone from Feature 8, six wooden well structural components recovered from the bottom and sides of Feature 3 (Stratum II), pieces of iron sheet metal, one fragment each of copper and iron strapping, an indeterminate pull-like object, and an iron hinge-like strap, as well as other artifacts.

The well-preserved wooden artifacts from Feature 3 include two tapered planks (1.30 m [4.26 ft.] x 0.16 m [0.52 ft.] x 0.05 m [0.16 ft.]), each with at least one spike driven through the tapered side about 0.37 m (1.21 ft.) above the bevels. The wooden artifacts from Feature 3 also comprise three parts of a heavy, dressed timber square well ring (0.82 x 0.82 m [2.69 x 2.69 ft.]) with mortise and tenon joints, and fashioned/hewn into a circle on the interior. A section of wooden octagonal lift pump pipe that measures 1.03 m (3.3 ft.) long and has a diameter of 0.23 m (0.75 ft.) completes the assemblage of recovered wooden artifacts from Feature 3 (see Figures 4.42–4.46). All of these wooden elements are white oak, except for the pump, which is either elm or gum. The pump's bore hole has a diameter of 0.07 m (0.22 ft.) and extends almost the entire length of the pipe, terminating just below two circular (0.03-m- [0.10-ft.-] diameter) intake holes near its base (Figure 5.14).

Site 44NR0009: Period III Assemblage (ca. 1770s–1820s)

The Period III assemblage came from well Feature 3 and ditch Feature 9, and comprises 176 artifacts,



Figure 5.14. Site 44NR0009, lift pump stock intake holes (F3 II).

or 3% of the total historic artifacts (n=5,403) recovered from the site. As summarized below, the Period III assemblage contains items that fall within kitchen, clothing, architectural, furniture, and arms groups among others (Table 8; see Appendix A).

KITCHEN GROUP

Consisting of ceramics, bottle and table glass, utensils, and animal bone, the kitchen group is among the largest and most diverse groups represented. The assemblage includes 45 food/beverage-related ceramic (i.e., plate, mug, tea pot, tea bowl, and saucer) sherds. Of this group, 37 (82%) are tablewares and eight (18%) are cooking/storage. Thirty-six (97%) of the tableware sherds were recovered from Feature 3 (24 [68%] from Stratum II and 12 [32%] from Stratum I) and one (3%) tableware sherd from Feature 9, Six (75%) of the cooking/storage vessel fragments

	COUNT	WEIGHT (KG)
KITCHEN GROUP		
Ceramics*		
Indeterminate Table Hollowware	5	
Tea Drinking	3	
Beverage Serving/consumption	2	
Indeterminate Utility Hollowware	2	
Indeterminate Function	1	
Glassware*		
Wine Bottle	1	
Historic Faunal/Ethnobotanical		
Animal Bone	39	
Oyster Shell		13.2
MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP		
Unidentified Ceramic Vessel Fragments	3	
CLOTHING/CLOTHING-RELATED		
Leather Shoe Frags	1	
SMOKING GROUP		
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Stem	1	
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl	1	
ARMS/MILITARY		
Gun Flint	2	
ARCHITECTURE GROUP		
Hand Wrought Nails	46	
Hand Wrought Spikes	9	
Window Glass	2	
Hand Made Brick		92.8
UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS GROUP		
Unidentified Iron	4	
Unidentified Glass	3	
Iron Strapping	1	

Table 8. Site 44NR0009, Period III artifact assemblage by group (* refers to vessels).

came from Feature 3 (Stratum I) and two from Feature 3 (Stratum II).

Thirty-one percent (n=14) of the sherds in the kitchen group are creamware. Considerably smaller percentages are represented in the kitchen group by white saltglaze stoneware at 16% (n=7), tin-enameled earthenware, English stoneware, Jackfield, and Staffordshire slipware (each at 9% [n=4]). Other types (i.e., coarse earthenware and Chinese porcelain) represent 7% or less of the Period III kitchen ceramic assemblage (see Appendix A).

The vessel mending analysis determined that the Period III kitchen group of artifacts includes at least 12 food/beverage-related ceramic vessels and one indeterminate vessel (see Appendix E). This group comprises indeterminate table hollowware (38%, n=5), tea drinking (23%, n=3), beverage serving/consumption and indeterminate utilitarian hollowware (each at 15%, n=2), and one (8%) vessel representing an indeterminate function group (see Appendix E).

Ceramic ware types represented in the vessels that were mended from the Period III kitchen group include creamware (38%, n=5) (Vessels 48–52), English Brown stoneware and Jackfield (each at 15%, n=2) (Vessels 56, 57, 62, and 64), and Chinese porcelain, pearlware, Staffordshire slipware, and white slipped dipped saltglaze stoneware (each at 8%, n=1) (Vessels 4, 65, 96, and 139).

Functional groups represented in the assemblage of mended vessels include one each (8%) of bowls (Vessel 62), mugs (Vessel 139), tea bowls (Vessel 51), saucers (Vessel 50), tea pot (Vessel 52), and five (38%) unidentified table hollowwares (Vessels 4, 48, 49, 64, and 97). Also represented are two unidentified utilitarian hollowwares (Vessels 56 and 57), and one (8%) indeterminate form (Figure 5.15) (see Appendix E).

The Period III kitchen group assemblage includes 14 dark green round bottle fragments

and one case bottle fragment. The former group includes one base that dates to the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century and one neck that dates circa 1730s–1740s. Seven of the round bottle fragments (including the diagnostic examples) and the case bottle came from Stratum I and the remainder from Stratum II of Feature 3. This sub-assembly represents a minimum of one wine bottle (Vessel 28) from Feature 3 (Stratum I).

The kitchen group contains 39 pieces of animal bone, and 13.2 kg (29.1 lb.) of oyster shell, all from Feature 3. Twenty-seven (67%) of the bone fragments came from Stratum II and 12 (33%) from Stratum I, and these represent cow and pig (see Appendix B).

MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP

This group comprises three unidentified medicinal/hygiene vessel fragments (two Rhenish blue and gray and one tin-enameled earthenware) from Feature 3 (Strata I and II).

CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED

This group consists of one piece of a leather shoe vamp from Feature 3 (Stratum II).

SMOKING GROUP

This group consists of one plain white clay pipe stem and one undecorated white clay pipe bowl from Feature 3 (Stratum II).

ARMS/MILITARY

This group consists of two gray gunflints from Feature 3 (Stratum I) (Figure 5.16).

ARCHITECTURAL GROUP

This group consists of 57 architectural artifacts, including 46 wrought nails, two pieces of window glass, nine hand wrought spikes, and 92.8 kg (204.5 lb.) of handmade brick. Sixty-seven percent of the nails/spikes, and window glass came from Feature 3 (Stratum II).

UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP

This group includes four pieces of unidentified iron, three pieces of unidentified glass, and one piece of iron strapping.

Site 44NR0012: Period I Assemblage (ca. 1720s–1750s)

The Period I assemblage includes 1,079 artifacts, representing 5% of the total historic artifacts (n=22,998) recovered from Site 44NR0012. The assemblage came from Features 6 (Stratum IV), 8, 10, 37, and 40, and, as summarized below, includes kitchen, medicinal/hygiene, smoking, and architectural groups, among others (Table 9) (see Chapter 4).

KITCHEN GROUP

This group consists of ceramics, bottle and table glass, utensils, and animal bone. The assemblage includes 102 food/beverage-related ceramic sherds (see Table 9). Of this group, 81 (79%) are tablewares and 21 (21%) are cooking-related. Forty-seven (58%) tableware sherds were recovered from Feature 10, 29 (36%) from Feature 6 (Stratum IV), and five (5%) from Feature 8. Nineteen (90%) of the cooking/storage vessel fragments are from Feature 10 and one (5%) each, from Features 6 (Stratum IV) and 8.

Most of the sherds are tin-enameled (28%, n=29), followed by Rhenish blue and gray stoneware (23%, n=23), white saltglaze stoneware (17%, n=17), colonoware (15%, n=15), Rhenish gray stoneware (5%, n=5) and Staffordshire slipware (4%, n=4). Other identifiable types (i.e., Buckley coarse earthenware, Jackfield, and Chinese porcelain) represent 2% or less (see Appendix A).

The kitchen ceramic group includes a minimum of five vessels: two colonoware bowls (Vessels 314 and 315) and one each of a Buckley coarse earthenware pan (Vessel 50), a tin-enameled punch bowl (Vessel 159), and an unidentified



Figure 5.15. Site 44NR0009, creamware saucer (Vessel 50) and creamware teapot (Vessel 52).



Figure 5.16. Site 44NR0009, gunflints.

	COUNT	WEIGHT
KITCHEN GROUP		
Ceramics*		
Food Serving/consumption	1	
Food Preparation/cooking	3	
Beverage Serving/consumption	1	
Tea Drinking	0	
Glassware		
Wine Bottles*	10	
Indeterminate Tableware	9	
Stemware Fragments	7	
Utensils		
Unidentified Fragments	2	
Historic Faunal/Ethnobotanical		
Animal Bone	278	
Oyster Shell		19.7 kg
MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP		
Phial Fragments	19	
Smoking Group		
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl	3	
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Stem	3	
Architecture Group		
Window Glass	201	
Hand Wrought Nails	119	
Hand Wrought Spike	2	
Hand Made Brick		249.9 kg
Shell Mortar		32 g
Unassigned Material Group		
Unidentified Tin-enameled Earthenware	10	
Unidentified Iron Hinge/strapping	2	
Unidentified Iron Blade/strapping	2	
Iron Tang-like Object	1	
Unidentified Iron Bail Handle-like Object	1	
Unidentified Colorless Glass	1	

Table 9. Site 44NR0012, Period I artifact assemblage by group (* refers to vessels).

white saltglaze stoneware table hollowware (Vessel 264) (see Appendix E).

The assemblage includes 312 beverage-related glass fragments, including 302 fragments of dark green bottle glass (300 round bottle and two case bottle) and 16 pieces of table glass. The table glass group consists of nine unidentified fragments, six folded-foot wine glass base fragments, and one drawn wine glass stem. The bottle glass came exclusively from Feature 10, while 15 of the wine glass fragments came from Feature 10, and one from Feature 6 (Stratum IV). Identified glass vessels include a minimum of 10 wine bottles from Feature 10.

The kitchen group includes two fragments of an unidentified utensil with a bone handle, possibly that of a knife, from Feature 10 (Stratum I).

The kitchen group contains 278 animal bones and 19.7 kg (43.5 lb.) of oyster shell. Represented animals include fish (represented by either croaker or drum), squirrel, cow, and pig, among others (see Appendix B). Two hundred and nineteen fragments (79%) of the bone are from Feature 10, and 57 (21%) came from Feature 6 (Stratum IV).

MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP

This group is represented by 19 green phial glass fragments, sixteen of which came from Feature 10, two from Feature 6 (Stratum IV), and one from Feature 8.

SMOKING GROUP

This group consists of three white clay pipe stems and three white clay pipe bowls, all plain. Four of the pipe fragments (two bowls and two stems) came from Feature 6 (Stratum IV) and two (one bowl and one stem) from Feature 10. Three of the stems have a bore diameter of $\frac{5}{64}$ in. and a bowl/stem has a bore diameter of $\frac{4}{64}$ in. One of the stems recovered from Feature 6 (Stratum IV) is atypical, as it measures 13.97 cm (5.5 in.) long. The unusual length of this pipe stem is nonetheless consistent with the fact that it was recovered from a primary refuse deposit (Figure 5.17).

ARCHITECTURAL GROUP

This group consists of 322 architectural artifacts, including 201 pieces of window glass, 119 wrought nails, two hand wrought spikes, 249.9 kg (550.9 lb.) of handmade brick, and 0.032 kg



Figure 5.17. Site 44NR0012, nearly complete tobacco pipe (F6 IV Northwest Quad).

(0.07 lb.) of shell mortar. Sixty (50%) of the nails came from Feature 10, 41 (34%) from Feature 6 (Stratum IV); 12 (10%) from Feature 8, and 5% or less came from Features 37 and 40.

UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP

This group consists of 17 unassigned and/or miscellaneous artifacts, including 10 unidentified tin-enamelled earthenware fragments, two each of iron hinge/strapping and iron blade/strapping, and one each of an iron tang-like object, an iron bail handle-like object, and a piece of colorless glass.

Site 44NR0012: Period II Assemblage (ca. 1750s–1770s)

The Period II assemblage includes 20,527 artifacts, representing 89% of the total historic artifacts (n=22,998) recovered from Site 44NR0012. The assemblage includes artifacts from the kitchen, clothing, architectural, furniture, and arms groups (Table 10). These were recovered from Feature 6 (Strata I–III), 38, 42, 46, and 47.

KITCHEN GROUP

This group consists of ceramics, bottle and table glass, utensils, metal pots and skillets, and animal bone. The assemblage includes 4,203 food/beverage-related ceramics sherds (see Table 10). Of this group, 3,885 (92%) are tablewares and 318 (8%) are cooking/storage. Feature 6 (Stratum I) yielded 2,278 (59%) tableware sherds. Feature 6 (Stratum III) produced 1,302 (34%) tableware sherds. Feature 6 (Stratum II) produced 303 (8%) tableware sherds. Features 38 and 42 each yielded one (<1%) tableware sherd. For the cooking/storage vessel fragment group, Feature 6 (Stratum I) produced 216 (68%) fragments, Feature 6 (Stratum III) produced 78 (25%) fragments, and Feature 6 (Stratum II) yielded 24 (8%) fragments.

Nearly half of the sherds are tin-enamelled earthenware (43%, n= 1,802), followed by white

	COUNT	WEIGHT
KITCHEN GROUP		
Ceramics*		
Beverage Serving/consumption	112	
Tea Drinking	88	
Food Serving/consumption	48	
Food Preparation/cooking	10	
Beverage/food Storage	6	
Indeterminate Table Hollowware	12	
Indeterminate Hollowware	2	
Indeterminate Utilitarian Hollowware	1	
Indeterminate Function	1	
Glassware		
Wine Bottles*	19	
Stemware*	13	
Indeterminate Hollowware Fragments	9	
Tumbler*	8	
Case Bottles*	6	
Dram Glasses*	3	
Indeterminate Tableware*	2	
Sugar Bowl*	1	
Salt*	1	
Oil/vinegar Bottle*	1	
Utensils		
Knives	11	
Spoons	6	
Unidentified	5	
Forks	2	
Metal Cookingware		
Cast Iron Pot	12	
Cast Iron Skillet	2	
Historic Faunal/Ethnobotanical		
Animal Bone	8,423	
Fish Scales	304	
Egg Shell	193	
Oyster Shell		656.1 kg
Clam Shell		102 g

Table 10 (pt 1 of 2). Site 44NR0012, Period II artifact assemblage by group (refers to vessels).*

	COUNT	WEIGHT
MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP		
Phial*	25	
Unidentified Frags.	123	
Chamber Pot*	9	
Mirror Glass*	2	
Ointment Pot*	1	
Drug Jar*	1	
PERSONAL GROUP		
Bone Fan Blade Frags	2	
Iron Mouth Harp	2	
Stone Marbles	1	
Stone Gaming Piece	1	
Tin-enameled Earthenware Gaming Piece	1	
CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED		
Straight Pins	39	
Shoe Buckle Frags.	18	
Buttons	15	
Glass Beads	6	
Indeterminate Buckle Frags.	5	
Belt Buckles	2	
Colorless Glass Jewel	1	
Thimble	1	
Scissors	1	
FURNITURE GROUP		
Furniture Handles/pulls	3	
Escutcheon Plate	1	
ARMS AND MILITARY GROUP		
Gun Flint	6	
Lead Shot	4	
Iron Cannister Shot	1	
Round Ball	1	
SMOKING GROUP		
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Stem	199	
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl	81	
Red Clay Pipe Stem	1	

	COUNT	WEIGHT
ARCHITECTURE GROUP		
Hand Wrought Nails	3,741	
Window Glass	714	
Hand Wrought Spikes	211	
Turned (Window) Lead	32	
Iron Hinges	7	
Iron Strap Hinges	7	
Lock Rim/rim Frags	3	
Iron Door Pintles	2	
Paving Tiles	2	
Iron Key Fragment	1	
Hand Made Brick		1,642 kg
Tiles		1.65 kg
Plaster		1.57 kg
Shell Mortar		0.66 kg
UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP		
Copper Alloy Rulers	6	
Etched Slate	4	
Harness Tacks	3	
Harness Boss	2	
Iron Curry Combs	2	
Whetstones	2	
Slate Pencils	2	
Iron Bridal Bits	2	
Possible Iron Pan Frags	2	
Lead Merchant's Seal	1	
Possible Apothecary's Copper Alloy Scale Weight	1	
Possible Iron Gun Lock	1	
Possible Copper Alloy Furniture Hardware	1	
Iron Handle	1	
Iron Hook	1	
Dressed Slate	1	
Iron Wheel Hub	1	
Iron Buckle	1	
Possible Iron Chisel	1	
Iron Horseshoe	1	
Other	997	

Table 10 (pt 2 of 2). Site 44NR0012, Period II artifact assemblage by group (* refers to vessels).

saltglaze stoneware (21%, n=873), Staffordshire slipware (14%, n=607), and Chinese porcelain (7%, n=299). Several other types (i.e., coarse earthenware, Yorktown stoneware and earthenware, Jackfield, creamware, colonoware) represent 3% or less (see Appendix A). The tin-enameled earthenware sherds include the spike portion of a rare spiked bowl (Figures 5.18 and 5.19).

The Period II assemblage consists of at least 280 food/beverage-related ceramic vessels (see Appendix E). This group comprises beverage serving/consumption (40%, n=112), tea drinking (32%, n=88), food serving/consumption (17%, n=48), indeterminate table hollowware (4%, n=12), food preparation/cooking (3%, n=10), beverage/food storage (2%, n=6), indeterminate table hollowware (<1%, n=2), indeterminate utilitarian hollowware (<1%, n=1), and an indeterminate vessel form (<1%, n=1) (see Appendix E).

Identifiable vessel forms include punch bowls (21%, n=57), saucers (15%, n=41), tea bowls (13%, n=37), cups (11%, n=30), plates (10%, n=26), mugs (8%, n=23), dishes (8%, n=21), tea pots (3%, n=7), pans (2%, n=6), and jars and coarse earthenware bowls (i.e., colonoware, Buckley) (each at 1%, n=3). Bottles, pots, platters, cream pitchers, tea caddy, chocolate cups, pastry/pudding pan are each represented by small amounts ($\leq 1\%$) in the food/beverage-related ceramic group (Figures 5.20–5.39).

Ware types represented in the Period II kitchen group include tin-enameled earthenware (n=102, 36%), white saltglaze stoneware (n=64, 23%), Staffordshire slipware (n=34, 12%), Chinese porcelain (n=27, 10%), and coarse earthenware (n=24, 9%). The coarse earthenware group includes unattributed examples (n=11), Buckley (n=7), Staffordshire black glaze (n=3), Pennsylvania (n=2), and Yorktown (n=1). Rhenish gray stoneware (n=7), creamware (n=5), cream-colored earthenware (n=4), miscellaneous refined earthenware (n=4), English porcelain (n=2), Jackfield (n=2), Yorktown stoneware

(n=2), agateware (n=1), and colonoware (n=1) represent 3% or less.

The Period II assemblage includes 826 beverage-related glass fragments (recovered exclusively from Feature 6 [Strata I–III]): 666 dark green bottle glass fragments (514 round and 152 case), 56 stemware, 37 tumbler, eight hollowware, and one glass bowl (Figures 5.40–5.42). The bottle group includes 57 bases and 26 necks. The bottle base group includes nine examples with sizes that date from the second quarter of the eighteenth century to circa 1770. One of these is a miniature base, suggesting it represents a vessel for either oil or vinegar. The bottle necks include 12 examples that are typical of the circa 1730s–1750s. Sixty percent (n=493) of the glass fragments are from Stratum I, 25% (n=208) are from Stratum III, and 17% (n=141) are from Stratum II. Identified glass vessels include a minimum of 19 wine bottles, 13 stemware, eight tumblers, six case bottles, three dram glasses, two indeterminate tablewares, one salt, one oil/vinegar bottle, and one possible sugar bowl. The stemware collection includes two that represent drawn stems with tears that date them to circa 1720s–1760. Another two drawn stems have characteristics that date them to circa 1730–1760. One drawn stem has an air twist, which dates it to circa 1735–1760. There is one inverted baluster with an angular knob (1st quarter of the eighteenth century), and one inverted baluster with a tear, and an angular knob (circa 1710–1740), among others (see Figure 5.40). The tumblers include one pattern molded with a fluted base and a diamond faceted body; one with a diamond faceted body, one with enamel polychrome, and seventeen wheel-engraved examples, among others. The wheel-engraved specimens include one with a deer/dog motif (see Figure 5.41).

The nine Period II hollowware glass pieces consist of colorless glass rim, handle, and lid fragments (Stratum I, SE Quad; Stratum I, West Balk; Stratum I, SW Quad; Stratum III, North Balk; Stratum I, East Balk; and Stratum I, South



Figure 5.18. Site 44NR0012, tin-enameled earthenware fragment from spiked bowl (F6 I Southwest Quad).



Figure 5.19. Tin-enameled earthenware spiked bowl found at the Rumney-West Tavern Site, Maryland.



Figure 5.20. Site 44NR0012, tin-enameled earthenware punch bowls (left - Vessel 171, 9 in. rim diameter, 3 5/8 in. high; right - Vessel 170, 6 3/4 in. rim diameter, 2 1/16 in. high [F6 III Northwest, F6 West Balk, F6 Southwest, F6 west Balk, F6 II Southwest Quad, F6 III Northwest Quad, F6 Southwest Quad, F6 South Balk, F6 Central Balk]).



*Figure 5.21. Site
44NR0012, interior and
detail profile of Vessel 170.*





Figure 5.22. Site 44NR0012, interior view of Vessel 171.



Figure 5.23. Site 44NR0012, tin-enameled earthenware punch bowl (Vessel 140), $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. high (F6 III West Balk).



Figure 5.24. Site 44NR0012, interior view of Vessel 140, $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. rim diameter.



Figure 5.25. Site 44NR0012, tin-enameled earthenware punch bowl (Vessel 175), 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. high.



Figure 5.26. Site 44NR0012, interior view of Vessel 175, 6 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. rim diameter.



Figure 5.27. Site 44NR0012, tin-enameled earthenware punch bowl (Vessel 169), 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. high (F6 I Southwest Quad, F6 III Northwest Quad, F6 West Balk).



Figure 5.28. Site 44NR0012, interior view of Vessel 169, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. rim diameter.



Figure 5.29. Site 44NR0012, tin-enameled earthenware saucers (left - Vessel 217, 4 ¼ in. rim diameter, 1 3/16 in. high [F6 III Northwest Quad, F6 West Balk]; right - Vessel 228, 4 ½ in. rim diameter, 5/8 in. high [F6 I Northwest Quad]).



Figure 5.30. Site 44NR0012, Buckley coarse earthenware bowl (Vessel 31), post-1720, 9 ½ in. rim diameter, 3 ¾ in high.



Figure 5.31. Site 44NR0012, interior view of Buckley coarse earthenware bowl (Vessel 31).



Figure 5.32. Site 44NR0012, Staffordshire cup (Vessel 112), 2nd quarter 18th c., approximately 2 ½ in. rim diameter, 2 ⅜ in. high (F6 II North Balk).



Figure 5.33. Site 44NR0012, Buckley coarse earthenware pan (Vessel 53), post-1720, 11 ½ in. rim diameter, 2 ¾ in. high.



Figure 5.34. Site 44NR0012, Buckley coarse earthenware dish (Vessel 36), post-1720, 9 ⁷/₈ in. rim diameter, 1 ³/₄ in. high (F6 III Southwest Quad).



Figure 5.35. Site 44NR0012, colonoware bowl with triangular vestigial handle (Vessel 313), approximately 6 in. diameter (F6 I Southwest Quad, and F6 III West and East Balks).



Figure 5.36. Site 44NR0012, Yorktown stoneware tankard/mug (Vessel 138), 2nd quarter 18th c., 5 ³/₈ in. rim diameter, 7 ¹/₂ in. high (F6 II NE Quad).





Figure 5.37. Site 44NR0012, Yorktown stoneware jug (Vessel 136), 2nd quarter 18th c., 10 ½ in. maximum body diameter, 16 ⅜ in. high (F 6 I, F6 Southwest Quad, F6 Southeast Quad, F6 South Balk, F6 III Northwest Quad, F6 Southwest Quad, F6 North Balk, F6 West Balk, F6 South Balk, F6 East Balk, EVA F6 (TU 5 I)).



Figure 5.38. Site 44NR0012, Chinese porcelain (top row, left to right: tea bowl [Vessel 22], 3 ¼ in. rim diameter, 1 ¾ in. high [F6 I NW, III NW, NB]; cup [Vessel 7], 2 ½ in. rim diameter, 2 ½ in. high [F6 I NW, III NW, NB]; tea bowl [Vessel 27], 2 ⅝ in. rim diameter, 1 ⅞ in. high [F6 I NW, III NW]; bottom row, left to right: saucer [Vessel 17], 4 ¼ in. rim diameter, ¾ in. high [F6 I NW, SW, III SW]; tea bowl [Vessel 28], 2 ⅜ in. rim diameter, 1 ½ in. high [F6 III NW, NE, NE, EB, CB]).



Figure 5.39. Site 44NR0012 (left: white saltglaze stoneware saucer [Vessel 294], post-1720, 4 ⅝ in. rim diameter, 1 in. high [F6 III NW, WB]; right: white saltglaze stoneware creamer [Vessel 263], post-1720, 2 ⅝ in. rim diameter, 3 ⅜ in. high [F6 III NW, WB, EB]).



Figure 5.40. Site 44NR0012, selected stemware (a - Vessel 75 [F6 III NE]; b - Vessel 81 [F6 III NB]; c - Vessel 72 [F6 I NW]).



Figure 5.41. Site 44NR0012, wheel-engraved tumbler fragment with deer motif (F6 I SE).



Figure 5.42. Site 44NR0012, case bottle (Vessel 37) (F6 III NE).

Balk), and the unidentified specimens include wheel-engraved, one with a deer or dog motif (Stratum I, SE Quad; Stratum III, NE Quad) and enameled polychrome examples, as well as possible dram glasses (Stratum III, NW Quad; East Balk; Stratum I, South Balk). The glass bowl is the base portion of a scalloped-footed vessel from Stratum II.

Kitchen/dining utensils include 11 knife fragments, six spoons, two forks, and five unidentified fragments. In addition to these, archaeologists recovered 12 fragments of cast iron pots and two cast skillets, including one complete example (Figures 5.43 and 5.44; see Figure 4.86).

The kitchen group includes 8,423 animal bones, 304 fish scales, 193 egg shells, 656.1 kg (1,446.6 lb.) of oyster shell, and 0.102 kg (0.225 lb.) of clam shells. Fifty-six percent (n=4,722) of the bones are from Stratum I, 32% (n=2,726) are from Stratum III, 12% (n=971) are from Stratum II, and less than 1% (n=4) of the bones are from Feature 47. Of the faunal assemblage, 2,049 identifiable specimens were analyzed from Feature 6 (Strata I–III). At least 27 wild and domestic species are represented, including varieties of fish (i.e., gar, codfish, bass, sheepshead, croaker), snapping

turtles, duck, goose, turkey, chicken, cow, pig, and sheep/goat (see Appendix B).

MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP

This group is represented by 211 vial fragments (including 123 unidentified Rhenish, Rhenish blue and gray, and tin-enameled earthenware fragments), 43 chamber pot sherds (i.e., Rhenish stoneware, Staffordshire slipware, tin-enameled earthenware), 14 tin-enameled ointment pot fragments, two pieces of mirror glass, and one fragment of a tin-enameled earthenware blue drug jar.



Figure 5.43. Site 44NR0012, copper alloy spoon (F6 III NW).



*Figure 5.44. Site 44NR0012,
iron skillet, 13 in. diameter pan,
34 in. long handle (F6 III NW).*

A minimum of 11 ceramic vessels (including chamberpots, a drug jar, and an ointment pot) and 25 glass vessels (all phials) were identified in this group (see Figure 4.84). The phials came from Strata I–III. Nine chamber pots (Vessels 87–89, 91, 92, 100, 101, 179, and 180) were identified from Strata I–III, while one drug jar (Vessel 187) was derived from Stratum I, and one ointment pot (Vessel 194) from Stratum II (Figures 5.45 and 5.46).

PERSONAL GROUP

This group consists of two bone fan blade fragments (Stratum I), two heavily corroded iron mouth harps (Stratum I), one stone marble (Stratum II), one stone gaming piece (Stratum I), and one pierced tin-enameled earthenware gaming piece (Figure 5.47).

CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED

This group consists of 39 copper alloy straight pins, 18 shoe buckle fragments (11 copper alloy examples, five pewter, and two iron), 15 buttons, six glass beads, five buckle fragments, two copper alloy belt buckles, and one each of a colorless glass jewel ($\frac{5}{16}$ in. square), a copper alloy thimble, and half of a pair of iron scissors, which may have had a sewing-related function or some other purpose (Figures 5.48–5.51). The button assemblage includes 12 copper alloy examples, two bone buttons (one backed with a copper alloy eye [$\frac{3}{16}$ in. diameter]), and one jet, ball-type ($\frac{7}{16}$ in. diameter) button. The copper alloy examples include one with a rosette motif ($\frac{9}{16}$ in. diameter), one tin-plated with a concentric wreath decoration ($\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter), one with a two-piece foliate-decorative, four-hole back ($\frac{5}{8}$ in. diameter), one with elaborate patchwork decoration ($1\frac{1}{16}$ in. diameter), and one tin-plated piece with eye and with royal blue paste jewel ($\frac{9}{16}$ in. diameter). The bead collection includes two black specimens with $\frac{1}{8}$ -in. and $\frac{7}{16}$ -in. diameters (the latter with applied enamel white strips), three seed

beads, including one black ($\frac{3}{32}$ in. diameter) and two white ($\frac{3}{32}$ -in. and $\frac{3}{64}$ -in. diameters), and one opaque white ($\frac{1}{8}$ in. diameter) example.

Seventy-six percent (n=31) of the clothing-related items came from Stratum I, while 17% (n=7) came from Stratum III, and seven percent from Stratum III.

SMOKING GROUP

This group consists of 199 white clay pipe stems, 81 white clay plain pipe bowls, and one locally made red clay pipe stem (Figure 5.52). Two of the white clay stems have unidentified maker's marks, e.g., "RIB" and "RB," on the heel sides. Pipe bore diameters could be measured for 223 of the pipe fragments: $\frac{4}{64}$ in. (n=155), $\frac{5}{64}$ in. (n=67), and $\frac{7}{64}$ in. (n=1). The only decorated pipe was the locally made red clay stem, which has distinctive rouletted bands/zigzags and dates to the seventeenth century.

Fifty-six percent (n=156) of the pipes came from Stratum I, while 39% (n=110) came from Stratum III, and 5% (n=15) from Stratum II.

FURNITURE GROUP

Furniture hardware consists of two copper alloy furniture handle pulls (possibly for drawers or cupboard doors), each 4.44 cm (1.75 in.) long with an iron tang/cotter pin, foliate decoration, one copper alloy furniture handle (everted bail-type), and one elaborately chased escutcheon lock plate that dates to the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1980) (Figures 5.53 and 5.54). The furniture handle pulls were recovered from Strata I and II, respectively, and the escutcheon lock plate came from Stratum I.

ARMS/MILITARY GROUP

This group includes four gray English gun flints and two amber French gunflints, three lead bird shot, and one each of .31 caliber lead shot, a 2-in.- (5.08-cm-) diameter iron canister shot, and a .69 caliber musket ball (round ball).



Figure 5.45. Site 44NR0012, Rhenish blue and gray stoneware chamber pot (Vessel 92), 7 in. rim diameter, 5 ¼ in. high (F6 I SB; II NE, SE; III EB).



Figure 5.46. Site 44NR0012, Staffordshire slipware chamber pot (Vessel 100), 6 in. maximum body diameter, 5 in. high (F6 III NW).

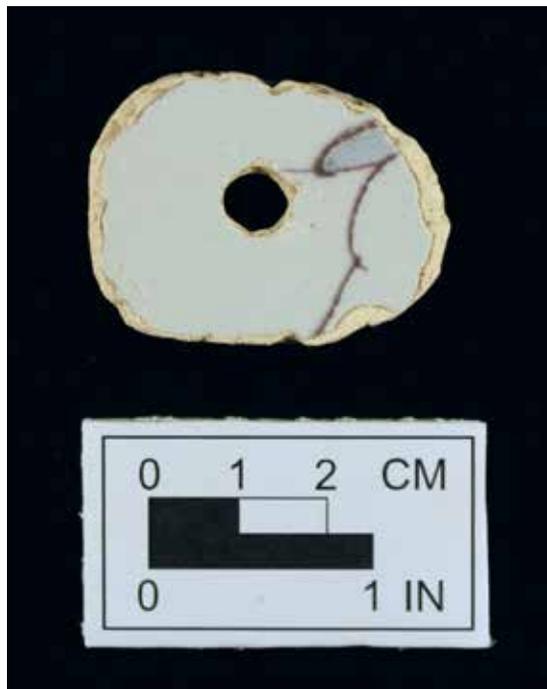


Figure 5.47. Site 44NR0012, pierced tin-enameled earthenware gaming piece (F6 II EB).

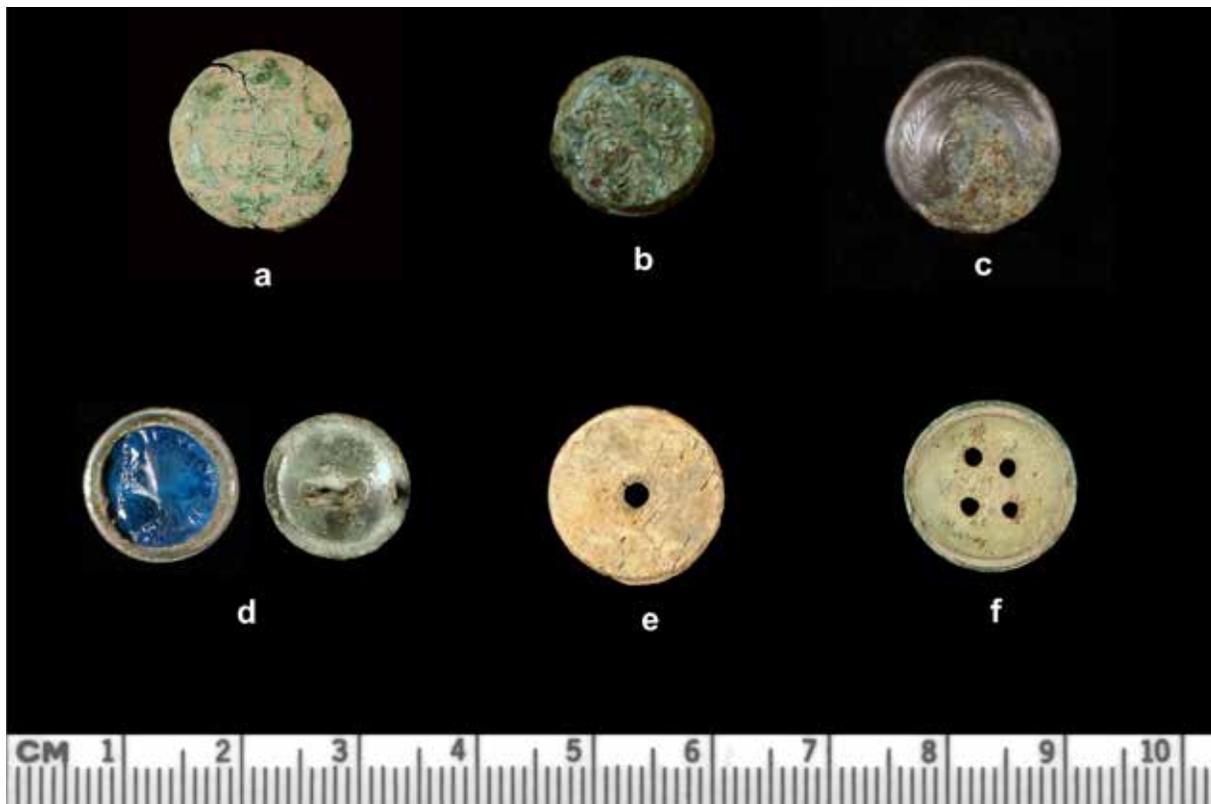


Figure 5.48. Site 44NR0012, selected buttons (a - copper alloy, two piece, foliate decorated face, 4-hole bone back, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [F6 I SW]; b - copper alloy, rosette motif on face, $\frac{1}{16}$ in. [F6 I NB]; c - tin-plated copper alloy, two piece, concentric wreath, $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [F6 III NW]; d - face and back of tin-plated copper alloy, one piece with eye, royal blue paste jewel, $\frac{1}{16}$ in. [F6 I SB]; e - bone, $\frac{1}{16}$ in. [F6 I SB Flot]; f - bone, 4-hole back of button depicted in "a", $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [F6 I SW]).

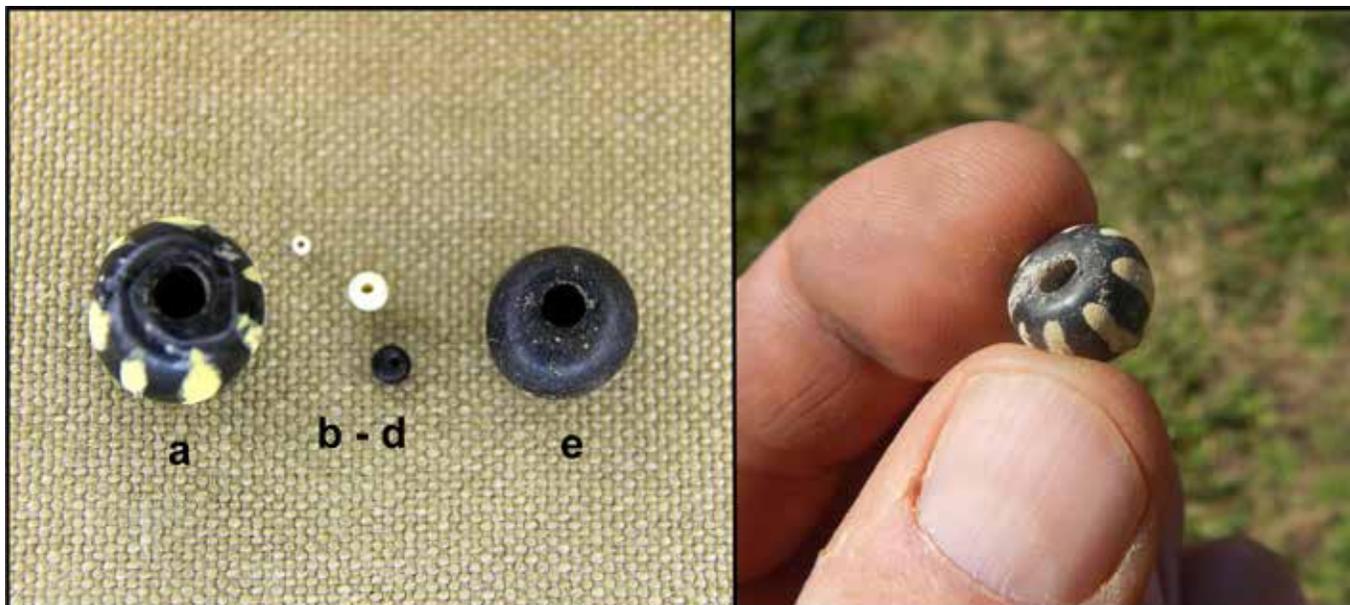


Figure 5.49. Site 44NR0012, selected glass beads (left photo: a - black bead with applied white stripes, $\frac{7}{16}$ in., Period II [F6 I East Balk]; b - white seed bead, $\frac{3}{64}$ in., Period II [F6 I East Balk], c - white seed bead, $\frac{3}{32}$ in., Period II [F6 I West Balk Flot], d - black seed bead, $\frac{3}{32}$ in., Period II [F6 I West Balk Flot]; e - black bead, $\frac{1}{8}$ in., Period III (F34 1b); right photo - black bead with enameled stripes, Period II (F6 I EB).



Figure 5.50. Site 44NR0012, copper alloy shoe buckles and button (F6 I SE).



Figure 5.51. Site 44NR0012, copper alloy thimble (F6 I NW).



Figure 5.52. Site 44NR0012, locally made pipe stem (F6 III NE).



Figure 5.53. Site 44NR0012, copper alloy furniture handle pulls (F6 I NW) (c. 1685–1720).



Figure 5.54. Site 44NR0012, copper alloy lock escutcheon (1700–1725).

ARCHITECTURAL GROUP

This group consists of 4,718 architectural artifacts from Feature 6 (Strata I–III) and Features 38, 42, 46, and 47, including 3,741 wrought nails, 714 pieces of window glass, 211 hand wrought spikes, 32 pieces of turned window lead (six with window glass fragments attached), 14 iron hinges (including seven strap), three lock rim fragments, two iron door pintles, one iron key fragment, 1,642.23 kg (3,620.49 lb.) of handmade brick, 0.66 kg (1.45 lb.) of shell mortar, 1.65 kg (3.64 lb.) of tile (including 0.04 kg [0.09 lb.] of terra cotta paving tile) and 1.57 kg (3.46 lb.) of plaster (Figure 5.55). Seventy percent (n=3,312) of the quantified items (i.e., nails/spikes, window glass, turned lead, and hinges) came from Feature 6 (Stratum I), 22% (n=1,047) came from Feature 6 (Stratum III), 7% (n=349) from Feature 6 (Stratum II), and less than 1% came from each of Features 38, 42, 46, and 47. Forty-eight percent (791.28 kg [421.70 lb.]) of the brick came from Feature 6 (Stratum I), 13% (219.5 kg [483.91 lb.]) came from Feature 6 (Stratum II), and 38% (631.45 kg [1,392.10 lb.]) came from Feature 6 (Stratum III).

UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP

This group includes six copper alloy ruler fragments, four pieces of etched slate, three copper alloy harness tacks, and two each of harness bosses, curry combs, whetstones, slate pencils, bridal bits, and two possible iron pan fragments (Figures 5.56–5.58). Also included in this group are one each of a lead merchant's seal, iron hook, iron handle, dressed slate, wheel hub, buckle, iron chisel, horse shoe, a possible copper alloy furniture handle, copper alloy wire, iron gun lock, and a copper alloy weight for either a coin or apothecary's scale (Figure 5.59; see Figure 4.87). In addition, 64 pieces of unidentified glassware and nine fragments of tin-enameled earthenware were found.

The ruler fragments (Feature 6 [Stratum I]) are $\frac{3}{16}$ in. wide and have graduated scales. One example has an attachment rivet for folding. The

pieces of etched slate (Strata I and II) include one example scribed with $\frac{1}{16}$ -in.-diameter circles and X's, and another with a possible sailing ship (Feature 6 [Stratum I]). The lead merchant's seal (Feature 6 [Stratum I]), yet to be identified as to its owner, has a diameter of $\frac{7}{8}$ in. and bears the initials "IM" on the obverse side and an indeterminate marking on the reverse. The weight has a $\frac{5}{8}$ -in. diameter and is stamped on the underside "P [above] 7/VR/V [above] 2."

Site 44NR0012: Period III Assemblage (ca. 1770s–1800)

The Period III assemblage consists of 1,074 artifacts, representing 5% of the total historic artifacts (n=22,998) recovered from Site 44NR0012. The assemblage includes artifacts from the kitchen, clothing, architectural, furniture, and arms groups (Table 11). These were recovered exclusively from Feature 34 (Strata I and II).

KITCHEN GROUP

This group consists of ceramics, bottle and table glass, utensils, and animal bone. The assemblage includes 250 food/beverage-related ceramic sherds. Of this group, 223 (89%) are tablewares, 26 (10%) are cooking/storage, and one (<1%) is beverage bottle. Stratum I produced 48% (n=106) of the tableware sherds, and Stratum II produced 52% (n=117). For the cooking/storage vessel fragment group, Stratum I yielded 19 (73%) of these sherds, and Stratum II yielded 7 (27%).

Over one third of the kitchen ceramics are creamware (36%, n=90), followed by tin-enameled earthenware (16%, n=40), white saltglaze stoneware (14%, n=36), Nottingham stoneware (9%, n=23), and Staffordshire slipware (4%, n=11). A wide variety of additional ware types are each represented by 3% or less of the kitchen group assemblage, including Buckley coarse earthenware, Rhenish stoneware, pearlware, and colonoware represent 3% or less of the assemblage (see Appendix A).



Figure 5.55. Site 44NR0012, window lead, some with glass still attached, from casement windows (GF6 III NW).



Figure 5.56. Site 44NR0012, copper alloy rulers with graduated scales (F6 I NW).

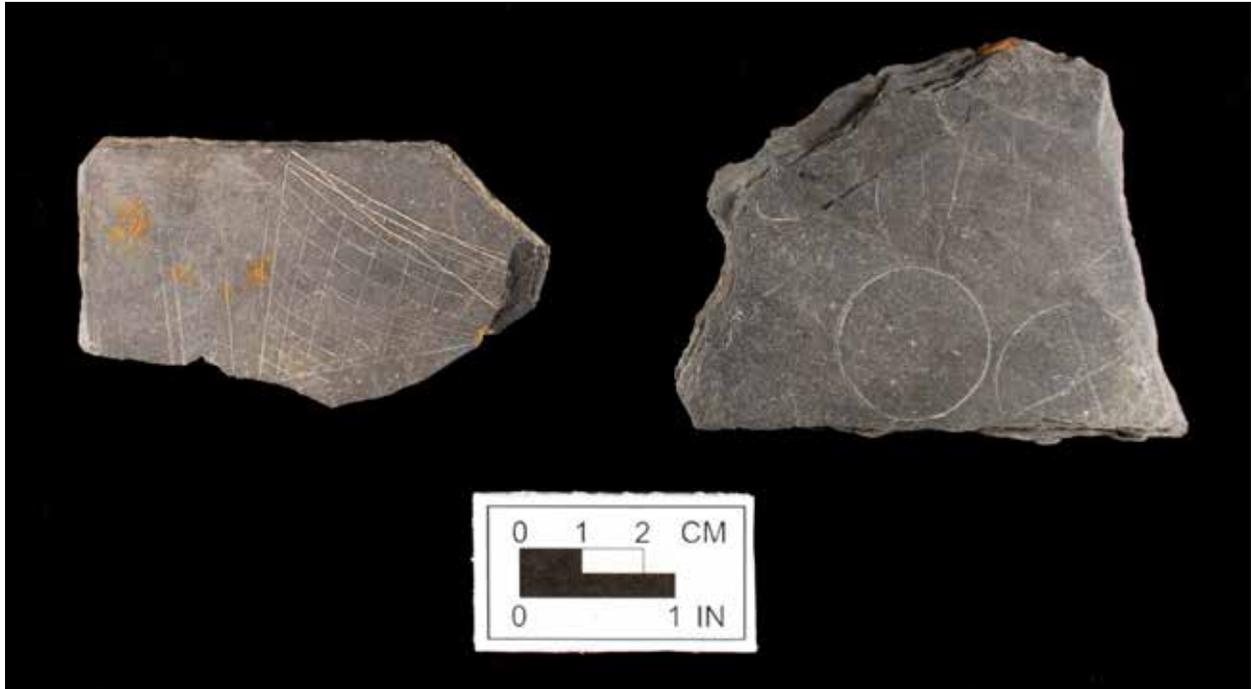


Figure 5.57. Site 44NR0012, slate fragments, one etched with a ship's sail (F6 EB) and the other, circles and x's (F6 I SE).

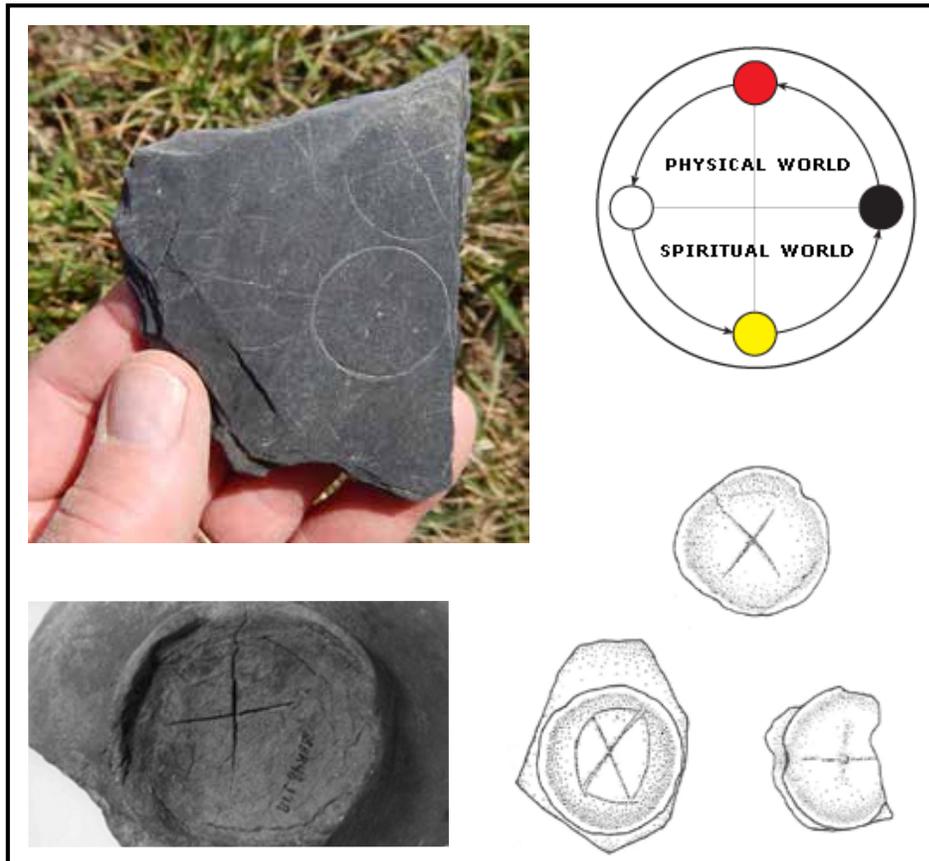


Figure 5.58. Inscribed slate from Site 44NR0012 (F6 I SE), photograph and drawings of similarly marked colonoware from South Carolina, and a related African cosmogram (Ferguson 1999:131).

	COUNT	WEIGHT
Kitchen Group		
Ceramics*		
Beverage Serving/consumption	5	
Food Serving/consumption	3	
Food Preparation/cooking	3	
Tea Drinking	2	
Beverage/food Storage	1	
Indeterminate Utilitarian Hollowware	1	
Glassware*		
Wine Bottles	12	
Case Bottles	2	
Indeterminate Bottles	1	
Metal Cookingware		
Cast Iron Cooking Pan	2	
Historic Faunal/Ethnobotanical		
Animal Bone	327	
Oyster Shell		27.4 kg
MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP		
Phial Fragments	9	
Unidentified Tin-enameled Earthenware Fragments	2	
Chamber Pot*	1	
CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED		
Leather Shoe Frags.	16	
Glass Bead	1	
ARMS AND MILITARY GROUP		
Gunflint	1	
SMOKING GROUP		
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Stem	1	
White Clay Tobacco Pipe Bowl	1	
ARCHITECTURE GROUP		
Hand Wrought Nails	172	
Window Glass	29	
Hand Wrought Spikes	4	
Hand Made Brick		1,993 kg
Shell Mortar		0.74 kg
UNASSIGNED MATERIAL GROUP		
Tin-enameled Earthenware	6	
Iron Pot Frags	4	
Iron Strapping	3	
Misc. Bottle Glass	2	
Unidentified/indeterminate Glass	1	
Other	3	

Table 11. Site 44NR0012, Period III artifact assemblage by

Table 11. Site 44NR0012, Period III artifact assemblage by group (refers to vessels).*

The Period III assemblage includes at least 15 food/beverage-related ceramic vessels. This group comprises beverage serving/consumption (33%, n=5), food serving/consumption and food preparation and cooking (each at 20%, n=3), tea drinking (13%, n=2), beverage/food storage (7%, n=1), unidentified utilitarian hollowware (7%, n=1) (see Appendix E).

Ware types include creamware (50%) (Vessels 70–74; 63 and 64), coarse earthenware (29%) (Vessels 51, 52, 55, 59), Nottingham stoneware (Vessel 79), tin-enameled earthenware (Vessel 157), and Yorktown stoneware (Vessel 137), each at one vessel (7%).

Identifiable functional groups include plates, pans, and punch bowls (each at 21%, n=3), followed by one (7%) each of a pitcher, bottle, saucer, tea bowl, and unidentified utilitarian hollowware (Figures 5.60 and 5.61).

The assemblage includes 232 dark green bottle glass fragments (228 round and 4 case), and one piece of colorless table glass. The bottle group includes 17 bases and nine necks. Twelve of these date to circa 1770–1800, two to ca. 1770s–1780s, and one to the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Five of the bottle necks date to circa 1760–1770s, two to circa 1770s–1780s, one to the 1730s, and one to the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Ninety-two percent (n=215) of the kitchen glass fragments are from Stratum II and eight percent (n=18) are from Stratum I. Identified glass vessels include a minimum of 12 wine bottles from Strata Ib and II, two case bottles from Stratum II, and one indeterminate small bottle from Stratum II.

The kitchen group contains 327 animal bones and 27.4 kg (60.4 lb.) of oyster shell. Eighty percent (n=98) of the bones are from Stratum I, and 20% (n=24) are from Stratum II. Of the faunal assemblage, 124 specimens were analyzed. At least five different species are represented, including pig, cow, sheep/goat, squirrel, and rabbit (see Appendix B).



Figure 5.59. Site 44NR0012, lead merchant's seal (F6 III) WB).



Figure 5.60. Site 44NR0012, Nottingham stoneware pitcher (Vessel 79), 4 ¼ in. maximum diameter, 5 ¾ in. high (F34 II).



Figure 5.61. Site 44NR0012, creamware plate (Vessel 72), 10 in. diameter, 1 in. high (F34 II).

Cooking-related items include two cast iron pans (one handled) from Stratum II.

MEDICINAL/HYGIENE GROUP

This group is represented by nine phial fragments, two unidentified tin-enameled earthenware fragments, and two Rhenish stoneware chamber pot fragments, which represent a minimum of one vessel (Vessel 90). The unidentified vessel fragments are most likely either chamber pots and/or drug jars.

CLOTHING/CLOTHING RELATED

This group consists of 16 pieces of leather shoes (Stratum II) (including one complete sole [7¾ in. long] and two heel portions of leather soles; 11 sole fragments, one welt, one shoe vamp),

and one black, round (¾-in. diameter) glass bead (Stratum Ib) (Figure 5.62; see Figure 4.106).

SMOKING GROUP

This group consists of one white clay pipe stem (5/64-in. diameter) and one white clay, plain pipe bowl, both recovered from Stratum I.

ARMS/MILITARY GROUP

This group includes one amber gun flint from Stratum I.

ARCHITECTURAL GROUP

This group consists of 205 architectural artifacts, including 172 wrought nails, 29 pieces of window glass, four hand wrought spikes, 1312.5 kg (2,893.6 lb.) of handmade brick, and 0.74 kg

(1.63 lb.) of shell mortar. Seventy-six percent (n=152) of the nails and window glass came from Stratum I, and 24% (n=49) from Stratum II. Ninety-three percent (1,219.1 kg [2,687.7 lb.]) came from Stratum II and the remaining 7% (93.4 kg [205.9 lb.]), from Stratum I.

Archaeologists dismantled the partially intact brick lining of Feature 34, and saved a sample of 200 bricks, which weighed 680 kg (1,499.14 lb.).

UNASSIGNED/MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES GROUP

This group includes six tin-enameled earthenware sherds of unidentified vessel(s) form, four pieces of iron strapping, two pieces of miscellaneous bottle glass, and one piece of indeterminate glassware, among other artifacts.

Discussion of Historic Artifacts

Data recovery from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 yielded 28,401 artifacts. A total of 5,403 (19%) of these came from Site 44NR0009 and 22,998 (81%) came from Site 44NR0012. A breakdown of the total quantities of artifacts for each site by period (I–III) is presented in Tables 6–11. As previously discussed, each period assemblage comprises various artifact groups. These reflect a wide range of activities, and in some cases socioeconomic status, which helps us to better understand life on the periphery of eighteenth-century Newtown.

Among the smallest yet most informative artifacts from the Newtown sites are the few handfuls of clothing-related items—buttons, straight pins, and beads. During the colonial period, most buttons, like those found at Newtown, were



Figure 5.62. Site 44NR0012, leather shoe fragments from well (F34 II).

used on men's clothing, while women's clothing typically relied on hooks, clasps, pins, and lace to secure clothing on the body (Fesler 2014:193). The characteristics of buttons are significant. For example, the Period II button group from Site 44NR0012, in particular, is quite varied in materials and is also characterized by a range of sizes from $\frac{7}{16}$ in. (11.11 mm) up to $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (23.81 mm) (see Figure 5.48). Typically, button sizes and materials were used on specific types of clothing, usually coats, waist coats, breeches, and sleeves (Fesler et al. 2014; White 2005). Based on these considerations, over half (60%, n=9) of the Site 44NR0012 Period II buttons are for waist coats/breeches, and 20% (n=3) each for sleeves and coats. The collection is heavily mismatched, however, which may indicate that the occupants wore few articles of "ready-made" clothing, where buttons would have been identical; rather, their clothing may have been produced as needed, with buttons that were acquired "piecemeal" (Heath 1999:62). Fesler concludes for a similar mixed array of buttons recovered from a slave quarter (Site 44SK0531) along the Western Branch of the Nansemond River in the City of Suffolk: "Given this hodgepodge, it seems unlikely that many of the button sizes corresponded with their intended garment. Quite likely among the residents of the site a button of any size was put to use wherever needed."

The bead collection from Site 44NR0012 may reflect the ethnicity and cultural identity of this site's occupants. Six of the seven beads came from Feature 6. The assemblage includes black and white round examples. One of these is enameled with applied white stripes, and three are tiny "seed" beads, little more than a pin head in size (see Figure 5.49 and Tables 10 and 11). As archaeologist Garrett Fesler (2014:198) noted:

For centuries people living on the African continent have adorned themselves with beads. Many Africans living in the Americas maintained the tradition of wearing beads in various forms, and they have turned up in large numbers at

archaeological sites in the eastern United States associated with African Americans (Stine et al. 1996). Strung on to necklaces, woven into hair, embroidered on to clothing, people wore beads as decoration, as a form of jewelry. Beads were made from a whole range of materials such as shell, wood, animal bone and horn, and most frequently, glass. In some African cultures beads may have performed a dual function as body adornment, and as objects freighted with spiritual powers, usually for protection (Fesler et al. 2014:198).

The artifact assemblages from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 are typical of most historic domestic sites, where kitchen- and architectural-related artifacts are usually dominant. However, there are noteworthy distinctions between these groups during Periods I–III (Figures 5.63 and 5.64 and Tables 12–15). At Site 44NR0009, for example, kitchen items (i.e., ceramic and glass fragments, bone, iron pot and utensil fragments) represent a significantly higher proportion of the assemblage in Period I (66%, n=2795) than in Period II (41%, n=600), and decrease by 10% in Period III (56%, n=99) compared to Period I. On the other hand, architectural items (e.g., nails/spikes, and window glass) represent 23% (n=954) of the assemblage in Period I, remain proportionally about the same in Period II (24%, n=360), and rise again proportionally by 8% in Period III (32%, n=57) (see Figure 5.63). These parallel yet contrasting trends may reflect an overall decrease in intensity of domestic activity during the second half of the eighteenth century, while the increased proportion of discarded architectural material by late in the century may reflect a growing number of dilapidated, out-of-use buildings being torn down (see Chapter 6).

Recovered ceramics reflect foodways and status of the sites' occupants. At Site 44NR0009, food serving/consumption-related ceramics are most well represented proportionately in Period I, decline 15% in Period II, and are not represented in Period III. Food preparation/cooking vessels are most heavily represented in Period II, fol-

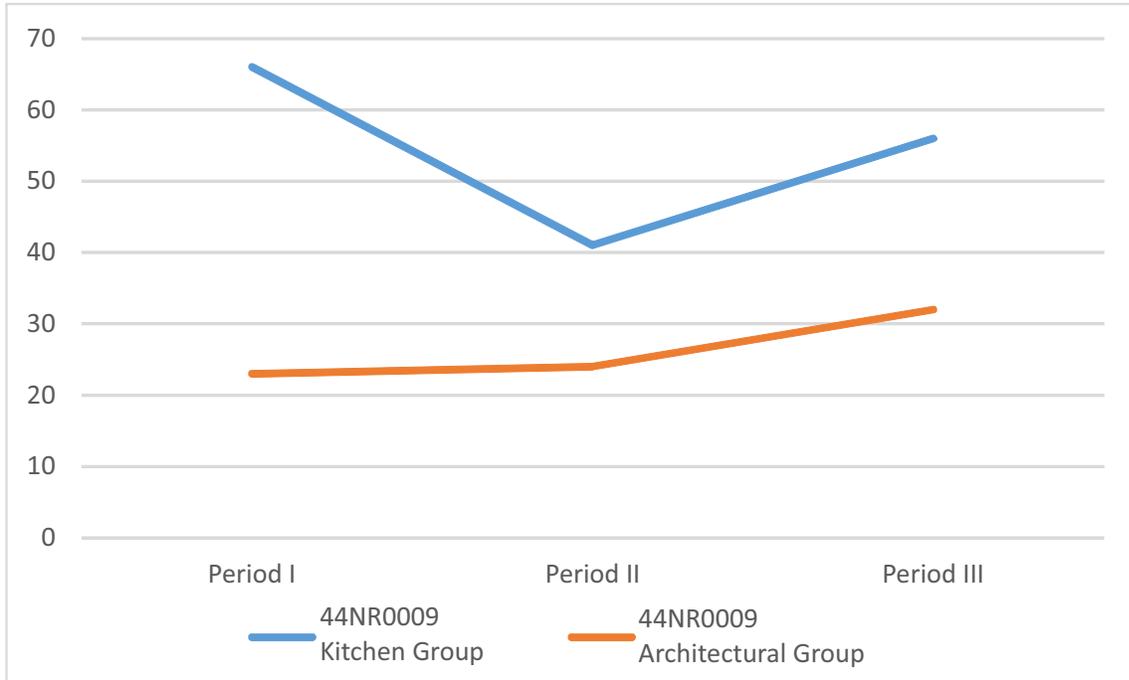


Figure 5.63. Sites 44NR0009, comparison of kitchen and architectural artifact data by period.

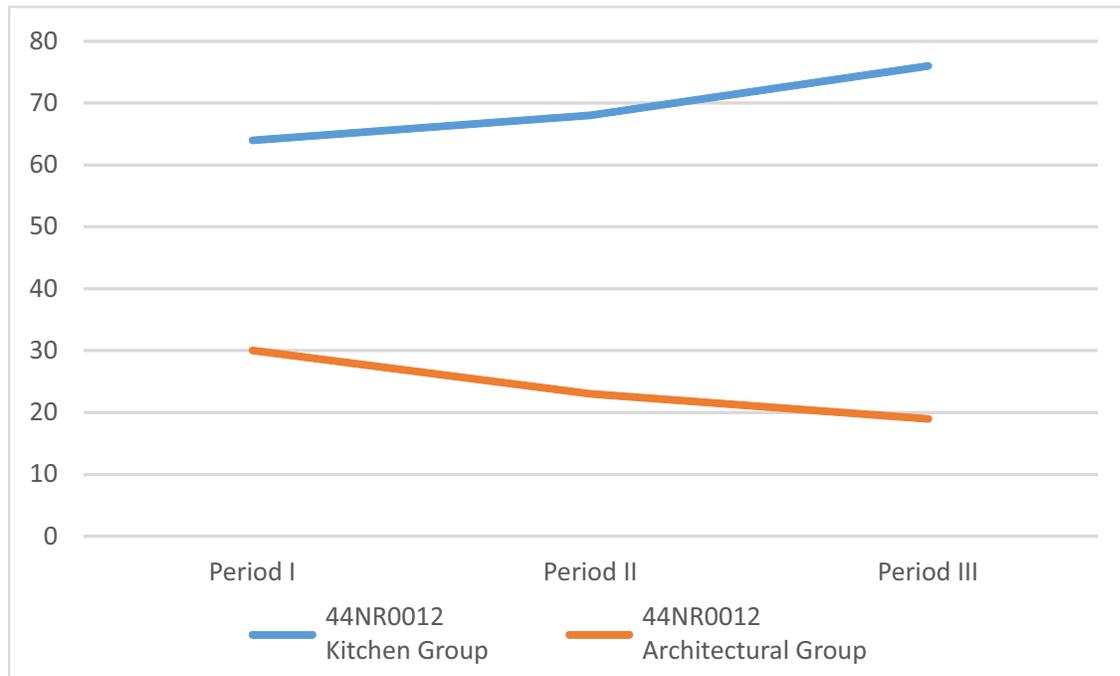


Figure 5.64. Sites 44NR0012, comparison of kitchen and architectural artifact data by period.

	FOOD SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	FOOD PREPARATION/ COOKING	BEVERAGE SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	BEVERAGE/ FOOD STORAGE	TEA/ COFFEE DRINKING
Period I	34% (21)	6% (4)	40% (25)	6% (4)	13% (8)
Period II	19% (5)	7% (2)	33% (9)	7% (2)	33% (9)
Period III	0	0	40% (2)	0% (0)	60% (3)

Table 12. Site 44NR0009, ceramic functional groups by period, excluding indeterminate forms.

	NAILS/ SPIKES	WINDOW GLASS	MORTAR (KG)	BRICK (KG)	PLASTER (KG)	ARCHIT. STONE	PAVING TILE
Period I	85.9% (819)	13.9% (133)	1.27	430.85	0	0.1% (1)	0.1% (1)
Period II	88.3% (308)	11.7% (41)	0.02	0.52	0	0	0
Period III	96.5% (55)	3.5% (2)	0	92.80	0	0	0

Table 13. Site 44NR0009, architectural artifacts by period.

	FOOD SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	FOOD PREPARATION/ COOKING	BEVERAGE SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	BEVERAGE/ FOOD STORAGE	TEA/ COFFEE DRINKING
Period I	0% (0)	75% (3)	25% (1)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Period II	18% (48)	4% (10)	42% (112)	2% (6)	33% (88)
Period III	21% (3)	21% (3)	36% (5)	7% (1)	14% (2)

Table 14. Site 44NR0012, ceramic functional groups by period, excluding indeterminate forms.

	NAILS/ SPIKES	WINDOW GLASS	TURNED (WINDOW) LEAD	DOOR HINGES	DOOR PINTLES	DOOR LOCKS	KEYS	MORTAR (KG)	BRICK (KG)	PLASTER (KG)	PAVING TILE (KG)
Period I	121 (38%)	201 (62%)	0	0	0	0	0	0.03	249.9	0	0
Period II	3952 (84%)	714 (15%)	32 (0.69%)	14 (0.30%)	2 (0.04%)	3 (0.06%)	1 (0.02%)	0.66	1,642.2	1.57	1.65
Period III	176 (86%)	29 (14.%)	0	0	0	0	0	0.74	632.5	0.74	0

Table 15. Site 44NR0012, architectural artifacts by period.

lowed by Period I, and are absent in the Period III vessel group (see Table 12). Beverage serving and consumption is strongest in Period I, declines in Periods II, and rises proportionally in Period III. Represented beverage/food storage vessels are about the same for Periods I and II, and are absent in Period III. The overall proportion of storage vessels compared to most other types is low at Site 44NR0009. Storage vessels are typically not well-represented on most domestic sites, especially on slave sites due to provisioning by slave owners. In contrast, ceramics that fall within the tea category (e.g., tea bowls, saucers, tea pots, cream pitchers and tea caddy) at Site 44NR0009 increase proportionally over time. This may reflect greater availability and access to teaware and participation in the ritual of the tea ceremony by site occupants, an activity that one might not expect if they were enslaved.

There are artifact groups that show variations in quantities but the meaningful differences are not fully understood. For example, medicinal/hygiene-related artifacts (e.g., vials, chamber pots, and wig curlers) at Site 44NR0009 are more prevalent in Periods II and III than in Period I. Personal items are represented by only two items in Period I and are absent altogether in Periods II and III. Clothing artifacts trend lower in Periods II and III than in Period I.

As previously noted, Site 44NR0012 yielded nearly 23,000 artifacts, over four times the number recovered from Site 44NR0009 (see Tables 6–11 and Appendix A). A comparison of artifact groups by period from Site 44NR0012 reveals its Period II assemblage is 19 times greater than both Period I and Period III, and nearly 10 times larger than Period I and Period III combined. However, the two major artifact groups—kitchen and architecture (which typically account for the largest number of artifacts on historic domestic sites)—are proportionally different across all three periods. For example, kitchen items increase proportionally by 12% by Period III, while architectural items decrease by 11%. These contrasting percentages suggest that significant domestic activities continued at Site 44NR0012, even late in the eighteenth century (Periods II and III), but major building abandonment likely took place during the early to middle portion of the century (Period II) (see Figure 5.64 and Tables 14 and 15) The other functional artifact groups (i.e., personal, furniture, arms, smoking, and activities) are either unrepresented in Periods I and III, or typically make up a significantly lower percentage than in Period II.

Among the food/beverage-related ceramic functional groups from Site 44NR0012, 21% of the identifiable Period III vessels are related to

food serving/consumption. The percentages for this group are slightly lower in Period II (18%), and drop to none in Period I. Food preparation/cooking vessels are proportionally highest in Period I (75%), followed by Period III (21%) and Period II (4%). Beverage serving/consumption vessels are proportionally highest in Period II (42%), followed by Period III (36%) and Period II (25%) (see Table 14). Beverage/food storage vessels are sparse in all periods, but are proportionally highest in Period III (7%) followed by Period II at 2%. Teaware is highest in Period II (33%), followed by Period III (14%), and is absent in Period I. These results suggest an emphasis on food serving/consumption during the second half of the eighteenth century (Periods II and III), while beverage consumption activities are well represented throughout the century, especially around mid-century. The data suggests that the tea ritual may have peaked during the period of the 1750s–1770s (Period II), as indicated by the largest proportions of tea bowls, saucers, and tea/coffee pots (including some vessels that belong to matched sets), as well as more specialized forms, such as a cream pitcher and a tea caddy (see Appendix E).

Site 44NR0012 yielded a minimum of 106 glass vessels, 75% of which are from Period II. The presence of wine bottle and/or case bottle glass is proportionally highest in Periods III (93%, n=14) and I (91%, n=10), and lowest in Period II (32%, n=25). The only other identifiable bottle was an oil/vinegar bottle (Vessel 32) from Period II. Glass tableware vessels, represented by wine glass stems, drams, tumblers, a salt, and a sugar bowl, are exclusive to Period II, as well as all but one of the glass phials (n=25) (Figure 5.65). The abundance and diversity of glassware in the Period II assemblage suggests that it is part of a major depositional event, or other episode of activity, at Site 44NR0012 during the mid eighteenth century. As described in the last section of this chapter, the stemware collection includes distinctive shapes (e.g., air twist and inverted baluster) that

date to the early to mid-eighteenth century, and the tumblers include decorative etched examples that date generally to the eighteenth century.

The architectural group comprises a substantial percentage of the artifacts recovered from Site 44NR0012, and the vast majority of this material came from Feature 6. As indicated in Table 15, the proportion of nails increases considerably during Periods II (84%) and III (86%) relative to Period I (38%), though the relative proportions of window glass are highest in Period I (62%). Period II is further distinguished by the exclusive presence of door- and window-related hardware, and by the abundance of construction material such as brick, mortar, plaster, and paving tile. The clustering of architectural artifacts in Period II cellar deposits, in particular, is noteworthy in that it corresponds with the ash-laden fill mixed with thousands of domestic items (e.g., ceramics, glass, and bone). Though the origin of this material is unknown (perhaps brought in along with other primary refuse), at least some of it may be associated with the collapse/disposal of a building that may have stood over the cellar, thus accounting for the abundance of nails, and the unique presence of window lead (some with pane glass still attached), door hardware, and abundant construction material (see Figure 5.55).

A comparison of artifact groups between Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 provides an interesting contrast in assemblages. Though overall, the assemblages from the two sites have similar proportions of the various functional sub-assemblages, there are some notable differences that may reflect variation in the intensity of activities. For example, kitchen-related items in Period III at Site 44NR0012 are 20% higher than in Period III at Site 44NR0009. Period III clothing items are 2% at Site 44NR0012 compared to less than 1% at Site 44NR0009 for this period (see Tables 8 and 11). At Site 44NR0009, smoking pipes are proportionally higher in Period I (4%) than the 1% at Site 44NR0012 (Period II). Pipes from all other periods at both sites each represent 1%

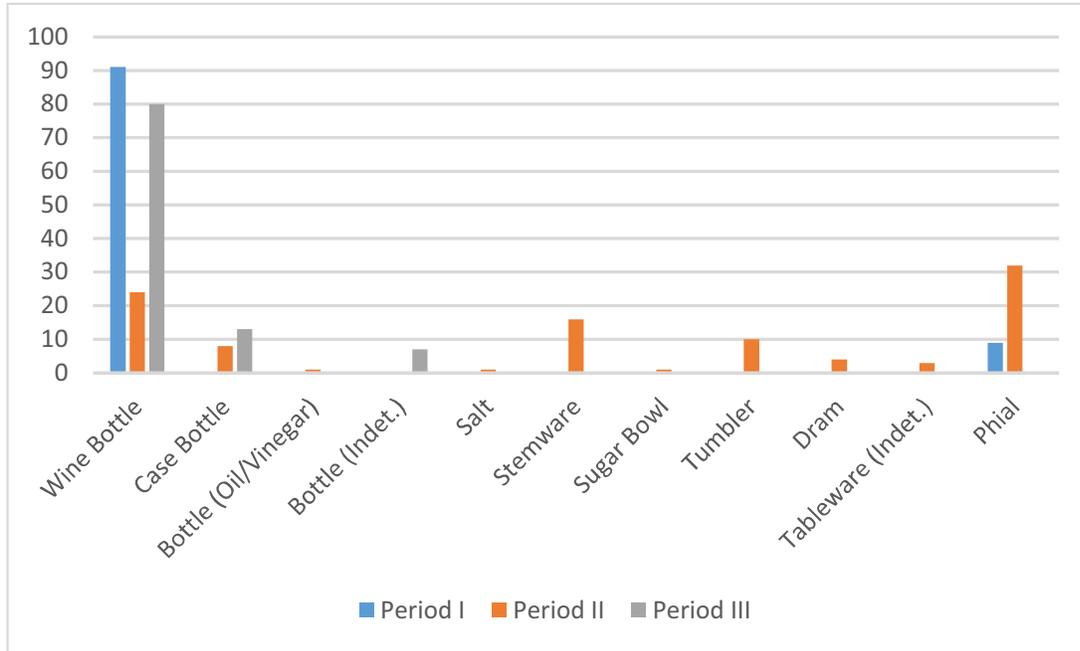


Figure 5.65. Site 44NR0012, glass vessels by period.

or less of the assemblage. Architectural items for all periods are generally proportionally similar (ranging from 19% to 32%) for both sites, but tend to be highest at Site 44NR0009.

Site 44NR0012 is distinguished from Site 44NR0009 by the large quantity and diversity of items from the cellar (Feature 6). Specifically, 90% (n=20,740) of the artifacts recovered from Site 44NR0012 came from this feature. These items (i.e., ceramics, glassware, buttons, buckles, animal bone, and nails) date to the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century (Period I, ca. 1720s–1750s; Period II, ca. 1750s–1770s), though most were deposited during the latter period. The assemblage from Feature 6 is almost four times the total number of artifacts recovered from neighboring Site 44NR0009, and contains the largest number of ceramic and glass vessels from any feature of any occupation period on either of the two sites. Many of the ceramics recovered from Feature 6 are represented by unusually large sherds, and many other types of artifacts (e.g., iron skillet, tobacco pipes, and

glass bottles) were recovered in large pieces or as nearly whole objects, which suggests the cellar fill deposits represent primary refuse, perhaps deposited during only one or two major filling episodes (see Figures 4.75–4.77, 4.79–4.86, 5.17, 5.42, 5.44) (see Chapter 6).

Site 44NR0009 yielded a minimum of 128 food/beverage-related ceramic vessels, of which 94 were identifiable to functional groups (see Table 12). A breakdown of identifiable vessels by functional group for the site at large includes beverage serving/consumption (38%, n=36), food serving/consumption (28%, n=26), tea/coffee drinking (21%, n=20), and food preparation/cooking and beverage/food storage (each at 6%, n=6).

The largest percentage of the 94 identifiable vessel forms is dishes (17%, n=16), followed by mugs (16%, n=15), plates (11%, n=10), punch bowls and cups (each at 10%, n=9), bowls (4%, n=4); jars, pots, and pans (each at 3%, n=3), and jugs (2%, n=2) (see Table 12). Teaware (i.e., saucers, tea bowls, and tea pots) makes up 21% (n=20) of the identifiable vessels. Taken

together, drinking-related vessels (i.e., saucers, tea bowls, tea pots, cups, mugs, punch bowls, jugs) constitute 59% (n=55) of the identifiable vessel assemblage.

Unidentified hollowwares, both utilitarian and table (each at 13%, n=17), constitute 27% (n=34) of the total 128 food/beverage-related vessel assemblage from Site 44NR0009.

The non-food/beverage-related ceramic vessel assemblage recovered from Site 44NR0009 includes a minimum of six chamber pots. Four of these were made of Rhenish stoneware, and one each of coarse earthenware and Staffordshire slipware.

Data from ceramic vessel functional groups (e.g., food-related and toiletry) at Site 44NR0009 indicate that the Period I assemblage contains nearly twice the minimum number of vessels (n=80) as the Period II assemblage (n=46), and six times the number in the Period III assemblage (n=13). Beverage serving/consumption-related vessels, including teaware, are dominant in each period. Furthermore teaware increases proportionally through time. Of the identifiable beverage/food-related vessels, those associated with storage and food preparation are least represented. Food/beverage storage increases proportionally in Period II, but drops to 0% in Period III. Food preparation/cooking drops slightly in Period II from Period I and to 0% in Period III. Toiletry vessels, represented by chamber pots, increases proportionally in Period II, but is not represented in Period III. In general, the presence of most functional groups declines over time, but as noted, those groups associated with beverage consumption are relatively well represented throughout the occupation of the site.

Site 44NR0012 yielded nearly two and a half times the minimum number of vessels (n=315) as identified at Site 44NR0009. Of the 282 identifiable food/beverage-related vessels as to functional group, beverage serving/consumption vessels (e.g., cups, mugs, pitcher) (37%, n=118) represent most of the assemblage, followed by tea drinking

(29%, n=90), food serving/consumption (16%, n=51), food preparation/cooking (4%, n=16), and beverage/food storage (2%, n=7) (see Table 14). These proportions reflect a greater intensity of occupation of Site 44NR0012 compared to Site 44NR0009, and an emphasis on beverage consumption, especially during the mid eighteenth century.

The ceramics from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 are overwhelmingly (85%) of English manufacture, a reflection of the burgeoning English pottery industry and trade networks in the eighteenth century, as well as England's Navigation Acts, which were imposed late in the late seventeenth century. The assemblages include a few locally and regionally made products, such as coarse earthenware pans (Vessels 54 and 55), stoneware bottles (Vessels 136 and 137), and a stoneware tankard or mug (Vessel 138), all most likely products of Yorktown's William Rogers during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Domestically produced ceramics are also represented by several unidentified forms, possibly from Pennsylvania (Vessels 34 and 35).

Food/beverage-related ceramic vessels from Site 44NR0009 are dominated by coarse earthenware (25%, n=32), followed by Staffordshire slipware and white saltglaze stoneware (each at 15%, n=19), tin-enameled earthenware (12%, n=16), Chinese porcelain (7%, n=9), English brown stoneware (6%, n=8), Rhenish stoneware (5%, n=6), and creamware (4%, n=5). Other types, such as Jackfield, white slipped dipped, cream-colored, pearlware, English porcelain, and colonoware constitute 2% or less of the assemblage.

Ceramic ware types, represented in the assemblage of mended food/beverage-related vessels (n=300) from Site 44NR0012 (Periods I–III), consist predominately of tin-enameled earthenware (n=104, 35%), followed by white saltglaze stoneware (n=65, 22%), Staffordshire earthenware (n=35, 12%), Chinese porcelain and coarse earthenware (each 27 and 28 vessels, respectively

or at 9%), and creamware (n=13, 4%). Rhenish gray stoneware, English porcelain, English stoneware, agateware, and Yorktown stoneware, white slip-dipped stoneware, miscellaneous refined earthenware, and colonoware each account for 2% or less of the assemblage.

The breakdown of vessel functional groups at Site 44NR0012 provides an interesting contrast in food/drink-related activities as related to intensity of occupation. Of the 282 food/beverage-related vessels that can be identified to specific functional groups, 94% (n=264) of the vessels are attributable to Period II, 5% (n=14) to Period III, and only 2% (n=4) to Period I (see Table 13). Food serving and consumption vessels are absent in Period I but are proportionally similar in Periods II and III. Beverage serving and consumption vessels are best represented in Periods II and III, but comprise a significant percentage in Period I as well. Overall, these results suggest an emphasis on beverage consumption and less on food, though food-related table ceramics have a substantial representation during the latter two periods of occupation. To emphasize this point, beverage-related vessels (n=198) (i.e., teaware and chocolate cups) and other beverage serving/consumption vessels constitute 76% (n=200) of the identifiable Period II vessel assemblage (n=264), and 63% of the total Site 44NR0012 vessels (n=315), a striking contrast that seems atypical of household use, and is more tavern-like in its composition (Brown et al. 1990; Luckenbach 2002).

The abundance of aesthetically pleasing tin-enameled earthenware and Staffordshire slipware at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 during Period I and early in Period II is consistent with early eighteenth-century trends in ceramic patterns. These types were contemporary with the highly durable and fashionable white saltglaze stoneware and exotic Chinese porcelain, in a variety of specialized forms, which reflect high socioeconomic status centered around ritualistic drinking ceremonies. Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012 produced assorted tin-enameled and porcelain

tea cups and saucers, white saltglaze stoneware saucers, cups, cream pitchers, tea bowls, a tea caddy, and tea/coffee pots, as well as tin-enameled earthenware punch bowls (including one with the inside bottom inscribed, “Success to all English Privateers.” The tin-enameled earthenware group also includes a basal/spike fragment from a unique spiked (“pineapple”) bowl, an exceptionally rare archaeological find, given that it is only the second example found on an English colonial site in North America! (Luckenbach 2002:116–147) (see Figures 5.18, 5.20–5.29, 5.38, and 5.39).

The diverse glassware from Site 44NR0012 is similar to Site 44NR0009 in its overall character, but is four times the quantity. It contains at least 106 vessels, including 42 wine bottles, 13 wine glasses, eight tumblers, three dram glasses, a salt cellar, a possible sugar bowl, and a bottle for either oil or vinegar. The tumbler collection is distinctive in that several of the glasses are wheel-engraved, including one finely etched with the motif of a either a deer or a dog (see Figure 5.41). Far fewer such table glass items were found at Site 44NR0009, which is consistent with the overall smaller number and limited forms of ceramic vessels recovered from that site. As previously noted, Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were contemporary, but are distinguished in part by the unusually rich cellar deposits in Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012. The diverse artifact collection from this feature, in particular, but from other features at both sites as well, speaks to functionality, symbolism, and status of those who owned them, as residents of Newtown and as members of the larger colonial society of the Tidewater and beyond.

Comparisons of Site 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 Artifacts with Other Domestic Sites in the Region

Archaeologists have documented a virtual cross section of Virginia colonial society through the study of material culture (Kelso 1984; Heath 1999; Fesler et al. 2014). This research has shown

that over the course of the eighteenth century, many individuals and households, except for perhaps the most impoverished, had access to what might otherwise be thought of as high-style or high-status goods, particularly toward the end of the century. Archaeologists have found that Yorktown's middle class family of Richard Ambler, for example, (who occupied and operated the Customs House during the town's commercial heyday in the eighteenth century) owned a variety of the latest ceramics (e.g., Chinese porcelain, white saltglaze stoneware, and glassware), as well as a unique cast iron fireback attributed to Alexander Spotswood's Massaponax Furnace (ca. 1720) (Higgins 2007). The fireback is one of only a few examples known to exist, the others having been recovered from Spotswood's Germanna Mansion in Orange County, Virginia (Hazzard 2007, personal communication). Of course, those households that possessed greater quantities of such items, even in the case of fireplace furniture, were usually better off financially, and were able to display their position in society through the latest, most fashionable styles and rituals. Tea drinking, for instance, was an important social ritual for the Ambler household and others during the first half of the eighteenth century, but was adopted by virtually all members of society as the century progressed. The presence of tea-related vessels at the Ambler site, and at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, suggests their occupants participated in the "tea ceremony" and/or acquired teaware for its status connotation. The significant presence of teaware at the Newtown sites over time may be an indication of a trend toward greater access of high-status goods, even among those not at the top of the social ladder.

The diverse artifact assemblages from the Newtown sites represent a curious mix of high status items, alongside those less splendid, which was not readily evident in the 2010 evaluation results (Monroe and Lewes 2010). For example, the tin-enameled spiked punch bowl and other specialized ceramics, as well as engraved tum-

blers, among other fancy objects recovered from Site 44NR0012, suggest high status, but for other items such as the colonoware bowls, glass beads, buttons, gaming pieces, and etched slate, less affluence. The colonoware bowls from Site 44NR0012 are regionally/locally made coarse earthenware, and are a type that is often associated with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century slave occupation, especially in remote areas with more limited access to imported goods (Higgins et al. 2000; Samford 1988; Ferguson 1985; Kelso 1984; Wheaton et al. 1983). Buttons and beads suggest decoration and personal adornment, worn on the body or woven into clothing (Edwards and Franklin 1996:23; Stine et al. 1996:53; Thomas 1998:546) (see Figures 5.48 and 5.49). In some instances, it is clear that items were modified or reused for purposes other than those for which they were originally intended. For example, the pierced ovoid-shaped tin-enameled earthenware sherd found at Site 44NR0012, was perhaps used as a gaming piece by enslaved African Americans (Robert R. Hunter, personal communication, 2016). The pieces of roofing slate, etched with circles and crosses, may reflect African American ties to their native spiritual traditions, as practiced along the Elizabeth River over 250 years ago (Katz-Hyman and Rice 2011:159) (see Figure 5.59). Similar cosmogram-like markings have been found on slave-associated colonoware bowls, pewter spoons, and a pocket knife (Ferguson 1999; Klingelhofer 1987; Samford 1996).

Considering the West African emphasis on circularity and water spirits, and the influence of Bakongo cosmology and ritual in the Congo-Angolan region, it should not be surprising that early African American religion would bear these same characteristics. The marks on bowls picked up from river bottoms in the Carolina Low Country strongly resemble Bakongo cosmograms. The association of marks with earthenware vessels, ring bases, and underwater sites also fits the West African model (Ferguson 1999).

	FOOD SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	FOOD PREPARATION/ COOKING	BEVERAGE SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	BEVERAGE/ FOOD STORAGE	TEA/ COFFEE DRINKING
<i>Site 44NR0009</i>					
Period I (ca. 1720–1750)	21 (34%)	4 (6%)	25 (40%)	4 (6%)	8 (13%)
Period II (ca. 1770–1820)	6 (22%)	2 (7%)	8 (30%)	2 (7%)	9 (33%)
Period III (ca. 1770–1820)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	3 (60%)
<i>Site 44NR0012</i>					
Period I (ca. 1720–1750)	0 (0%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Period II (ca. 1750–1770)	48 (18%)	10 (4%)	112 (42%)	6 (2%)	88 (33%)
Period III (ca. 1770–1820)	3 (21%)	3 (21%)	5 (36%)	1 (7%)	2 (14%)
<i>Site 44CC0297</i>					
Period I (ca. 1680–1725)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	1* (25%)	0 (0%)
<i>Site 44CS0092</i>					
(ca. 1720–1800)	7* (47%)	2* (13%)	6* (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Table 16. Comparison of Site 44NR0009 (Periods I–III) and Site 44NR0012 (Periods I–III) ceramic functional groups with farmstead assemblages from Sites 44CC0297 and 44CS0092.

One informative way to learn more about those who may have lived at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 is through comparisons of the ceramic vessels with those from other period assemblages. More specifically, this approach has potential to provide insight into site function and status. Analysis of the ceramics with respect to specific features and deposits from which they were recovered might help to determine whether the occupants at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were upscale residential lot owners, prosperous merchants, or perhaps slaves.

The ceramic assemblages from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were compared with those of 13 other eighteenth- through early nineteenth-century domestic sites (and/or commercial sites with domestic components) in the region, including farmsteads, plantations, slave quarters, and tavern sites (Tables 16–18). Tavern-related assemblages include the Brough Tavern (ca. 1680–1730) and the Kings Arms Tavern (ca. 1750–1800) at Site 44HT39 in Hampton, the Bunch of Grapes Tavern at Site 44HT38 in Hampton (ca. 1740–1775), the Marot’s Ordinary (ca. 1708–1738)

	FOOD SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	FOOD PREPARATION/ COOKING	BEVERAGE SERVING/ CONSUMPTION	BEVERAGE/ FOOD STORAGE	TEA/ COFFEE DRINKING
Site 44NR0009					
Period I (ca. 1720–1750)	21 (34%)	4 (6%)	25 (40%)	4 (6%)	8 (13%)
Period II (ca. 1770–1820)	6 (22%)	2 (7%)	8 (30%)	2 (7%)	9 (33%)
Period III (ca. 1770–1820)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	0 (0%)	3 (60%)
Site 44NR0012					
Period I (ca. 1720–1750)	0 (0%)	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Period II (ca. 1750–1770)	48 (18%)	10 (4%)	112 (42%)	6 (2%)	88 (33%)
Period III (ca. 1770–1820)	3 (21%)	3 (21%)	5 (36%)	1 (7%)	2 (14%)
Site 44HE0493					
Period I (ca. 1750–1790)	10 (37%)	2 (7%)	11 (41%)	0 (0%)	4 (15%)
Period II (ca. 1790–1825)	50 (55%)	1 (1%)	15 (16%)	1 (1%)	24 (26%)
Site 44JC0969					
	60 (43%)	17 (12%)	29 (21%)	6 (4%)	29 (21%)
Site 44JC1140					
Period I (ca. 1800–1840)	15 (50%)	1 (3%)	7 (23%)	4 (13%)	3 (10%)
Site 44JC0643					
(ca. 1740–1825)	4* (36%)	3* (27%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	2 (18%)

Table 17. Comparison of Site 44NR0009 (Periods I–III) and Site 44NR0012 (Periods I–III) ceramic functional groups with slave assemblages in the region.

	FOOD SERVING/ CONSUMPT. VESSELS	FOOD PREP./ COOKING VESSELS	BEVERAGE SERVING/ CONSUMPT. VESSELS	BEVERAGE/ FOOD STORAGE VESSELS	TEA WARE VESSELS	TOILETRY VESSELS
Site 44NR0012, Period II (ca. 1750-1770), Norfolk, VA	48 (18%)	10 (4%)	112 (41%)	6 (2%)	88 (32%)	8 (3%)
Site 44NR0009, Periods I-III, (ca. 1720s-1820s), Norfolk, VA	27 (27%)	6 (6%)	35 (35%)	6 (6%)	20 (20%)	6 (6%)
Bunch of Grapes Tavern (44HT38/132) (ca.1740-1775), Hampton, VA	36 (64%)	2 (4%)	8 (14%)	1* (2%)	3 (5%)	6 (11%)
Brough's Tavern (44HT39) (Structures 13 and 17), (ca. 1680-1730), Hampton, VA	17 (14%)	25 (20%)	54 (44%)	8 (6%)	11 (9%)	9 (7%)
King's Arms Tavern (44HT39) (Structure 16) (ca. 1750-1800), Hampton, VA	12 (40%)	1 (3%)	8 (27%)	2 (7%)	5 (17%)	2 (7%)
Marot's Ordinary (ca. (1708-1738), Williamsburg, VA	15 (13%)	6 (5%)	55 (47%)	9 (8%)	16 (14%)	17 (14%)
Shields' Tavern (ca. 1738-1751), Williamsburg, VA	67 (24%)	16 (6%)	111 (39%)	15 (5%)	46 (16%)	30 (11%)
Rumney-West Tavern (18AN48) (ca. 1725), London, MD**	37 (57%)	5 (8%)	11 (17%)	3 (5%)	8 (12%)	1 (2%)
Site 44NR0003 Trash Pit (ca. 1735-1769), Norfolk, VA	11 (17%)	12 (18%)	25 (38%)	5 (8%)	11 (17%)	2 (3%)

* Indeterminate, but possible storage vessel.

** For this study, information available for 65 of the 198 vessels identified.

Table 18. Comparison of Site 44NR0012 and Site 44NR0009 ceramic functional groups with tavern assemblages in the region.

and Shields Tavern (ca. 1738–1751), both in Williamsburg, the Rumney-West Tavern (ca. 1725) in London, Maryland, and finally, Site 44NR0003 (ca. 1735–1769), located just southwest of Sites 44NR0012 and 44NR0003) in what was once Newtown. The comparison of the 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 ceramic assemblages with those in this site group is considered in this study, given the tavern-like ceramics and glassware found at the Newtown sites. These are represented by significant quantities of ceramic cups, saucers, tea bowls, punch bowls, and the like, and lesser but still noteworthy presence of table glass (i.e., wine glasses, tumblers, and drams). Though studies have shown that in general, tavern assemblages usually exhibit little difference with household assemblages, drinking-related vessels generally constitute a decidedly higher proportion of vessels in tavern assemblages and as the discussion will show, this seems to be the case at the Newtown sites (Brown et al. 1990).

A sample of farmstead assemblages (Sites 44CC0297 and 44CS0092) and plantation slave assemblages (Sites 44HE0493, 44JC0643, 44JC0969, and 44JC1140) are included for comparative purposes, since the emerging data from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 suggests that these sites were located on the periphery of Newtown, where one might expect lower status individuals such as servants and slaves to have worked and/or lived on quarters in the midst of agricultural or commercial operations such as warehouses/storehouses. Comparative study of the assemblages from these different site types, in consideration with other attributes, may help to determine if Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were more “rural,” farm-like in character, indicative of slave quarter occupations, or more residential, and if this could be reflected in the material culture at these sites (Cressey et al. 1982; Samford 1987; Higgins et al. 1993; McDaid 2013).

The period farmsteads under consideration include Site 44CC0297, a late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century (ca. 1680–1725) domestic site

near the headwaters of the Chickahominy River in Charles City County. This site, excavated by the WMCAR in the early 1990s, revealed the remains of a small earthfast dwelling near a series of borrow pits, and a cellar pit that may have been a first-stage pit house or roofed-cellar dependency (Jones et al. 1991). These features yielded 94 artifacts, including ceramics, bottle glass (including two almost-whole wine bottles), animal bone, wrought nails, and a copper alloy aglet. The ceramic assemblage includes a minimum of four vessels (i.e., an unidentified Rhenish blue and gray stoneware hollowware, a tin-enameled earthenware porringer, a Staffordshire slipware flatware, and a colonoware bowl) (see Table 16). While these few examples are not unlike those recovered from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, the minimum of 139 vessels recovered from Site 44NR0009, and the 315 vessels from Site 44NR0012, in a host of vessel forms (some quite specialized), starkly contrast with the limited assemblage found at the much more isolated Site 44CC0297.

Archaeological data recovery at the Taylor Farm Site (44CS0092) in the City of Chesapeake revealed remnants of an eighteenth-century craftsman’s shop, with a domestic component likely associated with indentured and/or enslaved workers. From a cluster of trash pits and other features, archaeologists retrieved a relatively modest number of historic artifacts (n=593) (i.e., brick, wrought nails, window glass, bottle glass, ceramics, etc.). The ceramic assemblage includes at least 15 identifiable ceramic vessels (e.g., plates, cups, and mugs) made of coarse earthenware, white saltglaze stoneware, tin-enameled earthenware, and Chinese porcelain, among other types. The singular porcelain example, though unidentified as to form, may be that of a tea bowl, and stands in contrast to the 20 teaware vessels found at Site 44NR0009, and the 90 tea-related vessels recovered from Site 44NR0012.

Site 44JC0643 is a small eighteenth-century through early nineteenth-century slave quarter site located in western James City County. Data

recovery at this site by the WMCAR in the early 1990s revealed the remains of earthfast buildings and slot fences, as well as a modest quantity of artifacts (n=441) (Higgins and Downing 1993:51–61). The assemblage reflects the typical pattern of higher proportions of kitchen-related and architectural artifacts found on most domestic sites. Site 44JC0643 is characterized by a small number of ceramic vessels and few personal items, which is consistent with most other remote tenant/slave sites in the region. Much like the assemblages from Sites 44CC0297 and 44CS0092, the assemblage from Site 44JC0643 sharply contrasts those of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 in terms of artifact diversity and quantity, and serves to highlight the socioeconomic extremes within lower and middling class society, and the economic advantages of living in close proximity to centers of trade and trade networks (Higgins and Downing 1993; Jones et al. 1991).

Site 44HE0493 is a mid-eighteenth-century through early nineteenth-century slave quarter located along the James River in Henrico County that was once part of William Randolph III's Wilton Plantation. Archaeological data recovery conducted by WMCAR at this site in 1998 yielded over 22,000 artifacts, including ceramics, table glass, animal bone, gun flints, buttons, buckles, thimbles, glass beads, an umbrella rib, iron "heaters", gaming pieces, a candle snuffer, a candle holder, tobacco pipes, chisels, files, wrought nails, keys, and padlocks (Higgins et al. 2000). The total number of food/beverage-related ceramics vessels from all three periods of occupation at this site (Period I, ca. 1750–1790; Period II, 1790–1825; Period III, 1824–1840) is 241. Ninety-one percent (n=219) of these vessels are from the earliest two periods of occupation at Site 44HE0493, which overlap with the latter two periods of occupation at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Notable ceramic vessels from these earlier periods include a possible Staffordshire slipware mustard pot, a coarse earthenware colander, creamware soup plates, a Chinese porce-

lain tureen, a tin-enameled earthenware punch bowl, Chinese porcelain saucers, white saltglaze stoneware saucers, creamware saucers, Chinese porcelain tea bowls, and creamware tea bowls, among other vessels. These were complemented by a minimum of 39 bottles, six tumblers, one flask, and one decanter. As shown in Table 17, the proportions show variability between the sites; Site 44NR0012 yielded nearly four times the number of beverage consumption-related vessels (including teaware) than Site 44HE0493.

In some instances, archaeological results indicate that the possessions and subsistence patterns of slaves reflect the unique circumstances of their owners, as with the wealthy Randolph family at Wilton Plantation or the prominent Williamsburg tavern keeper James Southall (ca. 1750). For example, investigations at the site of field hand quarters (Site 44JC0969) occupied by Southall's slaves revealed that Southall likely supplied his slaves with fashionable ceramics, as well as significant amounts of beef and other provisions, not unlike those known to have been used and served in his tavern establishment in Williamsburg (Pullins et al. 2003). A comparison of ceramic functional groups between Site 44JC0969 and Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 indicate a greater emphasis on food serving/consumption at 44JC0969 (perhaps a reflection of food provisioning by James Southall) compared to the Newtown sites, and generally less emphasis on beverage consumption, though tea consumption appears to have been significant at Southall's quarter (see Table 17). The Randolphs and their slaves tapped into trade along the James River, whereas Southall's slaves undoubtedly benefited from their close proximity to Quarterpath Road, a direct route between the James River and Williamsburg, which passed immediately adjacent to the Southall Quarter site. The occupants of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 probably benefited from the bustling activity along the Elizabeth River and the merchants of Newtown.

Site 44JC1140 is an early nineteenth-century slave quarter in southeastern James City County that was once part of William Allen's Kingsmill Farm (and formerly Lewis Burwell's Kingsmill Plantation in the eighteenth century); it is located approximately one mile northwest of Site 44JC696. Data recovery at Site 44JC1140 in 2014 yielded hundreds of domestic artifacts (i.e., ceramics, bottle glass, animal bones) from numerous features and deposits, including subfloor pits. The earliest period of occupation (Period I, ca. 1800–1840) at Site 44JC1140 overlaps with Period III at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, and it yielded a minimum of 30 ceramic vessels. A comparison of the ceramic vessel data suggests a greater emphasis at the Kingsmill quarter site on food serving/consumption and generally less on beverage consumption, especially tea, compared to the Newtown sites.

Site 44NR0003 is one of the more intriguing sites for comparative purposes. It is located within the former boundaries of Newtown approximately 305 m (1,000 ft.) southwest of Site 44NR0012, and yielded deposits that may be associated with either a high-status residence or an upscale tavern (see Figure 1.4). As previously described in Chapter 5, limited archaeological investigations at Site 44NR0003 (which consisted of the excavation of a single trash pit) yielded over 900 artifacts not unlike those recovered from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 (see Figures 1.6 and 1.7) (see Table 18). The assemblage includes Staffordshire slipware, tin-enameled earthenware, white saltglaze stoneware, Chinese porcelain, wine glass stems, dark green bottle glass, brass and pewter shoe and knee buckles, an iron furniture hook, brass straight pins, mirror glass, a Spanish silver coin (1735), a carpenter's brass rule, a lock tumbler, an iron pad lock, wrought nails, window glass, turned lead, mortar, plaster, and brick (including water table brick). On the whole, this assemblage is remarkably similar to that recovered from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. As discussed below,

however, a closer look at the ceramics from Site 44NR0003 shows some marked differences.

It is quite apparent, based upon the quality and diversity of the ceramics and glassware recovered from Site 44NR0003 that the assemblage reflects high economic status (Wittkofski et al. 1980:38) and perhaps either represents that of an upscale tavern or a well-to-do household. The collection consists of a minimum of 91 vessels, including 66 ceramic and 25 glass. The ceramic group is comprised of at least 18 different vessel forms, including plates, dishes, bowls, punch bowls, tea bowls, saucers, tea pots jugs, tankards, posset cups, a mug, and chamber pots, among others; glass vessels include at least 18 wine bottles, six wine glasses, and an ale glass. In terms of functional groups, the ceramic assemblage is dominated by beverage serving/consumption vessels ($n=25$, 38%), followed at a distance by food preparation/cooking ($n=12$, 18%), food serving/consumption and teaware (each at 11 vessels [17%]), food/beverage storage ($n=5$, 8%), and finally, toiletry ($n=2$, 3%). In contrast, the proportion of food serving/consumption vessels and teaware is higher at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 than at Site 44NR0003, while other beverage serving/consumption vessels (i.e., mugs and cups) are proportionally about the same, though slightly higher at Site 44NR0012. If these are indeed tavern assemblages, the variations in relative amounts of food-serving vessels versus teawares may reflect different types of tavern establishments and status of clientele. In other words, higher proportions of teaware in the Newtown assemblages may reflect greater access and participation in the tea ceremony at sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 than at Site 44NR0003 (Brown et al. 1990; Luckenbach 2002).

Sites 44HT0038 and 44HT0039 are located along the City of Hampton's historic waterfront and were investigated in the early 1990s (Higgins et al. 1993). Two cellars discovered at Site 44HT0039 may be associated with the

tavern and residence, respectively, of Coleman Brough, who operated his business during the period of ca. 1680–1720. These two cellars, which resembled the characteristics of the cellar features investigated at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, yielded hundreds of domestic and architectural artifacts, including fragments of tin-glazed earthenware, Staffordshire slipware, English brown stoneware, Chinese porcelain, clay pipe bowls, bottle and table glass, bone, hinges, wrought nails, and Dutch brick. The ceramic assemblage comprised a minimum of 124 identifiable vessels, including basins, bowls, dishes, pans, a pot, jugs, mugs, cups, punch bowls, saucers, teapots, and tea bowls. Beverage serving/consumption vessels represent 44% (n=54) of the total assemblage, food/preparation/cooking vessels represent 20% (n=25), food serving/consumption vessels constitute 14% (n=17), teaware vessels represent 9% (n=11), beverage/food storage vessels represent 6% (n=8), and toiletry vessels constitute 7% (n=9) (see Table 18). When compared to Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, the data suggest that Brough's establishment placed a much greater emphasis on beverage consumption (with the exception of tea/coffee) and less importance on food service.

Opposite Brough's property on the west side of King Street (where the Virginia Air and Space Museum is presently located), archaeologists discovered a mid-eighteenth-century trash pit believed to be associated with Francis Riddlehurst's "Bunch of Grapes" Tavern (ca. 1760–1789) (i.e., part of Site 44HT0038), which stood a few meters to the southeast. This trash pit (Feature 132), which measured 1.98 x 0.91 m (6.5 x 3 ft.), yielded over 700 ceramic and kitchen glass fragments, and dozens of hand wrought nails and spikes. Also recovered were a piece of cutlery, a spoon handle, several opaque and clear glass beads, a bone gambling die, animal bone, and oyster shell. The ceramic assemblage includes substantial quantities of coarse earthenware, tin-glazed earthenware, molded white saltglaze stoneware,

and cream-colored earthenware (i.e., Whieldon ware). Interestingly, this latter group includes a bowl embossed with a cluster of grapes, likely a motif attributed to the name of Riddlehurst's tavern. The overwhelming majority of the 56 identifiable ceramic vessels fall within the food serving/consumption category (n=36, 64%) followed by beverage serving/consumption vessels (n=8, 14%), teaware vessels (n=3, 5%), food preparation/cooking vessels (n= 2, 4%), and beverage/food storage vessels (n=1, 2%). Toiletry vessels (i.e., chamber pots [n=6]), comprise just over 10% of the assemblage. The proportion of food serving/consumption vessels at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern site were more than twice those of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, but the relative proportions of teaware vessels at the Newtown sites was four to six times higher than at the Hampton tavern site.

Other well-documented eighteenth-century tavern assemblages in this group include two prosperous Williamsburg establishments, those of James Shields and his father-in-law, John Marot, who operated taverns at the same Williamsburg location in the mid- and early eighteenth century, respectively (Brown et al. 1990). Also, the assemblage recovered from the site of the eighteenth-century Rumney/West Tavern, located along the South River in Maryland, offers valuable comparative data with respect to the assemblage recovered from the Newtown sites (Luckenbach 2002; Luckenbach and Dance 1998). Investigations by Colonial Williamsburg archaeologists at the Shields Tavern property in the mid-1980s yielded an extensive collection of artifacts, not unlike those recovered from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. For example, the early eighteenth-century Marot's Ordinary assemblage produced a minimum of 118 ceramic vessels, including ceramic cans, cups, punch bowls, tankards, saucers, tea bowls, tea pot lids, custard cups, and plates, among others. Also recovered were 24 unique glass vessels, comprising 16 wine bottles, seven wine goblets, and a pan-

elled tumbler, as well as dozens of animal bone fragments, a brass harness boss, a silver seal, and a gold christening ring. In the ceramic collection, nearly half (n=55, 47%) of the vessels represent beverage serving/consumption forms. This is followed in abundance by toiletry vessels (n=17, 14%), teaware vessels (n=16, 14%), food serving and consumption vessels (n=15, 13%), beverage/food storage vessels (n=9, 8%), and food preparation/cooking vessels (n=6, 5%). Similarly, over one-third of the vessels from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 are beverage serving/consumption (excluding teaware), and about 18% to 27% are food serving/consumption-related. Tea-related vessels at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 are 20% and 32%, respectively, indicating perhaps more robust activity of tea consumption over that of the early Williamsburg establishment.

James Shields' success at operating a Williamsburg tavern near mid-century is evidenced in part by the remarkable archaeological assemblage from his period of occupation (ca. 1738–1751), of the same tavern site that had previously been occupied and operated by Marot. It includes a minimum of 282 ceramic vessels, such as plates, platters, porringers, sauce boats, cups, tankards, punch bowls, teapots, saucers, tea bowls, pipkins, and preserve jars, among other forms. The Shields Tavern assemblage also includes numerous pieces of stemmed glass tableware, thousands of animal bones, a variety of shoe and harness buckles, furniture hardware, and a brass rumbler bell. Based upon the proportions of vessel forms, food service in Shields' establishment appears to have taken on greater emphasis than food service in his father-in-law's ordinary and slightly more than indicated at Site 44NR0012 and slightly less than at Site 44NR0009. Indications of relative amounts of the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the Shields Tavern assemblage generally mirrors that of the Newtown sites, though the Site 44NR0012 assemblage, in particular, reflects a greater emphasis on tea drinking (see Table 18). As previously noted, such differences could reflect

local or regional variability in the emphasis of services provided by taverns (i.e., food vs. drink), and the expanded participation in the ritual of tea drinking among most all socioeconomic classes in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The Marot and Shields assemblages, though predominately characterized by higher-status materials, each include at least one colonoware bowl in the food preparation vessel group. As previously discussed, this ceramic ware type is usually attributed to enslaved African Americans. Though usually found in relatively small quantities as it has been in these eighteenth-century tavern assemblages (and at Site 44NR0012) it attests to the presence of those who labored in the shadows during the colonial-period operation of and activities at these tavern sites.

Finally, there is consideration of the Edward Rumney/Stephen West tavern, which was located on the South River in London, Maryland in the early eighteenth century. Excavations at this site in 1996–2001, yielded hundreds of artifacts, mostly recovered from a large 5.48-x-4.87-m (18-x-16-ft.) cellar feature. Recovered items include tobacco pipes, animal bones, ceramics, and tableware glass, among a host of other items. The tavern's upscale status is indicated by a variety of recovered objects, particularly the glassware and the ceramics. For instance, the glass assemblage includes a wine glass inscribed with "God Save King George," possibly attributed to the coronation of George I in 1714, and numerous fragments of stylish glass stemware (Luckenbach and Dance 1998; Luckenbach 2002). These items are similar to the wheel-engraved tumblers, wine glasses and tin-enameled earthenware punch bowl, inscribed with "Success To All English Privateers" from site 44NR0012.

The Rumney/West ceramic collection includes a minimum of 198 vessels, the vast majority of which represent ceramic wares of English manufacture. The assemblage includes plates, punch bowls, and tea bowls made of either tin-enameled earthenware, white saltglaze stoneware, and/or

other types. Some of these are part of matched sets. Though only a modest sample of these is presented in Table 18 (only 65 of the 198 identified), the proportions of their functional characteristics suggests greater emphasis on food service at this Maryland tavern, and less on beverage consumption (including tea consumption) than at the Newtown sites. As mentioned previously, the only other known archaeological example of the rare spiked “pineapple” punch bowl vessel that was found at Site 44NR0012 was recovered from the Rumney/West tavern site.

Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 yielded a significant amount of teaware, including specialized vessels. Such an unusually strong emphasis on status related, tea consumption at these sites, compared to the upscale taverns presented in this study, speaks to the high degree of prosperity in Newtown during the eighteenth century, perhaps even among those living on its outskirts.

The results of this study, though far from comprehensive or conclusive, provide a regional perspective to the material culture excavated from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Analysis of the ceramics and other diagnostic artifacts help to clarify the possible function(s) of these sites within the setting of a planned colonial town, and shed light on otherwise poorly documented or undocu-

mented inhabitants of the town. The Newtown assemblages owe their richness, as do many of the other sites in the study, in part to their location within important trading centers and transportation routes. In both newly established towns like Newtown and in or near the established centers of commerce near plantation wharves or routes to/from such wharves, fashionable goods were more accessible to merchants and their customers alike. It was at these locations too, that certain items lost or discarded were sometimes salvaged, recycled, and/or modified with functional aspects and symbolic meanings different from their original purpose.

A synthesis of the archaeological data with what is available in the documentary record is necessary before it can be concluded that the occupants of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were truly upper middle class, as might be suggested by much of the artifact assemblage, or whether the artifacts may actually represent absentee tavern owners, lot owners, or store owners. Occupant status and site function, along with other research issues, will be explored further in the following chapter to help better understand settlement at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 over the course of nearly a century.

6: Reconstruction of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 from an Archaeological and Historical Perspective

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological data recovery at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 provides a rare opportunity to obtain important information about the early colonial port of Newtown. Newtown was a privately funded residential and commercial venture that was established along the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River at the close of the seventeenth century and lasting until around the turn of the nineteenth century or soon thereafter.

The first archaeological investigation of Newtown took place in the late 1970s and was spawned by residential and transportation development (Wittkofski et al. 1980) (see Chapter 1). As shown in Figure 6.1 and in Table 18, some of these sites correspond well to map projections of the specific lots owned by some of the early purchasers of property in Newtown. This data, discussed in conjunction with Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 in the following sections, provides insight into settlement activity in Newtown during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Two of these sites, Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, were re-located in 2008 and 2009 by staff from the WMCAR during archaeological surveys associated with proposed improvements to the I-64/I-264 interchange (Monroe 2008 and 2009). The sites were determined to be eligible for the NRHP following an archaeological evaluation conducted by the WMCAR from December 15, 2009 through January 29, 2010 (Monroe and Lewes 2010). In light of the fact that Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 could not be avoided by the proposed I-64/I-264 interchange project, archaeological data recovery was recommended

and implemented in order to mitigate potential adverse effects. Based in part upon the results of the previous archaeological work at these sites and extensive excavations of other colonial waterfront communities, specific research questions were developed that guided archaeological data recovery at Newtown. The research questions center on the examination of site content, structure, function, and material culture, and how these issues may have been represented in and interpreted from the archaeological resources at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012.

The results of data recovery at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 provide insight into the early development and planning of the town, site structure and function, and material culture and foodways of the inhabitants. The data recovery results indicate that the occupants of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were connected to the mercantile trade of this community. They lived and worked in a complex of warehouses/slave quarters that would have been situated on the eastern periphery of town as it was laid out over the landscape at that time. The lots were most likely owned by either a store merchant(s) or a tavern keeper(s). As summarized in the following section, the data recovery results indicate that Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were most likely occupied by slaves. These data also indicate that the sites changed in appearance and in intensity of use over the course of the eighteenth century. The study of the numerous cellars, trash pits, wells and other features, along with the thousands of artifacts that these yielded, help to tell the story of the inhabitants of Newtown.

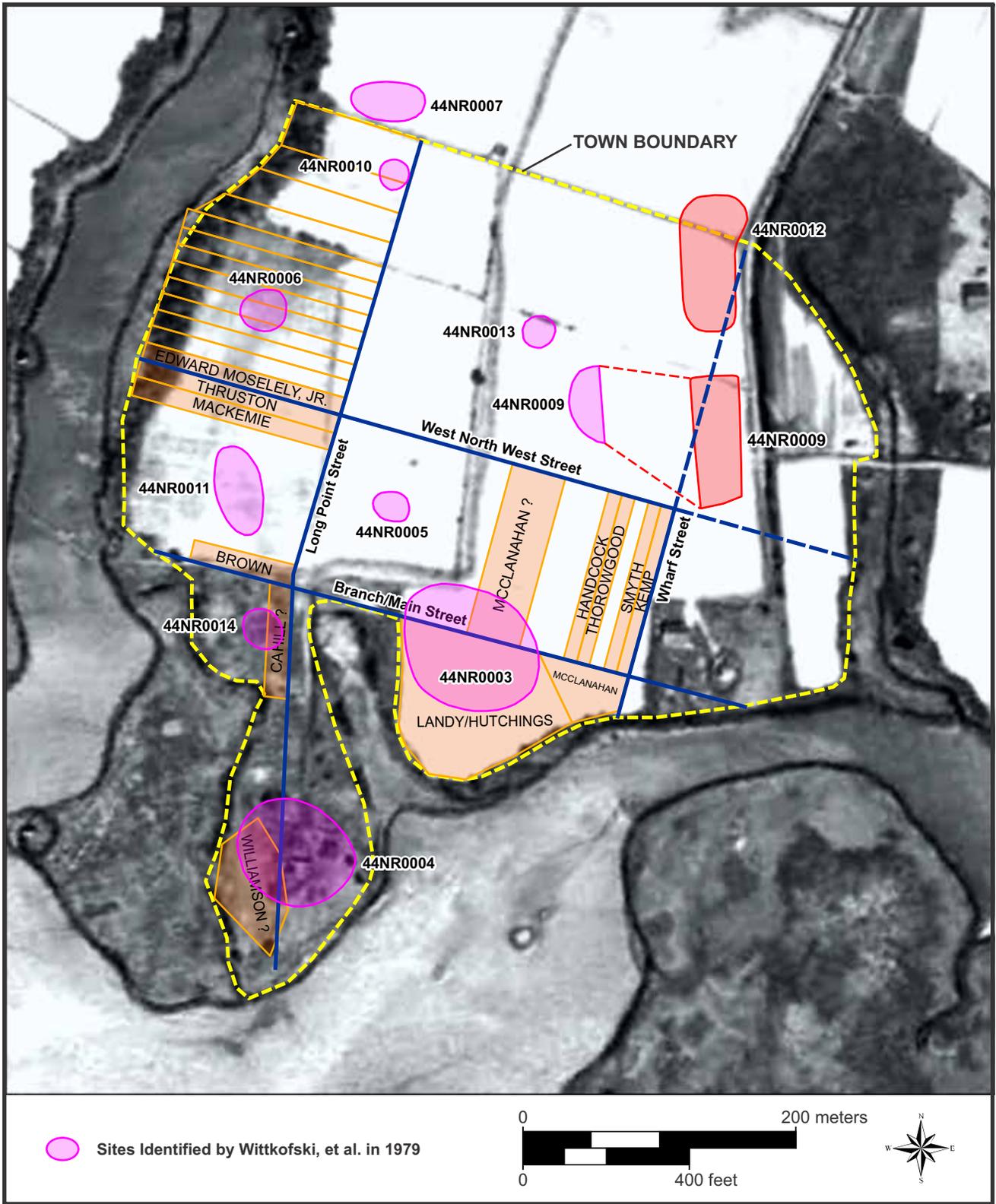


Figure 6.1. Georeferenced previously identified sites relative to Newtown lots and streets (Wittkofski 1979:Figure 7).

SITE	TENTATIVE EARLY 18 TH CENTURY LOT OWNER(S)	CERAMIC OCCUPATION RANGE (FROM WITTKOFSKI ET AL. 1980:54)	MEDIAN DATE
44NR0003	(?) Landy, John Hutchings, Nathaniel McClanahan	1730-1820	1775
44NR0004	Charles and James Williamson	NDA	NDA
44NR0005	Unknown	1770-1800	1785
44NR0006	Unknown	1770-1850	1810
44NR0007	Unknown	1720-1790	1755
44NR0008	Unknown	1770-1900	1835
44NR0009	Unknown	1755-1820	1755
44NR0010	Unknown	1720-1820	1770
44NR0011	Unknown	1750-1820	1785
44NR0012	Unknown	1740-1820	1780
44NR0013	Unknown	1750-1790	1770
44NR0014	Bryan Cahill	1750-1800	1775

Table 19. Newtown archaeological sites and tentative early eighteenth-century lot owners.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

The documented history of Newtown contains important information relevant to the interpretation of archaeological data from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Though the available documentary records do not hold direct answers to many of the questions raised by the archaeology, review of the records does provide unique insight into the community such as the general layout and organization of the town and the commercial activities of its inhabitants. These aspects of Newtown may have had some influence or connection, either directly or indirectly, to Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012.

The Town Acts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were legislative decrees that promoted the establishment of towns to serve vital political, economic, and social functions. While Newtown was likely inspired by these legislative acts, it was not established as a chartered town but rather as a bold, private venture by investors. Soon after the formation of Princess Anne County in 1691, influential landowners Anthony Lawson, Edward Moseley, Sr., and William Moseley, managed to draw Princess Anne County's focus of activity and power southwestward from the Lynnhaven River to their own neighborhood along the north bank of the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River (see Chapter 3). On February

2, 1697/1698, these neighboring landowners paid 10,000 lb. of tobacco for a 51-acre portion of Simon Hancock's property in order to establish a town. They named their new community Newtown, and had high expectations for its success. The purchasers made clear their commercial development objective for Newtown, which was intended for erecting "storehouses and other houses, thereon for accomodation of merchandizing and for cohabitation and a place of pride for buying and selling of goods and merchandize in the nature or quantity of a town" (PAC DB 1:167). To achieve this goal expediently, the new owners committed themselves to specific, uniform terms for subdivision and resale of lots. Accordingly, they would:

...refuse to putt to sale any of the land to any person provided that they shall perform the conditions hereafter express: that every person purchasing one lott or half acre, or more, betwixt the date herre of and the first day of Marych 1698/9 shall and doe build a goodhouse on each such lott or halfe acre of land 20 feet long and 15 feet broad, by or before the first day of March 1698/9 and paying unto the said purchaser above sd for each lott soe built on noe more than it really cost the sd purchaser...but for want of such building...the same to revert to the above sd first purchaser (PAC DB 1:167).

These terms were designed to encourage actual development on purchased lots and prevent the land from being tied up by speculators buying lots at cheap prices and holding them vacant for an indefinite time until land values rose. Minimum building requirements ensured that purchasers would commit to investing in more than just the value of the land or risk losing title to the purchased lot. Lawson and the Moseleys encouraged rapid investment with an incentive not found in the town act legislation (see Chapter 3). They would only offer lots at the reduced rate of 100 lb. of tobacco for one year; after March 1, 1698/9, the price would double (PAC DB 1:167). Demand for the best lots allowed for even higher prices, however, as the early deed records show.

Although the layout of Newtown's was generally grid-like, it had irregularities to accommodate the shape of the landform defined by water on three sides. Referring to a description in the 1697 deed for the 51-acre property, an approximate boundary was projected in ArcGIS. Georeferenced features, such as stream edges with historic maps, coupled with deed descriptions, allow for an informed interpretation of the cultural landscape of eighteenth-century Newtown to be projected on an aerial photograph of Pleasant Point. The town included at least four major streets: Long Point Street on the west, Wharf Street on the east, Branch Street on the south, and West North West Street on the north (see Figure 3.5). The earliest deeds indicate that lot development began in the spring and summer of 1698 on the west side of Long Point Street fronting Moseley Creek. The central lots in Newtown – those fronting Branch Street between Long Point Street and Wharf Street – were sold soon thereafter. As was the case for the westernmost lots, the central lots were long and narrow, presumably to give street and/or water frontage. Typically, the lots were about 440 to 528 ft. (26.5 to 32 poles) long, and ranged from 41.25 to 49.5 ft. (2.5 to 3 poles) wide, based upon the deed descriptions. The lot holders in the central block lived closest to the project area. These individuals included James Kemp, Doctor George Smyth, Simon Hancock, Sr., and John Thorowgood, among others. Their properties were located on the west side of Wharf Street, and southwest of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. The specific eighteenth-century owner(s) of the Site 44NR0009 and Site 44NR0012 parcels is unknown, but the area that they were part of northeast of Wharf Street and west of Chapel Creek (and bounded by the town limits on the north and by West North West Street on the south) may have contained 10 or more 0.5-acre lots. The documentary record does not provide much specific information about the development and use of the part of town east-northeast of Wharf Street, or if this street actually extended

northward as far as the project area. Perhaps the most informative map reference to this area dates to nearly a century after the town's establishment. In 1781, British military engineers under Benedict Arnold prepared a map of Princess Anne and Norfolk counties that showed the Newtown area in enough detail to depict individual buildings, including two buildings that are shown very close to Chapel Creek. It is possible that one or both of these structures could be associated with Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Given the locations of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 in the vicinity of Wharf Street, it is reasonable to assume that the sites may have had some connection to commercial activity in Newtown. The data recovery results shed light on the type of development and function at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 in this regard.

Newtown appeared to be a successful venture in the beginning. In addition to its commercial success, evident from the brisk sale of lots, it became a thriving center of commerce and upscale residential living. Lots were purchased by Francis Mackemie, a successful merchant and a prominent minister; by merchant Charles Smyth, and by tavern keeper Mary Dison, among a host of others. The legislation of 1740 underscores the growing importance of Newtown toward the middle of the century. In late May of that year, its residents successfully petitioned the General Assembly to officially establish the town. By this time, as noted above, several prominent merchants and planters had established residences and businesses in town. It is likely that their businesses stood in the vicinity of "storehouses and other houses" that had been built earlier, soon after Newtown was established to accommodate trade (PAC DB 1:167) and that some of these earlier buildings could exist at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. To serve the needs of the flourishing community and as a reflection of its importance by the 1740s, various services and institutions were established over the decade that followed, including "a Commodious Court House with a Good and Sufficient Prison, and

Pillory" (McIlwaine 1925-1926:5:379) and a school.

References to the kind of shipping that could be accommodated are indicative of Newtown's importance as a port. On December 11, 1751 an auction was to be held at Newtown for the sale of an 80-ton schooner. Although there is no confirming evidence of a shipyard at the port, it is possible that the ship was built nearby. A schooner of 80 tons would have been at the upper limit of that class of vessel built in the colony (Kelso 1971-1972). The location of the auction is unknown, but it may have been held on the waterfront at the south end of Wharf Street, approximately 150 m (492 ft.) from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012.

At some time prior to 1766 the town also had an ordinary, if not several. Most likely this enterprise had served the crowds thronging into town on court days for legal business since 1752 and perhaps earlier had also met the hospitality needs of the commercial community. "Pursuant to the Will of Mary Dyson, deceased," a half lot of land in Newtown was advertised for sale in the *Virginia Gazette* on December 4, 1766. On the lot stood "a good Dwelling-house, two rooms below, and two above Stairs, with a Garden, and convenient Out-houses." Conveniently located "near the Court-house," the property was suitable for an Ordinary (where food and drink were served), and "has been kept as such for many Years past" (*Virginia Gazette*, Rind 12/4/1766 p. 3, col. 3). Mary Dison had died on August 20, 1753. Earlier in the century, she had purchased a half lot in Newtown from Anthony Lawson, one of the three investors in Newtown. It is possible that Dison's ordinary was the same establishment as the "Rising Sun Tavern", where the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated in early July 1766. An "elegant entertainment" included toasts to the king and "Perpetual Disappointments to the Enemies of America." The evening concluded with "an elegant ball, at which was present a numerous company of Ladies and Gentlemen,

who made a genteel appearance” (*Virginia Gazette Purdie & Dixon* 2/4/1766, p. 2, col. 2).

The specific location of Mary Dison’s tavern in Newtown is unknown. Nonetheless, her type of establishment may be important to the interpretation of Site 44NR0012, in particular, because of the abundance of tavern-like ceramics and glassware that was recovered from Site 44NR0012. It was often the case, when properties were either abandoned or there was a transition in ownership (as in the death of Mary Dison), that obsolete goods were disposed of wherever most convenient, such as in abandoned cellars or wells, for example (Brown et al. 1990; Noel Hume 1969).

The center of activity in Princess Anne County shifted again in the 1770s, this time eastward from Newtown less than 2 mi. to Kempe’s Landing. The gradual development of road networks converging on Kempsville (as it came to be known in the early nineteenth century) favored the sustained growth of this community over Newtown. Although Newtown still had houses and stores, the diminished commerce could no longer support an inn or tavern. In 1778, county residents petitioned the General Assembly to move the county seat from Newtown to Kempe’s Landing. Thus, in stark contrast to prominence of Newtown throughout most of the eighteenth century, it languished from the period of the Revolution through the early nineteenth century (Kellam and Kellam 1931). Despite representation on one Civil War–era map as a small village with nine structures, Newtown appears to have been largely abandoned by the mid-nineteenth century (Worrett 1862) (see Figure 3.10). The Union army cartographer may have depicted Newtown as shown on earlier maps rather than based on actual survey; in the recollections of John S. Wise in 1860, for example, there is no hint of even a small village in the area. His father, former Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise had recently purchased Rolleston, the old home place of the Moseleys across Hoskins/Moseleys Creek directly west of Newtown. As John Wise remembered,

Rolleston was “as secluded a spot as if no city had been within a hundred miles” (Wise 1899:152). The documentary information about the decline of Newtown, coupled with the archaeological evidence from the data recovery at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, may help us better understand this period in the history of the region.

RECONSTRUCTION OF LIFE AT SITES 44NR0009 AND 44NR0012 FROM AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Secondary Prehistoric Components at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012

The recovery of a small assemblage of prehistoric artifacts during the data recovery at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 suggests that the vicinity of the sites was occupied at least periodically by small groups of hunter-gatherers hundreds to thousands of years prior to English colonization of Virginia (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). All of the prehistoric artifacts were recovered from within historic-period features, however, such that they were clearly redeposited by the historic-period occupants of the sites, whether intentionally or not. In other words, given that all 21 prehistoric artifacts were recovered from historic-period deposits filling Feature 1 at Site 44NR0009 and Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012, these artifacts had apparently been recovered from other unknown locations, possibly nearby, by the historic-period occupants of Newtown. The assemblage of prehistoric artifacts includes a hafted biface made of locally available jasper, which most closely matches the Big Sandy type dated to the Early Archaic period (8000–6000 B.C.) (Justice 1995:60–63; Stephenson and Boulanger 2007). It is possible that such an artifact was intentionally collected from an unknown site elsewhere within or near Newtown by a colonial-period inhabitant of Newtown, and then later discarded with eighteenth-century trash used to fill the Feature 6 cellar pit. The other prehistoric artifacts in the

assemblage consist of lithic debitage (i.e., the flakes and other byproducts of prehistoric stone tool production and maintenance), informal lithic flake tools, fragments of informal ground-stone tools, and pieces of fire-cracked rock (i.e., heat-altered and heat-cracked cobble fragments that may have been affected by use in a prehistoric cooking hearth or fire pit) (see Chapter 5). Given that all these lithic specimens other than the hafted biface are not as readily identifiable as prehistoric artifacts (as distinguished from non-cultural, naturally occurring stone), it is likely that the recovery and redeposition into pit features by colonial occupants of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 was unintentional and incidental to other activities.

Site Content, Structure, and Function

The research questions discussed in Chapter 2 regarding site content, structure (intra-site organization), function, and town planning (inter-site organization) at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 can be addressed through analysis of recovered archaeological data, and include the following general lines of inquiry:

1. Though identified as domestic sites during previous studies, were Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 actually those of domestic occupation (i.e., dwellings or residences) or did they have some other specialized, commercial, or public function? Similarly, what were the roles of the occupants of these sites within Newtown and colonial society?
2. Is the core-periphery model of urban development (in which the core of the town is the political, social, and economic center, while the periphery is where those of lower economic status resided) applicable to the history of a town like Newtown, for which the town's development has been prescribed in advance, either by legislation (as with the Town Acts) or in this case of Newtown, by the provisions in the deeds of sale for individual lots, and do the functions of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012

shed light on this issue?

3. Given that archaeological research has shown that Tidewater towns such as Hampton evolved over the course of time (Higgins et al. 1993), is it possible to determine whether change occurred in the layout of Newtown over time, or whether the town plan stayed consistent during the eighteenth century, through careful study of the orientation of buildings, features, and yards?

Exploring the content, structure, and function of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 was achieved through the implementation of standard field methods in archaeological data recovery (see Chapter 2). This approach included systematic sampling of the plowzone, where possible, followed by mechanical stripping of the plowzone, and then detailed mapping of identified features, and lastly, feature excavation.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the first stage of the proposed data recovery was the controlled surface collection of artifacts from the surface of the plowzone within each site. Unfortunately, it was soon discovered that the integrity of the plowzone deposits at Site 44NR0009 had been completely compromised by the use of the site as a construction staging area during the period between the archaeological evaluation in 2010 and the start of data recovery investigations in 2016, such that there was no justification for conducting the proposed controlled surface collection at Site 44NR0009. Completion of the controlled surface collection at Site 44NR0012 produced results consistent with what had been interpreted as the site structure in the results of the evaluation. The controlled surface collection documented lightly manifested clusters of artifacts, i.e., brick fragments, south and north of the 570N/500E coordinate (the locus of the Features 6 and 10 [cellars] and Feature 8 [ditch]). Also, a cluster of several chunks of brick was recovered from the plowzone surface at the center of the site around coordinate 560N/490E. The relatively low density, low quantity, and low artifact diversity of these

outlying clusters of plowzone brick fragments suggest it is unlikely that the clusters are indicative of impermanent structural or activity-area loci, and they probably instead represent peripheral scatter from Features 6 and 10, which are located along the eastern boundary of the site. Perhaps the most surprising result of the controlled surface collection was the exceptionally low density of plowzone artifacts beyond the immediate vicinity of Features 6 and 10, especially compared to the large quantities of artifacts recovered from these particular features (see Site 44NR0012 Period II description below).

As described in Chapter 2, the mechanical removal of the topsoil from Site 44NR0009 exposed an area of approximately 1,460 m² (15,710 ft.²). This work revealed previously discovered Features 1 and 3, and 64 previously unidentified features. The excavation of these features yielded a total of 5,403 eighteenth-century artifacts. Major features excavated include a large cellar (Feature 1) that was similar to Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012, two wells (Features 3 and 64), two complexes of trash pits (Features 4, 56, 65, 66), remnants of an extensive slot trench or ditch (Feature 9), and fenceline postholes (Features 10–16) (see Figures 4.6, 4.12, 4.20, 4.34, and 4.41). Mechanical removal of the plowzone from Site 44NR0012 exposed an area of approximately 20,295 m² (218,374 ft.²). This work fully exposed previously identified cellar Feature 6 (7.5 x 6 m [25 x 20 ft.]), and a 10-m- (33-ft.-) long section of a colonial-era ditch (Feature 8), along with 53 previously unidentified cultural features. The latter group includes a cellar (5.70 x 4.20 m) [19 x 14 ft.] (Feature 10) adjacent to Feature 6 on the south, and a brick-lined well (Feature 34), which cut Feature 10, and fenceline posthole Features 1–5, 14, and 15 (see Figures 4.64–4.66, 4.72, 4.90, and 4.104). The excavation of these resources yielded nearly 23,000 artifacts, of which 90% (n=20,749) came from Feature 6.

As noted in Chapter 2, specific artifact analyses were part of the data recovery methods. Analyses

of artifacts (including diagnostic artifacts that provide TPQ's and ceramic cross-mends that establish feature associations) indicate that the features at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 can be grouped into three occupation periods. These occupation periods include Period I (ca. 1720s–1750s), Period II (1750s–1770s), and Period III (1770s–1820s).

SITE 44NR0009: PERIOD I (1720s–1750s)

The archaeological evidence indicates that the most substantial building at Site 44NR0009 was Structure 1 (represented primarily by Feature 1), the remains of which were identified about midway along the site's eastern boundary, fronting present-day South Newtown Road, and less than a thousand feet (305 m) north of the river. The evidence suggests Structure 1 was a large, unheated wooden building with a cellar. The lack of subsurface archaeological evidence of foundations or structural postholes suggests that Structure 1 was probably constructed on ground laid wood sills for which all direct archaeological evidence was affected by post-occupational plowing. Based upon the dimensions of its cellar, it measured at least 7 x 5.40 m (23 x 18 ft.). These interpreted dimensions of Structure 1 are slightly larger than the 6-x-5-m (20-x-15-ft.) dimensions prescribed by Newtown's deed. It is unknown whether the prescribed dimensions in the deed for Newtown were intended for dwellings only, and whether perhaps larger buildings like Structure 1 represent utilitarian or commercial or public buildings that may have been exempt from the deed requirement. While this discrepancy is unclear, the data indicates that the cellar was covered by a structure (as opposed to an aborted cellar left exposed to the elements), due to the lack of silty rain wash deposits inside this feature.

The architecture of Structure 1 is noteworthy because of its impermanent nature. Indirect evidence suggests that its mode of construction was "earthfast," as opposed to brick, and such buildings were not built with an eye towards longevity.

The framework of Structure 1 was probably anchored by the wooden sills which laid directly on the ground. When the sills eventually rotted away after a couple of decades or so, they would have left little evidence of the building in the ground, all of which would have been limited to a surface or near-surface context that was subsequently churned by post-occupational plowing.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in colonial Virginia, impermanent forms of construction such as that of Structure 1 and other forms (e.g., post-in-ground) were much more commonly used than more permanent brick construction for all types of structures, regardless of socio-economic status. Full brick structures (i.e., dwellings) were rare, and were usually built only by those of exceptional wealth. Colonists of lesser means (but still financially well-off) often incorporated brick elements, e.g., chimneys, cellars, into their dwellings. Presumably, commercial buildings (i.e., storehouses/warehouses like Structure 1) followed a similar pattern of impermanent architecture, though most archaeological data pertains to dwellings (Lucchetti, personal communication 2016). Scholars have noted that the mind-set towards building was largely due to the impact of the tobacco economy in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake (Carson et al. 1981; Neiman 1986;). The cultivation of tobacco quickly depleted soil, was labor intensive, and usually required planters to invest much of their disposable income in additional land and labor rather than on “improvements” to their property in order to maintain a profit. According to Historian James Horn, the constant shift from exhausted to fertile tobacco soils discouraged investment in costly or elaborate construction. Typically, these ephemeral Chesapeake structures were designed to last no more than 25 years (Horn 1991:317). The grueling demands of growing tobacco were exacerbated by extreme fluctuations in its price that led to periods of economic depression (O’Mara 1983). Economic and social instability contributed to a cycle of poverty that

many planters and their children could not escape (Carson et al. 1981). According to Horn, persistent poverty—with a new generation of tobacco planters having to “start over”—made expedient, meagerly furnished earthfast buildings the norm. Archaeological data from sites in the region have shown that this perception is exaggerated. However, data show that impermanent architecture persisted among both rich and poor throughout the seventeenth century.

Tradition played a part in the maintenance and persistence of impermanent architecture in the Chesapeake, even as permanent forms of construction became a more affordable option for planters. As noted by Carson et al. (1981:160), “The longer that traditions of impermanent and permanent vernacular building coexist the more the former is likely to bequeath an inheritance directly to the latter.” Thus, the owner of Structure 1 may have had little incentive to break with tradition by replacing his earthfast building with a brick structure, or even incorporate brick elements (i.e., brick foundation, brick-lined cellar); instead, he chose to reinvest his profits elsewhere, perhaps into material comforts that made life more comfortable and conveyed his socioeconomic status.

The cellar of Structure 1 was quite distinctive, as it was characterized by relatively straight sides, a flat bottom, and was unlined. Given that the cellar pit is the only surviving subsurface feature representing Structure 1 and that no builder’s trench or other sealed deposits representing the initial date of construction were identified below the plowzone, there is no direct archaeological evidence of when Structure 1 was built. The age of the latest artifacts recovered from the earliest abandonment deposits filling the cellar suggest, however, that Structure 1 must have been built early in the development of Newtown, perhaps during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, though it appears to have been abandoned a decade or so later and either capped over or intruded upon still later in the century, based upon the recovery of a piece of creamware (post-1770)

from the uppermost cellar fill deposits at or just beneath the interface between Feature 1 and the overlying plowzone.

The absence of archaeological evidence of a hearth and chimney plus the dimensions of the cellar suggest that Structure 1 may have served as either a storehouse or a warehouse, and perhaps stood until about the mid-eighteenth century. Comparable remains of what were likely similar late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century buildings have been identified during archaeological data recovery near the waterfront in the City of Hampton. The structures identified in Hampton were interpreted to represent warehouses or storehouses (Higgins et al. 1993). Though far from conclusive, Structure 1 was likely serviced by enslaved African Americans who may have lived within this building and/or elsewhere on the property. This type of informal slave housing, and the prospect of residential occupation of unheated utilitarian or commercial buildings at or close to the place of work, was not uncommon in the eighteenth-century Tidewater (Chappell 1982).

Period I features include a cluster of trash-filled pits (Features 4, 5, 38, 40, 56, 65 and 66) located from 16 to 27 m (52.49 to 88.58 ft.) to the west and northwest of Structure 1. These pits yielded thousands of eighteenth-century domestic artifacts (e.g., ceramics, bottle glass, and animal bone), the most recent of which (from the earliest deposits) suggest they were largely filled during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Most the pits in this group are small and irregularly shaped, except for Feature 4, which is large (4.80 x 2.20 m [15.74 x 7.21 ft.]) and oblong, and oriented northeast-southwest, in contrast to the north-south orientation of Structure 1. This feature may represent the remains of an early cellar (Structure 2). Given the different orientations of Features 1 and 4, it is unlikely that the associated structures were contemporary, though associated diagnostic artifacts suggest that Structure 2 was probably constructed soon after the abandonment and destruction of Structure 1.

A complex of trash pits (Features 5, 38, and 58) and remnants of a wood-lined box well (Features 64 and 39) were aligned with Feature 4 approximately 14 m (45.9 ft.) to the south (see Figures 4.28, 4.31, 4.32, and 4.34). The age and juxtaposition of these features suggests intensive activity on Site 44NR0009 during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, including the excavation, construction, abandonment, and salvaging of construction materials from multiple wells. The well lining in Feature 64 was constructed of white oak with strong “quartered oak” corner posts, braces, and vertical planks (Garland Wood, personal communication 2016) (Figures 6.2 and 6.3; see Figures 4.35 and 4.36). The builders’ trench for Feature 64 yielded little in the way of diagnostic artifacts, except those dating generally to the eighteenth century. The earliest deposits filling the well suggest that it was filled sometime after 1720, most likely during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Regional archaeological and historical background information indicates that box wells such as Feature 64 are more typically found at seventeenth-century colonial sites than at later eighteenth-century sites, and accordingly are also limited in occurrence to colonial sites at low elevations of Chesapeake and Atlantic coastal regions. To date, only a handful have been identified archaeologically, including examples at Jamestown, and at sites along Virginia’s Eastern Shore, and in coastal Delaware (Nicholas Lucchetti, personal communication 2016; Morgan et al. 1997; Crane et al. 2016) (see Figures 4.49–4.52 and 6.2). The presence of Feature 64 (and nearby Feature 3, see Period II discussion) is consistent with early eighteenth-century activity at Site 44NR0009, and perhaps reflects fairly specialized carpentry skills and regional traditions passed down through generations.

The emerging picture of Site 44NR0009 suggests that it may have been multi-functional, having served as both a warehouse and as a slave quarter on the eastern outskirts of Newtown in



Figure 6.2. Site 44NR0009, pump and well lining components from Features 3 and 4.

Figure 6.3. Reassembling the Feature 3 well components at the WMCAR lab.



the immediate vicinity of the river during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Site 44NR0009 is noteworthy in that it yielded relatively little evidence of yard features (e.g., fencelines/enclosures, planting beds, etc.), or at least less than expected for a houselot in a densely occupied and planned town such as Jamestown or Hampton, for example (Higgins et al. 1993; Brown et al. 1990). Instead, the archaeological results suggest that the town lot occupied by Site 44NR0009 was characterized by relatively large areas of open space; perhaps part of a non-conforming lot(s) not unlike other lots (i.e., Landy/Hutchings, McClanahan) in Newtown. Instead of use as a residential property, however, the lack of archaeological evidence for intensive domestic occupation or activities suggests that Site 44NR0009 was maintained as a commercial lot occupied by enslaved workers, and then continued to serve as a quarter after the commercial use of the property had ended. Initial commercial use plus relatively ephemeral occupation of the site by slaves could explain the relative lack of site development, buildings (e.g., Structure 1) and other features oriented on a different alignment than the town grid, and the absence of archaeological evidence for Wharf Street, which may have been located to the south of Site 44NR0009 and perhaps never extended north beyond the intersection with West North West Street. Although there is not a lot of data at present to be certain of these suppositions, previous research indicates that the central block of Newtown to the west of Site 44NR0009 was developed and conformed to the town grid (Wittkofski et al. 1980). For example, the northeast-southwest orientation of Site 44NR0013's cellar (Feature 1) is consistent with this interpretation (Figure 6.4; see Figure 1.4). The location of Site 44NR0009 on the outer reaches of Newtown together with certain diagnostic artifacts in the site assemblage suggest that Site 44NR0009 was likely occupied by slaves, working and living within a warehouse complex in the vicinity of the waterfront just north-northeast of the commercial district, which was

most likely along Wharf Street and the waterfront proper. This interpretation is consistent with the core-periphery model of urban development, as discussed in Chapter 2, and is generally similar to the layout and internal structure in other early Virginia communities where some evidence exists of geographic separation between status groups, as well as separation between commercial and residential areas (Brown et al. 1990; Cressey and Stephens 1982; Cressey et al. 1982; Higgins et al. 1993). The data suggests that Site 44NR0009 continued to be occupied long after the warehouse was gone but it also suggests that activity on the site peaked in Period I (see Tables 4 and 6–8). The end of commercial activity on the site may have given the owner little incentive to develop the property beyond that of a quarter, though surprisingly some noteworthy investment was still made (see discussion of Feature 3 well apparatus, Period II).

SITE 44NR0009: PERIOD II (1750s–1770s)

Period II is characterized by the construction of additional buildings on the site (Structures 3 and 4), a well (Features 3 and 35–37), and evidence for the continuation of refuse disposal into abandoned features and filling of low spots as previously filled pit and cellar features subsided.

The presence of sub-floor storage pit features at Site 44NR0009 is likely indicative of the socioeconomic status of the occupants of the site, to the extent that there was any ephemeral domestic occupation. Sub-floor storage pit features are typically identified within the archaeological loci of early colonial earthfast or impermanent dwellings or slave quarters on seventeenth-through nineteenth-century domestic sites in the Chesapeake. Their presence on slave house sites, in particular, has been well documented in the region and includes examples from slave quarters at Kingsmill (Fesler 1997; Higgins et al 2015; Kelso 1984; Walsh 1997), Carter's Grove (Kelso 1971; Samford 1988; Walsh 1997), and Richneck Plantation (Franklin 1997; Samford

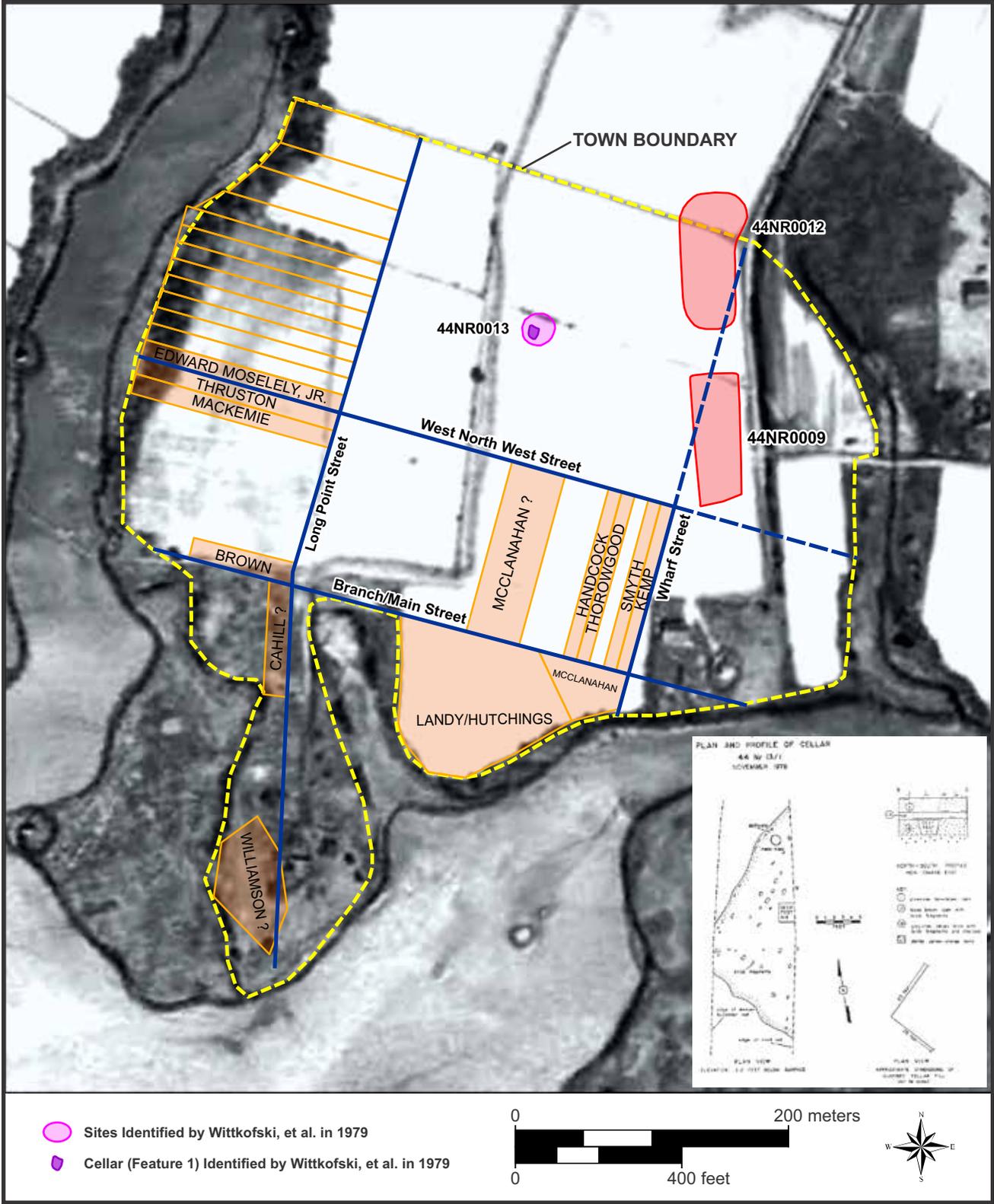


Figure 6.4. Layout of Newtown streets and selected lots based on descriptions in early deeds relative to georeferenced location of cellar (Feature 1) at Site 44NR0013 (Wittkofski et al. 1979:Figure 6); note similar orientation of Feature 1 and town grid.

1991). These pits were excavated under the floor into the ground and underlying clay and presumably covered with floor boards to create extra or hidden storage space within a dwelling or quarters. In general, they were constructed as rectangular or square holes that varied in size, depth, and number per structure. Sometimes the pits were lined with wood and had floors paved with brick, though many examples have been identified archaeologically that lack any evidence of lining. Documentary and archaeological evidence suggests that these features often served as general storage pits and for storing root vegetables and other foodstuffs. Household goods such as tools (e.g., hoes, trowels, and cutlery), illicit goods, and objects with spiritual significance were also sometimes stored in these sub-floor pits (Franklin 1997; Higgins et al. 2000:136; Kelso 1984:190, 191; Samford 1991:13).

Archaeologists identified four possible sub-floor pits (Features 6–8 and 40) attributable to Period II. Features 7 and 8 were square to roughly rectangular, and were aligned north-south, adjacent to Structure 1 on the west. Feature 40 lay about 1.5 m (4.92 ft.) west of Feature 7. The relatively close spacing between Features 7, 8, and 40 suggests a possibility that they could have been located under a single building (6 x 4 m [19.68 x 13.12 ft.]) (Structure 3). Given that no structural features (i.e., postholes, chimney bases, or structural foundation remains) were identified in close association with any of the sub-floor pit features, any associated dwelling or quarters likely took the form of a cabin or similar impermanent structure. Research has shown that log cabins were the most expedient and least costly form of slave housing that could be constructed, and these have been documented extensively on slave quarter sites in the region. Given that construction was impermanent and primarily above-ground, post-occupational plowing would mix and disturb any near-surface evidence, leaving sub-floor pit features as the only evidence of the buildings (Fesler et al. 2014; Franklin 1997; Higgins et al.

2000; Kelso 1984; Patrick 1989). The recovery of scratch blue white saltglaze stoneware (post-1744) from Features 8 and 40, and fruit/vegetable molded creamware-colored earthenware (post-1750) from Feature 7 suggest these features were abandoned late in Period I or early in period II, perhaps while Structure 1 was still standing.

Feature 6, located approximately 11 m (36 ft.) west of Features 7 and 8, was the largest of the three pits, and it also may have been associated with a stand-alone structure (Structure 4). This distinctly rectangular feature (3.12 x 1.12 m [10.2 x 6.7 ft.]) had relatively straight sides and a flat bottom, and was just shy of 30 cm (0.98 ft.) deep. The intensity of occupation represented in this feature is indicated by the recovery of over 500 domestic artifacts from the fill of Feature 6, including fragments of white saltglaze stoneware plates, Staffordshire slipware cups, Chinese porcelain saucers, dark green bottle glass, animal bone, a white clay tobacco pipe bowl, wrought nails, brick, and window glass. The presence of diagnostic cream-colored earthenware indicates that Feature 6 was abandoned after 1750, most likely during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

The remains of a wood-lined box well (Feature 3), surrounded by a distinctive builders' trench (Feature 35), were discovered approximately 5 m (16 ft.) to the east of Feature 6 (see Figures 4.4 and 4.39). The sandy clay builders' trench yielded, among other artifacts, a sherd of transfer printed tin-enameled earthenware fireplace tile, which dates the construction to post-1756, most likely during Period II in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The deposits filling Feature 3 suggest that the well was serviceable for 10 to 20 years before it went out of use (see Feature 3, Period III [1770–1820s]). The nature of the deposits and other feature characteristics suggest that portions of the pump apparatus, at least the part above the water table, were salvaged for reuse.

Deep within the well shaft, beginning at the level of groundwater (1.90 m [6.23 ft.] below



Figure 6.5. Historical sketch of colonial lift pump (Blondino and Gonzalez 2016).

ground surface), archaeologists discovered *in situ* wooden structural components of the well box or cribbing, fashioned out of white oak and in near-pristine condition due to the anaerobic environment below the water table. These included thick (4.5 cm [1.77 in.]) vertical tapered boards, each typically about 1.30 m (4.26 ft.) long, rectangular corner posts (approximately 12 x 9 cm [0.39 x 0.30 ft.]), and a heavy multi-piece square (82 cm [2.69 ft.] square) timber base. The boards likely abutted the outside of the timber base, positioned either along a “lip”/ledge, or the boards’ tapered ends were driven into the underlying clay subsoil at the bottom of the well shaft helping to anchor the well box in place. The cribbing was probably held together by wooden horizontal braces, as suggested by the pattern of 15-cm- (6-in.-) long spikes driven through the tapered sides of some of the boards. The base of the framework rested on the natural clay (subsoil) bottom of the shaft about 2.72 m (8.92 ft.) below surface and consisted of thick mortised-and-pegged hand-hewn

timbers (originally two timbers to a side) and fastened together by wooden pegs and large spikes (like those found in the boards). These were hewn to a circular shape on the interior (see Figures 4.40 and 4.43–4.46).

Resting vertically inside the base of the well box was a 1.03-m- (3.38-ft.-) long section of an octagonal wooden water pipe, or pump stock (i.e., part of a lift pump) made of either elm or gum. The pump stock has a bore diameter of 0.07 m (0.22 ft.), and was once joined with other components to bring water to

the surface by suction. This was the forerunner of iron, hand-operated lift pumps common during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Schroeder 1971) (Figures 6.5–6.6; see Figure 4.42). The bottom of pipe was plugged with wood to reduce the intake of sediment, and approximately 15 cm (0.50 ft.) above the base were two intake holes through which water was drawn into the pipe (see Figures 4.42, 4.54, and 5.14). The upper portion of the pipe was tapered to connect with an additional pipe section, making the whole apparatus as much as 3.65 m [12 ft.] long, extending above the ground surface to a pump handle. The pump would have had an interior wooden rod attached to the pump handle, and at the bottom of the rod was a wood piston with leather valves to create suction (Garland Wood, personal communication 2016) (see Figures 4.54 and 5.69).

It is possible that the wooden framework of the well lining (i.e., boards, corner posts, bracing, and base) was pre-fabricated. This pre-fabricated

Our sales on pumps during the past year has increased to lower prices than ever before, and following our usual custom of customers the benefit of this reduction, and it no doubt will be a materially reduced.

EUREKA ANTI-FREEZING LIFT PUMP

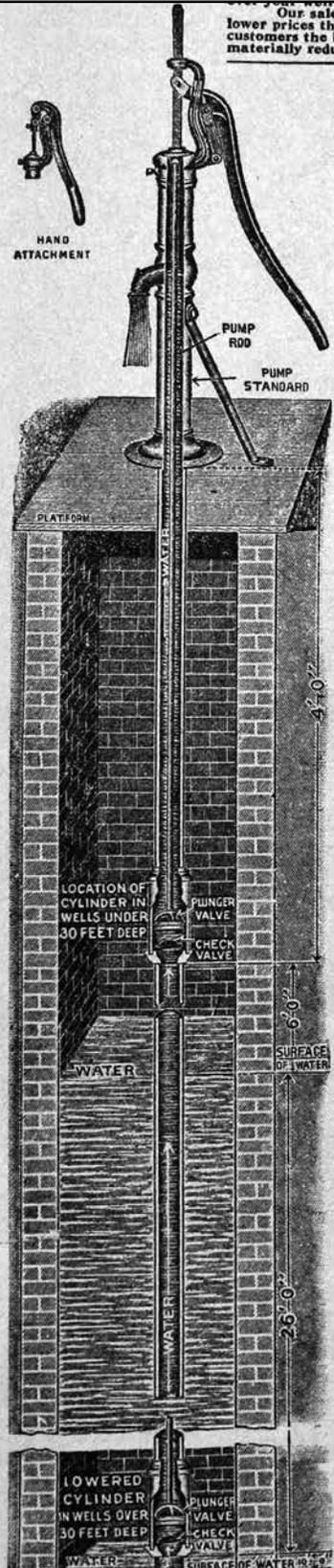
COMPLETE WITH GALVANIZED PIPE
FOR DUG OR OPEN
WELLS

In our EUREKA WINDMILL LIFT PUMP, as shown in this illustration, we offer you a pump suitable for dug or open wells with a heavy three joint revolving cap. All bearings are fitted with large, heavy turn pins, which will outwear a dozen ordinary bolts used in other makes of this style pump. It is fitted with a close top cap which prevents dirt, sticks, or gravel falling into the top or working valves of this pump. The set length screws into the pump at spot which leaves an air space between pipe and pump and prevents water freezing in winter time. The prices quoted below on these pumps are for pumps fitted with iron cylinder, but where well is over 30 feet deep we recommend the use of our brass body cylinder. This is a heavy, substantial pump, and we guarantee it to give good satisfaction in wells up to 80 feet deep when the cylinder is lowered for deep wells as shown in illustration. This pump is equipped with a swinging fulcrum which gives a much freer action when used by hand, and prevents cramping or binding when used in connection with the windmill. We furnish this pump with a heavy cast handle, a good substantial brace, and with 1 1/4-inch galvanized pipe. It is nicely painted in green and tinted in bronze. This pump is intended for use in dug or open wells and is intended to lift and not to force water. For such a well we can guarantee this pump to be equal to any pump on the market, and we know that anyone of our customers purchasing one of these outfits will be highly pleased with it. Do not hesitate to order this pump through fear you cannot set it in the well. We cut and thread the pipes and rods, and all you have to do is to screw the pipes and rods together, set it on your platform, and you are ready to pump water. We furnish this pump with a combination head and it can be used either to attach to a windmill or pumping by hand. If, however, you desire to purchase this pump for hand use only, with a top such as shown in the small illustration on this page, we can furnish it in this way, and if you desire your pump fitted in this manner, you can deduct 50 cents from the prices quoted below.

\$ 4.92
RE-
DUCED
FROM
\$5.24

THE PRICES quoted below are for complete outfits, pump, galvanized pipe, cylinder and rod all cut and threaded to the proper lengths, complete with a 3x10-inch iron cylinder, which is most commonly used. If, however, you desire a large quantity of water, we can furnish a 3 1/2-inch cylinder at 50 cents over prices quoted below.

- No. 42K5100 Pump and outfit complete for 10-foot well. Wt., 90 lbs. **\$4.92**
- No. 42K5101 Pump and outfit complete for 15-foot well. Wt., 102 lbs. **5.47**
- No. 42K5102 Pump and outfit complete for 20-foot well. Wt., 114 lbs. **6.02**
- No. 42K5103 Pump and outfit complete for 25-foot well. Wt., 126 lbs. **6.57**
- No. 42K5104 Pump and outfit complete for 30-foot well. Wt., 138 lbs. **7.87**
- No. 42K5105 Pump and outfit complete for 40-foot well. Wt., 174 lbs. **10.47**
- No. 42K5106 Pump and outfit complete for 50-foot well. Wt., 200 lbs. **13.57**



you desire to use this pump and allow 15 cents for each foot over the price quoted for the 50-foot well. For example: If your well is 75 feet deep, the price of the outfit would be as follows: Cost of 50-foot well, \$13.57; 25 feet extra at 15 cents a foot, \$4.00; or a total of \$17.57. The above prices are for pumps fitted with iron cylinders. We recommend the use of a brass body cylinder. If wanted with 3 1/2-inch brass body cylinder instead of the iron, add \$1.50 to above prices.

Figure 6.6. 1908 Sears and Roebuck advertisement for lift pump (Schroeder 1971).

wooden framework could have been dropped into the initial excavation of the well shaft and then driven down deeper into the shaft with mallets as the well shaft was excavated. This was followed by the installation of the pump apparatus, which was probably held in place by cross timbers inside the box frame (Garland Wood, personal communication 2016).

Mr. Garland Wood, Master Carpenter in the Historic Trades Department at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, observed that certain characteristics of the thick tapered boards associated with the well lining suggest that they may have been salvaged from a nearby shipyard, possibly a facility at Newtown, for reuse in the construction of the well. He also noted that the construction of the mortise-and-tenon base required a specialized degree of carpentry skill, which may have been part of a regional craft tradition of carpentry specifically associated with construction of wood-lined wells. The construction of the wooden pipe also represents a specialized craft and likely involved the use of a 3.65-m- (12-ft.-) long auger specially designed for this purpose, with the use of successively larger bits to achieve the desired bore diameter. Thus, the Feature 3 well apparatus reflects a significant level of investment by the occupants and/or property owner (Garland Wood, personal communication 2016; Crane et al. 2016). Such pumps have been discovered elsewhere in the region, including from a late eighteenth-century barrel well on a residential lot (44HT0038) along South King Street on the waterfront in historic Hampton, and from a mid-eighteenth-century stone-lined well at the site of the Armstrong-Rogers Farmstead in Delaware (Higgins et al. 1993; Crane et al. 2016; Delaware Department of Transportation 2017) (see Figures 4.53 and 4.54).

A synthetic review and analysis of 58 late seventeenth-century through early nineteenth-century wells excavated in Delaware was undertaken by VERSAR, Inc. in 2007 for the Delaware Department of Transportation (Crane et al.

2016; Delaware Department of Transportation 2017). Several apparent trends were noted in this study that may have relevance to the wells at Site 44NR0009, Site 44NR0012, and other colonial sites in the Tidewater region. For example, they found that the construction of wood-lined square or box wells was a construction technique most common up until the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and that these wells were often relatively shallow. Shallow wells tended to become fouled more frequently than did those lined with stone or brick. Accordingly, early sites with wells of this type tend to have more well features per site than those with stone- or brick-lined wells (Crane et al. 2016). The results of the study also indicate that there is a general trend over time towards increased or more widespread use of brick-lined wells instead of wood-lined wells across all socioeconomic classes. Given the archaeological evidence that the Period II well (Feature 3) was constructed in the mid-eighteenth century, its builders were using traditions that may have been passed down to them, and relying on whatever materials were on-hand and most economical, perhaps scavenged from a nearby shipyard or other facility because of a lack of access to brick. This phenomenon of using older construction methods and reused materials in the mid-century well is similar to the use of stacked barrels that was documented in wells dating far into the nineteenth century at domestic sites along historic Hampton's waterfront (Higgins et al. 1993; Lucchetti and Lutton 2004). In addition, Feature 3 may have been a replacement for earlier well Feature 64, but upgraded or modernized with a lift pump whose housing likely enclosed the well, helping to keep it more sanitary and perhaps extending its use life (see Figure 6.4).

SITE 44NR0009: PERIOD III (1770s–1820s)

The number and distribution of features and the types of artifacts recovered suggest less intensive activity on the site during the late eighteenth century compared to the earlier periods. The

documentary record indicates that this period corresponds to the decline of Newtown beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which may go a long way towards explaining the evidence of abandonment of wells and structures (coupled with evidence of the dumping of trash) in the archaeological record.

Feature 3 was most likely constructed late in Period II and had ceased functioning by the time of the American Revolution or soon thereafter, based on ceramic evidence from construction and abandonment deposits (see Chapter 4). When first identified at the plowzone-subsoil interface, Feature 3 appeared to be circular in plan (6.86 m [2.82 ft.] in diameter). Subsequent excavation deeper into the feature, however, revealed that the well shaft was 1.40 m (4.59 ft.) square and had distinctive corners like its predecessor, Feature 64 (see Figures 4.37–4.39). As Stratum I was excavated and the feature was revealed in profile, it became apparent that the top of the well shaft had been expanded (creating its circular appearance) at the time of its abandonment and filling, which may have been in an effort to salvage part of the valuable lift pump and/or other well components.

Well fill (Strata I and II) consisted of variations of brown silty clay mixed with eighteenth-century artifacts. Stratum II extended to just over 3 m (9.84 ft.) below ground surface, where it bottomed out on a wooden well ring, as previously described. These abandonment deposits yielded nearly 200 artifacts, including pieces of metal, bottle glass ceramics, animal bone, well-preserved wood and leather shoe fragments, and handmade bricks (including an intact, 1-m- (3.3-ft.-) long section of a brick foundation). The presence of this redeposited section of foundation, in particular, suggests that at least some refuse was brought in from off-site, perhaps from another Newtown lot nearby where a brick structure had been recently razed, and used to fill the abandoned well dur-

ing the documented period of the town's decline around the period of the American Revolution.

Feature 9 represents traces of a ditch 21 m (68.89 ft.) south of Feature 3, and about 11 m (36.08 ft.) south of Feature 1. The trench measures 0.55 m (1.80 ft.) wide, and ranges from 0.08 to 0.15 m (0.26 to 0.49 ft.) deep. Its dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy silty fill yielded a piece of pearlware, and little else. The presence of this ceramic type indicates that the ditch was filled after 1780, most likely during either the last two decades of the eighteenth century or in the early nineteenth century. Feature 9, along with other features, speaks to the evolution of landscape and site structure at Site 44NR0009. This feature is aligned roughly the same as well Features 3 and 64, slightly northwest-southeast, similar to the town grid. The latter orientation contrasts with that of Feature 1, which is oriented east-west. The different orientations of these features may indicate different periods of construction and/or different degrees of adherence to the town plan.

SITE 44NR0009: GENERAL EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In general, there was relatively little archaeological evidence of fencelines at Site 44NR0009, though several clusters of fence postholes were discovered in the northern half of the site adjacent to the Feature 4 complex on the east. Artifacts recovered from the fill of the postholes included wrought nails, which suggests that these posthole features could all only be dated generally to the eighteenth century. Several of the features were roughly aligned north-south, though none of these linear alignments extended for any distance long enough across the site to indicate that they might represent interpretable boundary lines or substantial enclosures. Also, none of the postholes had evidence of repaired or replaced posts, which suggests that any associated fencelines were relatively impermanent. Overall, the data suggests insubstantial fences, some of which may have shifted in their locations over time.

SITE 44NR0012: PERIOD I (1720s–1750s)

Archaeological evidence indicates that Site 44NR0012 was occupied over the course of the same period of time as Site 44NR0009 and most likely had a similar function. The earliest features at Site 44NR0012 include two cellars (representing remains of Structures 1 and 2), a ditch, sub-floor pits, and a fenceline. The similar alignment of these features to Structure 1 (Feature 1) at Site 44NR0009 suggests that early on, these sites may have fronted either a property boundary and/or a road on the east, in the vicinity of current South Newtown Road. Based on the documentary information, however, such a road would most likely not have been Wharf Street (which would have been further to the west), but rather a service road for the building complex and occupants at Site 44NR0012 and its neighbor, Site 44NR0009, to the south (see Figures 3.5 and 4.63). While the overall organization and content of the two sites is similar, the major features at Site 44NR0012 are more tightly clustered than at Site 44NR0009 (see Figure 4.63). This clustering is reminiscent of the site structure of seventeenth-century farmstead complexes where day-to-day activities tended to be focused within and around a dwelling and several outbuildings clustered immediately adjacent (Edwards et al. 1989; Higgins et al. 2000). Except for Features 11 and 12, which might have been small sub-floor pits associated with a structure (Structure 3), there was little archaeological evidence for substantial site development and/or use immediately west of Structures 1 and 2. Most subsurface features and cultural deposits were concentrated in the same 126 m² (1,356 ft.²) area as Structures 1 and 2, and bounded on the east by the eighteenth-century ditch (Feature 8), with the exception of evidence for short segments of fenceline and two square, shallow pits (Features 11 and 12) located just southwest of Structures 1 and 2. Features 11 and 12 were aligned with each other, measuring 0.72 m (2.36 ft.) square and 0.67 m (2.20 ft.) square, respectively. These may represent remnants of sub-floor pits that were

associated with an impermanent cabin or quarter. If so, the spacing of the pits suggest the dimension of the cabin may have been approximately 6 x 4 m (20 x 13 ft.). Typically, such features can be the only archaeological evidence of this type of impermanent structure that survives intact below the plowzone. As previously noted, log cabins were the most common type of housing provided to slaves by other owners in the eighteenth century because the cabins were inexpensive and easily built (Fesler et al. 2014:28; Patrick 1989). The diagnostic artifacts recovered from the sub-floor pits and the fenceline postholes can be dated no more specifically than to the eighteenth century. Therefore, based on artifacts alone it's not possible to assign these features to any one of the three periods of activity and occupation. The fact that the orientation of Features 11 and 12 is in alignment with Structures 1 and 2, however, suggests they may be contemporaneous and date to Period I.

Site 44NR0012 was a relatively small complex occupied over the course of a century. Indirect evidence (i.e., cellar fill deposits from Features 10 and 6) suggests that Structures 1 and 2 were contemporary, and that they were probably constructed early in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and likely abandoned either during the second or early third quarters of that century (i.e., Period I) (see Figures 4.63–4.65). Structures 1 and 2 measured 5.70 x 4.20 m (18.70 x 13.77 ft.) and 7.5 x 6 m (24.60 x 19.68 ft.), respectively, and both probably stood on ground laid sills, given that there was no evidence of a masonry foundation or large structural postholes. There is no archaeological evidence that either of the structures was heated. There was no evidence of brick or daub chimneys, hearths, nor scorched or otherwise heat-altered patches of soil to indicate the former location of a hearth. Though unheated, Structure 2 may have had casement windows and finished walls, based upon the recovery of window glass, turned lead, and plaster. However, it is also possible that some of these items were brought in

as refuse from some other building in Newtown and deposited into the cellar of Structure 2 after its abandonment (see Site 44NR0012 Period II discussion). Structure 2 (and its counterpart, Structure 1 at Site 44NR0009) has an archaeological footprint that is remarkably similar to several large buildings found at Site 44HT39 along Hampton's waterfront, which are believed to have been associated with early eighteenth-century commercial activities (Higgins et al. 1993:186–191).

Features 10 and 6 are cellars associated with Structures 1 and 2, respectively (see Figures 4.63–4.66 and 4.91–4.93). These revealed a unique progression of artifact-laden fill deposits that correspond to major events in the evolution of Site 44NR0012. The earliest abandonment deposits, Stratum III in Feature 10 and Stratum IV in Feature 6, most likely came from collapsed cellar walls mixed with a modest quantity of artifacts discarded into the features. Beneath these deposits, archaeologists found indications of cellar floors, though no discreet, occupation-related deposits were distinguishable. Stratum IV in Structure 2 yielded a modest quantity of domestic artifacts compared to overlying deposits, but contained a fairly substantial amount of architectural items, particularly window glass, which likely reflects the deterioration of the building. These items were recovered from silty clay and sandy clay deposits that either collapsed and/or were dumped into the cellar. There were no indications of obvious rain wash deposits in either Features 6 or 10.

The characteristics and content of the cellars and pits (Structures 1–3) offer indications of site function. As previously noted, the sub-floor pits that represent Structure 3 suggest that it may have been a small slave cabin. Structure 1, an early cellared building adjacent to Structure 2 on the south, may have served as a slave dwelling as well, given that fragments of colonoware bowls were recovered from the cellar fill deposits, and this is a ware type in a vessel form that is often

attributable to slaves (see discussion of Material Culture and Foodways).

Structure 2 was substantially larger than Structures 1 and 3, and it revealed a few other intriguing clues that may point to its function. For example, archaeologists identified several small posthole-like features in the bottom of the cellar (Feature 6), which could represent either support posts, or sump holes. Also the bottom of the cellar was significantly lower on the eastern half than on the west, which (along with the sump holes) may have helped to facilitate drainage. The northeast corner of the cellar contained a distinctive, subsoil ramp that descended into the feature at a 45 degree angle from the surface, and presumably was used to wheel-barrow out dirt during construction and/or served as a cellar access during the life of the building (see Figure 4.72). The presence of the ramp and the uneven floor suggests that either the cellar was unfinished or that it served for storage beneath a utilitarian building, and there was no incentive to improve or finish the cellar if used only for informal storage space. The ramp would have facilitated the movement of casks and barrels into and out of the basement, while the lower level of the floor would have provided much needed drainage, given the low elevation of the site. However, the ramp's location, within a meter of ditch Feature 8, suggests that either Structure 2 and the ditch (possibly serving as a boundary ditch) were not contemporary, or perhaps the ramp was used solely for construction purposes of the cellar, as previously noted, and the ramp was not used as an access into the cellar when the building was in use.

Given the nature and organization of the major features at Site 44NR0012 on the outskirts of Newtown, and within a couple of hundred meters north of Wharf Street, they may represent the remains of an early warehouse/storehouse complex in the midst of a slave quarter that was active in the first half of the eighteenth century.

SITE 44NR0012: PERIOD II (1750s–1770s)

Evidence suggests that early in Period II (ca. 1750s–1770s), the long-deteriorating shell of the warehouse (Structure 2) either collapsed or was torn down and much of it may have fallen into the cellar, as suggested by the abundance of nails, window glass, window lead, door locks, and hinges. The architectural remains were recovered from within thick, ashy deposits mixed with thousands of domestic artifacts, such as ceramics, bottle glass, animal bones, and oyster shells (see Chapter 5, Artifact Descriptions) (see Figures 4.77, 5.20, 5.38, 5.46, 5.54, and 5.58). Many of the artifacts occur as either large fragments or in some instances nearly complete objects. This suggests that the cellar was filled with primary refuse deposits discarded directly from a kitchen or household, as opposed to secondary deposits derived from heavily trampled yard trash scatters. When considered in light of the wagon rut features identified near Feature 6, the characteristics of the primary refuse deposits suggest that refuse was purposefully brought in by wagon and dumped into the cellar, together with the refuse of site occupants.

As previously noted, a possible slave dwelling (Structure 1, represented by cellar Feature 10) may have co-existed with the warehouse (Structure 2 [Feature 6]), as it was located only a few meters to the south, and appears to have been abandoned about the same time as the initial filling of the Structure 2 cellar. Archaeological evidence suggests that despite the abandonment of Structures 1 and 2, activity continued at Site 44NR0012 into the third quarter of the eighteenth century and beyond. This is indicated by a brick-lined well (Feature 34) that intruded the northwest corner of Structure 1 (Feature 10, Stratum III), and two contiguous slot trenches (Features 38 and 42) that cut the western and southern edges of Stratum III in Feature 10.

Feature 34 was 1.10 m (3.60 ft.) in diameter, and ultimately proved to be 2.59 m (8.49 ft.) deep. Feature 34 was distinguished from the box

wells at neighboring Site 44NR0009 by the fact that it was circular, and was constructed of reused bricks atop a wooden well ring, which the archaeologists discovered beneath the bottom course of brick (see Figure 4.108). The well ring consisted of 0.07-m- (0.23-ft.-) thick curved oak boards/planks that appeared to have been either nailed or mortised together. The ring likely served as the first element in the construction. As has been documented elsewhere in the Tidewater and beyond, when constructing a brick-lined well, colonial well diggers either dug a well shaft and then built the well lining from the bottom up or, more typically, laid the wooden ring on the ground surface along with courses of brick, and then mined soil from the interior of the well, and from beneath the ring and around it, while laying additional courses of brick. In so doing, the weight of the brickwork carry the lining downward (Noel Hume 1969). Feature 34 was constructed of recycled rectangular bricks, many of which had pieces of mortar attached to them. These were likely obtained from nearby abandoned buildings in Newtown. Feature 34 may have been in use for at least 30 years or more based upon the age of its abandonment deposits (see Feature 34, Period III).

Apparent slot trenches cut through the outer edge of Feature 10 (Stratum III) on the south and west sides of that feature, and then tied into postholes at the southwest corner of Feature 10 and the west side of the well. These distinctive features may be partial remnants of either a board fence or wattle and daub enclosure, or the sides of a small structure built over the archaeological footprint of Structure 1 after Structure 1 had been abandoned and razed. The mottled, iron-stained characteristics of Stratum III (which indicates that the soil was mixed and perpetually wet) suggests that the one-time cellar pit may have served as an animal wallow, and was next to a convenient water source, the brick-lined well (Feature 34). The pit was eventually abandoned, filled with refuse, and then apparently after the initial fill deposits had settled and created a surface depression, ad-

ditional refuse was deposited at about the time of the American Revolution.

SITE 44NR0012: PERIOD III (1770s–1820s)

The intensity of occupation slowed considerably in Period III, based upon the lack of features and much lower density and quantity of artifacts dating to this period. Nonetheless, archaeologists found subsurface evidence of a Period III structure represented by features intruding Stratum I of Feature 10 on the immediate east side of the well. These features consist of faint remnants of linear stains that may represent subsurface remains of a ground-laid sill. The associated building (Structure 4) was a small (3.80 x 3.40 m [12.46 x 11.15 ft.]), unheated structure. The sill features cut into Period II deposits, indirect evidence that Structure 4 dates to Period III (1770s–1820s), and that it was contemporary with the still serviceable well, and perhaps even enclosed it (see Figure 4.91). It was during this period that there was a final capping episode (Stratum I) in adjacent Feature 6 (Structure 2), as earlier deposits in that feature had apparently settled and subsided creating a surface depression.

As previously described, well Feature 34 was constructed during Period II after the abandonment of Structures 1 and 2, and was contemporary with Structure 4. This brick-lined feature, 1.10 m (3.60 ft.) wide and 2.59 m (8.49 ft.) deep, served as a convenient receptacle for Period III trash (i.e., after the well was abandoned). Its brick rubble-laden deposits (Strata I and II) yielded over 1,000 artifacts. Recovered items include pieces of leather shoes, wood, and plant remains from water-logged deposits approximately 1.78 m (5.83 ft.) below ground surface. The array of seeds indicates a yard environment where opportunistic weeds flourished, and the presence of fragments of white oak and southern pine indicates that wood derived from forests in the immediate region was used for fuel and/or construction needs. These organic remains were found in association with molded creamware, which indicates that the well stopped

being used soon after the turn of the nineteenth century, nearly a generation after the abandonment of Structures 1 and 2 and the beginning of economic decline of Newtown on the eve of the American Revolution. The abundance of bricks recovered from the deposits filling the well (totaling over 1,300 kg [2,866 lb.]), together with the fact that a considerable portion of the brick lining of the well was extant and undisturbed, suggests there was never any concerted effort to return to the well after it had been filled to scavenge for brick or other materials as had been indicated in the box well feature at Site 44NR0009. The absence of any evidence of post-occupational scavenging into the filled well (Feature 34) during Period III is consistent with the larger decline and abandonment of Newtown during the early nineteenth century.

The site structure, feature content, and artifacts documented at Site 44NR0012 suggest that it was a multi-functional site like neighboring Site 44NR0009 to the south. Specifically, the results of data recovery indicate that the site was occupied by a warehouse associated with maritime trade as well as a slave quarter, which stood on the northeastern outskirts of Newtown beginning in the first quarter of the eighteenth century (with domestic activity and occupation lasting long after abandonment and destruction of the largest and earliest structures on the site, until the first decade or so of the nineteenth century). Such a scenario is not unlikely, given the significant role of enslaved men, in particular, as a source of labor in area industry, services, and trade (Nicholls 1990). As researcher Michael Nicholls noted,

The shipbuilding industry in southern Hampton Roads.....contributed larger numbers and proportions of men to the slave population in and around Norfolk....Other seemingly small but numerous operations collectively helped to build the gender balance in Norfolk's [enslaved] population. Near to the wharves on the western side of town, Stephen Tankard, a licensed tavern operator, paid taxes on four men and eight women, but also ran a ferry service across the

Elizabeth River with ten slave men. Elsewhere on the docks repairing ships, and unloading and dispatching cargoes required hired day laborers and jobbers who were drawn from a pool of slave men (Nicholls 1990:7).

The archaeology suggests that substantial warehouse operations at Sites 44NR0012 and 44NR0009 had likely either subsided or ended by the 1750s–1760s, decades before domestic occupation of the slave quarter did. Though long-since gone by the time of the American Revolution, large storage buildings such as those indicated for Period I on Site 44NR0012 and on Site 44NR0009 may have remained in the collective memory as early landmarks in the community, which may explain the erroneous depiction of such buildings on the eastern edge of town on a 1781 period map (see Figure 3.7).

Unlike Site 44NR0009, the similar orientation of major features at Site 44NR0012 throughout the eighteenth century, and possibly aligned with an eighteenth-century road (precursor of South Newtown Road) on the east, suggests the resources of Site 44NR0012 did not deviate significantly from each other over time and, like portions of Site 44NR0009, developed independently of the town plan. In contrast to Site 44NR0012, activities at Site 44NR0009 may have been more intensive and expansive than at Site 44NR0012, and perhaps reflecting the convergence of more than one backlot, where shifts in the orientation of yard features could more easily occur, as suggested by the archaeology (Wittkofski et al. 1979).

Over the course of the occupational span on Site 44NR0012 a generation or two of slaves may have lived in Structures 1, 3 and 4, and perhaps even resided within the warehouse (Structure 2), which would not have been uncommon (Chappell 1982). By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the colonial period warehouse and its early adjoining dwelling (Structure 1) had long-since vanished. Use of the land that had been occupied by Newtown gradually reverted to agriculture, though the site was still occupied as a quarter by

slaves who continued to work in the area after large-scale abandonment of Newtown.

Material Culture and Foodways

The thousands of artifacts recovered from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 have much to tell us about the household activities, socioeconomic status, personal items, and foodways of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century inhabitants of Newtown (Wittkofski et al. 1979; Monroe and Lewes 2010). The data suggest, however, that some of these assemblages (e.g., Feature 6 at Site 12 and Feature 3 at Site 44NR0009) may be mixed with non-resident deposits, which presents limitations to the interpretation of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Nonetheless, the results of artifact analyses provide important insights into eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century life in this community.

The specific research questions to be addressed include the following:

1. Does the material culture and foodways at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012, as alluded to in the previous section, reflect a particular socioeconomic class(es) and/or ethnicity of the occupants (i.e., gentry, middling, or enslaved) based on the archaeological existence of diet, ceramic vessel attributes, and the presence or absence of other artifact types?
2. Does the data indicate the presence of a household(s), and evidence of gender and/or age?

SITE 44NR0009: PERIOD I (1720s–1750s)

The historical context of Newtown in the early eighteenth century is one of bustling commercial activity and development. As the town took shape, especially along Wharf Street in the vicinity of project area, this likely had an effect on the intensity of occupation and the material culture of the occupants at Site 44NR0009 (see Chapters 3 and 5). As described in Chapter 5, Site 44NR0009 yielded a collection of 5,403 artifacts. The Period

I assemblage accounts for 78% of these objects. The vast majority (90%) of recovered Period I items are kitchen- and architectural-related items, followed by lesser amounts of smoking (3%), and medicinal/hygiene artifacts (1%). Artifacts grouped into the clothing, personal, furniture, and arms functional groups represent less than one percent of the total Period I assemblage. In general, these proportions are consistent with most eighteenth-century domestic sites in the region, including slave quarters (Higgins et al. 1993; Higgins et al. 2015; Kelso 1984).

Several of the items in the Period I collection reflect the gender and/or age of the occupants, and specific activities. For example, the presence of carpentry-related tools indicates wood working, a task that was usually performed by males. These objects may have been used to construct the buildings on this and other Newtown sites, as well as the wooden components of the box well (Feature 64). The whirligig, fashioned out of a piece of scrap lead, may have belonged to a child and represents one of the few toys recovered. The numerous cooking- and food preparation-related items suggest the presence of females, and finally, the book clasp suggests that some of the occupants were literate (Hallam 2004; Walsh 1997). Although the type of book is unknown, it may have been a bible, which was not uncommon in households during the colonial period (Horne 1994). Again, many of these items, at least in modest amounts, are not uncommon on most eighteenth-century domestic sites in the region. Perhaps more unusual was the recovery of cat and dog remains at Site 44NR0009, which suggests these households may have even owned pets or at least kept such animals as companions to help meet specialized needs such as pest control, hunting, security, etc. Taken together, the assemblage suggests that Site 44NR0009 was occupied by households (as opposed to occupation by day laborers, merchants, or craftsmen), a supposition supported by the range of domestic artifacts recovered and the remains of dwellings.

In addition, an assortment of food- and drink-related ceramics are associated with Period I occupation. These offer insights into the socio-economic status of the occupants of the site and/or their access to such consumer goods over time. For example, the ceramic assemblage yielded a minimum of 75 vessels (62 of which were identifiable to functional groups), or 54% of the 139 ceramic vessels identified for the site as a whole, and ranks high among other eighteenth-century assemblages (see Tables 13 and 17; Chapter 5). This substantial number of vessels likely reflects intense occupation during the first half of the eighteenth century. More generally, this is consistent with the trend in the history of Newtown's settlement whereby in the latter half of the century the town was in economic decline, but more specifically, it may reflect the occupants' access to ceramics and other goods given their location either within, or near, the commercial district of Newtown and the nature of their work along the waterfront and at warehouses. The evidence suggests that the occupants had assorted plates, dishes, and other forms, but relied most heavily on vessels associated with beverage serving and consumption, including tea/coffee drinking, which constitutes 53% (n=33) of the identifiable vessel assemblage (see Table 12). Ware types and vessel forms consist mostly of coarse earthenware, Staffordshire slipware, and tin-enameled earthenware bowls, plates, and dishes (see Figures 5.3–5.7). The majority of bowls (n=8, 80%) are beverage related (e.g., punch bowls, tea bowls), and were used in punch and tea ceremonies that became increasingly more important for entertaining and/or as status indicators, even to households of modest means, over the course of the eighteenth century (Breen 2012). Teaware constitutes 13 percent of the assemblage, and includes tea bowls, saucers, and a teapot. These vessels are made of tin-enameled earthenware, cream-colored earthenware, white saltglaze stoneware, and Chinese porcelain. The relatively low quantity of punch bowls in the Period I assemblage is consistent with ownership

by a middling household during the eighteenth century (Breen 2012:94) (see Site 44NR0012, Period II material culture discussion). The overall small number of vessels in Period I and the absence of matched sets suggests the occupants' ceramics may have been purchased piecemeal over time, an acquisition pattern usually attributed with lower status individuals or households.

Only three percent of the total food/beverage-related assemblage of vessels recovered from Site 44NR0009 consists of bowls (i.e., two coarse earthenware bowls), a proportion of bowls to plates that is inconsistent with the pattern that is more typically associated with assemblages from slave sites, where the interpretation is that slaves were consuming soups and stews instead of roasts and steaks. If the occupants of Site 44NR0009 were indeed slaves, the unusually low proportion of bowls to plates in the vessel assemblage could reflect the possibility that they had access to solid foods as opposed to a reliance on a liquid-based diet such as stews, and their proximity to Newtown may have had bearing on their diet. Accessibility to a wider range of foodstuffs in local markets may also have reduced their need for long-term food storage, which is typically low (as evident by a lack of storage-related vessels such as jars and pots) on slave quarter sites where provisions were supplied largely by their masters.

The early occupants of Site 44NR0009, and perhaps subsequent inhabitants as well, relied on a variety of foodstuffs, including domesticated and wild animals, wild plant foods, and farm crops. The data suggests that they consumed mostly beef and pork. For the beef portion of their diet, the cuts usually represented body elements (the most preferable cuts), as opposed to head and feet, although these less expensive cuts were still significant in their diet (see Appendix B). Kill-off patterns suggest that older cattle were first used as milking cows and then butchered for meat when their milk production decreased. The occupants may have obtained fresh meat from their

own animals, a market in Newtown, or a nearby plantation(s) (Brown et al. 1990). The lack of archaeological evidence for animal pens at Site 44NR0009 suggests an offsite source, although they may have allowed some of their domesticated animals (i.e., pigs) to go unrestrained, at least early in Period I occupation. By the late 1740s, however, free range animals, namely hogs, had apparently become a nuisance in Newtown and an ordinance was passed that all hogs be penned (*Virginia Gazette* 4/17/1746, p. 3, col. 1) (see Chapter 3).

The evidence suggests that the occupants' meat diet was supplemented by some wild animals such as raccoons and birds, as evidenced by the types of bones recovered. Consistent with these results, is the bird shot retrieved from the soil flotation samples, which indicates that the occupants had access to firearms and hunted. Despite legal restrictions, planters condoned gun ownership by their trusted slaves for the protection of plantation assets and hunting (Morgan 1998: 139, 389–390; Samford 1996:96). In the case of Site 44NR0009, the owner may have allowed gun ownership at the quarter for hunting, as well as for the protection of his warehouse and its contents.

Oysters were a significant part of their diet as well. The characteristics of the hundreds of oyster shells left behind tell a fascinating story of environment, procurement, and consumption (see Appendix D). For example, the shells' characteristics reflect mostly deep water oyster beds in a geographically focused area, such as the Elizabeth River and its environs. Deep water harvesting requires a greater degree of technical knowledge and the use of specialized tools like watercrafts and oyster tongs. The considerable uniformity in the Newtown assemblage suggests a well-developed oyster provisioning system as part of the market economy in the local area, not the result of individual or site specific harvesting activities. The analyses indicate that the oysters were prepared for consumption mainly by shucking, suggesting

that they may have been consumed raw, or opened raw for further preparation. Very few (3%) show evidence of burning or roasting.

Archaeologists recovered the charred remains of plant foods in Features 1, 4, and 5, including maize kernels and black walnuts (see Appendix C). These plant remains suggest the site occupants had access to farm crops, supplied to the occupants or grown in kitchen gardens, as well as nuts harvested as a food source.

If indeed the Period I occupants of Site 44NR0009 were slaves who lived and worked at the site of a warehouse/storehouse, the significant presence of beverage related vessels and other ceramic forms is not too unusual, as these are often well-represented in slave assemblages, especially among those who may have had greater access to ceramics via their masters and/or their own initiative through barter or direct purchase. As active participants in the market economy, they may have been able to acquire a range of household and personal items, including some status-related goods, from river traffic, as well as from merchants in Newtown and nearby Norfolk, some of whom may have been their owners (Heath 1999; Higgins et al. 2000; Fesler et al. 2014). “Fashionability increasingly informed conceptions of what equipment was needed to live the good life...and changes in fashion encouraged acquisition of ever newer goods,” to the extent possible within their economic means (Carr and Walsh 1989:43).

SITE 44NR0009: PERIOD II (1750s–1770s)

This period marks the transition of the site from a large warehouse/storehouse complex to less intensively occupied collection of smaller buildings (some perhaps holdovers from the earlier period), which may have served as slave dwellings. Recovered artifacts (n=956) represent only about one-third of those attributed to Period I and, except for a few sub-assemblages discussed below, are far less diverse (see Table 7).

The significant decline in the minimum number of identified ceramic vessels (n=43) mirrors the

decrease in activity on the site suggested by the artifact numbers but also different trends in ceramic acquisition patterns. For example, a comparison of ware types in Periods I and II indicate that Period II occupants had proportionally more than twice the coarsewares than the earlier occupants, and had fewer refined earthenwares, which suggests the use of more utilitarian ceramics and/or basic tablewares (i.e., pans, jars, bowls, cups, mugs) during this latter period. Nonetheless, durable and stylish white saltglaze stoneware occurs in significantly higher proportions of the assemblage in Period II relative to Period I, but with far less tin-enameled earthenware and Staffordshire slipware than in the earlier period (see Figure 5.13).

Ceramic functional groups in Period II are proportionally dissimilar to Period I. Beverage serving/ consumption-related vessels and food serving/consumption vessels are less pervasive than in Period I, though food/beverage storage vessels are represented in about the same proportion as Period I. Teaware (i.e., saucers, tea bowls) is proportionally 2.5 times that of Period I. This suggests that despite a general downward trend in activity and goods acquisition, the consumption of tea may have increased, which is consistent with greater participation in the tea ceremony by most socioeconomic groups, including enslaved African Americans, as the eighteenth century progressed.

Although derived from among the smallest bone samples from Site 44NR0009, the Period II data shows greater variability in diet than in Period I. It consisted of beef, pork, fish (e.g., shark), raccoon, as well as other types of foods such as eggs and oysters. As in Period I, cattle provided most of the usable meat, followed by swine, and sheep/goat.

The overall diminished picture of Period II material culture contrasts with consumer trends in the region that begin in the mid-eighteenth century. Historian Lorena Walsh (1997:149) notes that “from the 1750s Chesapeake colonists were inundated with an unprecedented flow of nones-

sential consumer goods, including a wide variety of textiles, ceramic dining wares, cutlery, mirrors, and time pieces, some of which free families, middling and poor as well as rich, eagerly embraced, for reasons of both practicality and social unity. Such goods began to appear on slave quarters as well...". At Site 44NR0009, downturn in activity may correspond to changes in the focus of site activities, site function, and/or the composition of households on the eve of economic decline of Newtown.

SITE 44NR0009: PERIOD III (1770s–1820s)

Period III at Site 44NR0009 is characterized by limited material culture compared to the earlier periods, which is consistent with the lack of period building remains, and the historically documented general decline in activity in Newtown beginning in the late eighteenth century (see Chapter 3). All Period III artifacts, except for a piece of pearlware recovered from a boundary ditch (Feature 9), came from well Feature 3. The well was abandoned after 1770, most likely around the turn of the nineteenth century, or soon thereafter. As described in Chapter 4, the excavation of abandonment deposits in this feature yielded nearly 200 artifacts, including pieces of metal straps, bottle glass, ceramics, tobacco pipes, animal bone, wood, shoe leather, and over 91kg (200 lb.) of handmade bricks. The brick assemblage includes a 1-m- (3.3-ft.-) long section of a brick foundation, likely a dumped remnant of one of Newtown's early buildings. This unique find, in the context of this site where no brick structures were found, attests to the fluid nature of this community's development, decline, and eventual abandonment, even beyond the town's core. It suggests also that the domestic refuse recovered from the fill of the well may not necessarily be associated with the occupation of Site 44NR0009, but rather some other property in Newtown, and brought in and dumped into the well along with the brick rubble, after Site 44NR0009 was abandoned around the turn of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the

nature of this assemblage provides some insight into the material culture of Newtown's residents during this period. For example, the evidence reflects similar trends in ceramic acquisition patterns established in earlier periods at Site 44NR0009. Although only a minimum of 13 ceramic vessels was recovered, these represent common types and forms widely available for most all socioeconomic groups. This assemblage consists mostly (62%, n=8) of unidentified forms, but with a significant (38%) presence of beverage-related vessels, namely teaware, which comprises nearly one quarter of the total vessel group, and is proportionally highest of the three periods of occupation. This is consistent with greater participation in the tea ceremony by most status groups (including enslaved African Americans) as the century progressed (see Table 13).

It is noteworthy that food preparation/cooking and beverage/food storage vessel forms (i.e., pans, jars, jugs) are not present in the Period III vessel assemblage. As in earlier periods, the low percentages of these functional groups, if present at all, suggests that food provisioning was provided by an outside source, such as a slave owner. Evidence indicates that beef, pork, and oysters were included in their diet. Cattle and swine were the only species of animals identified in what was the smallest of the Site 44NR0009 period assemblages. Nonetheless, cattle remained the most important meat in their diet.

SITE 44NR0012: PERIOD I (1720s–1750s)

As previously discussed, the early eighteenth-century landscape at Site 44NR0012 was characterized by at least four structures. This complex, located approximately 175 m (574 ft.) to the north of the projected location of the intersection of Wharf Street and West North West Street, included a large building (very similar to Structure 1 at Site 44NR0009) that may have functioned as a warehouse/storehouse (Structure 2), a smaller contiguous structure that may have served as a slave dwelling (Structure 1), and indications of

other possible structures (Structures 3 and 4) that may have been slave cabins.

Household goods attributed to the earliest period consist of just over 1,000 artifacts. These came primarily from the initial abandonment deposit, an ashy loam (Stratum IV) at the bottom of the fill in the cellar of Structure 2 (Feature 6) and from cellar Feature 10, both of which date to the second quarter of the eighteenth century. As archaeologists excavated the ashy loam deposit in Structure 2 they uncovered broken but nearly whole ceramic vessels, glassware, utensils, and animal bone, which together constitute 64% of the period assemblage. In addition, they found numerous fragments of medicine phials, white clay tobacco pipe bowls and pipe stems (including one nearly complete tobacco pipe), nails/spikes, window glass, bricks, and pieces of shell mortar (see Figure 5.17). The nails and window glass total 322 items, or nearly one-third of the total assemblage. The recovery of the nearly complete tobacco pipe in conjunction with the large vessel fragments and well-preserved animal bones suggests these items may have been dumped into the cellar as primary refuse, perhaps directly from a kitchen and/or dining room. Although the recovered bone and shell from this period is small, it suggests a reliance on beef and pork, supplemented by fish, oysters, and squirrel. The fish remains represent either drum or croaker, and were most likely caught (along with harvested oysters) nearby in Elizabeth River.

The Period I ceramic group is represented by at least five vessels. This assemblage consists of two colonoware bowls, and one each of a Buckley coarse earthenware pan, tin-enameled earthenware punch bowl, and unidentified white saltglaze stoneware hollowware tableware. The colonoware bowls and the Buckley pan are associated with food preparation, and the punch bowl, specialized beverage consumption. The colonoware vessels are particularly diagnostic, given that these may indicate slave occupation. The low density of colonoware at sites such as

Site 44NR0012 (and its absence altogether from Site 44NR0009), however, is not unusual where access to English ceramics and other goods via markets and merchants was greatest (Ferguson 1985; Higgins et al. 2000).

SITE 44NR0012: PERIOD II (1750s–1770s)

The Period II assemblage consists of over 20,000 artifacts, the vast majority of which were recovered from the cellar fill of Structure 2 (Feature 6). The assemblage consists of nearly 14,000 kitchen-/dining-related objects, including animal bones, charred plant remains, ceramics, pieces of bottle and table glass, a complete long-handled cooking pan/skillet, copper alloy spoons, and bone-handled iron knives, among other objects. In addition, archaeologists recovered numerous copper alloy buckles and buttons, scissors, a straight pin, a thimble, a glass bead and a glass jewel, a stone marble, a mouth harp, a gaming piece, bone fan blades, fragments of folding rulers, a lead merchant's seal, and 281 tobacco pipes. The tobacco pipe assemblage comprises mostly English-made white clay pipes, but includes one locally made, decorated seventeenth-century pipe stem, which arguably may represent part of a curated pipe from an earlier generation (see Figure 5.55). The architectural objects, constituting nearly 25% of the Period II assemblage, include door hardware, window glass, and over 3,900 wrought nails and spikes. To place the Period II assemblage in perspective, it contains 19 times the number of artifacts recovered from each of Period I and Period III, and nearly 10 times the artifacts of Periods I and III combined. The two major artifact groups (i.e., kitchen and architecture artifacts), which typically represent the largest proportion of artifacts on historic domestic sites, are proportionally similar throughout all periods, however. The remaining artifact groups (i.e., personal furniture, arms, smoking, and activities) are either absent in Periods I and III, or occur in a significantly lower proportion than in Period II.

Period II ceramic wares and vessels are relatively diverse and include some nearly complete vessels. Among these is a Rhenish blue and gray stoneware chamber pot (Vessel 92), as well as a stoneware tankard (Vessel 138) and stoneware jug (Vessel 136) manufactured by Yorktown potter William Rogers during the period 1725–1745. These are part of a large group of at least 291 vessels identified for the Period II occupants (see Table 10; Figures 5.38, 5.39, and 5.46 Appendix A). Other ware types include tin-enameled earthenware (36%), white saltglaze stoneware (23%), Staffordshire slipware (12%), Chinese porcelain (10%), and coarse earthenware (9%). Five additional ware types (i.e., Rhenish stone, creamware, Jackfield, English porcelain, Yorktown stoneware) each comprise three percent or less of the assemblage. Vessel forms consist overwhelmingly of punch bowls (21%), followed by saucers (15%), tea bowls (13%), cups (11%), plates (10%), mugs and dishes (each at 8%), teapots (3%), pans (2%), jars and coarse earthenware bowls (each at 1%), and others at less than one percent. In terms of functional groups, 76% of the vessels are beverage related (including teaware and excluding storage vessels) (see Table 12). Teawares alone constitute 33% of the total identifiable vessels and are represented by saucers, tea bowls, tea pots, cream pitchers, and a tea caddy. In addition to the tea-related vessels there are two possible tin-enameled earthenware chocolate cups (Vessels 188 and 189).

The varied ceramics and glass recovered from the cellar suggest that the occupants and/or other residents of Newtown who may have disposed of their trash there had access to a range of stylish types and specialized forms, interspersed with utilitarian wares. They also possessed wine glasses, etched and enameled tumblers, fine buttons, beads, glass jewels, buckles, fans, a thimble, straight pins, house furniture (as indicated by furniture hardware), and assorted tools. (See Figures 5.40, 5.41, 5.48–5.51, 5.53, and 5.54).

The remarkable quantity and diversity of Period II ceramics and other items indicate a unique filling episode of primary refuse with distinctive functional aspects associated with the abandonment of Structure 2. The abundance of nails/spikes together with turned (window) lead, door locks, and door hinges suggests episodes of filling that may have included the framework of Structure 2 as it deteriorated and collapsed into the cellar and/or architectural debris brought in and dumped from other Newtown structures (see Table 16 and Figure 5.58). The significant number of fine drinking-related and other specialized vessels, such as punch bowls, wine glasses, dram glasses, engraved tumblers, and tea bowls together with other items (i.e., gaming pieces, a lead merchant's seal, and tobacco pipes) suggests that Structure 2 cellar deposits (Strata I–III) may include either a tavern assemblage, storehouse goods, or perhaps both; dumped into the cellar by the wagon load along with other debris during the third quarter of the century. Such a large collection, compared to the small amount retrieved from the plowzone, bolsters the supposition that much of the cellar refuse may have come from some other place in Newtown and belonged to others in the community, like Tavern keeper Mary Dison or merchant Charles Smyth, both of whom died around the mid-eighteenth century. Perhaps as their businesses closed, estates settled, and properties sold, the abandoned warehouse cellar (Structure 2) at Site 44NR0012 may have been a convenient place to dispose of obsolete ceramics and other items. If such a filling event took place, it may correspond to Newtown's economic decline in the years just prior to American Revolution, or perhaps a rejuvenation and revitalization of sorts, replacing the old and obsolete with the new (as the mean ceramic dates suggest) in a highly fluid landscape. In either case, large-scale refuse disposal on the outskirts of town may have served practical considerations and had important socioeconomic connotations as well in terms of Newtown society.

The results of ceramic analyses provide important clues that may link the Period II assemblage to a tavern origin. For example, its modest number of plates compared to other food- and beverage-related vessels is consistent with other documented eighteenth-century tavern assemblages, where pewter plates are believed to have been predominantly used and are unlikely to have been discarded due to their relative value (Martin 1989; Brown et al 1990; Luckenbach 2002; Hunter, personal communication 2017). The more prolific beverage-related vessels in the ceramic collection compares favorably with, if not exceeds (i.e., teaware), that of other eighteenth-century tavern sites in the region, such as Edward Rumney/Stephen West Tavern (ca. 1725) along the South River in Maryland, Marot's Ordinary (ca. 1708–1738) and Shields Tavern (ca. 1738–1751) in Williamsburg, and Francis Riddlehurst's Bunch of Grapes Tavern (ca. 1760–1789) in Hampton (see Table 18) (Figure 6.7). The delft mugs, punch bowls (including one decorated with the slogan, "Success to All English Privateers"), assorted teawares, and the Yorktown stoneware tankard, all reflect the diversity of ware types and vessels that would be expected in an upscale tavern assemblage (Luckenbach 2002; Hunter, personal communication 2017). The Period II punch bowls, in particular, provide insight into the social significance of tavern drinking activities in Newtown and elsewhere in the mid-eighteenth century. These specialized vessels were used in the punch ceremony, a drinking ritual that began in the 1640s and peaked in popularity during the second half of the eighteenth century. "Beyond the beauty of the bowls" writes Archaeologist Eleanor Breen (2012:81) "colonial punch drinking assumed an important role in the realm of gentility, sociability, and group membership. Punch drinking reinforced feelings of hospitality among drinkers, which were cemented by rousing toasts to the host and hostess, the king, party guests, prosperity, and health." The patriotic inscription in the Newtown bowl (perhaps inspired by the

Seven Years War [1754–1763]), may have served as a reminder to the drinker to toast those English seaman who captured enemy (i.e., French) cargo on behalf of the crown and protected England's maritime trade (Hunter, personal communication 2017). In Newtown's Rising Sun Tavern, where the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated in 1766, the "elegant entertainment" included toasts to the king and "Perpetual Disappointments to the Enemies of America." The evening concluded with "an elegant ball, at which was present a numerous company of Ladies and Gentlemen, who made a genteel appearance" (*Virginia Gazette Purdie & Dixon* 7/4/1766, p.2, col. 2).

Certain attributes of punch bowls (i.e., bowl size, matched sets) can convey important information about drinking activities and social intercourse within taverns (Breen 2012; Brown 1990). For example, punch bowl size corresponds to the price of the punch, as well as to the social situation in which a particular size bowl was used. Smaller bowls were used more frequently for more intimate social drinking in smaller groups, while larger bowls usually served larger groups. Punch could be ladled from the larger bowls into cups or glasses, or consumed straight from the bowl, as it was passed around the table. Such communal-style drinking was a holdover from the Medieval period and served to reinforce group identity (Brown 1990:78; Breen 2012). The archaeological data suggests that the Newtown punch bowls are quite variable in size/volume. Considering those vessels with known diameters, the range is from 11.43 cm [4.5 in.] up to 22.86 cm [9 in.] in diameter, with corresponding capacities of ½ pint (Vessel 64) up to 2 quarts (Vessel 171). Vessels 140 and 167 each have a capacity of 1 ½ quarts; Vessel 141, 1 quart; and Vessel 143, 1 pint. From another perspective, 76% (n=37) of the punch bowls have a capacity of more than 1 pint and 24% (n=12) have a capacity of 1 pint or less. Thus, the data suggests that the Newtown tavern from which these may have come would have been able to accommodate a range of these social situations



Figure 6.7. Site 44NR0012, selected Period II vessels with possible tavern association (left to right - table glass [Vessel 89]; large punch bowl [Vessel 171]; saucer [Vessel 217]; tea bowl [Vessel 243]; smaller punch bowl [Vessel 170]; tankard [Vessel 138]).

(small and larger gatherings) based upon the size of the punch bowls. Given that these are part of a minimum vessel count, other punch bowls with much larger capacities could also have been in use (Breen 2012).

The Period II punch bowls from Site 44NR0012 are represented mostly by various floral/foliate motifs, but with no matched pieces (See Appendix E). The lack of sets may reflect a mixed, outdated assemblage discarded for more fashionable wares, or perhaps a consequence of raucous drinking activity where bowls could have easily been broken requiring the tavern keeper to quickly find replacements, even if these replacements were from different sets. Whichever the case, the large number of mismatched vessels suggests these were actively used, as opposed to storehouse goods where matching sets would be

expected (Robert Hunter, personal communication 2017).

Most of the Period II assemblage (i.e., punch bowls, plates, cups, saucers) comprises the highly fragile, tin-enameled earthenware and the more durable white saltglaze stoneware that were both produced over a long period. Beginning around the mid-eighteenth century, however, conspicuous consumers and merchants looked to refined earthenware (i.e., cream colored earthenware [“Whieldon ware”] and later, creamware) to set their tables and fill their cupboards with what had become more fashionable. The abundance of discarded tin-enameled earthenware, in particular, recovered from Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012 may reflect this change in consumer preferences.

Animal bone, seeds, and shells recovered from Site 44NR0012 indicate a much more diverse

range of subsistence resources overall than at Site 44NR0009, and may support the interpretation that Site 44NR0012 served as a dumping ground for refuse from a tavern. Alternatively, perhaps the diversity indicates occupation of the site by well-supplied workers, or those who showed initiative in obtaining an array of foodstuffs for themselves and their families. The occupants of Site 44NR0012 (or tavern patrons, if that is the case), consumed significant amounts of chicken, veal, beef, and pork, supplemented by fish (i.e., bass, croaker, cod, gar), oysters, clams, turkey, turtle, goose, and deer. In terms of meat consumption, beef was by far the most important. The data indicates this included high percentages of the most desirable cuts (body) of beef, with percentages of the least desirable (head and feet) cuts at far below the normal distribution pattern (see Appendix B). Kill-off patterns reflect a small but perhaps significant percentage of young cattle killed for veal, which contrasts with the kill-off pattern of older cattle at Site 44NR0009 during Period I. These differences in the Period I assemblage at Site 44NR0009 and the Period II assemblage at Site 44NR0012 may reflect changes in animal husbandry practices, the development of a formal market system in Newtown, and perhaps the diversity of an upscale tavern at Site 44NR0012. Their meals included a range of farm products as well, such as maize, bean, and wheat/oats, along with cherry or plum fruits.

Interspersed with the dense and diverse tavern-like assemblage from Site 44NR0012 are artifacts that could be attributable to enslaved occupants: colonoware bowls, fine glass beads, a rounded and pierced tin-enameled earthenware sherd modified into a gaming piece, and fragments of inscribed slate. The inscribed slate fragments are marked with what may be a religiously symbolic African cosmogram (i.e., a cross within a circle), and another with a ship's sail, all possibly reflecting ties to African-American spiritual life and work along the Elizabeth River. Similar artifacts have been found on slave sites in the Chesapeake and

beyond, attesting to tangible archaeological evidence of African influence and spirituality in the American South (Franklin 1996; Samford 1996; Katz-Hyman and Rice 2011; Ferguson 1999).

Any enslaved inhabitants of Site 44NR0012 were most likely active participants in the market economy that bustled around them. This was fostered in part by the establishment of slave families and family bonds by the mid-eighteenth century. Analyses of plantation account records and other documents elsewhere in the region attest to the purchase of certain goods by slaves (e.g., fine fabrics, shoes, coats, shawls, tea cups and saucers, and sundry furniture) as gifts for family members at times of celebration (Higgins et al. 2000: 162–164). Furthermore, slaves were afforded greater access to status goods, sometimes far beyond what one might imagine depending on their skill level, ingenuity, location relative to commercial centers and transportation routes (Kelso 1984; Heath 1997a, 1997b; Higgins et al. 2000; Fesler et al. 2014). Those living and working near and/or on the Elizabeth River in the shipping trade, perhaps as skilled carpenters at Site 44NR0012 and at nearby Site 44NR0009, most likely had opportunities to obtain status goods for themselves and family members through trade, barter, and purchase (Heath 1997; Higgins et al. 2000). This may have allowed the production of clothing (i.e., breeches, shirts, coats, adorned with fancy buttons) that may not otherwise have been obtained. If Site 44NR0012 and neighboring Site 44NR0009 to the south functioned as warehouses/storehouses and slave quarters, the owners of these facilities may have supplied their workforce with tools and additional household goods and foodstuffs that they might not have been able to obtain on their own. At least a few, if not many, of the recovered items (i.e., rulers, chisel, whetstones, tea bowls, saucers) from Sites 44NR0012 and 44NR0009 may have been obtained in this manner. At Site 44NR0012, in particular, the slaves' refuse was most likely mixed with that of an opportunistic tavern-keeper or

store merchant, whose commercial operation was located elsewhere in Newtown but who used Site 44NR0012 as a dumping ground for refuse.

SITE 44NR0012: PERIOD III (1770s–1820s)

The archaeological results indicate that the intensity of occupation at Site 44NR0012 declined near the close of the eighteenth century, and that the site had been abandoned by the end of the first quarter of the century that followed. Evidence suggests that the use of the brick well adjacent to Structure 2 may have persisted through the end of the eighteenth century, but then it was abandoned and filled not long after the turn of the nineteenth century, based upon the age of the latest ceramics from its fill. Although the number of recovered items is far less than from Period II, certain characteristics of the sub-assemblage that represents Period III allow some interpretations to be made about the material culture and foodways of the Period III occupants. For example, they consumed both wild and domesticated animals, including fish, squirrels, sheep/goat, pigs, and cattle. The data indicates that they relied most heavily on pork for their meat diet. The plant resources they used included squash and/or pumpkin (which are the only botanical remains identified within Period III deposits).

The Period III assemblage includes items that reflect household activities and personal expression and/or ethnicity during the waning period of occupation at Site 44NR0012. For instance, the glass bead recovered from the well may have belonged to by an enslaved African American and either strung on a necklace, sewn onto clothing, or worn in the hair (Fesler 2014) (see Chapter 5). The recovery of the gunflint indicates that the occupants had access to firearms. Firearms are not uncommon finds on slave sites and are sometimes listed in quarter inventories (Singleton 1991:171; Walsh 1997:91). Despite legal restrictions, planters condoned the possession of guns by trusted slaves for the protection of plantation assets and hunting (Morgan 1998:139, 389–390;

Samford 1996:96). However, in a town setting such as Newtown, it is unknown how legal restrictions and consent of the slave owner may have factored into gun ownership by the occupants at Site 44NR0012. The location of Site 44NR0012 on the periphery of town, and perhaps more out of view than other sites occupied by slaves, may have provided the Period III occupants of Site 44NR0012 a measure of freedom that contemporaries in more visible sites may not have had to own and use firearms, and supplement their diet through hunting. Finally, the metal pan fragments and ceramic vessels attest to a continuation of food- and beverage-related activities in Period III, though these activities are indicated by relatively few items, which is consistent with a decline in the intensity of occupation at Site 44NR0012 by the late eighteenth century (see Chapter 5). The presence of the creamware tea bowl is noteworthy, as is the fragment of a creamware teapot. These items suggest that the Period III occupants had access to ceramic vessels that were intended for tea-drinking, a ritual that was otherwise more typically associated with high status earlier in the eighteenth century. Evidence for the use of tea-drinking vessels by the Period III occupants of Site 44NR0012 may be an example of a general trend towards more widespread participation by the end of the century across social strata in what had previously been a high-status social activity. Alternatively, it is possible that Period III occupants of Site 44NR0012 had better access to high-style ceramics by virtue of the setting on the periphery of Newtown (even as Newtown was in decline) than contemporaries who lived and worked on plantations or rural areas farther from centers of trade and commerce. In other words, teaware vessels that had been handed down or perhaps scavenged from refuse deposits that had been brought to the site from elsewhere in Newtown could have been used for tea-drinking rituals or as likely could have been re-purposed for other food and beverage consumption.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the archaeological data recovery from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 are consistent with the documented history of Newtown as a highly successful eighteenth-century maritime community along the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River. The commercial development objective for Newtown, as expressed in the town's deed, was the construction of storehouses and other structures that would facilitate maritime trade and support an upscale residential community. Newtown flourished as a commercial and residential center for much of the eighteenth century until its decline around the period of the American Revolution and abandonment in the early nineteenth century.

Though records suggest intentions of imposing a regular grid on the landscape to establish the layout of the town, the archaeological results indicate that, like other early colonial towns in Virginia, the actual layout of Newtown sites and lots was fluid and deviated from the grid over space and/or time. Over time, the town's lots changed ownership, buildings were abandoned, torn down, and replaced (Brown et al. 1990; Higgins et al. 1993). Even during the economic heyday of Newtown in the mid-eighteenth century, it was undergoing change. The data suggests that in the northeast section of town, at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 for instance, there was a lack of sustained major development in terms of buildings and landscape that may have characterized other parts of town (Wittkofski et al. 1979). During the data recovery archaeologists revealed the footprints of two large, early eighteenth-century cellared buildings (represented by Structure 1 at Site 44NR0009 and Structure 2 at Site 44NR0012) and other archaeological features at these sites. Structures 1 and 2 may have been among the earliest buildings or improvements in Newtown. It is likely that the only occupation of these associated sites at that time was relatively ephemeral occupation by slaves. The complexes were situated on backlots

near Newtown's eastern boundary, and although they were peripheral to the early focus of residential development in the western part of Newtown, they were close to its commercial center on the waterfront to the south. The peripheral location of these sites within Newtown was most likely a reflection of their service-related function in the community's vital maritime trade, and the characterization of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 as backlot areas explains why there is only very limited, lightly manifested evidence of domestic occupation within these sites (which is, in turn, consistent with ephemeral domestic occupation by slaves). By the mid eighteenth century, the data suggests that the warehouses had vanished, but the domestic-related activity at the sites by slaves continued for decades.

Documentary evidence indicates that Newtown was a mixed residential/commercial port community built on 51 acres. It contained a network of streets and lots, some of which can be fairly reliably map-projected, that provide indirect evidence for the function of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. Although the town was relatively small (perhaps village-like in size) throughout its history, what little is known about its layout suggests that it may have had districts, or neighborhoods, not unlike those that developed in other eighteenth-century communities in the region (Brown et al. 1990; Higgins et al. 1993). Available deed records indicate that residential development occurred initially on the west side of town along Long Point Street, south of West North West Street, and along Branch/Main Street toward the waterfront. Development subsequently spread into the central portion of Newtown north of West North West Street, though there is less reliable and specific documentation about this part of town than for the initial development and settlement (see Chapter 3). Three of the lots (for which the early owners have been identified) correspond to previously identified archaeological sites (Wittkofski et al. 1980) (see Figure 6.1 and Table 18). This information, combined

with other data, suggests long occupation spans on some of the lots. Commercial activity, e.g., The Rising Sun Tavern, was most likely focused along Wharf Street, or in its immediate vicinity, and this commercial district may have initially included the warehouses at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 to the north of that street. Despite the early intentions, the archaeological results indicate that the warehouses at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were no longer standing by the mid-century, and the cellars and other features had become disposal pits for commercial refuse from active sites elsewhere in Newtown. Thus by mid-century, the sites were less intensively occupied than in earlier decades, and perhaps the long-term commercial development of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 (beyond the construction of the early warehouses) was never realized, even though these sites continued to be occupied as slave quarters during the remainder of the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth century.

The warehouses and slave quarters established at Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 in the early eighteenth century were located just north-northeast of the intersection of West North West Street and Wharf Street on the east side of town, just west of Chapel Creek. As previously noted, the remains of cellared buildings at each site indicate the presence of large, unheated structures that probably functioned as the warehouses, and subfloor storage pits nearby that were once beneath the floors of cabins that housed the enslaved African-American workers. The evidence suggests that these complexes also contained fences, boundary ditches, and wells, two of which were lined with wood and one with salvaged bricks. Over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many of these features were filled with domestic and architectural refuse, some of which was likely deposited by occupants of the two sites, but the majority was more likely from more intensively occupied sites elsewhere in Newtown. The apparent mixing of deposits from both site occupants and off-site

sources presents limitations to the data recovery interpretations. However, the characteristics of particular assemblages allow for informed speculation about the origin of the refuse and to whom it may have belonged. For example, the assemblage of ceramic and table glass from Feature 6 at Site 44NR0012 is characterized by a diverse and large number of fashionable vessels and wares, which represent food-/beverage-serving more than cooking/preparation. Such assemblage characteristics are more consistent with refuse from a tavern or store than that of a household. This evidence suggests that refuse deposits filling Feature 6 may have come from one of Newtown's tavern keepers (e.g., Mary Dison) or merchants (e.g., Charles Smyth), and thus brought to Site 44NR0012 from elsewhere in Newtown. Site 44NR0012, located on the town's periphery, may have been considered a convenient place to dump refuse out-of-view from the more actively occupied parts of town and commercial enterprises. The characteristics of the fill deposits within the well (Feature 3) suggest that Site 44NR0009 also came to function as a dumping ground for occupants of more intensively occupied sites in Newtown. In sum, this refuse disposal activity from off-site may have marked the transition of these properties from an early, dual commercial/domestic function during the first few decades of the eighteenth century to increasingly ephemeral occupations by Newtown's enslaved workers beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century, about which time Newtown had peaked economically.

The recovery of diagnostic artifacts (e.g., white saltglaze stoneware and creamware) and other feature-related data (e.g., ceramic cross mends) from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 suggests that the large unheated buildings (perhaps warehouses) stood on these two sites very early in Newtown's development, and had been razed by the end of the second quarter of the eighteenth century. However, domestic occupation continued at both sites until after the American Revolution and into the next century. More specifically, the evidence

suggests that the sites were most active during the first and second quarters of the eighteenth century (Period I, 1720s–1750s), with the construction of the warehouses and the slave dwellings and the work- and domestic-related activities around these buildings. The intensity of activity and occupation had declined substantially by the third quarter of the century (Period II, 1750s–1770s) with the abandonment of the warehouses and some of the slave cabins, as evidenced by the filling of cellars. The archaeological data suggests that domestic activity may have continued at both sites into the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century or perhaps just past the turn of the nineteenth century (Period III, 1770s–1820s), though as previously mentioned some of the Period III deposits may actually represent refuse brought to Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 from more intensively occupied commercial and/or residential sites elsewhere in Newtown. The archaeological data suggest that these other areas of Newtown continued to be intensively occupied and active through mid-century or in some cases peaked in Period III, despite evidence that sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 had been largely abandoned or were only lightly occupied by Period II (see Chapter 3, Figure 6.1 and Table 18).

Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 yielded specific artifacts that may reflect the occupants' ethnicity and the general nature of their work. For example, the colonoware bowls fragments, glass beads, and a piece of slate etched with an African-like cosmogram suggest that the occupants were enslaved African Americans, and perhaps initially served as the workforce at the warehouses during the Period I occupation. The recovery of a piece of slate etched with a ship's sail may link the sites' occupants to Newtown's maritime commercial activity. The recovery of these artifacts that are considered potentially diagnostic of the presence of slaves at these two sites, and indications of ephemeral domestic occupation continuing throughout the eighteenth century long after the early warehouses had been abandoned and razed

is consistent with settlement patterns documented elsewhere during the colonial period. In short, archaeological investigations of site complexes and cultural landscapes that include slave quarters elsewhere in the Coastal Plain have documented the phenomenon of slave quarter sites continuing to be occupied for generations, perhaps due to economic necessity and/or tradition, in some cases even after an associated plantation or property owner had subdivided and sold off property or overall land use had changed (Kelso 1984; Higgins et al. 2000; Fesler et al. 2014).

The establishment of Newtown was a speculative venture that reflected optimism on the part of both those who planned the town and sold the lots, as well as those who purchased lots with the intention of developing either residential or commercial properties. The optimism was likely driven in no small part by expectations of the consequences of the Navigation Acts implemented late in the preceding century, which solidified England's monopoly on trade (Higgins et al. 1999:118–121). The strong connection that Newtown had to the English market is evident in the preponderance of English ceramics and other English manufactured goods recovered from Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012. For instance, the unique tin-enameled spiked bowl (a fragment of which was found at Site 44NR0012) imported into Newtown in the early eighteenth century and likely used in an upscale tavern, was the result of this established trading connection with England. So too was the tin-enameled punch bowl that has "Success to All English Privateers" written in the bottom of the bowl. This bowl is representative of a type of tavern vessel that would be used for drinking alcoholic punch as part of patriotic toasts. It is also a reminder that for residents and visitors in an early eighteenth-century Virginia seaport, patriotism included encouragement for what was essentially government-sanctioned piracy in defense of English interests and by English mariners against ships encountered at sea that were flying the flags of other European

colonial powers. As in other communities, social intercourse and celebration in establishments like The Rising Sun Tavern, which may have stood southwest of Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 along Wharf Street, undoubtedly helped to shape the character of Newtown as a port community along the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River and to propel it as a successful venture during the colonial period (Brown et al. 1990; Higgins et al. 1993; Luckenbach 2002).

Although Newtown flourished during the first half of the eighteenth century, it began to wane during the second half of that century with the emergence of Kempsville. By the early nineteenth century, the town and its outlying Sites 44NR0009 and 44NR0012 were largely abandoned, and melded into an agricultural landscape of cultivated fields and pasture by the late nineteenth century.

References Cited

- American Archives
1840 Observations on the conduct of Lord Dunmore, his proceedings at Norfolk, and his expedition to Kemp's Landing. *American Archives*. Ser.4, Vol.3 (1840), Col. 1191–1192. Washington, D.C.
- Anderson, Jay
1971 *A Solid Sufficiency: An Ethnography of Yeoman Foodways in Stuart England*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Folklore and Folklore and Folklife, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Anonymous
ca. 1781 Plan of Princess Ann [sic] and Norfolk Counties ("prepared during the Revolution by English Army Engineers" [Library of Virginia annotation]). Copy on file, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
- 1900 "1900 at Newtown, Black Baptizing at River." Photograph from Edgar T. Brown Collection, Virginia Beach Public Library's Digital Archives. <<http://cdm15419.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p15419coll4/id/828/rec/1>>
- Berlin, Ira, Steven F. Miller, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland
1993 *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*. The Wartime Genesis of Free Labor: The Upper South, Series I, Volume II. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Blondino, Joseph, and Kerry S. Gonzalez
2016 A Wooden Well in Action, February 24. Dovetail Cultural Resource Group. <<http://www.dovetailcrg.com/armstrong-rogers-well-pump>>
- Bowen, Joanne
1998 To Market, To Market: Animal Husbandry in New England. *Historical Archaeology* 32(3):137–152.
- Bowen, Joanne, Dessa E. Lightfoot, and Stephen C. Atkins
2013 Oyster Research: Progress Report on File with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Böye, Herman
1859 A map of the state of Virginia, constructed in conformity to law from the late surveys authorized by the legislature and other original and authentic documents. Revised version. Selmar Siebert and Co., Washington, D.C. Originally published in 1825. Accessed online through Library of Congress <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3880.ct001518>>
- Bragdon, Kathleen, Edward Chappell, and William Graham
1993 A Scant Urbanity: Jamestown in the 17th Century. In *The Archaeology of 17th-Century Virginia*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J. Pogue, pp. 223–249. Special Publication No. 30. Archeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.
- Brown, Gregory J.
1986 *Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations of the Port Anne Development, Williamsburg, Virginia*. The Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

- Brown, Gregory J., Thomas F. Higgins III, David F. Muraca, S. Kathleen Pepper, and Roni H. Polk
1990 *Archaeological Investigations of the Shields Tavern Site, Williamsburg, Virginia*. The Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Brown, Marley R. III, Kathleen J. Bragdon, and Gregory J. Brown
2001 *Toward a Resource Protection Process: James City County, York County, City of Poquoson, City of Williamsburg*. The Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Callahan, Errett C.
1979 The Basics of Biface Knapping in the Eastern Fluted Point Tradition: A Manual for Flintknappers and Lithic Analysts. *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 7(1):1–179.
- Cape Gazette
2016 Archaeological Program on Avery's Rest Set at Lewes Library May 5. *Cape Gazette* (Lewes, Delaware) April 13 issue. <<http://www.capegazette.com/article/archaeological-program-averys-rest-set-lewes-library-may-5/102363>>
- Chappell, Edward A.
1982 *Slave Housing*. In A Research Supplement: Fresh Advices, November 1982. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Claassen, Cheryl
1998 *Shells*. Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.
- Cooper, Mike
2009 Benjamin Dey White. Find a Grave Memorial # 375862275. <<https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=375862275>>
- Corfield, P. J.
1982 *The Impact of English Towns: 1700–1800*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, England.
- Crane, Brian, Christopher Bowen, and Dennis Knepper
2016 *Wells in Delaware: Alternative Mitigation for the Polk Tenant Site (N)5221, 7NC-F-111*. Final technical report prepared for the Delaware Department of Transportation. VERSAR, Inc., Springfield, Virginia.
- Creecy, J. H.
1954 *Virginia Antiquary, Vol. 1, Princess Anne County Loose Papers, 1700–1789*. Richmond.
- Cressey, Pamela J. And John Stephens
1982 The City-Site Approach to Urban Archaeology. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, edited by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., pp. 41–62. Academic Press, New York.
- Cressey, Pamela J., John F. Stephens, Steven J. Shepard, and Barbara H. Magid
1982 The Core-periphery Relationship and the Archaeological Record in Alexandria, Virginia. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, edited by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., pp.143–173. Academic Press, New York.
- Cross, Charles B., Jr.
1964 The County Court 1637–1904, Norfolk County, Virginia. Printcraft Press, Inc., Portsmouth, Virginia.
- Delaware Department of Transportation (DelDOT)
2017 DelDOT Archaeology and Historic Preservation Website. <www.deldot.gov/archaeology/index.shtml>
- Department of Negro Affairs
1866 Map showing the position of Government Farms, 2nd Dist Negro Affairs, Dep't of Va. and N. Ca. Copy on file, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.
- Dorman, John
1961 Local Notices from the *Virginia Gazette*. *Virginia Genealogist* 5:87.

- Earle, Carville, and Ronald Hoffman
 1976 Staple Crops and Urban Development in the Eighteenth-Century South. *Perspectives in American History* 10:7–77.
- Edwards, Andrew C., Linda K. Derry, and Roy A. Jackson
 1988 *A View From the Top: Archaeological Investigations of Peyton Randolph's Urban Plantation*. On file, Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Edwards, Andrew C., William E. Pittman, Gregory J. Brown, Mary Ellen N. Hodges, Marley R. Brown III, and Eric E. Voigt
 1989 *Hampton University Archaeological Project. Bol 1: A Report on the Findings*. The Department of Archaeological Research, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Edwards, Andrew C., and Marley R. Brown, III
 1993 Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Settlement Patterns: A Current Perspective from Tidewater Virginia. In *The Archaeology of 17th-Century Virginia*, edited by Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J. Pogue, pp. 285–309. Special Publication No. 30. Archaeological Society of Virginia, Richmond.
- Edwards, Ywone, and Maria Franklin
 1996 Archaeology and the Material Culture of Enslaved Africans and African-Americans. *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Review* VI(1):22–24.
- Ferguson, Leland
 1985 Struggling with Pots in Colonial South Carolina. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Boston.
- 1999 “The Cross is a Magic Sign”: Marks on Eighteenth-Century Bowls from South Carolina.” In *“I, Too, Am America:” Archaeological Studies of African American Life*, edited by Theresa A. Singleton, pp. 116–131. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Fesler, Garrett R.
 1996 Interim Report of Excavations at Utopia Quarter (44JC32): An 18th-Century Slave Complex at Kingsmill on the James in James City County, Virginia. Unpublished manuscript in possession of the author.
- 1997 Landscapes of Control and Autonomy: The Spatial Contestation of the Utopia Slave Quarter. Ms. On file, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Fesler, Garrett R., Matthew Laird, and Thomas F. Higgins III
 2014 “no book, no convenience, no furniture, no comfort in the house”: Data Recovery Archaeology at Site 44SK0531 at the Western Branch Reservoir in Suffolk, Virginia. James River Institute for Archaeology, Williamsburg, Virginia. Report submitted to Solstice Environmental, LLC, Virginia Beach, Virginia.
- Franklin, Maria
 1996 Early Black Spirituality and the Cultural Strategy of Protective Symbolism: Evidence from Art and Archaeology. Paper presented at the conference on African Impact on the Material Culture of the Americas sponsored by the Diggs Gallery at Winston-Salem State University and The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
- 1997 Out of Site, Out of Mind: The Archaeology of an Enslaved Virginian Household, ca. 1740–1778. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
- Gallivan, Martin D.
 2003 *James River Chiefdoms: The Rise of Social Inequality in the Chesapeake*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Haile, E. W. (editor)
 1998 *Jamestown Narratives, Eyewitness Accounts of the Virginia Colony, The First Decade: 1607–1617*. RoundHouse, Champlain, Virginia.

- Hallam, Jennifer
2004 The Slave Experience: Men, Women, and Gender. In *Slavery and the Making of America*. Accessed online 2017. <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/slavery/experience/gender/history.html>
- Hazzard, David K., and Martha W. McCartney
1987 Rescue Efforts to Save the Vanishing Traces of Gloucester Town. *American Archaeology* 6(1):68–80.
- Hazzard, David K.
2007 Personal communication.
- Heath, Barbara J.
1997a Slavery and Consumerism: A Case Study from Central Virginia. *African-American Archaeology. Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network*, No. 19, Early Winter 1997:1–6.
1997b Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. *African-American Archaeology, Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network* 19 (Early Winter):12–13.
1999 *Hidden Lives: The Archaeology of Slave Life at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest*. The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville and London.
- Hening, William Waller (editor)
1969 *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the first Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*. 13 vols. Reprinted. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville. Originally published 1809–1823, R., W., and G. Bartow, New York.
- Herrman, Augustine
1673 Virginia and Maryland As it is Planted and Inhabited this present Year 1670. Augustine Herrman and Thomas Withinbrook, London. Digital version online, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3880.ct000766>>
- Higgins, Thomas F., III, and David W. Lewes, Kevin T. Goodrich, Elizabeth J. Monroe, and Justine McKnight
2015 *Exploring Life and Landscape at a Nineteenth-Century Slave Quarter: Kingsmill Farm, James City County, Virginia. Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 44JC1140, Associated with the Proposed AT&T and Verizon Communications Towers, Kingsmill Residential Development, James City County, Virginia*. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg.
- Higgins, Thomas F., III
2007 *Historic Secrets of the Customs House Lot: Interim Report on Archaeological Investigations for the Proposed Drain Line and Drywell Project at the Yorktown Customs House, Yorktown, Virginia*. James River Institute for Archaeology, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Higgins, Thomas F., III, and Benjamin Ford, Charles M. Downing, Veronica L. Deitrick, Stevan C. Pullins, and Dennis B. Blanton
2000 *Wilton Speaks: Archaeology at an Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Plantation, Data Recovery at Site 44HE493, Associated with the Proposed Route 895 Project, Henrico County, Virginia*. William and Mary center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to the Virginia Department of Transportation.
- Higgins, Thomas F., III, and Charles M. Downing
1993 *Excavations at an 18th- to Early 19th-Century Slave Quarter: Phase III Data Recovery at Site 44JC643 Associated with the Proposed VNG Mechanicsville to Kingsmill Lateral Pipeline, James City County, Virginia*. Technical Report Series No. 17. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to Virginia Natural Gas, Norfolk.

- Higgins, Thomas F. Higgins, III, Charles M. Downing, J. Michael Bradshaw, Karl J. Reinhard, Gregory J. Brown, Deborah Davenport, and Irwin Rovner
 1993 *The Evolution of a Tidewater Town: Phase III Data Recovery at Sites 44HT38 and 44HT39, City of Hampton, Virginia*. The Williams and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Historic Jamestowne
 2017 James Fort's Second Well: A New Well to Amend the Old. James Town Rediscovery. <<http://historicjamestowne.org/archaeology/map-of-discoveries/second-fort-well/>>
- Horning, Audrey J.
 2009 Urbanism in the Colonial South: The Development of Seventeenth-Century Jamestown. In *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, edited by Amy L. Young, pp. 52–68. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Hunter, Robert R., Jr.
 2016 Personal communication.
- James, Edward W.
 1893 Abstracts from Princess Anne County Marriage Licenses. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 1st ser., 2(2):73-77.
- James, Edward W. (editor)
 1895 Land and Slave Owners, Princess Anne County, 1771, 1772, 1773 and 1774. *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary* 1(1): 4–6.
 1896 Princess Anne County Committee of Safety[,] 1775[,] William Nimmo. *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary* 1(1): 85–96.
 1904 Carriage Owners, Princess Anne County, 1852. *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary* 1(1): 166–169.
- Jones, Joe B., Martha W. McCartney, Dennis B. Blanton, Robert R. Hunter, Jr., and Jane L. Smith
 1991 *A Seventeenth-Century Farmstead in the Interior Coastal Plain: Phase III Data Recovery of Site 44CC297, Proposed Landfill Charles City County, Virginia*. Technical Report Series No. 2. Williams and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Jones, Olive, and Catherine Sullivan
 1985 *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary*. Canadian Park Service, Ottawa.
- Joseph, J. W.
 2009 *Archaeology and the African-American Experience in the Urban South*. In *Archaeology of Southern Urban Landscapes*, edited by Amy L. Young, pp. 109–126. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Justice, Noel D.
 1995 *Stone Age Spear and Arrow Points of the Mid-continental and Eastern United States: A Modern Survey and Reference*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Katz-Hyman, Martha B., and Kym S. Rice
 2011 *World of A Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States*. Greenwood, Santa Barbara, California.
- Kellam, Sadie Scott, and Vernon Hope Kellam
 1931 *Old Houses in Princess Anne, Virginia*. Printcraft Press, Inc., Portsmouth, Virginia.
- Kelso, William M.
 1971– Shipbuilding in Virginia, 1763–1774. In
 1972 *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Washington, D. C. Vol. 71/72. Historical Society of Washington, D. C. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40067767>>
 1984 *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619–1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia*. Academic Press, New York, New York.

- Kent, Bretton W.
1988 *Making Dead Oyster Talk: Techniques for Analyzing Oyster from Archaeological Sites*. Maryland Historical Trust, Historic St. Mary's City, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum.
- King, Julia A.
1988 A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 22(2):17–39.
- Klingelhofer, Eric
1987 "Aspects of Early Afro-American Material Culture: Artifacts from the Slave Quarter at Garrison Plantation, Maryland" *Historical Archeology* 21:112–119.
- Kollmorgen Instruments Corporation
1992 *Munsell Soil Charts*. Kollmorgen Instruments Corporation, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Lower Norfolk County
n.d. Deeds and wills on microfilm, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
- Lucchetti, Nicholas M., and Hank D. Lutton
2004 *A preliminary Archaeological Investigation of the Goodyear Tire Store Lot, Hampton, Virginia*. Submitted to the City of Hampton, Virginia. James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia.
2007 *Interim Report of Archaeological Investigations at the Kramer Tire-Goodyear Store Lot in Hampton, Virginia*. The James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to the City of Hampton, Virginia.
- Lucchetti, Nicholas
2016 Personal communication.
- Luckenbach, Al
2002 "Ceramics from the Edward Rumney/Stephen West Tavern, London Town, Maryland, Circa 1725" In *Ceramics In America*, edited by Robert R. Hunter, Jr., pp. 131–152. University Press of New England, Hanover and London.
- Luckenbach, Al., and Patricia N. Dance
1998 *Drink and Be Merry: Glass Vessels from Rumney's Tavern (18AN48), London, Maryland*. *Maryland Archaeology*, 34(2): 1–10.
- Lutton, Hank D., and Matthew R. Laird
2012 *Interim Report: Archaeological Investigations at the Old Point National Bank Site, Hampton, Virginia*. The James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia. Report submitted to Old Point National Bank, Hampton, Virginia.
- McCartney, Martha W.
1999 An Early Census Reprised. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 54(4):178–196.
- McDaid, Christopher
2013 "The Best Accustomed House in Town": Taverns as a Reflection of Elite Consumer Behavior in Eighteenth-Century Hampton and Elizabeth City County, Virginia. Thesis submitted for the degree in Doctor of Philosophy, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester.
- McIlwaine, H. R.
1925- *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*. 6 vols. D. Bottom, Richmond.
1926
- Macon, E. B.
1891 Plat of Rolleston surveyed by E. B. Macon April 7th 1891. Copy on file, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
- Mainfort, Robert C., Jr., and Michael C. Moore
1998 Graves Lake: A Late Mississippian-Period Village in Lauderdale County, Tennessee. In *Changing Perspectives on the Archaeology of the Central Mississippi Valley*, edited by Michael J. O'Brien and Robert C. Dunnell, pp. 99–123. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- Mason, George (editor)
1949 *The Colonial Vestry Book of Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County, Virginia, 1723–1786*. Privately published, Newport News, Virginia.

- Miller, George L.
 1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th-Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14:1–40.
 1991 A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1):1–25.
- Monroe, Elizabeth J.
 2008 *An Archaeological Survey of the Proposed I-64/I-264 Interchange Project, Cities of Norfolk and Virginia Beach, Virginia*. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to the Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond.
 2009 *Supplemental Archaeological Survey of the Proposed I-64/I-264 Interchange Project, Cities of Norfolk and Virginia Beach, Virginia*. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to the Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond.
- Monroe, Elizabeth J., and David W. Lewes
 2010 *Archaeological Evaluations of Sites 44NR0009, 44NR0012, and 44NR0033, I-64/I-264 Interchange Project, City of Norfolk, Virginia*. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to the Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond.
- Morgan, Timothy E., Beverly A. Straube, and Nicholas M. Lucchetti
 1997 *Archaeological Excavations at 44NH8, The Church Neck Wells Site, Northampton County, Virginia*. Technical Report Series No. 4. Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Richmond.
- Natural Resources Conservation Service
 2009 “Web Soil Survey” page on Natural Resources Conservation Service website. <http://websoilsurvey.nrcs.usda.gov/app/WebSoilSurvey.aspx>. Accessed 2009.
- Nelson, Lee H.
 1968 Nail Chronology as an Aid to Dating Old Buildings. *History News* 19(2).
- Nicholls, Michael L.
 1990 *Aspects of the African American Experience in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg and Norfolk*. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series 330, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Noël Hume, Ivor
 1962 An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 17(1):2–14.
 1969 *Archaeology and Wetherburn’s Tavern*. Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series No. 3. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
 1980 *The Wells of Williamsburg: Colonial Time Capsules*. Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series No. 4. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia. Originally published 1969, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Williamsburg.
 1985 *Historical Archaeology: A Comprehensive Guide for Both Amateurs and Professionals to the Techniques and Methods of Excavating Historic Sites*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
 1991 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Reprinted. Vintage Books, New York. Originally published 1969, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York.
- Norfolk, City of
 n.d. Deeds. On file, Circuit Court Clerk’s Office, City of Norfolk, Virginia.
- Norfolk Public Library
 2010 The History of Norfolk Annexations. Norfolk Public Library, Sargeant Memorial Room – Kirn Main Library. Accessed online 2010. <<http://www.npl.lib.va.us/faqs/annex.html>>

- Nugent, Nell Marion
1992 *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*. 3 vols. Reprinted. Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, Virginia. Originally published 1934.
- Oswald, Adrian
1975 *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist*. British Archaeological Reports No. 14, Oxford.
- Palmer, W. P. (editor)
1875–
1888 *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652–1781, Preserved at the Capitol at Richmond*. 11 vols. Richmond, Virginia.
- Patrick, Vanessa E.
1989 Of Corncribs and Slave Houses: Reconstructing the Carter's Grove Quarter. Paper presented at the Wallace Gallery Lectures in Architecture. On file The Department of Architectural Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Philbin, Tom, and Steve Ettlinger
1988 *The Complete Illustrated Guide to Everything Sold in Hardware Stores*. Macmillan Publishing Company, New York.
- Pogue, Dennis J., and Ester C. White
1991 Summary Report on the "House for Families" Slave Quarter Site (44FX762/40-47), Mount Vernon Plantation, Mount Vernon, Virginia. *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia* 46(4):189–206.
- Popular Archaeology
2015 Archaeologists Uncover New Finds at Historic Jamestown. *Popular Archaeology* July 2.
- Presbyterian Heritage Center
2007 Biography – The Reverend Francis Makemie (1658–1708). <<http://www.phcmontreat.org/bios/Makemie-Francis.htm>>
- Princess Anne County (PAC)
n.d. Deeds and wills on file, Circuit Court Clerk's Office, City of Virginia Beach, Virginia; loose papers on file, Library of Virginia, Richmond.
- Pullins, Stevan C., Joe B. Jones, John R. Underwood, Kimberly A. Ettinger, and David W. Lewes
2003 *Southall's Quarter: Archaeology at an 18th-Century Slave Quarter in James City County: Data Recovery at Site 44JC969 Associated with the Proposed Route 199 Project, James City County, Virginia*. William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, Virginia. Submitted to the Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond.
- Reitz, Elizabeth
1986 Urban/Rural Contrasts in Vertebrate Fauna from the Southern Atlantic Coastal Plain. *Historical Archaeology* 20(2):47–58.
- Reps, John William
1972 *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland*. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia; distributed by the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Riordan, Timothy B.
1988 The Interpretation of 17th Century Sites through Plow Zone Surface Collections: Examples from St. Mary's City, Maryland. In *Historical Archaeology* 22(2):2–16.
- Rountree, Helen C.
1990 *Pocahontas's People*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Rountree, Helen C. Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford; contributing authors, Michael B. Barber ... [et al.].
2007 *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607–1609*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.
- Rouse, Parker, Jr.
1983 *A House for a President, 250 Years of the Campus of the College of William and Mary*. The Dietz Press, Richmond.
- Salisbury, Roderick B., Gabor Bertok, and Gabor Bacsmegei
2013 *Integrated Prospection Methods to Define Small-Site Settlement Structure: A Case Study from Neolithic Hungary*. *Archaeological Prospection* 20(1):1–10.

- Salmon, Emily J., and Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. (editors)
 1994 *The Hornbook of Virginia History: A Ready-Reference Guide to the Old Dominion's People, Places, and Past*. 4th ed. The Library of Virginia, Richmond.
- Samford Patricia
 1987 Neighborhood Analysis: A View from Williamsburg. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology. Savannah, Georgia.
 1988 Carter's Grove Slave Quarter Study. Memo to Cary Carson via Marley Brown. May 3. Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
 1991 *Archaeological Investigations of a Probable Slave Quarter at Rich Neck Plantation*. On file, Department of Archaeological Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia
 1996 The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture. *William and Mary Quarterly*. LIII(1):87–114.
 1999 "Strong is the Bond of Kinship": West-African-Style Ancestor Shrines and Subfloor Pits on African-American Quarters. In *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and Interpretation of Ethnicity*, edited by M Franklin and G. Fesler, pp. 71–92. Colonial Williamsburg Research Publications, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- Schroeder, Jr. Joseph J. (Editor)
 1971 *1908 Sears, Roebuck Catalogue: A Treasured Replica from the Archives of History*. DBI Books, Inc., Northfield, Illinois.
- Singleton, Theresa A.
 1991 The Archaeology of Slave Life. In *Before Freedom Came: African-American Life in the Antebellum South*, edited by E. D. C. Campbell, Jr., pp. 155–175. Richmond and The Museum of the Confederacy and the University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.
- Sjoberg, Gideon
 1960 *The Preindustrial City: Past and Present*. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
- Smith, John
 1624 Virginia, discovered and described by Captayn John Smith, 1606 [sic]. Graven by William Hole. 6th state. Reprinted in *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*. London. [Map originally published 1612.] Accessed online, Library of Congress digital collections <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3880.ct000377>>
- South, Stanley A.
 1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Stephenson, Richard W., and Marianne M. McKee (editors)
 2000 *Virginia in Maps: Four Centuries of Settlement, Growth, and Development*. Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.
- Stevenson, Christopher M. and Matthew Boulanger
 2007 "Jasper Sources and Artifact Provenance in the Middle Atlantic". Accessed online March 2017. <http://archaeometry.missouri.edu/downloads/Saa_07/Stevenson_Boulanger_2007.pdf>
- Stine, Linda France, Melanie A. Cabak, and Mark D. Groover
 1996 Blue Beads as African-American Cultural Symbols. In *Historical Archaeology* 30(3):49–75.
- Strachey, William
 1953 [1612] *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia: Expressing the Cosmographie and Comodities of the Country, Together with the Manners and Customes of the People*. University Press, Glasgow.
- Taylor, Robert (Brig. Gen.)
 1813 Map of the Country contiguous to Norfolk, Taken by actual Survey under the direction of Brigadier Genl. Robt. B. Taylor. Copy on file, Folder 29, Series 4, Sargeant Memorial Collection Map Collection, Norfolk Public Library, Norfolk, Virginia.

- Tazewell, C. W. (editor)
- 1991 *Virginia Beach Vibes: More People and Hogs*. W. S. Dawson Co., Virginia Beach, Virginia.
- 1993 *Bricks and Mortar: What's Left in Old Princess Anne County & New Virginia Beach*. W. S. Dawson Co., Virginia Beach, Virginia.
- Thomas, Brian W.
- 1998 Power and Community: The Archaeology of Slavery at the Hermitage Plantation. In *American Antiquity*. 63(4):531–551.
- Traver, Jerome D., and Ronald A. Thomas
- 1989 *Archaeological Data Recovery at 44HT20. Radisson Hotel Tract, City of Hampton, Virginia*.
- Turner, Florence Kimberly
- 1984 *Gateway to the New World: A History of Princess Anne County, Virginia, 1607–1624*. Southern Historical Press, Inc., Easley, South Carolina.
- Turner, E. Randolph, III, and Antony F. Opperman
- 2000 DRAFT: Searching for Virginia Company period Sites: An Assessment of Surviving Archaeological Manifestations of Powhatan-English Interactions, A.D. 1607–1624. Survey and Planning Series. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond. Ms. cited with permission of the authors.
- Tyler, Lyon Gardiner (editor)
- 1998 *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*. Reprinted. Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore, Maryland. Originally published 1915, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census
- 1850 Agricultural Schedule of U.S. Census for Princess Anne County, Virginia. In Non-population Census Schedules for Virginia, 1850-1880. NARA microfilm publication T1132, Rolls 3, Line 1. Record Group 29. National Archives Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture
- 1937 Aerial photograph FG-115-46, taken April 1937. Copy of negative on file, Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond.
- 1954 Aerial photograph DGH-2N-91, taken October 1954. Copy of negative on file, Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond.
- U.S. Geological Survey
- 1955 Kempsville, VA quadrangle. 7.5-minute topographic series. USGS, Washington, D.C.
- 1994 Kempsville, VA quadrangle. 7.5-minute topographic series. USGS, Reston, Virginia.
- Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR)
- 2011 *Guidelines for Conducting Cultural Resource Survey in Virginia*. Revised. Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia.
- Virginia Gazette*
- n.d. Publisher (if more than one active that year), date, page, and column as specifically cited in text. Facsimile copies on file, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.
- The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*
- 1897a The Cocke Family of Virginia. The Cokes of Surry and Princess Anne *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 5(2):181–198.
- 1897b Families of Lower Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 5(October 1):139–153.
- Wall, Diana DiZerega
- 1987 Settlement System Analysis in Historical Archaeology: an Example from New York City. In *Living in Cities: Current Research in Urban Archaeology*, edited by Edward M. Staski, pp. 65–74. The Society for Historical Archaeology, Special Publications Series, Number 5, Ann Arbor.

- Walsh, Lorena
 1997 *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville and London.
- Wellge, Henry
 1892 Panorama of Norfolk and surroundings 1892. H. Wellge, des. Compliments of Pollard Bros. Real Estate. American Publishing Co., Milwaukee; Hume & Bilisoly publishing agents. Digital version, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Accessed online February 2010 <<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3884n.pm009600>>
- Wheaton, Thomas R., Amy Friedlander, and Patrick Garrow
 1983 *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantation: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology*. Soil Systems, Inc. Marietta, Georgia.
- Whichard, Rogers Dey
 1959 *The History of Lower Tidewater Virginia*. 3 vols. Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York.
- White, Benjamin Dey
 1924 *Gleanings in the History of Princess Anne County*. Privately published.
- White, Carolyn L.
 2005 *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680–1820: A Guide to Identification and Interpretation*. AltaMira Press, Lanham, Maryland.
- Wise, John S.
 1899 *The End of an Era*. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York; The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Electronic edition, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998. Accessed online, February 2010 <<http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/wise/wise.html>>
- Wittkofski, J. Mark, Martha W. McCartney, and Beverley Bogley
 1979 An Archaeological and Historical Survey of the Cultural Resources at Newtown, Norfolk, Virginia. Typescript on file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond.
- 1980 Archeological Test Excavations at Newtown, Norfolk, Virginia. *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 35 (2):49–71.
- Wood, Garland
 2016 Personal Communication.
- Worrett, Ch., Sergt.
 1862 Copy of a map military reconnaissance Dept. Va. Drawn and compiled under the direction of Col. T. J. Cram, Chief Topographical Engineer, Department of Virginia. Map on file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Yarsinske, Amy Waters
 2002 *Virginia Beach: A History of Virginia's Golden Shore*. Making of America Series. Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, South Carolina.
- Zierden, Martha A., and Elizabeth J. Reitz
 2009 Animal Use and the Urban Landscape in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina, U.S.A., *International Journal of Historic Archaeology* 13:327–365.

