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# Assessing Variability among Quartering Sites in Virginia

## **Cover Page Footnote**

We would like to thank Jillian Galle for organizing the session at the 2011 meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology of which this paper was a part and for her continuing research assistance. Karen Smith supplied context information about the pierced coins and horn ring found at Monticello, and we are grateful for her help. Brad Hatch assisted with organizing tables, and his thesis provided a valuable source of comparative data. Crystal Ptacek drafted Figure 1. Dennis Pogue and Doug Sanford read and commented extensively on earlier drafts of this paper. Their critiques helped us to clarify our arguments and re-evaluate our initial emphases. Lori Lee and Mark Freeman provided valuable suggestions as did anonymous reviewers for NEHA.

## Assessing Variability among Quartering Sites in Virginia

Barbara J. Heath and Eleanor E. Breen

*The definition of what constitutes a Virginia slave quarter based on archaeological evidence is evolving. In the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists developed an informal set of criteria that equated subfloor pits and the presence of "Africanisms" with structures occupied by enslaved people, and these criteria are still widely used. The accumulation of an archaeological and architectural data set of more than 170 Virginian quartering sites over the past 40 years has demonstrated that these sites vary across time and space, has underscored the problematic nature of site definition based on a checklist approach to ethnic or racial criteria, and has highlighted the challenges of inter-site comparison. We compare three quarters dating to the Revolutionary War and Post-Revolutionary periods. Our comparison underscores significant differences, as well as similarities, that existed between them and raises analytical challenges. Understanding variability and exploring alternative methods for site interpretation are important goals for the future. Employing analyses such as minimum vessel counts, assessments of richness, and abundance indices for artifacts, along with soil chemistry, ethnobotanical data, and landscape organization to understand historical landscapes, may prove to be more reliable methods of identifying quarters than relying on the presence or absence of certain features or artifact types.*

*La définition de ce que constitue la preuve archéologique déterminant la présence d'un logis d'esclave en Virginie est en évolution. Des archéologues ont développé un ensemble de critères informels dans les années 1970 et 1980. Ces critères, selon lesquels la découverte de sous-sols jumelée à la présence d'objets associés à l'Afrique correspondait à des structures occupées par des esclaves, sont encore largement utilisés. Depuis 40 ans, on accumule un ensemble de données archéologiques et architecturales provenant de plus de 170 sites de logis en Virginie. L'accumulation de ces données a démontré que ces sites varient dans le temps et l'espace, a mis en évidence la nature problématique d'une définition d'un site fondée sur une liste de critères ethniques ou raciaux, et a souligné les défis liés à la comparaison des sites. Nous comparons trois logis datant des périodes de la guerre de l'indépendance et de l'après-guerre. Nos comparaisons soulignent des différences significatives de même que des similitudes entre ces deux périodes, soulevant des défis d'analyse. La capacité de comprendre les variations et d'explorer des méthodes alternatives pour l'interprétation de sites seront des buts importants pour l'avenir. L'utilisation de méthodes d'analyse telles que le nombre d'objets minimum, l'évaluation de la richesse et l'abondance d'indices pour les artefacts, la chimie des sols, les données ethnobotaniques de même que l'organisation du paysage dans la compréhension paysages historiques pourront s'avérer être des méthodes plus fiables pour l'identification de logis que ceux basés sur la présence ou l'absence de certains types d'éléments ou d'artefacts.*

### Introduction

In the last forty years, the study of the African and African American diasporic experience has grown from a small number of excavations conducted on plantations and farms in the Southeast, Middle Atlantic, and Northeast to become a dynamic subfield within historical archaeology, encompassing sites occupied by enslaved and free Africans and their descendants in diverse circumstances across the Atlantic World (Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Singleton 1995). Archaeologists began with a focus on how the material conditions of enslavement shaped daily life, supported positions of power, or fostered resistance (Singleton 1995; Singleton and Bograd 1995). More recently, scholars

working in the Chesapeake have explored cultural and historical processes of racialization, household and community formation, and consumerism (Epperson 1999; Fesler 2004; Franklin 1997; Galke 2009; Galle 2010; Heath 2004, 2012b; Lee 2012; Neiman 2008).

All of these interpretive directions rest on our ability to identify these sites archaeologically and compare them effectively. Few excavated slave quarters in Virginia are specifically documented. Known quarters include Monticello's «Hemings house,» home to enslaved matriarch Elizabeth Hemings, and «buildings r, s, and t» on Mulberry Row; Montpelier's 19<sup>th</sup>-century "servant's dwellings"; and Mount Vernon's "House for Families" (Jefferson 1808, 1809; Kelso 1986: 5-6; Pogue 2001: 111-112; Trickett

2010). These sites appear on insurance or estate maps, or are mentioned in letters with enough specificity to identify them on the ground. For the most part, however, quarters appear archaeologically in the empty spaces of maps, perhaps near a designated owner's or overseer's house as at Poplar Forest (Heath 1999b: 4-8) or Wilton (Higgins et al. 2000: 26-29), but often without even those references for guidance. If property histories can be reconstructed, tax lists, slave rolls, or other plantation or farm records can serve as useful evidence that enslaved people lived in the site area, but these sources are rarely able to confirm that a particular archaeological site was occupied by enslaved people.

Given the paucity of well-documented sites, over the course of the 1970s and 1980s an informal repertoire of material culture, believed to be associated with enslavement, gained widespread acceptance among archaeologists working in Virginia and Maryland. Earthfast architecture (either post-in-ground or log) was one defining characteristic, although architectural historians and archaeologists have recognized that earthfast buildings were widely used to shelter both free and enslaved households and that foundation-set frame structures and masonry buildings were constructed for enslaved workers living in close proximity to mansion houses. William Kelso's work at Carter's Grove and Kingsmill in the 1970s identified small interior pits that he called "root cellars," but are now commonly referred to as subfloor pits (Kelso 1971, 1984; Neiman 1997). Kelso equated these pits with structures occupied by slaves, and this association continues. Conversely, their absence is often used to argue against an enslaved presence.

Similarly, since the 1960s, archaeologists in the Middle Atlantic and across the Southeast have used specific artifacts or patterned assemblages of objects to define quarters. These "Africanisms" are objects believed to have originated in Africa, to embody or enable the retention of African beliefs, or to capture distinctively African or African American modes of behavior (usually relating to foodways or spirituality). Specifically, these have included "diagnostic" artifact types such as colonoware, blue glass beads, cowrie shells, "mancala" or gaming pieces, pierced coins,

rings made of bone, horn, or tropical hardwoods, or, on antebellum sites, "hand charms" (Fairbanks 1984; Fennell 2007; Ferguson 1980, 1999; Noël Hume 1962; Singleton 1991; Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996). Some of these artifact types have subsequently received alternative interpretations, such as the small triangular, worn ceramic, glass, and stone objects identified as gaming pieces that are now thought to be avian gastroliths (Goode 2009; Goode et al. 2009: Appendix 4; Handler 2009).

In the 1980s, archaeologists in the southeastern United States examined ceramic flatware to hollowware ratios, arguing that the stew-based diets of enslaved people favored the use of greater numbers of bowls and other hollow vessels (Otto 1984). Subsequent research in Virginia did not support this patterning (Higgins and Downing 1993: 58; Kelso 1986: 16-17; and White 1991: 17, 20). More recently, artifact assemblages have been determined to be diagnostic if they include crystals, prehistoric stone tools, objects marked with x's, pierced spoons, or a less specific mixture of objects used metaphorically in Bakongo expressions of spirituality or the more generalized practice of hoodoo (Fennell 2003; Ferguson 1999; Franklin 1997; Klingelhofer 1987; Leone and Fry 1999).

A Maryland site included in the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS 2011) serves as one example of the informal approach to site definition. Ashcomb's Quarter, located on the Patuxent River in Maryland and dating to the second and third quarters of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, consisted of "three post-in-ground structures, two trash pits, and a large historic shell midden" (Catts et al. 1999: 67 as cited in Sawyer 2006). Because no subfloor pits were found during excavations, archaeologists interpreted the structures as outbuildings rather than dwellings. Based on the contents of the artifact assemblage, which contained none of the artifacts often used as markers of African occupation, the archaeologists were uncertain if the site was occupied by English indentured servants, enslaved Africans, or laborers from both groups (Catts et al. 1999: 209 as cited in Sawyer 2006). Across the region, as at Ashcomb's Quarter, the presence of one or more of these "diagnostic" features or artifact types has been taken as confirmation of a site's association with

enslaved people, while their absence can lead to doubts about whether a site functioned as a quarter, or whether instead it housed poor whites.

In the presence of unresolved ambiguity, applying interpretive short-cuts is convenient and archaeologists continue to use them. More recently, however, there is a growing recognition of the problems inherent in this practice. Historical research on the origins and distributions of enslaved Africans brought to colonial Virginia challenges the notion of pan-cultural belief systems or the likelihood of uniform expressions of identity across time and space and demands more critical assessments of material culture (Chambers 1997; Heath 2010, 2011a; Walsh 2001). The availability of data relating to architectural remains and artifacts associated with known or likely quartering sites and the limited data from sites that are definitely *not* quarters point to both variability within slave sites and commonalities between sites occupied by the free and enslaved. These commonalities include impermanent architecture, few or no subfloor pits in sites post-dating the late-18<sup>th</sup> century, and small artifact assemblages that are frequently composed of inexpensive consumer goods and dominated by artifacts related to architecture (mostly nails, daub, or brick).

### Recent Studies of Slave Housing and Portable Material Culture

Over the last fifteen years, archaeologists working in Virginia have taken an increasingly comparative approach to slavery, creating and analyzing data sets that summarize house materials and sizes; the frequency, placement, size, and contents of subfloor pits; and the presence and abundance of various domestic artifact types. This approach allows archaeologists to connect the material world of enslavement to broader cultural changes from the early-18<sup>th</sup> century to the antebellum period (DAACS 2011; Fennell 2007; Fesler 2004; Franklin 1997; Hatch 2009; Neiman 2008; Samford 1996, 2007; Sanford 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2009).

For a variety of reasons, including the regional development of historical archaeology generally, and plantation archaeology specifically, much of the available data has been collected from sites located in the coastal

plain, known as the Tidewater (Heath 2012b). Drawing heavily on earlier compiled sources (DAACS 2011; Fesler 2004; Hatch 2009; Pogue 2010; Samford 1996, 2007; Sanford 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2009), we have compiled a list of 175 probable slave-occupied structures encompassing 140 archaeological sites from 60 Virginia historic properties and 35 standing quarters on 23 properties (TABS. 1 AND 2). Fifty 8% (n=101) of quarters are located in the Tidewater, 42% (n=73) in the Piedmont, and less than 1% (n=1) in the Shenandoah Valley. Obviously, it is impossible at this point to assess differences between the valley and the other regions based on archaeological or architectural data. Because of biases in the data, regional comparisons between the Tidewater and Piedmont also pose some challenges.

The 101 Tidewater quarters are distributed over 53 sites, with approximately 15% each associated with the Utopia (n=9) and Wilton (n=7) plantations, and the remainder more evenly spread between properties and over time. In contrast, the 73 Piedmont dwellings are contained within 30 plantations. Of these, 33% (n=24) are associated with Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and Poplar Forest plantations, biasing the data heavily towards one planter and time period (TABS. 1 AND 2). The archaeological and architectural data are also skewed temporally, with nearly three-quarters of the Piedmont sites dating to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (n=38), and all but four of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century sites dating to the last quarter of that century. As a result, comparisons in architecture and material culture between the two regions are affected by a variety of factors including changes in the architectural vocabulary of vernacular buildings, which transitioned from post-in-ground to log structures and are therefore much more difficult to define archaeologically; consumer behavior that by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century was beginning to affect and engage even the impoverished and enslaved; economic transitions from tobacco to wheat that affected the siting and perhaps the size of quarters; and social transformations as parity of sexes improved, gender roles became more solidified, and enslaved people began forming multigenerational families. Archaeologists have approached these changes on an intra-site or local level (Fesler 2004; Franklin 1997; Heath 2004, 2012c;

Neiman 2008); the challenge now is to use these data sets to explore these phenomena regionally.

### Quarter Site Architecture

In his 2004 dissertation research, Fesler examined 67 measurable quarters in the Tidewater and Piedmont to chart changes in housing from the late-17<sup>th</sup> century through the Civil War. He found that average square footage fell between 1680 and 1800 and then started upward again into the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Fesler 2004: 258-262). To test Fesler's findings, we used the expanded data sets of archaeological sites in Table 1 (APP. 1). Seventeenth-century sites have been omitted here due to small sample size. Because of the transition to log architecture, especially prevalent in the Piedmont, numerous sites do not have measurable dimensions and these also have been omitted from this analysis. The resulting sample is nearly 1.5 times larger (n=98) than Fesler's (n=67). These data support Fesler's findings, suggesting that house sizes decreased between the first and second halves of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then increased in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by about the same amount (TAB. 3).

Examining late-18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century standing structures independently of the archaeological data, Sanford and Pogue (2009) were unable to confirm strong correlation between house size and date during this period. Room size for the single-celled dwellings varied from 146 to 336 sq. ft., and the total square footage for duplexes ranged between 217 and 646 sq. ft. (TAB. 2). They also found some correlation between construction material, house type, and proximity to the planter's house, with better-built masonry or frame duplexes more likely to be part of the mansion curtilage (Sanford and Pogue 2009: 6-7; Pogue 2010: 21).

When incorporating the archaeological and documentary data to address house size, Sanford (2009: 9-10) found that of 98 sites with measurable dimensions in his sample, structure size varied between 30 and 1500 sq. ft. Despite the prevalence of surviving duplexes, 66% of buildings in his study fell at or below 400 sq. ft. suggesting that the majority of enslaved people lived in single-celled dwellings. Using only slightly different data, it is not surprising

that this study supports the idea that most houses (73% of our sample) were 400 sq. ft. or smaller.

An examination of the frequency of sub-floor pits associated with slave dwellings showed that 275 or 276 pit features have been found at Tidewater slave quarters while only 43 have been found at Piedmont quarters. The data set revealed that 82 out of the 169 buildings (49%) in our sample of both standing structures and archaeological sites lacked these features (although two of the standing structures and one of the archaeological buildings had brick-lined cellars measuring 6 ft. sq.). Another 52 structures (31%) had only one or two pits per building. When arranged chronologically, pit counts decrease over time, diminishing to less than one pit per structure in both the Tidewater and Piedmont in the antebellum period, but none the less persisting in both regions (TAB. 4). Fesler (2004), Neiman (2008), and Sanford (2009: 10) all have previously drawn similar conclusions using subsets of the same data. There are sites that counter this trend, including 18<sup>th</sup>-century dwellings that contain no subfloor pits, and antebellum structures where these features are present (Hatch 2009: 69-73; Sanford 1996: 90-91).

A regional comparison for the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century demonstrates that Tidewater slaves constructed, on average, three times as many pits as their Piedmont counterparts (TAB. 4). The sample size for this period in the Piedmont is still quite small and biased towards sites owned by Thomas Jefferson. However, these findings suggest that close attention to regional differences in both site identification and the interpretation of housing strategies by enslaved residents are warranted. For the late-18<sup>th</sup>-century Piedmont and for all of Virginia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the extent to which quarters encountered archaeologically have been misidentified—or not identified at all—based on their lack of sub-floor pits remains a troubling question.

### Material Culture

While archaeologists have had some success understanding architectural variability, the acquisition, use, and meaning of more portable forms of material culture by enslaved people over time remain less understood. The use of specific artifacts as markers for enslaved

Table 2: Architectural sample of standing quarters in Virginia (from Sanford and Pogue 2009 and Pogue 2010).

Building Name	Region	Format	Construction Date*	Sub-floor Pit/ Cellar?	Space (sq. ft.)
Four Square I	Tidewater	Single	1789	No	315
Prestwould I	Piedmont	Single	1790	No	185
Arcola I	Piedmont	Single	1813	No	291
Walnut Valley	Tidewater	Single	1816	No	198
Bacon's Castle I	Tidewater	Duplex	1829	No	336
Four Square II	Tidewater	Single	1830	No	298
Ben Lomand	Tidewater	Duplex	1834	No	302
Prestwould II	Piedmont	Duplex	1840	No	396
Arcola II	Piedmont	Single	1845	No	336
Sherwood Forest	Tidewater	Duplex	1846	No	444
Bacon's Castle II	Tidewater	Duplex	1848	No	423
Spring Hill I	Piedmont	Duplex	1858	No	473
Logan Farm	Tidewater	Duplex	1837/1838	Yes: >6 ft. sq. brick lined	414
Clover Hill	Piedmont	Duplex		No	217
Berry Plain	Tidewater	Duplex		No	360
Sanford-Burgess	Tidewater	Single		No	146
Tetley I	Piedmont	Duplex		No	173
Mineral Springs II	Piedmont	Duplex		No	213
Mineral Springs I	Piedmont	Duplex		No	215
Hartland	Piedmont	Duplex		No	276
Green Level Farm	Tidewater	Duplex		No	332
Tuckahoe D	Piedmont	Duplex		No	427
Howard's Neck C	Piedmont	Duplex		No	446
Howard's Neck B	Piedmont	Duplex		No	447
Santee	Tidewater	Duplex		No	452
Tuckahoe A	Piedmont	Duplex		No	462
Tuckahoe B	Piedmont	Duplex		No	470
Spring Hill II	Piedmont	Duplex		No	474
Wilton	Tidewater	Duplex		No	474
Ivy Cliff	Piedmont	Duplex		No	506
Four Square III	Tidewater	Duplex		No	613
Presquile I	Piedmont	Duplex		No	646
Presquile II	Piedmont	Duplex		No	646
Tetley II	Piedmont	Duplex		No	No data
Pruden	Tidewater	Duplex		Yes: >6 ft. sq. brick lined	430

\*Construction dates are only provided for buildings where dendrochronology was undertaken and are based on the results of that analysis.

Table 3: Average square footage of slave dwellings 1700-1865.

Period	Sample size	Average square footage
1700-1749	29	374
1750-1799	45	321
1809-1865	24	373

Data for Table 3 derived from beginning date in date range summarized in Table 1.

Table 4: Subfloor pit frequencies by region, 1700-1865.

Period	Tidewater		Piedmont	
	No. of structures	Average no. of subfloor pits	No. of structures	Average no. of subfloor pits
1700-1750	40	4.8		
1751-1800	32	4.7	15	1.6
1801-1865	22	0.64	37	0.4

Data for Table 4 derived from Table 1.

Table 5: Comparative summary of ST116, 44LD539, and 44BE0298.

	ST116	44LD539	44BE0298
Location	near mansion house	outlying	outlying
Size of dwelling(s)	64 sq. ft.	225-420 sq ft.; 135 sq ft.	189+ sq ft.
Subfloor pits	0	multiple	2
Total artifacts (non-masonry)	6083	3867	1868
Artifacts per sq. ft.	5.07	2.7	1.1
Beads	1 blue glass bead	0	0
Cowrie Shells	0	0	0
Colonoware	none	< 1% of ceramic assemblage	28% of ceramic assemblage

Artifact counts exclude artifacts that post-date 1830 as well as mortar, plaster, brick, daub, architectural stone, and window glass.



people has proven to be problematic. Like other forms of material culture, objects associated with quarters vary by time and place. Colonoware, for example, is commonly found on pre-Revolutionary sites in Virginia, but disappeared from most Virginia sites by the early-19<sup>th</sup> century, except in the northern Piedmont (Galke 2009; Higgins et. al. 1998; Mouer et al. 1999; Parker and Hernigle 1990).

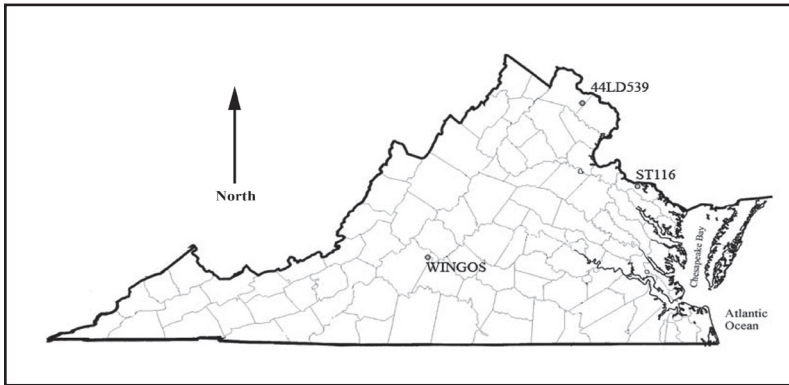


Figure 1. Map showing the location of sites discussed in the text.

Cowrie shells appear to cluster near major trading ports in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Tidewater and virtually disappear from archaeological sites in Virginia after the Revolution (Heath 2012a).

"Africanisms" are also not limited to quarters. Studies of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-to-early-19<sup>th</sup>-century sites in Northern Virginia indicate that colonoware is present in contexts that are clearly associated with planters—at the Barnes site in Fairfax County in quite large quantities—and in contexts such as kitchens and workyard middens that were multi-cultural spaces, suggesting the possibility of multiple communities of users (Breen 2004; Higgins et. al. 1998; Veech 1997). For example, 44FX1965 was historically associated with planter Thomas Brown and his son-in-law James Lane. Archaeologists found colonoware in the fill of the cellar of the principal dwelling and in an adjacent trash midden, as well as in features associated with a kitchen and quartering area located 95 ft. to the east (Higgins et. al. 1998: 37-45). While the authors of the site report attributed the colonoware to slaves living on the property, its presence at the main house raises the possibility that planters and their families used it as well. While enslaved people

certainly used colonoware, it is worth questioning whether free people, including planters, also used it, rather than assuming that they did not.

Similarly, blue glass beads do not always signal the presence of slaves in Virginia (and likely elsewhere). A study of 17<sup>th</sup>- and early-18<sup>th</sup>-century bead use reveals the widespread exchange of blue beads in the Indian

trade (Miller, Pogue, and Smolek 1983). Heather Lapham (2000: H6) has posited that an overstock of redwood beads with translucent green cores (Kidd IIIc3) might have been re-packaged by Virginia merchants in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century for sale to slaves, suggesting that availability may have trumped specific

color preference in the marketplace. Further, an analysis by Heath of large assemblages of beads (n=45+) from six well-sampled Virginia quartering sites dating from the early-18<sup>th</sup> century to the late antebellum period indicates that blue glass beads, while present, were *not* the dominant color choice for five of the six sites (Heath 2012a). While beads as well as other small adornments worn on the body can be important clues relating to personal and group identity, spirituality, and wellbeing, they are not reliable indicators of the ethnicity, race, or legal status of site occupants in Virginia (Lee 2008; Thomas and Thomas 2004).

Due to the paucity of documented slave dwellings and the question of site definition based on archaeological evidence, interpretations of these sites demand a broad contextual approach that is sensitive to time, region, and the historical circumstances of site occupation. Ultimately, it is important to ask how material culture illuminates specific site histories and the broader cultural processes of which individual sites were a part, expanding the conversation beyond checklists of specific feature types or artifacts as ethnic or racial markers, to explore the effects of poverty, the material choices, however limited, of enslaved agents, and the contestation of plantation space.

### Case Studies: Three Revolutionary and Post-Revolutionary Quarters

Three “atypical” sites dating from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to the early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries serve to illustrate site variability. ST116, 44LD539, and 44BE0298 (Wingos quarter), occupied between 1770 and 1825, have been identified as quarters by the archaeologists who have excavated and analyzed them (Arendt, Galle, and Neiman 2003; Goode et al. 2009: 372-373; Heath 2008: 125-126, 2012c; Sanford 2003). Despite shared legal status and the broadly similar social, political, and economic context of the Chesapeake region, these sites reflect the diversity of material conditions of life at plantation quarters across Virginia and the importance of more contextual approaches to their study. Two of the sites, located on the Northern Neck

and in the northern Piedmont, are related historically through the Lee family. The third formed part of Thomas Jefferson’s Poplar Forest plantation in the lower Piedmont county of Bedford (FIG. 1).

To place these sites within the context of Virginia slavery, we used the architectural data set and assembled artifact data from quartering sites in the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont found at the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS 2011a) and within site reports. We drew on these comparative data to provide information on house size, the presence or absence and frequency of sub-floor pits, the presence or absence of “Africanisms,” and the utility of an alternative interpretive approach (TABS 1, 2, 5-7).

ST116, located at Stratford Hall plantation in Westmoreland County, consists of an earthfast

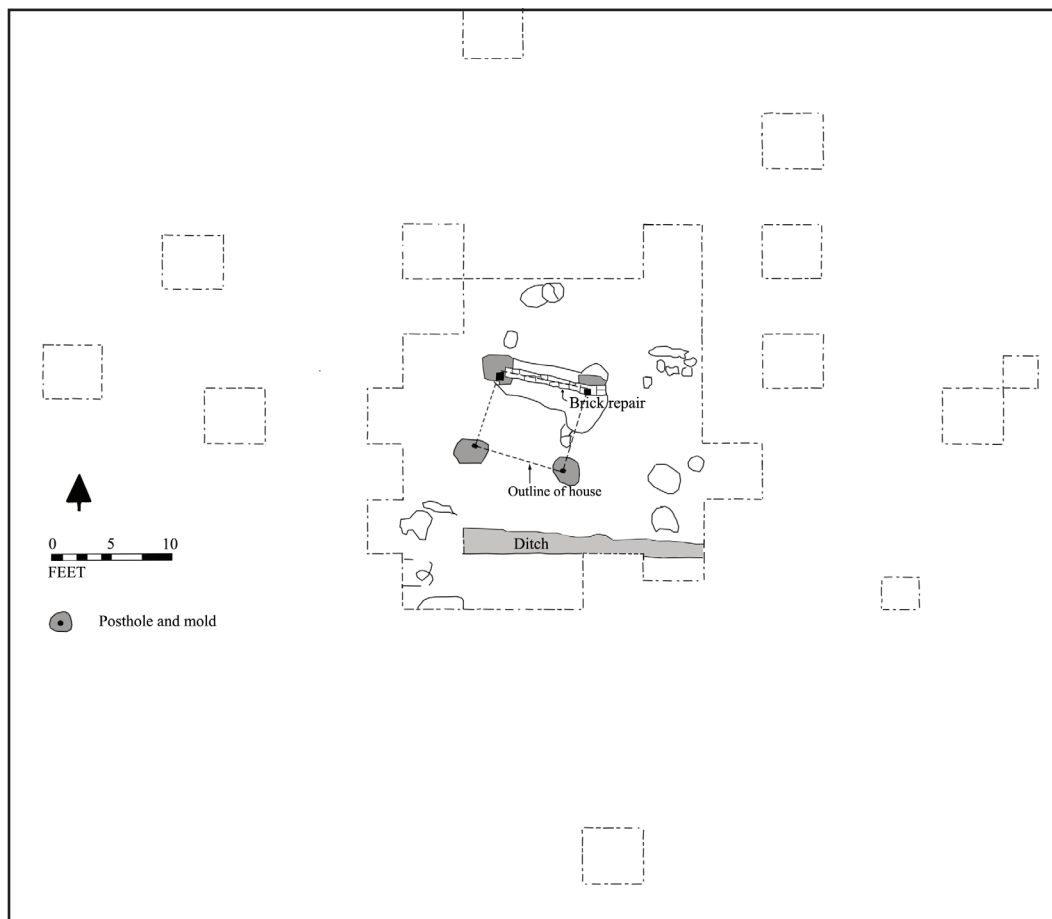


Figure 2. Site plan of ST116. (Adapted from plan in DAACS, <http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/images/27/>.)

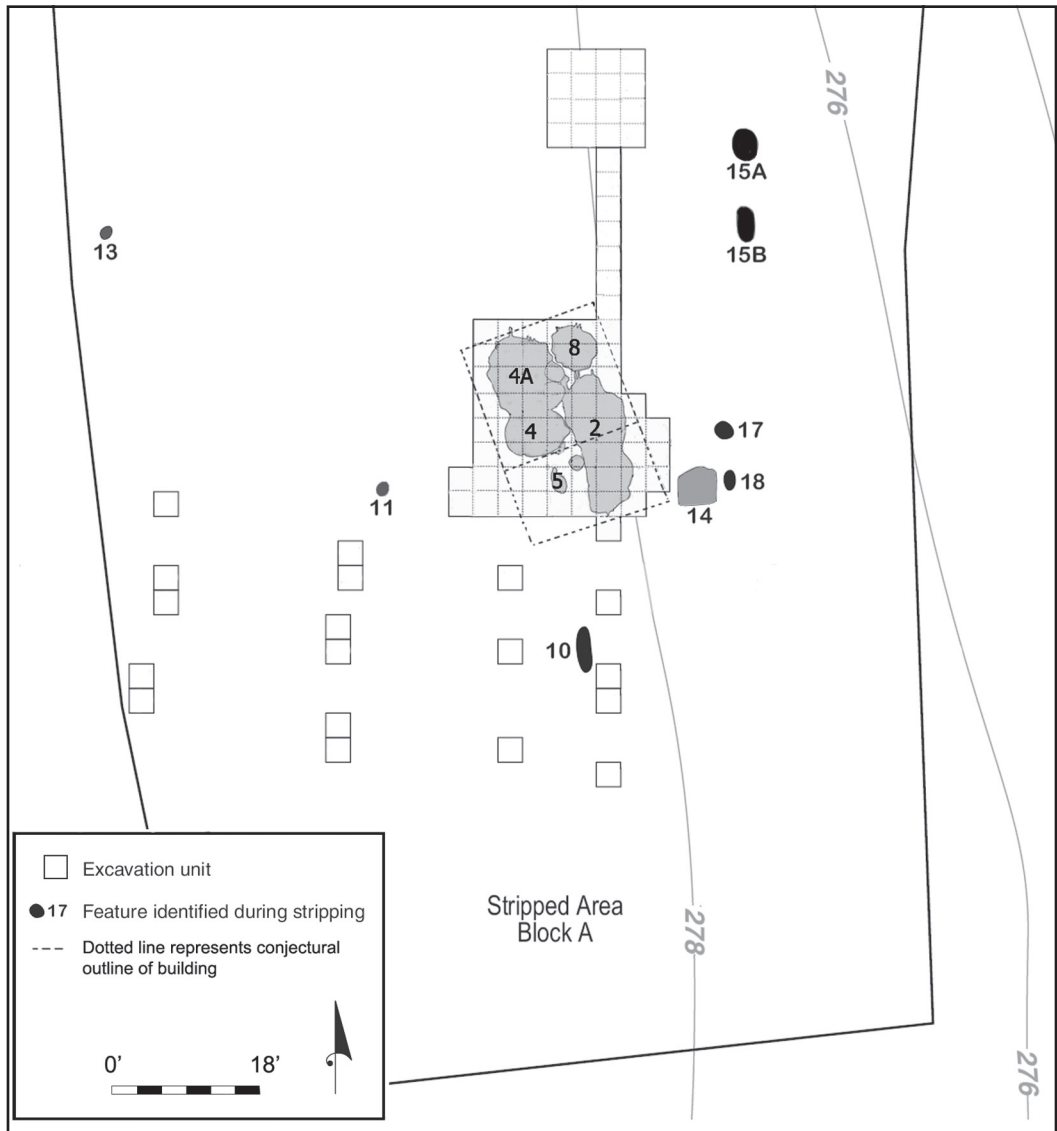


Figure 3. Site plan of 44LD539. (Adapted from Goode 2009.)

structure with a brick-repaired sill, no subfloor pit, and an artifact assemblage dominated by mass-produced English goods (FIG. 2). It lies within the Stratford Hall “home quarter,” approximately 300 ft. northeast of the mansion. The site is undocumented, and the majority of artifacts were recovered from plow zone, making dating difficult. The mean ceramic date for the site is 1783, with 90% of the ceramic assemblage having a *terminus post quem* date preceding 1775 (DAACS 2011b). The site may have been occupied as late as 1820 (Sanford 2003).

44LD539, located in Loudoun County, was historically part of a more than 3000-acre tract belonging originally to Thomas Lee, owner of Stratford Hall, and subsequently to his son Francis Lightfoot and grandson Ludwell Lee. The property was occupied by 44 enslaved people, leased from Lee by tenant farmer James Cleveland along with the land between 1797 and 1812, and was later occupied by slaves, overseers, or tenants until 1824 when it was sold (Goode et al. 2009: 8-11, 19). The ephemeral architectural remains from the site

argue that these features are not related to Cleveland himself, who could afford the lease of a large plantation, but, rather, were part of a quarter.

The mean ceramic date of the site is 1797 (Goode et al. 2009: 278), while a seriation of datable ceramic types suggests a beginning date of occupation in the 1780s or 1790s. 44LD539 consisted of two spatially distinct clusters of pits (FIG. 3). The presence of cut nails in features associated with both clusters indicates that they were filled after 1805, while the absence of whiteware in any feature fill, and its extremely low representation at the site—less than 2% of the assemblage—suggests an overall date range of circa 1790-1820. Combined with the documentary evidence of Cleveland's acquisition of the property, a range of 1797-1820 has been assigned here.

44BE0298, located within the larger Poplar Forest plantation, is a documented quarter that was settled in 1773 on land that Jefferson had recently inherited from his father-in-law (Bear and Stanton 1997: 329-330; Betts 1987: 7; Boyd



Figure 4. Aerial view of subfloor pits at Wingos looking south.

1961: 189-191). The 1000 acres that constituted this tract were previously undeveloped and lie more than two miles from the plantation core, where another quarter had been settled in the 1760s (Heath 2008: 125-126). The mean ceramic date for the site is 1758, with 90% of the ceramics having a *terminus post quem* date of 1762 or earlier, a full decade before documentary evidence indicates the site was settled. The lack of pearlware (or other artifacts definitively post-dating the introduction of creamware) in features excavated to date indicate that the portion of the site under study was occupied for a decade or less. Two subfloor pits associated with a single log cabin have been located (Heath 2012c; Heath, Breen, and Ptacek 2011). Excavations at the site are ongoing (FIG. 4).

The three sites vary in important ways. Postholes at ST116 indicate that the dwelling was constructed using post-in-ground technology that had been largely replaced by log or frame architecture by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These postholes outlined a tiny 8 ft. x 8 ft. dwelling (64 sq. ft.) that was significantly smaller than nearly all other Virginia quarters (TABS. 1 AND 2). Quarters built between 1770 and 1820 range in size from 34 to 850 sq. ft. and average 295 sq. ft. Only two structures, at Piney Grove in James City County, are smaller than ST116. The dwelling stood long enough to necessitate repair, but probably no more than 20 to 30 years.

Residents of 44LD539 and 44BE0298 lived in log structures heated by wooden chimneys. At 44LD539, features include numerous trash-filled pits, postholes, and a fire pit. Excavators interpreted most features as borrow or trash

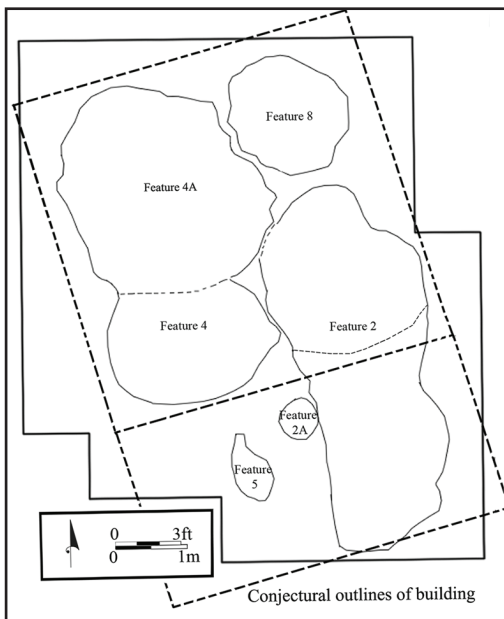


Figure 5. Plan of features associated with a structure at 44LD539. Features 2, 4, 4A and 8 are likely subfloor pits. (Adapted from Goode 2009.)

pits and argued for a house location, based on the distribution of architectural artifacts in plow zone, immediately north of a feature complex that included Features 4, 4A, and 8 (Goode et al. 2009: 158-183, 226) (FIG. 3). We put forward an alternate interpretation: that Features 4, 4A, and 8 were located within a dwelling (Structure 1) and likely functioned as subfloor pits. Feature 2 consisted of two north-south trending, basin-shaped pits; one or both of these also might have been located within the structure. If this interpretation is correct, the dwelling measured, at minimum, 15 ft. x 15

ft. or 225 sq. ft. (FIG. 5). This size is well within the range for slave quarters dating to the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. If Feature 2 is included in its entirety, the building was closer to 28 ft. in length and 420 sq. ft. Archaeobotanical findings from the site suggest that Feature 15B may also have functioned as a subfloor pit (Goode et al. 2009: 184-192, 351). The subfloor pits at 44BE0298 fell within a structure that measured, at minimum 10.5 ft. x 18 ft. (189 sq. ft.), also within the range for contemporary quarters (Heath 2012c).

Table 6: Presence of "Africanisms" on Virginia slave quarters, 1700-1820.

Site Name	Date Range	Blue Glass Beads	Pierced Coins	Altered spoons	Cowrie Shells	Raccoon Baculum	Colonoware
JC298	1700-1725						x
Utopia II	1700-1725	x					x
Utopia III	1725-1750	x			x		x
44PW1199*	1731-1785						x
Fairfield	1740-1760	x			x	x	x
Richneck	1740s-1778	x		x	x		x
Palace Lands	1747-1769						x
Utopia IV	1750-1775	x			x		x
Southall's Quarter†	1750-1800			x			x
House for Families (Mt. Vernon)	1759-1793	x				x	x
44LD539‡	1797-1825						x
Poplar Forest, North Hill	1770-1810	x					x
Monticello, Site 8	1770-1800						x
ST116	1770-1820	x					
44BE0298, Poplar Forest (Wingos)§	1773-1785						x
Monticello, Negro quarter	1770-1790				x		
Monticello, bldg o	1775-1800						
Poplar Forest, Quarter	1790-1812	x					
Monticello, bldg m**	1780-1795		x				
Monticello, bldg l	1790-1830						
Monticello, bldg r	1793-1830	x	x				
Monticello, bldg s	1793-1830	x					
Monticello, bldg t	1793-1830	x					
Monticello, Elizabeth Hemings	1795-1807						

Unless noted, data were collected via Artifact query 2, (DAACS 2011b). \*Crowl 2006: 3-10-3-12; 7-4 †Pullins et al. 2003: 101-103, 105-110, 117-119, 122, 163-164, 169, 173, Appendix A; ‡Goode et al. 2009: 278, 281, 372 and Appendix II; §Heath et al. 2011; \*\*Kelso 1982.

Similarities between these sites include ephemeral, impermanent structures of relatively small size, sparse documentary evidence, and few if any “Africanisms” (TABS. 5 AND 6). Their absence should not be surprising, given current directions in material culture theory that see objects as multivocal and their use as situational and performative. However, since archaeologists continue to use certain objects as shortcuts to understanding identity, it is helpful to see how prevalent these artifacts are at known quartering sites.

Colonoware is an important component of the 44BE0298 ceramic assemblage, constituting the second-most represented ware type after creamware. It was found in negligible amounts at 44LD539 and was completely absent from ST116 (TABS. 5 AND 6). Beyond a single blue glass bead found in the plow zone at ST116, none of the three sites contains any non-ceramic artifacts that commonly have been identified as “Africanisms” or clearly associated assemblages of objects that may relate to African American spirituality.

When compared with other contemporary Virginia quarters, however, the lack of markers signifying race, ethnicity, or legal status is unremarkable (TAB. 6). Thirteen of the 24 sites for which data are included yielded only one artifact type that has been associated with people of African ancestry (usually colonoware), and three, the Elizabeth Hemings site, building “l,” and building “o,” all at Monticello, had none. Therefore, when systematically applied, the practice of defining site occupants by the presence of specific artifacts is problematic at best, even at documented quarters like the building “o” and the Elizabeth Hemings house.

### Alternate Analyses?

Material culture from sites with no obvious ethnic or racial markers can, of course, contribute to a variety of questions concerning slavery. As an exploratory study, we chose to examine three simple statistics: size, density of artifacts per square foot, and richness—relating

Table 7: Comparison of ceramic richness between quartering sites.

Site Name	Date Range	Ceramic Richness (# of types)
JC298	1700-1725	6
Elizabeth Hemings	1795-1807	7
44PW1199*	1731-1785	8
Poplar Forest, Wingost	1773-1785	13
Utopia II	1700-1725	15
44LD539‡	1797-1825	15
Poplar Forest, Quarter	1790-1812	16
Poplar Forest, North Hill	1760-1810	19
Monticello, Site 8	1770-1810	21
House for Families	1759-1793	22
Utopia III	1725-1750	23
ST116	1770-1820	24
Southall's Quarter§	1750-1800	27
Utopia IV	1750-1775	28
Richneck	1740-1778	34
Fairfield	1740-1760	37

Sites included are all combinations of plowed soils and sealed features or, in the case of the House for Families, sealed, stratified features. Unless noted, data were collected via Artifact query 2, (DAACS 2011b). \*Crowl 2006; †Heath, unpublished data; ‡Goode et al. 2009: Appendix II; §Pullins et al. 2003: Appendix A.

to the artifact assemblage at each site. ST116, likely occupied for the longest time span but consisting of a single household, had the largest artifact assemblage and the highest artifact density, with 1.5 times more artifacts than 44LD539 (potentially two households) and 3.5 times more than 44BE0298 (a single household).

The ST116 assemblage also had the greatest degree of richness and was nearly twice as rich as 44BE0298 and 1.6 times richer than 44LD539 (TAB. 7). Ceramic richness—calculated simply by counting the number of ware types present during each site's occupation—is dependent on site-specific variables such as household longevity and household economic strategies and varies over time; however, given the relatively similar occupation spans of the sites examined, we believe that it is a useful comparative tool (Beck 2004; Rice 1981).

To contextualize the richness numbers from ST116, 44LD549, and 44BE0298, we assembled data from other sites dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> and early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries (TAB. 7). Occupation spans for most of these sites are imprecise, vary by as much as 38 years, and average 29.5 years. 44BE0298 and 44LD549 both fall in the lower half of a sample of Virginia quartering sites when ranked by ceramic richness, while ST116 falls in the upper half.

Ceramic richness can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, high richness measures may reflect greater access to markets by enslaved households or more generous provisioning by planters and, therefore, may be a useful measure of the ability of people to acquire consumer goods. Alternately, low richness measures might correspond with a trend observed among the gentry beginning in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century to set their tables first with similar ware types and later with matching sets. Such decisions by enslaved consumers would result in assemblages of lower richness, but with more internal consistency and more diversity of forms, signaling an individual's understanding of changing fashions in dining.

Five sites fall at the bottom of the richness distribution: JC298, Elizabeth Hemings, 44PW1199, 44BE0298, and Utopia II. Research by Galle (2010: 37) has revealed that the Elizabeth Hemings house site, while yielding a narrow range of ceramic types, was characterized by a high level of discard of costly, refined ceramics. Alternately, 44PW1199 and 44BE0298

have assemblages marked by high ratios of utilitarian wares to inexpensive table- and teawares (Crowl 2006; Heath, Breen, and Ptacek 2011). JC298 and Utopia II, on the other hand, likely have low richness because of the time period in which they were occupied. Studies of consumer behavior have demonstrated that prior to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century most middling and poorer Virginians consumed a relatively limited range of ceramics and other household goods (Carr and Walsh 1994: 66-67, Table 1; but see also Pogue 1993). Thus, richness has different meanings between assemblages that, at a glance, look remarkably similar, and this classification must be followed up with a close examination of the assemblage that it describes and a consideration of the time period of site occupation.

An exploration of vessel form richness could be a useful component of this close examination. Unfortunately, comparative artifact counts and richness measures do little by themselves to address variability in foodways or beverage consumption practices. For many of these sites, minimum vessel counts, which allow archaeologists to understand vessel forms, are not available. Distinguishing between table-, tea-, and utilitarian wares at the sherd level is not ideal and valuable information on stratigraphic or spatial relationships between strata and features is lost when cross-mending exercises are not undertaken. Although archaeologists (Higgins and Downing 1993: 58; Kelso 1986: 16-17; Pogue and White 1991: 17, 20) disproved the hypothesis that hollowwares dominate slave sites in Virginia, new interpretations about foodways based on ceramic vessel evidence are largely absent.

Galle (2010) has successfully applied an Abundance Index to ceramic assemblages in a comparison of archaeological data from 24 Virginia quarters in which she explores consumer preferences and costly signaling among enslaved men and women. This analytical tool compares discard rates (perhaps better thought of as deposition rates) by context for the artifact type under question against rates for an artifact type that represents a baseline discard rate for the site (Galle 2010: 29-30). For her study, Galle compared the discard rate of refined table- and teawares (variable rate) to the discard rate of green bottle glass (baseline

rate). The resulting statistics allowed her to compare discard of these consumer goods between sites and focus on the contexts in which ceramics were deposited at unusually high rates. Such an approach can be used for inter-site comparison of a variety of artifact types that are sensitive to changes in consumer behavior.

Store accounts and plantation ledgers, combined with archaeological evidence, can provide important evidence of informal, local, and tight-knit economies of the later 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and slaves' aspirations to engage with them. Despite racial divisions, people congregated to purchase, barter, and trade in necessary, and some not-so-necessary goods; these actions helped to mediate the material hardships of daily life while concurrently underpinning communities, strengthening families, and forging personal identities. As Martin (2008: 174) writes, "The ability to purchase consumer goods put slaves on the same performance stage as poorer whites, and it allowed them to make choices – however limited." Some of these choices, such as the purchase of cloth, second-hand clothing, buttons, buckles, kerchiefs and shoes, were a direct challenge to planters' efforts to control appearance through provisioning of articles of clothing that were widely equated with enslaved status (Baumgarten 1987; Heath 1999a, 2004: 29-30).

Penningroth (2003) has tied consumer behavior to the growth and maintenance of small- and large-scale social networks, arguing that people created and reinforced kin ties through shared acts of production and consumption. So, for example, the greater number and diversity of artifacts at Stratford may have resulted from a more settled household with better access to goods through longstanding reciprocal ties within the plantation community and across the local landscape. Both 44LD539 and 44BE0298 were outlying quarters with no access to the planter's household. Living in new settlements, residents of both sites suffered a period of profound poverty while beginning the process of (re)constructing social relationships within and beyond their respective plantations. This process would eventually result in a wider network of exchange that could improve tangible and intangible conditions of life.

The final research direction suggested here relies neither on the analysis of artifact assemblages, nor focuses exclusively on architectural features, but considers the broader, socially-constituted spaces that residents created, resisted and changed. Drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre, geographer Edward Soja (1980: 208-211) has argued that space is not solely a container of activity—or, by extension, a reflection of status—but is active in the construction and potential transformation of social relations, which are both "space-forming and space-constituting" (Soja 1980: 210-211). Orser (2007) offers a useful application of Lefebvre's and Soja's ideas to archaeological sites, employing the concept of the socio-spatial dialectic to understand the construction and maintenance of racial categories.

Physical space expresses and affects social relationships and hierarchies, and these past relationships can be studied by careful attention to the landscape. Examination of the socio-spatial dialectic may help to tease out aspects of how people in the past constructed and resisted the imposition and maintenance of racial identities. For example, at Monticello, Jefferson used superior house size, material, and siting to differentiate the status of racially-privileged white artisans from that of the enslaved men whose labor they oversaw, but the white artisans themselves lived materially impoverished lives and negotiated their position within the community through a series of uneasy alliances with Jefferson, with each other, and through trade relations with enslaved residents (Heath 1999a: 203, 209). Perhaps the socio-spatial dialectic was at work at ST116 with Lee's creation of vastly different forms of slave housing. Two moderately-sized stone quarters framed the southeast front of the mansion, naturalizing his message of wealth and concern with the wellbeing of his workforce, while at a farther remove, where appearances mattered far less, Lee oversaw the construction of the ST116 quarter (Sanford 1999). Here, enslaved residents occupied housing that was inadequate in terms of size and durability, but, nevertheless, they accumulated (and discarded) an impressive range of consumer goods that served as a material response to the substandard housing that they were forced to inhabit.

By critically overlapping the spatial with the material, archaeologists may be able to



formulate clearer insights into the development and maintenance of race in early America. The socio-spatial dialectic can be problematic, however, when applied to late-18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century rural sites. Both free whites, working the land as tenants or plantation overseers, and enslaved Africans and African Americans found themselves in dwellings situated similarly on the landscape. Houses characterized by few furnishings and fewer features, located apart from the main dwelling (if there was one), were sited according to the demands of the crops that residents were hired or required to produce. Yet the evidence of enslaved residents' actions in the past may reveal differences between tenant and quartering sites.

Archaeologists are beginning to understand how enslaved men and women shaped landscapes to meet their own needs and to contest conditions of oppression. Their modifications can be recovered in site-level studies of yard spaces and the immediate environs of quarters rather than within the macro-landscape, a scale that is less frequently available for study. Yard spaces may provide clues about tensions between enslaver and enslaved made visible by the proximity and siting of other dwellings, the sharing and bounding of spaces between them by site occupants, the orientation of workspaces, and the location of pens for small livestock and poultry or small gardens. Microbotanical analyses of localized environments can indicate how enslaved residents used the environment and potentially how they viewed the economic and aesthetic qualities of native plants differently than white overseers or tenants (Heath 2001, 2008). Fine-grained analyses of soil chemicals and artifact distributions within and between yard spaces may point to differences in maintenance and disposal practices that were grounded in practices of spirituality, shared notions of appropriate communal space, or resistance to paternalistic efforts at domestic hygiene (Fesler 2010; Heath 2010: 169-173; Heath and Bennett 2000; McKee 1992; Mrozowski, Franklin, and Hunt 2008).

## Conclusions

For many years, archaeologists have relied on the presence of specific artifacts, below-ground pit features, and ephemeral architecture to define sites associated with enslavement.

This necessary work has laid the foundation for understanding slave life in Virginia. Accumulating sets of data on housing and artifacts, however, increasingly demonstrate that these criteria neither represent the living conditions experienced by many enslaved people, nor are they exclusive to slave-occupied sites.

Although clear solutions for addressing the complex problem of identifying quartering sites are lacking, the materiality of enslavement should be understood as variable across time and space and by the specific historic circumstances of each site. Archaeologists exploring acts of consumption, made visible by the presence of diverse consumer goods, and spatial relations made visible on the landscape, have had successful results. Analytical techniques such as assessments of richness, abundance indices, and minimum vessel or object counts for select artifact categories can surely contribute to a clearer understanding of the range and variability of the material world of slavery. Comparative, contextual data for free blacks, tenant farmers, overseers, free plantation artisans, and middling whites remain sorely needed for these statistics to illuminate differences between enslavement, racism, and more general conditions of impoverishment. Similarly, a larger, more temporally and regionally diverse data set of known or probable slave quarters is also needed. Close attention to landscape organization and use, combining elements of site structure with paleoethnobotanical data and soil chemistry, also promises useful results. Problematizing and contextualizing sites that do not fit the informal criteria that persist from early plantation studies can lead to fruitful lines of enquiry and broaden our understanding of social relations in the past.

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Appendix 1: - Table 1: Archaeological data set of slave housing in Virginia.

\* Cellars are here distinguished from subfloor pits primarily by size and follow designations given by DAACS. The House for Families cellar is 6 x 6 ft. and lined with brick, the Fairfield cellar is 4 x 9 ft., and the Monticello Site 8, House 2 cellar measures approximately 8 x 8 ft. and was lined with unmortared bricks (Bon-Harper 2006; Brown 2006; Pogue 2003).

Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
Jordan's Point, Jordan-Farrar #17	Tidewater	1620-1630	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	1		Sanford and Pogue 2011
Jordan's Point, Jordan-Farrar #18	Tidewater	1620-1630	1 dwelling	14 x 16	224	0		Sanford and Pogue 2011
44]C32-Utopia 1 Quarter - Structure 70	Tidewater	1675-1700	1 dwelling	18 x 29	522	0		Fesler 2004
44]C648-Atkinson's Quarter, South	Tidewater	1675-1700	1 dwelling	16 x 22	352	2		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44]C39- Kingsmill Tenement, St. 5	Tidewater	1680-1700	1 dwelling		384	3		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C298-Governor's Land, St. 103a	Tidewater	1700-1720	1 dwelling		576	1		Fesler 2004
44]C298-Governor's Land, St. 103b	Tidewater	1700-1720	1 dwelling		648	2		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C34-Bray Kitchen, St. 1	Tidewater	1700-1720	1 dwelling/ outbuilding		384	2		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C34-Bray Kitchen, St. 2	Tidewater	1700-1720	1 dwelling/ outbuilding		384	0		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C648- Atkinson's Quarter, North	Tidewater	1700-1720	1 dwelling	16 x 16	256	2		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C298-Governor's Land St. 104	Tidewater	1700-1725	1 dwelling	16 x 26	390	16 or 17		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007
44]C32-Utopia II, St. 1	Tidewater	1700-1725	1 dwelling	12 x 28	336	7		DAACS 2011A; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C32-Utopia II, St. 10	Tidewater	1700-1725	1 dwelling	16 x 32	512	12		DAACS 2011A; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C32-Utopia II, St. 20	Tidewater	1700-1725	1 dwelling	12 x 28	336	1		DAACS 2011A; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]PG302-Jordan's Journey, St. 15	Tidewater	1700-1740	1 dwelling		308	4		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44GL0024-Fairfield, St. 1	Tidewater	1700-1750	1 dwelling	10 x 22	220	1	1	DAACS 2011A
44WB52-Richneck AP	Tidewater	1710-1740s	1 dwelling	unknown		2		Franklin 1997
44]PG98-Flowerdew Site 98, Str. 35	Tidewater	1720-1750	1 dwelling		400	4		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C35-Littletown Quarter, St. 1	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	2		Kelso 1984; Samford 2007
44]C35-Littletown Quarter, St. 2	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling	15 x 15	225	4		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007



Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
44JC45-Tutter's Neck, Kitchen	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	16 x 25	400	4		Samford 1996, 2007
44JC546-Governor's Land, Clay Site, Quarter	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling		296	3		Fesler 2004
44JC369-Quarter Site	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	1		Fesler 2004
44NN69-Newport News Farm Park #1	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling		432	8		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44SK147-Woodward Jones, St. 1	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling		364	3		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44SK147-Woodward Jones, St. 2	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling		456	2		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44SK192-Harbor View, St. 27	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling		448	1		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44ST174-George Washington's Birthplace, St. 11	Tidewater	1720-1760	1 dwelling	11.3 x 15	169.5	1		Pogue and White 1994; Samford 2007
44JC32-Utopia III, St. 50	Tidewater	1725-1750	1 dwelling	16 x 24	384	18		DAACS 2011A
44JC32-Utopia III, St. 40	Tidewater	1725-1750	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	3		DAACS 2011A; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44GL0024-Fairfield, St. 2	Tidewater	1725-1750	1 dwelling	unknown		1		DAACS 2011A
44HE677-Curtles Plantation, Kitchen Quarter	Tidewater	1730-1862	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	22 x 54	1188	1		Samford 1996
44SK309	Tidewater	1731-1865	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Sanford and Pogue 2011
44HE677-Curles Neck Field Quarter	Tidewater	1740-1775	1 dwelling	unknown		4		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44WB52-Richneck AL	Tidewater	1740-1778	1 dwelling	20 x 30	600	15		Franklin 2004; Samford 2007
44JC34-Bray Quarter	Tidewater	1740-1780	1 dwelling	12 x 12	144	4		Kelso 1984; Samford 1996, 2007
44YO417	Tidewater	1740-1810	1 dwelling	10 x 15	150	0		Sanford and Pogue 2011
44WB90-Palace Lands	Tidewater	1747-1769	1 dwelling	unknown		1		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007
44JC787-Utopia IV, St. 140	Tidewater	1750-1775	1 dwelling	22 x 32 (estimate)	704	22		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007
44JC787-Utopia IV, St. 150	Tidewater	1750-1775	1 dwelling	15 x 17 (estimate)	255	1		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007
44JC787-Utopia IV, St. 160	Tidewater	1750-1775	1 dwelling	unknown		1		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007
44JC39-Kingsmill Quarter, Building 1	Tidewater	1750-1780	1 dwelling	18 x 20	360	22		Samford 2007
44HE493-Wilton, St. 1 (duplex)	Tidewater	1750-1790	1 dwelling	19.5 x 36	702	6		Higgins et al. 2000

Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
44]C969-Southall's Quarter, St. 1	Tidewater	1750-1800	1 dwelling	15 x 20	300	2		Pullins et al. 2003; Samford 2007
44]C969-Southall's Quarter, St. 2	Tidewater	1750-1800	1 dwelling	15 x 20	300	2		Pullins et al. 2003; Samford 2007
44]C969-Southall's Quarter, St.3	Tidewater	1750-1800	1 dwelling	15 x 20	300	1		Pullins et al. 2003
44FX762/40-House for Families	Tidewater	1759-1793	1 dwelling	unknown		0	1	Pogue and White 1991;
445K174-Ferry Farm, St. C	Tidewater	1760	1 dwelling	unknown		1		Hatch 2009
44]C39-Kingsmill Quarter, St. 2	Tidewater	1760-1780	1 dwelling	20 x 28	560	6		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C44-Hampton Key	Tidewater	1760-1780	1 dwelling	24 x 28	672	5		Kelso 1984; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C821-Stonehouse Quarter, St. 1	Tidewater	1760-1780	1 dwelling		240	6		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C821-Stonehouse Quarter, St. 2	Tidewater	1760-1780	1 dwelling		384	10		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C821-Stonehouse Quarter, St. 3	Tidewater	1760-1780	1 dwelling		240	10		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44WM80-Stratford Hall Plantation, Slave Quarters 1	Tidewater	1770	1 dwelling	8 x 16	128	0		Hatch 2009
44WM80-Stratford Hall Plantation, Slave Quarters 2	Tidewater	1770	1 dwelling	8 x 16	128	0		Hatch 2009
Stratford Hall Plantation, Slave Quarter ST116	Tidewater	1770-1820	1 dwelling	8 x 8	64	0		DAACS 2011A
44CC135-Shirley Plantation, Cabin C	Tidewater	1770-1865	1 dwelling	16.4 x 34.6	567	0		Hatch 2009
44CC135-Shirley Plantation, Cabin D	Tidewater	1770-1865	1 dwelling			0		Hatch 2009
44WB52-Richneck, St. B	Tidewater	1775-1815	1 dwelling			3		Fesler 2004
44]C110-Carter's Grove, House A/House 3	Tidewater	1780-1800	1 dwelling		540	2		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C110-Carter's Grove, House B/House 1	Tidewater	1780-1800	1 dwelling		850	13		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C110-Carter's Grove, House C/House 2	Tidewater	1780-1800	1 dwelling		180	1		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44]C52-Kingsmill, North Quarter	Tidewater	1780-1800	1 dwelling	16 x 25	400	3		Samford 1996;pit count from Samford 2007
44SN180-Pope Site, St. 1	Tidewater	1780-1800	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	1		Reinhart 1984
44SN180-Pope Site, St. 2	Tidewater	1780-1800	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	1		Reinhart 1984; Samford 2007
44CF344-Magnolia Grange, St. 1A	Tidewater	1780-1800; 1780-1820	1 dwelling	18 x 29	522	0		Samford 1996; Samford 2007; Sanford and Pogue 2011

Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
44HE493-Wilton, St. 6	Tidewater	1780-1825	1 dwelling	10 x 18 (estimate)	180	1		Higgins et al. 2000
44JC643-Piney Grove, St. 1	Tidewater	1782-1825	1 dwelling	6 x 9	54	1		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44YO159-Rippon Hall Plantation, Slave Quarter	Tidewater	1790-1820	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44ST492-Chopawamsic Farm Slave Quarter	Tidewater	1790	1 dwelling	15 x 20	300	0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44JC240-Area A	Tidewater	1790	1 dwelling	12 x 15	180	0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44JC240-Area E	Tidewater	1790	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44HE493-Wilton, St. 2	Tidewater	1790-1825	1 dwelling	10 x 18 (estimate)	180	1		Higgins et al. 2000
44HE493-Wilton, St. 3	Tidewater	1790-1825	1 dwelling	10 x 18 (estimate)	180	2		Higgins et al. 2000
44HE493-Wilton, St. 4	Tidewater	1790-1825	1 dwelling	10 x 18 (estimate)	180	1		Higgins et al. 2000
44HE493-Wilton, St. 5	Tidewater	1790-1825	1 dwelling	10 x 18 (estimate)	180	2		Higgins et al. 2000
44WM80-Stratford Hall Plantation, Stone Quarters	Tidewater	pre-1801	1 dwelling	15 x 32	480	0		Neiman 1977; Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44JC643-Piney Grove, St. 5	Tidewater	1800-1820; 1782-1825	1 dwelling	4.5 x 7.5	33.75	1		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44PC317-Gilliam Farm, St. 1	Tidewater	1800-1830	1 dwelling	unknown		1		Samford 1996
44PC317-Gilliam Farm, St. 3, Kitchen Quarter	Tidewater	1800-1830	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	10 x 16	160	0		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44CF344-Magnolia Grange, St. 1B	Tidewater	1800-1865	1 dwelling	18 x 29	522	3		Samford 1996, Samford 2007; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44PC114-Wilcox House	Tidewater	1830-1860	1 dwelling		320	0		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
Valentine House	Tidewater	1830-1860	1 dwelling	15 x 25	375	0		Samford 1996, 2007
44CC135-Shirley Plantation, House A	Tidewater	1840-1860	1 dwelling	20 x 40	800	0		Reinhart 1984; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007

Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
44KG115	Tidewater	early-mid 18th cent.	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Sanford and Pogue 2011
44AC449	Tidewater	early-mid 19th cent.	1 dwelling			0		Sanford and Pogue 2011
44PW1199	Piedmont	1731-1785	1 dwelling	13 x 20 (estimate)	260	4		Crowl 2006
44PW1199	Piedmont	1731-1785	1 dwelling	unknown		1		Crowl 2006
Shadwell Kitchen/Quarter	Piedmont	1743-1800	1 dwelling	unknown		2		Kern 1996
Monticello Plantation, Site 7	Piedmont	1750s-1780s	1 dwelling	unknown		0		DAACS 2011A
44BE94-Poplar Forest North Hill	Piedmont	1770-1810	1 dwelling	unknown		1		DAACS 2011A; Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44AB89-Monticello, Negro Quarter	Piedmont	1770-1790	1 dwelling	17 x 34	578	4		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008
Monticello Site 8, House 1	Piedmont	1770-1800	1 dwelling	unknown		3		DAACS 2011A
Monticello Site 8, House 2	Piedmont	1770-1800	1 dwelling	unknown		1	1	DAACS 2011A
Monticello Site 8, House 3	Piedmont	1770-1800	1 dwelling	unknown		1		DAACS 2011A
Monticello Site 8, House 4	Piedmont	1770-1800	1 dwelling	unknown		3		DAACS 2011A
44BE0298-Poplar Forest, Wingos	Piedmont	1773-1785	1 dwelling	unknown, but at least 10.5 x 18	189	2		Heath, Breen, and Placek 2011; Heath 2012c
44PW690-Waverly St.2	Piedmont	1777-1820	1 dwelling	15 x 18.3	274.5	1		Hatch 2009; Samford and Pogue 2011
44PW690-Waverly St.4	Piedmont	1777-1820	1 dwelling					Hatch 2009; Samford and Pogue 2011
44AB89-Monticello, Building m	Piedmont	1780-1795	1 dwelling/outbuilding	16.5 x 44	762	0		Kelso 1982
Woodland Plantation, Slave Quarter	Piedmont	1790	1 dwelling	20 x 20	400	0		Hatch 2009; Samford and Pogue 2011
44BE94-Poplar Forest Quarter, St 1	Piedmont	1790-1812	1 dwelling	15 x 25	375	3		Heath 1999b; Samford 2007
44BE94-Poplar Forest Quarter, St 2	Piedmont	1790-1812	1 dwelling	13 x 13	169	0		Heath 1999b; Samford 2007
44BE94-Poplar Forest Quarter, St 3	Piedmont	1790-1812	1 dwelling	18.5 x 18.5	342.25	0		Heath 1999b; Samford 2007

Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
44AB89-Monticello, Building o	Piedmont	1790-1820	1 dwelling	12 x 20.5	246	2		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008
44AB89 Monticello, Building l,	Piedmont	1790-1830	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	10.5 x 16	168	0		DAACS 2004; Nieman 2008
44PW563-Bradley, Slave Quarter	Piedmont	1790-1850	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44AB89-Monticello, Building r	Piedmont	1793-1830	1 dwelling	12 x 14	168	site dis- turbed		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008
44AB89-Monticello, Building s	Piedmont	1793-1830	1 dwelling	12 x 14	168	1		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008
44AB89-Monticello, Building t	Piedmont	1793-1830	1 dwelling	12 x 14	168	1		DAACS 2011A; Samford 2007; Neiman 2008
44AB438-Monticello, Elizabeth Hemings	Piedmont	1795-1807	1 dwelling	unknown		0		DAACS 2011A
44LD539, Structure 1	Piedmont	1797-1825	1 dwelling	unknown but at least 15 x 15	225	3-5		Goode et al. 2009
44AB89-Monticello, South Terrace 1	Piedmont	1800-1830	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	10.5 x 14.5	152	0		Neiman 2008
44AB89-Monticello, South Terrace 2	Piedmont	1800-1830	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	12 x 13	156	0		Neiman 2008
44AB89-Monticello, South Terrace 3	Piedmont	1800-1830	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	13 x 13	169	0		Neiman 2008
44PW80-Monroe Farm, St. 7	Piedmont	1800-1830	1 dwelling	14 x 14	196	1		Samford 1996, 2007
Montpelier Southwest Duplex	Piedmont	1808-1837	1 dwelling			unknown		Trickett 2010
44PW600-Moore Hoff Farm, Slave Quarter	Piedmont	1810	1 dwelling	12 x 16	192	2		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
Pamplin 1, St. 1	Piedmont	1810-1850	1 dwelling			0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
Pamplin 1, St. 2	Piedmont	1810-1850	1 dwelling			0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BE94-Poplar Forest, Wing Room 3	Piedmont	1816-1840	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	15 x 15	225	0		Kelso et al. 1991

Site Number and Name	Region	Date Range	No. of Structures	Size (ft.)	Sq. Ft.	No. of Subfloor Pits	No. of Cellars*	Reference
44PW479-Brownsville, St. 3	Piedmont	1820	1 dwelling	22.5 x 22.5	506.25	0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
Portici Plantation, Cellar Quarter	Piedmont	1820-1863	1 dwelling	12 x 14	168	0		Parker and Hemigle 1990
44PW335-Portici Plantation, Pohoke Quarter, St. 1	Piedmont	1820-1863	1 dwelling	12 x 12	144	1		Parker and Hemigle 1990; Samford 2007; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44LD550-Structure 3	Piedmont	1825	1 dwelling	30 x 50	1500	1		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BK332-Red House Farm Slave Quarters, St. 1	Piedmont	1825-1860	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BK332-Red House Farm Slave Quarters, St. 2	Piedmont	1825-1860	1 dwelling	unknown		0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BK332-Red House Farm Slave Quarters, St. 3	Piedmont	1825-1860	1 dwelling	15 x 30	450	0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BK332-Red House Farm Slave Quarters, St. 4	Piedmont	1825-1860	1 dwelling	10 x 30	300	0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BK332-Red House Farm Slave Quarters, St. 5	Piedmont	1825-1860	1 dwelling	20 x 25	500	0		Hatch 2009; Sanford and Pogue 2011
44PW80-Monroe Farm, St. 8	Piedmont	1830-1860	1 dwelling	10 x 18	180	0		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
44PW80-Monroe Farm, St. 9	Piedmont	1830-1860	1 dwelling	10 x 18	180	0		Fesler 2004; Samford 2007
Montpelier Southeast Duplex	Piedmont	1837	1 dwelling	unknown		unknown		Trickett 2010
Montpelier Northeast Duplex	Piedmont	1837	1 dwelling	unknown		unknown		Trickett 2010
44BE94-Poplar Forest, Site A	Piedmont	1838	1 dwelling	unknown		1		Heath et al. 2004
44LD601	Piedmont	1840-1863	1 dwelling			0		Sanford and Pogue 2011
44BE94-Poplar Forest, South Tenant House	Piedmont	1857	1 dwelling	18 x 36	926	1		HABS
Bremo Recess Plantation Quarter	Piedmont	first half 19th cent.	1 dwelling			1		McKee 1992
Montpelier South Yard Kitchen	Piedmont	first half 19th cent.	1 dwelling/ outbuilding	16 x 20	320	unknown		Trickett 2010
44MY431-Kentland Plantation, Slave Quarters	Valley	1820	1 dwelling			1		Hatch 2009