

AN INTERIM REPORT ON THE 1993 EXCAVATIONS:
THE QUARTER SITE
AT
POPLAR FOREST, FOREST, VIRGINIA

by

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of the first season of archaeological investigations, carried out from March through November 1993, at a site located along the eastern property boundary of Jefferson's Poplar Forest. The "Quarter site" contains the remains of a wooden dwelling occupied by African American slaves between approximately 1790 and 1810. The following report will outline the methodology used to excavate the site, summarize the findings, discuss assumptions that have gone into dating and identifying the site thus far, and suggest research avenues to be pursued during the 1994 season.

Excavation and analysis of the site is currently directed by the author, Barbara Heath. Susan Andrews and Alasdair Brooks have overseen the processing and cataloguing of artifacts and wet screen samples. They were assisted by Michael Strutt, and by excavators Elaine Davis, Martha Moore and Marca Wesen Bondurant. Julie Ashby, Alex Bentley, Hannah Canel, Patricia Everett and Joe Kelley, students participating in the 5th annual Poplar Forest-University of Virginia field school, spent four weeks of their summer removing plowzone, screening, mapping, excavating features and taking notes. Rosemary Anglin, Sherry Anthony, Teresa Bartholomew, Debbie Berger, Marion Farmer, James Goins, April Hamby, Julia Hubbard, Sandy Moorman, Starla Shaeff, Clint Turner, Anissa Umberger, Ella Weber, Frank Weiss, Skip Parks and Azalia Francis, participants in the first annual seminar "Digging, Learning, and Teaching: Archaeology for Teachers at Poplar Forest" spent twenty hours on site doing the same. Volunteers Donald Cushman, Dot Saunders and Ruth Glass have completed the lion's share of artifact processing from the site.

II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF POPLAR FOREST

The Early Years

In 1745, William Stith patented a four thousand acre tract of land "at the Poplar Forest...passing the Ridge between the Waters of James River and Roanok". Stith's daughter, Elizabeth Pasteur, later inherited the property, and sold it to Colonel Peter Randolph. He conveyed the land to John Wayles in 1764. Upon Wayles' death in 1773, Thomas Jefferson inherited the property. With the exception of a prolonged stay in 1781, when he and his family sought refuge at Poplar Forest following the seizure of Monticello by the British, Jefferson's visits to his Bedford holdings were sporadic in the final decades of the eighteenth century.

Slave lists in his Farm Book, expenses in his Memorandum Book, and surviving plats hint at the structure of Jefferson's holdings, but provide few details for this period. The largest Bedford plantation was divided into two farms named for the waterways that ran through them: Bear Creek to the north and Tomahawk, or Poplar Forest, to the south. Agricultural fields clustered around the creeks, producing tobacco in the early years, and later, wheat, corn, barley and a host of other crops for internal consumption. "Wingos", a smaller farm of 1000 acres, lay to the northwest. In 1790, this property was given to Martha Jefferson upon her marriage to Thomas Mann Randolph.

Jefferson sent his brickmason Hugh Chisolm to Poplar Forest in 1805.

Chisolm laid the foundations for the octagonal house in the summer of 1806. By 1809, work was essentially completed on the building, although five years later, construction activities would resume with the addition of a hundred foot long "wing of offices" attached to the east face of the house. Jefferson created Poplar Forest as a villa: a gentleman's retreat for reading, writing and contemplation set within a garden and supported by a largely self-sufficient agrarian economy supplemented by light industry.

From 1806 until his last visit in 1821, he visited Poplar Forest several times a year, staying for a few days or for several weeks. After the house was finished to the extent that he deemed it suitable for feminine companionship, his granddaughters accompanied him on his visits.

To create an appropriate setting for his villa, Jefferson began designing and altering the landscape while the house was still under construction; setting his slave Phil to "the digging" of the south lawn bowling green, and presumably creating earthen mounds east and west of the house with the excavated soil (Chisolm to Jefferson, July 22 and Sept. 4, 1808; Jefferson to Chisolm, Sept. 8, 1808, MHi) In 1811 he formally laid out a kitchen garden, though a less formal truck patch existed on the site earlier (Betts 1944:464-65,467). The following year, ornamental trees and shrubs were planted on the mounds, between the mounds and the house, in clumps at the four "corners" of the house, along the banks of the south lawn, and around the perimeter of a circular road that enclosed the core landscape (Betts 1944:494). Jefferson's vision for Poplar Forest's landscape extended beyond the circular road, however, for in 1812 he also directed his overseer to spend the winter laying out the fences for a 61 acre curtilage, bounded to the north and south by the branches of the Tomahawk Creek (Betts 1944:493).

That year, in a letter to his son-in-law, he described the property thus:

It [the 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 (Betts 1944:488-489).

By 1821 Jefferson relinquished most of his involvement in the management of Poplar Forest to his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. Two years later, another grandson, Francis Eppes, took up residence at the property with his bride Elizabeth. At his death in 1826, Jefferson bequeathed the property to Francis, who sold Poplar Forest to his neighbor William Cobbs in late 1828 and subsequently

moved to Florida.

Cobbs purchased the house and 1,074 acres for \$4,925. At the time of its purchase, the house was valued at \$5,000 and the property appraised at \$20,000, so both were sold at a considerable loss. Cobb's daughter, Emma, and Edward S. Hutter were married at the property on October 7, 1840, and continued to live there with her parents. Hutter resigned from the Navy in 1844 to devote his life to full-time farming. The Hutters had eleven children, all born at Poplar Forest.

A fire destroyed the roof and interior woodwork of the house in November of 1845. Because the interior partition walls were built of brick, they survived the blaze, as did the exterior walls and the columns on the north and south portico. Following the fire, the Hutters rebuilt the house with significant alterations.

Mrs. Cobbs died at Poplar Forest in 1877 at the age of 76, outliving her husband, her daughter, and her son-in-law. In the years after her death the second generation of Poplar Forest Hutters began using the house as a summer home. During this time farm managers and tenant farmers lived on the property year-round.

The house remained in the Hutter family for 118 years. In 1946 the James O. Watts family bought Poplar Forest and lived there on a full time basis. From 1980 to 1983 the house belonged to Dr. James Johnson of North Carolina and was unoccupied. In December of 1983 the house and fifty acres were bought by the Corporation for Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest, a private organization whose goal is to open the property to the public and restore it to its original appearance. Today the Corporation owns approximately 500 acres of the original plantation.

Documentary Evidence Relating to the Quarter Site

A map of Jefferson's Bedford holdings drawn to accompany his marriage settlement to daughter Martha in 1790 shows both Poplar Forest and the adjacent tract "Wingos". Sketches of houses appear in both areas; the former designated as the "Old Plantation"; the latter as "Wingos", named for an overseer employed there in the early 1770s (Figure 1). Significantly, this map indicates a plantation headquarters at Poplar Forest, indeed an "old" headquarters, sixteen years before the octagonal house was built.

Another early plat of the property, probably dating between 1800-1805, is more difficult to interpret. The drawing reflects at least one alteration to the original, where Jefferson apparently superimposed his revised plans for a dwelling house onto an earlier map of the property. The plat notes the location of an overseer's house, the blacksmith Brock's shop, several barns and the proposed location of a new dwelling along the western boundary of the property (Figure 2).

Two additional maps, the Callaway map of 1800 (Figure 3) and the "Watson" map of 1805, are nearly identical to each other. The latter was apparently copied from the former, with additional notations in Jefferson's hand regarding likely house sites. The plats locate the dwelling of slave headman Jame Hubbard at Bear Creek, a prize barn and a "mansion" or "mansion" house adjoined

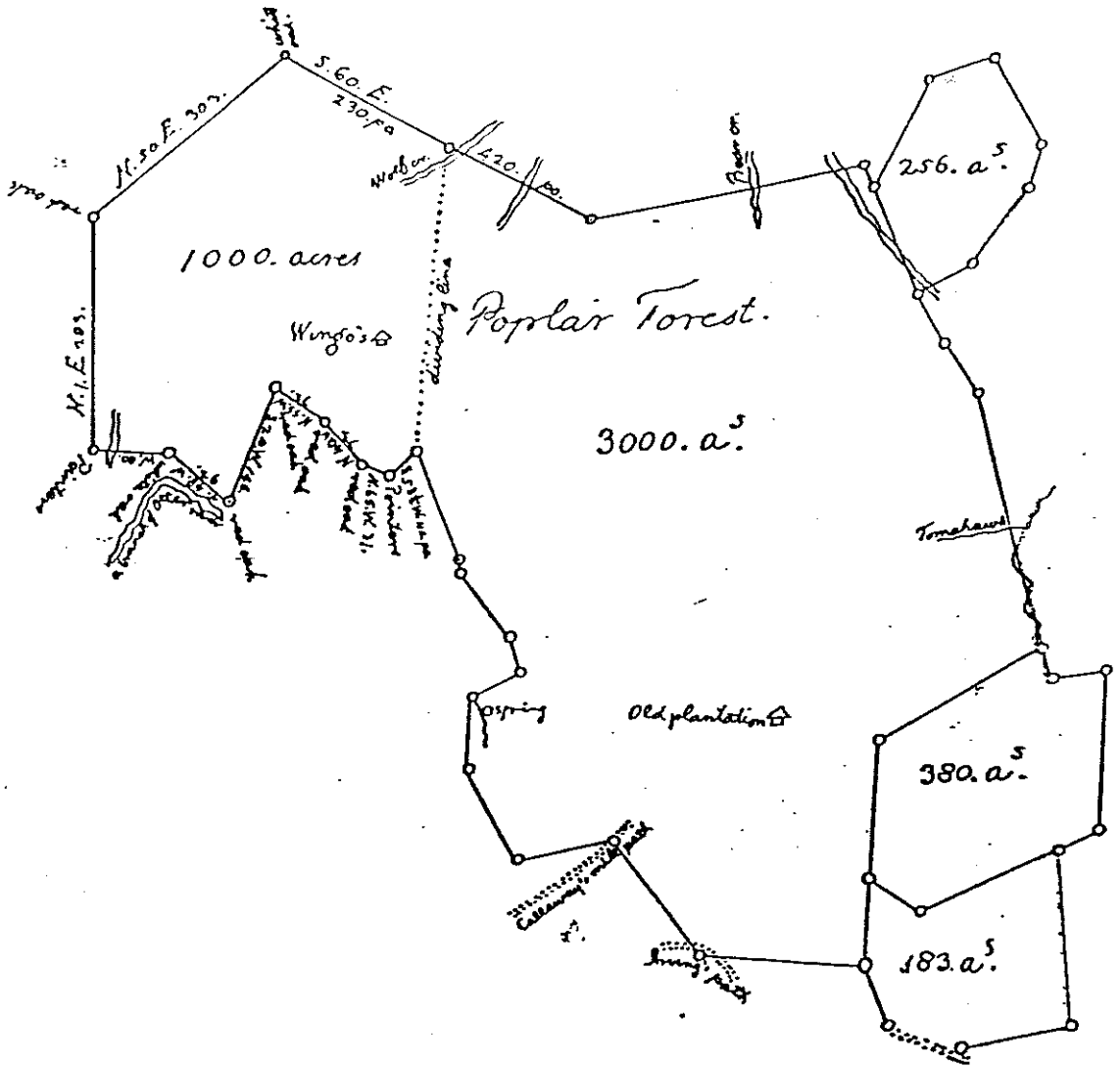


FIGURE 1: 1790 map of Poplar Forest showing the "Old Plantation" and "Wingo's".

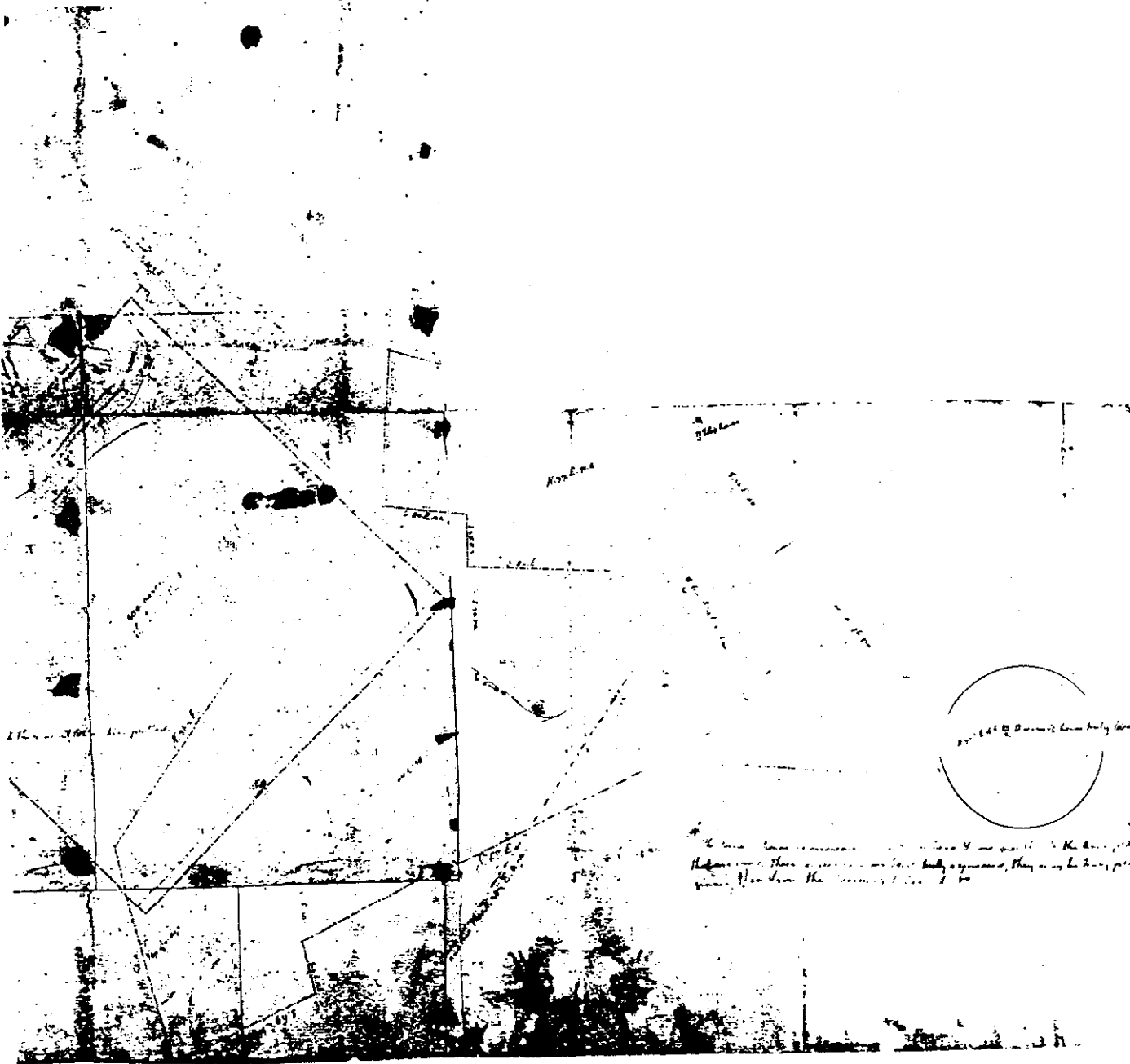


FIGURE 2: Detail of c. 1800 map of Poplar Forest (N255) showing the overseer's house.

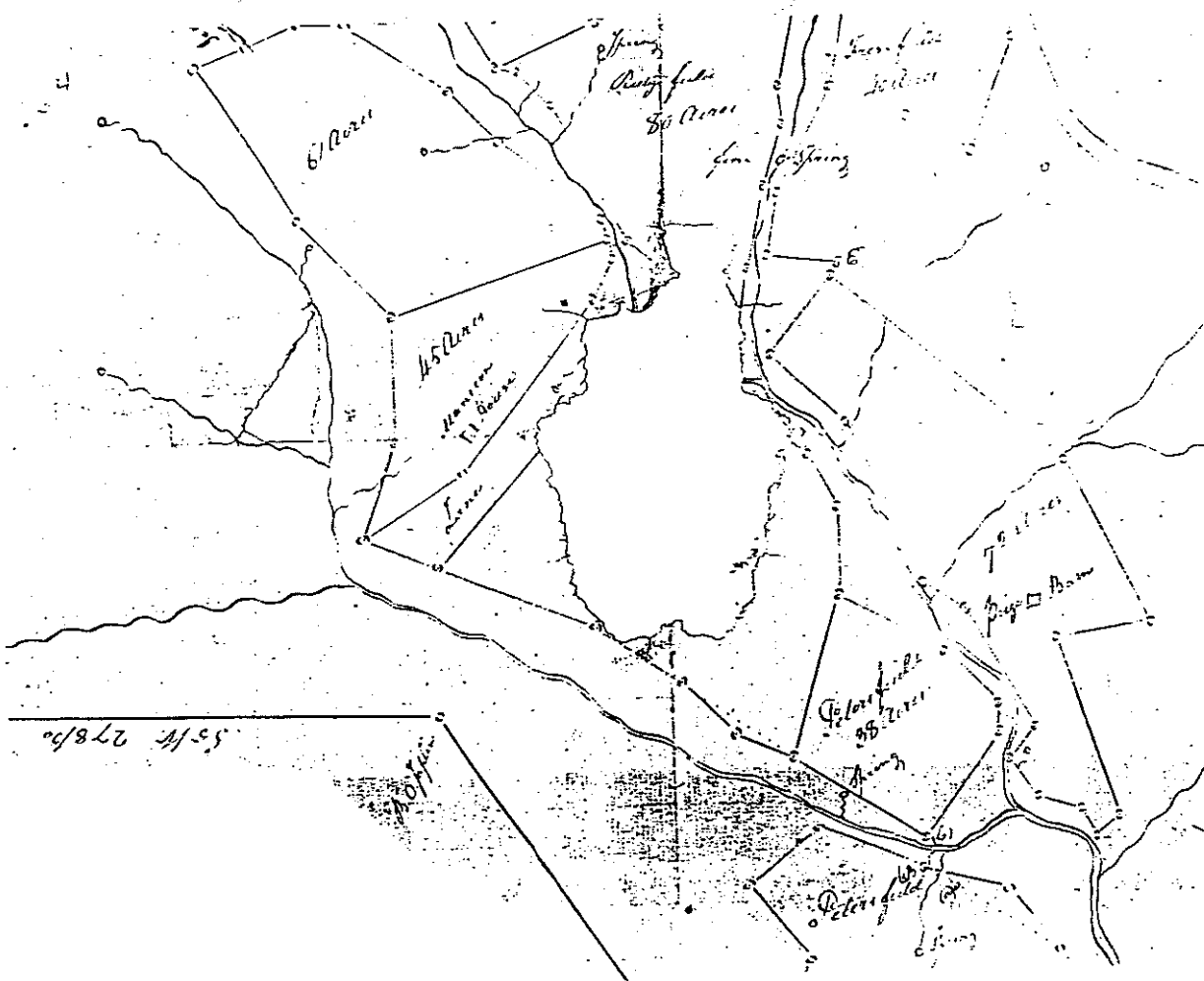


FIGURE 3: Detail of c. 1800 map of Poplar Forest (N266) showing "mansion house" and "lane".

by "the lane" and the "Shop field" at Poplar Forest.¹

A survey plat drafted by Joseph Slaughter in 1813 (Figure 4), and a corresponding memorandum sent by Jefferson to overseer Jeremiah Goodman in 1812, attest to some major changes which Jefferson imposed on the plantation landscape. Most significant was the establishment of a "curtilage", an enclosed area surrounding the house that probably contained within it slave quarters, farm support buildings, gardens and pasturage, separated from the outer fields by fencing erected during the winter of 1812². Within the enclosure of the curtilage fence may be elements of the earliest plantation landscape.

During 1992, landscape architect William Reiley transformed each plat to an identical scale, and overlaid boundaries and structures on a modern topographic map. Significantly, the locations of the overseer's house from one map and the "mansion" house from two others cluster on the same hillside. It is probable that an overseer's house, situated some 600-700' east of the site where Jefferson constructed his octagonal brick house, marked the center of the plantation prior to 1806.

The eastern fence line of the 1812 curtilage, when superimposed on a modern aerial photograph, falls exactly on Poplar Forest's current property boundary. Although the curtilage fence line disappeared sometime after Jefferson's death (a 20th century fence lies approximately 30' to the west), it apparently survived in the land deeds, and was used as the modern boundary when the tract was subdivided for sale in the 1970s.

The combined documentary evidence indicates that two knolls located approximately 500-800' east of the house may be historically very sensitive. Potential archaeological features dating from the period prior to the building of the octagonal retreat house include remains of the overseer's/mansion house, associated outbuildings such as dependencies and slave quarters, and associated landscape features. Further, the documentary evidence outlined above suggests that evidence for the 1812 curtilage fence may survive archaeologically within the area excavated in 1993.

III. FIELD AND LABORATORY METHODS

The Quarter site was discovered in March of 1993 during a survey of the

¹. While the term "mansion" in modern usage refers to a large and costly house, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "mansion" could refer to any abode or dwelling house.

². "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" (Jefferson to Jeremiah A. Goodman, December 13, 1812 as cited in Betts 1944:492).

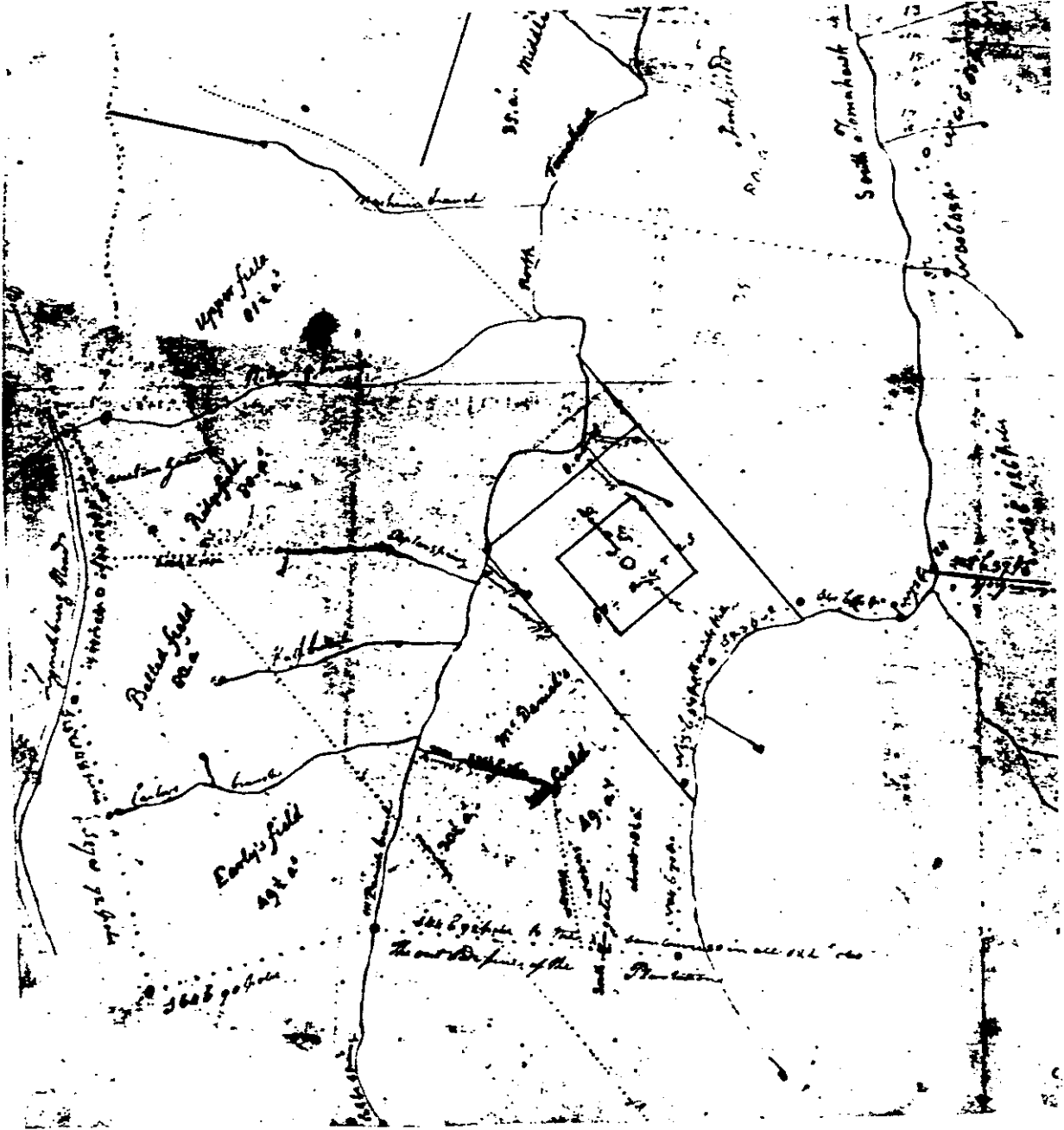


FIGURE 4: Detail of 1813 Slaughter map of Poplar Forest showing the boundaries of the curtilage between the north and south branches of Tomahawk creek.

eastern property boundary in preparation for the planting of a tree screen (Heath 1993). Archaeologists laid out a test grid consisting of three lines originating from an arbitrary 0', 0' point. The first line was situated just inside the property boundary, while the second and third ran parallel to the first at distances of 25' and 50' west of it. Test units began adjacent to the 0', 0' point in line one, at 25' north, 25' west in line two, and at 0' north, 50' west in line three. In this way, test intervals were staggered, so that within any given 50'x 50' square, archaeologists excavated a total of 5 test units. Testing was done using a mechanical earth drill with an auger 10" in diameter. Each test hole was mapped on a master map (Figure 5).

Archaeologists scraped the sides of each auger hole to identify soil layers and look for historic features and artifacts. They assigned each test unit an ER number with which all information concerning soil types, depths of soil layers, and associated artifacts was recorded. Additionally, archaeologists trowel-sorted the excavated soil to locate artifacts unearthed by the auger. Once recording and artifact collection was completed, each hole was backfilled. If artifacts or features were discovered by the auger, test holes were enlarged with a shovel to 2' x 2' squares in order to locate significant features or additional artifacts.

One hundred and twenty five feet north and 25' west of the 0', 0' point, archaeologists uncovered the edge of a feature, distinguished from subsoil by a deposit of very dark brown organic loam. The test excavation was expanded to a 10' square, and revealed the partial outline of a rectangular stain. The discovery of this substantial feature associated with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century artifacts prompted further exploration of the site. A grid, consisting of four 10' square units, was imposed over and around the feature. These units allowed for the definition of the rectangular feature, and for the discovery of additional artifacts and features. As a result, the decision was made to expand the site further. By the end of the season, a total of eight 10' x 10' units and two 5' x 10' units had been opened.³

Archaeologists quickly discovered that the site had been plowed following abandonment. In order to explore the value of plowzone data more fully (see below), the site was further subdivided into 5'x 5' units once topsoil was removed.

³. Each excavation unit receives a unique number, combined with the abbreviation "ER". ER refers to the excavation register, or recordkeeping system. Units are numbered consecutively across Poplar Forest, but if two sites are being excavated simultaneously, numbers may be split between sites, and not follow in sequence at subsites. Thus, for example, at the quarter site units run from ER828-ER831, and then skip to ER1001.

With the exception of topsoil, all soil layers and/or features within an excavation unit receive a letter designation. To avoid confusion in the recording system, the letters "T", "O" and "U" are not used as they can be easily misread as numbers or as other letters. Instead, layers are labelled consecutively A-H, J-N and P-Z. If necessary, labelling extends to double letters, i.e. ER200AA.

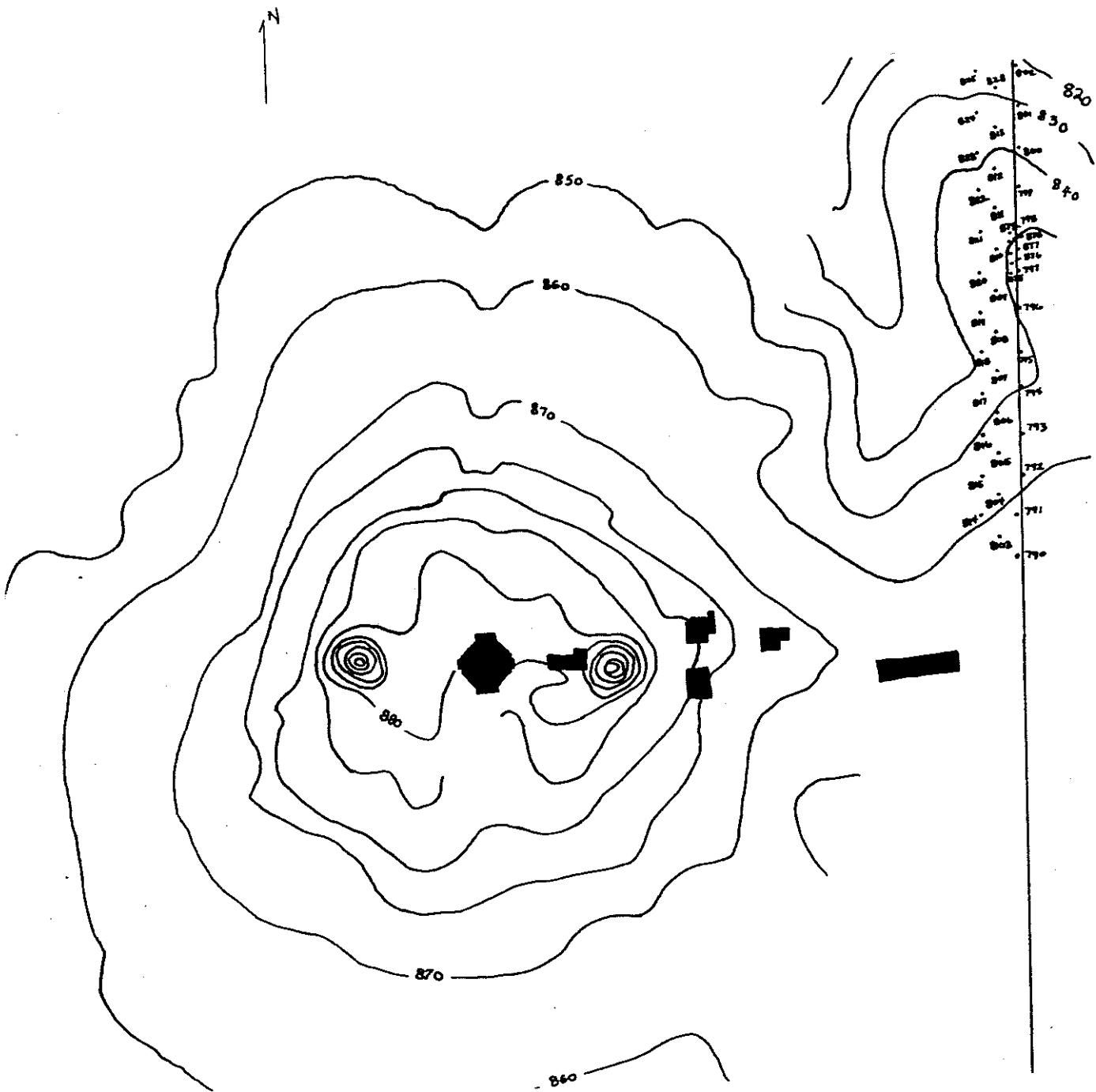


FIGURE 5: Map of test units along the eastern property boundary, March 1993.

Plowzone was either shovelled or trowelled, while feature fill was removed by trowel. Plowzone and feature fill was screened through 1/4 inch mesh, and all cultural materials, including all brick, daub, clinker, coal and limestone were collected and curated in the on-site archaeological laboratory. Feature fill layers which appeared particularly rich in organics were collected and wetscreened through window screen. Approximately 50% of ER829C and 1003C, 80% of 829E, and 100% of 829F and 1003B were screened in this manner. Soil samples were collected from each feature for future chemical or botanical analysis.

Objects uncovered during the project received standard laboratory treatment. All non-fragile materials were washed, labelled and catalogued in the RE:DISCOVERY database. Objects are grouped as QUARTER in the location field of the database. All ceramics, non-window glass and diagnostic artifacts are currently stored as a group in the permanent study collection, while nails, daub fragments, window glass and other non-diagnostics have been placed in storage. Faunal material has been separated and sent out for analysis, while some metals have been sent out for conservation.

III. SITE STRATIGRAPHY AND FEATURES

The stratigraphy of the site consists of two layers: topsoil, a thin plowzone varying from 0.3' to 0.5' characterized by dark brown clayey loam and cobbles sealing subsoil. With the exception of two modern post holes, features appeared consistently at the plowzone/subsoil interface.

The site, as uncovered thus far, contains the remains of four large and forty three smaller features (Figure 6). The following discussion describes and interprets individual features and attempts to relate them to the broader context of the site.

Major Features

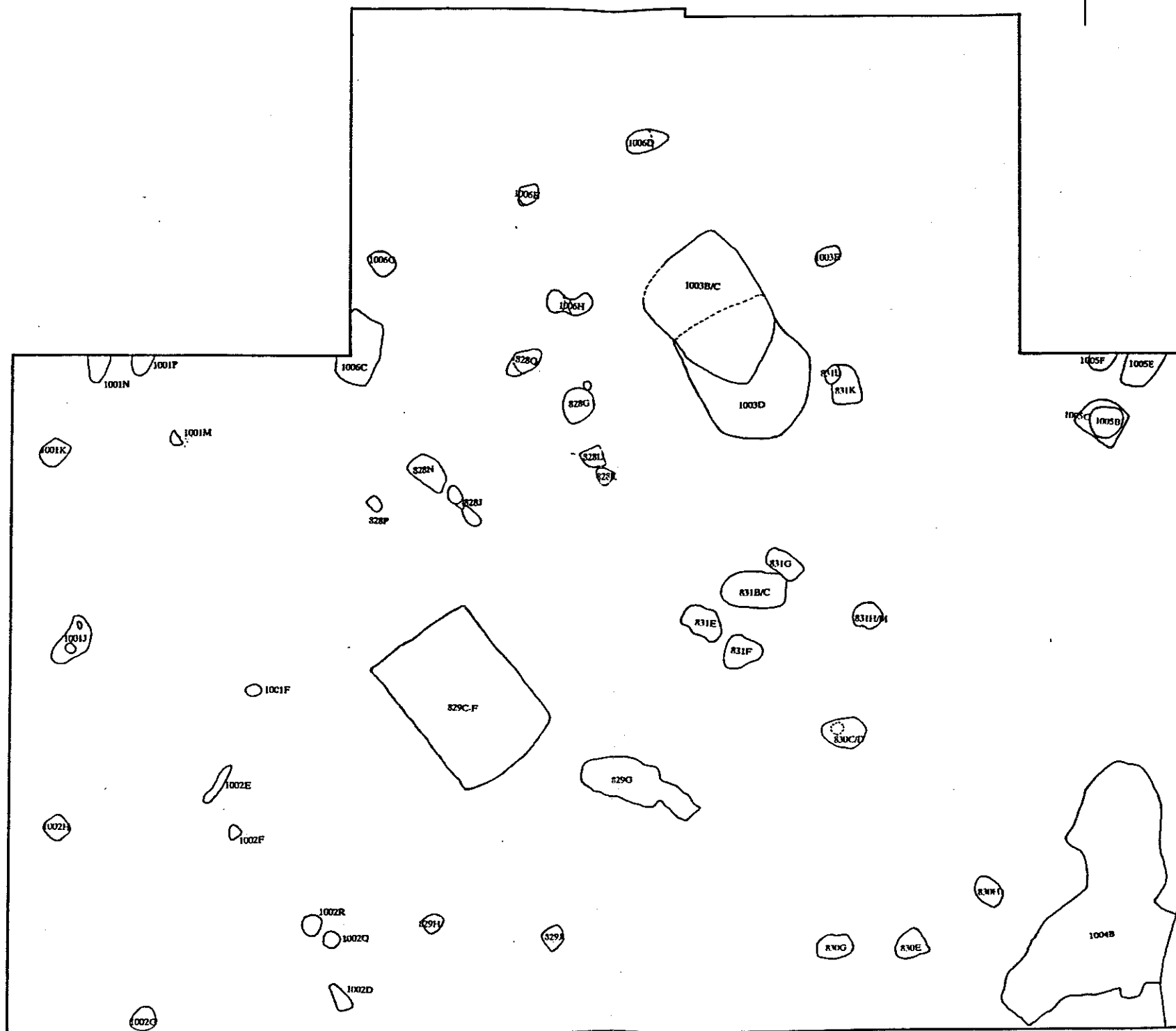
Four large features were discovered at the Quarter site: Feature I (ER829C-F), Feature II (ER1003D), Feature III (ER1003B-C), and Feature IV (ER1004B).

Feature I measured 3.5' x 4.8' and intruded subsoil approximately 1.1'. Excavators bisected it, and removed the northern half first. All artifacts recovered during excavation received layer designation, while all wet screen material received the additional designation of "/1" if recovered from the north half, or "/2" if recovered from the south.

While the original stratigraphy of the feature may have been more complex, four distinct soil strata survived post-depositional plowing and erosion, and were recorded and excavated. The top layer, 829D, consisted of a shallow pocket of red clay confined to the center of the feature. Between 0.1' and 0.2' in depth, it probably represents the remains of a thicker layer that was later destroyed by plowing. ER829D sealed a layer of brown loam containing burned wood, ash, and small stones. This layer, designated ER829C, was thinnest along the southern edges of the feature, and thickest to the north and west, reaching a maximum thickness of approximately 0.3'. Beneath it lay ER829E, a deposit of brown loam with ash

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NORTH



SCALE

FIGURE 6

and large inclusions of red clay, extending to a thickness of 0.4'. A final layer, ER829F, consisted of dark brown loam, with less charcoal and clay. This layer, approximately 0.3' thick, sealed subsoil (Figures 7 and 8a).

The feature has been interpreted as a root cellar (see discussion below) which would have sat beneath the floor of a house, perhaps in close proximity to a hearth. No evidence of stone, brick or wooden lining was present against the side walls or base of the cellar. It simply appeared as a rectangular pit with straight sides and a flat bottom that was dug into subsoil, and later filled with debris associated with the destruction of the building that sat above it. Ceramic and glass crossmends between the layers 829C, 829E and 829F indicate that the cellar was filled within a relatively short span of time, while the presence of large quantities of architectural debris suggest that the filling occurred after the destruction of the house which contained it.

Contradicting this evidence for post-destruction filling are concentrations of buttons, pins and beads recovered in the cellar fill. While the recovery of beads and pins may be due to better screening of cellar fill than of adjoining soils, the recovery of nine buttons in the cellar, from a total of 19 on the entire site, cannot be so easily explained. Such a concentration suggests non-random deposition. Further excavations undertaken in a possible midden area west of the cellar may indicate that the cellar was filled with debris from the midden following the destruction of the house, or conversely, that fill layers represent debris deposited while the building was occupied.

Fragments of burnt daub were recovered from each layer of Feature I. Several of the daub pieces retain impressions of wood grain, and one preserves the shape of fingers used to work it in its plastic state. Archaeologists found numerous other artifacts, including fragments of serving and storage vessels, food remains, clothing items, hardware, and personal accoutrements indicating a post 1795 fill date for the feature.

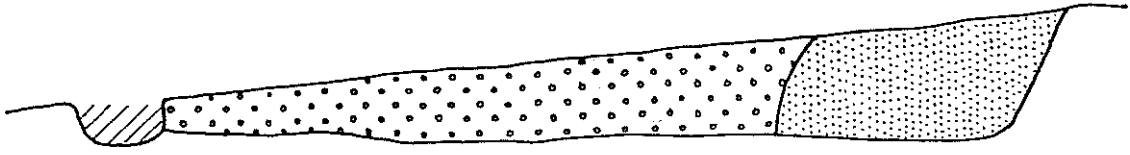
Feature II, a second cellar located approximately 10' northeast of Feature I, contained a single layer of silty brown loam with charcoal (ER1003D). The feature was characterized by relatively parallel sides which sloped slightly inward on the east and west, and a somewhat curved southern wall, with vertical sides. It had a flat bottom. Approximately half of the feature was intruded by Feature III; however, it appears that originally this cellar measured approximately 3' x 4' (Figure 7). Clearly, Feature II was filled during the occupation of the structure.




Few artifacts were present in the fill of this feature: animal bone, green wine bottle glass, wrought nails, cut nails with wrought heads, a fragment of a soapstone pipe, a tiny undecorated fragment of pearlware, a piece of lead waste, and small fragments of clay daub. No small finds were recovered by wet screening in the field, so this method was abandoned. Most of the feature was excavated and screened through standard 1/4" mesh. Based on the presence of cut nails with wrought heads, the feature was assigned a fill date of post-1790 (Nelson 1968).

Feature III represents a third cellar postdating Feature II. It measured 3' x 4'. Although it was excavated in arbitrary layers "B" and "C", the consistency of soil

ER1003B/C AND 1003D: CELLAR FILL

PROFILE FACING EAST

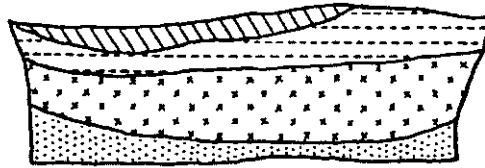






-  BROWN LOAM
-  DARK BROWN LOAM WITH CHARCOAL AND ASH
-  SILTY BROWN LOAM WITH CHARCOAL

SCALE 1" = 1'

ER829C-F: CELLAR FILL

PROFILE FACING SOUTH



-  RED CLAY
-  BROWN LOAM WITH BURNED WOOD, ASH AND STONES
-  BROWN LOAM WITH RED CLAY INTRUSIONS AND ASH
-  DARK BROWN LOAM

SCALE: 1" = 1'

FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8a: View of Feature I after excavation



FIGURE 8b: View of Features II and III prior to excavation

TABLE 1: FRAGMENT COUNTS-MAJOR FEATURES

Material	I	II	III
Bone (food)	2088	13	3
bone button	2	-	-
Ceramics			
black basalt	-	1	-
creamware	3	5	-
redware	3	2	-
pearlware	13	5	1
stoneware	-	-	-
worn ceramic objects	9	-	-
Glass			
green bottle glass	10	1	2
clear bottle glass	42	-	-
aqua molded glass	6	-	-
bead	20	-	-
window glass	5	1	-
worn glass triangular object	1	-	-
Metals			
m.alloy brooch or buckle	1	-	-
m.alloy button	8	1	-
m.alloy pin	17	2	-
m.alloy ferrule	1	-	-
iron hardware	1	-	-
iron horseshoe	2	-	-
iron nails	136	12	4
iron object	2	-	-
iron rasp or file	1	-	-
iron staple	1	-	-
iron tack	1	-	-
tool blade	1	-	-
iron "wire"	1	-	-
lead object	-	-	1
Organics			
egg shell	169	-	-
seeds	41	-	-
Pipes			
clay	1	-	-
white clay	3	1	-
stone	1	1	-
Brick/Stone	96	5	1
brick/daub	-	8	-
mica	1	-	-
mortar	2	2	-
quartz	2	-	-
schist	1	1	-
clinker	-	-	-

Note:

I= Root cellar, ER units 829C -829F/2

II= Root cellar, ER units 1003B and 1003C

III= Root cellar, ER units 1003D

and of artifacts demonstrated that it had been filled in a single episode. The fill of both 1003B and C consisted of dark brown loam with charcoal and ash. The feature has been badly eroded along the north edge, leaving only 0.2' of fill in-situ. The northwest corner was cut by a plow scar. Along its southern edge, where it cut into Feature II, the cellar contained approximately 0.6' of fill. Both Features II and III were of the same depth (Figures 7 and 8b).

All of the soil from 1003B was wet screened, while approximately 50% of layer 1003C received this treatment. No small finds were recovered, and wet screening of this layer was abandoned. A TPQ of 1795 was assigned to the fill based on the presence of polychrome painted pearlware.

A range of domestic objects was recovered from Feature III, yet the overall artifact assemblage was much smaller in number than that of Feature I (Table 1). While ceramic types were largely comparable between features, there were no matching patterns, and undecorated sherds did not crossmend. This lack of ceramic uniformity indicates that Features I and III were filled at slightly different times and/or received fill originating from different sources. The small size and relative scarcity of the objects recovered in Feature III suggest unintentional deposition during the occupation of the house, rather than intentional filling after destruction.

One other major feature, Feature IV (ER1004B), has been excavated at the site to date. Irregular in shape and depth, it ran beyond the limits of our excavations in 1993, measuring 7.7' by more than 5'. Filled with mottled red-brown loam and cobbles, the feature contained no artifacts, although charcoal was scattered throughout. The sides of the feature sloped inward to an irregular base, with pockets of deeper fill scattered in an apparently random fashion. Currently, this has been interpreted as a clay extraction pit dug during construction at the site. It was apparently left open long enough to begin to erode, and was then filled.

Minor Features

Forty three small features, representing postholes and molds, driven posts, animal burrows, burned trees and others of unidentified function were excavated during 1993. Details about individual features are summarized in Tables 2 and 3. The following discussion will attempt to relate features to one another. Because such a small sample of the site has been excavated to date, it is difficult to see broad patterns, and much of the following is subject to change as excavations continue.

Post-depositional plowing and subsequent erosion made interpretation of many features difficult, especially those located in ER1001, 1002 and the western half of 1006, where only shallow remains were preserved. Nevertheless, based on their shape in plan and section, and on their fill and absolute elevations, features have been divided into postholes and "others."

Only three "classic" postholes, consisting of distinct molds and holes, were identified on the site. The remainder were characterized by a consistent deposit of fill throughout, and have been interpreted as driven posts. It is possible that some were excavated as one fill when they were, in fact, two. At least one instance of

TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF FEATURE DATA: POSTHOLES AND RELATED FEATURES

CONTEXT	DEPTH	FILL	ARTIFACTS	COMMENTS
ER828G	1 . 7 3 [92.18]	brl, ch, c	burned wood	postmold to 828H
ER828H	1.44 [92.47]	rc, ch	none	posthole to 828G
ER828K	0.4 [93.93]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER828L	0.4 [93.93]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER828Q	0.43 [93.63]	bl, ch	window glass	driven post?
ER829H	0.99 [93.99]	brl	creamware	driven post
ER830E	2.03 [93.75]	dark bl	none	driven post
ER830G	0.48 [95.24]	bl, ch	none	driven post
ER830H	1.7 [94.18]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER831H	0.65 [95.18]	rbl	none	posthole?
ER831M	2.38 [93.45]	brl	none	postmold?
ER831K1	1.61 [93.18]	brl, ch	none	postmold
ER831K2	1.16 [93.63]	rbl, ch	none	posthole
ER1001N	0.21 [92.76]	bl	none	driven post?
ER1001P	0.56 [92.59]	bl, ch	none	driven post?

TABLE 2, Continued
 SUMMARY OF FEATURE DATA: POSTHOLES AND RELATED FEATURES

CONTEXT	DEPTH	FILL	ARTIFACTS	COMMENTS
ER1002D	0.11 [94.67]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER1002F	0.22 [94.07]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER1002G	0.26 [94.11]	bl, ch	none	driven post
ER1002H	1.29 [92.52]	rc, ch	none	driven post
ER1002Q	0.2 [94.37]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER1002R	0.61 [93.96]	bl, ch	none	driven post
ER1005B1	2.02 [93.17]	bl, ch	green bottle glass, burned wood	postmold
ER1005B2	1.76 [93.33]	bl, ch	none	postmold
ER1005C	1.7 [93.39]	rc, ch	none	repaired posthole
ER1006D	0.56 [93.18]	bl, ch	none	driven post?
ER1006E	2.47 [91.33]	bl, ch	none	posthole, burned in-situ
ER1006G	0.43 [93.09]	bl, ch	wrought nail	driven post?

Key: bl=brown loam, brl=brown-red loam, ch=charcoal, c=cobbles, rc=red clay, rbl=red-brown loam

Note: Absolute elevations are bracketed

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF FEATURE DATA: OTHER SMALL FEATURES

CONTEXT	DEPTH	FILL	ARTIFACTS	COMMENTS
ER828J	0.3 [93.9]	bl	wrought nails	barbell shaped in plan
ER828N	0.5 -	bl, ch	green bottle glass, bone	may be part of ER828J
ER828P	v e r y shallow	bl	none	planting feature?
ER829G	2.52 -	bl	none	burned tree
ER829J	1.13 [93.53]	brl	none	tree with tap root
ER830C/D	1.7 -	bl, ch	none	animal burrow
ER831B/C/F/G	unfinish- ed	bl, ch	green bottle glass, iron knife handle	animal burrow
ER831L	0.53 [94.26]	bl	none	s m a l l h o l e intruding ER831K
ER1001F	v e r y shallow	bl	none	unknown
ER1001J	0.75 -	bl, ch	none	burned tree
ER1001K	0.11 [92.74]	bl	none	planting feature
ER1002E	- -	rbl	none	decayed root
ER1003E	0.35 [94.1]	bl, ch	none	unknown feature
ER1006H	0.30 [93.7]	bl, ch	none	barbell shaped feature

Key: bl=brown loam, brl=brown-red loam, ch=charcoal, rbl=red-brown loam, rc = red clay

excavator error was corrected in the field, during the excavation of ER831K1 and 831K2. When sectioned, the feature fill of 831K2 appeared uniform throughout; however, once seen in profile, a distinct mold was visible. Similarly, ER1005B and 1005C appeared to be a single postmold and posthole before excavation. Sectioning revealed the presence of a second mold cutting into the first, indicating a replacement post was installed. No distinction could be seen in the hole itself, however, which must have been enlarged when the first post was replaced.

It is also possible that some of the posts at the site may have been installed using an early "post hole digger", an implement which may have dug a hole only slightly larger than the post itself. In 1811, Jefferson wrote to his agents Jones and Howell from Poplar Forest, requesting such a device. "I am told there is a patent auger for boring holes in the ground for post & rail fencing, which may be had in Philadelphia. You will oblige me by sending one of the largest, if they are made of different sizes" (Jefferson to Jones and Howell, December 6, 1811, MHi). No evidence has yet surfaced to confirm that Jefferson's request was met, nor has a contemporary auger been found which might indicate the size of the holes such a tool could produce. While it is currently believed that the structure excavated in 1993 was destroyed sometime around 1810, it is possible that some features postdate the destruction of the building, and may, in fact, relate to the laying out of the curtilage during the winter of 1812 or the construction of later dwellings. Jefferson's success in purchasing his "patent auger" may be reflected in the shape of features found at the site.

While most of the excavated features do not yet fit into an overall site pattern, three series of postholes appear to be related. ER1001N, 1006D and 1006G formed a line running northwest-southeast in a similar orientation to Features I, II and III. They were spaced at 9' intervals and set into the ground at approximately the same depth. All three features were filled with dark brown loam, and one, ER1006G, contained a wrought nail and some small fragments of daub. Excavations in 1994 should look 9' east of 1006D and 9' west of 1001N to determine if this is in fact a line, and if so, to follow it.

ER1002F, 1002G and 1002Q also appear to be related, and together form a triangle at the southwest corner of the site. All were filled with brown loam and charcoal, and none contained artifacts. The three features were each set into the ground at approximately the same depth, with the southernmost, ER1002G, being slightly larger than the others.

Finally, features ER828J, 828K, 828L, 828N, 828Q, 829H, 1002R and 1006H appear to be related based on absolute elevations. Additionally, nearly all of the artifacts found in the fill of minor features came from this group. With the exception of ER829H, all were filled with brown loam and charcoal. That feature contained a mixed brown-red loam, and a single sherd of creamware which crossmended with two others found in plowzone in an adjacent unit. ER 1006G contained a wrought nail, and ER828Q contained a tiny fragment of window glass.

Although not single postholes, Features 828J and 1006H have been included with this group due to similarity in fill and depth. Each of these features was

characterized by double holes connected by a shallow trench, resulting in an hourglass shape in plan. ER828J contained wrought nails, while 1006H was sterile. Their function is unknown at this time.

Most of this group of features cluster between Features I and II/III, with two outliers located southwest of Feature I. It is currently hypothesized that all are contemporaneous with the structure, and may, in fact, have formed part of it.

Posthole ER1006E was apparently burned in-situ. Large pieces of burned wood were recovered from the fill, as were chunks of burned clay which apparently represent the burned remains of subsoil surrounding the post. This feature has not yet been related to any others on the site.

A number of animal burrows cluster between Features I and II/III. ER831B, C, E, F and G appear to be part of a system of interconnected holes, all containing loose dark brown fill and scattered charcoal. A piece of green wine bottle glass and a wrought iron object, perhaps the core of the handle of a pistol-grip style knife were found buried in ER831B. Four feet south of 831F lay another burrow, 830C/D. This was originally thought to be a posthole and mold, but upon excavation, it became clear that the hole turned and began running through subsoil towards the north. It is possible that this feature originally contained a post, and that later, after the post was removed, the loose soil fill attracted a groundhog.

The remains of two burned trees were also excavated, both probably representing vegetation on the site prior to the construction of the dwelling. Numerous small root stains and plant disturbances were excavated in ER1001 and 1002 which may relate to plants which grew up along the modern fenceline.

Three features have been identified at the edges of excavated units which are in need of further investigation. Additionally, a number of posthole features appear to be unrelated to any features excavated during 1993. During the coming season, as more ground is opened, an attempt will be made to understand their functions on the site.

The Plowzone and Data Recovery

Recent scholarship in the Mid-Atlantic has attempted to assess the value of plowzone data on historic sites (King and Miller 1987, King 1988, Pogue 1988 and Riordan 1988). Plowing destroys the horizontal, or chronological, context of artifacts. Yet archaeologists have established that vertical displacement of objects within plowzone does not obliterate intrasite artifact patterning. In fact, the degree of displacement can be predicted depending upon the size and weight of objects, and depth of plowing. On average, objects move vertically between 6-15' (Riordan 1988:3-4). Thus, plowing results in artifact distributions being somewhat "out of focus", but does not destroy their overall value.

Given the potential of plowzone data to yield information about intrasite patterning, most archaeologists have recognized the need for careful sampling before plowed soils are removed to expose underlying features. Archaeologists working at a number of seventeenth century sites in Maryland have employed a variety of sampling methods, ranging from 100% controlled surface collection of freshly

plowed fields (Riordan 1988:6-7) to excavated plowzone samples of between 10% and 30% (King and Miller 1987:40; Pogue 1988:40; King 1988:22). Yet 10%-30% sampling strategies may not be conservative enough on sites occupied for short periods of time by people who owned few material goods. Such sites are characterized by low over-all artifact densities and, typically, by equally low artifact densities in preserved features. While these sampling strategies may lead to the recovery of information useful for distributional studies, they may fail to represent the diversity of objects present on the site.

Because the site discovered during testing was not threatened, and because it was characterized by a very low artifact density, the decision was made to remove all plowzone soils at the Quarter site by shovel, and to then screen them through 1/4 inch mesh. Ten foot units were subdivided into five foot quadrants, and artifacts were collected within these tighter proveniences. This subdivision of the site resulted in a total of 36 5' x 5' squares that could be analyzed to study the accuracy of various sampling methods.

Following the field season, artifact types and frequencies from this 100% sample were compared to those which would have resulted in a hypothetical 10% random sample, 28% random sample, 10% systematic and 28% systematic sample⁴. Artifact distributions of ceramics and nails, the two largest categories of objects recovered from plowzone, were compared 28% random and systematic samples with a 100% sample. A count of fragments (for ceramics, vessel glass, bone etc.) or whole objects (nails, buttons, hardware, seeds, etc.) was tabulated by type for all artifacts recovered from plowzone.

Using a random number table, units were selected to represent the random samples. The 10% random sample was based on finds from units ER1001D/1, 1001D/2, 829A/1 and 829A/4; the 28% random sample included ER828A/3, 829A/2, 829A/3, 830A/2, 831A/2, 831A/4, 1001D/4, 1004A/3, 1006A/1 and 1006A/2. Units for the systematic sample were chosen regularly from the site grid. The 10% sample included units ER828A/3, 831A/4, 1003A/2 and 1006A/1, while the 28% sample consisted of ER828A/1, 829A/1, 830A/1, 831A/1, 1001D/1, 1002C/1, 1003A/1, 1004A/1, 1005A/1 and 1006A/1. Artifacts from each context were quantified as above. Table 4 presents the raw fragment count from plowzone and each sample, while Table 1 presents the count for feature fill.

A total of 52 artifact types were recovered from all features and plowzone at the site. While most artifacts were assigned to a type based both on their material and form, in this analysis ceramics were grouped by material alone (ie. pearlware, creamware, redware etc.), rather than by minimum vessel. As a result, there are more individual ceramic types than used in this analysis, as plates have not been distinguished from bowls, or polychrome painted vessels from shell edged

⁴. A total of 36 5' x 5' squares were sampled. The 10% samples were actually closer to 11%, and each used data from 4 units, while the 28% samples included data from 10 units.

wares.

A minimum of 38 artifact types were recovered from plowzone during the 1993 field season, of which 12 types were absent from feature fill. These represent 23% of the total artifact type assemblage. How did the sampling strategies compare in type recovery? If only a 10% systematic sample had been conducted, 13 of the 38 plowzone types would have been recovered, of which only 1 type would not have been represented in feature fill as well. A 10% random sample only slightly improved on recovery rate: 16 types would have been recovered, of which 2 were represented only by plowzone data. Increasing the sample size to 28% would have improved our recovery rate somewhat. A 28% systematic sample would have yielded 21 types, of which 4 were only found in plowzone, while a 28% random sample would have recovered 20 types, again with 4 found only in plowzone.

In summary, using strategies of 10-30% sampling employed elsewhere in the region dramatically lessened the variety of types found. The most efficient of these, the 28% systematic sample, only recovered one third of the possible types present only in plowzone contexts. The types which are underrepresented in sampling tend to be unique finds or objects represented by very small numbers. Many of these have, however, been important in the interpretation of the site. On a site with low artifact densities, 100% data recovery is recommended when circumstances permit.

IV. ARTIFACT IDENTIFICATION

Three thousand seven hundred and thirty nine artifacts were recovered from all excavated contexts at the Quarter site, of which nearly 60% (2180) were small finds recovered during wet screening. Bone and organics (egg shells, fish scales and seeds) made up 62% of the assemblage; metals, predominantly nails, made up 15%, glass comprised 8.6%; ceramics made up 8.4%; and stone/daub/clinker and brick made up 6%.

Excluding food remains (which have not yet been analyzed), a total of 691 individual objects or minimum vessels have been recovered to date. A breakdown of objects by functional category is summarized in Table 5, while Table 6 focuses on functional categories of items found in Feature I.

Second to faunal materials, architectural remains form the largest artifact group. In addition to wrought and early combination wrought/cut nails, this category includes less than 100 grams of window glass, a few fragments of brick and mortar, and larger quantities of daub. The small quantity of both brick and window glass hint that the destruction debris from another more substantial building close by has mixed with architectural remains from this structure. A wrought pin, a wrought staple, and a large wrought piece of architectural hardware were also recovered (Figure 9).

Clothing and personal adornment items formed the next largest collection of objects from the site at nearly 9% (Figure 10). A small silver or tin plated brooch or buckle was recovered from the fill of Feature I. It is circular, with a stamped decoration around the outer edge, and the remains of an iron fastener pivoting around a crossbar. Further research is needed to more accurately identify this



FIGURE 9: Artifacts relating to the architecture of the house, right to left, top to bottom: spike, wrought nails, daub with lath impression, window glass, daub with finger impressions

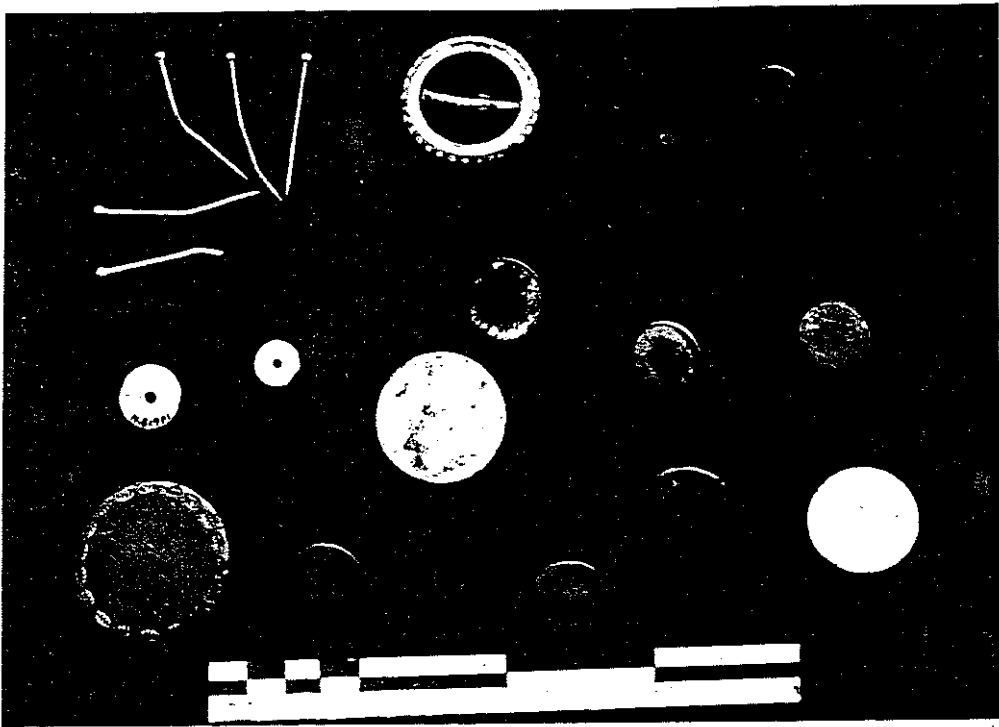


FIGURE 10: Clothing and personal adornment items, left to right, top to bottom: straight pins, copper alloy brooch or buckle with iron tang, glass beads, bone button cores, copper alloy buttons, some with silver wash.



FIGURE 11: Copper alloy buttons with silver plating. Backstamps are: "PLATED" "WR" or "WP" (top left); "PLATED" (top right and bottom left); "BEST PLATED" with stamped eagle and wreath (bottom right)

TABLE 4
FRAGMENT COUNTS BY SAMPLING STRATEGY

MATERIAL	PZ	28%R	10%R	28%S	10%S
BONE					
Bone (food)	8	-	-	-	2
CERAMICS					
black basalt	3	-	1	-	-
creamware	125	35	17	37	14
delft	1	1	-	-	-
earthenware	11	-	2	2	-
pearlware	88	12	12	26	12
redware	23	4	2	11	2
stoneware	9	2	1	3	2
whiteware	4	-	-	2	-
white clay pipe	1	1	-	-	-
GLASS					
green bottle glass	181	29	25	48	19
clear bottle glass	14	5	-	2	2
aqua bottle glass	7	2	-	1	-
bead	1	-	-	1	-
window glass	30	7	2	13	3
METALS					
alloy button	8	-	1	1	-
iron band	2	-	-	-	-
iron hardware	1	-	-	-	-
iron hub or wisher	1	-	-	1	-
iron kettle	1	-	-	1	-
iron nails	335	73	46	82	36
iron object	6	1	-	1	-
iron padlock	1	1	-	-	-
iron pin	1	-	-	-	-
iron spike	1	-	-	-	-
iron staple	1	-	-	-	-
iron wasters	2	-	-	-	-
iron wire	4	1	-	-	-
lead object	1	1	-	-	-
ORGANICS					
seed	3	-	1	1	-
BRICK/STONE					
steatite pipe	1	-	-	-	-
brick/daub	31	6	4	11	4
coal	9	5	4	6	-
flint	2	-	1	-	-
limestone	3	2	-	-	1
mortar	1	-	-	-	-
quartz	12	6	1	3	4
clinker	32	2	2	11	1

PZ= 100% recovery of plowzone

28%R= 28% recovery of plowzone based on random sampling strategy

10%R= 10% recovery of plowzone based on random sampling strategy

28%S= 28% recovery of plowzone based on systematic sampling strategy

10%S= 10% recovery of plowzone based on systematic sampling strategy

object.

A total of 18 buttons were recovered on the site (Figure 11). Eleven have been conserved, of which six are copper alloy with a silver plating, two copper with tin plate, one is brass, and two are bone. The remaining six have not yet been treated, but of these, at least one has been plated and one gilded. Two buttons are backstamped "PLATED", one has the stamp "PLATED" to one side of the shank and "WP" to the other, two bear the mark "BEST PLATED" above an eagle, three stars and two branches, and one is marked "GILT". Buttons with similar stamps have been found at the Stewart/Watkins house at Monticello, dating to circa 1800-1810 (Heath 1991a:83). Others found at the Calvert House in Annapolis, Maryland have been assigned a date range of 1790-1810, and were recovered from deposits with a TPQ of post-1785 (Hinks 1988:128). The metal buttons range in diameter as follows: 1/2" (6), 5/8" (4), 3/4" (2), 9/16" (1) and 1 1/8" (1). (The remaining two have not yet been measured). Of the two bone button cores recovered, one measured 1/4" in diameter, while the other was slightly larger at 3/8". Originally, both cores were covered with cloth or thread. The relatively small size of all but one of the buttons suggest their use on breeches, waistcoats, or vests. Only the large button, which is stamped with a silver wash, was perhaps associated with a coat.

A minimum of 11 straight pins were recovered from the site, some still bearing the tin wash which originally coated them. More interesting, perhaps, was the recovery of 21 glass beads (Figure 9). All but one were found within the fill of Feature I. Fifteen beads are small (approximately 1/8" diameter), faceted, and purplish-red in color; three are tiny, square and red, and one is clear and rounded (approximately 1/4" in diameter). The remaining specimen, a blue bead measuring approximately 3/8" in diameter, was found in the adjoining plowzone. While further research is needed to fit these finds into established bead typologies, it is currently hypothesized that the faceted and red beads were probably embroidered on clothing, while the larger two may have been strung and worn as jewelry.

Food storage, preparation and serving vessels comprised approximately 7% of the artifacts recovered on the site. Ceramics made up the largest group of artifacts related to food consumption, comprising 85% of the vessels in this category (Figure 12). Decorative techniques and forms for ceramics are summarized in Table 7.

Two stoneware bottles and a stoneware crock functioned as liquid and food storage vessels, while three lead glazed pans suggest food preparation methods such as dairying or baking. Other stoneware and redware vessels cannot be assigned to a specific form, but were probably used for food preparation and storage as well.

A minimum of fourteen pearlware and ten creamware vessels, representing both teawares and tablewares, have been recovered to date. The remains of two vessels for serving hot liquids, a creamware coffee or tea pot and a black basalt coffee pot, were also found.

Absent from the assemblage are large serving vessels and vessels associated with medicine and hygiene. Because of the fragmentary nature of the ceramics, it

TABLE 5
 FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES OF OBJECTS
 By MNI, EXCLUDING FOOD REMAINS

ARTIFACT CATEGORIES

Architectural	523 (75.7)	lead object	1
architectural hardware	1	schist discs	2
nails	483	metal discs	2
pin	1	quartz crystals	2
spike	1	flint projectile point frag.	1
staple	1	quartz projectile point	1
window glass	36 (>20g.)	worked quartz	1
		quartz flakes and fragments	12
 		Total	691 (100)
Clothing/Ornament	59 (8.5)		
buttons	18		
pins	19		
brooch or buckle	1		
beads	21		
Food Preparation/Serving	48 (6.9)		
bottle	8		
bowl	1		
crook	1		
flat	3		
hollow	11		
kettle	1		
mug	2		
pan	3		
pitcher or jug	1		
plate	6		
plate/platter	3		
saucer	3		
tea/coffee pot	2		
vessel	3		
Furnishings	2 (0.3)		
tack	1		
padlock	1		
Personal	4 (0.6)		
pipes	4		
Health	1 (0.1)		
pharmaceutical bottle	1		
Plantation Economics	16 (2.3)		
copper alloy ferrule	1		
horseshoes	2		
iron band	2		
iron hub or wisher	1		
iron file or rasp	1		
iron wasters	2		
iron wire	5		
tool blade	1		
lead waste	1		
Other	40 (5.8)		
worn ceramic objects	9		
worn triangular glass object	1		
iron object	8		

Note: Figures in parentheses represent percentages; also food remains are not included because a MNI calculation has not yet been done; brick, daub, mortar and clinker are also not included

TABLE 6
ARTIFACTS RECOVERED FROM FEATURE I

Architectural	
architectural hardware	1
glass:	13 grams
nails:	136
spike	1
Clothing/Ornament	
glass beads	20
buttons	9
pins	11
brooch or buckle	1
Food Preparation/Serving	
Ceramics	
pearlware	
poly. saucer	1
blue saucer	1
printed vessel	1
creamware	
bowl	1
tea/coffee pot	1
redware vessel	1
Glass, bottle	
green wine	2
clear	1
aqua mold-blown	1
Furnishings	
tack	1
Personal	
pipes	3
Health	
pharmaceutical bottle	1
Plantation Economics	
copper alloy ferrule	1
horseshoe	2
rasp or file	1
wire	1
Other	
worn ceramic object	9
worn triangular glass object	1
iron object	2
lead object	1
schist discs	2

Note: food remains have not been included in this table because no MINI figure yet exists; brick/daub and clinker are also not included

is possible that some vessels identified as hollow functioned originally as chamberpots.

Glass storage vessels and a cast iron kettle complete the list of items associated with the preparation and storage of food (Figure 12). A minimum of four green wine bottles, one clear glass bottle, and one mold-blown bottle with a honeycomb pattern have been found. The kettle fragment suggests that cooking was done on-site, either indoors or over an open hearth in the yard.

Four tobacco pipes and fragments of a clear, mold blown pharmaceutical bottle are the only objects relating to leisure or health that have yet been found on the site, while a single iron tack and a portion of an iron padlock are the only objects which provide insights into furnishings. Only one pipe is of English manufacture; the remaining three appear to have been made of local materials. The shortened stem of a redware reed pipe was found in the fill of Feature I. Additionally, fragments of two soapstone pipes have been found in both feature fill and plowzone (Figure 13). Like the redware pipe, these pipes originally were used with reed stems. Two similar pipes have been found in association with Poplar Forest's Wing of Offices, while fragments of others were recovered at the Stewart/Watkins house, building "o", and the fill of Jefferson's privy tunnel at Monticello. Two of the Monticello pipes had polygonal bowls, however, all of the Poplar Forest bowls are rounded. These pipes seem to be the handiwork of a local craftsman. Natural outcroppings of soapstone are present in Albemarle and in Campbell Counties, although none have been located within the boundaries of Jefferson's plantations. Further research is needed to document the producers, the production dates and the distribution of these pipes, and to better understand their relationship to the plantation community.

More numerous were artifacts relating to plantation economics (Figure 14). These include a copper alloy ferrule which once surrounded the handle of a tool, two horseshoes, two lengths of iron band, probably part of a wooden barrel, an iron hub or "wisher" from a wagon (Stockham 1992:85-86), an iron file or rasp, two pieces of worked iron wasters, a fragment of lead waste, five fragments of iron wire and an unidentified tool blade.

The horseshoes, iron and lead waste and tool fragments, when combined with the presence of clinker, suggest that a smith's shop was in close proximity to the site⁵. That such a craft was practiced on the plantation, and perhaps close to

⁵. In addition to suggesting the proximity of a smith's shop, the horseshoes also can be used as additional evidence of the site's occupation dates. One shoe is round to oval in shape with wide branches curving inward, is fullered and originally had at least one caulkin. It appears to match Chappell's Type III shoe, which he attributes to the period prior to the introduction of machine made shoes in 1835. The second shoe has thin branches which narrow toward the heels, and is also fullered. It appears to match Chappell's Type II shoe, the closest example of which he dates to post 1750 (Chappell 1973:104, 110-113).



FIGURE 12: Ceramics and glass (left to right): handpainted and banded pearlware teaware fragments, undecorated creamware plate fragments; black basalt coffee pot lid fragment; lead glazed earthenware and stoneware vessel fragments; mold blown glass bottle with honeycomb decoration; English wine bottle neck and kick.



FIGURE 13: Pipes: low fired, red earthenware bowl fragment (top left); soapstone "reed" style pipe (bottom left); English white clay tobacco pipe stems and heel fragment (center and far right)

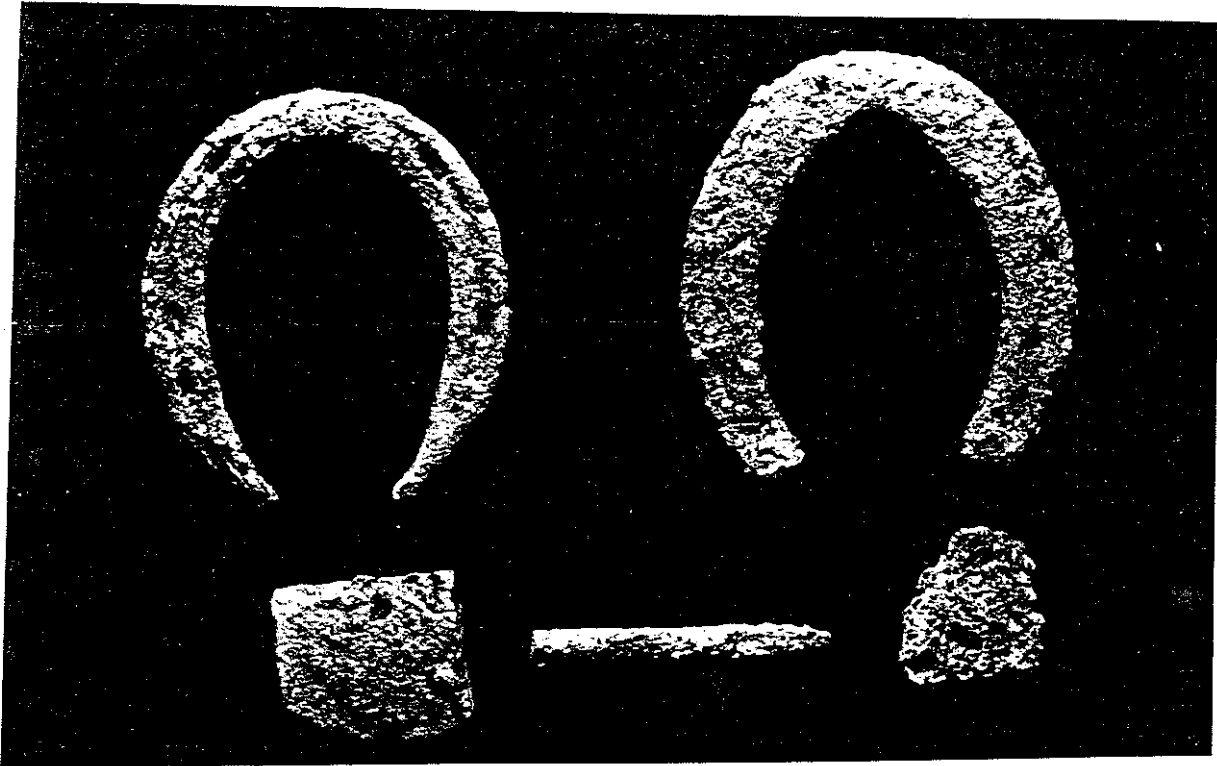


FIGURE 14: Artifacts relating to plantation economics: horseshoes (top left and right); wisher fragment from wagon hub (bottom left); half round file (bottom center); clinker (bottom right)

Table 7
Ceramic Forms and Decorative Techniques

REFINED EARTHENWARE		COARSE EARTHENWARE	
Creamware	10	Green glazed pan	1
undecorated bowl	1	green glazed vessel	1
undecorated flat	2		
undecorated hollow	2	clear lead glazed flat	1
undecorated plate	4	clear lead glazed hollow	3
undecorated tea/coffee pot	1	clear lead glazed pan	2
Pearlware	14	lustrous glazed hollow	1
annular mug	1		
b. painted hollow	1	REFINED STONEWARE	
b. painted jug	1	Black basalt	1
b. painted saucer	1	molded coffee pot	1
b. shell edged plate/platter	2		
b. shell edged plate	1	COARSE STONEWARE	4
b. shell edged saucer	1	Grey bodied bottle	1
g. shell edged plate/platter	1	Grey bodied crock	1
		Grey bodied hollow	1
polychrome painted hollow	2	Albany slipped bottle	1
polychrome painted mug	1		
polychrome painted saucer	1	TOTAL	41
blue transfer-printed vessel	1		
Tin enameled	1		
polychrome painted vessel	1		
Whiteware	2		
painted hollow	1		
undecorated plate	1		

the Quarter site, is further substantiated by Jefferson, who in 1811 wrote "Will & Hal, when they have no work in the shop, are to get their coal wood, or assist in the crop...the smith's should make the plantation nails of the old bits of iron" (Betts 1944:466). Will and Hal's possible presence at or near the Quarter site is discussed further in Section V of this report.

While it has been argued that slaves hid stolen tools within cellars in their homes in order to avoid or delay work (Kelso 1986a:14), it is equally possible that the Quarter site assemblage represents tools and tool parts which were legitimately kept by the residents of the site. Excavations at the site of two white craftsmen who worked for Jefferson at Monticello revealed a large assemblage of tools, scrap iron, brass and lead, unfinished wrought tools and a whetstone which undoubtedly related to their trades as a smith and a carpenter (Heath 1991a:95,97). For freecraftsmen, it appears that the line between being "at work" and "at home" was much less precisely defined than it would become later in the century. It is possible that this line was equally blurred for enslaved craftspeople, who brought tools and raw materials home with them not to be hidden, but to be used and reused.

One final group of objects has been placed in the time honored "other" category, either because they have not yet been identified, or, more commonly, because their meaning on the site is unclear (Figure 15). Eight iron objects or fragments of iron objects require conservation and further research before they can be identified. Also unidentified are a number of small, waterworn ceramic and glass fragments. Ten small fragments of unglazed, white bodied, worn ceramics were recovered from the fill of Feature I. Five are triangular in shape, three are roughly rectangular, and two are oval. A tiny worn piece of green wine bottle glass, shaped as an equilateral triangle was also recovered.

Other "mystery" objects were uncovered within the fill of Feature I. Two small metal discs, just under 1/4" in diameter, were originally interpreted as worn buttons. Closer inspection has proved that neither bear evidence of a shank scar, suggesting that the initial interpretation of button was incorrect. The meaning of these objects is unknown at this time. Two shaped pieces of micaceous schist were also discovered. The first is roughly circular, and measures approximately 1" in diameter, while the second is roughly square, with three straight sides and one curved side. It also measures approximately 1" across, and has a hole drilled off-center. Whether this disc was strung and worn as an ornament, was attached to something, or had something inserted in it is unknown. Similarly shaped polygonal pieces of wood and ceramic have been interpreted as "ritual objects" at Garrison plantation in Maryland (Klingelhofer 1987:116-117).

Two projectile points, one of flint and the other of milk quartz, and two worked quartz flakes were recovered in plowzone. Several Late Archaic sites have been located at Poplar Forest, and it is likely that these points were manufactured or traded by inhabitants of the property thousands of years ago. Whether they were originally deposited at the Quarter site is less certain. Projectile points have been found in historic contexts across Poplar Forest, and appear to have been collected and curated by the eighteenth and nineteenth century inhabitants of the plantation



FIGURE 15: "Mystery" objects, left to right: quartz crystals, milky quartz point, worked quartz, flint point fragment, micaceous schist discs, waterworn, unglazed ceramic fragments

(Kelso et al. 1991:137). It is thus possible that the points are redeposited, and reflect two sets of cultural values: those of their producers, and those of the early nineteenth century Quarter site inhabitants who valued them enough to collect them. A Native American point recovered with six quartz crystals and a fragment of galena at the Nash site in Prince William County has been interpreted as part of an assemblage representing "an African-American ritual, possibly of African origin" (Galke 1992:137). In the absence of good contextual data for either point at the Quarter site, it is unwise to speculate on how, or why, these points came to bethere.

Two quartz crystals and a small sheet of mica were also found at the site; the crystals in plowzone and the mica in the fill of Feature III. Native geologically to this area, the crystals may represent natural deposition processes on the site. A further discussion of the interpretation of quartz and mica on sites associated with African-Americans is included in the interpretive section below.

V. INTERPRETATION

Having reviewed the relevant historical, stratigraphic and artifactual evidence, it appears that the Quarter site contained a dwelling in existence prior to Jefferson's post-1806 occupation of the property, during which time an overseer, his family, and a community of between 25-45 slaves lived at Poplar Forest proper. Architectural evidence from the dwelling, reviewed below, provides the strongest evidence that the house was inhabited by slaves. Artifacts support the notion that the residents were poor, and left behind few material goods. Objects associated with African-American sites throughout the southeast have also been recovered on the site, further supporting the argument for slave occupation.

Root Cellars

Archaeologists working on sites in Virginia and South Carolina associated with slave quarters have uncovered numerous small, square or rectangular pits filled with domestic refuse. Ranging in size from approximately 3' x 4' to 6' x 9', the pits have been found lined with either brick, stone, or wood remains. Some lack evidence of any lining at all. During the early 1950s at excavations at Shadwell, Jefferson's birthplace in Albemarle County, Virginia, Roland Robbins uncovered an unlined pit, some 6' x 6' square, filled with domestic artifacts dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. "There was no question but that this was a root or small storage cellar," he concluded, "Being beneath a building, it was not necessary to line its walls...the building was a wooden affair, probably a small outbuilding" (Robbins 1956:9-10).

Nearly twenty years after Robbins' work was completed, William Kelso reported on a complex of similar features at Carter's Grove plantation outside of Williamsburg. In 1971, he interpreted two of the eleven features he discovered as possible tanning vats, while describing the remainder as simply "rectangular pits" (Kelso 1971:33-36). The subsequent discovery of such features at several seventeenth and eighteenth century domestic sites at the nearby Kingsmill Plantation led him to rethink his original interpretation. Citing Robert Beverly's 1705

reference, "The Way of propagating Potatoes [is to] bury em under Ground, near the Fire-Hearth, all the Winter, until the Time comes, that the Seedings are to be set" (Beverly in Kelso 1984:105), Kelso concluded that these features were cellars designed for the cool storage of root crops (Kelso 1984:105), much as Robbins had done for the Shadwell pit. Significantly, he further hypothesized that they may have been introduced to colonial society by blacks, arguing that they do not appear on sites predating slavery in Virginia.

Similar features have been uncovered across Virginia in contexts as early as 1624 at Jordan's Journey⁶, and as late as the early twentieth century at Magnolia Grange in Chesterfield County (Mouer 1991:5-6). Root cellars have been identified on sites associated with slavery from the colonial period in South Carolina and from later nineteenth century sites in Tennessee as well. The function and inspiration of these pits has been further explored by scholars. Evidence for the storage of root crops by both blacks and whites in underground pits located both inside and outside of the house, or adjacent to gardens or fields, has been gathered through documents and through ethnography, and may apply to archaeological findings (Hess in Brandau 1985:13⁷; McDaniel 1982:154⁸; Stine 1989:129⁹ as cited in Kimmel 1993:104). Kelso, comparing pit features contained within dwellings excavated along Monticello's Mulberry Row to his Kingsmill discoveries, noted similarities between artifact assemblages recovered from root cellars at both sites. "Root cellars containing rich organic fill, buttons, animal bones and metal implements are common to slave quarter sites in Virginia generally" he concluded, "In fact, the pattern was so obvious and repetitive during the Kingsmill work, that there could be little doubt from the outset that they would appear along Mulberry Row at

⁶. Mouer speculates that this building was an early slave dwelling (Mouer 1991:5-6).

⁷. "In Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery there are directions for storing turnips in a trench dug inside to a depth of 27". The trench is made 'in ye ground yt is light & sandy; though it be out of dores, it matters not; & lay in yr turneps, about 3 quarters of a yard deepe your trench must be; & ever as you have occasion to use them, dig them up & cover up ye place againe. " (Hess 1981:5 as cited in Brandau 1985:13).

⁸. "There was also a vegetable garden behind the house, and produce such as turnips was stored in a vegetable kiln. Nora Cusic described this as a circular hole in the ground about two feet deep in which vegetables were stored on a bed of straw and then covered with more straw and a mound of dirt (McDaniel 1982:154 in Kimmel 1993:104). Nora Cusic was a Euro-American tenant living at the Cusic-Medley house in 1918.

⁹. "Occasionally, the farmers would construct an earthen potato house near the field. These were made by digging about a two-to-three foot hole, lining it with straw, and placing the sweet potatoes in it. The whole thing would be mounded over with dirt, leaving one small space to gain access by" (Stine 1989:129 in Kimmel 1993:104).

Monticello". Kelso attributed this pattern to a number of factors, among which was the need for food storage space, and, perhaps more importantly, the need to conceal the evidence of food/tool pilfering resulting from resistance to regimented diets and oppressive work schedules (Kelso 1986a:13-14).

Others have argued for the storage of non-food items in "root cellars", claiming that they served as convenient spaces to safeguard valuables, and had possible African antecedents. Ann Yentsch has found evidence for the use of below-ground storage cellars among the Ibo in early nineteenth century Bonny, citing an account by English sea captain Crow who stated, "most of the hard articles such as lead and iron bars, chests of beads, and marcelas, they bury under the floors of their houses. Much valuable property is secreted in that way" (Crow in Yentsch 1991:3). John Sprinkle has reported on an historic reference to John Cox, a skilled slave living at the Whitehall Plantation in Maryland, who stored a variety of personal items in a chest within the mill where he worked (Sprinkle 1991:91-93).¹⁰ Sprinkle argues that the objects contained within the chest were similar to archaeological assemblages reported from contemporary sites, and that the chest may have been an above-ground correlate to the subterranean root cellar. In a summary report of early storage methods for fruits and vegetables, Rosemary Brandau presents further historical evidence of cellars being used for storing valuables, in this case stolen goods. The Virginia Gazette, on May 36, 1768 reported "...A great quantity of bacon was found in a smoke-house, under the floor, where there was a large sort of cellar dug, the floor and sides of which were done with bricks; and there the meat was packed very carefully, so as to preserve it..." (Brandau 1985:13).

Recently, archaeologist Richard Kimmel has argued that sub-floor pits, especially those which show no evidence of ever having been lined, may have been dug to extract clay used for hearth ballast or for chinking (mortar) in masonry chimneys, and may never have been accessible to house occupants. He also cautions against attributing all such features to African-American occupation, citing instances of Native-American and European-American use of pits for a variety of

¹⁰ In documenting accounts of a fire at the Whitehall grist mill on February 3, 1783, John Ridout described the contents of John Cox's chest, lost in the fire. "He had a chest on the middle mill house floor in which he always kept his best clothes and few other things, he had then in the chest the mill book, two shirts, two summer waistcoats, a good light brown broadcloth coat with silver basket buttons (formerly Col. Sharpe's), a yellow broadcloth waistcoat with yellow metal buttons, a pair of brown cloth breeches with yellow metal buttons, also three razors, two old shoe buckles, a sliver sleeve button, a few pieces of brass mounting for a gun and two small pulleys[.] [T]here was likewise in one end of the chest a very small box containing one Guinea which he had from Mr. Yeldell at the time Lord Howe came up the Bay and had kept ever since, eight or nine small pieces of silver coin such as quarters of dollars and Pistareens, and some sewing needles (MSA 1783 as cited in Sprinkle 1991:91).

functions. He urged archaeologists to take a broader view of assemblage attributes before assigning ethnicity to a site on which sub-floor pits are present (Kimmel 1993:102-113).

Bearing Kimmel's cautions in mind, the archaeological evidence relating to the Quarter site indicate that Features I, II and III functioned as cellars. First, their contents, especially those of Feature I, fit the pattern of organics, animal bone, buttons, tools and metal implements defined by Kelso for slave-related features at Monticello and Kingsmill. Second, a lack of any surviving evidence for a masonry chimney, combined with the number of features (3) makes it unlikely that the pits were dug for chimney construction. Third, the orientations of Feature I and Features II/III relative to each other, with the long axis of Feature I parallel to that of Feature II/III, suggests intentional placement within a structure rather than the random excavation of extraction pits, while artifact types and distributions make it clear that these pits are associated with a structure.

Further, documentary evidence from Poplar Forest supports the use of root cellars by members of the slave community, at least by 1821. In that year, Jefferson's carpenter John Hemings wrote to Jefferson in distress, complaining of the theft of vegetables by the gardener. "...the very moment your back is turned from the place Nace takes every thing out of the garden and carries them to his cabin and burys them in the ground and says that they are for the use of the house...The people tells me that he makes market of them at the first opportunity" (John Hemings to Thomas Jefferson, November 29, 1821, MHi). Thus, based on the physical evidence of the features, their contents and placement, and supporting documentary evidence from the property, it is believed that Features I-III were used as cellars and were located within a dwelling. Archaeological investigations of a mid-nineteenth century tenant house located on the property confirm that the practice of using root cellars continued on the property throughout the nineteenth century (Kelso et al. 1991:46-48).

The Dwelling

Beyond the cellars and a cluster of posthole features centered between them, no in-situ remains have been preserved from the structure which once stood on the site. Currently, it is hypothesized that the 1993 excavations uncovered a single structure, bisected by a central partition into a two room dwelling, each room containing a cellar. The proximity of Feature I to II/III makes it unlikely that each is associated with a freestanding building.

Architectural fragments found within the fill of the cellars, and in soils surrounding them, provide some details about the dwelling which once contained them. Removed from the fill of two cellars were numerous pieces of fired clay, some still containing impressions from the fingers that worked them, or the wood that they were laid against. These appear to have been used as lining to "fireproof" a wooden or "catted" chimney. While the location of such a chimney, or chimneys is not known, the high concentration of daub in Feature I suggests that one was located along the southwestern end of the structure. If this was the case, a second

chimney was probably centered on the northeastern gable as well. Only a tiny quantity of window glass has been recovered on the site, suggesting at best a small glazed opening, or perhaps, debris scattered from the destruction of an adjacent building.

The cellars, the clay, the few fragments of glass, and numerous wrought and early machine cut nails with wrought heads are all that remain of a very impermanent house, probably a two-room structure built of logs, covered with clapboards, and floored with packed earth. Jefferson was planning multi-family slave dwellings along Monticello's Mulberry Row in the 1770s, and archaeological evidence exists to suggest that at least one such structure was constructed and inhabited (Kimball 1968:122, pl. 16; Kelso 1986a:10). Later, slave houses noted in an 1796 Monticello insurance declaration consisted of a single room with earth floor and wooden chimney, with a single family housed in each structure. How much input he had on the design of dwellings at Poplar Forest, during a period where he visited only infrequently, is unclear.

While the architectural evidence is consistent with what is known of slave quarters at Monticello, it is necessary to explore the possibility that the house was used by an overseer. Based on the evidence from early maps, Reiley predicted that the overseer's house fell perhaps 200' southeast of the site. However, given the level of inaccuracy on each map, it is impossible to pinpoint the location of the structure.

A surviving document preserves clues concerning housing for plantation overseers at Poplar Forest. Jefferson described an existing house in a letter dating to 1815. At that time, he also noted the modifications he thought appropriate to make an overseer's house comfortable. "The house is uncomfortable being a single room with a loft above, but I wish to add to it to make it comfortable. Another room with a passage between can quickly be added of hewn logs as is usual in that country, plaistered, with windows, stone chimney, etc." (Thomas Jefferson to William Newby, Jan 20, 1815, DLC). While Jefferson certainly made clear his thoughts of what should be done to make the house suitable for an overseer, he does not state why, until this date, an inferior house was in use.

Written references to overseers' houses at Monticello confirm that they were two-room structures, but do not describe the building materials. One important source of comparative information is the house site of two white craftsmen, excavated at Monticello in 1989-1990 (Heath 1991a and 1991b). The footprint of that building was clearly visible during excavation. When work was completed, it became clear that stone footings extended the length of the building and that two stone chimneys originally stood at each gable end. Quantities of bricks suggested that the hearths were lined. A large, wood-lined cellar with an exterior bulkhead entrance sat beneath what had been a wooden floor. In short, this structure was bigger, more solidly built, and more expensive than the building uncovered in 1993 at Poplar Forest.

Artifacts

Artifacts recovered from plowzone and feature fill provide some insights into the lives of the residents of the site. Among those believed to be the most sensitive markers of ethnicity are architectural remains, discussed above, ceramics, and food related artifacts (McGuire 1982). Other artifacts such as beads, buttons, pierced coins, cowrie shells, modified ceramic and glass items, and curated prehistoric and natural materials have been associated with African-American practices of personal ornamentation, communal games, and spiritual beliefs by archaeologists working on documented African-American sites (Adams 1987; Galke 1992; Kelso 1986b; Klingelhofer 1987; McKee 1992; Patten 1992; Wilkie 1994).

Archaeologists have long debated how slaves acquired ceramics, and how they used and valued them. Others have sought to understand the relationship between decorated and undecorated vessels, economics, and consumer choice (Miller 1980, 1991; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987). However, students of African-American archaeology have not been quick to apply Miller's price scaling model, arguing that European ceramics may have had very different meanings in the quarters than in the planter's house. While such methods may not help us to understand the roles that plates, cups and tureens played within slave households, price scaling models can be used effectively to study how they were acquired. Anna Gruber, in studying ceramic assemblages from slave quarters "r", "s" and "t" on Monticello's Mulberry Row, applied the Miller model in her analysis. She concluded:

...the value of the ceramics recovered from the Monticello slave quarters indicates a middle to high status level. In addition, the analysis of the forms, the variety of forms within the collection, and the large quantity of vessels also correlate with a middle to high socioeconomic status. A possible explanation for this has been that these slaves, given their proximity to the house and their more favored position as house servants, received the out-of-date or broken hand-me-down ceramics from Jefferson's house. This conclusion is supported by the results of a comparison between the mean ceramic date and the median historical date for the three quarters which shows that the ceramics are in fact out of date (Gruber 1990:62).

A comparison of the Quarter site ceramics to those which Gruber analyzed shows a significant difference in quality (Table 8). While coarse earthenware and stoneware together comprise nearly one third of the Quarter site assemblage, they make up less than 13% of the assemblages from any of the Monticello buildings. On the other end of the economic scale, Chinese porcelain is completely absent from the Poplar Forest assemblage, while it represents between 17% and 24% of the Mulberry Row wares. Similarly, only one transfer-printed vessel has been recovered

Table 8
A Comparison of Ceramics between the Quarter Site and Monticello's Buildings "R", "S" and "T"

TYPE	Quarter	"R"	"S"	"T"
coarse earthenware	9 (22%)	1 (2.5%)	13 (4%)	13 (5%)
stoneware	4 (10%)	3 (8%)	25 (8%)	22 (8%)
delft	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	9 (3%)
creamware	10 (24%)	11 (28%)	41 (13%)	42 (16%)
pearlware	14 (34%)	15 (38.5%)	133 (43%)	100 (37%)
whiteware	2 (5%)	1 (2.5%)	17 (5.5%)	2 (1%)
refined stoneware	1 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	17 (5.5%)	15 (6%)
Chinese porcelain	0 (0%)	8 (20.5%)	52 (17%)	65 (24%)
European porcelain	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	8 (2%)	0 (0%)
	41 100%	39 (100%)	308 (99%)	268 (100%)

from the Quarter site, while transfer-printed pearlwares comprised just over 6% of the tablewares from building "r", nearly 16% from building "s", and over 11% of those from building "t".

A comparison between the Quarter site, the wing of offices and cabins "r", "s" and "t" at Monticello using the CC index values developed by Miller (Miller 1980 and 1991) supports the qualitative differences observed. While the mean index value for the wing assemblage (1.72) fell below the mean values of Monticello's buildings "s" (2.03) and "t" (2.02), it was higher than building "r" (1.70) (Brooks 1994). Based on these findings, Brooks has concluded that slaves using the Wing of Offices were receiving cast-offs from the Jefferson household. Interestingly, the mean index values for the Quarter site were (1.15) very low, and do not support the notion that slaves living here were supplied with Jefferson's hand-me-downs.

An examination of the decorations found on tablewares from the Quarter site with those recovered in proximity to Jefferson's octagonal house supports the qualitative and quantitative analysis summarized above. Only one match occurs: a handpainted blue-edged pearlware saucer fragment matches a cup recovered from the north side of Jefferson's Wing of Offices. This nearly total lack of matching patterns suggests an independent source of ceramic supplies between the wing and the Quarter site.

It is possible that the ceramics from the Quarter site represent hand-me-downs from the overseer's house, and reflect the economic status of his family. It is also possible that slaves bought some of them directly from local merchants, using profits from the sale of poultry, vegetables or from selling their labor to Jefferson or his white craftsmen by performing odd jobs which were perceived as particularly onerous.

However acquired, the ceramics support the notion that the site was destroyed before 1811, at which time Jefferson reported that he had "fixed himself comfortably" in his new house (Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, August 17, 1811, DLC) and begun carrying furniture down from Monticello (Thomas Jefferson to Edmund Bacon, December 5, 1811, DLC as cited in Chambers 1993:86-87). While it is not known when his tablewares and other ceramic vessels arrived, it is unlikely that large quantities of vessels were present on site until late 1810 or 1811, when the house was nearing completion and other furnishings begin to be documented.

Archaeologists are currently debating the significance of mass-produced objects like buttons and beads in the context of historic period African-American households. William Kelso has suggested that large quantities of buttons found in root cellars associated with slave dwellings may relate to the practice of quilting carried out by slave women, stating: "It follows that the fabrication of quilts from the old shirts and coats might result in the ultimate deposit of a variety of buttons rendered useless by the new use for the cloth..." (Kelso 1986a:15-16). While the origins of quilting lie in Europe, John Vlatch has documented the production of quilts by slave women, and argued that many surviving examples exhibit an African aesthetic (Vlatch 1990:44-75). While Kelso's connection between buttons and

quilting is provocative, it remains largely untested. Do button assemblages demonstrate enough diversity to represent the recycling of numerous garments? Do archaeological contexts demonstrate the deposition of large numbers of buttons in occupation layers? In the case of the Quarter site assemblage, most buttons group in the same size range (1/2" - 5/8"), suggesting a limited range of clothing types present. It is not yet possible to group matching buttons to form a rough minimum number of garments, as a portion of the assemblage is currently being conserved. However, contextual information indicates that the buttons were not discarded as a single deposit, or even as a series of deposits which would relate to largescale recycling of old garments. Rather, the buttons were evenly distributed within the fill layers of Feature I and throughout plowzone along the northern and western edges of the site. Thus, there there is no convincing archaeological evidence to confirm the quilting hypothesis.

William Adams has hypothesized that blue beads recovered archaeologically provide tangible evidence of the Muslim belief, prevalent in parts of Africa, that wearing a single blue bead provides protection against "the evil eye" (Adams as cited in Singleton 1991:164). More recently, Laurie Wilkie has argued that buttons, beads, brooches and other forms of adornment embody a broader African-American aesthetic different from that of the dominant European-American culture. The importance of adornment to African-Americans can be observed, she argues, through differences in the frequencies of such objects recovered from known African-American versus known European-American sites. Wilkie reports that for "the period of slavery through the 1940s", buttons, beads, hair combs, jewelry and other related objects comprised between approximately 10% and 30% of African-American domestic assemblages from Oakley Plantation in Louisiana. She has documented the purchase of "lace", "trim", "beads" and "buttons" by African-American tenants to ornament clothing, and suggests that buttons may have been strung like beads or "used to decorate cloth in the same way as beads" (Wilkie 1994:1,4). Whether this was the case for the Quarter site buttons is unclear. Further comparative work between buttons recovered elsewhere on the property is needed to determine if, in fact, the Quarter site has yielded a proportionately higher level of buttons than have non-African American deposits from the same period. Such analysis will be complicated by the fact that most early nineteenth century artifacts recovered in the vicinity of the brick octagon are found in layers that represent the mixing of objects from the Jefferson household and the slave-dominated service wing.

The shaped ceramic and glass pieces recovered in the Quarter site root cellars may have been used in game playing, although this is by no means clear. Worn ceramic fragments in geometric shapes have been recovered from Monticello, from slave quarter contexts at Pohoke and Portici plantations, from planter/military contexts at Portici, (Parker and Hernigle 1990:207-209), and from slave quarter contexts at Brownsville (Galke 1992:79). Circular ceramic pieces have been recovered at slave quarters at Drax Hall plantation in Jamaica and at The Hermitage in Tennessee (Singleton 1991:164, McKee 1992:35-37). At each site, the objects have been identified as gaming pieces. Drake Patten has hypothesized that similar

objects, recovered in association with Jefferson's Wing of Offices may have been used in the game mancala (Patten 1992:7). While they have been catalogued as "gaming pieces" as a convenience for finding them in the database, it is unclear how, or why, these objects were used. They seem to be too small for easy use in a game such as mancala, where players need to be able to easily manipulate the pieces as they move around the board.

Drake Patten has hypothesized that an assemblage which includes crystals, a decanter finial, lithics and a pierced coin from the Wing of Offices at Poplar Forest may relate to the West African practice of wearing charms or fetishes with spiritual significance (Patten 1992, personal communication). An assemblage of crystals found at the Nash site near Manassas has been interpreted as evidence of African-American "ritual" (Galke 1992:137). While it is possible that specific objects, such as the pierced schist disc, the rounded metal discs and the mica recovered in the fill of root cellars at the Quarter site may have ritual significance, there is no strong contextual evidence for them relating to each other as a cohesive assemblage. The discs were found in different layers, the mica in a separate feature. While it is necessary to be sensitive to the possibility that objects may have had special significance to the residents of the site which are not immediately apparent to us today, it is equally necessary to consider the context of such objects. Unlike the Nash and the Wing assemblages, which had some coherence, the scatter of objects at the Quarter site does not appear to form a coherent assemblage.

A Return to the Documents

A single slave dwelling on a late eighteenth/early nineteenth century plantation such as Poplar Forest is anomalous; Jefferson's estates, like those of other large landowners of the time, contained clusters of slave dwellings convenient to the major work areas of the plantation. While the arrangement of housing at Poplar Forest is unknown, documents hint at the proximity of structures. In 1818 Jefferson instructed his overseer that: "Maria. 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" (Jefferson to Joel Yancey, November 10, 1818, MHi). A year later, Yancey reports that he is "repairing and building cabins for people" (Joel Yancey to Jefferson, December 12, 1819, MHi).

Jefferson's lists of slaves present at Poplar Forest between 1794 and 1810, when combined with memoranda sent to his overseer Jeremiah Goodman, provide some means of narrowing the field of possible residents of the site during the period when it was occupied, and may provide some clues concerning when it was destroyed. Although it may not be possible to determine the individual family or families resident in the house discovered in 1993, it is possible to suggest who was living at the larger site during this period.

The 1794, 1798/99 and 1805 slave censuses for Bedford do not distinguish between residents at Bear Creek and Poplar Forest. However, the order of names on these documents is similar to that of the 1810 census, which does list slaves by the farm where they lived and worked. If the 1810 ordering is projected back in

time, the location of families can be discerned. This projection is substantiated by two early nineteenth century maps, which note the location of Hubbard's house at Bear Creek, establishing that his family resided there (Figure 3) . Further, beyond births and deaths occurring in established families, the population is fairly stable during this period; there is no evidence of major movements of families between plantations or away from Bedford.

From 1794 until 1799, slave headman Jame Hubbard, his wife Cate, and their children and grandchildren lived together at Bear Creek.¹¹ Will and Abby, and their children and grandchildren most likely lived at Bear Creek during these years as well.¹²

Four family groups lived at Poplar Forest in 1794, and an additional group arrived in time to be noted on the census of 1798. Bess and her two sons, her daughter and grandchildren¹³; Hercules and his wife Bet and their six children, Hannah and her five children; Judy and Will, their daughter Dinah and her family were all present from at least 1794 to 1798, while sisters Nanny and Lucy and Nanny's daughter, and an unaffiliated slave named Kit appear on the 1798/99 census. These groupings making up a minimum of five households, if it is assumed that Kit was lodged with one of the other families.

The 1805 census is the first which physically separates family groupings on the page. If these separations are interpreted as separate households, and separate houses, then some changes occurred within slave settlements in the six years between censuses. At Bear Creek, Jame and Cate's daughters Maria and Eve established separate residences for themselves and their children, as had Will and Abby's daughters Sal and Flora. At Poplar Forest, the widowed Judy lived alone, and Nanny and Lucy also had established separate residences. It is possible that

¹¹. Prior to marrying Cate, Jame had two children that may have been adopted or his natural offspring: Armistead (b. 1771), and Nace (b. 1773). Cate had several children prior to marrying Jame. Her daughter Rachael (b. 1773), lived with them at Bear Creek. Jame and Cate also had children together, of which daughters Maria (b. 1776), Eve (b. 1779), Sarah (b. 1788) and Nancy (b. 1791) were living at Bear Creek in 1798 and 1799. Additionally, Rachael's children Burrel and Cate, Maria's children Nace and Nicy, and Eve's son Sancho were also living in the Hubbard household, or an adjoining house, at the time of that census (Marmon 1991, Part III:58-61).

¹². Will and Abby had 8 children living with them in 1798 and 1799. They were Jesse (b. 1772), Sal (b. 1777), Dick (b. 1781), Flora (b. 1783), Fanny, (b. 1788), Edy (b. 1792), Armistead, alias Manuel (b. 1794) and Amy (b. 1796). Sal's children Isabel and Milly are also listed with Will and Abby. Sal is noted as "Gawen's wife", but his name does not appear on the census list with his wife and children; rather he was living at Poplar Forest in mother Bet's household at this time (Marmon 1991, Part III:53-55).

¹³. Bess was widowed by 1792. Her sons Hall (b. 1767), the blacksmith who was married to Hannah by 1797, and Caesar (b. 1774) are listed with her.

some of these apparent changes are attributable to a change in Jefferson's recording practices rather than a radical shift in housing.

A definite shift occurred between 1805 and 1810 however, most likely associated with Jefferson's construction needs for the retreat, and his greater involvement with the management of the property and the slaves who worked it. Five adult men between the ages of 16 and 38, four of them from Poplar Forest and the fifth, "Bedford" Jame, of unknown origin, moved to Bear Creek. Of this group, Gawen joined his wife and children, and "Bedford Jame" joined his wife Rachael. In 1815 Jefferson made his views of slave marriage clear, stating, "Certainly there is nothing I desire so much as that all the young people in the estate should intermarry with one another and stay at home. They are worth a great deal more in that case than when they have husbands and wives abroad. Phill has long been petitioning me to let him go to Bearcreek to live with his family and Nanny has been as long at me to let her come to the Poplar forest. We may therefore now gratify both, by sending Phill & his wife to Bearcreek, and bringing Nanny and any one of the single men from there..."(Betts 1944:539-40).

The five men who moved to Bear Creek between 1805 and 1810 were replaced at Poplar Forest by the addition of ten former Bear Creek residents, all but one of them a member of the extended family headed by Will, the smith, and Abby. Cate's son Nace completed the Bear Creek group. Will's skill as a smith would have been useful at a time when construction was placing demands on Jefferson's supply of nails, on the variety and condition of tools used by artisans involved in masonry, carpentry and finish work, and on the more routine needs of tool maintenance. Two other Bear Creek residents, Cate's grandsons Nace and Sanco move to Albemarle at this time (Marmon 1991, Part III:61).

The increase in the Poplar Forest workforce was shortlived. In a memorandum to overseer Jeremiah Goodman in 1811, Jefferson outlined the tasks of his Poplar Forest slaves for the coming winter. Of a total of 57 slaves listed in the 1810 census, 24 are not assigned a task, suggesting that they had once again moved. This movement is confirmed by Jefferson's instructions that, "Several of the negro women complain that their houses want repair badly...for the present winter repair, of preference those of the women who have no husbands to do it for them. the removal of so many negroes from this to the other place will require a good deal of work there to lodge them comfortably. this should be done at once, by the gangs of both places joined" (Betts 1944:466-467, emphasis added). It is probable that Bear Creek was "the other place" where the thirteen adults and eleven children moved in 1811.

It is clear from the documents that people were moving between Bear Creek and Poplar Forest from 1805 until 1811, and that housing was being repaired, built, and most likely, torn down. A year after the shifting of 24 people to "the other place," Jefferson was ordering additional reorganization of the plantation in the form of the enclosed curtilage. If the fence did indeed follow the modern property boundary, then it is probable that slave housing was further reorganized around this new barrier. Both events may ultimately explain the abandonment of the structure

found at the Quarter site.

CONCLUSIONS AND GOALS FOR 1994

While much additional work is needed to define the limits of the site and the meaning of the features uncovered, it is currently hypothesized that the site represents the remains of a slave quarter occupied in the last decade of the eighteenth century and into the first decade of the nineteenth century. From the historic maps, it is evident that a plantation complex of some size was located in this area around 1800, although the "mansion house" or "old plantation" may have stood further south, on the top of the hill (see Figure 6 for approximate location of house). The artifacts recovered from the cellar fill span the crucial decade when Jefferson first conceived of the octagonal house to when, after it was nearly completed, he turned his attention to reordering the surrounding landscape. How these features relate to the eastern boundary of the 1812 curtilage is as yet unknown. Documentary evidence suggests that destruction is linked with Jefferson's movement of people whose labor he used to build his retreat or with the construction of the curtilage fence.

A major goal of the 1994 excavations will be to locate additional structures in the area of the Quarter site dwelling. One known house site lies approximately 200' away, on land that is not owned by the Corporation. Other concentrations of artifacts noted during initial testing in 1993 may reveal the location of deposits related to the structure found in 1993, or to separate buildings.

A second goal will be to explore the space around the house uncovered in 1993 in order to understand how the residents of the site defined their yard. Historic accounts indicate that yards were important spaces for slaves to socialize and to work. Archaeologists will look for evidence for the locations of garden and livestock enclosures close to the house, for evidence of exterior hearths, for midden areas and for other features which will provide clues about domestic life outside of the house.

A third goal, related to the ordering of space, will be to pinpoint the location of the curtilage fence. It is possible that part of it already has been excavated, and that by expanding the grid from 1993, it can be defined more clearly. It is also possible that the fence can more easily be located at a distance from the site, where it is less likely to be confused with postholes associated with a dwelling and yard. Once found, it can be traced to the site and its relationship to the structure and other features clarified.

A fourth goal is to locate the source of clinker and wasters found on site. Testing should be conducted across the pasture between the site and the north grove for evidence of a smith's shop. It is possible that the site of such a shop is no longer on Poplar Forest property, but a systematic testing effort should help address this question.

Finally, it is hoped that all of these explorations will unearth additional artifacts, some in good contexts, that will contribute to our understanding of daily

life at the Quarter. Because the site predates Jefferson's regular visits to the property, it holds the potential to inform us about slave life outside of the constant shadow of the master. Ceramic evidence is already hinting at different acquisition patterns between the inhabitants of the Quarter and those who lived and worked at the Wing of Offices, as well as between the Quarter and the dwellings on Monticello's Mulberry Row.

Beyond new finds, additional research is needed in order to fully understand the assemblage of artifacts recovered in 1993. Specific questions concerning artifacts noted in the text above include the identification of several iron objects, a closer study of the glass beads found in Feature I, research concerning the brooch/buckle and the soapstone pipes, and complete faunal and botanical analysis. Broader questions concerning the meaning of large segments of the artifact assemblage within the site, and between the Quarter and the slave dwellings on Mulberry Row, are only beginning to be addressed.

The first season of excavations has begun to provide answers to longstanding questions about slave life at Poplar Forest, and about the layout of the plantation during the decade during which the brick octagon was constructed and Jefferson became a regular visitor to the property. Much work remains to be done to define the parameters of the site, study the physical remains left behind by its inhabitants, place them more clearly in time, compare their lives with those of their relatives at Monticello, and understand their relationship to the larger plantation where they spent their lives.

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