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## Martin's Hundred: A Settlement Study

David Muraca

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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Martin's Hundred: A Settlement Study

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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by


David Muraca

1993

APPROVAL SHEET

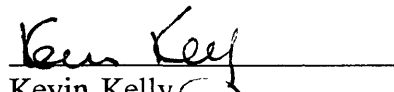
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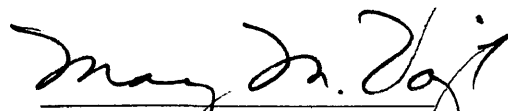
Masters of Arts

  
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Approved, March 1993

  
Norman Barka

  
Kevin Kelly  
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

  
Mary Voigt

For Marley, who made this possible.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the benefits of entering a graduate program in historical archaeology after being employed in the field for several years is an expanded resource pool. Not only was I able to exploit the considerable knowledge of the faculty at William and Mary, but I was also able to capitalize on the experience of my colleagues at Colonial Williamsburg as well.

From the college- Norman Barka, Kevin Kelly, and Mary Voigt reviewed, edited, corrected, and reorganized this text. In addition they did the things that committees are supposed to do, including encouraging, admonishing, bolstering, discouraging, heartening, and terrorizing the author. Thanks for all of these things, each in turn made this a better thesis. From the Department of Archaeological Research, William Pittman and Amy Kowalski provided expertise on ceramics, glass, and small finds. Amy also provided insight on the peculiar habits of historians. Andrew Edwards and Meredith Moodey participated in many lengthy discussions about the meaning of the sites at Martin's Hundred.

Two people were particularly helpful with this study. Over the years, Noël Hume has shared some of his considerable knowledge about Martin's Hundred. His insights have added significantly to this study. Lastly, Marley Brown has encouraged and funded my return to school. He has provided not only direction, but the time necessary to

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to integrate elements of social history, settlement study, and the non-experimental approach to archaeology advocated by Deetz, in hope of identifying the factors that influenced settlement clustering and location at Martin's Hundred. Using thirteen sites as the archaeological dataset, this work will trace changes in settlement clustering and location through time. In addition the data generated from these excavations is applied to three current questions on (1) levels of community in the Chesapeake, (2) seventeenth-century land management practices, and (3) settlement dispersal.

MARTIN'S HUNDRED: A SETTLEMENT STUDY

## Chapter 1. Introduction and Background

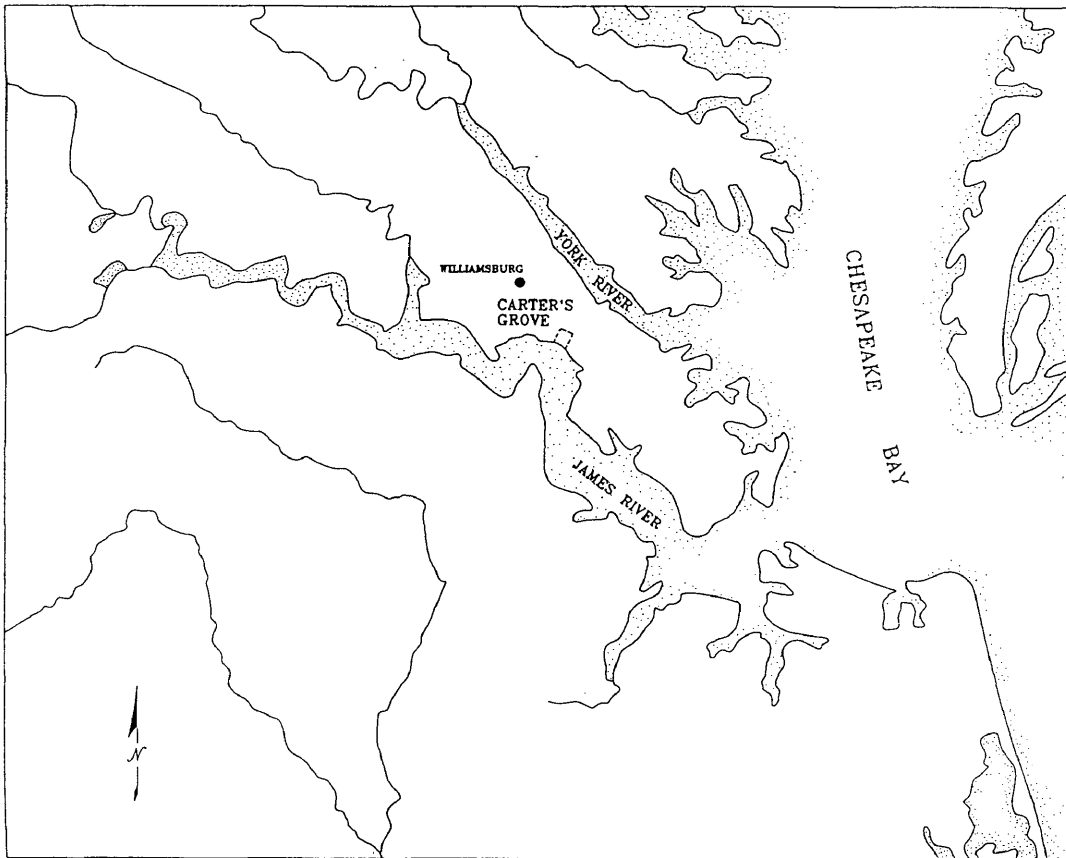
In 1971, a small archaeology survey in James City County, Virginia, uncovered a number of sites ranging from Archaic camps (6000 - 2000 BC) to late eighteenth-century craft activity areas. The project, designed to identify the remains of outbuildings associated with an eighteenth-century colonial plantation known as Carter's Grove, uncovered not only a large number of plantation related buildings and gardens, but the remnants of an earlier colonial community.

As the study was initiated, it became apparent that some sites were related to Carter's Grove's predecessor, the seventeenth-century settlement of Martin's Hundred. Seven of these early colonial sites were eventually excavated under the direction of Ivor Noël Hume. In 1989, a survey of an adjacent tract led to the discovery of six additional Martin's Hundred activity areas. All of these underwent archaeological testing; a single site, threatened by development, was completely excavated under the general supervision of Dr. Marley R. Brown III. In all thirteen sites that were part of Martin's Hundred have been identified to date. The goal of this thesis is to identify and understand some of the social and organizational transformations that occurred over time at Martin's Hundred/Carter's Grove.

### Regional research review

In the last 15 years, archaeological excavation of seventeenth-century colonial sites has increased dramatically. The stunning finds made by large scale excavations at

**Figure 1.**  
*Location of Carter's Grove.*



both Martin's Hundred and Flowerdew Hundred in the early 1970s led to increased interest in this period. Several sites were dug at each of these settlements, but little published scientific literature has been produced to date. Two books are currently being written that contain analysis of the occupations that made up these settlements. James

Deetz is completing a settlement study of Flowerdew, and Noël Hume is writing a second book on Martin's Hundred. In the mid-1970s Bill Kelso excavated several early colonial sites at Kingsmill, located just west of Carter's Grove. His book Kingsmill Plantations: 1619-1800, Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia, the first integrated examination of multiple colonial occupations within a distinct geographical region, examined changes in architecture, landscapes, foodways, and status through time (Kelso 1984).

In the 1980s, a for-profit organization was created specifically to excavate early colonial sites in the Tidewater region. Christened the James River Institute for Archaeology Inc., this company sought to document threatened early colonial sites. Under the direction of Nick Lucchetti, a large number of seventeenth-century sites have been excavated including Kiskiack Watch and Governor's Land. While this company has salvaged many threatened important sites over the last seven years, little analysis or description has been completed at this date.

As this review of current research suggests, much effort has gone into the excavation of these sites, but little integrated analysis of early colonial sites in Virginia has been produced to date. This is due in part to the current funding structure of salvage archaeology in Virginia. It is also in part an ideological decision made by the excavators of these sites. Analysis is thought to be both costly and time-consuming, and would

drain the limited resources that have instead been dedicated to the excavation of threatened early colonial sites.

### *Carter's Grove research review*

Several excavations have taken place over the last twenty years at Carter's Grove. Because all work was done either directly by or under the supervision of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, some continuity should be expected. However, a change in directors of the Department of Archaeological Research led to a shift in excavation and analytical practices. The department was headed by I. Noël Hume From 1956 until his retirement in 1982. At that time, Marley Brown III was hired to succeed Noël Hume.

The 1970s saw two separate archaeological surveys conducted on the 720 acre tract that now makes up Carter's Grove. In 1971, Bill Kelso under the guidance of Noël Hume, was directed to uncover the remains of all outbuildings associated with the surviving colonial mansion. The property had recently been donated to Colonial Williamsburg, which wished to locate and reconstruct outbuildings as part of its interpretative plan to explain eighteenth-century plantation life to its visitors. Using shovel tests and surface collections, Kelso found several concentrations of artifacts. As these clusters were identified, the plow zone was removed by machine, exposing any features that had intruded subsoil. Once a site was stripped, the excavation of features proceeded only if the site was related to the eighteenth-century plantation. If a site pre-

dated or post-dated the plantation, its location was recorded and the plowed soils were restored without any further disturbance.

Following this reconnaissance, a series of intensive excavations of seven early colonial sites was conducted (see Table 1), also under the direction of Noël Hume. Originally a limited development related expenditure, the spectacular results from the first of these digs quickly transformed this effort into a large scale, research driven, multi-site excavation. Excavations centered around the seventeenth-century sites located by Kelso in 1971 and those found during an ensuing survey of a section of the wooded area located to the east of the mansion.

In 1989, the wooded area east of the mansion was scheduled for development. An archaeological assessment was deemed necessary before development could begin, this time under the direction of Dr. Marley R. Brown III and Staff Archaeologist David Muraca. The survey identified four additional seventeenth century sites, along with two sites previously identified but not excavated by Noël Hume. All six of these sites underwent archaeological testing, consisting of the systematic placement of regularly spaced 75 cms<sup>2</sup> units over the entire site resulting in the excavation of a one percent sample. The purpose of this testing was to establish site boundaries, the degree of site



**Figure 2.**  
*Area surveyed to date.*



||||| 1971 SURVEY      ▨ 1989 SURVEY

**Table I.**  
**All known Martin's Hundred sites.**

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MARTIN'S HUNDRED SITES

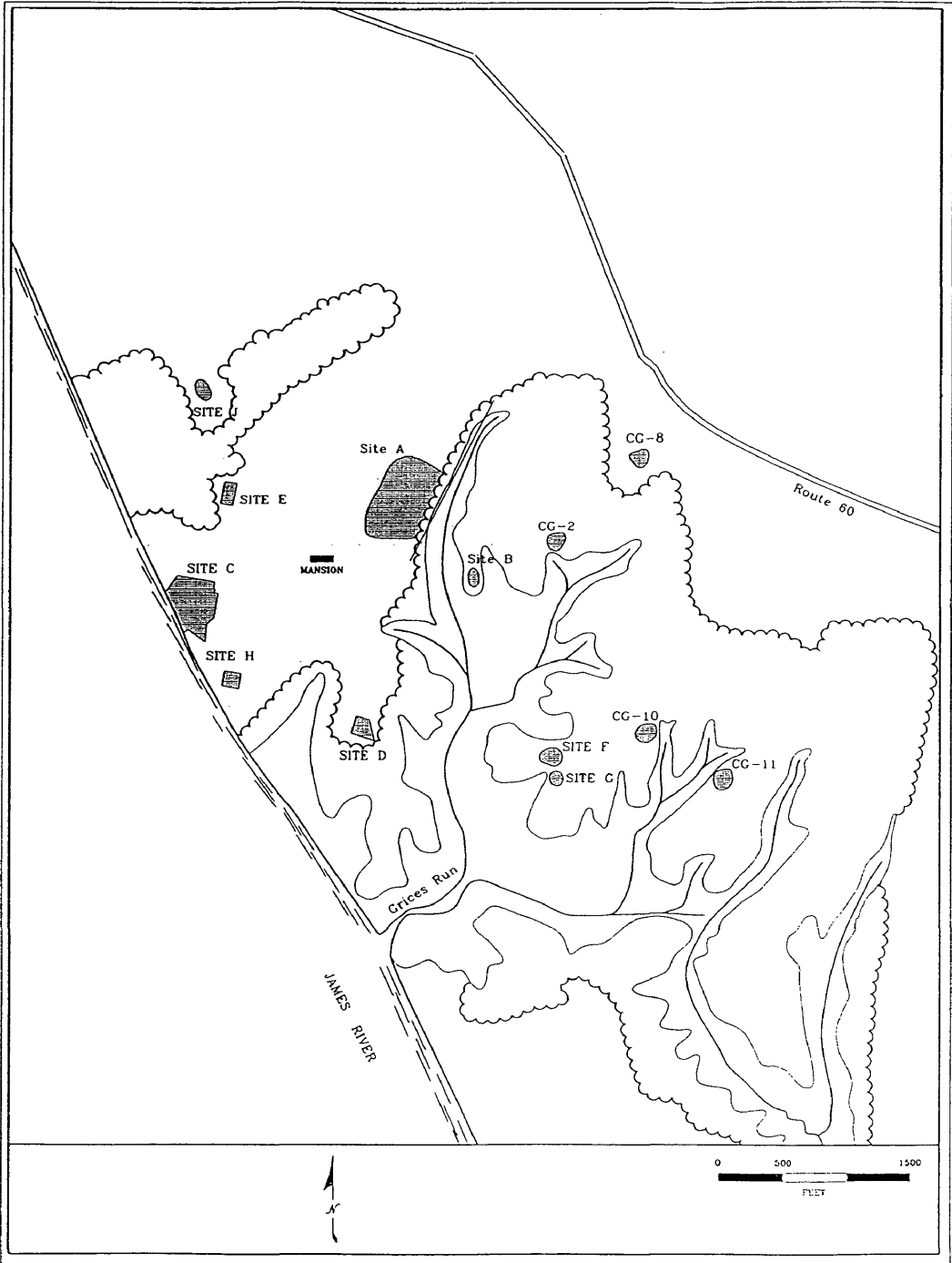
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Site	Directed by	Percent Dug	Site Function	Assigned Category	Citation
Site A	INH	100	Administrative Center	1625-1650	Noël Hume 1991
Site B	INH	100	domestic	1625-1650	Noël Hume 1991
Site C	INH	100	Proto-village	1619-1625	Noël Hume 1991
Site D	INH	100	unknown	1625-1650	Lucchetti nd
Site E	INH	100	domestic/special activity	1625-1650	Noël Hume 1991
Site F	MRB	1	industrial	1625-1650	Moodey 1992
Site G	MRB	1	domestic	1619-1625?	Moodey 1992
Site H	INH	100	domestic	1619-1625	Lucchetti nd
Site J	INH	10	domestic	1650-1720*	Duffy nd
Site 2	MRB	1	domestic	1625-1650	Moodey 1992
Site 8	MRB	100	domestic	1625-1650	Edwards nd
Site 10	MRB	1	domestic	1650-1720	Moodey 1992
Site 11	MRB	1	domestic	1625-1650	Moodey 1992

\* may have an earlier historic component

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**Figure 3.**  
*Location of all Martin's Hundred sites.*



integrity, and the significance of these sites.<sup>1</sup> One of the newly discovered sites (CG-8) was threatened by development and was subsequently excavated.

### Historical Background

As part of both sets of excavations, independent detailed historical examinations of Martin's Hundred were developed by Audrey Noël Hume (pre-1982) and Jennifer Jones (post-1982). The present work will use their research to help support interpretations relating to this settlement. Information on the eighteenth-century plantation at Carter's Grove will be drawn from a study by Mary Stevenson completed for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in the 1960s.

The historical overview for the current research has been produced on two distinct levels. First, information about Martin's Hundred has been gleaned from the long standing work of A. Noël Hume, and more recently by Jones. Second, secondary historical sources have been used extensively in order to place this research into a larger framework, namely the entire colony. The historical section that begins each chapter is derived from a review of historical overviews of the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. These include Ver Steeg's The Formative Years: 1607-1763, Edmund Morgan's American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia, Wes Craven's The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, Allan Kulikoff's Tobacco and Slaves:

---

<sup>1</sup> The term site for this study is defined as a concentration of features and artifacts usually spatially discrete from neighboring concentrations. An example of this would be a plantation dwelling along with all nearby features and artifacts.

The Development of Southern Culture in the Chesapeake, 1680 -1800 and others, along with more specialized works like those contained in Tate and Ammerman's The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century.

### *Theoretical Framework*

The aim of this work is to integrate elements of three distinctive approaches in a bid to derive a comprehensive method that not only identifies and describes, but also explains. By combining settlement patterning, structuralism, and historical research, this paper seeks to achieve a coherent and meaningful look at the archaeological data. While an attempt to merge components of three distinctly different analytical techniques obviously has drawbacks, the rewards of this blending should lead to new and substantial interpretations of the past.

Settlement archaeology has traditionally emphasized the effect of the environment on locational and organizational variables (Willey 1953), but recent studies have been expanded to include the study of social factors as well (O'Brien, 1984). Concentrating on the distributional variations of artifacts and buildings, this technique identifies shifts in organizational or adaptive strategies. Environmental and social factors that influence settlement variability include fresh water sources, land slope and topography, drainage, soil quality, forest type and density, climate, nearest navigable water, modes of transportation, availability of land and labor, and proximity to nearest neighbor/town (O'Brien 1984). Examination of these factors makes understanding changes in settlement

form possible. Albert Spaulding states, "archaeology can be defined minimally as the study of the interrelationship of form, temporal locus, and spatial locus exhibited by artifacts," (as cited in Binford 1983:7). The current project controls spatial variability, allowing an examination of the relationship of time to form. A major advantage to this approach is that instead of exploring a single time period, it allows for the examination of Chesapeake settlement systems in a diachronic manner. Settlement studies traditionally "focus on the timing, rates, and sequence of change among activity sites, routes, traffic, and boundaries," (Earl 1975:7). Once shifts are identified, the causes of these transitions can be determined usually by examining external political, social or economic factors.

A distinctly different approach to archaeology defines the discipline as a non-experimental science that seeks the gradual refinement of explanation as new facts are applied to a construction of the past (Deetz 1988). Seen as an offshoot of French Structuralism, Deetz's non-experimental paradigm rejects the empirical emphasis of processual archaeology, while still facilitating the expansion of the particularistic research of those, including Noël Hume, that identify archaeology as a technique designed to aid historical interpretations. Deetz seeks to combine elements of processualism and the "handmaiden to history" approach, in search of a less particularistic but still focussed interpretation. He states, "using the material record as a point of departure, archaeologists should seek explanations for their data in terms of the known history of the region and the time represented by their material," (Deetz 1988:362). By applying

both the historical and archaeological records as forms of evidence designed to support interpretations of the past, Deetz seeks more comprehensive explanations. Archaeology is particularly useful in expanding the understanding of many of the subjects of social history, those either left out of the traditional historical record, or represented in a biased fashion.

One of the problems with this structuralist approach is that results are not replicable. The introduction of the scientific method to archaeology in the 1970s, produced a new interest in rigorous and replicable research. Deetz's non-experimental approach, on the other hand, instead of being replicable relies on the continuous application of data to assure accuracy. While this approach would not be condoned within the scientific community, the incomplete nature of the archaeological record makes this approach acceptable.

Deetz's categorization of archaeology as a non-experimental science can also be used to describe aspects of the sub-discipline of social history. Both social history and archaeology can be characterized as a building process where evidence is applied to a "construct of the past". Archaeologists (Deetz 1977, Neiman 1986) have frequently used the historical record to bolster their interpretations of the past; however, historians have not yet taken similar advantage of archaeological data. This is due in part to the problem of disparate scales of inquiry for historians and archaeologists. Fortunately as each discipline develops, the problem of scale is reduced. Social historians (Kelly 1979; Earl

1975; Hellier 1989) are using smaller units of analysis including counties, parishes, or even neighborhoods. As more sites are excavated and as large cultural resource management projects are undertaken, some archaeologists are also shifting emphasis, away from particular sites, to the level of studies on blocks (Brown 1989), neighborhoods (Samford 1990), cities (Rothschild 1987), and even regions (Deetz 1977). Once the problem of scale have been overcome, only relatively minor inconveniences (such as access to reports or excessive jargon) separate the historian from archaeological data.



## Chapter 2. Current research

Using a multi-disciplinary approach, this paper seeks to identify not only the transformations that occurred over time at the settlement at Martin's Hundred, but the reasons behind these changes. Early English settlers did not succeed in transplanting all aspects of their society to the wilderness known as Virginia. Environmental as well as social factors caused an immediate reappraisal of English customs and beliefs. While some practices survived unchanged, others were almost immediately abandoned, while still others were modified in order to meet the demand of new circumstances. Historical archaeology has attempted to answer questions about the nature of change almost since its inception. What makes this investigation somewhat unusual is not a new set of questions, but its enlarged dataset. By examining thirteen, seventeenth-century sites that were included in a single geographical locale, as well as the remains associated with the large eighteenth-century plantation, a new and expanded scale of inquiry is possible.

### Project Goals

The work reported here contains three major objectives: (1) to identify and describe, using past settlement studies as a model, the factors that influenced how colonists at Martin's Hundred organized themselves and settled over the land; (2) to track changes in settlement organizational structure through time and to isolate some of the shifting political, social, economic, and environmental elements that were responsible for these changes; and (3) to test a series of recent historical interpretations about the nature

of transitions in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake with regard to community definitions, agricultural land usages, and settlement dispersion.

### Methods

Based on archaeological and historical evidence, five stages of development were identified for the settlements at Martin's Hundred and Carter's Grove. Each reflects a different set of economic, social, political, and environmental circumstances that are demonstrated in site complexity, organization, and placement. Also reflected in each stage is a shifting pattern of community related activities. K.C. Chang argues that it is the archaeologist's duty to delimit social groups such as households and communities (Chang 1968). Community has traditionally been defined as "the maximal group of persons who normally reside in face-to-face association," (Murdock 1949:79). Bruce Trigger notes, "In general, a community corresponds to a single settlement and therefore can be identified with the archaeologist's component," (Trigger 1970:245). Historians and anthropologists use the word "community" for what archaeologists traditionally refer to as "settlements". While the Chesapeake communities will never be perceived to be as formal or structured as those of their early New England neighbors (Walsh 1988), Martin's Hundred demonstrates a surprisingly complicated social structure during the first half of the seventeenth century.

As mentioned earlier, the transition from Noël Hume to Brown introduced changes in departmental practices facilitating the use of the analytical techniques

introduced to historical archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s. While these new techniques were useful in modernizing the department, they somewhat hamper comparisons with pre-1982 Carter's Grove excavations. Interim reports exist for the 1971 survey as well as about half of the later large scale excavations conducted before 1982. These reports contain detailed descriptions of the physical characteristics of the sites but little analysis. A published book entitled Martin's Hundred, aimed at the general public contains the bulk of Noël Hume's final interpretations (Noël Hume 1991). No artifact counts were produced for these excavations, instead the minimum number of pottery and glass vessels was calculated to interpret the data. Minimum vessel counts are particularly useful in determining site function. It is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to identify vessel type from individual sherds.

On the sites that were directed by Noël Hume, complete excavation was judged to be necessary. Excavation of all contexts was performed using hand trowels. For plow damaged sites, the overburden was removed by machine, and all features were cleaned, mapped, and excavated. The site was gridded into 10' squares, with each square receiving an excavation register number. Artifacts in features were piece-plotted, and fills suspected of containing organic material were water-screened. Unplowed sites were excavated entirely by trowel. Once in the lab, artifacts were washed, numbered, and crossmended. Minimum vessel counts were established, but raw counts of artifacts were not produced. Other analysis included an examination of tobacco pipe bowls and stems, and comprehensive study of the small finds. Noteworthy attempts were made

concerning conservation of delicate objects including both organic material and highly corroded iron finds. The artifacts generated from these excavations is currently not available.

Most of the excavations directed by Marley Brown were limited to site appraisal projects. Small test units were placed every 10 meters over the entire site. Features were exposed but not excavated. A one percent sample was deemed to be sufficient to identify site activity areas as well as overall site function. At the same time, this limited sample would be relatively unintrusive to the sites.

On the single large-scale excavation directed by Brown, the plow zone over the site was hand excavated, and all finds were piece plotted, with the hope of identifying intra-site activity areas that are often lost when sites are machine stripped. Plowed soils on the periphery of hand excavated area were removed by machine to insure that the entire site was exposed. All features were then cleaned, mapped, excavated, and photographed. Soil was screened through a ¼" screen except for the fill from three pits which underwent flotation. No additional excavations are currently scheduled for the five remaining sites.

For all post-1982 excavations, except CG-8, the limited nature of the excavation (1% sample) made minimum vessel counts impossible. Analysis for the sites that were only sampled was based solely on sherd counts. Artifacts were assigned to broad

functional categories such as architectural related, food preparation, and food presentation in order to determine site function. Distributional maps, based on artifact densities, were made using Surfer, a software designed to create topographic maps.

The incompatibility of the excavations directed by Noël Hume and those directed by Brown makes direct inter-site artifact comparisons difficult, if not impossible. Instead of concentrating on this type of comparison, emphasis for this study has been placed on site plans and the description of features. The artifacts from these sites were useful in dating the occupations as well as understanding the range of activities that took place on these sites.

As the early colonial sites, located in the area adjacent to the land explored by Noël Hume, were identified, the notion of being able to analyze community level aspects of the settlement at Martin's Hundred was born. Noël Hume did not possess enough data to address settlement wide issues, and instead turned his attention to more site specific issues. With the additional evidence provided by the sites identified on this adjacent tract, a higher level of inquiry was possible.

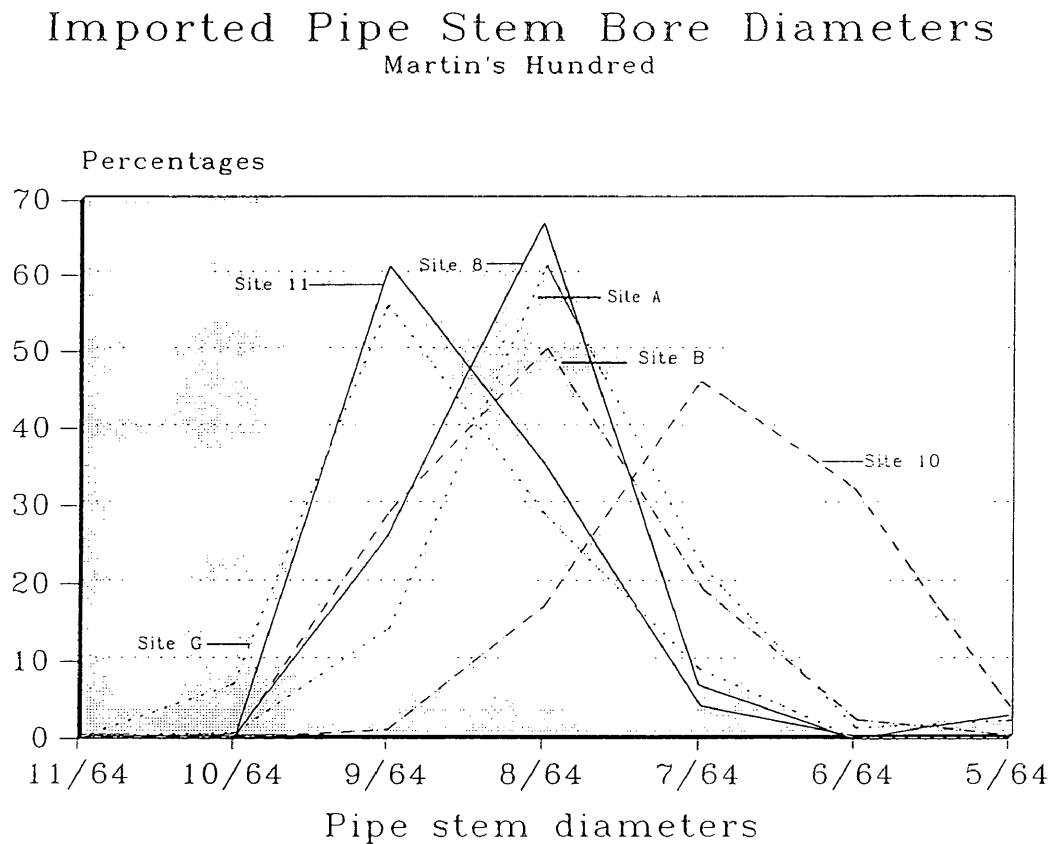
### Organization

Following this section are four individual chapters, each concerned with the temporally and physically different occupations that made up Martin's Hundred/Carter's Grove. A chronological sequence was devised using events that were clearly reflected

in the archaeological and/or historical records. For example the first period uses the establishment of the colony as a beginning marker for the period and the Powhatan uprising of 1622 as the end marker. The categories created are (1) 1607 - 1622, (2) ca 1624 - ca 1650 - from the government takeover of the colony to the abandonment of Grice's Run area, (3) ca 1650 - 1720 - from the abandonment of sites situated around Grice's Run to land consolidation by King Carter, (4) 1720 - 1780 - the Carter\Burwell years. Each period is designed to reflect a unique settlement system dependent on a combination of particular social, economic, political, and environmental factors.

Sites were placed in this chronological sequence using a variety of techniques. For sites that had undergone large scale excavation, concepts such as *Terminus Post Quem* and *Terminus Ante Quem* were useful in determining the occupational time frame for each site. Specific objects often helped ascertain these time frames (i.e. the dated plate found on Site B), as did the absence some major artifact types like round wine bottle glass which was first manufactured circa 1650. For sites with a large enough sample of imported pipestems an additional dating strategy was employed. Early seventeenth-century sites are difficult to date even under the best of circumstances, because few technological or stylistic changes occurred in ceramics during this time period. Documents abound about eighteenth-century manufacturing activities; however, such textual information is notably absent for their seventeenth-century counterparts. Using the results from Harrington Histograms created by measuring the bore diameters of imported tobacco pipe stems, a relative dating chronology was established. Sites with

**Figure 4.**  
*Relative chronology based on imported pipe stems.*



a sufficient number of imported pipe stems included the one percent samples excavated at sites G, 11, and 10, and the complete excavations of sites A, B, and 8. Small sample sizes precluded sites 2, D, E, and F from being included in this dating scheme. Complete pipe stem data from sites C and H was not available.

Pipe stem data (Figure 4) suggests Site G as the earliest of all sites included in the study, with Site 11 closely following. Then come the sites that underwent complete excavation, all of which exhibit an almost identical pattern. Site 10 is clearly later, a conclusion that was also supported by other artifacts recovered from the site.

Each period is discussed in a chapter that contains an overview of major historical developments with particular emphasis on economic and political activities, an examination of the specific historical record of the settlement at Martin's Hundred/Carter's Grove, a detailed description of the archaeological inventory, an interpretation of the overall social and economic organization of the community, limited analysis of political relationships, as well as the interaction with and effects of and on the local environment. The last chapter will examine three specific conclusions drawn by social historians about seventeenth-century Chesapeake by using the archaeological record to test these conclusions.



### **Chapter 3. Initial European settlement - 1607-1622**

This study's earliest classificational period (Figure 5) begins with the inception of Martin's Hundred in 1619, and ends with its temporary abandonment after the Powhatan Uprising of 1622 (Noël Hume 1991). In 1618, as a small part of a Virginia Company plan to accelerate the expansion of the colony, 280 colonists set out from England to establish this quasi-independent community. Most of those arriving at Martin's Hundred would live in or near the administrative center known as Wolstenholme Town. Modeled after British colonial efforts in Ireland, this village contained provisions for defense, public storage, religious activity, as well as domestic quarters for an estimated sixty people (Noël Hume 1991).

The archaeological sites that have been assigned to this period share a variety of traits including defensive fortifications, heavy emphasis on military equipment, little architectural repair, evidence of destruction by fire, a close proximity to the James River, and unusual burial practices (Noël Hume 1991). Two sites possess all of these traits, the complex known as Site C and the nearby domestic residence identified as Site H, with a third site containing enough of these attributes to suggest that it too belongs to this group. Site G contains what appears to be defensive fortifications, and a large number of artifacts associated with defensive activities. Using imported pipestems, a relative dating scheme was constructed which shows Site G as the earliest of all sites included in this analysis (see chart). Of the sites found clustered around Grice's Run, Site G is

the closest to the James River. While large-scale excavation would resolve this question, enough evidence exists to suggest that this site originated before 1622.

### General Overview

In 1606, one hundred men and four boys set sail from London under the command of Captain Christopher Newport. Armed with a variety of ideas on how to produce profits, (including industrial activity, mineral extraction, and agricultural experiments) instructions to transform the native inhabitants into "proper Englishmen", and plans to hamper Spanish efforts in the new world, the group arrived at the mainland in Spring of 1607. The first years did not go exactly as planned. Edmund Morgan captures the essence of this time period when he states "The colony did not work out as the [London] company envisioned it. The adventurers who ventured their capitol lost it. Most of the settlers who ventured their lives lost them. And so did most of the Indians who came near them," (1975:48).

The failure of the English settlement at Roanoke postponed English involvement in the Americas. At the time Spain was the foremost power in Europe as a direct consequence of the treasure being taken out of its American colonies. At the same time her increasing wealth caused inflation to rage throughout Europe. Meanwhile England was slowly transforming itself from a feudal to a mercantile economic system, which led to the displacement of a large segment of its population. By 1600, a mercantile class

was forming, and political stability was emerging in Britain (Ver Steeg 1964). All of these factors combined to lead to a resumption of England's colonial aspirations.

A colony would help with England's foreign affairs as well as her domestic problems. It would slow the flow of wealth to Spain, and allow for the fostering of Indian rebellions against Spanish rule (Morgan 1975). An increase in England's population, along with the displacement that the transformation to capitalism was causing, had produced shortages of food, work, and land in England. A colony would provide an opportunity to export these problems, as well as establish an additional market for English goods.

In 1606, private investors formed the Virginia Company of London for the purpose of establishing a profit making colony. The goals of the investors ranged from a new passage to the East, exploitation of exotic metal and plants, to industrial activity such as the production of glass, iron, potash, pitch, and tar (Morgan 1975).

The settlers who landed at Jamestown were comprised of gentlemen, craftsmen, and soldiers, who sought a better life both materially as well as socially. As a group they possessed a variety of skills including gold refining and perfuming. The settlement was established on an interior waterway to reduce interference from Spanish agents. Named Jamestown, this settlement quickly became a "dying field", with disease,

starvation, hostile natives, and contaminated drinking water decimating the ranks of the original settlers and later their reinforcements (Dabney 1971; Earl 1979).

After a disastrous ten years the colony began to adjust to its new surroundings. Peace was established with the Indians in 1613 and with it came food in the form of Indian corn. By 1616 there were approximately 350 colonists, 144 cows, 6 horses, and 216 goats in Virginia (Dabney 1971). In 1612 John Rolfe developed a milder form of tobacco that would grow in Virginia, which produced yields of 20,000 pounds just two years later (Dabney 1971). As the production of tobacco increased other agricultural and industrial ventures stalled or collapsed. During this time governmental practice shifted from an appointed council to martial law, and finally to a limited, representative system of governing. The introduction of the headright system and an expansionist policy on the part of the Virginia Company led to a new population influx. A new policy, designed to encourage investment, was the creation of particular plantations, which allowed for stockholders to purchase tracts of land and administer them in any fashion they pleased. These independent communities were subject to colonial policy and laws but were administered and supplied by individual investors (Morgan 1975).

Attempts to diversify the economy were also expanded in 1619 with the introduction of French settlers who were to tend vineyards and mulberry trees, Polish immigrants to produce pitch and tar, and Italians as glassblowers (Dabney 1971). Commodities produced in some quantity included timber, pitch, potash, sturgeon, and

sassafras, but in spite of these efforts tobacco remained the principal economic means to wealth, with production reaching 500,000 pounds by 1630.

The dependency on tobacco, the high death rate, and the headright system which encouraged the use of indentured servants, created a society vastly different from that of England. The ratio of men to women was four to one, and over seventy five percent of all immigrants were servants. The high mortality rate resulted in the collapse of most colonial family ties. There were few comforts in this new life other than liquor and luxuries (Morgan 1975). While little effort was put into housing or technological innovation, there was however, the possibility of becoming wealthy. Morgan argues that a planter, "if he could stay alive and somehow get control of a few servants and keep them alive, he could make more money in a year than he was likely to make in several in England," (Morgan 1975:110).

The combination of expanding population and increased dependency on tobacco, which consumed land at an alarming rate, precipitated the Powhatan Uprising of 1622. In an attempt to drive the English out of Virginia, the Indians ended eight years of peace with a colony wide attack that resulted in the death of 350 colonists. The attack disrupted the planting season and scattered many herds of cattle, causing an additional 500 Englishmen to die that winter from disease and hunger.

### Martin's Hundred Overview

The Society of Martin's Hundred, named after a large investor in the Virginia Company, was established in 1616 as a "Particular plantation". In 1618, the Gift of God set sail from England with 220 settlers, intent on creating a new community located southeast of Jamestown. Martin's Hundred was to be the largest "Particular plantation", made up of 20,000 acres of land (Noël Hume 1991).

Upon arrival the settlers established an administrative center, called Wostenholme Town. Among other things the community was selected to be the site for a planned, but never built Indian school. Indentured servant Richard Frethorne estimated the population of Martin's Hundred at around 140 settlers prior to the uprising. On March 22, 1622 Indians attacked and killed 58 settlers at Martin's Hundred, taking an additional 20 prisoner. Almost the entire settlement was burned with only "two houses and a peece of a church..." left standing (Kingsbury 1906 cited in Noël Hume 1991) surviving colonists quickly abandoned the settlement for the relative safety of Jamestown.

### Environment

While Virginia was seen as a lush garden to her new occupants, these new conditions forced changes in their behavior (Stilgoe 1982). Extreme temperatures, heavy rainfalls and occasional droughts discouraged the cultivation of some traditional crops and the raising of some livestock (like sheep), while others thrived. The abundant, varied plant and animal community required less dependence on English agricultural and

livestock practices, and the rich soil allowed for new crops such as tobacco. Environmental conditions then influenced settlement placement and played a part in the transformation of a new social system.

### Plants

Early colonial explorer John Smith reported that "the wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut," (Kupperman 1988:213). Other trees present included elm, black walnut, ash, cyprus, mulberry, cedar, pine, gum, sassafras, chestnut, plum, cherry, and crab apple. Berries included grapes, gooseberries, strawberries, raspberries, huckleberries, and maypops. Sassafras was sought as a cure for syphilis, and other medicinal herbs like milkweed, along with edible roots such as arum and onions (Kupperman 1988).

Forests consisted of massive woods that provided plentiful timber, and discouraged interior settlement. Years of Indian occupation had changed the physical appearance of the forest. They used fire to clear land, giving Virginia more open grassland than is present today. Written accounts described the woods as very mature, and free of undergrowth, with so much space between trees that horses could gallop or coaches could be ridden throughout the area (Morgan 1975).

### Animals

John Smith identified a variety of wildlife as he explored Virginia. Deer were found mostly in the interior, near the river heads. Four distinct types of squirrel were seen as were raccoons, opossum, muskrats, rabbits, bears, beaver, otter, wild cats, foxes, dogs, and wolves. Birds included eagles, sparrow hawks, falcons, osprey, partridge, turkeys, and red winged blackbirds, song birds, swan, cranes, heron, geese, duck, and widgeons (Kupperman 1988). Enormous flocks of pigeons were reported to take three to four hours to pass overhead. Turkeys weighing up to forty pounds were recorded (Dabney 1971).

Fish included sturgeon, grampus, stingray, turbot, shad, mullet, trout, herring, rockfish, eel, lamprey, catfish, perch and blow toads. Crabs, shrimp, oysters, mussels, and cockles were also found in great abundance (Kupperman 1988). Sturgeon measuring three to twelve feet long were caught, and crabs and oysters were reported as being up to one foot in length (Dabney 1971).

To this rich and varied environment, the colonists added pigs, cows, chickens, cats, and goats, all of which ranged free. Horses were slowly introduced, but purposely kept penned.



### Soils and Climate

Referred to locally as the "peninsula", the elevations for this area ranges from sea level to 130 feet above sea level at the western end of James City County (United States Soil Survey 1980). Streams drain into the James River generally through tidal marshes that are mostly brackish. Sea level has risen approximate one meter in the last 300 years (Gerald Johnson personal communication). Soils found on level and gently sloping upland ridges are characterized by their deep well drained loamy constituency. Modern crops include grains, corn, soybeans, and pasture land, with high acidity and the hazard of erosion being the main limitations of the soils in this area (United States Soil Survey 1980).

John Smith, three centuries earlier recorded soils in somewhat different terms. He reported, "but generally for the most part the earth is black sandy mould, in some places a fat slimy clay, and in other a very barren gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it bearteth, as by the greatness of trees or abundance of weeds etc..." (Kupperman 1988:213).

Today winter on the peninsula has an average low temperature of 30 degrees Fahrenheit, with individual temperatures reaching as low as 0 degrees. In summer the average high temperature is 87 degrees, with highs going over the 100 degree mark. Total annual precipitation is 26 inches with over fifty-five percent of this rain falling during the area's growing season between April and September. Average annual

snowfall is meager, and thunderstorms typically occur on 40 days each year, usually in the summer. The area is characterized by periodic summer droughts, and occasional extremely wet summers, both hard on crop production. The Virginia climate precludes some agricultural products attempted by the colonists including mulberry and citrus fruits. While today's conditions cannot be imposed on the past, they can provide generalizations about past climatic activity (Hunter, Samford, and Brown 1984).

### Water

The main waterway for the area was and is the James River. Brackish, except in the spring, this river was the main source of transportation for the Virginia colony for the first half of the seventeenth century. Two miles wide at Carter's Grove, the James flows into Hampton Roads, which in turn courses into the Chesapeake Bay. Carville Earl (1979) argues the colonists at Jamestown were drinking brackish water from the river, which contained the colonies raw sewage, and was a major contributor to the colony's high mortality rate. The river is so wide that flooding rarely take place, but erosion now occurs at a rate of over one foot per year, resulting in the approximate loss of from 400 to 600 feet of shore since 1619 (Noël Hume 1991). Today the river is considered a barrier and used as a local political boundary, an attitude not shared by the earliest colonists. This is evidenced by the original boundaries of Charles City county, which were located on both sides of the river.

The major fresh water source at Carter's Grove are springs located within the ravines. Grice's Run is a nearby major ravine system that contain fresh water streams fed in part by runoff and in part by underground springs. At the mouth of Grice's Run is a flat tidal marsh that is brackish in nature. The small streams that make up Grice's Run have never been navigatable. Additionally, the colonists could have obtained fresh water by the constructing shallow wells, making the drinking of river water unnecessary.

### Slope

First period occupations are limited to a geological plain formed during the late Middle Pleistocene by the ancestral James River estuary. This flat terrace is currently being eroded by severe wind and water activity, which has created the steep bluffs now found at the river's edge. Two possible ship landing sites were located where ravines have cut into the bluff, enabling easy access to the river. Noël Hume argues that this terrace had been cleared of trees by Late Woodland period Indians, which may have increased the erosion pressures on this area (Noël Hume 1991).

### Distance to nearest town

Wostenholme town would have been quite isolated for the three years of its existence. Inter-community communication and transportation were limited to boat traffic on the James River. Jamestown lay approximately seven miles to the west, and the settlement of Newport News was located even farther to the east. No settlements were established across the peninsula on the York River until 1630.

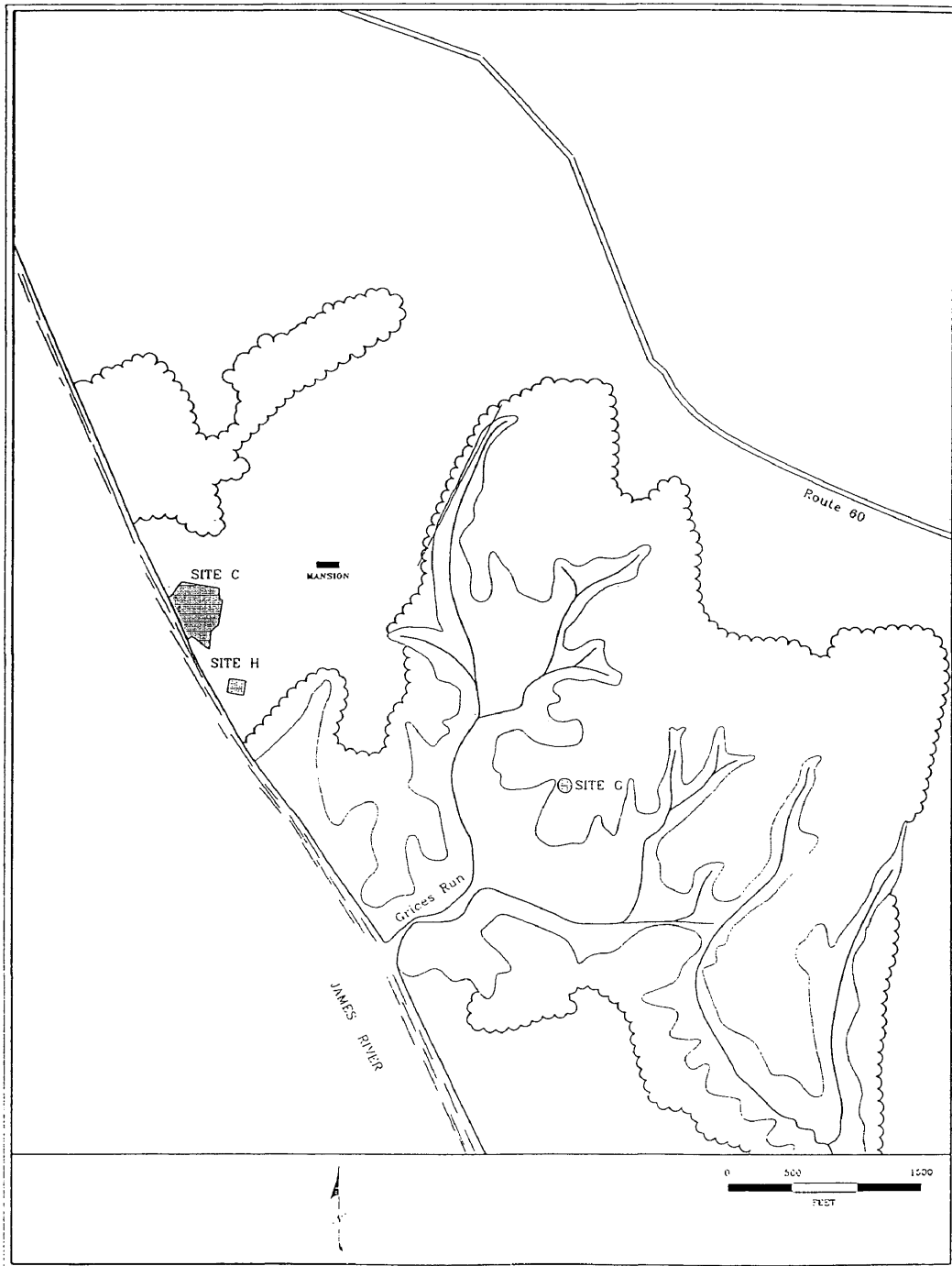
### Description of Archaeological Remains

Three sites make up the archaeological record for this time period. Two of these sites (H and C) have been damaged by the erosion of the bluffs overlooking the James. While recent attempts to slow this erosion have met with some success, it is safe to assume that some additional sites that date to this time have been completely lost. Site G is located on a small terrace overlooking Grice's Run, with the others being located on an ancient river bed. Sites C, and H, were completely excavated by Noël Hume, whereas Site G has only undergone testing.

#### SITE C

Originally found during Kelso's 1971 survey, Site C has been damaged by both erosion and agricultural activity. Modern plowing has disturbed all cultural layers, and erosion had erased the southern end of the site. Still four separate components have endured at this early administrative complex for Martin's Hundred, including the remains of the fort, the company compound, a large barn, and one small dwelling. Presumably the church and several other dwellings have been lost to erosion. Noël Hume argues that the layout of this complex, with its parallel streets and centralized fortified area is based on a settlement model developed by the English for their Irish colonies (Noël Hume 1991).

**Figure 5.**  
*Location of 1607-1622 sites.*



### *Physical Makeup*

Like almost all early seventeenth-century Tidewater sites, Wolstenholme Town is made up of post holes and pits with no brick or stone foundation being unearthed. While brick fragments are found on some sites, the universal construction technique used wooden posts set in the ground, with these earthfast structures having either continuous or interrupted sills. Interrupted sills suggest an earthen floor, and continuous sills indicating an elevated wooden floor. The lack of brick implies the chimneys were made of the same material as the walls, wattle and daub (sticks and dried mud).

### *Company Barn or Warehouse*

Three massive posts made up the center support for this 45' by 29' building. Located west of the fort, parallel rows of smaller support post holes were found on each side of the center posts. These stains represent the remains of the largest surviving building at Wolstenholme Town. The center posts would have supported most of the roof weight and "indicated a central division running the length of the structure," (Noël Hume 1991:253). The size and the linear division suggests the building was a storage facility, perhaps for tobacco, awaiting transportation to England.

### *Company Compound*

Located to the south of the fort and north of the river, two buildings were found with an accompanying fence/palisade. The smaller building, measuring 25' by 15' had interrupted sills and showed no evidence of a chimney, instead containing a door on each

end. East of this building was a larger (60' by 15') structure with a chimney on the eastern end. An attached enclosed area was interpreted as a compound for livestock. The smaller structure was thought to be a store, with the large one being interpreted as a multi-purpose building based on its size and large doors. Several other features were uncovered including a small pond containing a large number of locally manufactured coarseware vessels, potter's tools, and assorted military hardware. Just east of the large structure was the grave of a casualty of the 1622 uprising. Both features were found to be inside of a protective palisade. Found just outside of this enclosure was an infant burial. North of the palisade was a fence line thought to have been a corral.

### *Fort*

Measuring 93' by 130' at the widest end, the fort, a trapezoidal feature, was made up of post holes (9' intervals) and intermittent slot trenches located just inside the palisade line. A watchtower was found in the southeastern corner, with a similar albeit smaller feature in the southwestern corner. A gate and pathway were uncovered just west of the watchtower, along with a small gate near the center of the western wall. Noël Hume (1991) interpreted the post holes as the actual palisade line, with the trenches representing an interior parapet step.

Inside the fort was another pond, a well, a large pit, and four irregular structures. The largest building, measuring approximately 15' by 40', contained a square root cellar in the southern bay. No signs of a chimney were evident. Just to the east were five post

holes that may represent a long, narrow building (8'6" by 30') interpreted as a possible shed. Two smaller buildings were also located within the palisade, identified as an outbuilding and a shed that had burned.

The pond (20' diameter) contained more military hardware, signs of burning, and a stirrup that suggested horses may have been present. Directly east of the pond was a well, which was excavated to a depth of 7'4" and tapering to a diameter of 4'. The well cut through the top of a natural marl formation which was the source of fresh water. An additional fence line linked the fort and the compound both spatially and temporally.

### *Dwelling*

South of the company compound, a small post structure measuring 15' by 20' was found on one side of what Noël Hume thought to have been broad avenue, based on the Irish settlement model. A porch or shed, and a fence were found with the dwelling. Behind the house were 14 graves arranged in rows. The skeletons were in a poor state of preservation, and seem to represent casualties associated with the Uprising of 1622, (Noël Hume 1991).

### SITE H

The Site H occupation is represented by a single dwelling enclosed by a fence/palisade and its associated flankers. Located 650' east of the fort, part of the site was situated in a plowed field with a small section extending into an unplowed area



adjacent to a nearby ravine. The site was first occupied in 1619 and abandoned in the spring of 1622. Originally found by Kelso's 1971 survey, the site was excavated in the late 1970's. This small complex is temporally associated with Site C.

The dwelling measured 12' by 28' and was located within an enclosed area that contained two flankers and three gates. The structure used the same post in the ground construction technique, with slots suggesting an interrupted sill. The timber framed postholes were filled with daub, with at least one post being burned in place. The dwelling was a typical hall and parlor house with two 10' bays. Two small posts within the service may represent a hood covering an open hearth. The walls were wattle and daub and no window glass was found on the site, suggesting the use of wooden shutters to protect the settlers from bad weather (Lucchetti 1981).

Five pits were found outside the palisaded area. One pit contained the remains of an adult female. Several graves were found including one that contained the remains of four Europeans. Both males and females were found on the site, with some being buried clothed, a very atypical practice. The body in the pit is also without precedent in Virginia. The female was also clothed and is thought to have crawled into the pit where she died of exposure (Noël Hume 1991). Regardless of the exact details of this female's death, all of the bodies were interpreted as either plague victims or as casualties of the 1622 uprising.

Site H was interpreted as a suburb of Wolstenholme Town. A heavy concentration of lead shot and waste suggests that shot was being manufactured on this site. Also found was a high percentage of locally manufactured ceramics.

#### SITE G

Found during the 1978 survey of a wooded tract, located adjacent to Carter's Grove, Site G was tested in 1991, by Meredith Moodey under the direction of Dr. Marley Brown III. Situated 50 yards south and east of Site F on a small terrace, the site is bordered by ravines that feed Grice's Run. Today the site is covered by mature hardwoods.

Site G is a concentrated occupation that contains heavy densities of domestic artifacts. One square structural posthole was uncovered which measured 90 cms, with a possible circular postmold located in the center of the hole. The feature was not excavated at this time because of the belief that all related features should be exposed, drawn, and photographed before excavation took place.

A second feature, identified as possible fortification trench, measured 2'6" and 75' long. Running southwest to northeast, the trench disappears as it nears a ravine at the southwestern end. At the opposite end the feature turns at a 90 degree angle to the southeast for an undetermined distance. A small section of this feature was excavated revealing a stepped bottom almost 25 cms below subsoil. No silt was found in this

feature suggesting it was filled in quickly and on purpose and was not used as a boundary marker.

Artifacts from the site clearly indicate that it functioned as a domestic residence. A one percent sampling of the site resulted in the recovery of over 1800 artifacts including heavy concentrations of ceramics, case bottle glass, and pipe stems. Personal armament finds included both worked and unworked flint, as well as eight pieces of lead shot.

Several factors strengthen the decision to place this occupation into the 1619-1622 category. Preliminary analysis of the artifacts, including comparative pipe stem analysis supports this interpretation. The fortification ditch, located on the perimeter of the site is also seen as indicative of an early occupation. It is unclear whether the site was reoccupied after the uprising, but it had clearly been abandoned before ca 1650. The lack of architectural repair indicates the site was occupied for only a short time period. No 1619-1622 phase sites have demonstrated any type of architectural repair, a characteristic of sites that have been occupied for over 10 years. While this evidence is compelling, it is still based on the excavation of only a very small portion of the site. Future excavation may very well reveal this site belongs into the 1625 to 1650 period.

### Interpretation

#### ECONOMICS

By 1619, despite attempts by colonial administrators to diversify the economy, Virginians had settled into an economic system mainly dependent on two cash crops for their livelihood (Morgan 1975). Colonial attempts at ore refining, pitch, tar, silk, potash, and glass production, along with the commercial harvesting of fish and lumber met with only very limited success (Dabney 1971). Exotic agricultural experiments included rice, sugar, orange, lemon, pineapple, potato, and wine production (Craven 1970). Local factors, such as climate and soil acidity discouraged some of these enterprises. Other problems including limited technology, and hostile neighbors doomed others. Some of these experiments were terribly expensive, suggesting a sense of the urgency to diversify the economy on the part of colonial administrators and investors. For example, over £5000 was spent on an ore production site near Henrico (Craven 1970).

The ramifications of this dependency on tobacco had an almost immediate impact on the economic system. Originally the agricultural land system was organized using near feudal principles. This was quickly abandoned in 1616, when each colonist was given acreage, resulting in an immediate increase in food and tobacco production. Almost overnight, Virginia was transformed from a quasi-feudal system to a near modern enterprise (Morgan 1975; Stilgoe 1982). The headright system provided a way to quickly expand land holdings and labor, therefore increasing production. Soon after the

introduction of these reforms, colonists were seeking out the best soils, because tobacco thrives in only the richest soils (Stilgoe 1982). To raise tobacco, trees had to be girdled, seedbeds planted, seedlings transplanted, and the tobacco plants were then cleaned, pruned, weeded, harvested, cured, packed, and shipped to England (Stilgoe 1982). All of these tasks were labor intensive, and required almost a year round dedication on the part of planters.

Livestock was the other major enterprise that met with success in Virginia. Sheep, the most important farm animal in England, did not make the transition to the new climate, but cows and pigs thrived (Ver Steeg 1964). They were allowed to run wild and forage for themselves, requiring little investment of either time or food, both precious commodities in seventeenth-century Virginia. The success of these two domestic animals, forced changes in animal husbandry practices. Instead of enclosing livestock, food crops were protected from grazing animals by the use of fencing (Stilgoe 1982). Fences are identified on all sites from this period. Noël Hume interprets most of these as corrals, presumably for horses which were not allowed to roam free (Noël Hume 1991). It is probable that these enclosed areas represent the boundaries of vegetable gardens.

While economic life at Martin's Hundred probably revolved around tobacco and livestock, other enterprises are evident. House construction, brick making, and daub manufacturing are apparent, as would be expected, but also evident is the manufacturing

of consumer goods. Locally made ceramics predominate on all of these sites, making up over 50 percent of all ceramics for sites that had been fully excavated (Noël Hume personal communication). Tools associated with ceramic manufacturing were found on Site C, along with locally made tobacco pipes. On Site H there is the suggestion that lead shot was being manufactured (Lucchetti nd). Gun repairing is also evident on Sites C and G, in the form of spare gun parts and worked and unworked gunflint. It would also be safe to assume that skilled activities associated with tobacco production were taking place at Wolstenholme Town. Hogshead production, drying racks, barns, and sheds were all in demand here as well as throughout the colony (Earl 1975).

While tobacco production predominated in Virginia, other economic enterprises are evident in the archaeological record. These activities were more concerned with providing the settlement with goods needed for survival in a new land, than with export for profit. The archaeological evidence from Martin's Hundred suggests some types of industry survived and even thrived in the early seventeenth century. Housing, arms, tobacco related items, cooking and food storage items, all items designed to improve the quality of life of the settlers were the industries of Martin's Hundred.

#### TRANSPORTATION

Understanding the transportation system of the 1619-1622 period is very easy because it was limited to the James River. Over-land travel between settlements was impossible because of hostile natives and massive forests (Ver Steeg 1964). A letter

from a Martin's Hundred indenture and the mention of the presence of 3 boats in the 1625 muster for Martin's Hundred suggests that travel to Jamestown was fairly common (Moodey 1992). Indentured servant Richard Frethorne writes in 1623:

... and if Mr Jackson had not releived me, I should bee in a poore Case, but he like a father and shee like a loveing mother doth still helpe me, for when wee goe vp to James Towne that is 10 myles of vs, ther lie all the ships that come to the land, and there they must deliver their goode, and when wee went vp to Towne as it may bee on Moonedaye, at noone, and come there by night, then load the next day by noone, and goe home in the afternoone and unload, and then away againe in the night, and bee up about midnight, then if it rayned, or blowed never so hard wee must lye in the boate on the water, and haue nothing but alitle bread, for whenee wee go into the boate wee haue a loafe allowed to two men, and it is all if we staid there 2 days, and must lye all that while in the boate, but that Goodman Jackson pityed me & made me a Cabbin to lye in always when I come up. and he would guiue me some poore Jacke home with me wch Comforted mee more then pease, or water gruell.

Records of the Virginia Company 1623

The picture Frethorne paints is not only of frequent travel, but that of a central distribution center located at Jamestown. Sea going ships make port predominantly at Jamestown, with outlying planters forced to travel to the town in order to pick up necessary provisions.

## COMMUNITY

The study of Martin's Hundred allows for three elements of community to be explored for the 1619-1622 period. Stratification can be measured using architectural remains as well as other classes of artifacts. At this time, master and servant shared the same living space and lifestyle (Neiman 1980; Horn 1980; Carr and Menard 1979). The

range of architectural styles for this period extends from small earthfast wooden huts to the substantial sized dwellings located within the fort and the company compound. Other than size, little differences can be seen in either construction material or technique. Little non-architectural material evidence of a hierarchy has survived in the archaeological record either. While some sites contain higher quantities of objects than others there is little evidence of status related clothing or decorative architectural features that will characterize the post-1625 period. Some archaeologists and historians argue that status is reflected in a higher quantity of goods not in diversity (Outlaw, Bogley, and Outlaw 1977; Carson nd). The evidence from this period at Martin's Hundred supports this contention. While little evidence of a formal social or political hierarchy is evident from either the artifacts or architecture features uncovered at Wolstenholme Town, surely these social divisions must have existed (Noël Hume 1991). What is interesting to note is that indications of social status was found on the sites that make up the 1624 to 1650 period.

Life at Martin's Hundred involved individualistic domestic space as well as the administrative center of Wolstenholme Town (Noël Hume 1991). Dwellings were the center of every day life and economic activity including tobacco production, food production, and livestock husbandry (Horn 1980). External threats and the lack of kinship networks heightened the community functions of Wolstenholme Town. Religious activities as indicated by a large cemetery, included at least death rituals and probably worship (Noël Hume 1991). Storage buildings and fortifications suggest defensive and



administrative duties were clustered within the town limits. Cooperative economic activities and public works projects, like the company barn and the protective palisade at the fort, also took place within the proto-village. Defensive activities centered around Wolstenholme Town, but also took place on Site H (Noël Hume 1991). The settlement was located upstream on an interior river as a protective measure from England's chief rival, Spain. Defensive measures were designed to ward off Spanish and Indians alike (Noël Hume 1991). To repel any river-based attack, Wolstenholme Town was supplied with at least one cannon, probably placed on Site H. The wooden palisades were designed to provide protection from land-based attacks. The only well dug during this time period was located within the walls of the fort, presumably in case of siege.

Wolstenholme Town, like the earliest settlement at Jamestown, was established using an English village model (Noël Hume 1991). Defensive, religious, administrative, and large scale economic activities were all clustered into a small area that had easy access to the only transportation system available to the colonists, the James River. Outlying individual farmsteads, while needing space for agricultural activities were dependent on the village for both their safety and well being. While the tobacco monocrop system demanded individual space for each planter, the village still played a key role in their lives, affording economic cooperation, as well as social ties. The high mortality rate disrupted the English notion of a kin-based society, at least temporarily (Morgan 1975).

## **Chapter 4. After the Uprising - 1624-1650**

The years following the 1622 uprising mark the beginning of a era of relative stability for the Virginia colony. While some changes occurred during this period, stable economic conditions and victory in the Anglo-Powhatan war brought about an optimism on the part of the colonists. This period is marked by the beginning of a series of boom or bust economic cycles driven by the price of tobacco. Production activities so dominated the economic system, tobacco was used as currency throughout the colony. After the 1620s, tobacco prices would decline in a slow spiral as increased productivity and ever larger numbers of planters relentlessly drove the price downward.

The settlement at Martin's Hundred never regained its pre-1622 status. Wolstenholme Town was permanently abandoned, and the population shrunk to one-fifth of its pre-uprising size. The Muster of 1625, a government census, shows seven households existing at Martin's Hundred three years after the uprising. Archaeology may have uncovered as many as six of these plantations, most of which were clustered around a fresh water source named Grice's Run. Definitive domestic sites dating to this period include Sites A, B, 11, 2, and 8. Site E's functional status is unclear even after complete excavation. Additionally, two non-domestic sites were also found that date to this era. When all of these sites are examined as a group, two distinct communal traits emerge, their proximity to each other, and the date of their abandonment. Closer examination of these traits has the potential to add significantly to the understanding of Virginia during this time period.

### General Overview

In reprisal for the Indian attack in 1622, the English avenged the 350 slain colonists many times over (Dabney 1971; Morgan 1975). While the colonists debated whether a policy of enslavement was better than complete extermination, economic matters eventually determined the actual response of the colonists (Morgan 1975). Intermittent raids at harvest time allowed the English to burn Indian villages and steal their crops without interrupting their own tobacco production. These harvest raids, carried out by private armies, provided the colony with much needed food, and eventually decimated the local Indian population (Faust 1988).

In 1625, 1095 of the 7549 people who had departed England for Virginia were still alive (Dabney 1971). The Anglo-Powhatan War and open factional infighting among the Virginia Company investors led to the dissolution of the Company in 1624, resulting in Virginia becoming a royal colony in 1624. Despite the Indians, meager supplies, and disease, immigrants continued to flock to the colony. Between 1625 and 1640 an additional 15,000 immigrants landed in Virginia, of which approximately 7,000 were still alive by 1640 (Dabney 1971). Tobacco continued to dominate the economic landscape, with its potential for creating wealth proving to be the magnet that drew Englishmen at an increasing rate. New settlers continued to arrive, even after the profitability of tobacco began to decrease. By 1630 a repeating cycle of tobacco price increases, followed by collapse was established. While the price paid for tobacco was constantly rising and falling, long term prices and thus profitability were in a slow decline (Morgan

1975). Several factors kept the colony's population expanding despite the problems with tobacco. The perception that individuals who possessed little could still get rich in Virginia survived even though fewer and fewer actually did as the century progressed. Quick money could be made just from tobacco during the boom times. During tobacco price crashes increased emphasis on livestock, food production, and increased tobacco productivity provided the economic buffer that allowed planters to survive. In spite of its decline in value, tobacco was still a lucrative enterprise, in fact, so profitable as to retard the development of other for profit trades or commodities (Morgan 1975; Dabney 1971).

Most of the new immigrants were indentured servants, with the vast majority of these people coming from England's middling classes (Horn 1979).<sup>2</sup> More men than women immigrated, although women lived longer than their male counterparts.<sup>3</sup> Most were young adults, either unskilled or with an agricultural background, in search of economic opportunity. Economic factors in England encouraged emigration. There was still considerable contraction of the labor needs of the agrarian and some manufacturing sectors of England's economy. Indentured servants had little in the way of material wealth and sought the prosperity that would come with small planter status. Most had lost one or both parents, and had already migrated from rural to urban England. A lack

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<sup>2</sup> There is some disagreement on the class makeup of immigrants. David Galenson suggests that indentured servants came from both middling and poorer sorts (Galenson 1981).

<sup>3</sup> Recent studies suggest that only women in post child bearing years had a longer life expectancy (Rutman and Rutman 1984:37-59).

of work in the urban centers lead to emigration to the colonies, with Virginia being a preferred destination during tobacco booms (Horn 1979).

Two major developments in the colony were brought about in the 1640s. The English civil wars resulted in increased contact with Dutch merchants who sought to trade finished goods for tobacco. This direct contact with new markets temporarily revived tobacco prices. In response to the Crown's defeat, Governor Berkeley encouraged loyalists to emigrate, leading to the first ever large-scale immigration of England's landed gentry to Virginia (Dabney 1971). Closer to home, Virginia Indians tried to reclaim land lost to the ever expanding colony. In 1644, the Powhatans killed 500 settlers, mostly on the nearby frontier. This time, the natives had no chance of success. Instead of reducing population pressure, the colonists used this as an excuse for western expansion after the Indians were forcibly removed (Morgan 1975).

With the end of the civil wars, foreign trade was banned in 1651. The Navigation Acts sought to ensure England a monopoly on trade with the colonies. It also insured the Crown of needed income from tobacco production. The removal of foreign competition drove the price of tobacco down and led to the first attempts to set artificial limits on production (Ver Steeg 1964).

Martin's Hundred Overview

After the uprising, Martin's Hundred was temporarily abandoned for the relative safety of Jamestown. By 1624 according to a census of the entire colony which listed both residents and their major possessions, only 27 people were associated with the settlement. Ralph Hamor of Hog's Island was assigned "absolute power, and command in all matters of war, over all the people in Martin's Hundred..." (Kingsbury 3:610 cited in Noël Hume 1991). There was no mention of a fort, which supports the contention that Wolstenholme Town was never re-occupied.

When Virginia became a royal colony, the title of Martin's Hundred was set aside, and individual claims to the 20,000 acres were distributed based on the number of shares each individual had in the "particular plantation". From this date on the real adventurers were the planters, not the investors (Craven 1970).

The Muster for Martin's Hundred, taken in February of 1624/25, shows seven "extended" households as existing at the settlement. Included in the census were:

mr William Harwood came in the *Francis Bonaventure*

SERVANTS

Hugh Hughs came in the *Guifte*.

Ann his wife - came in the *Abigall*.

Thomas Doughtie aged 26 - came in the *Abigall*.

John Hasley aged 22 yeres - came in the *Abigall*.

Samuell Weaver 20 in the *Bony bess*

Elizabeth Bygrave 12 came in the *Warwick*.

Their possessions included:

Corne, 10 barrells; Fish, 12 hundred; Powder, 60 lb; Peeces fixt. 10; Machcocks, 25 and 10 lbs of match.; Peece of Ordnance, 1 wth all things thereto belonging; Shott. 300 lb; Armour, 8; Coats of Male, 10; Coats of Steele, 3 and 20 swords; Neat Cattell, 10 belonging to the Hundred; Houses, 3; Boat, 1.

-----

Ellis Emerson came in the *George* in 1623.

Ann his wife came in the *George* in 1623.

Thomas his son aged 11 came in the *George* in 1623.

#### SERVANTS

Thomas Goulding aged 26 yeres came in the *George* in 1623.

Martin Slatier aged 20 cam fro Canada in the *Swan* in 1624

Their possessions included:

Corne, 6 barrells; Fish, 3½ hundred; Powder. 12 lb; Shott, 30 lb; Peeces fixt, 1; Matchcock, 1; Armour, 1 and 4 headps; Coats of Male, 2; Cate of Steele, 1; Swords, 2; Swine, 2; House 1.

-----

Robert Addams came in the *Bona Nova*

Augustine Leak came in the *Bona Nova*

Winifred Leak his wife came in the *George* in 1623.

SERVANTS

Richard Smith aged 24 yeres came in the *George* 1623

Their possessions included:

Corne, 3 barrells; Fish, 11 hundred; Powder, 6 lb; Shott, 5 lb; Peeces fixt, 6;  
Armour, 1; Coat of plate, 1; Swords, 2; Piggs, 2; Houses, 2; Boat, 1.

-----

Stephen Barker came in the *James*

Humphrey Walden in the *Warwick*

Their possessions included:

Corne, 4 Barrells; Fish, 3½ hundred; Powder, 3 lb; Shott 5 lb; Peeces fixt, 2;  
Swords, 2

-----

John Jackson came in the *Warwick*

Ann his wife came in the *Warwick*

A Child aged 20 weeks

SERVANTS

Thomas Ward aged 47 yeres came in the *Warwick*



John Steephens 35 yeres came in the *Warwick*

Their possessions included:

Corne 1½ barrell; Fish, 800; Powder, 2 lb; Shott, 6 lb; Peeces fixt, 4; Armours, 3; Coate of Male, 1; Swords, 3; Houses, 1

-----

Samuel March came in the *William & Thomas*.

Collice his wife in the *Ann* in 1623

Samuel Culley came in the *London Marchant*

Their possessions included:

Corne 5 barrells; Fish, 5 hundred; Powder, 1 lb; Shott, 20 lb; Peeces fixt, 3; Armours, 1; Swords, 2

-----

Robert Scotchmore and his Company now planted heare are reconned before in the Maine

DEAD at Martins Hunderd this yeare

Alice Emerson	a girle
Robert	a boy of mr Emarsons
	a girle of John Jacksons
	a Child of Samuell March

The makeup of Martin's Hundred was not static however. Two years later Ellis Emerson was dead, and Augustine Leake and his extended family had left the settlement (Moodey 1992). Members of the community who were active in colonial government included William Harwood, Governor of Martin's Hundred in the 1620s, and later Thomas Kingston and David Mancell who represented Martin's Hundred during the 1630s.

By the 1640s Martin's Hundred showed signs of becoming a more dispersed community. Acreage was patented for interior tracts located away from the river. A replacement church, built by 1638, was located on an interior tract, approximately one mile east of the original at Wolstenholme Town (Moodey 1992).

### Environment

The 1630s saw a change in the perception of visitors to the colony. The area around the plantations was quickly being transformed. Large carnivores were being exterminated, including panthers and wolves (Dabney 1971). Forests were cleared to allow for the production of tobacco and food crops, with the wood being used for both household and agricultural activities. Shifting agriculture meant new land was cleared every three or four years. Visitors began to characterize the colony as an unnatural looking place based in part on the dispersed nature of the colony, and partially to the ravages tobacco production had on the land (Earl 1975).

The local environment was continually providing hardship and pests that interfered with tobacco production. The most troublesome pests included tobacco flies and worms that fed on tobacco. Hail, hurricanes, drought, or too much rain, all forms of bad weather which could damage or even destroy entire crops (Lemon 1976).

### Nearest Neighbor

The distance between settlements began to shrink dramatically during this period as the colony clustered along linear bands adjacent to the James River. The communities of Kingsmill and Denbigh plantation were established on each side of Martin's Hundred. Across the river, at Hogs Island and Surry County, dispersed settlements were being created along the waterfront (Kelly 1979). By the 1630s, settlements on the York and Rappahanock rivers were also being established, with the first large scale interior settlement, Middle Plantation, being started on the site that was later to become Williamsburg. This scattered community was designed to provide a buffer zone to protect the colony from their Indian neighbors (Muraca and Hellier 1992).

### Slope and Distance to Nearest Water

Settlement at Martin's Hundred for this period moved away from the flat terrace associated with the ancient riverbed to the small upland terraces adjacent to the ravines that fed into Grice's Run. These small terraces were irregular in shape and size and vary from flat to moderately sloping. Ravines may be found on one to three sides of these terraces and contained spring fed streams, the sole source of fresh water.

### Archaeological Results

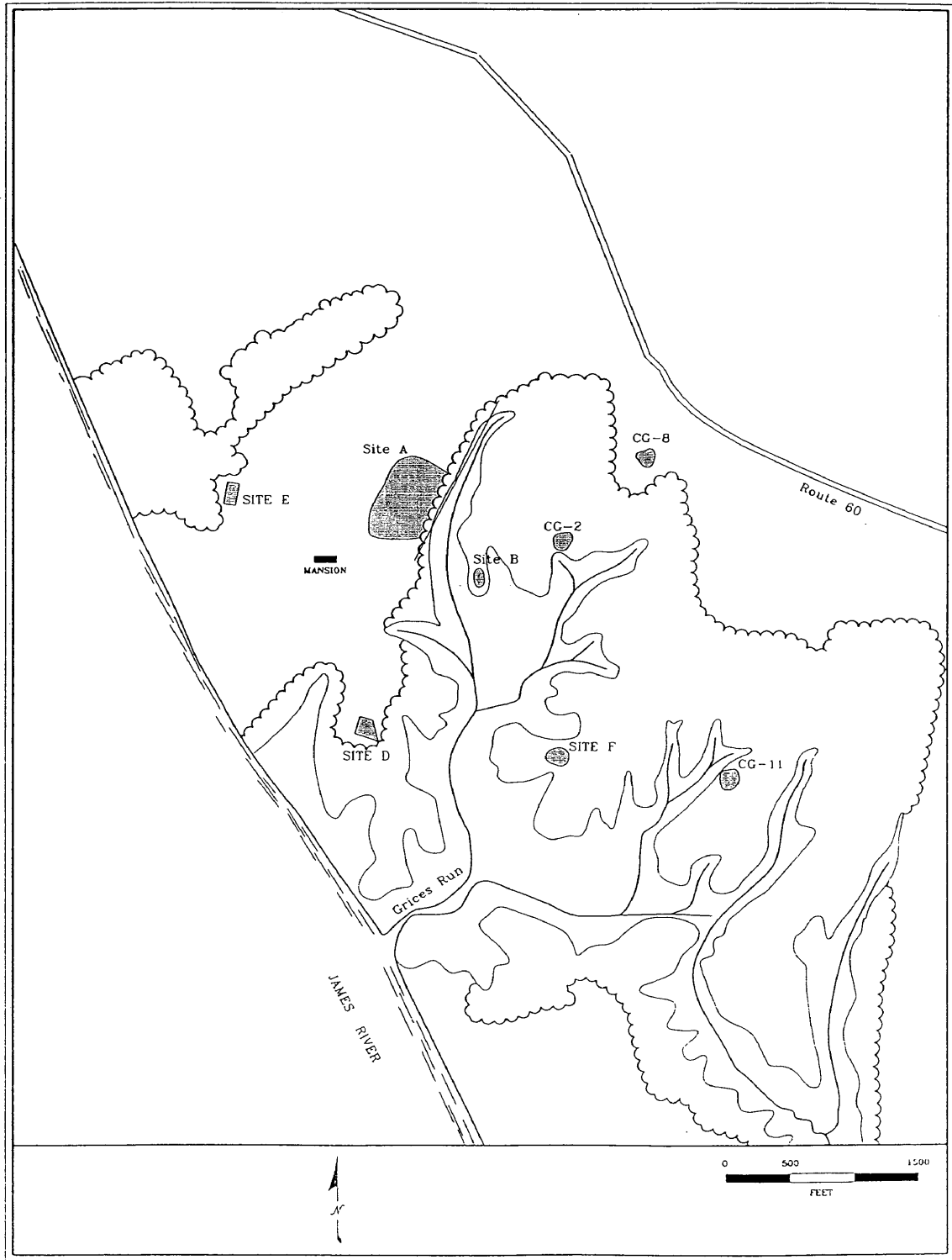
All but one of the sites that were occupied during this time period are located near Grice's Run. Located farther inland than its predecessors this community is less clustered than Wolstenholme Town, but still concentrated within a small ½ mile area.

#### SITE A

First identified during the 1971 Kelso survey, Site A is located to the northeast of the Carter's Grove Mansion, approximately 2500' from the James River. Currently situated in a pasture, the area had been repeatedly plowed, destroying all cultural layers and leaving only the remains of features that intruded subsoil. A major ravine that feeds into the western branch of Grice's Run is located directly east of the site. The site was threaten by development activities in the late 1970s requiring its complete excavation. Eric Klingehoffer led this excavation under the direction of Noël Hume.

The most complex of all of this time period's occupations, Site A contains several buildings, fences, graves, defensive measures, and exhibited growth by stages. The main dwelling measured 20' by 18' and was later enlarged to 40' by 18'. On one side a lean-to measuring 7'6" by 22' was added. This wattle and daub earthfast structure probably had a brick chimney. An unusual second structure, called the cellar house was interpreted as a temporary dwelling constructed when the site was first occupied. Inside the bottom of this almost square (20' by 19') cellar were six structural postholes found in the corners and in the center of the eastern and western walls. These posts supported

**Figure 6.**  
*Location of 1624-1650 sites.*



a wooden ceiling, which Noël Hume believed was covered by an A-framed roof. Seven smaller post structures were also found along with numerous fencelines and slot trenches. Ten pits, some connected to small buildings by slot trenches were found within this complex. Located well away from this building complex was a large oblong ditch/trench that surrounded the site. The only break or entranceway was located to the south of the complex. Within the ditch were four groups of graves containing a total of twenty-three graves. The remains of men, women, and children were found, some in gabled lidded coffins, other with no coffins at all. No signs of violent death or unusual burial practices were noted (Noel Hume 1991).

### *Artifacts*

This site contained an amazing assortment of artifacts, many of which reflect high social status. Strands of silver and woven gold used in clothing were found in the cellar fill. During the early seventeenth century clothing was one way to express social standing. A resolution passed in 1621 designed to suppress material excess, banned the use of silver and gold in clothing for all except government officials (Noël Hume 1991).

Architecturally, window glass and a Dutch delft tile also reflect social standing. Tiles functioned as either wall or fireplace skirting, but were considered to be a decorative nicety (Noel Hume 1991). Window glass was not considered a necessity, or necessarily common.

Additional finds included some unusual Venetian style table glass and a knife encrusted with silver, both of which demonstrate an affluence missing from the archaeological record of the earlier settlement at Wolstenholme Town (Noël Hume 1991).

Other atypical finds included a single cannon ball, 108 case bottles, a locally made alembic, other kiln furniture, and body armor. Ceramics from most of the pits crossmend with each other and the cellar which suggested that these features were open at the same time (Noel Hume 1991).

#### *Dating and Interpretation*

Missing from this site were signs of destruction by fire and unorthodox burial practices. Ceramics suggest the site was occupied during the 1630s and 1640s. A Binford pipestem mean date of 1631 suggests the site was occupied somewhat earlier. While the accuracy of this technique has been questioned by some (Noël Hume 1991), it is possible that this site was first occupied around 1625.

Noël Hume interprets the site as that of a large wealthy household. He suggests that it may have belonged to William Harwood, the Governor of Martin's Hundred from 1620 to 1629 (Noel Hume 1991). A 1626 reference to Harwood's house may push the date for this site back, if it did indeed belong to Harwood. His successor Thomas Kingston served as Burgess for Martin's Hundred and died before 1639 when his wife remarried.

## SITE B

Found on a narrow flat terrace with steep ravines located to the east, west, and south, Site B has never been disturbed by agricultural activity. Located just east of Site A, this peninsula is currently covered by mixed mature hardwoods. The site was identified during the excavation of Site A, and originally thought to have been the manufacturing site responsible for the kiln related material found on Site A (Noël Hume 1991).

Excavated in 1977, Site B consisted of a single two-bay earthfast dwelling (37' by 19') that contained a fireplace on the southern end. Other features uncovered included a possible shed, two pits, a meandering ditch, and an infant burial found next to the dwelling. No fences, wells, or defensive measures were found, nor were there any signs that the buildings had burned (Noel Hume 1991).

### *Dating and Interpretation*

Though the structure of the site was very simple, the artifacts suggest a very affluent household, even more so than Site A. Table knives encrusted with silver, one inlaid with gold, a gilded spur, and a basket hilt to a broad or back sword, and copper and gold threads, all of which suggest wealth was present. Body armor recovered included chain mail, part of a brigantine, and a couter, the elbow section of a suit of armor (Noel Hume 1991). Items of a more domestic nature included scissors, two small brass boxes, case bottle glass, and ceramics, 85% of which were locally made. No kiln



was found, but pottery wasters were present suggesting ceramics had been fired on the site. Though case bottle was present, it in no way compared with the quantity recovered from Site A (Noël Hume 1991).

Ceramics recovered from this site suggests it was occupied between ca 1625 and ca 1640 (Noel Hume 1991). One locally made waster was marked with the date of 1631, confirming the site's existence by this time. The absence of wine bottle glass clearly indicates the site was abandoned prior to 1650.

#### SITE 8

Identified during the 1990 survey of an adjacent tract located east of Carter's Grove, Site 8 was completely excavated in the summer of 1991, under the direction of Andrew Edwards. Located on a small knoll in a formerly plowed field, now planted in pines, this site is located to the west of the head of a large ravine that feeds the western branch of Grice's Run. This is the northern-most site found that is associated with this period at Martin's Hundred. The site had been extensively plowed, destroying all cultural layers, and leaving only features that had intruded subsoil.

Using a William and Mary field school as labor, a large section of the plow zone was excavated by hand with all artifacts being piece plotted. After the plowed soils directly over the site was removed by hand, adjacent areas were machine stripped to insure that the entire site had been uncovered.

**Figure 7.**  
*Overall of CG-8.*



One small structure was uncovered revealing a two bay earthfast building measuring 18' by 24'. A small 8' by 11' shed was attached to the eastern end, with no evidence of a fireplace surviving the plow. Only one posthole showed signs of architectural repair suggesting the site was occupied for a fairly short period of time. Directly abutting the structure to the south was a small trench that demarcated an enclosed area measuring 27' by 27'. The trench intruded one of three large circular pits thought to have been dug to extract clay for the wattle and daub walls of the dwelling. The two pits located to the west of the dwelling were filled with domestic related material, while the pit on the eastern side was filled with a charcoal laden loam suggesting some type of industrial activity. Several types of seeds were found near the bottom of the eastern pit. No graves, wells, defensive mechanisms, or signs that the building had burned were uncovered (Edwards personal communication).

### *Dating and Artifacts*

Very little material remains were present on this site. A minimum vessel count identified only 18 vessels for entire occupation. No high status artifacts were found, and locally made ceramics dominate this assemblage. Pipestem analysis shows this occupation as very similar to Sites A and B. A tobacco pipe bowl, found in one of the pits, was marked "WC", and is similar to bowls found on Sites G and B. The absence of wine bottle glass once again suggests the site had been abandoned prior to 1650. While two very small pipe bowls hint at an earlier occupation, most artifactual evidence suggests the site was occupied between ca 1630 and ca 1650 (Edwards personal

communication). Diagnostic artifacts included Mediterranean sgraffito slipware and North Italian marbled polychrome slipwares.

#### SITE 11

Still another domestic site was also initially found by the 1990 survey of the wooded area east of Carter's Grove. Site 11 appears relatively undisturbed, despite recent logging activities. Located in an area of thickets and scrub growth, on the edge of a broad flat terrace, it is just west of a large ravine that flows into the eastern branch of Grice's Run. A Phase II excavation identified three soil layers as having survived, including a midden area measuring 20 by 25 meters (Moodey 1992).

Features uncovered included a square structural posthole that measured 60 cms. The orange clay filled feature contained a squarish postmold that held brick bits and charcoal. The original post had been replaced as evidenced by a small (40 cms) adjacent hole that also contained brick and charcoal (Moodey 1992).

Three shallow, little understood, irregular-shaped pits were also found on the site. They contained a rich organic fill and high concentrations of domestic and architectural artifacts. Shallow features like these would normally be completely destroyed by plowing, making these features unique and difficult to interpret. Also uncovered was a large undisturbed midden area located near the posthole. This dark organic layer,

containing a heavy artifact concentration, is thought to have been formed by waste disposal associated with the dwelling (Moodey 1992).

### *Dating and Artifacts*

Military and personal arms finds from the site included chain mail fragments, lead shot, and worked grey flint. Architectural evidence consisted of nails and brick fragments but no window glass. Ceramics found included North Italian marbled earthenware and Manganese decorated delftware (ca 1640, Bill Pittman personal communication). Large quantities of locally manufactured ceramics were also present.

Pipestem analysis suggested this site was occupied slightly earlier than sites A, B, and 8. The lack of wine bottle glass suggests the site was abandoned before 1650. The occupation of the site is thought to be from ca 1625 to ca 1645.

The domestic nature of the artifacts, along with a repaired structural posthole suggest this occupation was that of a small plantation. Complete excavation should reveal the rest of the structure, and any associated features. No signs of fire, defensive fortifications, or industrial activity were identified on this site, nor were status related artifacts like those recovered from sites A or B found.

## SITE 2

Site 2, an unplowed domestic site is located on a small sloping terrace that overlooks the western branch of Grice's Run. Major ravines are located to the south and east, with a large terrace situated to the north and west. The area is part of a well developed hardwood forest with little underbrush. Its proximity to the ravine seems to have protected it from agricultural activity.

The site was discovered during a 1990 survey of the wooded area adjacent to Carter's Grove. Testing, conducted by Meredith Moodey, consisted of 51 test units placed in a systematic fashion. Two cultural layers were identified, along with a large (20 by 30 meter) midden area, similar to Site 11.

One large feature was identified during the original survey. Measuring approximately 10 meters across and 70 cms deep, the pit was filled with a black organic fill containing mostly domestic artifacts. Similar features have been excavated at two nearby Middle Plantation sites, and have been interpreted as clay quarry pits used to extract clay for either brick making or daub. No structural evidence was uncovered, though the location of the midden suggests the presence of a dwelling nearby (Moodey 1992).

### *Dating and Artifacts*

Artifacts uncovered include the military and personal arms group in the form of worked flint, lead shot, and lead casting waste, Ceramics from the site, which are typical of an early seventeenth-century domestic occupation, include locally made coarsewares, decorated slipwares and tin-enamelled wares. The absence of wine bottle glass indicates the site was abandoned prior to 1650. The large number of brick fragments found on the site suggests the dwelling may have had a brick chimney. No signs of fire, fortification, or high status artifacts were found. No window glass was recovered indicating the use of shutters for protection.

Pipestem analysis suggests an occupational time frame very similar to that of Site 11. Ceramic evidence suggests the site was first occupied between 1625 and 1635 and supports the conclusion that the site was abandoned prior to 1650 (Moodey 1992).

### **SITE F**

Located on the same small terrace that contained Site G, Site F overlooks a major ravine that feeds Grice's Run. The site was recently protected from loggers and consequently is covered with a mixture of mature hardwoods. First found in 1978, by the same survey that uncovered Site G, this site underwent a limited excavation at that time. A shovel test uncovered a feature containing early colonial artifacts. This feature was completely exposed and sectioned, revealing a football shaped, shallow pit. Artifacts retrieved included nails, tobacco pipe stems, and two hoe blades. A second feature, a

concentration of brick chips was also noted. In 1989, the remaining half of the pit was excavated by Charles Thomas, Luci Vinciguerra, Nate Smith, and David Muraca.

In 1991, a testing program, initiated for Site F under the supervision of Meredith Moodey, uncovered several other brick chip concentrations and a Middle Woodland camp site. No other historic features were encountered.

### *Dating and Artifacts*

Artifacts suggested the site may have been a special use site. The lack of kitchen related artifacts, a high percentage of architectural artifacts, along with a number of work related finds, including a chisel and three hoe blades, suggests this was a craft related site (Moodey 1992).

The lack of kitchen artifacts makes this site difficult to date. Pipestem analysis aligns the site with sites 8, A, and B, but later than nearby G. No signs of fire or status artifacts were recovered. A fortification ditch apparently associated with Site G was found and is thought to predate the occupation associated with Site F. The absence of wine bottle glass indicates the site was abandoned prior to 1650 (Moodey 1992).

### SITE D

Excavated in 1979, by Nick Lucchetti under the general supervision of Noël Hume, Site D was initially identified by the 1971 survey of Carter's Grove. Located



800' from the James River, directly overlooking the western branch of Grice's Run, this site is situated on the edge of the broad terrace that also contains sites C and H. Extensive plowing has occurred in this area resulting in the destruction of all cultural layers, leaving only features that intrude subsoil. The plowed soils were removed by machine revealing a strange set of six postholes and one large pit. One posthole was daub filled, suggesting a wattle and daub structure. The postholes formed two parallel lines of three postholes each, found 24.5' apart. The distance between postholes within each line was 7' to 7.5', with no doorways, fireplaces, or sills evident. Twelve feet south of the building was a large circular pit with one sloping side that formed a ramp to the bottom of the pit (Lucchetti nd). It contained few artifacts and had silted in, suggesting exposure to the rain, and a lengthy filling sequence. A pipebowl found in the pit was similar to one found on Site B. The few artifacts found were of a domestic nature, including:

2 bellarmines	1 chamber pot
3 storage jars	1 pan
1 pipkin	2 bowls
3 dishes	2 mugs
1 charger	1 salt

Ten of these vessels were manufactured locally with four made in England and two made in Germany.

The site was interpreted as a "lightly framed and roofed non-domestic structure, such as an animal shelter or barn," (Lucchetti nd). The pit is similar to one found inside of the fort that was interpreted as an animal watering hole. Site D is thought to be contemporary with sites A and B.

#### SITE E

Located north of the fort and west of the eighteenth-century mansion, Site E was also found during the 1971 survey. It had been damaged by plowing, with no cultural stratigraphy surviving. A single structure made up of six postholes was uncovered measuring 15' by 20', the same size as the domestic unit at Site C. Some of the postholes contained charred remains suggesting the building had burned. No fence or palisade was found at the site, with only a single pit found in association with this building. While the artifacts do not clearly establish a first occupation date, they do suggest that the site was abandoned prior to 1650. Pipestem analysis of the small sample of stems recovered suggests an occupation similar to that of Site 8. It is currently unclear whether this site represents the remains of a domestic occupation or that of a special activities site. A large amount of burned clay was recovered from the site supporting the latter interpretation (Noël Hume 1991).

### Interpretation

#### ECONOMIC SYSTEM

By 1625 tobacco dominated the economic landscape, but non-agricultural workers still played a major role. Some immigrants worked with wood, including carpenters, coopers, turners, joiners, sawyers, boatwrights and shipwrights, though most were agricultural workers (Carr and Menard 1979; Earl 1975). Skilled craftsmen were needed to produce containers for agricultural and domestic goods. Hogsheads, cider casks, boats, carts, coffins, furniture, houses, barns, outbuildings, and fences were all made within the colony (Earl 1975).

The Virginia tobacco production system exploited what was plentiful, and avoided what was in short supply. The colonists forsook English agricultural traditions in favor of the Indian planting techniques because of the reduced labor, capital, and technological needs of the native system. Fields were prepared by girdling (stripping the bark off) trees in order to kill them. Stumps were left in place, making the use of plows impossible, instead requiring the hoeing of fields (Ver Steeg 1964). As time passed the colonists became more proficient at this system and crop yields began to increase. By 1660, indentured servants had increased production to 1500 pounds, twice the capacity of a worker in 1620<sup>4</sup> (Menard 1975; Morgan 1975). As the seventeenth century progressed, increased productivity provided a way for small planters to overcome the

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<sup>4</sup> Other estimates suggest a single laborer could raise, cure, and pack 1100 to 1200 pounds a year (Rutman and Rutman 1984). Either way this is a substantial increase in production.

lower prices that tobacco brought. In turn even lower prices resulted as the combination of more producers (freed indentured servants) and higher productivity continually forced tobacco prices lower (Morgan 1975).

Five independent domestic sites, and two special use sites, plus a single site of unknown function comprise the archaeological universe for this period at Martin's Hundred. The domestic sites are representative of typical Chesapeake plantations, usually comprised of three agricultural components; tobacco, livestock, food crops (Morgan 1975). While evidence of the actual tobacco crop is difficult to identify in the archaeological record, the universal nature of this activity makes such identification less important. Faunal remains found on sites from this period reflect the importance of livestock to these colonists. While there is still some dependence on wild animals, beef and swine are the dominant sources of meats (Miller 1988). Enclosed areas like the one found on Site 8 indicate food production areas. Soil analysis of this area rules out the possibility that this area was used as a corral or animal pen, (Edwards personal communication). The 24' by 24' area, then seems to represent the remains of a kitchen garden area.

While tobacco production was nearly universal, other economic activities were still developing. Similar to the earlier time period, craft/industrial activity centered around meeting the needs of the colonists, not exportation for profit. One or more local potters operated throughout the period. Kiln furniture and wasters were found on sites

A and B. With local pottery being found on all of the sites especially at Site B where 85 percent of the ceramic vessels were of local production. Domestic tobacco pipes were also found on all sites. Tantalizing evidence of industrial activities exists for the special purpose sites of F, D, and E. Site D, interpreted by Noël Hume (1991) as an animal shelter, is an enigma. The mixture of domestic artifacts, plus the unusual architecture and features are not easily interpreted; however, the daub in one of the postholes suggests a more substantial structure than animals accustomed to surviving in the wild, could expect.

Site E, with its large quantities of burned clay suggests a very hot, controlled fire used in an industrial manner. Very few domestic artifacts were found on the site, strengthening the contention that it was not simply a planter's dwelling. The lack of dwelling associated features, such as fences or trenches adds additional support to this interpretation, but the evidence is still too incomplete to provide firm conclusions about the specific craft/industrial activity taking place on the site.

Another little understood industrial feature occurred at Site 8. The eastern pit was filled with a charcoal laden loam that contained very few domestic artifacts. While the three pits had originally been dug to extract clay for the construction of the wattle and daub house, the character of this pit fill indicates a non-domestic activity involving wood and fire. At this point, one of the major frustrations associated with the seventeenth-century Chesapeake should be painfully clear. Not enough sites have been excavated and

reported on to accurately interpret non-domestic sites. Large-scale excavation of Site F would certainly contribute to the non-domestic database.

### *Transportation*

Change occurred slowly for the transportation system during this period with dependency on the James and other rivers continuing. As river front land became more scarce, settlers spread inward along the navigatable creeks that flowed into the James thus connecting their plantations to the ships navigating the river (Kelly 1979). By the end of this period colonists began settling away from the rivers on interior tracts. Political factors also influenced the decision to begin to occupy the interior. The buffer zone community of Middle Plantation, necessitated the creation of a road system to connect this community to its waterfront neighbors. At Martin's Hundred, some sort of limited road network must have been in place by the 1640s. As the community became more dispersed and plantations began to appear on interior tracts, the need for a road system to connect disparate parts of the settlement became obvious. The second church, for example, was located almost a mile from the center of the settlement on an interior tract and would have been connected by a road network (Moodey 1992).

### *Community*

Shortly after the uprising a small group of colonists returned to Martin's Hundred intent on re-occupation. No attempt was made to re-establish Wolstenholme Town suggesting it was damaged beyond repair. Presented with the opportunity to recreate the

existing settlement system or create a new system, the colonist chose the latter. In just five years conditions had changed enough, so that Wolstenholme Town no longer met the colonist's needs. Shifting political and economic factors necessitated a new settlement system.

The uprising made clear to the colonists where their defensive energies should be concentrated. In 1618, the settlement originally divided defensive measures between two disparate potential enemies, each who practiced very different styles of warfare (Noël Hume 1991). The colonists set up a defensive network designed to resist both potential enemies. The complete failure of this network in 1622 forced the returning settlers to concentrate the defensive activities at Martin's Hundred toward the threat posed by local Indians. In fact, after the uprising of 1622, the General Assembly ordered dwellings to be clustered into neighborhoods for defensive reasons (Stilgoe 1982). Any attempt to defend against Spanish attack from the river was abandoned as the settlement shifted inland.

The economic situation had also changed by 1622. Tobacco had become the mainstay of the colonial economy. The agricultural activity required large amounts of land and timber. Later estimates put the minimum land requirements at no less than 50 acres per laborer.

From the distribution of the sites it appears that the Martin's Hundred colonists settled into a loosely clustered configuration around Grices Run, located east of the destroyed village of Wolstenholme Town. This pattern suggests the colonists were trying to balance the conflicting needs of the post-uprising settlement. While Grice's Run offered little in the way of natural protection from attack, the existence of fresh water springs and excellent soils made this area attractive for settlement. In addition, the small flat terraces located between ravines that fed the waterway offered a way for the planters to remain both close to one another, yet still claim the acreage necessary to insure the success of their agricultural enterprises. Members of the settlement were located close enough to come to each others aid if necessary, exchange food and goods, and access common public buildings while maintaining the special needs of their tobacco crop. All of these activities would serve to foster social ties necessary in a society that could no longer depend on kinship networks for support.

The collective center was Site A. This large complex appears to have served as the core of the defensive and religious activities, and functioned as the central storage area, the community cemetery, as well as the administrative center. The large trench that surrounds the site, with its limited access, apparently formed some type of protective barrier from potentially hostile neighbors. Nine structures were found within the complex, seven of which were outbuildings, probably used for storage. A minimum of 108 case bottles were found on the site, supporting the contention of a public storage facility. While not as wealthy as the occupants of Site B, precious metals used in



clothing were found on the site, a practice legally restricted to government officials. The presence of a cannon ball and body armor suggests military operations may have taken place at this location (Noël Hume 1991). No church is known to have existed for the first 20 years of this period. The large number of burials, created at different times indicates that this was the community cemetery. No family cemeteries have been found on other sites from this period, except for a single infant burial at Site B. The configuration of the graves in groups suggests the bodies were buried at different times, not due to one single catastrophic event. During this time, "chapels of ease" were common, due to the frontier nature of the colony (Craven 1970). Site A may represent one of these "chapels". Other sites from the period show none of the complexity demonstrated at Site A. Even Site B, with its high status artifacts, has a simple structure when compared with Site A.

Another change that occurs during this period is a conspicuous display of wealth and status. While status differences surely existed during the earlier period, it was not expressed in ways that have survived in the archaeological record. This is not the case for the 1625 to 1650 time period. Status and wealth were publicly and privately displayed using lavish clothing with precious metals woven into fabrics, decorative architectural features including delft tiles, and elaborate personal items including small brass boxes and gilded spurs.

Other sites demonstrate great variability in material wealth. Site 8 demonstrated a mean way of life, with very little in the form of luxuries or even necessities. While the dwelling was slightly smaller, its architectural style and construction materials were similar to its wealthier neighbors. The real differences of lifestyle show up in quality and quantity of household items. Full excavation of Sites 2 and 11 should reveal which of these two disparate lifestyles was dominant at Martin's Hundred, or whether a middle ground existed that has yet to be uncovered.

One of the startling qualities of this clustered community was that it completely disappeared prior to 1650. A full discussion of the reasons for the abandonment of Grice's Run will appear in Chapter 7. While the community of Martin's Hundred continued elsewhere, as evidenced by the survival of the church, the abandonment of the semi-clustered nucleus, sometime before 1650, marked the beginning of the end of Martin's Hundred.

## **Chapter 5. The Dispersed Years - 1650-1720**

Identified by both historians and archaeologists as a time of great transition, this period witnessed a decrease in indentures for Europeans, the decline of the tobacco mono-culture, increased exploitation of the colony by England, and the displacement of small planters. This time period also ushered in the widespread use of slaves, a more diversified economy, the introduction of the planter/merchant class, and the beginnings of a permanent landed gentry. All of these alterations greatly affected the Tidewater region, including Martin's Hundred. Contributing to the economic decline was English foreign and economic policy which inflicted havoc on the fragile colonial economy. With economic stress came discontent in the form of Bacon's Rebellion and the plant cutting parties. The economic and demographic changes that took place in the second half of the seventeenth-century, in the end led to the emergence of a more hierarchical society.

### *General Overview*

The Navigation Acts (aimed at ending the Dutch trade with the colonies), floods, hurricanes, a livestock plague, England's war with Holland, and a third Indian War brought large-scale poverty and discontent to Virginia by the 1660s (Kulikoff 1986; Dabney 1971; Morgan 1975). Along with these natural and political troubles was the continuing tobacco depression brought about in part by the increased life expectancy of Virginia's planters and servants. The price of tobacco was forced downward by an increase in productivity and an increase in the number of producers. Not only were

planters living longer, but more indentured servants were surviving their terms of indenture, resulting in an increase in the number of freedmen producing tobacco (Morgan 1975). By 1650 the best acreage along the James and other major Tidewater rivers was already taken, and land speculators were snapping up land on the northern frontier at an accelerated rate (Morgan 1975). Recently freed servants were having trouble finding workable lands, and had to either rent land, or move to the frontier and confront often hostile Indians. The effect of this situation was a change in the social order. As the costs associated with indentures increased, despite legal efforts to increase the labor output of these Englishmen, and the costs and risks associated with slavery decreased, a slow transition occurred. By 1700, large planters had completed the transition to slave labor, with smaller plantations following suit later in the century (Morgan 1975).

As the century progressed and economic conditions worsened, planters, both small and large, were forced to make adjustments. The dependency on tobacco brought with it a rigidity that was acceptable while tobacco was profitable, but which became unacceptable during the frequent cycles of tobacco depression. Land consolidation and economic diversification were used to mute the impact of these depressions. Large planters continued to profit even when tobacco prices fell, leading to the absorption or consolidation of many small plantations whose returns had been reduced to nothing (Earl 1975). As the average plantation size grew, so did its economic diversity. During this time, planters reduced imports from England, instead producing necessities at home or doing without. Home production of leather, butter, cheese, and tallow became common.

New crops were introduced including wheat, peas, beans, fruit trees, rye, barley, and flax (Earl 1975).

Ever increasing interior settlement allowed for large plantations located on the major rivers to shift economic emphasis from purely agricultural activities to a mixed economy which produced some agricultural products, but which also allowed them to act as a go between for England and the interior settlers. These planter/merchants stored the small planter's tobacco, and in turn provided the small planters a permanent local source of needed imports.

The second half of the century also saw the introduction of a greater social stratification in Tidewater. By the turn of the century, " ... an indigenous group of slaveholders who inherited wealth and place had replaced the relative egalitarian social order of mid-seventeenth-century society with a hierarchical society," (Kulikoff 1986:38). This shift to a more structured society saw not only less upward movement between classes, but also the establishment of more classes as well. The new social order included a small groups of segregated Indians, a growing number of slaves, indentured servants, freedmen who had finished their indenture but could not afford land, and small and large planters (Morgan 1975).<sup>5</sup> Not only were there more classes, but interaction

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<sup>5</sup> To this list Jean Russo would add artisans. She suggests that a substantial group of artisans survived and thrived in the tobacco colonies during this time period (Russo 1984)

between groups changed in character to reflect the more pronounced social and economic differences (Kulikoff 1986; Rutman and Rutman 1984).

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the social status of servants and freedmen had diminished greatly and the country of origin had shifted from England to Ireland. Improved economic conditions in England, ended their need to export non-skilled labor, combined with decreased economic opportunities for freedmen in the colonies the result was an outmigration of poor whites. (Carr and Menard 1979). Taking the place of indentured servants, imported slaves assumed the labor of the tobacco fields. As an institution slavery solved many of the problems associated with a declining economic base, but would cause others.

At the other end of the spectrum, an increased life expectancy, and diminished social mobility for small planters led to the emergence of a permanent, native, landed, gentry class. This new class had risen to status in America, and was not imported from England. Economically able to acquire more slaves and to diversify to greater extent, the large planters avoided the economic hardships that accompanied the tobacco depressions of the second half of the seventeenth century (Kulikoff 1986; Issac 1982).

Caught In the middle were the small planters, hard hit by the crumbling economic base. As tobacco lost its profitability, they did not have the resources necessary to diversify. Indentured servants became increasingly inefficient, and small planters lacked

the capital to switch to a slave-based economic system. The dominance of this group then began to decay by the 1680s (Kulikoff 1986). At this time, the number of small planters began to decrease as land consolidation claimed more and more farms. Tobacco's quick depletion of the soil encouraged large landholders to increase their acreage, leading to increased distance between neighbors.

### *Martin's Hundred Overview*

Land speculation and large-scale land holdings created an artificial scarcity of land. Martin's Hundred was characteristic of this process, with a few individuals owning huge tracts of land (Moodey 1992). The second half of the century saw further a further decline of this community. By 1700 the parish was impoverished, most likely from a lack of parishioners. In 1713, a successful petition by residents seeking to join the Yorkhampton Parish marked the end of Martin's Hundred.

### *Environment*

The nature of tobacco production with its heavy emphasis on cleared land and exploitation of forests slowly altered the Virginia landscape. Wood became scarce in some well established areas. Economic diversification also brought about environmental consequences. Tobacco required the use of hoes, instead of the plow used to produce wheat. In order to plow land it had to be completely cleared of stumps, transforming the landscape to one more similar to that found in England.

Animal and plant species continued to be found in abundance. Large carnivores, especially wolves, still existed in many parts of the Tidewater, but archaeological evidence shows there was less dietary dependency on wild animals. (Joanne Bowen personal communication)

### Site Descriptions

Only two sites have been identified for this time period. They were located near ravines systems, including Grice's Run, that provide a source of fresh water.

#### SITE 10

Located on the edge of a major ravine that drains into the eastern portion of Grice's Run, Site 10 is located on the edge of a plowed and recently logged terrace. Found during the 1990 survey, the site was sampled in 1991 under the supervision of Meredith Moodey. A total of twenty-eight test units uncovered a heavy concentration of artifacts and several features. Three structural postholes that may belong to the same structure were uncovered. Architectural repair was evident with one hole actually being repaired twice suggesting a longer period of occupation than was evident on earlier sites. Estimates of the building size suggest a 26' by 18' structure. Brick recovered from the site was probably associated with a brick hearth and chimney.

Also found was a rectangular pit located in the side of the ravine just east of the dwelling. A test unit revealed a one meter deep flat sided pit containing over 500



**Figure 8.**  
*Location of 1650-1720 sites.*



artifacts. The pit was filled on purpose and not silted in which would suggest that a protective cover existed over the pit. The feature may represent the remains of a springhouse or dairy. Artifacts from the top and bottom layers mend together, suggesting the pit was filled all at once. Artifacts from the pit date from ca 1650 to sometime after 1680 (Bill Pittman personal communication).

The site is thought to be a dwelling associated with a plantation of unknown size. The lack of status related artifacts suggests the farmstead belonged to a small planter. No defensive fortifications were found, nor necessary for this part of Tidewater after 1650.

#### SITE J

This complex was first identified in 1982 during the construction of an access road leading to the newly constructed Visitor's Center at Carter's Grove. Two attempts to establish a corridor through this large complicated site has resulted in the excavation of approximately ten percent of it. Located in a plowed field, Site J is made up of hundreds of features including at least two buildings, several fencelines, numerous boundary ditches, and two graves (Duffy 1982). Plowed soils in two parallel strips were machine removed on each side of this small field. All exposed features were mapped and excavated first under the supervision of John Hamnant and later by Robin Duffy.

Conflicting dating evidence exists for the site, with estimates of its occupation ranging from the Wolstenholme Town time period to the latter part of the seventeenth century. Only further excavation will clear up when the site was first occupied, but it is presently believed that the farmstead flourished during the second half of the century.

Two structures were discovered during this excavation, with the first (Structure A) found in the machine stripped area located on the eastern side of the field, and the second being found on the perimeter of the site, actually located outside of this field to the east. Structure A measured 24' by 16' and was made up of six large square postholes. Postmolds found in the holes measured up to 10" across and contained only non-dateable artifacts. Two smaller postholes located on the eastern end of the building may represent the remains of a chimney. A single storage pit was found inside the structure at the southeastern end. Measuring 3'4" by 2'4" this feature had straight sides and a flat bottom. Structure A is believed to be related to four large pits located near the building. Artifacts from these pits have been dated to the 1690s (Duffy 1982). No architectural repairs are evident for this building suggesting a short occupation span.

The western cut contained several features that dated to the mid-seventeenth century, including five large circular pits. No associated structure was found, but the presence of a long fence line and two burials suggest one existed to the northeast of the pits. Artifacts included ceramics, body armor, brass curtain rings, a copper book corner clasp, and threads interwoven with silver.

The partial remains of a second structure was located 600' northeast of Structure A. Two large postholes were uncovered in an adjacent field near the road that connects Williamsburg to Carter's Grove. No datable artifacts were found, and the pending construction activities were shifted so not to disturb the building.

### Interpretations

The two farmstead that make up this period are much more reflective of current historical interpretation of seventeenth-century life than any other sites examined thus far. Spatially dispersed and structurally complex, these sites suggest that occupations dating to the second half of the century conform more closely to current historical interpretations than any other period at Martin's Hundred.

While architecturally similar to earlier settlements, both Site J and Site 10 demonstrate a higher density of features, and a greater diversity of artifacts. The higher number of features may reflect an increasingly diverse economy. Site J, however, contained a greater range in feature variety than was present on Site 10. The artifacts suggest there were status difference between these two plantations. The mid-century component of Site J, with the presence of threads interwoven with silver and a book corner clasp, clearly suggests a higher status occupation than that of Site 10.

Conflicting evidence exists on the perceived nature of external threats to these sites. The farmsteads are dispersed suggesting little need to cluster for protection, but

the presence of body armor on Site J may indicate that the threat had not completely disappeared. An unusual enclosure was also present at Site J, possibly associated with defensive activities as well. No fortifications or defense-related artifacts were found on Site 10. Site J's body armor and defensive fortifications may then be reflective of an earlier occupation date or may reflect some concern with the political instability associated with Bacon's Rebellion.

Little evidence of community exists in the archaeological record for this period. There is no defensive or administrative center, no central storage, educational, or spiritual facilities located on either of these sites. The religious center of the settlement was located over a mile to the southeast. No administrative or education centers are known to have existed for this period. The presence of two lone graves on Site J suggest the use of a family cemetery, not a communal one. Large-scale excavation of Site 10 should demonstrate whether family cemeteries had become the norm by this time period at Martin's Hundred.

Economic activity at Martin's Hundred still centered around tobacco and livestock. Surprisingly locally made pottery and a ceramic tile used for kiln furniture were found at Site 10, indicating that pottery manufacturing continued to take place at Martin's Hundred. This activity still seems to have been transient in nature with no permanent kiln located at this site. House construction activities were evident on both sites, but no measurement of diversification can be obtained until large-scale excavations

have taken place. Other generalizations are still harder to reach, since so little of this period's sites have been examined to date.

## Chapter 6. The Plantation - 1720-1780

The 1720-1780 period reflects the activities of Robert Carter and his descendants at Carter's Grove. Starting out the century as a fairly typical Tidewater tobacco plantation, this farmstead would evolve into a gentry showplace and a focal point for the new cultural attitudes of the eighteenth-century elites. The family's pursuits resulted in the creation of a small village, with diverse economic activities aimed at self sufficiency.

### General Overview

Instead of a general synopsis of the historical events of this complex and lengthy era, which has been produced elsewhere, this section will focus solely on the social and economic evolution of large plantations during the eighteenth century.

The start of the eighteenth century ushered in the Great Plantation system that was to dominate the South well into the nineteenth century. Based on large land holdings, a diversified economy, and slavery, these plantations were responsible for a large portion of the southern colonies exportable commodities (Ver Steeg 1964). Wealthy planters built grand houses and slowly formed a unique culture centered around education, leisure activities, and politics. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, a permanent oligarchy was in place, reinforced by inter-marriage resulting in reduced upward movement between classes (Kulikoff 1986). The plantations owned by this group acquired large numbers of slaves, they were constantly increasing land holdings and, in turn forcing some poorer whites to the frontier and others into tenancy (Kulikoff 1986).

**Figure 9.**

*View of Carter's Grove Mansion.*





Diversification and partial abandonment of tobacco by the planters along the James River reduced the dependency of Virginia on English economic and political policies. Instead England's main influence remained in the form of imported goods and social behavior, with the colonial elite trying to mimic the lifestyle of English country gentleman (Morgan 1975).

The large planters created "a complete society in miniature, containing within [themselves] almost all of the trades and professions necessary for civilized life," (Russo 1988:390). Using slaves as craftsmen, these planters moved away from dependency on tobacco, towards self-sufficient communities. George Mason, in describing his father's eighteenth-century plantation, stated, "My father has among his slaves carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers, knitters, and even a distiller," (Stilgoe 1982:66). Along with agricultural and craft activities, some planters acted as intermediaries between interior planters and England. Robert "King" Carter not only managed his own large holdings but created a store to supply interior settlers with manufactured goods and slaves. The Carters and others formed a "landed aristocracy", a rigid system where political power and social prestige were dependent on land acquisition (Ver Steeg 1964). Economic conditions increased the value of both land and slave inheritances, making both necessary in order to belong to the gentry.

Emulating their British counterparts, the gentry adopted English aristocratic social practices. Gentlemen were educated, and did not work with their hands. Slaves to attend to personal needs became common during the eighteenth century, a practice not seen among earlier elites. Horse racing and hunting developed into gentleman only sports (Kulikoff 1986). Social activities centered around the Great Houses, through extended visits, or large elaborate parties. English based architecture and fashions were adopted by the colonial gentry as their own.

Slavery continued to displace indentured servants, bringing with them a new culture. This culture was partially made up of traditions acquired from outside the colony, mainly West Africa and the Caribbean Islands, and partially imposed on slaves by their masters (Kowalski personal communication). Race and racism isolated most slaves from the rest of eighteenth-century society (Morgan 1975). Slaves lived in separate communities, called quarters, which played a central role in their culture. By 1740, over half of the colony's slave population lived in groups of ten or more (Issac 1982). Slaves were assigned both skilled and unskilled tasks, with their labor being organized by an overseer on the larger plantations.

### *Carter's Grove Overview*

Robert Carter, sometime between 1710 and 1720, added the land now known as Carter's Grove to his considerable holdings. At one time his land exceeded 300,000 acres throughout Virginia. In 1732 he willed the plantation that was later to be known

as Carter's Grove to his daughter Elizabeth, on the condition that it pass to her son Carter Burwell when he came of age (Stephenson 1964). In 1737, Carter Burwell (1716-1756) assumed control of the plantation, and married Lucy Grymes the next year. A great mansion was planned and completed by 1755, just before Carter Burwell's death. His infant son Nathaniel (1750-1814) inherited the plantation the next year, though it was not until he reached his majority in 1771 that he took control of the plantation. A graduate of William and Mary, Nathaniel represented James City County at the convention of 1788 (Stephenson 1964). The sarcophagus of his wife Susannah, along with the sarcophagi of two of their children, can still be found on a ridge to the west of the mansion.

### Nearest Neighbor

Carter's Grove was made up of over 1400 acres during this period with no neighbors living nearby. The closest urban areas were Williamsburg and Yorktown. Carter's Grove maintained close economic and social ties to Williamsburg throughout the century, including contracts with the local suppliers and craftsmen of the town.

### Environment

By mid-century it was evident that generations of tobacco production had taken a severe toll on the local environment. In the 1730s, timber shortages were noted for several areas, and by 1765, in nearby Maryland, wood was scarce for about half of the colony (Earl 1975). Outsiders continued to report on how badly Virginians treated their

land. By 1724 wolves and bears were no longer found in eastern Virginia. In 1738, a two month long deer season was introduced, outlawing the hunting of deer for ten months of the year. Other forms of game animals were also disappearing from the Tidewater. Hunting became a gentry sport, with archaeological assemblages continuing to reflect a marked decline in the use of wild animals to supplement domestic meats (Joanne Bowen personal communication).

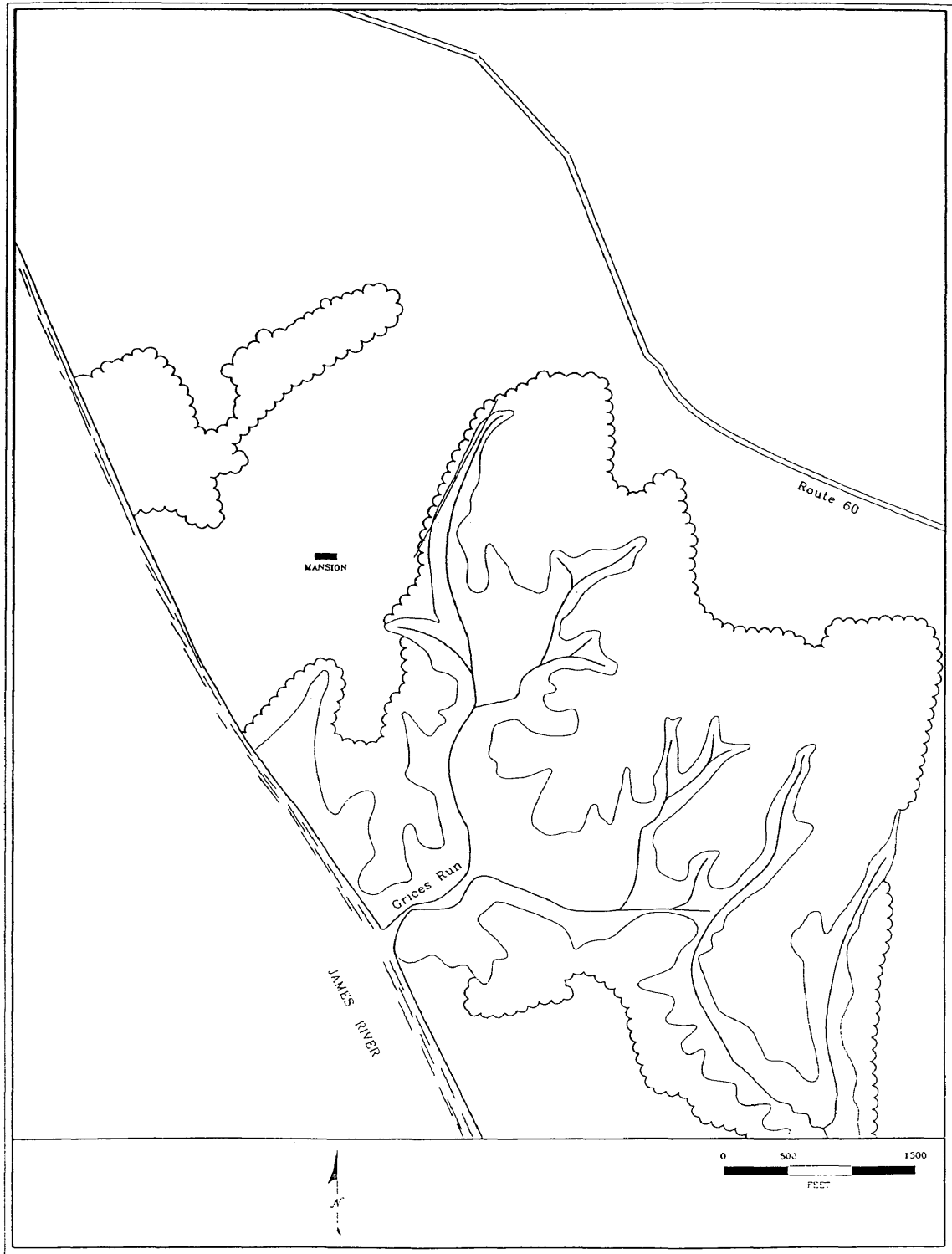
### Transportation

During the eighteenth century, local transportation centered around an extensive road network, while long distance trade and travel was still dependent on navigatable rivers. While urban areas continued to maintain access to major waterways, interior plantations were less dependent on access to water. While also connected to the local road network, the importance of the James to this plantation is clearly evident. The river obviously continued to be an important link with England and the rest of the colonies. The elite's location near the major rivers provided an important source of income, which helped maintain their status. Small planters and slaves had less use for the water, instead depending on a network of roads for transportation, socializing, commerce, and religious meetings.

### Sites

Two separate projects were responsible for uncovering the remnants of the plantation activities. A 1971 survey was designed to identify outbuildings associated with

**Figure 10.**  
*Location of Carter's Grove Mansion.*



the plantation, with the hopes of interpreting plantation life to visitors. Later a small project associated with the museum to house Martin's Hundred artifacts, uncovered remains linked to pre-1750 Carter's Grove.

#### THE EARLY YEARS

After the property was consolidated by King Carter, sometime between 1710 and 1720, a large plantation was established. The dwelling associated with this plantation has been tentatively identified, but not excavated. An archaeological investigation conducted by David Muraca revealed two large barns and an associated fenceline. Evidence suggested the dwelling was located east of these barns. Very few artifacts were recovered from this complex of features, suggesting the dwelling and the main occupation area was not situated directly adjacent to this parcel. A 1970s exploration of a nearby Indian ossuary identified several historic features, now thought to be the original manor house at Carter's Grove. While the records associated with this excavation have since been misplaced, some conclusions can still be reached. The dwelling was probably an earthfast structure using a post in the ground construction technique similar to its seventeenth century predecessors (Muraca 1989). The thoroughness of the 1971 survey insured the identification of all structures with brick foundations. No other early eighteenth-century activity areas have yet been identified, suggesting this plantation was a small and limited enterprise. It was not until the 1740s, after Carter Burwell assumed control, that widespread large-scale activities began to appear in the archaeological record (Kelso 1971).

## THE LATER YEARS, 1750-1782

The construction of the great house in 1755 ushered in a new era at Carter's Grove. The plantation shifted from a small, isolated, minor farmstead, to a gentry showcase and the area's center of economic and social activities.

Industrial and craft activity on the plantation included brickyards, a dairy, a possible icehouse, and a tannery. Socially related features included the house itself, terraced yard areas, and a formal garden located just south of the house. Two separate living areas were thought to house the plantation's agricultural and craft-related workforce (Kelso 1971).

Brick making activities, including five brick clamps, several clay seasoning pits, many small pits, two back-filled wells, and many concentrations of brick wasters were all located south of the mansion. Documents suggest brick making began here as early as 1744 (Kelso 1971). The brick was thought to have been used for the construction of the mansion's outbuildings erected during the 1750s. Two outbuildings, now incorporated into the house, were built with this brick as were several smaller outbuildings.

The dairy, found 100 feet northeast of the house, measured 17' by 13', and had a one and a half brick wide foundation. An interior wall indicates the building contained two rooms. Crushed marl was used to pave the areas surrounding this structure.

Two possible icehouse pits were also found near the house. Abandoned between 1750 and 1760, both pits were filled in at the same time. Pit A's diameter measured 6'6" and intruded subsoil to a depth of 5'. Pit B measured 5' across and only 18" deep. Neither pit contained silt layers or eroded sides, both signs of a lack of exposure to the weather (Kelso 1971).

A small tanning complex was uncovered south of the mansion. Used between 1740 and 1760, this complex was made up of a series of shallow pits and accompanying overflow ditches. A second set of pits and ditches were located 50' to the southeast, and also dated to the mid-eighteenth century.

A late eighteenth-century map identified two structures near the modern day entrance to Carter's Grove. Machine stripping has located one of these structures, an earthfast hall and parlor dwelling. A fireplace was located on the western end of this small dwelling. Little is known about the occupants of this structure, but it could have been used by either an overseer or slaves. Artifacts indicate a late eighteenth-century occupation, and interestingly enough, repairs to an overseer's house were recorded in 1784 (Kelso 1971).

Northwest of the mansion, near where the present day Visitor's Center is located, a complex of thirteen root cellars, several postholes and related ditches were found adjacent to a large ravine. Tentatively identified as a possible industrial complex,



subsequent excavations at nearby Kingsmill, where a similar complex of features were uncovered and identified as the remains of slave housing, allows for the reinterpretation of the Carter's Grove features. The root cellars found at Carter's Grove ranged in size, shape, and fill. Some contained wooden boxes, others had scorched bottoms. Artifacts recovered from the pits suggested domestic activity of a very mean nature, with a noticeable absence of wine bottle glass from the assemblage. All of the pits were thought to have been filled during the 1780s (Kelso 1971).

No evidence of the dwellings located over the pits had survived the plow. It is impossible to know what the buildings looked like or even how many even existed in the complex. Tax documents from 1782 show that Nathan Burwell, then master of Carter's Grove, was taxed for 47 slaves (Kelso 1971), and it is likely that these features reflect the site of his slave quarters.

On a very different scale, elite social areas included the interior of the house, a massive two tiered terrace, and a large formal garden. The terracing was located during the 1971 survey. Excavation revealed several fill layers consisting of clay, brick, and redeposited topsoil. The brick was thought to be related to the construction of the house. The redeposited clay probably originated from the excavation of the terrace levels. To the south of the terrace was an enormous formal garden containing "symmetrically arranged planting areas divided by either artificial changes in elevation or fences - all enclosed by a substantial fence,"(Kelso 1971:9). The outermost fence measured 536' by

238', and was in place after 1740. It was replaced by a second fence in the 1780s that survived into the nineteenth century. Six separate gates were located on the ends and sides of this enclosure. The garden itself was made up of planting ditches, holes, and beds. The garden was connected to the house by a large sloping earthen ramp that measured 80' in length (Kelso 1971).

### Interpretation

Early eighteenth-century settlement activities closely resembled their late seventeenth-century predecessors at Martin's Hundred. While property holdings were probably larger, the organization of the family farm was based around a small domestic unit and affiliated agricultural activities, mostly associated with tobacco production. By mid-century, the settlement system at Carter's Grove had shifted to resemble a small village. Settlement consolidation, which had peaked earlier in the century, was illustrated locally by the acquisition of a portion of the former settlement of Martin's Hundred by King Carter (Deetz 1988). Economic diversification, forced by the slump in tobacco prices, along with the transition of the labor force from indentured servants to slaves, led to a more complex and hierarchical social system that manifested itself in increased settlement system complexity (Morgan 1975).

Economic diversification expressed itself through increased craft and industrial activity located away from the main dwelling area. The transition from servants to slaves also forced changes in the organization of the plantation. Separate quarters for slaves

and their overseers again were located away from the great house. As the social distance between slaves and their masters increased, two distinct cultures came to occupy the same space. The two cultures rarely directly contacted each other with the overseer acting as an intermediary that connected the two groups.

The social life for each culture was centered around its own distinctly different domestic unit. The artificial terraces and formal gardens located in front of the great house represent the outdoor social activity area of the plantation owner, while the social activity area for the slaves revolved around their quarters. The archaeological record suggests that slave related outdoor social activities, while difficult to discern, seemed to be restricted to the open space directly around the quarters. The distribution of the root cellars and other features suggest that most or all of Nathaniel Burwell's slaves lived together in a very clustered manner.

Economically, the plantation system at Carter's Grove demonstrates much of the diversity expected of a major eighteenth-century plantation located on the James River. Various crafts were associated with the plantation, particularly after the 1740s. These activities included both profit oriented industries as well as those designed to improve every day life at the plantation. These latter endeavors were clustered near the great house, with profit motivated crafts and industries located well away from the house. The slave quarter, for obvious reasons, was situated near the mansion but out of direct sight.

## Chapter 7. Historical Questions

After examining the settlement system of the area now known as Carter's Grove, several behavioral generalizations can and have been made. While this approach has been useful in providing meaningful exploration of traditional anthropological concerns, the nature of historical archaeology also allows for issues of a more inter-disciplinary nature to be addressed. The scale of this investigation does lend itself nicely to the testing of several recent historical interpretations while using the archaeological record as an independent dataset. In the past, both historians and anthropologists have been quick to criticize the particularistic nature of historical archaeology. As the discipline matures and the number of sites that have been explored increases, the particularistic nature of the field should begin to disappear. This process, I believe, has already begun.

As the scale of archaeological inquiry expands, the archaeological record can be used to confirm, refute, or modify interpretations based on the historical record, by employing a procedure similar to that used by the experimental sciences. This scientific method, with its hypothesis formulation and independent testing can serve to strengthen the conclusions reached by historians. The complementary, yet independent nature of the archaeological record in this relationship serves as an excellent testing ground for historical interpretation.

As attractive as this approach is, it must be accompanied by a warning to both historians and anthropologists. While the expansion of uses for the archaeological record is to be lauded, it does not excuse archaeologists from pursuing anthropologically oriented research. This is not an advocacy of a return to the "hand-maiden to history" role identified for archaeology by some of the field's founders. Instead the approach should be seen as an expansion of both history and historical archaeology. Three examples of this approach follow.

### Soil Management

Recently, two contradicting viewpoints have been recently presented regarding the soil management practices of early Virginia farmers. Soil exhaustion has been cited as one of the major causes of frequent relocation of colonial plantations, which, in turn, contributed to the unnatural appearance of the Virginia landscape and the dispersed nature of the colony (Stilgoe 1982). In a very short period of time, tobacco's need of the richest soils and its quick depletion of their nutrients led to soil exhaustion. At the time labor shortages and the general availability of land caused English conservation oriented procedures to be abandoned. Plowing, furrowing, and the careful preparation of soils, including the use of fertilizers, were discarded because of their labor and capital intensive nature. For these reasons, some historians have suggested that land was abandoned when nutrients were depleted in only four or five years (Stilgoe 1982). Edmund Morgan (1975) also argues that early settlers moved about a great deal in search of better tobacco lands. After these fields were abandoned, erosion turned the fallow fields into

"corrugated mazes of deep gullies, useless for even pasture," (Stilgoe 1982:75). By the mid-seventeenth century then, the best acres along the James River were either claimed, in production, or already ruined. In 1648 the problem of barren and overwrought land convinced the colony's governor to open land on the northern side of the Charles and Rappahanock rivers. Building from these arguments and additional historical evidence, others have gone on to suggest that the transitory nature of these settlers was reflected in their architecture, support buildings, and fences (Carson, Barka, Kelso, Stone, Upton 1981).

On the other hand, Carville Earl (1975) has suggested that while the soil management practices of early settlers looked bad, particularly to visitors from England, they actually were part of an elaborate, long term system that used land intensively for short periods of time and then left it fallow for up to twenty years. This slash and burn agriculture was copied from local Indians. Fields were cleared by girdling trees, and then planted with tobacco for only three or four years. Afterwards, the settlers planted a less demanding crop wheat, in these fields for the next few years. While wheat was being produced, another parcel was cleared and planted in tobacco. When wheat production fell, a field was temporarily abandoned, reverting back to forest for about fifteen years in order to recover its fertility. Arguing that this twenty year cycle of land usage and restoration did no long term damage to the land, Earl (1975) suggests that erosion did not occur because of the planting technique used by settlers. Instead he argues that by girdling trees and leaving the stumps in place the settlers prevented soil erosion.

By examining the evidence present at Martin's Hundred, archaeology may directly contribute to this debate. The post-Wolstenholme Town community chose to occupy the small uneven terraces found around Grice's Run. These terraces were surrounded by ravines that contained fresh water springs on up to three sides. The terraces range from slightly to moderately sloping, with an increase in the degree of slope at the terrace edges. Analysis of the soils present on these terraces found them to be good for modern cultivation, with only one serious drawback, a tendency to erode. With no protection from tree cover, these soils would quickly erode, especially given the violent nature of storms that frequent the area in summer and early fall.

The post-uprising tobacco plantations at Martin's Hundred were deserted approximately twenty years after their original occupation. The social and political factors that had originally made the area so attractive for settlement had not changed during this time period. Tobacco was still king and quite profitable, particularly when compared with other colonial economic enterprises. The Anglo-Indian War of 1644 caused the palisade that crossed the peninsula to be rebuilt, suggesting the threat of hostilities, while somewhat diminished, was still present. The wholesale abandonment of this community around the same time period suggest a common reason for this phenomenon. Environmental stress in the form of soil depletion and erosion could explain this abandonment. The similarity of the farm locations with regard to soil type, proximity to ravines, and degree of slope suggests that these environmental stresses would impact the entire community.

Settlement Dispersal

While there has been some formal discussion of soil management practices, little debate has occurred on the physical distribution of the tobacco plantations. The almost universally accepted notion, held by both historians and anthropologists, of the seventeenth-century dispersed community reflects different problems for each discipline. For anthropologists the problem is scale. Not enough sites from the this period have been excavated and reported on for this issue to be properly addressed. Historians have a problem that is more difficult to solve. The historical record for the earliest years of the colony is so fragmentary that conclusions are often based on somewhat slender evidence. While the existing historical record does reflect little contradictory evidence on the nature of dispersed settlements, its incomplete nature should raise at least some concerns about the accuracy of this picture. Quotes like the following are illustrative of the historical evidence on this point.

The people there not affecting to build nere each other But soe as to have their houses nere the Watters for convenience of trade and their lands on each Syde of and behind their houses by which it happens that in most places there are not fifty houses in a space of thirty miles.

Archives of Maryland V.266  
(as cited in Earl 1975)

Despite efforts throughout the century to legislate urban areas, the nature of tobacco farming demanded space, access to water, and good land. Additional evidence is derived from visitors from England who characterized the colony as odd looking because of the scattered nature of the plantations with their decentralized religious, educational, and commercial activities (Earl 1975). In addition, the lack of urban centers made the colony



appear very different from England. While accepting the historical records suggestion that the colony was more dispersed than its English counterpart, the question remains, just how dispersed were these farmsteads?

An examination of the archaeological record suggests that the colony did not start out as dispersed as the historical record suggests, in fact, evidence suggest that a truly dispersed settlement pattern did not exist until the second half of the century for Tidewater, Virginia.

The archaeological and historical records leave little doubt about the original intent of London Company settlers, with the establishment of the urban area of Jamestown, along with several ancillary settlements located both up and down river. As in colonial ventures on other shores, the English hoped to establish clustered fortified settlements, in this case along the James River. Communities like Flowerdew Hundred, Henrico, and even Martin's Hundred represent an attempt to recreate spatially separate, independent proto-villages. The excavations at Martin's Hundred and Flowerdew Hundred reveal these communities were designed to contain a defensible administrative center with small dependent plantations clustered around the periphery. The uprising of 1622 ended this settlement system at Martin's Hundred, but its replacement represents a transition from the clustered villages of pre-1622 Virginia to the truly dispersed settlement system identified by historians.

The open hostilities between Native Americans and their English born neighbors helped shape the post-1622 settlement system at Martin's Hundred. Pre-1622 defensive measures had failed at Martin's Hundred and several other colonial settlements. Presented with an opportunity to recreate the settlement, the small group of settlers banded together in a loosely clustered configuration around the fresh water springs that feed Grice's Run. An administrative and defensive center was created at what is now known as Site A. For the next twenty years this semi-clustered configuration met the needs of the colonists providing both protection and community. While the plantations within the community exhibited a varying degree of affluence, they all succeeded in surviving for approximately twenty years. Not until just before 1650, when the threat of attack was greatly diminished and the soil should have been virtually exhausted did the settlement disperse into the decentralized community described by visitors to Virginia.

A truly dispersed settlement system existed from ca 1650 to 1715 at Martin's Hundred, with only a single plantation occupying the area around Grice's Run. Almost a ½ mile to the west a second plantation has been discovered dating to this same time period. No administrative, defensive, or economic links have been established for these two plantations. By 1650 the need to bunch together for defensive reasons had diminished greatly. The frontier had moved west and north taking with it the "Indian problem".

Other factors had begun to influence settlement patterns. Land, once abundant, had become scarce. More planters, quick soil depletion, and large land grants made choice land rare in well established areas like Martin's Hundred, forcing would be planters to leave the area in search of more affordable land. Secondly, as tobacco slowly lost its profitability smaller planters were under economic stress, and some of their land was then absorbed by wealthier neighbors. This consolidation made well established area appear even more dispersed.

### Community

The evolving nature of the settlement at Martin's Hundred, starting with proto-villages, then shifting to a loosely clustered configuration, and finally becoming truly dispersed, demonstrates a complexity not identified in the historical record. An area where the historical record has been interpreted with more success, however, includes the recent explanations of Chesapeake historians regarding the nature of community. Traditionally the Chesapeake has been characterized as lacking a complex sense of community, particularly when compared with early settlements in New England. This conclusion was based on complaints about the lack of towns and the scattered nature of the plantations by visitors to Virginia and Maryland. Lorena Walsh (1988) argues that the Chesapeake was often interpreted as the antithesis of New England towns because the Chesapeake lacked a central focus and clear external boundaries. She contends there was no absence of community in the Chesapeake, and in order to study this phenomenon, the concept of neighborhood must be substituted for town organization.

The differences in organization between the Chesapeake and its northern neighbors included an increased dependency on water which not only provided a source of food and transportation, but was required by the economic lifestay of the region, tobacco. Additionally, the soils along the rivers proved to be the most suitable for tobacco production. The absence of towns and an intense religious purpose, when combined with very large landholdings created the scattered linear settlement system. The creation of community was hampered by the physical landscape, the distance between plantations, a single transportation system, and the low density of settlements. Also restraining community was the direct link of the planters with English merchants, eliminating the need for middlemen who traditionally were found in towns (Walsh 1988).

From 1619 to ca 1650, however, Martin's Hundred presents a definitive picture of community. Two administrative centers containing public storage buildings, defensive measures, and at least some religious activities have been identified. Martin Hundred suggests that the colony was not as dispersed as previously thought, and at least contained a central focus, though smaller than those found in New England. For the first years of the settlement's existence, Wolstenholme Town's central storage facility provided the link between the individual planters and England, both for imported goods and tobacco exports. After 1622, Site A assumed this role until its abandonment sometime before 1650. Political efforts within these centers included coordination of defensive activities, housing of administrators, a place for the settling of disputes, and a public meeting area. Shared labor, no doubt resulted in the creation of public

buildings and defensive measures like the palisaded area and the company barn. Social activities included a formal church at Wolstenholme Town, and probably a "chapel of ease" for the post-1622 settlement. Both settlements had formal community cemeteries, which suggested other church related activities were performed at these centers. Other social activities such as recreation and gossip are harder, if not impossible, to discern in the archaeological record.

The archaeology at Martin's Hundred supports the recent historical interpretation of a more extensive sense of community within Chesapeake settlements. It also indicates that the region was less dispersed than previously thought and suggests the existence of small scale administrative, religious, and social centers designed to meet some of the plantations needs that were provided by towns and villages in New England.

## Chapter 8. Conclusion

This work tried to meet three major objectives. The first goal was to identify and describe the factors that influenced how colonists at Martin's Hundred organized themselves and settled over the land. It was found that each time period had its own distinctive factors that influenced both where the settlement was located and how it was organized. Each site began, as well as ended, because of a combination of political, economic, and social considerations.

As the Table 2 indicates, the evolving nature of political, social, economic, and environmental factors directly influenced the location of settlements. Only by examining both the historical and archaeological records can these elements be identified. Defensive needs took priority, even over fresh water during the first years. By 1624 a compromise between economic and political needs resulted in the loosely clustered settlement around Grice's Run. As the external threat diminished other factors, including soils ruined by tobacco farming and an increased demand for good agricultural land, led to increasingly dispersed farmsteads at Martin's Hundred.

A second goal was to track changes in settlement organizational structure through time and to isolate some of the factors that were responsible for these transformations. One of these shifts in organizational structure visibly manifests itself in the degree of

Table 2.

## SETTLEMENT LOCATION

	Political	Social	Economic	Environmental	Where settled
1619 to 1622	colonists created defenses against both river and land based attacks	there were few kinship links with more dependence on fellow settlers	the tobacco boom ends attempts at economic diversity	most transformations caused by Indian slash and burn farming	settlement mainly near bank of the James River
1624 to 1650	the threat of river attack lessens, but land threat remains for most of this period	still only a few kinship links survive - status related clothing and architecture appear for the first time	Tobacco brings prosperity	colonial tobacco slash and burn agricultural practices cause soil exhaustion and erosion	dwelling located primarily on terraces around Grices Run
1650 to 1720	little external threat present, speculators create an artificial land created	as people begin to live longer their kinship links begin to become more established	Tobacco depression--and the switch to slavery bring about the beginning economic of diversity	Wood shortages, and large areas of land ruined by tobacco practices	truly dispersed settlement pattern
1720 to 1780	no continuous local external threat	permanent class structure established based on landed aristocracy	complete economic diversification along with slavery	hunting restrictions and land shortages	a single large-scale land holding with large support population

clustering found within the settlement during different periods of time. The following table identifies some of the factors that have been identified as having influenced settlement dispersal.

Table 3.

## SETTLEMENT CLUSTERING

	Political	Social	Economic	Environmental	Where settled
1619 to 1622	defensive activity aimed against both land and river attacks	cooperation necessary for survival, but based on neighbors not kin	tobacco boom - requires land and an influx of labor	good soils -best found near the James River	tightly clustered proto-village with satellite farmsteads
1624 to 1650	defense activities designed to repel land attacks	cooperation necessary for survival- based on neighbors not kin still rather egalitarian	tobacco requires large tracts of land - wealth based on ability to acquire indentures and land	fresh water, good soils, and proximity to the river necessary for success	loosely clustered configuration located on terraces that surround Grice's Run
1650 to 1720	defensive needs reduced	larger farms more self-sufficiency - more social stratification	more diversification, Slaves used to meet specialized needs associated with diversification	fresh water and good soils are necessary for success	dispersed settlement located on flat terraces near ravines that contain fresh water
1720 to 1780	no defensive needs	permanent class structure in place based on land and wealth	complete diversification--large single land holdings	proximity to river important to upper class	stratified proto-village made up of the mansion and support buildings and people

Table 3 demonstrates components of a complex decision making processes that went into settlement configuration. The degree of clustering was dependent on both external and internal considerations. The need for defense and cooperation seems to have pressured the colonists to form clustered settlements. At the same time the effects of tobacco on the environment continually pressured the settlers to disperse. This dispersal



could take place only after the external political threat had diminished, and the dependency on neighbors for survival had subsided.

Lastly this project sought to test a series of recent historical interpretations seeking to clarify transitions in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake with regard to community definitions, agricultural land usages, and settlement dispersion. Archaeological data supported the interpretation that soil depletion and erosion caused tobacco planters to abandon their farmsteads after only relatively short periods of time. Archaeological data refutes the current interpretation of settlement dispersal, instead suggesting that dispersal was a gradual development, that took place only after the "Indian problem" was solved. Lastly, archaeology supports recent attempts to redefine "Chesapeake community". While never as complex as their New England neighbors, Chesapeake settlers formed definite communities based around defensive, administrative, and religious centers. In all of these cases archaeological data was able to support specific historical interpretations and refute others, a fact that should be noted by historians.

This paper has attempted to address specific issues of interest to both historians and anthropologists. Recent shifts in scale for both fields have created some overlap in this regard. This type of analysis is possible because historical archaeology has reached its maturity. The discipline now has enough data to move away from its particularistic pursuits of the past to a more comprehensive and meaningful level of analysis. One of

the ways to move away from the particularistic is through a multi-disciplinary approach to settlement study that explores not only environmental factors, but cultural considerations as well. By using both of these datasets, new and interesting questions can be asked. Fortunately, the scale of archaeology at Martin's Hundred allowed not only for a large range of questions, but for more meaningful questions to be asked. Similar studies should be attempted for other early settlements including the recent excavations at Jordan's Journey and Epps Island.

## Appendix 1. The ceramics

### Ceramics found on CG-2 (1625-1650)<sup>6</sup>

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>NO.</u>
North Devon, plain	4
Nottingham stoneware	1
Westerwald	1
Yorktown-type	4
black-glazed redware	1
coarseware	41
delftware, English	5
faience	2
red sandy ware	9
red-bodied slipware	5
slipware	1

### Ceramics found on CG-8 (1625-1650)

Frechen brown stoneware	44
North Devon, plain	54
black-glazed redware	6
coarseware	673
delftware, English	12
majolica	1
red sandy ware	3
red-bodied slipware	48
slipware	2
tin enamelled earthenware	30
white sandy	1

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<sup>6</sup>. Data available for only post-Noël Hume era excavations

## Ceramics found on CG-10 (1650-1720)

North Devon, plain	1
North Midland slipware	5
Staffordshire mottled	1
Westerwald	7
black-glazed redware	1
coarseware	13
delftware, Dutch	6
delftware, English	1
red-bodied slipware	1

## Ceramics found on CG-11 (1625-1650)

Frechen brown stoneware	13
North Devon, plain	4
Westerwald	1
coarseware	287
delftware, English	2
other stoneware	2
red-bodied slip	5
slipware	6
tin enamelled earthenware	7
white sandy	1

## Ceramics found on Site F (1625-1650)

Frechen brown stoneware	2
coarseware	9
red-bodied slipware	1

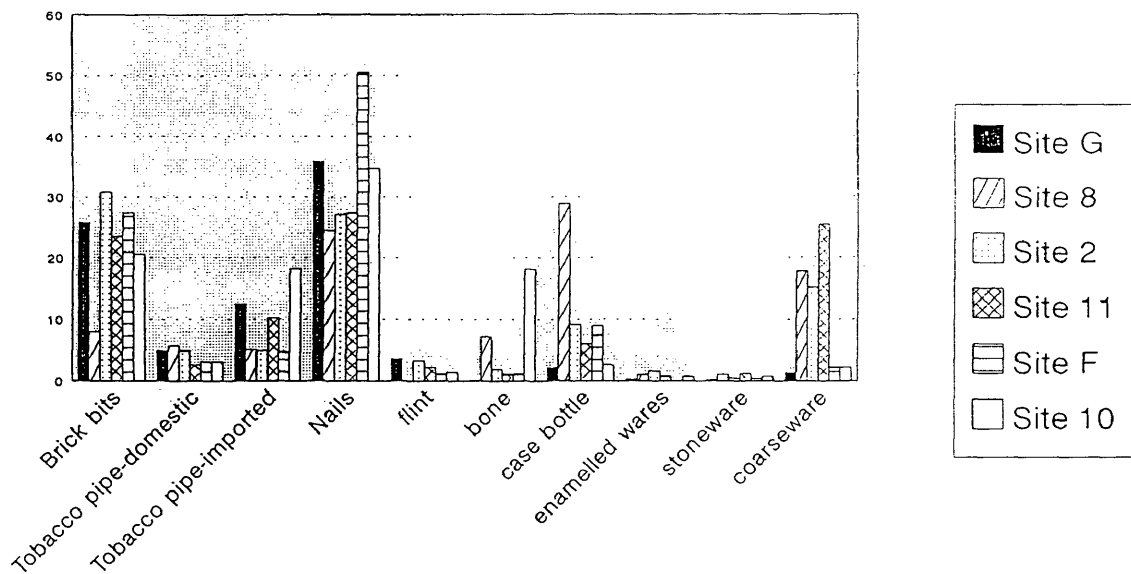
## Ceramics found on CG-G (1607-1625?)

English stoneware	3
Frechen brown stoneware	1
North Devon, plain	13
coarseware	184
colono ware	1
red-bodied slipware	2
tin enamelled earthenware	5

**Figure 11.**  
*Summary of artifact types for sites found during 1989 survey.*

# Artifact Summaries

## Martin's Hundred



based on one percent samples except for Site 8

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### Vita

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