"No occupation is so delightful to me as the culture of the earth, and no culture comparable to that of the garden."
Thomas Jefferson, 1811

A Report On The Garden Excavations of 1993, 1994, 1995 at Poplar Forest, Bedford County, Virginia.

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The quote on the cover of this report is from a letter Thomas Jefferson wrote to his friend Charles Wilson Peale in the summer of 1811. To Jefferson gardening was a delight. So much so that his retreat plantation at Poplar Forest was decorated with flowers, trees, and probably two vegetable gardens. These elements were important parts of Jefferson's landscape, and are integral to our understanding of Poplar Forest in Jefferson's life. Those components of the landscape are no longer visible today. It is up to archeology, bolstered by the documentary sources, to find the gardens to be able to reestablish them on the ground.

This report presents the results of excavations undertaken in 1993, 1994, and 1995 in the south lawn garden, and an area east of the main house at Poplar Forest. Initial excavations in the south lawn in 1990 discovered several fencelines and evidence of garden beds (Kelso et al, 1991). This report is written as a follow-up to that work, and assumes a certain amount of knowledge about the Poplar Forest property on the part of the reader. The first section of this report gives a summary history of Poplar Forest. The second section explains the details of the garden excavations, and the third covers analysis of artifacts and their distribution patterns in the south lawn. The relationship of the garden site to the wing of offices and south tenant house is examined by discussing ceramic crossmending analysis and looking at related ceramic patterns. Finally, suggestions for further excavations and research are made.

SUMMARY HISTORY

The octagonal house at Poplar Forest was built 1806-1809 by Thomas Jefferson as a retreat: a place to "pass [his] time in tranquility and retirement" (Jefferson 1821). That did not mark the first occupation of the property however. In 1773 at the death of his father in-law, John Wayles, Jefferson inherited the approximately 4,800 acre Poplar Forest tract, already a working plantation. Jefferson first visited the property in September of that year to find a respectable agricultural enterprise that would later provide a major portion of his cash income. The land had originally been patented by a William Stith, who first gave the name Poplar Forest to the property. John Wayles bought the property in 1764. In 1781 Jefferson and his family sought refuge at Poplar Forest following the British seizure of Monticello, and it was during that visit he wrote his famous descriptive account of Virginia, Notes on Virginia, published a few years later.

Actual construction of the octagonal brick house did not begin until 1806 when, still president, Jefferson himself came to Poplar Forest to personally assist in laying out the unusual octagon. There is no question how architecturally successful Jefferson felt his creation was:

> "It [house at Poplar Forest] is an Octagon of 50 f. diameter, of brick, well built, will be plaistered this fall, when nothing will be wanting to finish it compleatly but the cornices and some of the doors. When finished, it will be the best dwelling house in the

state, except that of Monticello; perhaps preferable to that, as more proportioned to the faculties of a private citizen. I shall probably go on with the cornices and doors at my leisure at Monticello, and in planting & improving the grounds around it" (Jefferson 1812)

There was some light industry at the Poplar Forest plantations. Spinning and weaving helped provide cloth for the slaves; shoe and basket making could be done by slaves too old or ill to work in the ground or during inclement weather. A blacksmith shop provided the manufacture and repair of tools, and wagon parts, as well as for shoeing horses. Coopers provided the barrels needed for prizing or packing tobacco. Hams and beef would have been cured in the smokehouse, and butter was made to be sent to Monticello. Building went on continually at Poplar Forest as the main house was finished in stages, and outbuildings and slave houses were put up as needed.

Jefferson maintained a force of up to eighty slaves on his Bedford plantations. There are vague references to slave cabins. They were undoubtedly built of logs and scattered in a variety of locations around the farms (Heath 1993:7). Slaves probably also inhabited the wing of offices that Jefferson had built on the east side of the house in 1814. At least one slave, Hannah the cook, had a room within the wing (Kelso et al. 1991).

Jefferson's slaves were paid for the work they did beyond that of a normal work day. The slaves who moved the dirt from the south

lawn to the mounds at Poplar Forest were paid for their labor. Those who dug the south lawn and built the mounds helped to create part of Jefferson's dream of a secluded retreat for himself which integrated a small house encompassed by an ornamental landscape. Jefferson worked on his landscape most ardently in the years 1812-1813, and again in 1815-1816. Many letters to and from overseers at Poplar Forest give clues to what the landscape looked like. A landscape historian has studied all the available documents and created a theoretical model of what the pleasure grounds surrounding the house may have looked like, at least in Jefferson's mind (Brown 1990) (also see figure 1).

The house was surrounded by a circular road that Jefferson stated was 540 yards around (Jefferson 1812). The road was bounded on either side by Paper mulberry trees, and inside of that an octagonal fence. There are mounds flanking the house which were planted in three tiers of trees. Near the house were four clumps of trees, and on the north side additional oval beds of flowering plants.

Jefferson mentioned vegetable gardens in several of his letters, but did not discuss the location. The first reference to a vegetable garden was in 1811 when grapes, gooseberries, and roses were planted in a patch. Later that year he ordered a fence to be built around the garden, "... seven feet high and so close that a hare cannot get into it. It is 80 yards square..." (Jefferson 1811) In November of 1816 European mulberries were planted in the "new" garden (Jefferson 1816).

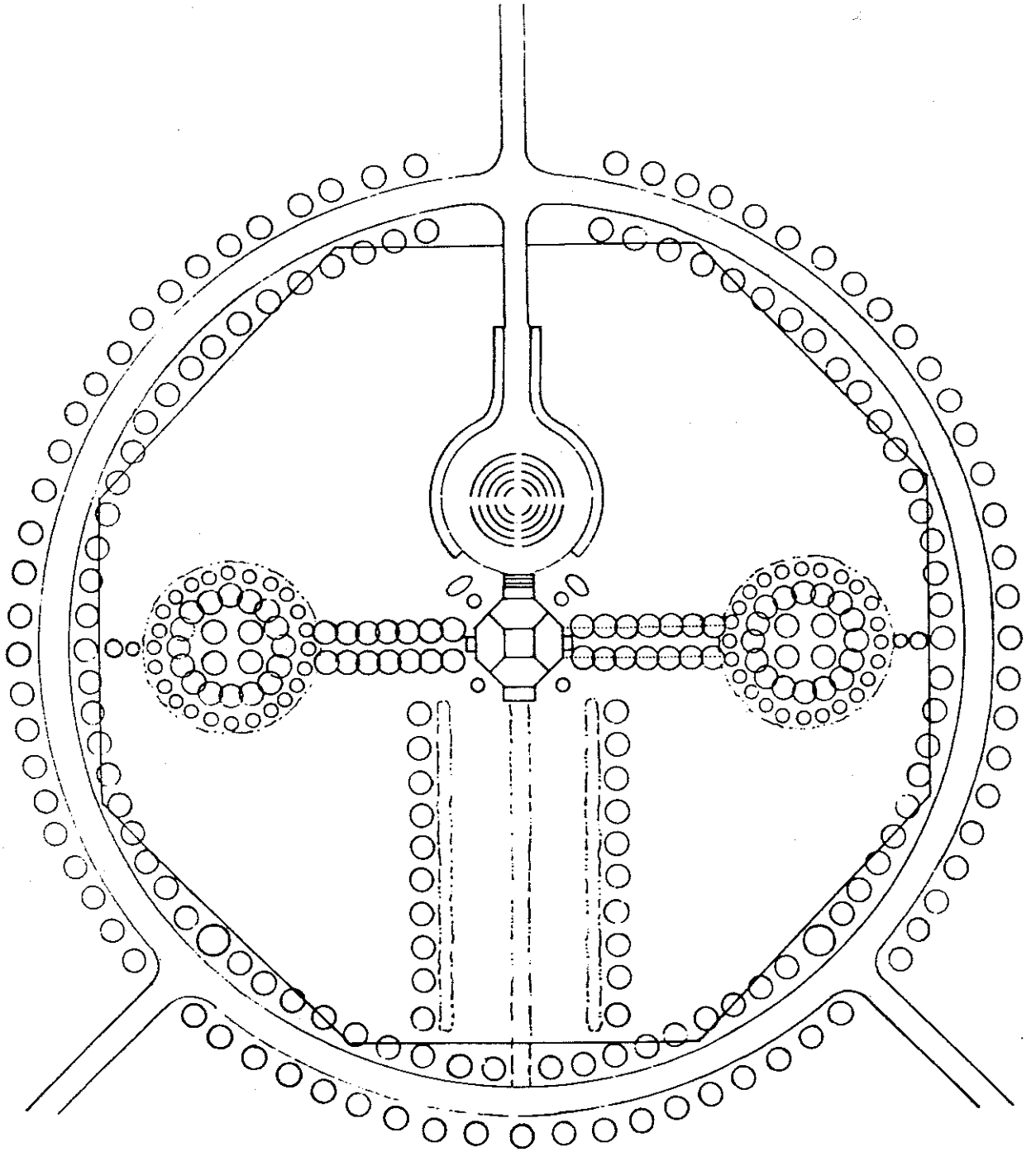

Figure 1. Theoretical model of the landscape by C. Allan Brown.

The next year Jefferson referred to the "big garden" (Jefferson 1817). These references to the gardens are detailed in their planting lists, but do not hint at a location.

By 1821 Jefferson had relinquished most of his involvement in the management of Poplar Forest to his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. In a letter to another grandson, Francis Eppes, who was then living at Poplar Forest, Jefferson reflected about his success as a plantation manager, "A Virginia estate requires skill and attention. Skill I had not, and attention I could not have" (Jefferson 1826). The forty years Jefferson devoted to the service of his country did not allow him the time necessary to attend to his plantations. When Jefferson retired all of his plantations were in such poor condition that no amount of skill would have made them financially successful.

> "...We must either attend to the reenriching our lands or abandon them and run away to Alibama, as so many of our countrymen are doing, who find it easier to resolve on quitting their country than to change the practices in husbandry to which they have been brought up."
>
> (Jefferson 1819).

Jefferson last visited Poplar Forest in 1823 at the age of eighty. Ill health prevented further visits. He died at Monticello on July 4, 1826. In 1823 Jefferson gave the house and 1000 acres of the property to his grandson, Francis Eppes, who along with his wife, Elizabeth, and their children lived in the house for five years.

In 1828 William Cobbs, a Bedford neighbor of Jefferson's, purchased Poplar Forest from Francis Eppes. Cobbs purchased the house and 1,074 acres for $4,925. At the time of Cobbs' purchase, the house was valued at $5,000 and the property appraised at $20,000, so both were sold at considerable loss. (Jefferson's will had transferred the remainder of the original acreage to another grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, to be disposed of in payment of Jefferson's debts.)

Cobb's daughter, Emily, and Edward S. Hutter were married at Poplar Forest on October 7, 1840, and they continued to live there with her parents. Hutter resigned from the Navy in 1844 to devote his life to full-time farming at Poplar Forest.

Sometime in the mid-nineteenth century, the Hutter family built the two brick houses east of the east mound. Supposedly the north building, called the north tenant house, was used by white overseers, and the south tenant house was used by slave families. These two buildings have different chimney configurations that suggest the occupants had distinctive status in the plantation community. The north tenant has separate end chimneys, whereas the south tenant house has a single interior chimney.

The Hutters had eleven children, all born at Poplar Forest. Mr. Cobbs died in 1852; Emily Cobbs Hutter died in 1870; Edward S. Hutter in 1875. Emily's mother, Mrs. Cobbs, died at Poplar Forest in 1877 at the age of 76, outliving her husband, daughter, and her son-in-law. In the years after her death the second generation of Hutters began using the house as a summer home.

The property remained in the Hutter family for 118 years before being sold. In 1946 the James O. Watts family bought the home and lived there year-round. From 1980 to 1984 the house belonged to Dr. James Johnson of North Carolina and was unoccupied. In 1984 the house and fifty acres were bought by the Corporation for Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, a private corporation whose goal is to open the property to the public and restore it to its Jeffersonian appearance. Today the Corporation owns 484 acres of the original plantation.

ARCHEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

Archeological excavations were conducted in 1993 and 1994 in the center of the south lawn in an area where excavations in 1990 had uncovered small parts of garden planting beds. The 1990 work was part of a search for an octagonal fence proposed by C. Allan Brown in his study of the Jeffersonian landscape of Poplar Forest (Kelso et al, 1991). Those excavations uncovered numerous fence postholes that had bordered a garden in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The narrow trenches excavated in 1990 uncovered only the postholes and small parts of planting beds. Although the fenceline dates from the Cobbs/Hutter occupation, it may represent the continued use of a Jefferson period vegetable garden. Documents indicate that there are potentially two Jeffersonian gardens. One was in use by 1811 and the other constructed in 1816. A map of Poplar Forest drawn by a Captain Slaughter and dated 1813 labels a

spring a few hundred yards to the east of the house as the "garden spring" (figure 2). Assuming that the earlier garden is somewhere near the spring, the garden features uncovered in the south lawn may be a later period expansion of the Jefferson garden built in 1816. Logically the Cobbs/Hutters would have continued using Jefferson's gardens. The fences found in the south lawn all date from their era, but Jefferson's fences could yet be discovered within the later enclosures.

The 1993 excavations sought to uncover more of the features in the south lawn by opening a large block-excavation. The 1994 excavations followed up on the 1993 work with a long trench and numerous test holes intended to discover artifact patterns in the lawn (figure 3). Also in 1990, numerous artifacts from the Jefferson period of occupation were found directly south of a later period fence. The archeology department wanted to determine why there are Jefferson period artifacts concentrated in this location so far from the house, and near what appeared to be a later garden. Both the 1993 and 1994 excavations in the south lawn were designed to help answer that question.

1993 EXCAVATIONS

The 1993 excavation area was laid out in a 40 foot square and the 10 by 10 units were numbered consecutively north to south, with the exception of the northeastern-most unit.

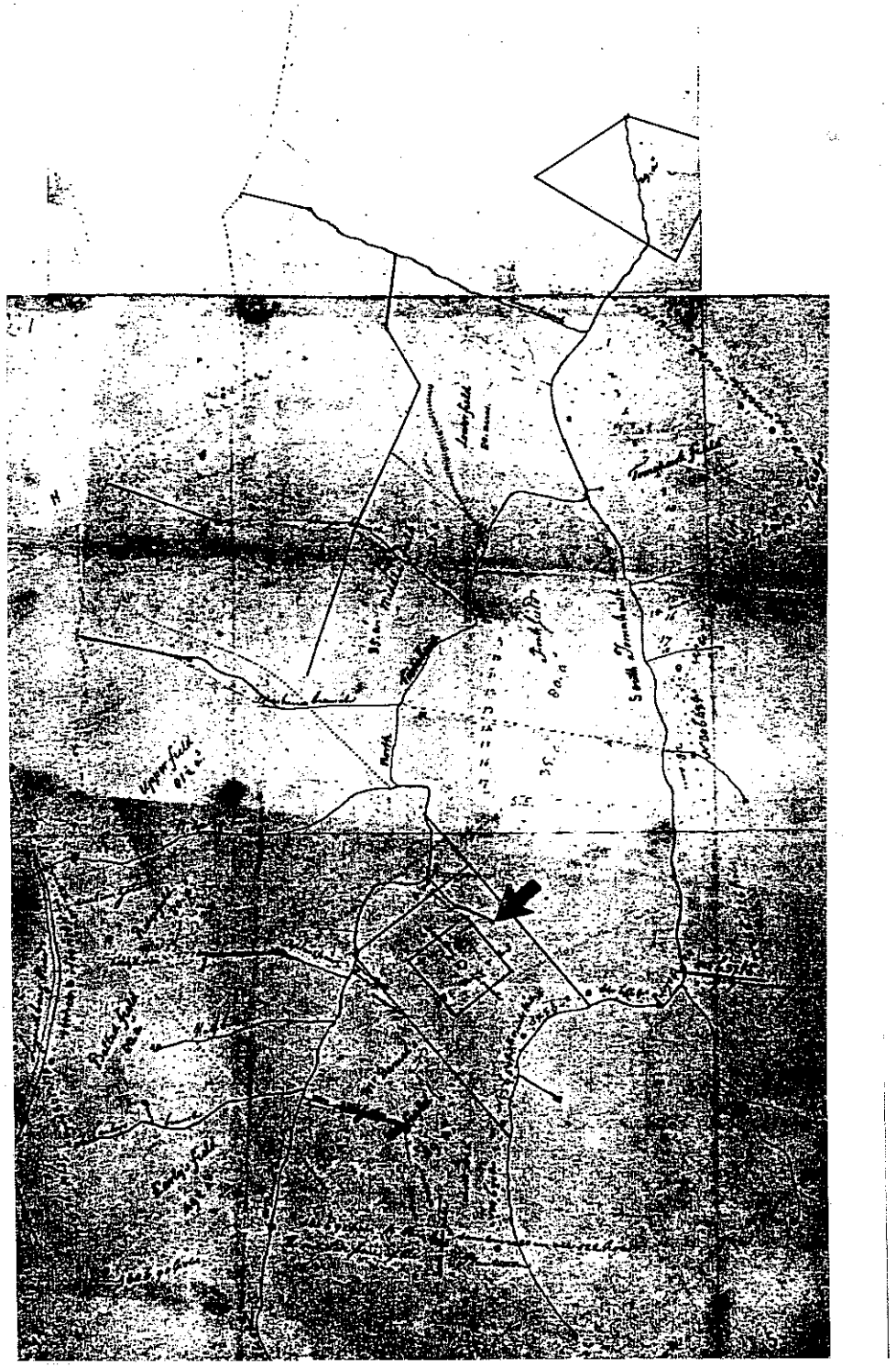

Figure 2. Map dated 1813, drawn by Captain Slaughter. Garden spring at arrow.

Figure 3. Map of excavations in the core area of the property from 1989 - 1995.

Seventeen excavation units were opened and given consecutive ER (excavation register) numbers. These are ER 1011 through 1026, and ER 1031 (the northeastern unit). This excavation grid is immediately east of a long trench excavated in 1990 (figure 3).

The top 0.5′ to 1.0′ of soil in this area is a plowzone containing mixed periods of artifacts. The layer also contains the soil from bulldozing in the mid 1940's to create positive drainage away from the main house. In many instances the bulldozed layer could be distinguished from the earlier plowzone, but not in all units. The bulldozed layer/plowzone was shovel excavated and in many cases, but not all, was screened through $^{1}/_{4}$" wire mesh. Plowzone was not fully screened if few artifacts were recovered in two initial screen-loads of soil. Unfortunately careful notes of which units were completely screened were not taken.

Below the plowzone is subsoil intruded by modern disturbances and garden features. All features were mapped and some were partially excavated or tested. All excavated feature fill was screened. Soil samples of all garden features were taken for future phytolithic and pollen analysis.

MODERN DISTURBANCES

Several modern features were uncovered in these excavations (figure 4). One is a 2" steel waterpipe that runs east-west across the lawn. Other features included several leach lines of the septic system from the main house. The leach lines were not exposed for health reasons.

Figure 4. Map of the 1993 south lawn excavations and features.

Whenever a pipe trench for one of the lines was discovered, it was left pedastalled above the rest of the unit[1]. One of the feeder lines to the septic tank was uncovered in ER 1031, but this is not a leach line and exposure did not disturb the system.

PLOWZONE

Preliminary analysis of the artifacts from the plowzone revealed an interesting pattern. The percentage of Jefferson period artifacts increased in the southern units as compared to the northern units. The data suggested that there are Jefferson period features further south in the lawn. Jefferson period artifacts are defined as wrought nails, and any ceramics dating to 1826 or earlier. This includes all the pearlwares, and creamware. No redwares or stonewares are used in this category, they are too difficult to define temporally.

FEATURES

The northern row of excavation units contained a french drain running east-west. This feature is a ditch filled with rocks. The top of the ditch was covered with loose soil to allow water to penetrate and make its way along the rocks. It slopes from the ends to the center of the drain in the middle of the lawn. The drain was originally discovered in the 1990 excavations and makes a "T" immediately west of ER 1023. Only the eastern "leg" was uncovered

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[1]The Bedford County Health Department was consulted on the possible health considerations of excavating above the leach lines. The archeological field supervisor was told over the telephone that it was safe to dig, and that excavators only need to wash their hands thoroughly before eating.

in the 1993 excavations. The long axis of the drain was uncovered in ER 461 in 1990, and runs for a distance of 185 feet south (Kelso et al 1991:39). The western terminus is 36 feet from the "T", in unit ER 471. The eastern end extends beyond the 1993 excavations.

South of the eastern leg of the french drain is a line of postholes and planting holes from a Cobbs/Hutter period fenceline. These features had originally been uncovered in 1990 in a long excavation trench (ER 472) that simply followed the fenceline as each posthole was discovered. These features were given separate ER numbers in 1990 and they can be found on figure 4. This fence stretches for 345 feet east-west across the south lawn, and was constructed after 1833. Several of the postholes contained cut nails, and one had a fragment of Napier pattern transfer printed whiteware (Kelso et al 1991:39). Napier dates from 1833 to 1840.

ER numbers 491, 494, and 496, are 8 foot interval postholes in the fenceline running east from a gate that was discovered in 1990, (ER 409H and 409E)[2]. ER numbers 495, and 498 are probably replacement posts that succeeded posts in holes 494 and 496. A curious artifact was found in association with several of the postholes. These are waterworn pebbles. One pebble was found in each posthole 491, 494, 495, and 498. The significance of these pebbles has not been determined.

The planting holes found south of and in line with the fence may or may not have anything to do with it. The size, depth and

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[2] These ER numbers are not on figure 1, but can be found on the master map in the archeology lab files.

fill of these holes differ considerably. Interestingly, the artifact counts from the planting holes ER's 499, 554, 503, and 504 are greater than from the postholes. The latest date for these features is ER 499B with a terminus post quem (TPQ) of 1880+ based on a wire nail. The other planting holes contained artifacts ranging in date from the Jefferson period to the late nineteenth century. These artifacts could have been deposited in the planting holes either during planting or when the plant was removed. The plants may have been planted late in the life of the garden. If that were the case, the artifacts in the holes came from the garden soil which was dug through to insert the plants.

Immediately south of the fence line is a planting bed approximately 10 feet wide. The western end of this bed was uncovered in unit ER 318 in 1990. The full length of the bed was not discovered in 1993 because it extends eastward beyond the excavations. The southern end of the bed was disturbed by the 2" waterpipe running east-west across the excavation area. A test excavation was made in the planting bed and will be discussed below.

South of the planting bed, separated by only a few feet, are several planting holes. There are six in all, two in ER 1013, three in ER 1021, and one in ER 1025. The holes are approximately the same size, about 1.5' in diameter. The depths range from .15' to 0.6' deep. The diameter of the holes suggests that they were the same types of plants, perhaps shrubs. Unlike the row of planting holes to the north, these holes contained very few artifacts.

Molded whiteware from 1021A provided a TPQ of 1820. The fact that there are several planting holes here probably indicates that there was a row of bushes between the planting beds. Bernard McMahon's American Gardener's Calendar, published in 1806, discusses the use of hedgerows within the garden and the various plants to be placed in them. "Sometimes, part are edged with undershrubby aromatic herbs, as thyme, savory, hyssop, and the like..." (McMahon 1806:105). Perhaps the holes are from plants such as these. This book was a standard in American gardening practices and went through eleven editions in the first half of the nineteenth century (Lacy 1988:4). There is one difference however between the archeological evidence and McMahon's advice. McMahon advocated making hedges by digging a ditch first and then planting the shrubs in the face of the ditch, while archeologically we found distinct planting holes. The difference between what we see in the ground and what McMahon proposed may be due to the fact that these plants did not form a barrier to the garden. A fence north of this line of plantings served that purpose.

Approximately 10 feet south of the planting stains is another planting bed. This second bed is approximately 12 feet south of the first bed. The spacing of the beds allows enough distance for a walkway between the plantings. McMahon advised that garden paths be laid with gravel. However, nothing in either the plowzone or subsoil suggests any paving material was used in a walkway here.

Test excavations were made in both planting beds to determine how deep they were, and potentially date them from artifacts.

In the northern bed 2′ x 2′ tests were made in ER 1012 and ER 1016. They were excavated as ER 1012A and ER 1016A respectively. 1012A was approximately .60′ deep, and 1016A was approximately .45′ deep. The soil within the bed is a brownish red clay with charcoal. It is soft and loose compared to the surrounding subsoil. At the bottom of ER 1016A, several root stains were seen. These stains were excavated separately, and a soil sample taken. The root stains are probably from the last plants to have been grown in that location.

A small fragment of "Cambrian" pattern decorated whiteware was found in ER 1012A. It dates from 1834 to 1848. Another dateable ceramic fragment, found in ER 1016A, is a piece of whiteware with the transfer printed pattern "Chinese Bird Catchers". Its speculative dates are 1820 to 1835. The date range for this ceramic is conjectural because some authorities on ceramics attribute this pattern to a potter who worked from 1810 to 1835, but using the date for whiteware it is possible to narrow that down to a beginning year of 1820. However it is also possible that the pattern was made during a very brief period when two potters worked together in the year 1825 (Brooks, personal communication 1996).

An excavation in the southern planting bed in ER 1018D produced one tiny fragment of pearlware and one cut nail. The dates of these artifacts and the dates of the postholes suggest that the garden beds are dated from very late in the Jefferson occupation or more likely, the Eppes and Cobbs family occupations.

The other artifacts recovered from the planting beds were undatable but provide interesting information. Numerous pieces of

window glass found in the beds, and in the plowzone, hint at the use of cold frames over the plants during periods of cold weather. A cold frame, or hot beds as they were also known, worked like a greenhouse to keep plants from freezing. Cold frames were small wooden structures using numerous panes of window glass as a cover. McMahon suggested that using the small panes was preferable to larger ones because they weighed less and were more easily replaceable. Given that historical reference to replacements, it seems that the glass broke often. The artifactual evidence backs this up. Although there is likely some modern glass in the assemblage, there are heavy concentrations of window glass in the plowzone. Continued block-excavations might reveal a pattern of window glass dispersal in the garden. Specifically we may be able to see where individual cold frames sat, by the window glass concentrations inside of the frames.

More evidence of cold frames comes from other artifacts in the planting bed. Manure and other organic matter was put in the soil and the combined action of solar energy and the decay of organics provided warmth inside the frame. The organic matter is seen archeologically by numerous bone fragments that were found. Some of the bone discovered in the beds was in an advanced state of decay and could not be recovered whole, while some disintegrated completely when excavated.

In his gardening book, McMahon noted that: "should your garden be of clayey, cold, damp nature, add light materials, both of rich composts, and light sandy soils; nothing is more proper, where it

can be had, than plenty of coal ashes, & c. for opening and warming all tough, stubborn, cold soils." (McMahon 1806:102). These historic references explain the types of soils found within the planting beds. The western half of the northern bed is nearly black with charcoal. The southern planting bed is composed of a very gritty sandy soil with mortar, brick fragments, and charcoal. The archeological evidence points to gardening techniques outlined by McMahon.

Another interesting artifact is a small fragment of slag that was taken from the planting bed in unit ER 1016A. Slag is a ubiquitous artifact at Poplar Forest. Its origination on the property is a subject that we know very little about and need to study. Though it was not found in great quantities in the garden, its presence may be due to the composting process discussed by McMahon. On the other hand, slag has been found in excavations all over the core area of the property. Jefferson period documents mention a blacksmith shop, but do not give a location. Blacksmithing or burning coal both produce slag. The Hutter ledger book only mentions coal in one instance, there are none in the Jefferson documents. The Hutter reference is from 1920 noting the balance due to the coal yard to January 1, 1919 (Hutter ledger book). The Hutter family may have been heating the house with coal burning stoves and the resultant slag could have been put onto the garden. With just those few known references, more research needs to be done on this particular subject.

A small 2′ x 2′ test unit was excavated into the southern planting bed and labeled ER 1018D. It was approximately .30′ deep. This southern bed also has heavy concentrations of charcoal, mortar and brick fragments in some places. Few artifacts were found in the small excavation. Only medicine bottle glass, cut nails, and pearlware were identifiable. Also one seed was recovered. These few Cobbs/Hutter period artifacts from the bed itself belie the fact that the plowzone above has a heavier concentration of Jefferson period artifacts than the plowzone over the bed just to the north.

The 1993 discoveries are just the tip of the iceberg, so to speak. Phytolith and pollen analysis is planned for the soils that were sampled from these excavations. It is hoped that such analysis will help identify the plants that grew in the planting holes between the beds and perhaps even the ones grown within the beds as well.

1994 EXCAVATIONS

Investigations into the south lawn garden were continued in 1994. It might seem logical to the reader to simply continue block-excavations south into the lawn. However, there are several considerations. Full excavation of an area as large as the south lawn will take a great deal of time, even if done mechanically. The features uncovered in the 1993 excavations is a Cobbs/Hutter era garden, but there were Jefferson era features not related to that garden between the excavations and where Jefferson's garden must

begin. A circular road lined with Paper mulberries on either side encompassed the pleasure grounds of Poplar Forest, and should be immediately south of the 1993 units (planting memorandum 1812) (also see C. Allan Brown 1990). Evidence of the Jefferson era fence or a hedge was located in 1990 (Kelso et al, 1991). Theoretically, south of all of these features the Jefferson garden should begin.

Rather than continuing the block-excavations southward in 1994, a 12′ wide trench was machine excavated immediately south of the southeast corner of the 1993 units (figure 3). A width of 12 feet was chosen to intercept postholes of a Jefferson period garden fence if it existed in this area. The trench should also have intercepted the circular road, and planting stains from the rows of Paper mulberry trees lining it. The excavation was made with a backhoe for a distance of 60 feet. It was given ER numbers in 10 foot increments moving southward, starting with ER 1114 and ending with ER 1119. A 25% sample of the soil was screened for artifacts. Also, 40 shovel test pits measuring 2′ x 2′ were excavated south and west from the 1990 and 1993 excavations (see figure 3). These tests were numbered consecutively from ER 1138 to ER 1178.

FEATURES

In the trench, numerous features including a pipe trench and planting stains were uncovered beneath a plowzone of nearly one foot in depth. Each planting stain was given an individual ER letter and excavated separately.

The only feature in ER 1114 was the above mentioned pipe trench which was not excavated. However, ER's 1115 - 1119 had many planting stains that were excavated. In total, 35 planting stains were examined. Only two, ER 1117A and 1117E, had artifacts in them. 1117A held one fragment of window glass and one of ceramic, and 1117E had two ceramic fragments. However, these are tiny fragments, and only one piece from 1117E can be identified as plain whiteware. The others are too small to identify properly.

The most curious aspect of the excavations in this trench is not the fact that there were few and such tiny artifacts in the features, but that there were no garden planting beds as seen just a few feet north in the 1993 excavations. It was expected that excavators would see more planting beds at 10 foot intervals. To the west, the excavation of ER 461 uncovered what appeared to be the edges of planting beds along the eastern side of that trench. Logically these beds should have run eastward and would have been intercepted by the trench excavated in 1994. The evidence of this bed was also seen in a few of the shovel test pits excavated along the edge of ER 461 in 1994. Those test pits are 1138, 1150, 1152, and 1154. The other shovel test pits along the eastern edge of trench ER 461 may also have encountered the planting bed, but it was not noticed at the time. The question is, why was there no evidence of these planting beds in ER's 1114-1119? The two planting beds uncovered in 1993 just to the north of these excavations extend east beyond the units, so logically the beds just to the south would do the same.

I went back over the notes to see if the backhoe had gone too deep in the 1994 trench. The notes from the four STP's that uncovered the planting bed (1138, 1150, 1152, 1154) were excavated to one foot before reaching the bed. The notes from the trench show that it was excavated to the same depth. The bed is approximately 0.5' deep according to the notes from the STP's. If the backhoe had gone just a few tenths too deep we still should have seen another few tenths of planting bed before subsoil. So the question remains; where does the planting bed end, and why does it end abruptly when the two beds to the north are so much longer?

Another missing feature in the 1994 units is Jefferson's circular road, which should have appeared in units ER 1114 and ER 1115. This road is documented to have been "540 yds round" (planting memorandum 1812). The Paper mulberries on the southern side of the road may be the planting stains seen in the northern end of ER 1116. That fact might be determined by phytolith or pollen analysis of soil samples taken from the planting stains. The road however was not seen either in plan or profile in these excavations.[3]

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[3] These features - road and mulberries - have been the subject of archeological inquiry since 1990. The road has not been seen stratigraphically in any excavations, though units have crossed its path in at least 11 locations. The mulberries that were to surround the road have left no above-ground evidence. However, several planting stains have been excavated that could be from these trees. Phytolith analysis of the soil from those features may help to identify them.

1995 EXCAVATIONS

In May of 1995 a backhoe trench was excavated in the south lawn where a posthole had been uncovered but not excavated in 1990. The location is between 304 and 309 feet directly south of and centered on the south portico. The trench was excavated east from that point a distance of 26 feet.

The posthole initially uncovered in 1990 was not excavated at that time because of winter weather. All excavations in the south lawn were backfilled in December of 1990. After plotting all the south lawn features on paper that winter we realized that this one posthole did not have any others in association with it. But because of other excavation priorities in the lawn it was not investigated until Spring of 1995.

The posthole feature was labeled as ER 1290B and the mold as 1290C. The posthole was found to be 1.1 foot wide with a post .35 foot in diameter and seated in subsoil 1.3 feet deep. Several artifacts were found in the posthole, but none were dateable. Window glass, a brick fragment, and four unidentifiable nail fragments were found in the posthole. No other postholes or features were found associated with this feature. The backhoe trench was excavated eastward a distance of 26 feet. This direction was chosen because the posthole was initially uncovered in the eastern side of a 10 foot wide trench labeled ER 461 (see Kelso et al 1990). Assuming a distance of either eight or 10 feet between posts in a fence, another should have been seen in ER 461 on the

west side of that trench. Since none was found in 1990 the decision was made to look eastward in 1995. Only a large planting stain was found directly east of the posthole. It would appear from the close proximity of these features and the lack of any other postholes in this area, that posthole ER 1290B was an anchor post for the large plant directly east of it.

The fact that the posthole cannot be dated is inconsequential to the larger evidence that it is not part of a fenceline in the south lawn. While many features related to the Hutter period garden have been discovered in the south lawn, the true objective was finding a Jefferson fenceline in 1995. The posthole would appear to be associated with the later Hutter garden. It has been assumed that this garden was a continued use of Jefferson's garden. There are numerous documentary references to Jefferson's vegetable gardens, except for the location of them. The fence surrounding Jefferson's garden may yet be found in the south lawn, but all the postholes yet uncovered are later in time. It may take large scale earth moving to look at a very big area, or excavation of some of the later planting beds to see if Jefferson era postholes survive below.

In the spring and summer of 1995 test excavations were made in the field south of the structure known as the pole barn, and in the adjacent yard area around it. This modern structure sits approximately 400 feet directly east of the main house. These test excavations were conducted searching for evidence of a vegetable garden. The reasons for testing in this area are based on

documentary sources. The 1813 map drawn by captain Slaughter, and called the "Slaughter survey", shows a spring just off the edge of the natural terrace the pole barn sits on. It is labelled the garden spring. The map also shows a fence encompassing 10 acres surrounding an area centered on the main house. Another fence encompasses an area Jefferson referred to as the "curtilage" and was 61 acres in size. Since the garden book references to a vegetable garden from this time mention an area 80 yds square, (Jefferson 1811) the garden would have to be in an area between the curtilage fence and the 10 acre fence shown on the Slaughter survey. A garden 80 yards square encloses 240 feet to a side. There are 330 feet between the curtilage fence and the 10 acre fence. But there is not enough space between the five acre fence seen in Brown's model and the 10 acre fence. A 240 foot garden would have precisely fit on the 250 foot wide level terrace where the 1995 archeological survey was conducted.

The archeological testing was done with 2' x 2' test pits looking for artifacts and any features that might indicate a garden. These would include planting stains, or deep levels of dark soils suggesting planting beds. Other artifacts indicating a nearby garden would be objects related to carriages and horse tack. Several references to the garden in Jefferson's garden book specify a nursery near the old stable and a fence between two stables, and planting beds (Jefferson, 1811). Finding the stables would help to locate the archeologically more ephemeral vegetable garden.

Sixteen test pits were excavated in the current hay field south of the pole barn and east of the south tenant house. These units were placed on the southern edge of the terrace. Twelve 2′ x 2′ units were excavated in one east-west line. They were placed 25 feet apart. Four more were excavated in a line 20 feet north, directly adjacent to the tree and fence line that demarcates the field from the barnyard. The first line of test pits were numbered consecutively from west to east from ER 1274 through 1285 (figure 5). The second line of test pits near the fence line were labelled east-west from ER 1286 to 1289.

Generally a layer of topsoil, and a thin plowzone were the only soils encountered. Several of the units contained artifacts within the plowzone. Most were mid nineteenth century. However, several fragments of pearlware, and two wrought nails were found in unit number 1285 which is just on the edge of the eastern property boundary. This 2′ x 2′ test was expanded to a 5′ x 5′ unit. Several more pieces of pearlware and other artifacts were found. Features intruding into the subsoil were amorphous but may be related to plowscars. The artifacts of pearlware, creamware, porcelain, wine bottle glass, bones and nails may be related to a structure that stood nearby. The original overseers house probably was located on the knoll immediately east of this location. However, this unit was placed on the property boundary and further excavation would require digging on a homeowners property. No features that would indicate a garden were located in any of the test units in the field or in this 5′ x 5′ unit.

Figure 5. Map of archeological test excavations near the pole barn.

Consequently no further excavation has taken place in this location.

Several more lines of shovel test pits were excavated on the north and center of the terrace near the pole barn in the summer of 1995. These were placed in north-south or east-west lines surrounding the north, and east sides of the pole barn. The majority of the units were placed on the east side of the barn in two lines spaced 20 feet apart. There were 13 test pits numbered consecutively from ER 1302 to ER 1314. Another four units were placed on the north side of the barn and numbered ER 1315-1318. Two units were laid out near the southeast corner of the barn, but were not excavated because of a cement drive on this side of the barn.

Generally the soils in this area are a thin topsoil of brown loam covering a brown red clay loam plowzone. The next layer is subsoil. These layers held few artifacts from the Jefferson or Hutter eras. Numerous twentieth century artifacts were found in the plowzone layer or in a fill layer found in the line of units closest to the east side of the pole barn. Scattered about the entire area are pieces of a 1930's delivery truck and parts of farm machinery. Apparently this area was used as a dump in the twentieth century, but was probably part of an agricultural field in the nineteenth century.

There were a number of features found intruding subsoil in this location. Most were shallow and ephemeral features. Some appeared to be planting stains, but no artifacts were found in any of the them. Also no evidence of planting beds was seen. The lack

of evidence for gardening in this area precluded further testing on this terrace for a Jefferson period garden.

SOUTH LAWN ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

A comparison of ceramic percentages collected from the south lawn was made to determine if the location of Jefferson's circular road could be identified through artifacts. Also, the artifacts might indicate where other Jefferson era features - possibly the garden - were located. To retrieve a sample of artifacts from the lawn in a quick manner over a long distance, a total of 40 2' x 2' shovel test pits were excavated in 1994. Using both the shovel test pits and the excavation units from 1993 and 1994, percentages of Jefferson and post-Jefferson ceramics were compiled. The ceramics from the Jefferson period include all pearlware, creamware, and Chinese export porcelain. The post Jefferson ceramics are all others with the exception of redwares and stonewares. The last two ceramic types are too difficult to date precisely and consequently were not used in this analysis.

Although comparing percentages from shovel test pits to units 25% sampled, to units 100% sampled is not "comparing apples to apples", a few strategies were used to counterbalance the differences of excavation strategies. To compare the test pits with the larger units sampled 25%, an average percentage of a row of test pits was used. This method yielded similar percentages per row of test pits as the bigger units.

The first row of test pits, and ER 1114, had a higher percentage of Jefferson period ceramics as opposed to the post Jefferson era than either the units to the north or the south. This is just inside of the circular road based on Allan Brown's model of the landscape. It would have been the area between the fence and the road. These units have a relative percentage of Jefferson to post Jefferson ceramics of 66% to 34%. The next row of test pits south have a relative percentage of 60% to 40%, which is where the road would have been. The accompanying unit of ER 1115 has too many small unidentifiable ceramics to reliably include those numbers. The next row south and unit 1116, had an even percentage of Jefferson to post Jefferson ceramics and that is also in the road, but toward the back of it. The next row south (which is where the Paper mulberry trees should have been circling the road) includes ER 1117. The percentages from the test pits and from unit 1117 do not correlate. The test pits yielded 40% Jefferson and 60% post Jefferson, but 1117 had 64% Jefferson and 36% post Jefferson. This is the point where averaging the test pits and comparing that product to the excavated units breaks down, but it worked rather well in the other examples. South of ER 1118, the percentages become more even up to 70 feet away from the road where there is only test pits to look at the percentages of ceramics. At that point the Jefferson period ceramics drop off precipitously. This is interesting because the 1993 excavations showed an increase in Jefferson period ceramics southward, which led us to continue in this area in 1994. We had expected that the Jefferson period

materials would increase significantly at this point because it is beyond the road and would be a likely location for the north end of Jefferson's garden.

What the mathematics produced is a picture of the area just north of the circular road being the center of trash dumping for the south lawn during Jefferson's lifetime. That area is where the greatest percentage of Jefferson to post Jefferson ceramics was found. This area would have probably been grass with the Paper mulberry trees lining the inside of the road. For the Jefferson period, it is tempting to think that this wedge of space between the fence and the road presented a convenient starting point for disposing of trash. This is a more likely location because north of the fence was the bowling green lawn which was a very visible feature from the house.

Where did this trash originate? The closest known occupation area is the house and east wing. The wing site was excavated in 1989 through 1991 (see Kelso et al, 1991). The wing of offices, as Jefferson called it, was attached to the east side of his house. Built in 1814, this slave work and living space was dismantled sometime between 1838 and 1843, to become only a detached kitchen and smokehouse.

A comparison of pearlware vessel form types and decorative types from the south lawn and wing was made to determine if there is a relationship between the sites. Only the pearlware was compared because the south lawn artifacts were collected in

different ways. Pearlware was the most common ceramic from the south lawn and made the most logical choice for comparison.

A synopsis of the comparative data shows that there are some similarities, but many differences in the ceramic assemblages. The minimum vessel counts for the two sites are 86 from the lawn and 165 from the wing. The most dramatic difference is in flatwares. From the wing flatwares comprised 55% of the assemblage whereas for the lawn it is 70% of the assemblage (Brooks 1994:5). In the category of decorative types, the most distinguishing difference is in underglaze transfer printed wares. For the lawn the percentage is 41%, and the wing it is 28%. But interestingly the number of plain wares is greater in the lawn than at the wing, the numbers being 22%, and 11% respectively. One would expect the wing to have a high percentage of decorated wares, being the site where Jefferson's ceramics were used. The reason for the difference in percentages of undecorated wares is probably due to the fact that there are relatively fewer painted, edged, and dipped wares in the lawn than found in the wing (Brooks 1994B:5). What the differences in percentages actually means is not yet understood. But the above summary shows that there is a clear distinction between the two assemblages. However, as the next section shows there is also an obvious relation between the sites as exhibited by crossmends.

CROSSMENDING ANALYSIS

Crossmending analysis was done on a number of ceramic types from not only the wing and south lawn, but also the south tenant

house. This analysis was designed to determine if there was a functional relationship between the wing, lawn, and south tenant house. If there are mends from undisturbed contexts then a relationship could be established. A second step in crossmend analysis was to look at the mends that were made during the wing and lawn excavations between 1989 and 1991.

The lawn, wing, and south tenant house sites date to different time periods within the nineteenth century. Yet all three sites have yielded the same types of ceramics with identical decorative patterns, which led to the obvious question of why the similarities? Two of the sites are domestic, one being a slave dwelling/tenant house, another a slave work and domestic area (the wing), and the third a garden.

The south tenant house has been tentatively dated to the mid 1840's based on flow blue recovered from the earliest deposits around the house. Though the tenant house still stands, archeological testing has been done in and around it. A severe windstorm structurally damaged the house in June of 1993. The repairs called for installing deep thrust blocks to hold the building upright. The location of each block was excavated archeologically (see figure 3).

To perform the crossmending analysis, five ceramic decorative patterns were chosen for crossmending and comparison. The patterns were chosen because they were found at each site and spanned specific periods of ownership of Poplar Forest. To make the sample size manageable for both the wing and garden sites, approximately

half of the excavated units were chosen for examination. For the wing, the sample consisted mostly of the units outside the kitchen and smokehouse buildings, although one or two excavation units from inside the buildings were studied. For the south lawn, from unit ER 409, all units east and south in the center of the lawn were chosen. Ceramics from all of the units excavated around the south tenant house were selected for study. The ceramics analyzed were;

1. Blue shelledged Pearlware, with different edge treatments. The date range of this group is from 1810 to 1860.

2. Willow pattern on Pearlware and whiteware. Though dating from as early as 1795, our earliest date is probably from 1810 when Jefferson began making regular visits to the property. In this pattern there are numerous forms including a ladle fragment.

3. Charioteers on whiteware, possibly dates as early as 1826 to 1838.

4. Chinese birdcatchers on whiteware, circa 1820 to 1835.

5. Napier pattern on whiteware, circa 1833 to 1840. This ceramic is found all over Poplar Forest, in many forms including a ladle. The two ladles illustrate that the Willow and Napier patterns must have been the most heavily used in their time because we have found so many fragments, and so many forms, right down to the soup ladles.

These five patterns span the first half of the nineteenth century beginning with the period in which Jefferson built his retreat, through 1823 when his grandson Francis Eppes began living full time at Poplar Forest, and ending in the early Cobbs/Hutter era. The Charioteers and Chinese birdcatchers patterns could be from either the Eppes table or that of the Cobbs family. The last pattern mentioned, Napier, may have been something of a wedding pattern for Emily Cobbs and Edward Hutter. The Napier seems to fit chronologically at the site of the south tenant house, but the other four ceramic types predate the building.

There were no crossmends from the south tenant house to either of the two other sites. A total of eight crossmends between the wing and south lawn excavations were been made (see appendix A). Of the eight pieces, only one, a pearlware bowl with mocha decoration, mends between totally non-disturbed contexts. One fragment came from the wing yard in a mid-nineteenth century context (ER 735 C/3), and the other from a layer in the lawn with a TPQ of 1830 (ER 318D). Though the mochaware was not one of the decorative patterns chosen for this particular in-depth analysis, it was noted as one of the crossmends made from the 1989 - 1991 excavations. There are two other crossmends from the wing and lawn that were found previous to this analysis. One is a redware pot with a lustre glaze, and the other is a grey stoneware jug with blue decoration (appendix A).

The remaining crossmends are fragments from the lawn in a plowzone, and the wing fragments came from pipetrenches which

disturbed early nineteenth century layers. The majority of the trenching was done in the 1940's at the same time that a scraping of the south lawn was done by bulldozer to create drainage away from the house. It is very possible then that the mended artifacts started out at the wing, were disturbed by pipe trenches, and then were re-deposited in the lawn during the 1940's when major construction projects were going on around the site.

The fact that several crossmends were found previous to this study demonstrates that there is more that could be done with crossmending. Only five ceramic patterns from half of the wing and lawn collections were used in the above analysis. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that the mended pieces from the south lawn are spread all over. They are not clustered in any one location. Whatever activity (modern or historic) that distributed the ceramics, spread them liberally about the south lawn.

A very interesting aspect of this small group of artifacts is that they are all early nineteenth century ceramics. Although it is hard to assign a date to the stoneware and redware pots, they are both from early nineteenth century contexts at the wing. The fact that the crossmends are from early period ceramics (or contexts) suggests an operating relationship between the lawn and wing sites during that time. The fact that no mends were found between the south tenant house and the other two sites shows that there was no functional relationship between the tenant house and the wing or lawn.

Other artifact categories that match between the sites support the ceramic evidence to link the south lawn and the wing. Several architectural pieces were found in the south lawn. A bell pull, part of a slave bell system, was recovered from ER 318C. Also discovered in ER 318C were a hinge pintle, an escutcheon plate, and two brackets or possibly joist staples. This layer is mixed with artifacts from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Though these artifacts are not in a primary deposition, they are obviously from the wing or main house, and did not function in the lawn. The pieces may have been discarded there during the destruction of the wing. They could have been deposited there during the bulldozing in the 1940's, but no artifacts that late were found in association with them.

Also underlining the inter-relationship of the garden and wing sites are four fragments of a cauldron. One fragment was found in the kitchen building in ER 451C, a mid-nineteenth century fill layer. Another came from ER 309B inside the kitchen building, which was a mid-nineteenth century occupation layer. The soil in both these units came from the wing yard, and was used as fill over the Jefferson period floor after the destruction of the wing. Another piece of cauldron was found in lawn unit ER 1021 in plowzone, and the final piece came from a modern garden behind the bamboo jungle south of the south tenant house. Although none of the pieces mend, they are very similar and probably from the same cauldron. These fragments signify a relationship between the wing and lawn sites.

To date, the most interesting crossmend we have found at Poplar Forest is between the long trench in the south lawn (ER 461/130') and a planting hole at the northwest corner of the house (ER 592E), where Jefferson had numerous trees and shrubs. The mend is on a painted pearlware bowl. The artifact was not part of this study, but has relevance to the garden. This particular mend and the large number of artifacts that came out of planting hole ER 592E, initially led us to believe that we were seeing evidence of composting. Ceramics may have been going to a trash heap along with table scraps etc., for a compost pile and later were put in the garden and the planting hole. Although that still may hold true, this is the only crossmend that would indicate so.

The first step in the crossmending analysis was to look at part of the assemblages from the wing and lawn and attempt to make crossmends. This process did not yield many mends, only a few were found. However, several other crossmends were found on pieces excavated in 1989 through 1991. This second step told us that there was an operating relationship between the wing and south lawn in the early nineteenth century.

OTHER TYPES OF ANALYSIS

The forms of vessels were examined to see if that type of analysis would exhibit any relationship between the lawn, wing, and tenant house sites, and it did not. Each sample of the five previously discussed ceramic types had very few hollowares. A comparison of percentages of hollowares from the south tenant

house, to the wing, and to the lawn appears meaningless. So attempting to ascribe status and functional relationships between sites based on form type did not work. (see table 1).

Part of the problem with this information is that the numbers are based on a sample of the total assemblage of each artifact type for each site. There **are** hollowares from the wing but none were represented in this partial assemblage.

The next step was to look at the landscape to see how that may have affected the overall distribution of the artifacts, regardless of vertical context. Using Brown's theoretical model of the landscape, an artifact distribution analysis was executed to determine if the three layers of barriers, (road, trees, and fence) presented either obstacles or convenient places for disposing of trash.

As demonstrated earlier, the edge of the road can tentatively be seen from artifact distributions. So perhaps the other features could be outlined by artifact scatters as well. The first excavations in the south lawn in 1990 attempted to locate Jefferson's gate and fence. In fact, two gates have been located, one from Jefferson's time and another from the Hutter period. The Jefferson gate was found in ER 307 and the Hutter gate approximately 23 feet north in ER 409 (see figure 3).

The distribution of artifacts within 10 feet south of the two gates was examined to see if people had stopped at those points and dumped trash.

WARE			
Willow	3/0	56/1	124/0
Birdcatcher	15/3	41/2	23/2
Charioteers	3/0	6/0	9/0
Shelledge	10/0	30/1	66/1
Napier	15/1	69/3	50/13
SITE	S.Tenant	S. lawn	Wing

Table 1. Fragments of flatwares vs. hollowares found in each of five ceramic patterns at the wing, south lawn, and south tenant house. Flatware is the first number given.

If so, there should be a higher amount trash including the five ceramic patterns previously studied just south of the gates. The rise in numbers should correlate with the time periods that the gates existed and those five ceramic types came into use.

For the most part, the counts were practically identical between each gate (see table 2). However, two of the wares provide interesting numbers. For the Willow ware 16 fragments were found just south of the Hutter gate, and nine just south of the Jefferson gate. For the Napier, six pieces were found near the Hutter gate and nine near the Jefferson gate.

Jefferson gate, ER's 373, 374		Hutter gate, ER's 409E&H
Napier	9	6
Charioteers	0	1
Blue edged	3	5
Birdcatchers	2	7
Willow	9	16

Table 2. Counts of ceramics within 10 feet south of gates in the south lawn.

But by the time the Napier pattern came into use, we had believed that the Jefferson gate was gone and within a few more years the Hutter gate replaced it when a garden was fenced-in. It is curious that a few more pieces of a Hutter period ceramic were found near a Jefferson gate than near the Hutter gate. Also, there is more Willow ware (an early ceramic) near the Hutter gate remains. A possible scenario is that the later ceramics found near the Jefferson gate do not really have anything to do with it, but were thrown into that part of the Hutter garden and the fact that a gate stood there previously is just incidental. But why there are several Jefferson period ceramics just south of the Hutter gate cannot be explained. This is especially problematic because this area is north of the Jefferson fence and in the bowling green part of the south lawn. (See table 2) It must be noted that the artifact counts here are very small, and statistically the information is

not very reliable. However, those are the amounts of artifacts excavated and the only data to work with.

A count of all the dateable artifacts within 20 feet south of the gates was made to see if there was any difference in the way all of the artifacts are deposited near those two features. Only the mid-nineteenth century and earlier layers were used for the counts. The units near the Hutter gate are ER 404 and ER 319 moving south from the gate. In ER 404, a total of 34 artifacts, and 11.8 grams of window glass were counted from the computer database. The next 10 feet south is ER 319 with 43 artifacts and 42.7 grams of window glass. From this information it would appear that during the Hutter period the trash was scattered up to 20 feet beyond the gate. What was there while the fence stood was the central path of the garden. To the east there are two garden beds, and ER 319 is immediately west of a 10 foot space between the beds.

The units south of the Jefferson gate are ER 314 and 318, and ER 322. Because of the way the initial excavations were done the first 10 feet south of the Jefferson gate is not divided into simple 10 foot units. ER 314 is only four feet wide. That added to ER 318 will give a bias to the numbers with an addition of four feet of excavation over the next 10 feet south which is ER 322. For ER 314 and 318 overall dateable artifact counts are 168 and 73.9 grams of window glass. Artifact counts for ER 322 had to be done by hand rather than using the computer catalogue because of a problem with the way the unit was excavated. The bulldozed layer was not separated from the plowzone so I counted only the mid-

nineteenth century or earlier artifacts from the "A" layer in ER 322. There are 107 dateable artifacts and 36.9 grams of window glass for unit 322. The overall artifact distribution here indicates that 20 feet south of the gate was used for dumping trash. That is the area just north of the circular road. This reiterates the point made earlier.

The difference between the Jefferson and Hutter period trash disposal patterns might be in the landscape features of the two owners. In the Hutter period, the gate was an opening into the garden where there was a planting bed or path immediately in front of or beside the trash bearer. In Jefferson's day his gate led through a hedge to a wedge of space between the road and hedge. This whole space may have been a good area for dumping trash. (It must be remembered that the Jefferson gate is 23 feet south of the Hutter gate). The artifact numbers drop off dramatically south of ER 322. In the first ten feet of ER 461 there are only 54 artifacts overall. Interestingly this would have been the middle of the circular road. So to interpret this information perhaps it could be said that the Jefferson period garbage carriers did not want to go as far as the road to throw away the refuse. It may have been less unsightly to put it in the wedge of space (which was presumably grass and trees) between the hedge and the road.

To understand this information better the percentages of Jefferson to post-Jefferson ceramics were compared for these same units. In units ER 314 and 318 the total number of ceramics is 64. The number of Jefferson ceramics is 33 and post-Jefferson is 31 for

percentages of 52% and 48% respectively. In unit ER 322 the percentages are 64% post-Jefferson and 34% Jefferson. However, one must take these last few numbers with a grain of salt. These units were excavated differently than the ones they are being compared against. Interestingly the numbers for the units within 20 feet south of the Hutter gate are very similar. There are 22 ceramic fragments from ER 404, 10 are Jefferson period and 12 are post-Jefferson period. This gives percentages of 45% and 55% respectively. For ER 319 the numbers are 22 total ceramic fragments, with 13 Jefferson period and 9 post-Jefferson period. This makes percentages of 59% and 41% for Jefferson and post-Jefferson period ceramics.

The problem here is that the information from the raw numbers of total artifacts does not correlate with the data from the percentages of ceramics. If we look just at the raw number of total artifacts deposited near the gates the most logical conclusion is that the gates acted as a stopping place for the individuals disposing of trash. Most of it landed within the first 10 feet from the gates. However, the percentages arrived at by comparing the Jefferson to post-Jefferson ceramics would seem to suggest a different story. The most important being that the Jefferson gate made no difference in trash disposal amounts during its lifetime or after its demise. The amount of ceramics is nearly the same. Of the two sets of data the number of total artifacts would seem to be the most relevant because later deposition would have nothing to do with a gate long since gone and not known to later people. Though

the percentage calculations appear to confuse the issue they had to be worked out to be able to compare it with the data from the 1993 excavations which compared percentages from the distinct periods of ceramics. In other words it had to be apples to apples. However, it would seem that the more pertinent information comes from the raw numbers of total artifacts because the ceramics are only a portion of the total amount of trash deposited there. (See table 3).

ER #	% TJ ceramics	% Hutter ceramics
Hut. gate 404 10′	45%	55%
Hut. gate 319 20′	59%	41%
TJ gate 314&18 10′	52%	48%
TJ gate 322 20′	34%	64%
STP'S, 1114	66%	34%
STP'S, 1115	60%	40%
STP'S, 1116	50%	50%
STP'S, 1117	(stp)40%, (1117)64%	(stp)60%, (1117)36%
ER #	Total TJ artifacts	Tot. post TJ artifacts
404	13	31
319	14	29
314&18	46	122
322	30	77

Table 3. Percentage of Jefferson and post Jefferson ceramics from 10 and 20 feet south of the gates, and from the excavations in the south lawn in 1994.

In relation to the table above, notice on the map (figure 3) that the unit ER 318 is parallel with the test pits and unit ER 1114, and that ER 322 is parallel with the test pits and unit ER 1115. The numbers of these units do not correlate well. Partly I think because the artifact retrieval techniques were different.

Despite the above disclaimer and problems associated with this data we must use the evidence at hand and try to make interpretations with it. The number crunching appears to suggest several things. One is that the raw numbers of total artifacts south of the gates do not agree with the percentages of just the ceramics stated on page 26, which show that the Jefferson ceramics are clustering in the road. A possible scenario for this is that the trash was thrown to the left out the gate by a right handed person because the data on page 26 shows that the area to the southeast of the gate has a greater concentration of Jefferson ceramics in the road. Another possibility is that the trash is thrown in the wedge of lawn between the gate and road, and some spilled onto the north edge of the road.

The differences in overall artifact counts cannot be easily explained yet. A major problem is that the excavation strategies and artifact recovery techniques have differed from year to year. Our excavations need to be more consistent to be able to make hard conclusions based on distributional data. The above calculations and statistical machinations are an attempt to use the data that we have at hand, and as can be seen, it presents many problems because of the excavation techniques.

There is the possibility of the bulldozing from the late 1940's having affected the distributions. However, that does not seem to be the case from other pieces of evidence seen previously. There is in most parts of the lawn a clearly distinguishable layer of bulldozed material. Also in many cases the nineteenth century artifacts are not associated with mid-twentieth century artifacts.

The crossmend and comparative study was done because as we have continued our excavations over the past six years, the same types of ceramics continually appear in various areas of the property from different time periods and with different uses. The Napier is particularly noticeable. It is literally everywhere, even in the area of Jefferson's circular road. The reason for its wide dispersal may be that because it was the everyday china it broke frequently, and was discarded by different people who threw it out in assorted places because of individual ideas about where to put trash.

SUMMARY

The conclusions reached from this study of the artifacts and landscape of Poplar Forest might on the surface seem small. But the information gained begs a few more questions and shows how archeology is helping us to understand the evolution of this property. It is through analysis and observation that we have come to learn several things. Close inspection has shown that the bulldozing in the lawn did not radically affect the artifact

distribution. Jefferson period artifacts concentrate in the area north of his now invisible circular road.

The problems with trying to ascribe status, or determining who used artifacts when and where on disturbed sites are apparent in this study. There are also many variables that have not been taken into consideration because of time. Those are the cost of the ceramics, and who might have purchased them. We know for instance that some of Jefferson's slaves were buying goods from merchants in Bedford County. It is possible that some of the ceramics in the south lawn originally belonged to slaves living and working in the wing. The ceramics might have initially been discarded in the midden around the wing, along with the artifacts of the white families, only to be deposited in the lawn sometime later. Also there is the problem of dealing with percentages. The wing and garden artifact samples are only a random part of those collections. The differences in percentages of Jefferson to post Jefferson ceramics are also rather small. This is partly due to the fact that the overall numbers of artifacts is also small. The numbers were derived from excavations that were not made consistently. The units varied in size, and artifact recovery techniques differed. All of the conclusions made here must be tentative because of these factors. Given the above caveats, it imperative to continue excavations in the south lawn using a standardized excavation and artifact retrieval technique. This is necessary because the excavations discussed here only lead to provisional interpretations. However, this is the information that

we have taken from the ground and it is what we must work with. To do less would be neglecting a responsibility to report what was found up to this point.

The discrepancy between the amount of artifacts recovered from the planting beds and that of the plowzone above is not fully understood. The relationship may not have anything to do with the Jefferson period of occupation of the site, but may be due to later disturbances within the Hutter garden. A full excavation and 100 percent artifact recovery of a planting bed and the plowzone above it might clarify this situation.

Suggested avenues for further study are one of the hallmarks of archeological research reports. To continue in that tradition, here are some final thoughts on these investigations. In the south lawn large scale excavations will need to be done to fully determine if a Jefferson period garden lies within or below the Hutter era garden that has been found. While such excavations usually require machines to do the work, we must remember the problem of understanding the artifact assemblages from the different years of excavation in the south lawn. In order to compare assemblages that are equally weighted, any excavations near the road and mulberries must have 100 percent artifact retrieval.

More of the planting beds could be excavated to understand these features better. Perhaps the artifacts within them came from the wing at the time of its destruction. At this point we are not completely sure of the date of these garden features. The only way to really know, would be to fully excavate one of the beds. Only

with such large scale excavations will we understand the layout of the garden and know where to look below the Hutter period features for Jefferson period garden features.

APPENDIX A

MENDS BETWEEN SOUTH LAWN AND WING

1. Lustre on Redglazed Redware Pot (study collection#) sc# 0146

ER404 mends to ER246M

ER404 center of south lawn units at northern end.

ER246M Wing unit at base of east mound, predestruction layer. However this layer is disturbed by pipetrench, which is how fragment could have gotten to topsoil in lawn.

2. American Grey Stoneware Jug w/blue decoration and small handle. sc# 0153

ER461-30′ mends to 329D

461-30′is long N-S trench in center of lawn, 30 feet south in trench. ER329D is Jefferson/cobbs/Eppes/Hutter occupation, but disturbed by pipetrench, which is how fragment could have gotten to topsoil in lawn.

3. Blue Shell Edged Pearlware plate. sc# 0048

ER409 mends to 293B

ER409 is lawn unit with Hutter period gateposts.

ER293B is wing yard pipetrench, which is probably how fragment got into the lawn.

4. Mocha on Pearlware bowl. sc# 0010

ER318D mends to ER735C/3 and ER735C/3 mends to ER735A/1

ER318D is a lawn layer above french drain with TPQ of 1830

ER 735C/3 wing yard with TPQ of 1880

ER 735A/1 wing yard with TPQ of 20th Century

None of these layers are disturbed.

5. Basket Pattern on Pearlware, probably a basket from, painted green.

ER306E mends to ER315A

ER306E unit near smokehouse door, modern disturbance.

ER315A lawn near western end of hand-dug trench, plowzone.

Both of these layers are late contexts.

6. Blue shell edged Pearlware plate, embossed

ER329D mends to ER1025

ER329D wing near room 2 doorway, early occupation layer. This fragment also mends to ER329B with a TPQ of 1880. ER329D is disturbed by pipetrench. ER1025 is lawn plowzone.

The early wing layer - 329D - is disturbed, which is how fragment could have gotten to yard plowzone.

7. Blue shell edged Pearlware plate, embossed

ER309D mends to ER461-40'

ER309D is inside the kitchen building in mixed fill of mid 19th c.

ER461-40' is south lawn long trench 40 feet south in trench.

8. Pearlware, Cambridge and Oxford Series, Bodelian library

ER297F mends to ER474

ER297F wing predestruction layer, disturbed by pipetrenching.

ER 474 plowzone in southwest lawn.

Since the predestruction layer is disturbed, that is how the fragment could have gotten into the lawn.

APPENDIX B

Jeffersonian references to gardens at Poplar Forest

1782

Feb. 12, 1782 sent to Poplar For. 6 Apricot trees, 2 large Morellas (var. of sour cherry), 2 Kentish cherries (var. of sour cherry) 2 May Dukes (var of sour cherry). 2 Carnations (var. of cherry, see GB pg. 475), 2 Black hearts (var. of cherry), 2 White hearts (var. of sweet cherry), 2 Newtown pippings, 2 Russetins, 2 Golden Wildings, & some white strawberries. (GB. 94)

1806

Sept. 29 Jerry and his wagon are to go to Bedford before Christmas....He is to proceed to my brother's the first day, and stay there the Sunday. He will take in there some things lodged there last year; to wit, a pair of fowls, some clover seed, and some cow-peas, and proceed with them to Poplar Forest. (TJ to Bacon, Pierson, p. 62, 63)

1807

June 5

P.S. We are in great distress for Jerry's waggon at Monticello. I pray you therefore to press the finishing what is for him to do at Poplar Forest. Still I do not mean that you should send him away till he has completely done every thing necessary for the building so as not to interrupt the plantation for any thing about that. If you would engage the negroes to dig and remove the earth South of the house, 90 feet wide, down to a foot below the lower floor, and descending from thence due south 1 inch in every 10 ft. till it gets clear out of the ground, i would gladly pay them for it. But it is only with their own free will and undertaking to do it in their own time. The digging and removing is worth a bit a cubic yard. You might lay off separate slipes from the house south till it clears the hill and of such widths as each person or gang chose to undertake: & Mr. Perry may make wheelbarrows sufficient for them, & charge them to me. TJ to Chisolm, MHi

1808

March 22
The plants of Privet which you have received are from Mr Gordon and I intend them for a hedge in the garden which not being yet ready, they must be set out in a nursery where you can find a convenient open spot. The wagon must not go to Bedford before Mr Chisolm goes...(TJ to Bacon, MHi) Note: reference is probably to garden at Monticello, nearing completion at this time, but ref. to Mr Gordon may be important as well as plans for hedge/garden arrangement

July 22
We are at this time running the stairways, as for the digging what I showed you at Monticelo was a fact. I brought my boys from Albemarle, and made laborers of them, and I set fill (sic) to digging, and I mean to keep him at it as long as I am hear, for I think it as necessary job as can be done to the Building. Chisolm to TJ, MHi

September 4
I still keep fill (sic) at the diging, and give him all the assistance that I possible can, it seem to go on tolerable smooth but slaugh (sic), tho they is a very great improvement to look of the house besides the benefit by what digging, is already done. Chisolm to TJ, MHi

September 8
I wish to know what progress Phill has made in the digging, and would have him continue at it under your direction and Mr. Perry's as long as either of you are at work there, and then to come home. TJ to Chisolm, MHi

Dec. 29,
...I am sorry I did not send you the aspens you wrote for as davy (Larry?) had set off the day before I received yours desiring me to send them...Chisolm tell me he will (letter torn) digging about the house at bedford (sic)... (Bacon to TJ, ViU) Note: TJ is at PF

1811
Feb. 24
...The ground has been now covered a fortnight. I had begun to prepare an Asparagus bed, and to plant some raspberry bushes, gooseberry bushes etc. for Anne, but it has been impossible to go on with it, the earth is so deep frozen, and I expect to leave it so...(TJ to Martha, MHi)

Planting Memorandum
Feb. 27
planted 30. gooseberries. W. end of the patch
11. grapes of one kind
21. do. of another S. side of do. & E. end

rose bushes
bear grass N. side of do. at W. end.
pinks. in locks of fence N. & W.

50 cuttings of Athenian poplar. Nursery next N. fence between 2. stables.
prepared bed next Southwardly for tomatas
next. do lettuce
next do. 80 f. long for Asparagus
planted 16. raspberries along side of the gooseberries
25. cutting of Weepg. willow along side of the Ath. poplars.
Memom. plant on each mound
4. weeping willows on the top in a square 20. f. apart.
Golden willows in a circle round the middle. 15. f. apart.
Aspens in a circle round the foot. 15. f. apart.
plant 6. weeping willows round each Cloacinal.
(GB 464-65)

Aug. 13. I find growing in the truck patch 30. golden willows.
20. weeping do.
10 Athenian poplars
3 Lombardy poplars
2 Aspens

GB 464-465 (in Acct. Book)

April 8
Jefferson is planting " 7th. Peach stones. fine soft from Popl For." in his garden at Monticello. (GB 446)

Dec. 1811 The ground laid off for my **garden** is to be inclosed with a picquet fence, 7. feet high, & so close that a hare cannot get into it. It is 80. yards square, & will take, I suppose about 2400 rails 8. f. long, besides the running rails and stakes. The sheep to be folded in it every night. (TJ to Goodman, GB 467)

1812

January planted Aspens from Monticello. May 19. 5. living Calycanthuses. May 19. 1. living
Alpine strawberries. living.
White strawberries. living. (Planting Memorandum, GB 494)

March 1
I inclose some lettuce seed, and shall be glad if you will sow about 8. or 10. feet of one of the beds behind the stable, and do the same on the 1st. day of every month til the fall (GB 482). (TJ to Goodman).

May 12
(as) soon as the green swerd seed is ripe, have (som)e gathered by the negro children and sowed on all the naked parts (of the) mound, and then cover those parts lightly (with s)traw first, & brush laid over that.

(if m)ore seed could be gathered by the children it might be sowed in the fall or spring in the square round the house where the greensward has not as yet taken.

have strong stakes 12 f. long stuck by such of the young trees as grow crooked, and tie them up to the stake in as many places as necessary.
...weed the gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries and rose bushes.
sow lettuce the 1st of June. TJ to Goodman, GB 487-88).

August 8
...I have none of the tennis ball lettuce seed, as i do not cultivate it here, altho' I thought it the best for Bedford, as it does not require as much care and attention as the kind I have here...TJ to Goodman (DLC)

Nov. plant a double row of paper mulberries from stairways to the Mounds.
Clump of Athenian & Balsam poplars at each corner of the house. intermix locusts, common and Kentucky, redbuds, dogwoods, calycanthus, liriodendron.

Nov. 20 there are living 31 Golden willows, 19 Weeping willows. 10 Athenian Poplars, 3. Lombardy poplars, & 2 Monto. Aspens.

Nov. 26. the road & other gate leading from the house to the Waterlick road bears S. 43 1/2 W. Magnetically 179. po. to the center of the house.

25-27. took from the Nursery & planted in the grounds round the house

20. weeping willows. 20. golden willows. 10. Athenian poplars. 3. Lombardy poplars. 2. Monto. Aspens. 16 Calycanthuses.

Nov. 27 planted in the Nursery. 12 Monto. Aspens. 16. paper mulberries.

Dec. 5. planted Monto. Aspens from mr. Clay's. viz.
12. round the eastern mound 7 4. round West do.
6. still wanting.
planted also 2. European mulberries from mr. Clay's as part of the double row from the Western Mound towards the house.
from the wall of the Western Stairway to the foot of the Western mound 91. feet.
Eastern do.....Eastern do. 84. feet.
From the N. door along the circular road to the gate due South from the house is 270. yds. Consqly. 540. yds round. plant a row of paper mulberries on each side all around except the curve at the N. door; at 20 f. apart. will take about 160 trees.
plant on each bank, right & left, on the S. side of the house, a row of lilacs, Althaeas, Gelder roses, Roses, Calycanthus.

(Planting Memorandum, GB 494)

Dec. 13
The winter's work is to be 1. moving fences. to wit, the fences for the curtilage of the house as laid off by Capt. Slaughter, that for the meadow by the still, and inclosing the Tomahawk field.
...Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best... TJ to Goodman, GB 493

Dec. 14
...I promised you some sprout Kale seed, which I now send. I do not remember to have seen Salsafia in your garden, & yet it is one of the best roots for the winter. some call it oyster plant because fried in butter it can scarcely be distinguished from a fried oyster. I send you some seed. it is to be sowed and managed as carrots & to be taken up at the same time & put away for winter use. (TJ to Charles Clay, from PF, DLC)

1813

planting instructions for garden/nursery at Monticello

Octo. 6. Nursery 5. terras
W. end 4 fine Heath peach stones. Carysbrook
next 22. fine soft white. like Brock's. -from Poplar Forest
33. very good soft- From Poplar Forest
8. do. .....- from Poplar Forest (GB 497)

May 10

...you will perceive from these senile details of the nursery (kids, not plants) that I am becoming old. I wish I had no other proofs, but I am weakening very sensibly. I can walk no further than my **garden.** I ride, however, and in a carriage can come here without fatigue. (GB 501)

Sept. 8

...take for your own use one eighth of the peach or apple brandy which will be made, & put the rest in the cellar of the house. let the people have hereafter a fixed allowance of salt;...and give besides to each grown negro a pint a month for their snaps, cymlins (bjh-a type of squash) & other uses. (TJ to Goodman, GB 517-518).

1814

June 6
...I have not seen a pea since I left Albemarle, and have no vegetables but spinach and scrubby lettuce...TJ to Martha, MHi

Dec. 10, ...He (servant) brings some trees etc. (for Poplar Forest) which please have planted immediately in the nursery behind the stables 12. inches apart. TJ to Goodman
GB 534, DLC

1815

June 1
...I dined with them (Mr. and Mrs. Divers at Farmington) on the 29th of April. Here our first peas were the 29th of May, which shows the inattention to the cheapest, pleasantest and most wholesome part of comfortable living (TJ to Mrs. Trist, MHi). Note: TJ arrives at PF on May 18th.

August 31
...Cate, with good aid, is busy drying peaches for you. We abound in the luxury of the peach, these being as fine here now as we used to have in Albemarle 30. years ago and indeed as fine as I ever saw any where (TJ to Martha, MHi).

Planting Memorandum
Nov. 2 1815 planted 64. paper mulberries in the nursery. (GB 549)

Nov. 2
7. bushels of cow peas plant 40. acres in drills 3 1/2 f. apart. Pop. For. (Farm Book, under PEAS)

Nov. 18
...In the mean time I send you a note of the result of my ten days labor, and some Otaheite or Paper mulberries, valuable for the regularity of their form, velvet leaf and for being fruitless. They are charming near a porch for densely shading it. (TJ to Charles Clay, ViU)

Nov. 25 planted 5 calycanthuses on each Mound. 4 Monticello Arpens at the N. foot of the W. Mound & 3 do. at the N. foot of the E. Mound.

19 paper mulberries in a clump between the W. Cloacina & fence & 19 do. in a clump between & E. Cloacina and fence.

Planting mem. (GB 549)

1816

March 15
...also some plants which I pray you to have set out immediately in the **nursery** behind the old stable, in a rich part...If the eastern fence of the **garden** is run, the strawberries had better be set out in the middle of it that they may spread themselves. They are the famous Hudson strawberry which I got from Philadelphia. TJ to Yancey, MHi

Nov. 1 planted large roses of difft. kinds in the oval bed in the N. front.
dwarf roses in the N.E. oval. Robinia hispida in the N.W. do.
Althaeas, Gelder roses, lilacs, calycanthus, in both mounds.
Privet round both Necessaries.
White Jessamine along N. W. of E. offices.
Azedaracs opp. 4 angles of the house. Aug. 17. 5. livg.

22. planted 190 poplars in the grounds. 5 Athenian poplars. 2 Kentucky locusts near house. European mulberries in the new garden. (Planting Memorandum, GB 563).

Nov. 10
...Tell Wormley also to send some calycanthus plants well done up in moss and straw, and about a bushel of orchard grass seed out of the large box in the greenhouse. Would it be possible for you so to make up some of the hardy bulbous roots of flowers as to come safely on the mule? Daffodils, jonquils, narcissus, flags, & lilies of different kinds, refuse hyacinths etc. with some of the small bulbs of the hanging onion. I think if wrapped and sowed up tight in two balls, one to come in each end of the wallet with nothing else in it to bruise them, the would come safe...(TJ to Martha, MHi)

November 20
...Wormley will see to every thing but the bulbous roots. The kinds you mentioned are all growing at present and could not be moved without destroying them, but I have send you a number of sets of tulips and hyacinths some blooming roots and some that will not bloom til the ensuing year but I believe all the finest kinds. They were intended to have been planted in the borders last fall but were kept out waiting for a bed to be prepared for them. The others can be dug up at the proper season and planted next summer or fall...(Martha to TJ, MHi)

1817

March 6, 1817
I expect to be with you about the middle of April, and I believe I left directions for Neal as to the **garden.** Some artichoke roots are sent by the waggon which he must plant in the locks of the fence within the **large garden.** Those we got from Mr. Clay are not the true kind. They will carry some Pride of China plants which may be planted somewhere near the mounds. (TJ to Yancey, MHi)

1818

Nov. 10, 1818 Maria having now a child, I promised her a house to be built this winter. Be so good as to have it done. place it along the **garden** fence on the road Eastward from Hanah's house. (TJ to Yancey, MHi)

Dec. 24, 1818 Dicks load...1 firkin lard, 1 firkin butter gross weight 54 lb. 1 bag dried peaches weighing 45, and 1 keg butter 104 lb. making in all 158 lb. besides the keg sent by Johnny...(Yancey to TJ, MHi)

1819
January 9
...The sowing of peas shall be attended to and I expect by the time Jerry returns, I shall be able to send you some of those late peas, which you were pleased with last summer (Yancey to TJ, MHi)

January 17
...I shall be very glad to receive the latter peas I liked so much the last year and hope Nace has saved me a full sowing of them. I wrote you the last year that Dick had delivered all his articles safe and thought so at the time, but I learnt afterwards that he did not deliver a bag containing a bushel of dried peaches which he said had dropped thro a hole in the bottom of the wagon...This year...the basket of apples is a little more than half full...I will ask the favor of you to send by Jerry the Athenian poplars in the nursery of the garden. You will know them by the stems being ribbed, which distinguishes them from the Lombardy poplars and aspens in the same place. Their roots should be covered very thick with straw, tied firmly on, so that the cold may not reach the roots, which it very certainly kills. (TJ to Yancey, MHi).

April 23
planted in the **garden** under the N. wall of the stable 20. cuttings of Balsam poplars from Mr. Radford (some may live).(Planting Memorandum, PF, GB 587)

Nov. 19
...Hanah has two pots of nice preserved peaches, which can be sent down by Johny H if you desire it. (Yancey to TJ, MHi).

June 13
(re: hail storm) the garden is entirely destroyed and 77 panes of glass broken to atoms and the house is flooded with water...
(Yancey to TJ, MHi)

Nace says that he is deprived of gardening and by the hole wishes you to be informed of them.
(Jos. Hemings to TJ, Nov. 2 1819)

1820

Feb. 27, 1820...At Tomahawk McDaniel's field well ploughed, but they have done very (?) little work on the branches, owing to the immense quantity of clearing up in the field of Briars and sasafras, which you no doubt recollect. It is now in nice order for planting. It is very much exhausted, but in addition we shall have the peach orchard and Perry's field for corn. (Yancey to TJ, MHi).

Dec. 14. 1820 Sawing for paling a garden 250 f. square (PF?)

Jefferson to Capt Martin (note from Bill Beiswanger)
gotten from person who owns document

182[illegible] [illegible] Nice stalking [illegible]

FRUITS/BERRIES

Apples
Feb. 12, 1782 sent to Poplar For...2 Newtown pippings, 2 Russetins, 2 Golden Wildings (GB 94)

January 17, 1819 ...I wrote you the last year that Dick had delivered all his articles safe and thought so at the time, but I learnt afterwards that he did not deliver a bag containing a bushel of dried peaches which he said had dropped thro a hole in the bottom of the wagon...This year...the basket of apples is a little more than half full...(TJ to Yancey, MHi)

Apricots
Feb. 12, 1782 sent to Poplar For...6 Apricot trees (GB 94)

Cherries
Feb. 12, 1782 sent to Poplar For...2 large Morellas, 2 Kentish cherries, 2 May Dukes, 2 Carnations, 2 black hearts, 2 white hearts (GB 94)

Gooseberries
1811 planting memorandum
30. gooseberries. W. end of the patch ...
planted 16. raspberries along side of the gooseberries(GB 464-65)

Feb. 24, 1811...The ground has been now covered a fortnight. I had begun to prepare an Asparagus bed, and to plant some raspberry bushes, gooseberry bushes etc. for Anne, but it has been impossible to go on with it, the earth is so deep frozen, and I expect to leave it so...(TJ to Martha, MHi)

May 12. 1812
weed the gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries & rosebushes.
sow lettuce the 1st. of June. (TJ to Goodman, GB 487-88).

Grape
1811 planting memorandum
11. grapes of one kind
21. do of another. S. side of do. & E. end (GB, 464-65)

Peach (needs to be added to)
April 8. 1811 Jefferson is planting "7th. Peach stones. fine soft from Popl. For. " in his garden at Monticello (GB 446).

Sept. 8, 1813...take for your own use one eighth of the peach or apple brandy which will be made, & put the rest in the cellar of the house. let the people have hereafter a fixed allowance of salt;...and give besides to each grown negro a pint a month for their snaps, cymlins (bjh-a type of squash) & other uses. (TJ to Goodman, GB 517-518).

1813. planting instructions for garden/nursery at Monticello
Octo. 6. Nursery 5. terras
W. end 4 fine Heath peach stones. Carysbrook
next 22. fine soft white. like Brock's. -from Poplar Forest
33. very good soft- From Poplar Forest
8. do. .....- from Poplar Forest (GB 497)

August 31, 1815...Cate, with good aid, is busy drying peaches for you. We abound in the luxury of the peach, these being as fine here now as we used to have in Albemarle 30. years ago and indeed as fine as I ever saw any where (TJ to Martha, MHi).

Dec. 24, 1818 Dicks load...1 firkin lard, 1 firkin butter gross weight 54 lb. 1 bag dried peaches weighing 45, and 1 keg butter 104 lb. making in all 158 lb. besides the keg sent by Johnny...(Yancey to TJ, MHi)

January 17, 1819 ...I wrote you the last year that Dick had delivered all his articles safe and thought so at the time, but I learnt afterwards that he did not deliver a bag containing a bushel of dried peaches which he said had dropped thro a hole in the bottom of the wagon...This year...the basket of apples is a little more than half full...(TJ to Yancey, MHi)

Nov. 19, 1819...Hanah has two pots of nice preserved peaches, which can be sent down by Johny H if you desire it. (Yancey to TJ, MHi).

Feb. 27, 1820...At Tomahawk McDaniel's field well ploughed, but they have done very (?) little work on the branches, owing to the immense quantity of clearing up in the field of Briars and sasafras, which you no doubt recollect. It is now in nice order for planting. It is very much exhausted, but in addition we shall have the peach orchard and Perry's field for corn. (Yancey to TJ, MHi).

Raspberries
1811 planting memorandum
planted 16. raspberries along side of the gooseberries(GB 464-65)

Feb. 24, 1811...The ground has been now covered a fortnight. I had begun to prepare an Asparagus bed, and to plant some raspberry bushes, gooseberry bushes etc. for Anne, but it has been impossible to go on with it, the earth is so deep frozen, and I expect to leave it so...(TJ to Martha, MHi)

May 12. 1812
weed the gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries & rosebushes.
sow lettuce the 1st. of June. (TJ to Goodman, GB 487-88).

Strawberries
Feb. 12, 1782 sent to Poplar For... some white strawberries (GB 94)

1812 planting memorandum
January planted Aspens from Monticello. May 19. 5. living....Alpine strawberries. living
White strawberries. living (GB 494)

May 12. 1812. weed the gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries & rosebushes.
sow lettuce the 1st. of June. (TJ to Goodman, GB 487-88).

March 15, 1816
...also some plants which I pray you to have set out immediately in the **nursery** behind the old stable, in a rich part...If the eastern fence of the **garden** is run, the strawberries had better be set out in the middle of it that they may spread themselves. They are the famous Hudson strawberry which I got from Philadelphia. TJ to Yancey, MHi

VEGETABLES

Artichoke
March 6, 1817 I expect to be with you about the middle of April, and I believe I left directions for Neal as to the **garden.** Some artichoke roots are sent by the waggon which he must plant in the locks of the fence within the **large garden.** Those we got from Mr. Clay are not the true kind. They will carry some Pride of China plants which may be planted somewhere near the mounds. (TJ to Yancey, MHi)

Asparagus
1811 planting memorandum
...prepared bed next Southwardly for tomatas
next do. lettuce
next do. 80 f. long for Asparagus (GB 464-65)

Feb. 24, 1811...The ground has been now covered a fortnight. I had begun to prepare an Asparagus bed, and to plant some raspberry bushes, gooseberry bushes etc. for Anne, but it has been impossible to go on with it, the earth is so deep frozen, and I expect to leave it so...(TJ to Martha, MHi)

Dec. 13, 1812
Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best...(GB 493)

Carrot
Dec. 13, 1812
Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best...(GB 493)

Dec. 14, 1812...I promised you some sprout Kale seed, which I now send. I do not remember to have seen Salsafia in your garden, & yet it is one of the best roots for the winter. some call it oyster plant because fried in butter it can scarcely be distinguished from a fried oyster. I send you some seed. it is to be sowed and managed as carrots & to be taken up at the same time & put away for winter use. (TJ to Charles Clay, from PF, DLC GB 493)

Cymlins (Cymlings, squash)

Sept. 8, 1813...take for your own use one eighth of the peach or apple brandy which will be made, & put the rest in the cellar of the house. let the people have hereafter a fixed allowance of salt;...and give besides to each grown negro a pint a month for their snaps, cymlins (bjh-a type of squash) & other uses. (TJ to Goodman, GB 517-518).

Haricot (bean)
Dec. 13, 1812
Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best...(GB 493)

Kale
Dec. 14, 1812 ...I promised you some sprout Kale seed, which I now send. I do not remember to have seen Salsafia in your garden, & yet it is one of the best roots for the winter. some call it oyster plant because fried in butter it can scarcely be distinguished from a fried oyster. I send you some seed. it is to be sowed and managed as carrots & to be taken up at the same time & put away for winter use. (TJ to Charles Clay, from PF, DLC GB 493)

Lettuce
1811 planting memorandum
...prepared bed next Southwardly for tomatas
next do. lettuce
next do. 80 f. long for Asparagus(GB 464-65)

March 1, 1812 I inclose some lettuce seed, and shall be glad if you will sow about 8. or 10. feet of one of the beds behind the stable, and do the same on the 1st. day of every month til the fall (GB 482). (TJ to Goodman).

May 12. 1812 weed the gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries & rosebushes.
sow lettuce the 1st. of June. (TJ to Goodman, GB 487-88).

August 8, 1812
I have none of the tennis ball lettuce seed, as I do not cultivate it here, altho' I thought it the best for Bedford, as it does not require as much care and attention as the kind I have here...TJ to Goodman, DLC (here meaning Monticello)

Dec. 13, 1812 Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best...(GB 493)

June 6, 1814
... I have not seen a pea since I left Albemarle, and have no vegetables but spinach and scrubby lettuce...TJ to Martha, MHi

Pea
June 1, 1815...I dined with them...on the 29th of April. Here our first peas were the 29th of May, which shows the inattention to the cheapest, pleasantest and most wholesome part of comfortable living (TJ to Mrs. Trist, MHi) Note: TJ arrives at PF on May 18th.

Nov. 2, 1815 7. bushes of cow peas plant 40 acres in drills 3 1/2 f. apart Pop. For. (FB, under PEAS)

January 9, 1819 ...The sowing of peas shall be attended to and I expect by the time Jerry returns, I shall be able to send you some of those late peas, which you were pleased with last summer (Yancey to TJ, MHi)

January 17, 1819 ...I shall be very glad to receive the latter peas I liked so much the last year and hope Nace has saved me a full sowing of them. (TJ to Yancey, MHi)

Salsafia
Dec. 12, 1812 ...I promised you some sprout Kale seed, which I now send. I do not remember to have seen Salsafia in your garden, & yet it is one of the best roots for the winter. some call it oyster plant because fried in butter it can scarcely be distinguished from a fried oyster. I send you some seed. it is to be sowed and managed as carots & to be taken up at the same time & put away for winter use. (TJ to Charles Clay, from PF, DLC)

Dec. 13, 1812
Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best...(GB 493)

Spinach

Dec. 13, 1812

Sow a bed of Carrots, & one of Salsafia, each about as large as the Asparagus bed; and sow a small bed of spinach. Long haricots to be planted as usual, & lettuce to be sown in the spring. If a thimblefull of seed could be sowed every other Monday, on a bed of 4. f. wide & 6. or 8. feet long it would be best...(GB 493)

June 6, 1814

... I have not seen a pea since I left Albemarle, and have no vegetables but spinach and scrubby lettuce...TJ to Martha, MHi

Tomato

1811 planting memorandum

...prepared bed next Southwardly for tomatas
next do. lettuce
next do. 80 f. long for Asparagus(GB 464-65)

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