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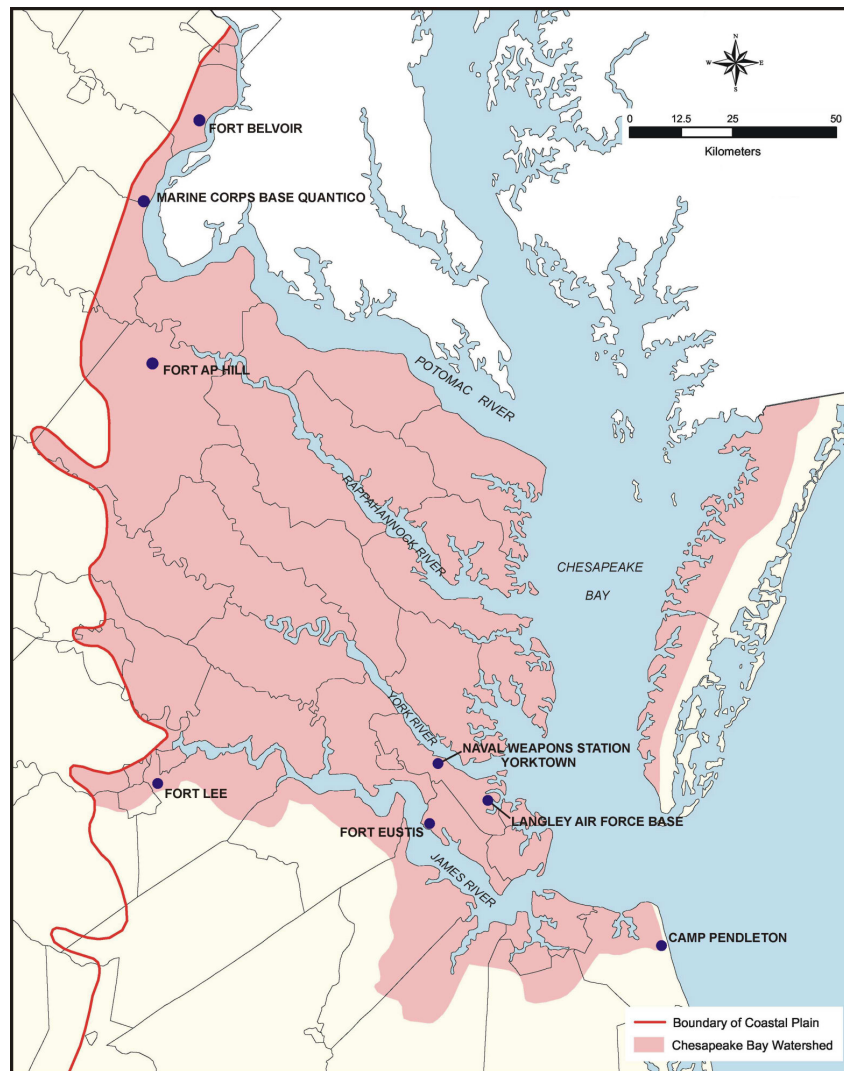
Historic Context for Historic Period Archaeological Sites on Virginia's Coastal Plain

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September 2007

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Resource Planning and Research Potential: Nineteenth-Century Sites in Virginia's Coastal Plain



Prepared for:

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Resource Planning and Research Potential: Nineteenth-Century Sites in Virginia's Coastal Plain

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to synthesize archaeological data from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeological sites that have been identified and/or studied in the Coastal Plain of Virginia to summarize the current state of knowledge and future goals with respect to such resources. The context presented here focuses on the Antebellum (1830-1860) and Postbellum (also known as Reconstruction and Growth) eras (1865-1917). These eras were chosen because the associated sites are all too frequently difficult to evaluate because the significant research issues that are applicable have not been well-defined. By contrast, sites dating to the early national period (prior to 1830) and older tend to have associated research issues that clearly depend on certain types of archaeological data, making it less ambiguous to justify the significance (or lack thereof) of the archaeological resources. On the other hand, sites dating to the period after World War I are not generally problematic for land managers given that many of these military installations were established during the onset of that war, such that civilian occupations of these installations effectively ended at that time. Civil War era sites are not treated here, due primarily to the short duration of the period (farmsteads with Civil War components will also pre- or post-date the conflict). These dates also coincide with the state-wide temporal framework defined by the VDHR for the classification of archaeological sites (VDHR 2003).

This document is designed to serve as a key reference for making decisions about treatment of historic period archaeological resources in the context of land and resource management within Department of Defense (DoD) installations, though it will also benefit land managers concerned with other public and private lands in the region, as well. The document is designed to accommodate the needs of many users, though particular consideration will be given to the needs of cultural resources managers at DoD installations in the Coastal Plain of Virginia. This study was funded by the DoD Legacy Program (Legacy Project No. 05-262; MIPR No. DA-CA87-05-H-0012).

Acknowledgments

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1: Introduction

This document contains a specialized historic context and annotated research themes for nineteenth-century sites located on the Coastal Plain of Virginia. It is designed to serve as the key reference for making decisions about eligibility of nineteenth-century archaeological resources in the context of long-term planning for cultural resources located on military installations. This document is designed to accommodate the needs of many users, including non-specialists in historic preservation. Particular consideration is given to the needs of cultural resource managers.

The Problem

The justification for archaeological investigations is found in the value of archaeological resources. These resources can have different values and significance for different people. Archaeological resources have the potential to teach us about the past, help form local or national identities, provide the physical connection with the past at sites interpreted for heritage tourism, or serve as a shrine to revered persons, places, or events in history. All archaeological sites hold some value, but not all sites hold equivalent research potential. Part of the work of the cultural resource manager is to determine which sites should be preserved in some form, whether by preservation in place or preserving the record of a site in drawings, photographs, and tables so the land could be put to some other use. Often the standard measure for whether a site should be preserved is its eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

National Register of Historic Places Criterion D

In determining whether a site is worth preserving, archaeologists speak of the value, importance, and significance of sites, but we cannot use these words without asking “To whom is the site

valuable?,” “To what goals is it important?,” and “In what context is it significant?” In determining NRHP eligibility, archaeological sites, buildings, objects, structures, and landscapes are evaluated under four criteria. The criterion most commonly applied to archaeological sites is Criterion D, which dictates that in order for the resource to be eligible for the NRHP, it must be capable of yielding important information about the past. In other words, Criterion D involves a determination of the potential for the resource to provide information that can contribute to anthropological and/or historical research issues. In order to provide significant information towards such research issues, an archaeological resource must typically have sufficient integrity of cultural deposits and features that the information is not substantially affected by post-occupational disturbances or activities. In addition, there must be a sufficient amount of intact deposits, features, and artifacts that offer information that is not redundant and is applicable to significant research issues. Occasionally, archaeological resources may be judged eligible for the NRHP under Criteria A and B, which apply to resources that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history (Criterion A), or resources that are associated with the lives of persons significant

in our past (Criterion B), respectively. Eligibility under Criteria A or B, however, is often much less ambiguous than eligibility under Criterion D, and much less common, particularly given that archaeological resources typically comprise physical remains that often do not directly convey the association they have with a significant event or person. For these reasons, the gist of the problem driving the need for this particular document deals with potential eligibility of nineteenth- to early twentieth-century archaeological sites under Criterion D more so than the other eligibility criteria.

Using Criterion D as the standard for assessing archaeological sites, we answer the question "To what goals is the site important?" by saying "It is important to research goals, to add to our knowledge of historic patterns and processes." We answer the question "To whom is it valuable?" by saying "It is valuable to archaeologists and historians and others who are concerned with specialized knowledge of the past." In doing so we do not deny that archaeology holds other values to other parties, but these values do not factor into our assessment under Criterion D.

The use of the NRHP and Criterion D is intended to standardize judgments about site preservation by removing some subjectivity. Unfortunately, the wording of the NRHP criteria is brief and vague in order to cover sites associated with diverse time periods, geographic regions, cultures, and functions. When faced with the task of evaluating the research potential of an individual site, the NRHP criteria provide no specific or detailed guidance. They instead offer a framework for identifying the research issues within which the significance of a specific archaeological site may be evaluated.

The need for the preservation or mitigation of some sites can be more evident than others. If a site belongs to a rare type, it is easy to argue for its research potential. Often older sites represent rare types and are more likely to be poorly represented in the documentary record, adding to the research value of the archaeological remains. Older sites may also hold a broader appeal, at

the national or international level, for example. Additionally, there may be a bias among some archaeologists toward older sites.

In the Coastal Plain of Virginia, it is not difficult in many cases to articulate the research value of a colonial- or early national-period site. Nineteenth-century farmsteads, however, seem to be fairly ubiquitous across much of the Coastal Plain, thus posing a challenge to cultural resource managers. What makes a nineteenth-century farmstead significant? These sites can hold different values for different parties; in terms of research value, sites that are most representative, have the highest integrity, and the greatest potential to yield information relevant to research topics, should be preserved. Unfortunately, no tools exist to help identify nineteenth-century farmsteads as rare, redundant, or best representative.

Non-domestic nineteenth-century sites, whether commercial, industrial, civic, ecclesiastic, or military, do not pose the same problems. The sites are rare, but decisions still need to be made about their management, and these sites pose problems of their own. Despite the rarity of these sites, a quick study of all those subjected to Phase II archaeological evaluation reveals that few are found eligible for the NRHP. Whether this is due to a lack of integrity or another factor would require closer study, but it is clear that many archaeologists are less comfortable working with non-domestic than with domestic sites. Part of the difficulty with evaluating the research potential of non-domestic sites is knowing what questions may be asked of such sites and where to find the answers.

Archaeological Evaluations

To illustrate and help characterize the problem, a representative sample of 100 completed archaeological evaluations involving nineteenth- to early twentieth-century sites located within military installations in Virginia's Coastal Plain was examined for this project. The analysis of the results and recommendations for each of these 100 archaeological evaluations included review

of the summary technical reports for each project on file in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) report library. In addition, the notes and rating sheets completed by the VDHR National Register Eligibility Evaluation Team on each of these 100 archaeological evaluations were reviewed in an effort to gather some basic statistics on the current situation regarding management of such resources on Coastal Plain military installations.

It is important to understand the process by which the NRHP eligibility of archaeological resources is determined to appreciate the value of the trends observed in the present study. In short, the substance of the eligibility determinations for the 100 sites that were reviewed, as for other resources that are evaluated in Virginia, derives ultimately from the content and justifications presented in the recommendations of the archaeological consultants and Federal agencies who conducted the actual evaluation studies.

When a final report summarizing an archaeological evaluation is submitted to the VDHR, the archaeological subcommittee of the VDHR's National Register Eligibility Evaluation Team meets to discuss the eligibility of each archaeological site that was evaluated. These proceedings include the presentation of the material and historical data, and the recommendation on and justification for NRHP eligibility. Each site is awarded scaled points for its representation in the archaeological record (i.e., rarity), horizontal and vertical integrity, and research potential. Extra rating points are awarded for sites that

are an unusually good representative of site type, the history of cultural minorities, or offer exceptional potential for study and interpretation. Since the VDHR Evaluation Team bases the ratings primarily on the information provided in the consultant's or Federal agency's summary technical report, the reliability and accuracy of the ratings is directly related to the quality and content of those reports. It is the responsibility of the consultants and Federal agencies to provide sufficient justification for any recommendation, and the VDHR Team's ratings are based mainly on the information and justifications provided. The rating sheets alone may not capture the full range of discussions that take place during the Evaluation Team's meetings, however.

In order to get the most well-informed and unbiased sense of how these 100 sites were evaluated for NRHP eligibility, both the consultants reports and the notes and rating sheets of the VDHR Evaluation Team were reviewed to gather information and identify patterning among the evaluation determinations. Forty-four sites were found eligible for the NRHP under Criterion D; 56 were found not eligible. There are considerable differences in the percentages of sites that have been recommended as eligible for the NRHP when the 100 sites in the study group are subdivided according to site function:

- 65 sites were identified as domestic, including homesites, farmsteads, and domestic refuse. *Of these, 35% (n=23) were found eligible and 65% (n=42) not eligible.*

<i>MILITARY INSTALLATION</i>	<i>COUNTY OR INDEPENDENT CITY</i>
Fort Belvoir	Fairfax County
Marine Corps Base Quantico	Stafford and Prince William counties
Fort A.P. Hill	Caroline County
Fort Lee	Prince George County
Yorktown Naval Weapons Station	York County
Fort Eustis	City of Newport News
Langley Air Force Base	City of Hampton
Camp Pendleton	City of Virginia Beach

Table 1. Military installations discussed in the document.

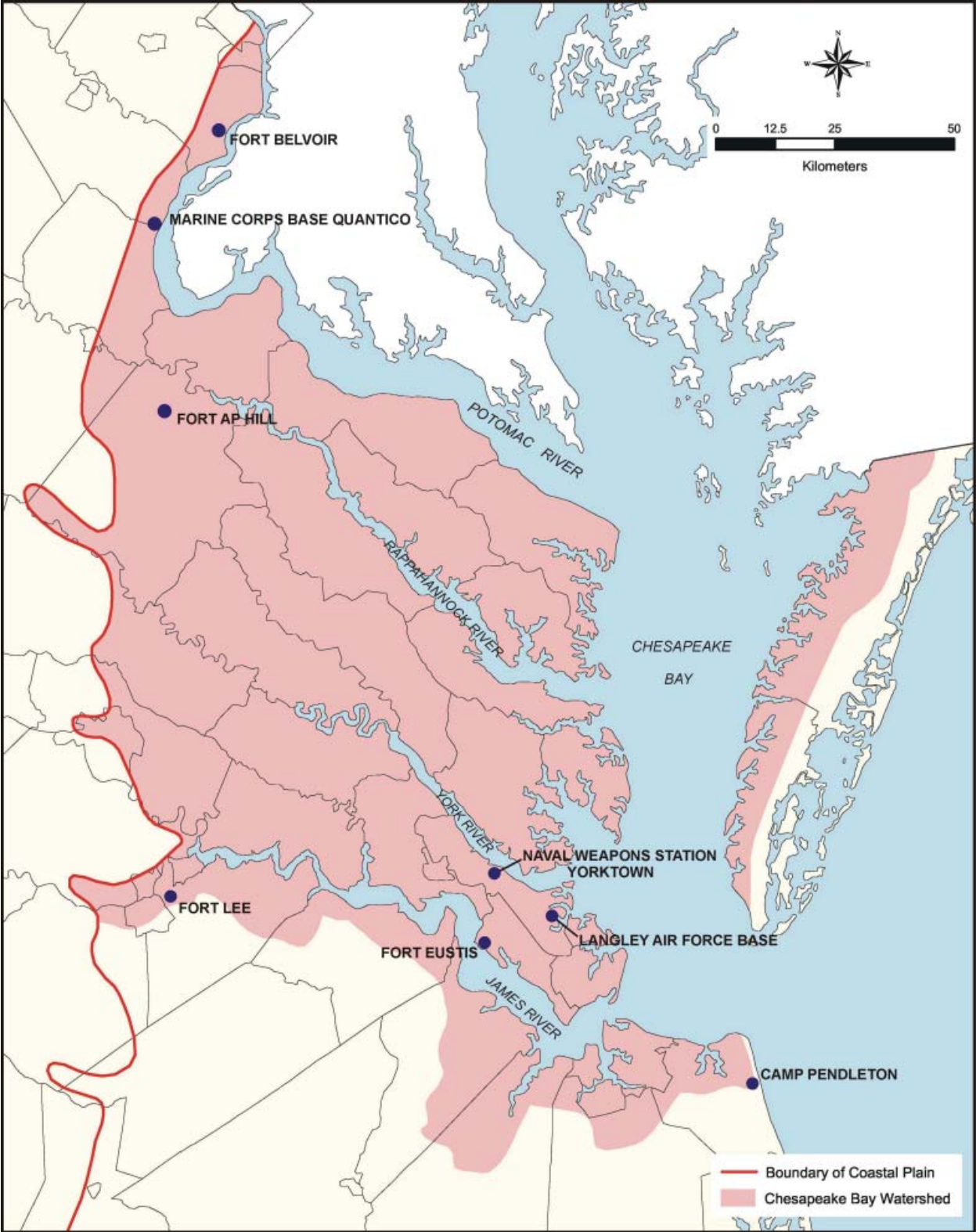


Figure 1. Map of the Virginia Coastal Plain.

- 11 sites were identified as non-domestic, including churches, mills, a school, and other sites. *Of these, 73% (n=8) were found eligible and 27% (n=3) not eligible.*
- 10 sites were found to contain both a domestic and a non-domestic component. *Of these, 60% (n=6) were found eligible and 40% (n=4) not eligible.*
- 14 sites were not identified in terms of function. *Of these, 50% (n=7) were found eligible and 50% (n=7) not eligible.*

Unfortunately, no rationale was offered to justify the eligibility recommendations for the majority (73%, n=41) of the 56 sites that were recommended as not eligible for the NRHP. The rationale provided for determining the ineligibility of 15 (or 27%) of the 56 ineligible sites included the following:

- 100% (n=15) cited lack of integrity or lack of features as a factor.
- 20% (n=3) cited lack of research potential as a factor.
- 7% (n=1) cited data redundancy as a factor, though this assertion was not supported by a presentation of comparative data in the associated technical report.

Though theoretically all of the archaeological sites determined to be eligible under Criterion D should be characterized by both good integrity and justified research potential, of the 24 site studies in the study set that provided a rationale for the eligibility determination:

- 54% cited integrity or presence of features or artifacts as a factor.
- 50% cited research potential as a factor.
- 8% provided site-specific research themes as justifications for eligibility that demonstrate critical and rigorous application of general VDHR research themes to each specific site.
- 21% cited rarity, redundancy, or representativeness as a factor.
- 29% were found eligible due to the presence of components dating before the nineteenth century.

It is clear that integrity or the presence of features or artifacts not only is the greatest factor in eligibility determinations, but also has been sufficient for all determinations. All sites that are deemed intact are found eligible; all sites that are deemed disturbed are found ineligible.

Sites that are intact may still lack research value, and these sites should not be found eligible. Relatively little attention, however, has been granted to research value. Few determinations of ineligibility considered research potential. Even fewer determinations of eligibility specified research potential beyond the general themes outlined by the VDHR. Few determinations explicitly considered the rarity, redundancy, or representativeness of a site.

The following historic context and potential research questions are intended to aid judgments about research potential and rarity, redundancy, and representativeness. With these aids, eligibility determinations should rely less on the integrity of a site, and technical reports should achieve greater specificity in discussing the value and potential of a site. In addition, a farm typology, which is intended to help cultural resource managers identify the categories that may apply to the sites in question, is included in Appendix B.

Geographic and Temporal Scope

All of these problems are faced by cultural resource managers at military installations throughout Virginia's Coastal Plain, especially at army installations, where construction and, more often, training exercises threaten archaeological remains (Figure 2). Nineteenth to early twentieth-century sites are abundant, but archaeologists and cultural resource managers lack objective tools and guidelines to aid the evaluation of both domestic and non-domestic sites from this time period. What has been needed is a historic context and management plan for these types of archaeological sites. The Coastal Plain was selected as a geographic boundary for the



Figure 2. Photograph of soldiers marching at Fort Eustis, Newport News, Virginia. (Virginia State Chamber of Commerce 1941).

project because of the number of military installations located in the region and the belief that this physiographic region lent itself to a distinct set of cultures (Table 1 and Figure 1). Not all military installations located within the Coastal Plain were included in this study, however. The eight installations listed in Table 1 were selected given that each contain multiple nineteenth-century sites that have been subjected to evaluations and it is clear that each of these eight installations has many more as-yet unevaluated sites.

The context presented here focuses on the Antebellum (1830-1860) and Postbellum (also known as Reconstruction and Growth) eras (1865-1917). The dates 1830 to 1917 were chosen because sites dating to the early national period (prior to 1830) do not pose the same problems as more recent sites, and it was with the coming of World War I that many of these military installations were established. Civil War era sites are not treated here, due primarily to the short duration of the period (farmsteads with Civil War components will also pre- or post-date the conflict). These dates also coincide with the state-wide temporal framework defined by the

VDHR for the classification of archaeological sites (VDHR 2003).

Cultural resource managers stationed on military installations face different issues than those who deal with the usual compliance archaeology. Areas of land are in constant demand, if not for new construction then for training exercises (Figure 3). These installations require long-term management plans to deal with the persistent threats to archaeological resources.

Document Organization

The first section of the document is a historic context for the Coastal Plain from 1830 to 1917. General narratives for the entire region in the Antebellum and Postbellum periods (Chapter 2) are followed by chapters focused on specific historic themes within each of the counties where installations are located. These historic themes are not all the same as those designated by the VDHR, but they are designed to be compatible with the VDHR themes. There are thirteen themes:

Domestic Economy. This is a household's means of accomplishing its goals, its interactions



Figure 3. Photograph of an officer in the Fort Eustis Infiltration Course, Newport News, Virginia (U. S. Army Signal Corps, 1943).

with markets, its aspirations and attitudes. It is manifested on a large scale in land use patterns, down to a small scale with ceramic vessel use, and includes also foodways, consumer behavior, and trash disposal.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization. This includes such topics as technological change, domestic industrial production, and urban decline, as revealed in industrial site layout, equipment, and other evidence.

Transportation and Communication. This includes the networks, sites, and equipment used to convey people, goods, and information and how they shaped the landscape and markets.

Agriculture. This includes farm capitalization, mechanization, diversification, tenant labor, progressive methods, and farm abandonment.

Markets and Commerce. This includes the businesses, organizations, and institutions related to the exchange of goods and services, from the country store to the city bank.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration. This includes the natural and built environments, settlement patterns, architecture,

and other matters of site and community organization.

Government and Politics. This includes both the sites of government facilities and where, though legislation or other action, the government helped shape the landscape.

Military and Defense. Though the Civil War and World War I are excluded from this project, there are sites related to the Spanish-American War and other military activity.

Work. This includes all the types of employment outside the other themes (agriculture, industry, etc.), from barbers and blacksmiths to doctors and dentists.

Education, Health, and Recreation. This includes schools and other educational institutions, doctors and hospitals, and a wide range of recreational diversions.

Social Movements. This ranges from community clubs to fraternal orders to progressive organizations.

Identity and Religion. This encompasses race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, age, class, and religion, and including such topics as cultural persistence and shifts in power.

Funerary. This includes graves and other sites associated with death and burial, which can reveal information about population, health, and mortality.

For each of these themes, there is a brief historical narrative, including both the general situation in the Coastal Plain and any details unique to the county. This narrative is followed by a discussion of how this history may be manifested in the archaeological record. Following this discussion are sample research topics or questions which a site may or may not have the potential to address. For each question, the evidence needed to answer the question is specified. It is important to note that, due to the similarities between geographic regions, the lack of county-specific information for some topics, the inter-relatedness of many of the research themes, and the desire to make each section of the document independent (or stand-alone), a great deal of repetition is to be expected.

The research value of a site can be evaluated only in reference to specific research topics or questions. As stated above, NRHP eligibility recommendations often make only vague reference to broad research areas, such as settlement patterns. More reliable evaluations require more specific questions, referring not just to settlement patterns but how these patterns are shaped by ethnic or immigrant groups, the effects of transportation systems and other technological developments, population shifts, market access, urbanization, and rural modernization.

Some questions may be answered only with documentary evidence; the quality of this documentation affects a site's research potential. Some questions will rely on the material remains. Other will require both. While the presence of documentary evidence can contribute to a site's research potential, a site has potential only if there are specific questions that can only be answered by the material remains found.

Use of the Context for Domestic and Non-Domestic Sites

The historic context serves different purposes for the evaluation of domestic and non-domestic sites. With domestic sites, the historic context can locate a site within regional and temporal patterns, allowing what appears to be just another redundant nineteenth-century farmstead to perhaps be seen as representative of distinct subsets

of this larger category of sites. For example, while farms throughout the Coastal Plain shifted away from tobacco production in the nineteenth century, some farms in Prince William and Stafford counties were distinguished by their production of wine. Prince George and Fairfax counties were home to free black communities before the Civil War, and some members of these communities owned farms.

In the case of non-domestic sites, the historic context can suggest what types of sites might be found in different regions of the Coastal Plain. The railroads and other new means of transportation, industrialization, and urbanization came to different areas at different times. The scarcity of stone led to the development of a brickmaking industry on Mulberry Island. Stafford Springs was the location of a health spa, a popular place of recreation during this time. Shipyards developed along the Potomac River. In many African American communities, the church was the center of social life.

The historic context provides a starting place for formulating research topics other than those specified in this document. Broad research topics, such as settlement patterns, can be given specificity through reference to regional and temporal variations revealed by the historic context. Areas in which this historical narrative proves thin, perhaps due to the paucity of documentary evidence, can suggest topics for which archaeological data might be especially useful.

2: The Virginia Coastal Plain Historic Context

The following chapter presents a general historic context for the Virginia Coastal Plain for the Antebellum (1830-1860) and Postbellum (1865-1917) periods, which illustrates some of the unifying historical themes that are applicable across the region.

Antebellum Period

Virginia in the years before the Civil War was home to people of diverse races, cultures, and ethnic affiliations. Three major groups were whites and free and enslaved blacks. Many of these people worked in agriculture, but the fertility of the land had been depleted by poor practices. The quality of the land was improved with better farming methods (Figure 4), the use of marl, and the diversification of crops to include wheat, oats, corn, hay, and vegetables (Cultural Resources 2001, Underwood et al. 2003). This continued a trend started in the late eighteenth century

Over the course of the century, the state was transformed from a slave-based agricultural society to a free state with increasing centers of urbanization and industrialization. Political power shifted from the plantation owner to the industrial capitalist. Some elements of the old Virginia persisted, including craft production, plantations, and rural communities, but none was unchanged in some way by the transformation taking place in the state (Sprinkle and Reinhart 1999).

The embargoes of the War of 1812 taught Virginians that they could rely on local resources and products instead of imports (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51). In 1816, Virginia created the “Fund for Internal Improvement” to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect

highways. These projects would be funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines and became involved in salt production (Salmon n.d.).

By the 1820s, some well developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes and regular coach schedules led to greater personal travel during the 1820s and 1830s (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54). Wayside inns were built along these turnpikes, and these taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978). These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54).

Also along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979). The appearance of grist mills indicated the shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Flour was easier to transport and worth more than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52). Milling decreased as the centers of wheat and flour production moved west. Sometimes streams were dammed to power grist mills (Netherton et al. 1978). The tobacco crop suffered from both soil depletion and a fluctuating market (Balicki et al. 2002) (Figure

5). Some farmers, rather than switch crops, left Virginia for the West. Others left farming, going into business, sometimes operating general stores (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1830, much land in Virginia was selling at a loss. In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978) (Figure 6). The farms were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or were worked by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991).

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, some areas still failed to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade (Underwood et al. 2003). Agricultural prices declined due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988:62). During this agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

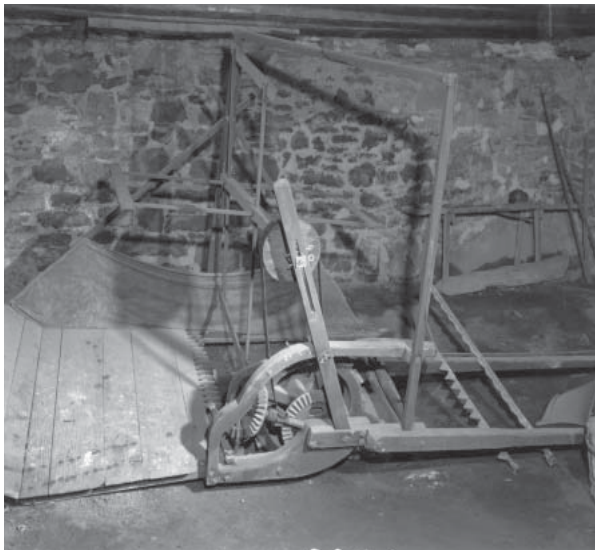


Figure 4. Photograph of a reaper of the type invented by Cyrus McCormick on the McCormick Farm in Rockbridge County, Virginia (Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, n.d.a)



Figure 5. Photograph of two men and a mule in the midst of a tobacco field in Dinwiddie County, Virginia (Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, n.d.b).

After the 1830s, fishing with huge seines destroyed the spawn in the Potomac River. The loss of the spawn drove fisheries out of business. In spite of subsequent legal protections many seafood concerns were unable to recover (Netherton et al. 1978:62).

As much of Virginia experienced a decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new opportunities, including education for white women and property ownership for both black and white women. Some women owned businesses (Lebsock 1987:55). Over the course of the century, however, Virginia women turned from an interest (though not participation) in politics to increasing focus on the domestic sphere (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003).

They had the responsibility of creating the home as an oasis from the rest of the world, but the line between the home and the world was blurred by women's involvement in schools, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65,70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Women established schools for the poor and libraries. They formed the majority in white protestant churches, and some Quaker women were ministers (Lebsock 1987:60-62, 69).

The attention to domestics was, like many aspects of life, shaped by technology and other changes. Developments in printing technology



Figure 6. Photograph of Williamson's, a farm in Prince George County, Virginia (Harrison 1937).

in the 1820s allowed books and magazines to become more affordable and widespread. Many of these publications were written by women, and many offered domestic advice. After 1827, divorce no longer required an act of legislature (Lebsock 1987:73). Despite these changes, women largely had the same the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, organizing family consumption, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

From 1810 to 1860, a Virginia planter household was likely to include adults and children who were not related, though they still felt close ties to each other. The household composition changed from month to month, as relatives often visited for extended periods. This promoted bonds with distant relatives. Children were raised with the help of adults other than their parents. Cousins who spent time living together

became business partners and political allies (Cashin 1990).

Youth of both sexes were educated in home schools, free schools, orphanages, academies, boarding schools, and seminaries. Teachers were sometimes well educated, having attended schools elsewhere in the United States or in Europe. Some were ministers or prominent church members. Some youth were sent to school in the North (Eaves 1936).

In some areas, free blacks petitioned for schools but failed. If free blacks left the state for school, they were not allowed to return. Many free blacks at this time did leave for other states or emigrated to Liberia (Lebsock 1987:57-58).

During the American Revolution, the Episcopal Church lost prominence, as the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist faiths gained popularity (Wells 1997). In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and



Figure 7. Photograph of the Bayley family cemetery, Prince William County, Virginia (Virginia Conservation Commission 19??).

would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997) (Figure 7).

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, including both slaves and free blacks, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). Some free blacks farmed land, sometimes owning it, sometimes squatting on unclaimed land (McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically illiterate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988:207, McDonald et al. 1992). Some who lived near water owned boats (McDonald et al. 1992).

These African-American families were diverse in their organization. Some were matriarchal, likely a result of slavery, in which children remained with their mother but were separated from their father (McDonald et al. 1992). Free black women often were poor, supported children, but avoided marriage (Lebsock 1987:59). Some households were headed by a male member of the family (Blomberg 1988:205, McDonald et al. 1992). In some cases, an extended family

lived together, including several generations of the families of several siblings (McDonald et al. 1992). Often, a free black household included non-family members, possibly boarders (Blomberg 1988:209). The organization a free black family took was not related to the economic class to which the family belonged (McDonald et al. 1992).

Cities provided more opportunities for slaves to purchase their freedom because a greater number of jobs allowed slaves to hire themselves out. After 1830, while slave manumissions were decreasing in many areas, manumissions increased in urban areas. Free blacks tended to live near each other in cities, usually renting. Runaway slaves came to cities and hid in alleys, warehouses, and grog shops. Quakers sometimes sued owners for the freedom of slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988:60).

Free blacks often worked performing skills they learned on plantations (Blomberg 1988:222, Netherton et al. 1978). They found employment

as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, sailors, and other laborers (Netherton et al. 1978). If they lived near water bodies, they found work cleaning, salting, packing, and shipping fish (Blomberg 1988:64). They also worked on roads and bridges but lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978).

Women, both white and free black, did domestic work such as laundry or sewing. They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock 1987:59). Children could receive education in public schools and Sunday schools but were often needed to remain at home and work (Blomberg 1988:77).

All free blacks were required to register with the city or county clerk, though the vast majority never registered, except for a brief peak in registrations following Nat Turner's slave rebellion. The intent of the law was to prevent enslaved people from posing as free in order to obtain paid work (Sweig 1977:1-6).

An 1806 law requiring freed slaves to leave the state went largely unenforced (Blomberg 1988:38, Sweig 1977:3-5). Freed slaves could petition to remain in the state but often remained even if the petition was refused, constantly traveling. Other states passed laws prohibiting free blacks from outside the state from setting up permanent residence. By the 1840s, when the legislature was overwhelmed with petitions, it became a mere formality. Nevertheless, from 1830-60, the law was used to intimidate free blacks (Blomberg 1988:56-61).

Among those free blacks who registered, most had been born free (status at birth was determined by the status of the mother) (Sweig 1977:2). Some free blacks in dire economic circumstances ended up selling themselves into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1830, some free black Virginians, usually in urban areas, owned as many slaves as larger planters did. Free blacks might own slaves because they had purchased family members. Some were in the process of freeing the slaves,

or sought to exploit the slaves just as white slave owners did. Sometimes free blacks did not own slaves but oversaw a plantation with slaves and an absentee owner (Research Department of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History [RDASNLH] 1924). From 1830 to 1860, other legal restrictions were placed on free blacks. Laws prohibited teaching free blacks to read and write, denied jury trials for free blacks except for capital offences, and prevented free blacks from congregating without a white person present, bearing arms, or purchasing slaves other than family members (Blomberg 1988:45). Both blacks and whites caught stealing were whipped on public whipping posts (Netherton et al. 1978).

While farming continued to flourish supported by the peculiar institution of slavery, industrialization and the requisite improvements to infrastructure were expanding into the Commonwealth. Before the railroad appeared, much Virginia flour and grain was brought to the port of Alexandria by turnpikes from the west and south and then shipped to northern states (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51, Peterson 1932). As all the land in northern Virginia became settled, developing a more expansive and dependable transportation system became a priority (Gardner et al. 1999). Where there was not a bridge across a river, sometimes ferries allowed crossing (Netherton et al. 1978). By the 1830s, railroad stations began to appear in parts of the state.

Communities developed around these stations. A typical village might include a schoolhouse, church, blacksmith, grist and saw mills, and stores (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Doctors diagnosed illnesses and prescribed medicine, and some owned medicine stores. There were also a few dentists at this time. People found entertainment in their homes and in newspapers, through music, dancing, and foxhunting, and at taverns, churches, fairs, court days, political rallies, and militia displays (Netherton et al. 1978).

At the same time, new areas began to develop industrial bases. Streets were improved and

railroad lines were increased. Cotton and flour mills were established (Clarke et al. 1994, Voigt et al. 1998). Some cotton mills produced blankets (Netherton et al. 1978).

New technology held promise to make slavery obsolete, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine (Netherton and Netherton 1986:47). Rather than witness the end of slavery, however, this time period saw the institution of slavery reach its peak (Gardner et al. 1999) (Figure 8). In the southern states, industrialism began with industrial slavery. Industrial operations were owned by slaveholders, not entrepreneurs as in the North, and they made use of free and enslaved blacks and white workers. These enslaved workers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and grist mills. They performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors (Delle et al. 2000).

Industrial slaves were more likely to rebel than plantation slaves, and they did so in a variety of ways, including through negligence, slowdowns, feigned ignorance, theft, arson, and sabotage. Some white workers perceived them

as competition for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, just as housing was (Delle et al. 2000).

During the 1830s, a small gold rush occurred in eastern Virginia. Exploratory mining companies were chartered, and mining continued into the twentieth century, decreasing after the 1860s. The California Gold Rush in 1849 attracted many prospectors away from Virginia. Sulphur also was widely mined at this time (Balicki et al. 2002).

In 1840, many churches in northern Virginia were Methodist. Some were Episcopal or Baptist. Itinerant preachers found audiences at camp meetings or gatherings on farms. These meetings sometimes lasted for four days, with thirty or more clergy members, up to a hundred tents, and hundreds or thousands of attendants (Netherton et al. 1978).

Through the 1840s, “gentlemen justices” performed judicial and administrative functions for each county. On court days, people gathered from throughout the county to sell produce and attend meetings and political rallies. Auctions



Figure 8. Photograph of the Stepney house, including the slave quarters, Prince William County, Virginia (Morton 19??).

held on court days sold slaves, cattle, and real estate (Netherton et al. 1978).

As the mid-century approached, there was a depression in the slave market (Netherton et al. 1978). The number of freed slaves increased, staying in Virginia despite the state law requiring them to leave (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57).

Trees were growing up on abandoned farm land (Netherton et al. 1978). Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Rice 1971). Northerners settled in the state, motivated by expensive land in New England, the growth of the Washington D.C. market, the success of lime and deep plowing in regenerating the land, and transportation improvements (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57). Quakers sold timber for shipbuilding and tried to show that slavery was unnecessary (Netherton et al. 1978).

By 1860, tens of thousands of Northerners had bought land in Virginia, mostly small tracts. They were farmers in Alexandria and truck farmers near Norfolk. Most conformed to Southern modes of life or remained outsiders. Most eventually supported slavery. Some Northerners schemed to settle free laborers in Virginia, as an alternative to slaves, but these efforts failed (Rice 1971). Some Northerners failed at farming and returned home (Netherton et al. 1978).

This influx of farmers from the North, attracted in part by the potential of progressive farming, caused the population to increase. Members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) arrived from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57). These Quakers were interested in education, and they practiced progressive farming methods (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Agricultural publications and societies promoted scientific farming techniques (Netherton et al. 1978). With lime used to neutralize the depleted soil, agricultural improved. Deep plowing and the use of fertilizer, gypsum, and clover also helped increase productivity (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57, Netherton et al. 1978). In addition, the Quakers opposed slavery, created self-help

groups, and shifted to dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Water- and then steam-powered sawmills allowed increased production of lumber, which was transported to Richmond and Washington D.C. and used for railroad ties (Linebaugh et al. 1995).

Farmsteads were linked by roads which led to railroad lines or wharves on water bodies (Balicki et al. 2002, 2003). The plank roads (where muddy tracks were augmented by the addition of planks or logs, which improved traction) that increased during this time may have been brought by the Northerners who settled in Virginia (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51). Enclaves grew around stores and mills. A typical village might include a church, tannery, wheelwright, blacksmith, and perhaps a hotel (Balicki et al. 2002, 2003). Transportation to Washington D.C. consisted of roads, the Potomac River, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A combined railroad and steamship line linked Washington D.C. to Richmond (Balicki et al. 2002).

In the 1840s, a telegraph line was built from Richmond to Washington D.C. As roads improved, the number of carriages increased. During the 1850s, there was an increase in turnpikes and plank roads. Excess capital encouraged investment in mills, factories, and mining. Virginians found entertainment in the circus, community celebrations on holidays, balls, parades, and a few organized sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:68-69). During the 1850s, jousting tournaments became popular (Netherton et al. 1978).

The 1850 Virginia constitution abolished the property requirement for voting and allowed the public to elect administrative officials (Netherton et al. 1978). During the 1850s, the Whig party targeted women, even though they could not vote. After the Whig party split later in the decade, other parties made appeals toward women (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Women at this time attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement. The decade also saw stricter laws placed on free blacks. Free blacks were prohibited from purchasing slaves. If free blacks were convicted

of certain crimes, they could be sold into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). In 1860, black Virginians were prohibited from smoking in some areas or were required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58).

The efforts towards improvements to the state's infrastructure that characterized the years prior to the Civil War ceased with the coming of war.

Postbellum Period

During the Civil War, the cultural and political landscape of Virginia changed dramatically. Slaves became free, and free African Americans moved to new locations (McDonald et al. 1992). The plantations that once characterized the landscape were replaced by clusters of villages (Underwood et al. 2003). The war destroyed buildings and bridges, farms and fences (Netherton and Netherton 1986:79, Voigt et al. 1998).

After the war ended, some Virginians left for the West while others remained to rebuild (Netherton and Netherton 1986:78). Reconstruction, however, was slow (Linebaugh et al. 1995). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands sold confiscated land to former slaves, much to the chagrin of whites (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48).

Throughout the South, the system of farm tenancy developed to replace the plantations. Tenants worked either as sharecroppers, paying the landowner a portion of the crop, or renters, paying a fixed rate (Orser 1999). Seeking fast returns, some farmers gave up the progressive methods they had adopted in the Antebellum years. Many people were forced to take out loans, because the Confederate money they held was now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978).

Still, there were attempts at creating a better society than had existed before the war. The new constitution created a public education system. The Freedmen's Bureau help former slaves adapt to freedom by finding places to live, work, and receive an education (Netherton et al. 1978).

Some farmers adapted by turning to products that required less labor. They maintained fruit orchards, grew vegetables, and raised poultry and dairy cows (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993) (Figure 9). Others looked to immigrants from around the world as a new supply of labor.

The Freedman's Bureau also established hospitals and schools that ranged from elementary to post-secondary. Some members of African American communities became involved in politics. They were now able to own property, enter into contracts, and sue (McDonald et al. 1992).



Figure 9. Photograph of women and a flock of turkeys, Hampton, Virginia (Cheyne n.d.).



Figure 10. Photograph of the Poplar Grove house and farm, built in 1830, Stafford County, Virginia (Heflin 1937).

At the same time, the “Black Codes” replaced the old slave codes. Some African-American farm workers were unable to leave the farm without permission, and an assortment of fines and penalties reduced their wages (McDonald et al. 1992).

The old plantations were divided into large farms (Figure 10), which were further divided into small farms (Hill et al. 1993). Many were purchased by Northerners looking for cheap land or a more favorable climate (Netherton and Netherton 1986:79).

As the roads were slowly rebuilt, railroad networks expanded across the south (Stover 1955). Some farmers began to transport their produce on steamers (Netherton and Netherton 1986:81). While some communities declined, new ones developed, from mining towns to tourist attractions (Ayres and Beaudry 1979).

In 1867, the Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts which elected delegates to a constitutional convention. In many areas, the majority of voters were African Americans because former slaves could now vote

and former Confederate soldiers were prohibited (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49).

In the 1870s, suffragists began to organize in Virginia, and women also led a number of progressive movements (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). But Virginia was already adapting to a number of other changes after the Civil War, and arguments for women’s rights were not warmly received. In 1877, Virginia became the last state to allow women to own property in their own names (Lebsock 1987:100).

This period saw a wave of nostalgia in architecture and home furnishings. The neo-Gothic style infused homes with religious associations. Italianate became a popular style for commercial and public buildings (Delle et al. 2000).

The politics of the 1880s saw a split between the Funders, who supported full repayment of pre-Civil War debt, and the Readjusters, who supported a reduced debt (Netherton et al. 1978). While some areas remained rural, others saw industrial development as the railroad arrived (Wheaton et al. 1991, Fesler and Lucchetti 1993).

The year 1882 saw the first state-supported African-American college. For public schools serving African Americans, the state provided a building and teacher's salary but little else.

By the 1890s, there were horse-drawn streetcars in some cities, though many streets remained unpaved and unmarked. People joined fraternal and religious organizations, such as the Free Masons, the YMCA, and the Salvation Army. Cities also developed police and firefighting efforts and water systems, but some still lacked hospitals and sewers (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:60-64, 67, 77-79) (Figure 11).

In 1898, Virginia's coastal plain was again taken over by war, though it was a war on foreign soil. Thousands of volunteers for the Spanish-American War trained in Camp Alger near Falls Church (Netherton et al. 1978). Newport News's shipbuilding capabilities were exploited to produce Navy vessels. The U.S. government seized the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad piers to ship soldiers (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:75).

The next year, there was a yellow fever scare on the peninsula, and quarantines shut transportation networks down. These efforts were either successful or unwarranted because the fever never spread (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:75).

In some areas, the end of the nineteenth century was largely defined by industrialization. It meant changes in the ways homes and workplaces were organized. It shifted the economy to wage labor and increased the frequency with which people changed jobs. It altered the way businesses kept records (Delle et al. 2000).

At the turn of the century, the horse-drawn street cars became electric. Rails were converted for electric trolleys. The trolley spurred the modern suburb, as well as vacation resorts (Netherton et al. 1978).

Virginians found entertainment and diversion in church socials, patriotic organizations, carnivals, theater, and sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:68-69, Netherton et al. 1978). They also enjoyed joustings and balloon rides (Netherton et al. 1978).



Figure 11. Photograph of the Hilton Fire Department, which was headquartered in an old farmhouse engulfed by the growth of Hilton Village, Newport News, Virginia (Griffith 1919).

In the first years of the twentieth century, the Republican party became increasingly associated with big business. Democrats were associated with the Populist movement.

By this time, many African-American tenant farmers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987:92). The Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College and the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station disseminated the latest knowledge of about scientific agricultural techniques (Netherton et al. 1978). Steam engines and tractors replaced work animals. Virginians also enjoyed household lamps and cook stoves (Netherton and Netherton 1986:87-88).

When automobiles appeared, Virginians became committed to building better roads (Netherton et al. 1978). Motion pictures began to compete with the theater (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:69). Virginians were caught up in recreational activities of many kinds, sought as an antidote to work and familial responsibilities (Netherton and Netherton 1986:98).

Technological progress was not, however, always matched by social progress. The 1902 Virginia Constitution disenfranchised 90% of African Americans through literacy tests and a poll tax (Lebsock 1987:91, Netherton et al. 1978).

African Americans also faced increased segregation and lynchings (Lebsock 1987:91). By 1906, streetcars were segregated in all Virginia cities. There were protests or boycotts in every major city, and they all failed (Meier and Redwick 1969).

The disruption of Coastal Plain communities by the Spanish-American War was nothing compared to that which resulted from World War I. Even before the U.S. involvement, E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company began producing munitions for England and France in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). A new shipyard was begun in Stafford (Balicki et al. 2003). Executive order established the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station (McDonald et al. 1992). Mulberry Island would eventually be taken over by Fort Eustis (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993).

With the building of military installations, Virginia's Coastal Plain was dramatically altered. These installations brought new opportunities for people to work and live in Virginia. At the same time, some communities disappeared forever, remembered only by the historical record and, in some cases, only by their remains buried underground.

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3: Caroline County: Historical Themes and Questions

Caroline County is located in east-central Virginia, between the Rappahannock and Pamunkey rivers (Figures 12 and 13). Most of the county lies within the coastal plain; the fall line passes through the western part of the county. Caroline County is home to Fort A. P. Hill, a military reservation consisting of some 77,000 acres.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

As much of Virginia experienced an economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new prospects. For white women, these included educational opportunities traditionally reserved for men, and for both white and African-American women, the ownership of businesses and property became possible. Despite these changes, women largely had the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

The agricultural focus of the region began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain produc-

tion, but Caroline County was an exception to this rule, and tobacco remained the staple crop throughout the 1830s. Much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978).

Caroline County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction



Figure 12. Caroline County locator map.



Figure 13. Historical map of Caroline County

in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A consideration of this question requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986:47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. The appearance of mills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Some mills were powered by dammed streams (Netherton et al. 1978). A steam driven sawmill was introduced to Caroline in the 1850s to produce lumber for export. (Wingfield 1924:28).

Caroline County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts

and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of technological changes upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of grist and saw mills or other mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s, some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes, and regular stagecoach schedules led to greater personal travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986). A stagecoach line carried mail

and passengers through Caroline County in the 1830s. Stages stopped at taverns within Caroline and at 5 railroad stations run by the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad. They also brought passengers on steamboats on the Potomac River or Aquia Creek. (Fall 1970:31).

As noted above, most of the county records were lost during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. Histories based upon documentary evidence, such as letters, may be better equipped to describe the changes brought by regular mail service aboard stagecoaches, for instance. The archaeological study of the physical evidence of changes wrought by expanding transportation networks has the potential to illuminate resultant shifts in household material wealth.

Research Questions

1. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

Agriculture

During the Antebellum period in much of Virginia, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production, but Caroline County was an exception to this rule, and tobacco remained the staple crop throughout the 1830s. Much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms

were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. As Caroline County's Antebellum farmsteads were largely located in areas that were socially and politically isolated, and dependence upon tobacco as the staple crop persisted in this area as other farmlands were diversifying, the potential exists for farm layouts, community settlement patterns, and architectural forms that are regionally distinct.

Research Questions

1. Were the enslaved residents on plantations with absentee owners, run by free African Americans, more likely to receive better treatment?

An examination of this issue would require documentary evidence of an absentee landowner and a free black overseer, and an examination of foodways and material evidence in comparison with other contemporary plantations of similar size.

2. Did the practice of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Markets and Commerce

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988:62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover

from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55, Netherton et al. 1978).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in Antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

By the 1820s, some well-developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). Along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979), as well as wayside inns built along turnpikes. These taverns also served as post offices, schools,

temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978).

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). Caroline County was predominantly rural, with dispersed settlement and few public services. In 1830, the citizens of Port Royal complained that the court house was too far away for them to vote, and requested the establishment of a local voting precinct (Wingfield 1924:61).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to landscape use over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. As Caroline County's Antebellum farmsteads were largely located in areas that were socially and politically isolated, the potential exists for farm layouts, community settlement patterns, and architectural forms that are regionally distinct.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A consideration of this question requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

2. How did Caroline County's dispersed settlement and political isolation affect its residents' lifeways?

Information on regionally distinct customs, and reduced access to trade networks could be obtained from an examination of artifact assemblages and features in comparison with contemporary sites from other counties.

Government and Politics

Virginia's "Fund for Internal Improvement," created to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect highways, was established in 1816. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines (Salmon n.d.), but this increased access to transportation did not prevent citizens of Port Royal from complaining that the court house was too far away for them to vote easily. In 1830, they requested the establishment of a local voting precinct (Wingfield 1924:61).

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia Writer's Program 1941:8, 61).

From 1830-60, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. Laws prohibited teaching them to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988:45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of Antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide

additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among Antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within Antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986:47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

During the Antebellum period, many former farmers left their land to operate general stores or engage in other businesses after tobacco production proved unpredictable and financially risky (Netherton et al. 1978). In the early nineteenth century, a white urban middle class was developing, made up of the families of professionals, clergymen, artists, professors, shopkeepers, and upper mechanics (Delle et al. 2000). Tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved, were often engaged in labor on farms held by absentee landowners in the 1830s (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). During this agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Blomberg 1988:222, Netherton et al. 1978). African-American men found wage-based employment after their emancipation as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, and sailors, among other professions (Blomberg 1988, Netherton et al. 1978). They were also employed to work on roads and bridges, but often lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978). Free African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or seamstresses (Lebsock 1987:59). They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock 1987:59). Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987:55).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of Antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia Writer's Program 1941:8, 61). Many white families who could afford to educate their children privately saw public schools as a form of charity, choosing instead to send their children to preparatory institutions. Edge Hill Academy, a private preparatory school in Caroline County, was established in the 1850s, but closed when war was declared (Wingfield 1924:132).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the Antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, such as those who enrolled their children at Edge Hill Academy, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity? Is there evidence of accumulation?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Accumulation may be seen in the frequency of patent cures as compared to materials related to folk medicines.

Social Movements

Among white middle-class communities, women of the 1830s were often involved in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65,70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, these women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging Antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to

less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quakers abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988). By contrast, some Baptist leaders used Bible to justify the continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage and subsequent linkage to a temperance movement.

Identity and Religion

As much of Virginia experienced economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new opportunities, including education for white women and property ownership for both black and white women. Some women even owned their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55). Over the course of the century, however, Virginia women turned from an interest in politics and public life to an increasing focus on the domestic sphere and family life (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Handbooks of the 1830s prescribed home furnishings for suburban wives (Delle et al. 2000). Women were charged

with the responsibility of creating a sanctuary from the rest of society, but the line between the home and the outside world was often blurred by women's involvement in schools, libraries orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65,70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). They formed the majority in white protestant churches, and some Quaker women were ministers (Lebsock 1987:60-62, 69)

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, including both slaves and free African Americans, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically illiterate and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988:207, McDonald et al. 1992). They often worked performing skills they learned on plantations, or found employment as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, laundresses, seamstresses, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, or sailors, among other occupations (Blomberg 1988:222, Lebsock 1987, Netherton et al. 1978). They were involved in public works but eventually lost most of these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978)

The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58). Port Royal residents were evidently in favor of increasing social segregation. Those who were members of Enon Baptist Church donated land and materials in 1850 for enslaved African Americans (formerly members of the congregation) to build a separate church. The minister of the new racially segregated African-American church was a literate slave (Wingfield 1924:168).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assem-

blages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion. (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Caroline County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's Antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plains region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about Antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address

specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within Antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Caroline County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts as well as grave location, orientation, and potential maintenance.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Confederate money had no value, causing severe financial hardships for most Virginians (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of the changes to landscape use following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such

issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated wage earners. Caroline County did not host a significant free black community prior to Emancipation, and therefore presents an opportunity to compare the lives of enslaved African Americans with newly freed people, through a study of material remains.

Research Questions

1. As wage-earners, did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Caroline County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features. In addition, there may be observable changes in the faunal and ethnobotanical record.

2. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of slavery?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

In the late 1860s lumber manufacture that had ceased as a result of the war was renewed. In 1896, the introduction of an excelsior mill to the county provided pine shaving packing materials for shipping by George P. Lyon, of Woodford (Wingfield 1924:26-28).

While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of technological changes upon households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of excelsior mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. What was the impact of logging upon the landscape in the late nineteenth century?

Documentary evidence of logging in conjunction with landscape surveys of erosion and logging trails would be helpful in addressing this question.

Transportation and Communication

Roads were in poor condition in the years immediately following the war, leading many farmers to ship their harvest by steamer (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, however, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Southern plantation system was replaced by a system of

farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. Landlords received a portion of these tenants' crops. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to Antebellum landowners following the Civil War. After Emancipation, most former slaves rented houses and worked as sharecroppers for their former masters. As the railroads expanded in Caroline County, many were employed to cut cordwood for wood-burning locomotives and for railroad ties. This employment allowed many to acquire their own homes and farms (Wingfield 1924:167).

During the 1870s, many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. African Americans commonly lived in old slave cabins or in cabins they built after the war. Neighbors helped each other with the harvest in tight-knit communities (McDonald et al. 1992). African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Most of these farms kept cattle for dairying, but few were slaughtered. Chickens, ducks, turkeys, hogs, and horses were also commonly kept livestock (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Most farmers in the nation, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). At the turn of the century, many black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987), but still only one in four Southern black farmers owned land. Tenancy locked the farmer into a cycle of poverty and was considered the greatest economic and social problem in the South (Leone et al. 1999).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. How did farming practices differ between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural features and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Caroline County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals and human labor?

This question would necessitate intact architectural remains and perhaps evidence of the introduction of machinery.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought

loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978). In the late 1860s, lumber manufacture in Caroline County that had ceased as a result of the war, was renewed. In 1896, the introduction of an excelsior mill to the county provided pine shaving packing materials for shipping by George P. Lyon, of Woodford. (Wingfield 1924:26-28).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their Antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

At the close of the Civil War, Caroline's African-American population was as large as its white population. Very few local black residents had been free prior to Emancipation. The black population remained constant at about half the total population of Caroline throughout the nineteenth century (Wingfield 1924:167). Whereas the landscape once had been defined by dispersed plantations, it now was characterized by clustered villages (Underwood et al. 2003).

Buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). In many places, fences and buildings were gone, replaced by stockades and entrenchments (Netherton et al. 1978). Confiscated lands, administered by Freedmen's Bureau, were sold or leased to ex-slaves or cooperatives such as Lincoln Land Association (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of the changes to landscape use following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, changing settlement patterns, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated people. Caroline County did not host a significant free black community prior to Emancipation, and therefore presents an opportunity to compare the lives of enslaved African Americans with newly freed people, through a study of material remains.

Research Questions

1. How did the trend away from dispersed settlement toward clustered villages affect the lives of Caroline County residents following the Civil War?

Artifacts and intact features would be useful in addressing this question.

2. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Caroline County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

Government and Politics

The Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges. Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. "Black Codes" replaced the old slave codes, which had restricted the

activities of slaves. In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. The wages earned by some black farm workers were reduced by various fines and penalties. Still, following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and file lawsuits (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). Two men who were African-American citizens of Caroline (William E. Crockett and Philip Pendleton) ran for positions in the House of Delegates, but were defeated. Rev. L. A. Goodloe succeeded in becoming Bowling Green's first black postmaster during Grant's presidency, and African-American men also served as postmasters in Port Royal (Wingfield 1924:175). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials.

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

Work

Throughout the South during Reconstruction, the Antebellum plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. A sharecropper normally paid the landlord a portion of the crop in exchange for this assistance. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999).

African-American tenants were especially susceptible to exploitation and abuse during the Reconstruction period. Many newly emancipated African Americans lived on their former masters' lands (Netherton et al. 1978). In some cases, a black farm worker was forbidden from leaving a farm without permission. Many former slaves left plantations for fear of re-enslavement, and some feared permanent work, moving often. While many former slaves worked in agriculture, some worked in factories, mechanical trades, and business, or for the railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). Black men also worked in sawmills, and as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers (Netherton et al. 1978).

White farmers feared competition from former slaves or a loss of order following the end of slavery. The loss of slaves and of white males killed in the war decreased the number of workers engaged in agriculture (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). In response to labor shortages, farmers turned to less labor-intensive products, maintaining fruit orchards, growing vegetables,

raising poultry, and dairying (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). They also looked to immigrants for cheap wage labor (Orser 1999).

Many women worked following the war, particularly if they were single, if their husbands were disabled, or if they were poor. They could find employment as domestic servants, laundresses, waitresses, farm laborers, factory workers, seamstresses, teachers, and secretaries. Women who were widowed often took over their husband's business. Women generally were paid only half as much as men who occupied similar jobs (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

3. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of enslaved fieldwork?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

Education, Health, and Recreation

Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1869, a new Virginia constitution replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state (Netherton and Netherton 1986). School houses were often still located in log buildings, but also might be set up in two-story frame houses, or brick buildings (Netherton et al. 1978). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did take advantage of public educational opportunities (Netherton et al. 1978). By 1882, there were 29 white and 21 colored public schools in Caroline County (Fall 1970:39). In 1893, the Caroline Sunday School Union formed, offering religious education and Bible study for African-American children in addition to their public school classes (Wingfield 1924:173). Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on the materials available in Virginian schoolhouses of the late-nineteenth century, particularly for such African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the Antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form

and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

At the close of the Civil War, Caroline's African-American population was as large as its white population. The free black population of the county was small prior to Emancipation. The black population remained constant at about half the total population of Caroline throughout the nineteenth century (Wingfield 1924:167). The

Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1867 the Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). Two African-American citizens of Caroline County (William E. Crockett and Philip Pendleton) ran for positions in the Virginia House of Delegates, but were defeated. Rev. L. A. Goodloe succeeded in becoming Bowling Green's first black postmaster during Grant's presidency, and African-American men also served as postmasters in Port Royal (Wingfield 1924:175). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials.

Religion was a central part of the lives of most African-American Virginians in the late nineteenth century. They were active in churches, especially those of the Baptist faith, while black and white worship styles began to diverge (McDonald et al. 1992). Some members of black communities continued to attend white churches, while black communities formed their own churches (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1893, Caroline Sunday School Union formed to bring African-American children together to study Bible lessons. (Wingfield 1924:173)

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or

poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

2. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the Postbellum period high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. Small pox and malaria, along with other diseases, killed a great many adult African

Americans due to inadequate medical facilities and unequal opportunities to utilize available medical resources (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African-American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Ethnohistories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Caroline County changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the Antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

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4: Fairfax County: Historical Themes and Questions

Fairfax County, created in 1743 from a part of Prince William County, is located in northern Virginia, near Washington, D.C. (Figures 14 and 15). The Potomac River forms the county boundary along the northeast, east, and southeast. Most of the county lies above the fall line, and therefore outside of the coastal plain. The county is home to Fort Belvoir.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

As much of Virginia experienced an economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new prospects. For white women, these included educational opportunities traditionally reserved for men, and for both white and African-American women, the ownership of businesses and property became possible. Despite these changes, women largely had the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

After the 1830s, fishing with huge seines destroyed the spawn in the Potomac River, driving the fisheries out of business (Netherton

et al. 1978). Virginia's General Assembly passed legislation to protect fisheries, but they were unable to recover (Netherton et al. 1978:62). As the fisheries were in decline, new farming methods were promoted.

Beginning in the 1840s, agricultural publications and societies helped to spread the practice of progressive scientific farming techniques. With lime used to neutralize the depleted soil, agricultural yields improved. The use of gypsum as a soil amendment and clover as a cover crop also helped increase productivity (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978).

In Fairfax in the 1850s, excess capital encouraged investment in mills, factories, and mining (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills reflected the nineteenth-century shift away from tobacco monoculture to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Flour was easier to transport and worth more than unmilled grain (Clarke et al. 1994, Netherton and Netherton 1986:52, Voigt et al. 1998).

Fairfax County is fortunate to have preserved many of its Antebellum records. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals.



Figure 14. Fairfax County locator map



Figure 15. Historical map of Fairfax County (Hoffman 1864).

The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A consideration of this question requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, the reaper, the cook stove, and the sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. They performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors. Industrial slaves were more likely to rebel than plantation slaves, and they did so in a variety of ways, including through negligence, slowdowns, feigned ignorance, theft, arson, and sabotage. Some white workers perceived hired slaves as competition

for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, as was the housing for laborers (Delle et al. 2000).

After the 1830s, fishing with huge seines destroyed the spawn in the Potomac River, driving the fisheries out of business (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's General Assembly passed a law to protect fisheries, but they were unable to recover (Netherton et al. 1978:62). As the fisheries were in decline, new farming methods were promoted. Beginning in the 1840s, agricultural publications and societies helped to spread the practice of progressive scientific farming techniques. With lime used to neutralize the depleted soil, agricultural yields improved. The use of gypsum as a soil amendment and clover as a cover crop also helped increase productivity (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978). Water and then steam-powered sawmills allowed increased production of lumber from timber stands, which was transported to Richmond and Washington, D.C. and used for railroad ties (Linebaugh et al. 1995).

In Fairfax in the 1850s, excess capital encouraged investment in mills, factories, and mining (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills reflected the nineteenth-century shift away from tobacco monoculture to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Flour was easier to transport and worth more than unmilled grain (Clarke et al. 1994, Netherton and Netherton 1986:52, Voigt et al. 1998).

Fairfax County is fortunate to retain many of its Antebellum county records. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of technological changes upon households and individuals. The study of the material remains of mills, for example may yield a better understanding of the labor required in their operation.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of gristmills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural

features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

3. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleobotanical evidence, would be required, along with comparative data.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the “Fund for Internal Improvement” to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s, some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes and regular coach schedules led to greater personal travel during the 1820s and 30s (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

Wayside inns, mills and churches were built along these turnpikes. Inn taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring sessions, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978)

During the 1830s, before the railroad appeared, much of Virginia’s flour and grain was brought to the port of Alexandria by turnpikes from the west and south and then shipped to northern states (Netherton and Netherton

1986:51, Peterson 1932). African-Americans competed with Irish and German immigrants for employment on roads and bridges as streets were improved and railroad lines were increased (Clarke et al. 1994, Netherton et al. 1978, Voigt et al. 1998). Communities developed around these rail stations. A typical village might include a schoolhouse, church, blacksmith, grist and saw mills, and stores (Williams and Saint Onge 1994).

Farmsteads of the 1840s were linked by roads which led to railroad lines or wharves on water bodies. And a new telegraph line that was installed between Richmond to Washington, D.C. (Balicki et al. 2002, 2003, Netherton et al. 1978). Plank roads that became increasingly common during this time may have been brought to the area by Northerners who settled in Virginia (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51). During the 1850s, these plank roads became even more widespread, along with an increasing number of turnpikes (Netherton et al. 1978).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of road networks influence settlement patterns and town development in the Antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

2. Do plank roads show evidence of construction details that are distinctly Northern in origin?

Requires intact construction features and a comparison with contemporary plank roads in New England.

3. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

Agriculture

During the Antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop, which suffered from both soil depletion and the fluctuations of a volatile market, to a more diverse economy based on grain production. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, some areas still failed to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade (Underwood et al. 2003). Agricultural prices declined due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988:62). Some farmers, rather than switch crops, chose to leave Virginia for the West. Others stayed in the area, but abandoned their farms, turning to business.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Rice 1971). Northerners settled in the state, motivated to leave homes in New England by its high cost of land. The growth of the Washington, D.C. market, the success of lime and deep plowing in regenerating the land, and transportation improvements made Virginia an attractive place to settle (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57). By 1860, tens of thousands of Northerners had bought land in Virginia, mostly small tracts, and were supportive of the system of slavery (Rice 1971). Members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) arrived from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York to settle in Fairfax County (Netherton and Netherton 1986)

This influx of farmers from the North, attracted in part by the potential of progressive farming, caused the population to increase (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Agricultural publications and societies further promoted scientific techniques, such as deep plowing, adding lime to the soil to neutralize acidity, and using gypsum and clover to amend depleted soils, and crop rotation using a four-field system. All of these practices greatly increased productivity (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978, Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Quakers were particularly interested in agricultural education, and were at the forefront of those adopting new progressive farming methods. In addition, the Quakers opposed slavery, created self-help groups to educate planters wishing to reduce their dependence on slaves, and shifted to raising dairy cattle at a scale that was not as labor intensive as other forms of farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of progressive agricultural techniques and Northern settlement upon community development, farm layouts, and foodways. As an area that welcomed significant numbers of Northern farmers, particularly Quakers, archaeological evidence is particularly relevant to an improved understanding of the impact of progressive agricultural methods upon Fairfax County's landscape and communities.

Research Questions

1. Were Fairfax's Northern farmers more likely to design farmsteads in a manner consistent with small-scale agriculture that was less likely to be reliant upon slavery?

This question would require the presence of intact features, as well as documentary evidence of relocation from New England.

2. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Markets and Commerce

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988:62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). Before the railroad appeared in Fairfax, much Virginia flour and grain was brought to the port of Alexandria by turnpikes from the west and south and then shipped to northern states (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51, Peterson 1932). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55, Netherton et al. 1978)

The natural resources related to the seafood industry suffered as a result of this agricultural diversification. After the 1830s, fishing with huge seines destroyed the spawn in the Potomac River, driving the fisheries out of business (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's General Assembly passed a law to protect fisheries, but they were unable to recover (Netherton et al. 1978:62).

Cash-poor farmers of Antebellum Virginia, often rented slaves to other farmers, commercial enterprises, or sold them for quick profits to Deep South plantations (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). However, the 1840s witnessed a depression

in the slave market, creating further economic pressure on Virginia planters and small farmers (Netherton et al. 1978), but possibly protecting some enslaved men, women, and children from being sold away from their families located on local plantations.

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in Antebellum stores and market places?
2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

By the 1820s, some well-developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). Along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979), as well as wayside inns built along turnpikes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals, and their taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes. (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978). Towns grew up around stores and mills. A typical Antebellum village in eastern Virginia might include a schoolhouse,

church, blacksmith, grist and saw mills, and stores (Williams and Saint Onge 1994).

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Sometimes streams were dammed to power these mills (Netherton et al. 1978).

During the 1840s and 1850s, trees were growing up on abandoned farm land, as thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Netherton et al. 1978, Rice 1971). Virginia newspapers responded by urging Northerners to settle in the state, though abolitionists argued that it would be difficult to attract Northerners to a slave state (Hickin 1971). An influx of settlers from northern states soon proved them wrong. In Fairfax County, these included Members of the Society of Friends (Quakers), who arrived from the northeastern states, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, as early as the 1830s (Netherton and Netherton 1986). The newcomers were motivated by the expensive cost of land in New England, the growth of the Washington, D.C. market, and the success of transportation improvements and progressive agricultural practices in Virginia. While some Northerners failed at farming and returned home, many elected to stay (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57). By 1860, tens of thousands of Northerners had bought land in Virginia, mostly small tracts. Most eventually supported slavery, but some Northerners endeavored to entice free laborers to settle in Virginia, as an alternative to slaves. Most of these efforts were unsuccessful (Rice 1971). The plank roads that became increasingly common in Virginia during this time may have been brought by the Northern settlers (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51).

Archaeological investigation of the changes in landscape use over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. Large-scale settlement patterns as they relate to Northern or Quaker settlement in Fairfax, might be better addressed through an examination of maps, deeds, and other historical documents, as Fairfax's county records did survive the Civil War. However, differences in the construction of vernacular buildings, farmstead management, and site layout might best be considered through archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A discussion of these issues would rely upon intact stratigraphy and comparative archaeological data. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

2. How is the presence of immigrant groups, including Northerners, related to site layout and the artifacts present (including consumer goods, evidence of foodways, etc.)?

This question requires documentary evidence of immigrant groups, intact features, sufficiently abundant artifacts, and information about other sites for comparison.

Government and Politics

In 1816, Virginia established the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect highways. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines (Salmon n.d.). Increased access to the waterways led to widespread fishing with huge seines that had a devastating impact on spawning fish in the Potomac River after the 1830s. The General Assembly passed laws to protect fisheries, but they

were unable to recover. The loss of the spawn drove fisheries out of business (Netherton et al. 1978:62).

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia Writer's Program 1941:8, 61).

From 1830 to 1860, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. Laws prohibited teaching them to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988:45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of Antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among Antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within Antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

During the Antebellum period, an urban middle class was developing, made up of the families of professionals, clergymen, artists, professors, shopkeepers, and upper mechanics (Delle et al. 2000). They were doctors who diagnosed illnesses and prescribed medicine, and some owned medicine stores, but few were dentists at this time. Many former farmers left their land to operate general stores or engage in other businesses after tobacco production proved unpredictable and financially risky (Netherton et al. 1978). Tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved, were often engaged in labor on farms held by absentee landowners in the 1830s (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). During this agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986:47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, both free and enslaved, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). Enslaved workers in industrial settings performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors. Some white workers, particularly immigrants, perceived them as competition for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, as housing was housing (Delle et al. 2000). Free African Americans were required to register with the state. The intent of the law was to prevent

enslaved people from posing as free in order to obtain paid work (Sweig 1977:1-6).

Some free African Americans farmed land that they owned, or had claimed as abandoned property (McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically illiterate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988:207, McDonald et al. 1992). Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Blomberg 1988:222). In the 1860s, African Americans in Falls Church lived in segregated neighborhoods, and are documented as participating in a variety of trades, as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers. They were also employed to work on roads and bridges, but often lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978). African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or seamstresses. They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses. Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987:59).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of free African Americans in Falls Church, and elsewhere in the county, visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence life within their households?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

During the 1830s, youths of both sexes were educated in home schools, free schools, orphanages, academies, boarding schools, and seminaries. Some youth were sent to school in northern states. Wayside inns were built along turnpikes and road networks under construction in the early nineteenth century, and these taverns sometimes served as schools and meeting places for dance lessons and tutoring sessions (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978). Teachers were often well educated, having attended schools elsewhere in the United States or in Europe. Some were ministers or prominent church members (Eaves 1936).

In some areas, free African Americans petitioned for schools but failed. If they left the state for school, they were not permitted to return. Many free blacks did leave for other states or for Liberia during this period (Lebsock 1987:57-58). Laws prohibited teaching free people of African descent to read or write (Blomberg 1988).

Antebellum recreational activities took place in a variety of public arenas. In the 1830s, people found entertainment in their homes and in newspapers, through music, dancing, and foxhunting, and at taverns, churches, fairs, court days, political rallies, and militia displays. By the 1850s, Virginians found entertainment in circuses, community celebrations on holidays, balls, parades, and a few organized sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:68-69). Jousting tournaments also became popular at this time (Netherton et al. 1978).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to

region and ethnicity. Doctors of the 1830s were few and far between. They diagnosed illnesses and prescribed medicine, and some owned medicine stores. There were few dentists at this time (Netherton et al. 1978).

Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the Antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Middle-class white women of the 1830s had the responsibility of creating the home as sanctuary apart from the rest of the world, but the line between the home and the world was blurred by women's involvement in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65-70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, middle-class women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging Antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. During the 1840s, Members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) arrived in Fairfax from the northeastern states, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Newly arrived to the state from New England, they often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quakers abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988). By contrast, Baptist leaders often used the Bible to justify the existence and continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test

through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

As much of Virginia experienced economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new opportunities, including education for white women and property ownership for both black and white women. Some women even owned their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55). Over the course of the century, however, Virginia women turned from an interest in politics and public life to an increasing focus on the domestic sphere and family life (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003).

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, including both slaves and free African Americans, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically illiterate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988:207, McDonald et al. 1992). African Americans in Falls Church lived in segregated neighborhoods, and are documented as participating in a variety of trades, as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers. They also often worked on roads and bridges but eventually lost most of these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978)

These African American families were diverse in their organization (McDonald et al. 1992). The various forms taken by free black families took were wholly unrelated to the economic class to which the family belonged (McDonald et al. 1992). Some were matriarchal, as a result of slavery, others included adult men as well as women (Blomberg 1988, McDonald et al. 1992). Free black women often were poor, supporting children, but choosing not to marry (Lebsock 1987:59). In some cases, an extended family lived together, including several generations of the families of several siblings, or even non-family members, possibly boarders (Blomberg 1988:209, McDonald et al. 1992).

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Rice 1971). Virginia newspapers urged Northerners to settle in the state. Motivated by expensive land in New England, the growth of the Washington, D.C. market, and the success Virginia's agricultural reforms and transportation improvements, tens of thousands of Northerners had bought land in Virginia by 1860 (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57, Netherton et al. 1978, Rice 1971). Most conformed to Southern modes of life, eventually supporting slavery, but many remained outsiders (Rice 1971). The plank roads that increased in number during the 1840s may have been brought by the Northerners who settled in Virginia (Netherton et al. 1978).

Quakers, newly arrived to Fairfax in the first half of the nineteenth century as part of the Northern migration southward, based moral abolitionist convictions on their religious beliefs, sometimes suing slave-owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988). Quakers urged members to speak against slavery peacefully. Some saw slavery as an economic as well as a moral problem, believing it kept the South from prospering like other industrializing states. By contrast, the leaders of Baptist churches often used Bible to justify slavery (Hickin 1971).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide

information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were

ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Fairfax County is fortunate to retain many of its Antebellum records, but archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's Antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs from existing documentation. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plains region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about Antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans

persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within Antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Fairfax County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Confederate money lost its value, causing severe financial hardships for most Virginians (Netherton et al. 1978). While many cities throughout the state experienced economic declines in the 1860s, industries were developing in Fairfax. Mining towns, including Colchester and Frying Pan copper mines, as well as tourist attractions began to appear in the area (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of dramatic economic changes in Virginia following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated wage earners. Fairfax County is

somewhat unique in its early industrialization and economic recovery. Archaeological inquiry can illuminate how economic opportunities in mining, development, and tourism in the area shaped the social character of the county during the Postbellum period.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions of Fairfax copper miners in the 1860s?

This question would best be addressed through a combination of documentary research and archaeological investigation. The presence of intact features and artifacts would be necessary.

2. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

While many cities throughout the state experienced economic declines in the 1860s, industries were developing in Fairfax. Mining towns, including Colchester and Frying Pan copper mines, as well as tourist attractions began to appear in the area (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986).

By the 1920s, electricity had reached most places in Fairfax (Netherton et al. 1978). Electric lights and telephones had reached remote rural Fairfax by 1920, and street lights were installed or made electric shortly afterward (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of technological changes upon households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions of Fairfax copper miners in the 1860s?

This question would best be addressed through a combination of documentary research and archaeological investigation. The presence of intact features and artifacts would be necessary.

2. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

Transportation and Communication

In the 1870s, Fairfax's population was increasing, leading to the appearance of new churches, rail stations, telegraph lines, and new roads. The Board of Supervisors for Fairfax took over state and private turnpikes and made them free of charge. Fairfax included carriage and wagon makers, brickyards, flour mills, and lumber mills, but its focus remained primarily agricultural (Netherton et al. 1978). In 1887, the first telephones arrived to some Fairfax homes and businesses. By the 1890s, post offices had come to Fairfax County, and communities were developing around them (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). In 1894, the Vienna railroad station was remodeled to include a freight office (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Four years later, during the Spanish-American War, troops were transported from Fairfax by rail (Netherton et al. 1978).

Even after rails were introduced, most Fairfax residents traveled by horse power until electric trolleys were installed on converted rail tracks around 1900. These trolley lines along with improved roads were increasing the county's contact with metropolitan Washington, D.C. (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). This spurred suburban development of factories, houses, hotels, and proposals were made for the creation of communities designed specifically for commuters. Students were already commuting to Washington, D.C. schools by trolley car. Residents also

began to work and shop in Washington, D.C., Alexandria, and Georgetown and visitors from Washington visited Mount Vernon and Great Falls. Fairfax farmers increased dairy herds, confident milk would arrive fresh, and whole towns moved toward trolley lines. One church congregation physically moved their church building to be nearer the trolleys (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978).

At the turn of the century, Falls Church claimed a bakery, a hardware store, and several general merchants, confectioners, druggists, florists, coach and wagon builders, furniture dealers, dentists, and doctors. The growing popularity of the automobile increased Fairfax's commitment to road construction and maintenance, further easing transportation. By the 1920s, electricity had reached most places in Fairfax. Electric lights and telephones had reached even the remote rural areas of Fairfax by 1920, and street lights were installed or made electric shortly afterward (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad/trolley companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

This question requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

2. Is Fairfax's increasingly close economic and social relationship with Washington, D.C. visible in the material signature of the area's suburban middle class?

Requires an analysis of artifacts and architectural styles in comparison with data from metropolitan Washington, D.C.

Agriculture

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to Antebellum landowners following the Civil War. Many emancipated African Americans in Fairfax continued to work the same jobs they had held under slavery. Fairfax farmers in the late 1860s had lost most of their laborers and tools. Seeking quick returns, many gave up progressive farming methods adopted prior to the war, though they continued to practice crop rotation (Netherton et al. 1978). The economy depended primarily upon fishing and corn, but the crop yielded less with each planting.

Small farms in the area were carved from larger farms which in turn had once been part of colonial plantations. Many of these farms were purchased by Northerners who came following the Civil War and were generally successful in their agricultural endeavors (Hill et al. 1993, Netherton et al. 1978). Northern farmers were also active in Fairfax farmers' organizations, at least one of which included women and promoted dairying over large-scale crop production (Netherton et al. 1978).

Throughout the 1870s, Fairfax County's economy remained largely based on agriculture. Fairfax farmers met at stores and mills to share information while conducting other business. Theft, particularly of horses was widespread in the county at this time. In response, farmers banded together, forming cooperative organizations to protect their livestock (Netherton et al. 1978).

After the turn of the century, most Fairfax residents lived on farms, and the county was at the forefront of agricultural education. Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College was founded in Fairfax in the early twentieth century. In addition, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station held meetings in Fairfax to disseminate their findings. Orchard and dairy farming were

popular in the county in addition to more labor-intensive forms of agriculture. As transportation via turnpikes and railroads increased in number and efficiency, Fairfax farmers increased their dairy herds, confident that the milk would arrive fresh (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Fairfax County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. What were the layouts of Fairfax's dairy farms in the early twentieth century?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978). With less commerce by water, port towns found new purposes or fell into decline (Hill et al. 1993), but economic recovery was easier near urban markets, such as Washington, D.C. Accordingly, while many cities throughout the state experienced economic declines in the 1860s, industries were developing in Fairfax. Mining towns, including Colchester and Frying Pan copper mines, as well as tourist attractions began to appear in the area (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986). Fairfax's economy continued to rely on agriculture into the next decade, but the county also included carriage and wagon makers, brickyards, flour mills, and lumber mills. Fairfax stores and mills were meeting places for farmers, who traded news while conducting their business (Netherton et al. 1978). By the turn of the century, Falls Church claimed a bakery, a hardware store, several general merchants, confectioners, druggists, florists, coach and wagon builders, furniture dealers, dentists, and doctors (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their Antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

During the Civil War, much of Fairfax woods had been clearcut, bridges had been destroyed, as wells as rail lines, fences, mills, public buildings, farms, and orchards (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Churches were reclaimed for use as hospitals or storehouses, and the area's residents worked to rebuild damaged roads and railways. Along with the roads, saloons spread throughout Alexandria in the late 1860s (Netherton et al. 1978).

Fairfax farmers in the late 1860s had lost most of their laborers and tools. Seeking quick returns, many gave up progressive farming methods adopted prior to the war, though they continued to practice crop rotation (Netherton et al. 1978). Small farms in the area were carved from larger farms, which in turn had once been part of colonial plantations. Many of these farms were purchased by Northerners who came following the Civil War, and were generally successful in their agricultural endeavors (Hill et al. 1993, Netherton et al. 1978).

Many people moved to northern Virginia so that their children could grow up in rural area, but were still within reach of Washington, D.C. (Netherton et al. 1978). Settlers came from New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, motivated by cheap available land, and a climate that was better suited to agriculture (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Northern farmers particularly active in Fairfax farmers' organizations, which promoted dairying over large-scale crop production (Netherton et al. 1978). Falls Church was a quiet town with such a high number of Northern settlers that it was called a "transplanted New

England village” (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

In 1865 significant black communities existed in Fairfax County near Lewinsville and around the county courthouse. By 1868, 440 African-American adults and children were attending schools in Fairfax, and by 1886, there were 8 black Fairfax schools to serve a growing African-American population. By 1870, the majority of African Americans in nearby Yorktown owned land near an area called “the reservation,” settled in small neighborhoods along a limited system of unpaved roads. A Quaker organization called the Friends’ Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen sent teachers, merchants, and representatives from the industrial and agricultural industries to Yorktown, to set up schools and stores, and to assist this new community in other ways (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1870, Fairfax’s population was increasing, leading to the appearance of new churches, rail stations, telegraph lines, and new roads. Fairfax included carriage and wagon makers, brick-yards, flour mills, and lumber mills, but its focus remained primarily agricultural (Netherton et al. 1978). By the 1890s, post offices had come to Fairfax County, and communities were developing around them (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Libraries were also being added to the county’s public buildings, including the Vienna Library (built in 1891), and the Falls Church Library (built in 1899).

In the late nineteenth century, electric trolleys were installed on converted rail tracks. Whole towns moved toward these trolley lines, and one church building was physically relocated to be in closer proximity to them. Improved roads, along with trolleys, were increasing the county’s contact with metropolitan Washington, D.C. (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). This spurred suburban development of factories, houses, hotels, and communities designed specifically for commuters. While these initial developments failed, vacation resorts in the area enjoyed some success (Netherton et al. 1978).

At the turn of the century, Falls Church claimed a bakery, a hardware store, several general merchants, confectioners, druggists, florists, coach and wagon builders, furniture dealers, dentists, and doctors (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Despite the growth of towns, much of the landscape remained rural, home orchards being a common sight in the county (Netherton and Netherton 1986). By the 1920s, electricity had reached most places in Fairfax. Electric lights and telephones had reached remote rural Fairfax by 1920, and streetlights were installed or made electric shortly afterward (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the changes in landscape use during the Postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns due to expanding transportation networks, and the impact of industrialization on previously rural landscapes. Differences in the construction of vernacular buildings, farmstead management, and site layout might also be considered through archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. How did the switch to dairying from monocrop agriculture affect the material wealth of landowners, the layout of farm sites, and the construction and floor plan of farm buildings?

Assemblages of artifacts, intact features, and documentary evidence would all be helpful in answering this question.

2. Did Postbellum Falls Church more closely resemble New England towns materially?

This question requires comparative data from New England. Artifact assemblages, architectural remains, and features would all be helpful in exploring this question.

Government and Politics

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional

convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. By this time, Virginia's post-war constitution had created a public education system, in addition to township boards of supervisors to take administrative roles in county courts. The Board of Supervisors for Fairfax had representatives from each township. In the 1870s and 1880s, they acted to protect local farmers' livestock from stray dogs and took over state and private turnpikes to make them free of charge, among other tasks (Netherton et al. 1978).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987). As a result, Fairfax's voters remained solidly Democratic in the early twentieth century, as the Republican party was still perceived as the socially liberal party of Lincoln (Netherton et al. 1978).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

Military and Defense

In 1898, thousands of volunteers for the Spanish-American War trained in Camp Alger near Falls Church. They were housed in tents and later transported by rail (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978). Archaeological evidence from Camp Alger and its vicinity has the potential not only to provide finer detail into the material conditions of enlisted men, but also to describe the impact of the resulting influx of young male soldiers upon surrounding communities.

Research Questions

1. Did U.S. military activity during the Spanish-American War significantly alter the day-to-day management of nearby stores and saloons?

Requires the presence of military artifacts.

Work

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to Antebellum landowners following the Civil War. Many emancipated African Americans in Fairfax continued to work the same jobs they had held under slavery. Fairfax farmers in the late 1860s had lost most of their laborers and tools. Seeking quick returns, many gave up progressive farming methods adopted prior to the war, though they continued to practice crop rotation (Netherton et al. 1978). The economy depended primarily upon fishing and corn, but the crop yielded less with each planting.

Small farms in the area were carved from larger farms which in turn had once been part of colonial plantations. Many of these farms were purchased by Northerners who came following the Civil War and were generally successful in their agricultural endeavors (Hill et al. 1993,

Netherton et al. 1978). Northern farmers were also active in Fairfax farmers' organizations, at least one of which included women and promoted dairying over large-scale crop production (Netherton et al. 1978).

In the 1860s and 1870s, African Americans of Falls Church lived in segregated neighborhoods, and their residents are documented as including a carpenter, a minister, a blacksmith, a wheelwright, several teachers, and a barber among their ranks (Netherton et al. 1978). By 1886, Fairfax County's African-American community were educated in 8 black schools, staffed predominantly by members of the Quaker Friends' Aid Society of Philadelphia (Netherton et al. 1978).

Mining towns, including Colchester and Frying Pan copper mines, as well as tourist attractions began to appear in the area (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986). Fairfax's economy continued to rely on agriculture into the next decade, but the county also included carriage and wagon makers, brickyards, flour mills, and lumber mills. Fairfax stores and mills were meeting places for farmers, who traded news while conducting their business (Netherton et al. 1978). By the turn of the century, Falls Church claimed a bakery, a hardware store, several general merchants, confectioners, druggists, florists, coach and wagon builders, furniture dealers, dentists, and doctors (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions of Fairfax copper miners in the 1860s?

This question would best be addressed through a combination of documentary research and archaeological investigation. The presence of intact features and artifacts would be necessary.

2. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

3. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

4. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

5. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of enslaved fieldwork?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

Education, Health, and Recreation

In 1868, 440 African-American adults and children were attending Fairfax County's black schools. These schoolhouses were mostly built of logs and mud, and sparingly furnished. They often lacked hinges and locks on their doors, though racial violence toward black schools was prevalent. Throughout the late 1860s, they were frequently the targets of arson (Netherton et al. 1978).

Herndon's first public school opened its doors in 1869. The new public school system was influenced by Northerner settlers who were used to New England's town-supported education. By 1870, 41 public schools existed in Fairfax County. Most were one-room schoolhouses with no outhouse. Their school year term was less than 5 months. In Falls Church, the school classes were held in log buildings, churches, and private homes until the Jefferson Institute funded the construction of a schoolhouse in 1882 (Netherton and Netherton 1986). By 1886, Fairfax County had 8 black schools, mostly staffed by members of the Quaker Friends' Aid Society of Philadelphia (Netherton et al. 1978).

At the turn of the century, Fairfax diversions included church socials, school activities, religious and educational fund raisers, professional societies, fraternal lodges, and patriotic organizations. County residents enjoyed carnivals, picnics, hot air balloon ascensions, and sporting events such as baseball games, tennis matches, and jousting tournaments (Netherton et al. 1978). Fairfax had its own baseball team, part of a national movement that embraced the game (Netherton and Netherton 1986). By 1906, Great Falls Park had a dance pavilion, a merry-go-round, and several picnic sites (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century, particularly for African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented. Research into the prevalence of arson and other violent acts toward African-American schools motivated by racism would also benefit from an examination of the material record.

Research Questions

1. Did Quaker involvement in Fairfax County's African-American schools influence the sparing styles in which they were furnished?

This would require an analysis of artifacts related to furniture in comparison with that of Quaker sites.

2. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the Antebellum period.

3. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

4. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

After the Civil War, the Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now

vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. In Fairfax, the school for African Americans was the target of racially-motivated arson. In 1868, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) attacked African American communities as well as sympathetic whites in Fairfax (Netherton et al. 1978). While racist violence subsided in the late nineteenth century, it resurfaced in the early twentieth. In 1915, the KKK reorganized in Fairfax, terrorizing members of the African-American community with verbal and visual threats, but only one account of violent crime is documented. The Colored Citizens Protection League, a local NAACP branch opposed to segregation, formed in Fairfax in resistance to KKK efforts to prevent equal opportunities for black citizens (Netherton et al. 1978).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief. Racist violence by organizations such as the KKK, including episodes of arson against members of African-American communities, would also be visible in the archaeological record even where documentary histories remain silent.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

After the Civil War, the Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. In Fairfax, the school for African Americans was the target of racially-motivated arson. In 1868, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) attacked African American communities as well as sympathetic whites in Fairfax (Netherton et al. 1978). The town's boundaries were gerrymandered to exclude black populations, and Falls Church neighborhoods were segregated (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1865, there were no freedmen's villages in Fairfax, but large communities existed in Lewinsville, near Fairfax Station, and around Fairfax Court House. By 1868, 440 African-American adults and children were attending schools in Fairfax, and by 1886, there were 8 black Fairfax schools to serve a growing African-American

population, many staffed by the Friends' Aid Society of Philadelphia (Netherton et al. 1978). Quakers and other Northern settlers who had arrived to the area in the late 1860s were often involved in developing the public school system, having been accustomed to New England's town-supported education. Falls Church was a quiet town with such a high proportion of Northern settlers that it was called a "transplanted New England village" (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

While racist violence subsided in the late nineteenth century, it resurfaced in the early twentieth. In 1915, the KKK reorganized in Fairfax, terrorizing members of the African-American community with verbal and visual threats, but only one account of violent crime is documented. The Colored Citizens Protection League, a local NAACP branch opposed to segregation, formed in Fairfax in resistance to KKK efforts to prevent equal opportunities for black citizens (Netherton et al. 1978). The black population continued to grow in Fairfax County, which would remain rural until the 1940s (Williams and Saint Onge 1994).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Research into the prevalence of arson and other violent acts toward African-American communities motivated by racism would benefit from an examination of the material record, where they might be evident even where they were not mentioned in contemporary documentation. Material remains can also attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the Postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Fairfax County changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the Antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

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5: City of Hampton: Historical Themes and Questions

The City of Hampton is located at the end of a peninsula formed by the James and York rivers, and the Chesapeake Bay (Figures 16 and 17). Elizabeth City County, as it was known prior to the consolidation with the City of Hampton, was one of the eight original shires formed in 1634. Both Langley Air Force Base and Fort Monroe can be found within its bounds.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

As much of Virginia experienced an economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new prospects. For white women, these included educational opportunities traditionally reserved for men, and for both white and African-American women, the ownership of businesses and property became possible. Despite these changes, women largely had the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

During the Antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as

a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production. The tobacco crop suffered from both soil depletion and the fluctuations of a volatile market. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

Elizabeth City County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, including those of Hampton, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.



Figure 16. Elizabeth City County (City of Hampton) locator map.



Figure 17. Historical map of Elizabeth City County (City of Hampton).

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

A discussion of this question would rely upon the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. Did the shift from tobacco to grain production influence the diets of farmstead residents?

A consideration of this question would be supported by an analysis of food cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and/or paleoethnobotanical evidence.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, the reaper, the cook stove, and the sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. The appearance of mills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Some mills were powered by dammed streams (Netherton et al. 1978).

Elizabeth City County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, including those of Hampton, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local information related industry. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional trends in industry and technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon

households and individuals. The study of the material remains of mills, for example may yield a better understanding of the labor required in their operation.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of grist and saw mills or other mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s, some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes, and regular stage-coach schedules led to greater personal travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of road networks influence settlement patterns and town development in the Antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

2. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

Agriculture

During the Antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production. The tobacco crop suffered from both soil depletion and the fluctuations of a volatile market. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, some areas still failed to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade (Underwood et al. 2003). Agricultural prices declined due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988:62). Some farmers, rather than switch crops, chose to leave Virginia for the West. Others stayed in the area, but abandoned their farms, turning to business. Often these former farmers succeeded in operating general stores (Netherton et al. 1978). Other Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978). Free people of African descent often worked performing agricultural labor they learned on plantations (Blomberg 1988:222, Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1830, much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Were the enslaved residents on plantations with absentee owners, run by free African Americans, more likely to receive better treatment?

An examination of this issue would require documentary evidence of an absentee landowner and a free black overseer, and an examination of foodways and material evidence in comparison with other contemporary plantations of similar size.

2. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Markets and Commerce

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988:62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55, Netherton et al. 1978)

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in Antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

By the 1820s, some well-developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). Along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979), as well as wayside inns built along turnpikes. These taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978).

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Sometimes streams were dammed to power these mills (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the changes in landscape use over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. Elizabeth County's records suffered significant damage during the Civil War, leading to an increased reliance upon archaeological data for the Antebellum period. Historical documents that would normally be the most efficient source of information for questions related to settlement patterns and town planning are generally absent for Hampton, and so archaeological surveys would contribute substantially in these areas. The material evidence gleaned from archaeological sites would also be useful in determining individual property layouts, and

the construction details of mills, churches, and other vernacular buildings.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A discussion of these issues would rely upon intact stratigraphy and comparative archaeological data. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

2. Did mills serve as centers for social activity in addition to agricultural production?

This question can be answered with the aid of an archaeological assemblage of artifacts.

Government and Politics

In 1816, Virginia established the “Fund for Internal Improvement” to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect highways. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines (Salmon n.d.).

In 1846, the Virginia legislature’s District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia Writer’s Program 1941:8, 61).

From 1830 to 1860, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. Laws prohibited teaching them to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988:45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978).

At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of Antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among Antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within Antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986:47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

During the Antebellum period, many farmers left their land to operate general stores or engage in other businesses after tobacco production proved unpredictable and financially risky (Netherton et al. 1978). In the early nineteenth century, a white urban middle class was devel-

oping, made up of the families of professionals, clergymen, artists, professors, shopkeepers, and upper mechanics (Delle et al. 2000). Tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved, were often engaged in labor on farms held by absentee landowners in the 1830s (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). During this agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Blomberg 1988:222, Netherton et al. 1978). African-American men found wage-based employment after their emancipation as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, and sailors, among other professions (Blomberg 1988, Netherton et al. 1978). They were also employed to work on roads and bridges, but often lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978). Free African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or seamstresses (Lebsock 1987). They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock 1987:59). Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of Antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia Writer's Program 1941:8, 61). Many white families who could afford to educate their children privately saw public schools as a form of charity, choosing instead to send their children to preparatory institutions. Antebellum recreational activities took place in a variety of public arenas. In the 1830s, people found entertainment in their homes and in newspapers, through music, dancing, and foxhunting, and at taverns, churches, fairs, court days, political rallies, and militia displays. By the 1850s, Virginians found entertainment in circuses, community celebrations on holidays, balls, parades, and a few organized sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:68-69). Jousting tournaments also became popular at this time (Netherton et al. 1978).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the Antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class

and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Among white middle-class communities, women of the 1830s were often involved in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries,

orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65,70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, these women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging Antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quakers abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988). By contrast, some Baptist leaders used Bible to justify the continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

As much of Virginia experienced economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new opportunities, including education for white women and property ownership for both black and white women. Some women even owned their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55). Over the course of the century, however, Virginia women turned from an interest in politics and public life to an increasing focus on the domestic sphere and family life (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Handbooks of the 1830s prescribed home furnishings for suburban wives (Delle et al. 2000). Women were charged with the responsibility of creating a sanctuary from the rest of society, but the line between the home and the outside world was often blurred by women's involvement in schools, libraries orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65,70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). They formed the majority in white protestant churches, and some Quaker women were ministers (Lebsock 1987:60-62, 69).

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, including both slaves and free African Americans, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically illiterate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, and gardens (Blomberg 1988:207, McDonald et al. 1992). They often worked performing skills they learned on plantations, or found employment as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, laundresses, seamstresses, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, or sailors, among other occupations (Blomberg 1988:222, Lebsock 1987, Netherton et al. 1978). They also often worked on roads and bridges but eventually lost most of these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978)

The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the

next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to

which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African-Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Hampton experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's Antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plains region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about Antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American

populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of Euroamerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within Antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the Antebellum funerary practices of African-American residents of Hampton differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Confederate money lost its value, causing severe financial

hardships for most Virginians (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of the changes to landscape use following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated wage earners.

Research Questions

1. How did rebuilt businesses in Hampton following its destruction by fire in the Civil War differ from Antebellum businesses?

The physical layout of buildings that housed businesses inferred from intact features, along with the material signature of associated artifacts would contribute to an improved understanding of Postbellum businesses in Hampton.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

By 1910, Elizabeth City County, rural just a couple decades earlier, was home to saw mills, iron foundries, and window blind, oil, and crab picking factories (Wheaton et al. 1991).

While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of technological changes upon households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions of Hampton's mills and factories in the 1860s?

This question would best be addressed through a combination of documentary research and archaeological investigation. The presence of intact features and artifacts would be necessary.

2. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

Transportation and Communication

Roads were in poor condition in the years immediately following the war, leading many farmers to ship their harvest by steamer (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, however, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992). By 1910, Elizabeth City County was connected to Richmond and Petersburg by the railroad and to Norfolk, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and New York by ship (Wheaton et al. 1991).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of railways influence settlement patterns and town development in the Antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

2. How did economic competition with newly constructed railroads affect port towns, and those members of the community who relied on the previously booming shipping industry?

An examination of the construction features and layouts of late nineteenth-century shipwrecks, piers, or dockyards could contribute significantly to our understanding of how those involved in

inland shipping adapted to the growth of rail transportation.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Southern plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. Landlords received a portion of these tenants' crops. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to Antebellum landowners following the Civil War. Following Emancipation, most former slaves rented houses and worked as sharecroppers for their former masters.

During the 1870s, many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. African Americans lived in old slave cabins or in cabins they built after the war. Neighbors helped each other with the harvest in tight-knit communities (McDonald et al. 1992). African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African-Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Most of these farms kept cattle for dairying, but few were slaughtered. Chickens, ducks, turkeys, hogs, and horses were also commonly kept livestock (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Most farmers in the nation, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). At the turn of the century, many black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987), but still only one in four Southern black farmers owned land. Tenancy locked the farmer into a cycle of poverty and was consid-

ered the greatest economic and social problem in the South (Leone et al. 1999).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought

loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978).

By 1910, Elizabeth City County, rural just a couple decades earlier, was home to saw mills, iron foundries, and window blind, oil, and crab factories. The county was connected to Richmond and Petersburg by the railroad and to Norfolk, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and New York by ship (Wheaton et al. 1991).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their Antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

The residents of Hampton, unable to keep Northern troops at bay during the war, had burned their city to the ground to keep it from falling into enemy hands (Wheaton et al. 1991). Elizabeth City County remained rural throughout the Reconstruction period, but by 1910, Elizabeth City County was home to saw mills, iron foundries, and window blind, oil, and crab factories. The county was connected to Richmond and Peters-

burg by the railroad and to Norfolk, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and New York by ship (Wheaton et al. 1991).

Archaeological investigation of changes in landscape use during the Postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about the conditions under which Hampton was rebuilt and how the town's layout was altered in the aftermath of war. The effects of increasing industrialization with the arrival of railroads, factories, and foundries might also be examined through material evidence. However, differences in the construction of vernacular buildings, farmstead management, and site layout might best be considered through archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. How was the town of Hampton's character changed as it was reconstructed following its Civil War destruction by fire?

Changes in town layout might best be addressed through maps and other historical documents. Archaeological study of foundation remnants, artifacts, and features might contribute best to an understanding of the regional evolution of vernacular construction styles, and to any changes in the use of those buildings (e.g. the location of kitchens relative to the street, or the integration of private homes with businesses in a single building).

2. Did mills serve as centers for social activity in addition to agricultural production?

This question can be answered with the aid of an archaeological assemblage of artifacts.

3. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

Government and Politics

The Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges. Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites

resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. "Black Codes" replaced the old slave codes, which had restricted the activities of slaves. In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. The wages earned by some black farm workers were reduced by various fines and penalties. Still, following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and file lawsuits (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

Work

Throughout the South during Reconstruction, the Antebellum plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. A sharecropper normally paid the landlord a portion of the crop in exchange for this assistance. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999).

African-American tenants were especially susceptible to exploitation and abuse during the Reconstruction period. Many freed slaves lived on former masters' lands (Netherton et al. 1978). In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. Many former slaves left plantations for fear of re-enslavement, and some feared permanent work, moving often. While many former slaves worked in agriculture, some worked in factories, mechanical trades, and business, or for the railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). Black men also worked in sawmills, and as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers (Netherton et al. 1978).

White farmers feared competition from former slaves or a loss of order following the end of slavery. The loss of slaves and of white males killed in the war decreased the number of workers engaged in agriculture (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). In response to labor shortages, farmers turned to less labor-intensive products, maintaining fruit orchards, growing vegetables, raising poultry, and dairying (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). They also looked to immigrants for cheap wage labor (Orser 1999).

Women worked in Postbellum Virginia as well, particularly if they were single, if their hus-

bands were disabled, or if they were poor. They could find employment as domestic servants, laundresses, waitresses, farm laborers, factory workers, seamstresses, teachers, and secretaries. Women who were widowed often took over their husband's business. Women generally were paid only half as much as men who occupied similar jobs (Lebssock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

3. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of enslaved fieldwork?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

Education, Health, and Recreation

Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary

schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1869, a new Virginia constitution replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state (Netherton and Netherton 1986). School houses were often still located in log buildings, but also might be set up in two-story frame houses, or brick buildings (Netherton et al. 1978). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did take advantage of public educational opportunities (Netherton et al. 1978). Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the mid-nineteenth century, particularly for African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the Antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward

women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

The Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now

vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49).

Religion was a central part of the lives of most African-American Virginians in the late nineteenth century. They were active in churches, especially those of the Baptist faith. Black and white worship styles began to diverge. Some members of black communities continued to attend white churches, while black communities formed their own churches (McDonald et al. 1992).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the Postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Hampton changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the Antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

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6: City of Newport News: Historical Themes and Questions

The City of Newport News, formerly Warwick County, stretches for 25 miles along the James River, from Hampton Roads to the southeast, to Skiffes Creek to the northwest (Figures 18 and 19). Fort Eustis (originally Camp Abraham Eustis) was established there in 1918 (www.eustis.army.mil).

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

As much of Virginia experienced an economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new prospects. For white women, these included educational opportunities traditionally reserved for men, and for both white and African-American women, the ownership of businesses and property became possible. Despite these changes, women largely had the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

The total population for Warwick County hovered around 1500 in the middle of the century



Figure 18. Warwick County (City of Newport News) locator map.

and later peaked at about 1740 people. Steady growth in population from the 1830s to 1860s was largely due to progressive agricultural practices, such as crop rotation within a four field system, and deeper plowing (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Water and then steam-powered sawmills allowed increased production of lumber from timber stands, which was transported to Richmond and Washington, D.C. and used for railroad ties (Linebaugh et al. 1995).

In Warwick, excess capital encouraged investment in mills, factories, and mining (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills reflected the nineteenth-century shift away from tobacco monoculture to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Flour was easier to transport and worth more than unmilled grain (Clarke et al. 1994, Netherton and Netherton 1986:52, Voigt et al. 1998). Increased cotton production spurred the construction of a cotton mill that employed 45 workers, but failed due to competition from mills in the deep South (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In the 1850s, at least one free African-American man served as Warwick County miller (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Tidemills for grinding grain and corn remained constant during this decade, while steam sawmills decreased from six to three (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

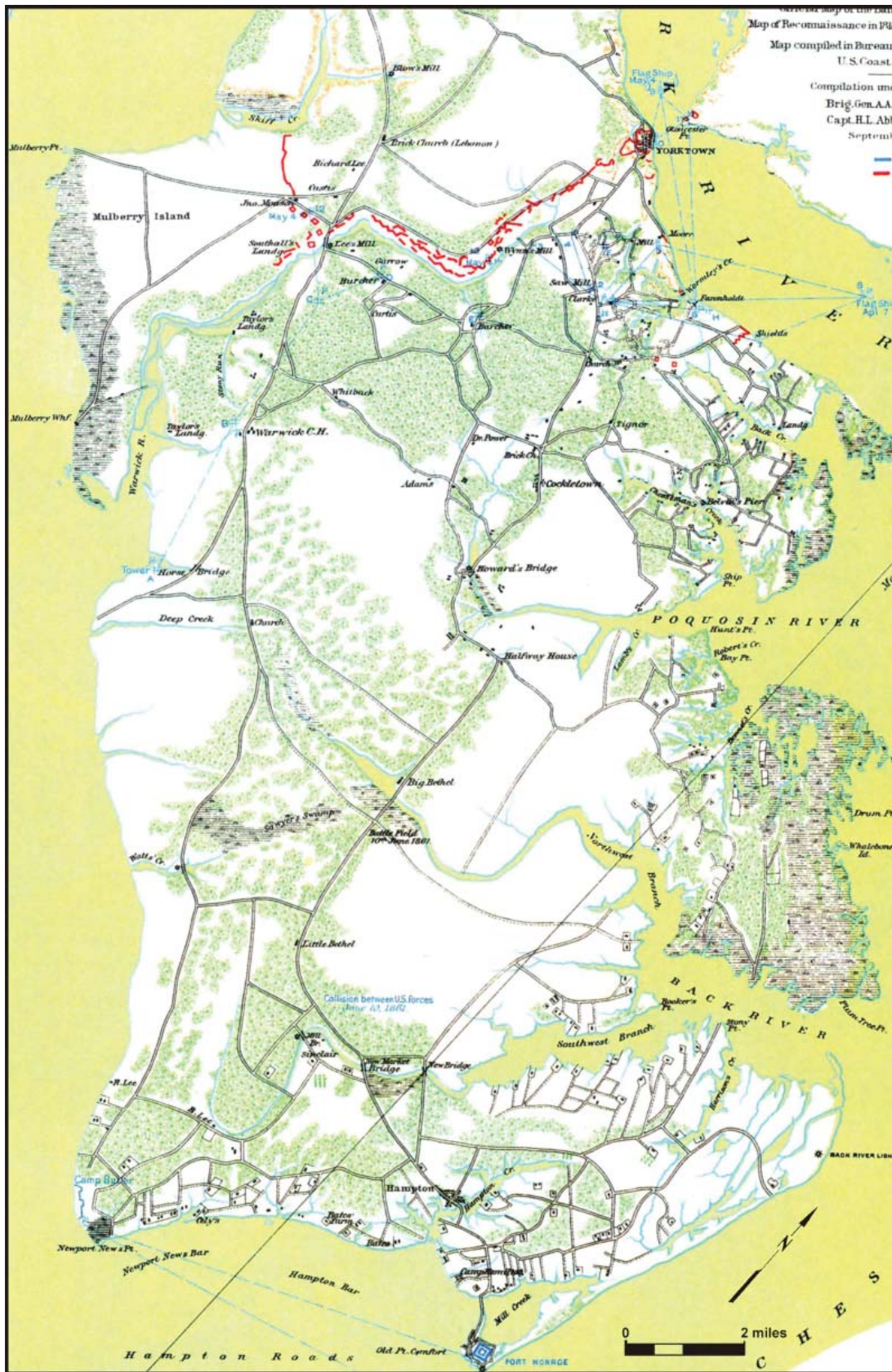


Figure 19. Historical map of Warwick County (City of Newport News).

Warwick County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of the flour and cotton mills that accompanied the shift from single crop farming to diversified agriculture?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

3. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, the reaper, the cook stove, and the sewing ma-

chine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. They performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors. Industrial slaves were more likely to rebel than plantation slaves, and they did so in a variety of ways, including through negligence, intentionally slow work, feigned ignorance, theft, arson, and sabotage. Some white workers perceived hired slaves as competition for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, as was the housing for laborers (Delle et al. 2000).

The total population for Warwick County hovered around 1500 in the middle of the century and later peaked at about 1740 people. Steady growth in population from the 1830s to 1860s was largely due to progressive agricultural practices, such as crop rotation within a four field system, and deeper plowing (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Beginning in the 1840s, agricultural publications and societies helped to promote such scientific farming techniques. With lime used to neutralize the depleted soil, agricultural yields improved. The use of gypsum as a soil amendment and clover as a cover crop also helped increase productivity (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978). Water and then steam-powered sawmills allowed increased production of lumber from timber stands, which was transported to Richmond and Washington, D.C. and used for railroad ties (Linebaugh et al. 1995). In celebration of such increased production rates, Warwick County hosted an agricultural exhibition in the 1860s (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In Warwick, excess capital encouraged investment in mills, factories, and mining (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills reflected

the nineteenth-century shift away from tobacco monoculture to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Flour was easier to transport and worth more than unmilled grain (Clarke et al. 1994, Netherton and Netherton 1986:52, Voigt et al. 1998). Increased cotton production spurred the construction of a cotton mill that employed 45 workers, but failed due to competition from mills in the Deep South (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In the 1850s, at least one free African-American man served as Warwick County miller (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Tidemills for grinding grain and corn remained constant during this decade, while steam sawmills decreased from six to three (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Warwick County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local information related industry. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional trends in industry and technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the material remains of mills, for example may yield a better understanding of the labor required in their operation.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of grist and saw mills or other mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

3. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the “Fund for Internal Improvement” to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines. Wayside inns, mills and churches were built along these turnpikes. Inn taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring sessions, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes, around which new communities developed (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978)

Farmsteads of the 1840s were linked by roads which led to railroad lines or wharves on water bodies (Balicki et al. 2002, 2003). Plank roads that became increasingly common during this time may have been brought to the area by Northerners who settled in Virginia (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51). During the 1850s, these plank roads became even more widespread, along with an increasing number of turnpikes (Netherton et al. 1978).

The shipping industries of nineteenth-century Newport News took place in bustling ports occupied by people of diverse means and origins. Free African-American men were numbered among the sailors that peopled the docks of Newport News in the middle of the nineteenth century. At least four free black sailors were documented in the area during the 1840s.

In 1851, a pier was constructed at Newport News Point, accompanied by a store with a post office. In the following decades, it was not

uncommon for a hundred or more ships to be reported at anchor in the city's ports. Sweet potatoes were exported aboard schooners northbound for New York City, and wheat and oats raised on the areas larger farms were shipped to Baltimore and Richmond (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the economic and social impact of shipping industries upon the ports they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns, and access to imported goods as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. Do plank roads show evidence of construction details that are distinctly Northern in origin?

Requires intact construction features and a comparison with contemporary plank roads in New England.

2. Did the communities of Newport News enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from docks and piers.

Agriculture

During the Antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production. Although one family made fortune shipping Richmond tobacco around the world from Newport News in the 1850s (Quarstein and Rouse 1996), the tobacco crop overall suffered from both soil depletion and the fluctuations of a volatile market. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

Trees were growing up on abandoned farm land (Netherton et al. 1978). Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Rice 1971). By 1860, tens of thousands of Northerners had bought comparatively inexpensive land in Virginia, mostly small tracts, and were supportive of the system of slavery (Rice 1971). Agricultural publications and societies further promoted scientific techniques, such as deep plowing, adding lime to the soil to neutralize acidity, and using gypsum and clover to amend depleted soils, and crop rotation using a four field system., all of which greatly increased productivity (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). Increased cotton production in Warwick spurred the construction of a cotton mill, employing 45 people, but this industry quickly failed due to competition from cotton mills in the deep South (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

During the 1850s, improved agricultural methods and increased profits led to the construction and renovation of many buildings, including a three-story brick home on Mulberry Island (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Warwick County's population also grew, reaching its Antebellum peak at 1740. Warwick County farmers grew mostly corn, oats, wheat, and sweet potatoes, shipping their products for export north along the east coast (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In 1860, Middle Plantation Agricultural Society was formed with members from James City, York, and Warwick counties. Its purpose was to hold agricultural exhibitions and increase the wealth of its elite members. Warwick continued to retain large plantations, such as Denbigh, Endview, and Land's End on Mulberry Island, but most were eventually divided to resolve economic and population pressure. Land ownership remained key to community leadership in Warwick, while landless slaves made up majority of population. Cash-poor farmers who retained their slaves prior to the Civil War usually rented slaves out to other farmers or commercial enter-

prises. Most eventually sold them to plantations further south (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the Antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Were the enslaved residents on plantations with absentee owners, run by free African Americans, more likely to receive better treatment?

An examination of this issue would require documentary evidence of an absentee landowner and a free black overseer, as well as a consideration of foodways and material evidence in comparison with other contemporary plantations of similar size.

2. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

3. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect the lifestyles of enslaved families?

Requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Markets and Commerce

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices in the Antebellum period, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of

the tobacco trade. Though one family made a fortune shipping Richmond tobacco around the world out of Newport News, tobacco farmers themselves failed to profit, due in part to fluctuations in the prices fetched at market (Balicki et al. 2002, Quarstein and Rouse 1996, Underwood et al. 2003). Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Sweet potatoes were shipped from Newport News in schooners to New York, and wheat and oats harvested from larger farms were sent to Baltimore or Richmond (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55, Netherton et al. 1978)

The natural resources related to the seafood industry suffered as a result of this agricultural diversification. Commercial fishing increased in Deep Creek, Warwick River, and Newport News Point. In response, in 1839 and again in 1858, Warwick County petitioned Virginia's General Assembly to protect its oyster beds from non-residents, and set seasonal limits to curb the sharp decline in oyster harvests. But despite stress to local fisheries and oyster beds, shipping thrived. In the 1850s it was not uncommon to observe a hundred or more ships at anchor off of Newport News' shores (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In the 1850s, Virginia farmers experimented with planting cotton. Some cotton mills produced blankets for export (Netherton et al. 1978). Increased cotton production led to the construction of a cotton mill in Warwick County that employed 45 people, but it quickly failed due to competition from markets further South (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In addition to the cotton and gristmills in the area, sawmills were employed in the lumber trade. Water- and then steam-powered sawmills allowed increased production of lumber, which was then transported to Richmond and Washington, D.C., to make railroad ties (Linebaugh et al. 1995). This industry too, was in decline prior to the war. Six

steam sawmills once in operation in Newport News decreased to three in the 1860s (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. How did Newport News' dockyards, piers, and shipping warehouses contribute to local communities as the hubs of commerce and information?

Requires a consideration of cargoes listed in shipping records in conjunction with an examination of local and imported artifacts on site, and/or a comparison of dockyard or warehouse sites with domestic sites.

2. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in Antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

3. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al.

1978). Along the growing system of turnpikes, the appearance of gristmills, sometimes powered by dammed stream, reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003, Netherton et al. 1978). Also along these roads were churches, as well as wayside inns that served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Ayres and Beaudry 1979, Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978).

Warwick Court House hosted the usual buildings, including one "house of private entertainment," one general store, and one "common school," with a student population of 21 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Houses of worship were particularly important to Antebellum Warwick's landscapes and towns. Two Baptist churches with 350 members were central to Warwick county's religious life prior to the construction of churches of other denominations. In 1836, a new church, Disciples of Christ, formed in Warwick County. Its log church house burned before completion, replaced by clapboard building that doubled as a school in 1859 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Warwick was characterized by overall population growth from the 1830s to 1860s (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). At its peak, it reached 1740, largely due to progressive agriculture practices (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Nevertheless, the 1840s were characterized by population decline. Eastern Virginia lost 26,000 people from 1830-40 (Hickin 1971). In 1830, Warwick County had 1570 residents in 96 square miles, but lost people to the West in the 1840s, due to a lack of industry and declining agricultural prices (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Many were farmers, who, rather than switch crops, chose to begin new lives outside of Virginia. Others stayed, but left farming, operating general stores or going into other business ventures (Netherton et al. 1978).

During the 1840s and 1850s, trees were growing up on abandoned farmland, as thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Netherton

et al. 1978, Rice 1971). An influx of settlers from northern states resulted, helping Warwick's population to exceed 1500 in the 1850s (Hickin 1971, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). The newcomers were motivated by the expensive cost of land in New England, the growth of the Washington, D.C. market, and the success of transportation improvements and progressive agricultural practices in Virginia (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57). The plank roads that became increasingly common in Virginia during this time may have been brought by the Northern settlers (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51).

The development of Newport News in the 1850s followed the growth of the local shipping industry. Over a hundred ships were often found in local harbors. In 1851, a pier was constructed at Newport News Point, with a store and post office nearby. While coastal industry was booming, agriculture suffered. In the 1860s, Warwick County did retain a few large plantations, including Denbigh, Endview, and Land's End on Mulberry Island, but many divided into smaller parcels of land as land ownership remained key to community leadership (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to landscape use has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure during the nineteenth century. The growth of well-developed roads systems in Virginia during the early part of the nineteenth century had a profound impact on settlement patterns, which previously had been centered around inland waterways. The inns, post offices, mills, general stores, and new churches (such as Warwick County's 1836 Disciples of Christ) that sprung up along newly constructed roads formed the core of new developing communities as large plantations gave way to smaller farms in most areas excepting Mulberry Island, under the influence of declining tobacco prices.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect the lifestyles of enslaved families?

Requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

2. How is the presence of immigrant groups, including Northerners, related to site layout and the artifacts present (including consumer goods, evidence of foodways, etc.)?

This question requires documentary evidence of immigrant groups, sufficiently abundant artifacts, features, and information about other sites for comparison.

Government and Politics

In 1816, Virginia established the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect highways. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph lines (Salmon n.d.).

Increased access to the waterways in the early nineteenth century led to widespread fishing with huge seines that had a devastating impact on spawning fish in the Potomac River as well as the oyster beds of Newport News. The General Assembly passed laws to protect these maritime resources, though they were largely ineffective. Warwick County petitioned the General Assembly in 1831 and 1858 to protect oyster beds from non-residents, and to set seasonal limits to allow the oysters to recover from overfishing (Quarstein and Rouse 1996, Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by lo-

cal taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia Writer's Program 1941:8, 61).

From 1830-60, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. Laws prohibited teaching them to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988:45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987:58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of Antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among Antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Did toll houses established by Virginia's "Fund for Internal Improvement" serve as hospitable waypoints for travelers seeking rest, refreshment, and information, or were they merely administrative outposts?

Requires the identification of a toll house site, and a sufficient quantity of artifacts, whose origins might be closely examined.

2. Is there any material evidence of literacy within Antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

In the early nineteenth century, an urban middle class was developing, made up of the families of professionals, clergymen, artists, professors, shopkeepers, and upper mechanics (Delle et al. 2000). There were doctors who diagnosed illnesses and prescribed medicine, and some owned medicine stores (Netherton et al. 1978). Few were dentists at this time (Netherton et al. 1978). In the 1860s prior to the war, a county census recorded two doctors and one lawyer in Warwick (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986:47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of Antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

Those employed in shipping often reaped lucrative rewards in the 1850s. One family made a fortune shipping Richmond tobacco around the world from the Newport News area. Wealthy white families were not alone in making their living from Warwick's shipping industry. At least four free black sailors are documented in the county as earning wages aboard ships (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Quakers, newly settled in Virginia from northern states in the 1840s, often sold timber for shipbuilding. They were farmers in Alexandria and truck farmers near Norfolk. They sought alternatives to slavery by hiring wage laborers, or by seeking employment in small-scale industry that was less labor-intensive (Netherton et al. 1978).

Increased cotton production in the 1840s spurred the construction of a short-lived cotton mill in Warwick County that employed 45 people. Others found employment in the

county's six steam-driven sawmills (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). At least one free black man was employed as a Warwick County miller in the 1850s (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from physical evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of Antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

During the 1830s, youths of both sexes were educated in home schools, free schools, orphanages, academies, boarding schools, and seminaries. Some youth were sent to school in northern states. Wayside inns were built along turnpikes and road networks under construction in the early nineteenth century, and these taverns sometimes served as schools, and meeting places for dance lessons and tutoring sessions (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al.

1978). Teachers were often well educated, having attended schools elsewhere in the United States or in Europe. Some were ministers or prominent church members (Eaves 1936).

Antebellum recreational activities took place in a variety of public arenas. In the 1830s, people found entertainment in their homes and in newspapers, through music, dancing, and foxhunting, and at taverns, churches, fairs, court days, political rallies, and militia displays. By the 1850s, Virginians found entertainment in circuses, community celebrations on holidays, balls, parades, and a few organized sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:68-69). Jousting tournaments also became popular at this time (Netherton et al. 1978). In 1860, Middle Plantation Agricultural Society formed with members from James City, York, Warwick and held an agricultural exhibition for the public's enjoyment (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Doctors of the 1830s were few and far between. They diagnosed illnesses and prescribed medicine, and some owned medicine stores. There were few dentists at this time (Netherton et al. 1978). By the 1860s, the census recorded only two doctors in practice in Warwick County (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the Antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Middle-class white women of the 1830s had the responsibility of presenting their homes as sanctuaries from the rest of the world, but the line between the home and the world was blurred by women's involvement in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987:65,70; Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, middle-class women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging Antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, and documented participants in Warwick's timber trade, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quaker abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988). By contrast, some Baptist leaders used Bible to justify the continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

Throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). At this time, a small free black population is recorded as present in Warwick County (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). A free black family was typically illiterate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988:207, McDonald et al. 1992). They often worked performing skills they learned on plantations, or found employment as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, laundresses, seamstresses, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, or sailors, among other occupations (Blomberg 1988:222, Lebsack 1987, Netherton et al. 1978). They also often worked on roads and bridges but eventually lost most of these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978).

All free blacks were required to register with the city or county clerk, though the vast majority never registered, except for a brief peak in registrations following Nat Turner's slave rebellion. Among those free blacks who registered, most had been born free, inheriting their status from a free mother (Sweig 1977). The intent of the registration law was to prevent enslaved people from posing as free in order to obtain paid work (Sweig 1977:1-6). In 1831, after Nat Turner's slave rebellion, Warwick County legislators in the Virginia General Assembly were among the minority who voted to emancipate Virginia's slaves (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Racial identity did not establish class, nor did it necessarily determine slave ownership. In 1830, some free black Virginians, usually in urban areas, owned as many slaves as larger planters did (RDASNLH 1924). Free blacks might have owned slaves because they had purchased family members, whom they were in the process of freeing (RDASNLH 1924). One man of African descent was documented in Warwick County as living with twelve family members and three slaves on 60 acres that he owned (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Other free black men did not own slaves themselves, but were responsible for the

oversight of a plantation with slaves belonging to an absentee owner (RDASNLH 1924).

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, thousands of acres were put up for sale in Virginia (Rice 1971). Virginia newspapers urged Northerners to settle in the state. Motivated by expensive land in New England, the growth of the Washington, D.C. market, and the success Virginia's agricultural reforms and transportation improvements, tens of thousands of Northerners, including Quakers, had bought land in Virginia by 1860 (Netherton and Netherton 1986:57, Netherton et al. 1978, Rice 1971). The plank roads that increased in number during the 1840s may have been brought by the Northerners who settled in Virginia (Netherton and Netherton 1986:51).

Most Northerners conformed to Southern modes of life, eventually supporting slavery, but many remained outsiders (Rice 1971). Quakers, who participated in Warwick's timber and shipping industries, based moral abolitionist convictions on their religious beliefs, sometimes suing slave-owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). By contrast, the leaders of Baptist churches often used Bible to justify slavery (Hickin 1971). Quakers urged members to speak against slavery peacefully. Some saw slavery as an economic as well as a moral problem, believing it kept the South from prospering like other industrializing states (Hickin 1971).

During the Antebellum period, the dominance of the Anglican Church gave way to Baptist churches in Warwick, and Methodists on Mulberry Island. Two Baptist Churches predominated the area, with 350 members between them (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In Warwick in 1836, a new church, the Disciples of Christ, was formed (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). The log church house burned before completion, and was replaced by clapboard building also used as school in 1859 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). By 1840, many churches in northern Virginia were Methodist. Some were Episcopal or Baptist. Itinerant preachers found audiences at camp meetings or gatherings on farms. These

meetings sometimes lasted for four days, with thirty or more clergy members, up to a hundred tents, and hundreds or thousands of attendants (Netherton et al. 1978)

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to

which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Warwick County experienced the loss of most of its Antebellum county records during the Civil War, but archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's Antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plains region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about Antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived

from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within Antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Warwick County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

Old Dominion Land Company took on the role of city planning in the 1880s for 18,000 acres purchased by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, creating Newport News a from small fishing village. A cargo terminal and wharves were soon built, and the city underwent rapid development.

In 1881, the first Newport News hotel opened. A year later, the Newport News piers were completed, ready to set the stage for the export by ship of coal brought by Chesapeake

and Ohio rail from Appalachia. The following year, the Newport News piers were complete, and coal was brought by rail from Appalachia (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In 1883, a building near Newport News railroad housed a general store, post office, and occasional inn. The same year, the Newport News grain elevator was built. A tin shop and ironworks were added in the mid-1880s, followed by a dry dock for the shipbuilding industry in 1889, a year after a Warwick County referendum made Newport News its county seat. Newport News had quickly become the center of population and commerce for the lower Peninsula (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Boys in Newport News in the 1890s did not expect to attend high school, preferring to find employment as soon as possible (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Newport News differs from many other areas in eastern Virginia in that its urban development was occurring as most other parts of the state were economically stagnant. Archaeological inquiry can illuminate how economic opportunities in shipping and tourism in the area shaped the social character of the county during the Postbellum period.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions of shipyard and dockworkers in Newport News?

This question would best be addressed through an examination of waste materials produced in dockyards.

2. How did the lives of Newport News residents differ from those of citizens of rural, agricultural counties struggling to recover from the transition from slavery to wage-based labor?

Household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be necessary in conjunction with comparative data from agriculturally-based counties.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

The 1880s saw the construction of a railroad that passed near Mulberry Island, and even though twelve miles of water separated the track from the island community, the increased access to transportation of cargo boosted the local economy, promoting industrial growth and a shipbuilding industry (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Old Dominion Land Company took on the role of city planning for 18,000 acres purchased by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, creating Newport News from small fishing village. A cargo terminal and wharves were soon built. By 1882, the Newport News piers were complete, and coal was brought by rail from Appalachia (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). By 1886, Newport News boasted both an iron works and a grain elevator, and was becoming the center of population and commerce on the lower peninsula. A referendum making Newport News the seat of Warwick County was passed in 1888.

The growth of industry continued throughout the 1890s. Water piped into the city from the dammed Warwick River began to replace fresh water wells in 1891, and in 1894 the city purchased the water works, though Newport News remained without a sewer system. The first firefighting equipment was bought in Newport News a year later to replace the outdated bucket brigade method of controlling the spread of fire. This consisted of a coal-fired steam pump pulled by men, but horses from the garbage wagon were then hurried over (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

The mid-1890s also saw the growth of Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, founded in 1889, which grew from 77 acres to 138 by 1896, with 20 buildings, seven of which were over 300 ft. long. A transfer and hauling business also gained a foothold in local industry, as well as a stove and furnace company operating from Newport News, selling a full line of kitchenware (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). These heating devices may later have included kerosene-powered space heaters and cook stoves

which became common in the first decade of the next century (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

Despite these many improvements, at the end of the century the city still lacked any jails, police stations, or hospitals. The first hospital in Warwick County did not arrive until 1906, when it was staffed by three nurses, with beds for up to 15 patients. It served only members of the white community. Two years later, a hospital for African-American patients was built. While it employed four doctors, it offered very few beds (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

After the turn of the century, films began to compete with theater, as movie cinemas spread through Virginia. Several movie theaters were erected in Newport News in the first decade of the century (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). The landscape of Mulberry Island at this time included a brickyard (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). In the nineteenth century, bricks had been made primarily by hand, and in some places, bricks were made by hand until the mid-twentieth century. Early mechanized brick production resulted in bricks of poor quality, but by the late nineteenth century, mechanized brick making had improved. A typical mechanized brickyard at the turn of the century may have produced both bricks and tile, using a disintegrator to pulverize raw clay into a uniform consistency, and a pug mill to mix clay with water or sand. Other features present on brickyards included steam engines, a boiler, kilns, and sometimes a pier (Opperman and Thomas 1983 1986)

While histories based upon documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to investigate the effects of the growth of industry and technology households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities, and of how industrialization and modernization were uniquely expressed in Newport News.

Research Questions

1. How did the spread of movie theaters influence popular culture at the turn of the century? Which members of the community were most likely to embrace this new medium?

This question requires a comparison of artifacts and memorabilia.

2. Were docks, wharves, and piers used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of piers as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with shipping.

Transportation and Communication

Over the course of the 1870s, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway bought 18,000 acres in Warwick County, creating Newport News from a small fishing village. In 1871, the first Chesapeake and Ohio train departed from Newport News, and by the end of the decade, the construction of Chesapeake and Ohio's eastern terminus in Newport News had begun (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Many African Americans found employment working for these expanding railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). When the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was completed in the 1880s, reaching Newport News, industrial development came to the peninsula, lending support to the local economy (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993)

As Newport News piers were completed, coal was imported by Chesapeake and Ohio rail from Appalachia, and ferry service was implemented between Newport News and Norfolk. Steamboats transported mail, freight, and passengers to and from Newport News). As of 1896 when the city was incorporated, it still lacked bridges allowing cargoes to be easily transported over the Chesapeake and Ohio railways, but the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company grew from 77 acres to 138, with 20 buildings, seven over 300 ft. long (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

With the boom of industry came growing populations, reaching 2258 in Warwick County, and 948 in Newport News during the 1880s. By 1888, when Newport News became the county seat, it was the primary center of population for Warwick County. Accordingly, its commerce was foremost on the lower Peninsula, aided in 1889 by the addition of a dry dock for shipbuilding, and 1895 by the establishment of a transfer and hauling business (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In 1898, Newport News saw its first telephones in use, as preparations were made for the Spanish-American War. For the first time Newport News was used to house soldiers and build naval vessels. The U.S. government took charge of Chesapeake and Ohio piers as stages for the transport of soldiers (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). The following year, the county busily fought a yellow fever scare on the Peninsula. Hundred of tourists abandoned Newport News to rush home. Quarantines were quickly imposed, and all ferries, trains, and trolley were shut down. Fortunately, these measures were apparently effective, and the epidemic did not spread (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:75).

The streets of Newport News in the last decade of the century were unpaved, and unmarked. The 1890s saw horse-drawn street cars replaced by electric vehicles, and in around 1900 railways were converted for use by electric trolleys (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Netherton et al. 1978, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Cars and trolleys after the turn of the century brought increased attention to road construction and maintenance (Netherton et al. 1978). Bridges over Chesapeake and Ohio train yards were then installed in Newport News, and the first regular ferry began offering scheduled service from Newport News to Norfolk in 1912 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). While transportation within the city became more efficient, travel between towns remained largely unaffected by changes in technology. In the 1900s, only one dirt road passed between Norfolk and Virginia Beach (Swetnam et al. 1996).

The streetcars in all Virginia cities were segregated by 1906. This action was opposed by streetcar companies and by protests in every major city. From 1906 to 1907, there was an organized boycott of streetcars in Newport News but these actions failed to affect segregation of the city's public transportation (Meier and Redwick 1969).

Even as racial tension characterized the area, Warwick County was becoming increasingly ethnically diverse. By 1897, a Mennonite Colony had been founded in Warwick. Its members from around the country were attracted by cheap farmland. In the 1910s, the community at the Warwick Mennonite Colony was made up of some thirty families, active in coastal trade. They transported wood to Newport News in sail-rigged canoes and sailboats, and were involved in oystering, prompting the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad to create Oyster Point depot, opening new markets to the area's merchants and watermen (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories the politics of identity affecting access to travel and shipment of goods, or the impact of telephone networks on communication in Newport News. Archaeology may be more helpful in leading to a practical understanding of settlement patterns, and the layouts and arrangements of dockyards, piers, and warehouses, as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

2. How did economic competition with newly constructed railroads affect port towns, and those members of the community who relied on the previously booming shipping industry?

An examination of the construction features and layouts of late nineteenth-century shipwrecks, piers, or dockyards could contribute significantly to our understanding of how those involved in inland shipping adapted to the growth of rail transportation.

Agriculture

Lands confiscated during the war were administered by the Freedmen's Bureau, described by Quarstein and Rouse (1996) as the most maligned organization in Warwick. The Bureau sold or leased the land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). The Bureaus of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to antebellum owners who petitioned for their property (Quarstein and Rouse 1996, Netherton et al. 1978). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

During the 1870s many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. African Americans lived in old slave cabins or in cabins they built after the war. Neighbors helped each other with the harvest in tight-knit communities (McDonald et al. 1992). In Warwick County, a group of former slaves squatted on vacant land, demanding to receive "forty acres and a mule," but their efforts to support themselves were unsuccessful. They were threatened by a local white posse and eventually evicted by the U.S. Army (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

African-Americans were not the only ethnic minority to make use of Warwick farmlands. In 1897, a Mennonite Colony was founded in Warwick County. Settlers came from around the country, attracted by the area's cheap farmland. In addition to farming, these settlers supported themselves by selling lumber and cordwood from local timber. They also sold milk and produce, such as potatoes and strawberries at

Colony Farmer's Market in Newport News. By the 1910s, the Warwick Mennonite Colony was made up of thirty families (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Most farmers in the nation, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). At the turn of the century, some black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987), but still only one in four Southern black farmers owned land. Tenancy locked the farmer into a cycle of poverty and was considered the greatest economic and social problem in the South (Leone et al. 1999).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Warwick County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines and tractors replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

Following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and sue (McDonald et al. 1992). African-American churches, built by community effort, served as centers for business gathering, in addition to forums for educational and social activities (McDonald et al. 1992). Confiscated lands, administered by Freedmen's Bureau, were sold or leased to ex-slaves or cooperatives such as Lincoln Land Association. Some previous owners in Warwick successfully petitioned for return of land, but to them the Freedmen's Bureau remained unwelcome (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48).

In 1869, the railway systems were consolidated (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Rail stations were ideal locations for stores; in Warwick County, a general store was built in 1878 at Denbigh, a stop on the Chesapeake and Ohio line (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In the 1880s, the railroad passed near Mulberry Island, and even though it was separated by twelve miles of water, the coming of the railroad boosted the economy of Mulberry Island, promoting industrial growth and a shipbuilding industry (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Old Dominion Land Company took the role of city planner on 18,000 acres purchased by Chesapeake and Ohio rail company, partly to prevent a boom and bust cycle of land prices, and cargo terminal and wharves were quickly built. This marked the creation of the city of Newport News from small fishing village (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In 1881, the first Newport News hotel opened, along with the establishment of the first Newport News paper, *Newport News Commercial*, catering to white readers, followed by three African-American newspapers. A year later, the Newport News piers were completed, ready to set the

stage for the export by ship of coal brought by Chesapeake and Ohio rail from Appalachia. In 1883, a building near Newport News railroad housed a general store, post office, and occasional inn. The same year, the Newport News grain elevator was built. A tin shop and ironworks were added in the mid-1880s, followed by a dry dock for the shipbuilding industry in 1889, a year after a Warwick County referendum made Newport News its county seat. Newport News had quickly become the center of population and commerce for the lower Peninsula (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

By the 1890s, there were 72 saloons in the city, as well as a Free Mason lodge, bicycling and hunting clubs, jewelers, a drug store, a YMCA, and a Salvation Army. Beginning in 1894, a stove and furnace business offered a full line of kitchenware, and shortly afterward a transfer and hauling business was based in Newport News. By 1896, Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company had grown from 77 acres to 138, with 20 buildings, seven of them over 300 ft. long (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Members of the Mennonite Colony, founded in 1897 in Warwick, sold lumber and cordwood in addition to farming. They transported this wood to Newport News for sale in sail-rigged canoes and sailboats. They also sold their milk, potatoes, strawberries, and other produce at Colony Farmer's Market in Newport News. By the first decade of the new century, 30 families were present in Warwick Mennonite Colony (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late

nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

During the Civil War, 70,000 free blacks had moved into the lower peninsula of Virginia. Many had arrived with no possessions (McDonald et al. 1992). Mulberry Island was among the areas settled by many former slaves (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Confiscated lands, administered by Freedmen's Bureau, were sold or leased to ex-slaves or cooperatives such as Lincoln Land Association. Some previous owners in Warwick successfully petitioned for return of land, but to them the Freedmen's Bureau remained unwelcome (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48).

Warwick also hosted a large dislocated white population in the years following the war (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). During this time, there was also an out-migration from Virginia to the Southwest (McDonald et al. 1992). Farm owners looked to the growing population of immigrants from around the world to solve the shortage of labor (Orser 1999).

In Warwick, the roads were in poor condition in the years after the war (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992). With less commerce by water, port towns found new purposes or fell into decline (Hill et al. 1993). By the 1870s, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad had begun buying land in Newport News for its eastern terminus, for which development began at the end of the decade. Rail stations often

hosted small shops, including a general store at the Denbigh Chesapeake and Ohio stop built in 1878 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

During the 1870s, some African Americans built their own cabins while others lived in old slave cabins (McDonald et al. 1992). In Warwick County, a group of former slaves squatted on vacant Warwick land, demanding “forty acres and a mule.” A white posse in Warwick reacted by trying to drive them off, and they were eventually evicted by U.S. Army (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

During the 1880s, the population of Warwick County reached 2258, and Newport News’ population rose to 948 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). When the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad was completed, reaching Newport News, industrial development came to the peninsula (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). The railroad passed near Mulberry Island, boosting the economy of Mulberry Island by promoting industrial growth and the development of a shipbuilding industry (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Old Dominion Land Company took role of city planning on 18,000 acres of land purchased by Chesapeake and Ohio, creating Newport News from small fishing village. Cargo terminal and wharves were soon built, and the city’s development was based on a grid system, with avenues 80 feet wide. Six blocks along river were set aside for recreation, where the Hotel Warwick, parks with bandstands, slides, swings, and a bowling alley were located (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In 1883, Gum Grove community in Newport News, home to several black landowners, included an Anglican church, a school, and a post office. The oldest church in Newport News was a black Baptist church, followed by a black Methodist church in 1887. Until 1881, whites had attended church in Hampton or Episcopalian services held in a dormitory or the dining room of boarding house (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Newport News in the early 1880s also housed a general store, post office, and occasional inn, but over the course of the decade, the city was rapidly developed. In 1881, the Newport News Hotel was opened. The following year, Newport

News piers were completed, followed by the construction of a grain elevator in 1883. That year, 250 building lots were advertised for sale, and a three-story, 16-room hotel was built for lawyers and judges using the county court house in Denbigh. Within the following few years, a tin shop and an iron works were constructed in Newport News, and in 1888, when Newport News became Warwick’s county seat, a new courthouse was built. Finally, a dry dock for the shipbuilding industry was added in 1889.

The streets of Newport News in the last decade of the century were still unpaved, and unmarked, even as the city’s population reached 12,000 in 1891. City plumbing and bridges over Chesapeake and Ohio train yards were installed during this decade. At this time, there were 72 saloons open in the city. Newport News was home to young professionals living in houses built in the Victorian style. A Free Mason lodge, bicycle and hunting clubs, jewelers, a drug store, a YMCA, and a Salvation Army were all housed within the city limits. The Newport News Library Association was established in 1891 with over two thousand volumes, first housed in First National Bank Building. Two years later, the Warwick County Poorhouse and Paupers Graveyard was founded. A log house to accommodate people with incurable diseases, a barracks housing another 30 to 50 people, and another building housing a kitchen and a dining room were built as other contemporary public works projects.

In 1896, the city built a fire station, but still lacked sewers, a jail, a police station, or any hospitals aside from the Poorhouse. Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company grew from 77 acres to 138, on which stood 20 buildings, seven of which were over 300 feet long. At this time the city had a velvet and gilded theater holding 1600 people and two public schoolhouses, one for black students and the other for white children. Newport News high school received its own building in 1899 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

The landscape of Mulberry Island in the early twentieth century was populated with farms,

churches, small stores, oyster boats, and a brickyard. Many of the families of former slaves that had settled there after the Civil War remained there until the land was claimed for Fort Eustis during World War I (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Much of Warwick remained rural, but new public buildings were appearing on the landscape. In 1906, the first (white) hospital in Warwick County was constructed and staffed with three nurses caring for up to 15 patients. This was followed in 1908 by the first black Warwick hospital, with four doctors, and a few beds (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In Newport News, 90 homes were constructed as part of a housing project in the 1910s, and Oyster Point Depot was built by Chesapeake and Ohio Railway. Three years later, a two-story high school was built in Denbigh. Its first class had four graduates (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Archaeological investigation into landscape use has the potential to provide more detailed information about the material aspects of the lives of newly freed people in the late nineteenth century, and the tangible effects of racism and segregation in the early twentieth century, particularly in the community of Gum Grove. Increasing industrialization and development in the area, and the impacts of these trends upon working-class citizens are also viable topics of archaeological study.

Research Questions

1. Were Newport News' many saloons mainly frequented by adult men, or did women and children also use them as centers of social activity?

Research to address this question would rely primarily upon artifact assemblages.

2. How did the transient lifestyle of many newly emancipated people and dislocated poor whites affect their material wealth, comfort, and diet?

Requires documentary evidence of high attrition or turnover rates in a landlord's tenants or sharecroppers, considered in conjunction with household artifacts, and faunal and paleobotanical evidence.

Government and Politics

Lands confiscated during the war were administered by the Freedmen's Bureau which sold or leased the land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as the Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to antebellum owners who petitioned for their property (Quarstein and Rouse 1996, Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. In Warwick, this violence subsided when Virginia was readmitted to Union in 1870 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). By this time, Virginia's post-war constitution had created a public education system, in addition to township boards of supervisors to take administrative roles in county courts (Netherton et al. 1978). In Warwick County, a new public school was constructed in 1868, and the county court met for two weeks out of each month in Denbigh (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In 1888, a referendum was passed to make Newport News the county seat of Warwick, and over the course of the last decade of the nineteenth century, Newport News began to create the local governmental infrastructure that its growing population required. In 1894, to combat a high murder rate, the city of Newport News created the Board of Police who in turn appointed constables to patrol the streets. Two years later, as the population of Newport News reached over 9,000, the city was incorporated, a mayor elected, and 14 councilmen were selected from 7 wards (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). At the end of the decade, the U.S. government took over

Chesapeake and Ohio piers in Newport News, to accommodate soldiers shipping out for the Spanish-American War. For the first time, Newport News was used for war preparation, housing soldiers, and building Navy vessels (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987). By 1906, streetcars had been racially segregated all of Virginia's cities, despite opposition from streetcar companies. This discrimination led to protests in urban areas that were widespread, if unsuccessful. Among these was a 1906-7 boycott in Newport News. Like parallel movements elsewhere in the state, it failed (Meier and Redwick 1969).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

2. Did the U.S. takeover of Newport News piers and the resulting influx of young male soldiers during the Spanish-American War significantly alter the day-to-day management

of docks, dockyards, warehouses, and nearby stores and saloons?

Requires the presence of military artifacts.

Military and Defense

Warwick County, like the rest of Virginia experienced hardships during the Civil War and its aftermath. In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the U.S. military in charge (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). But it wasn't until 1898 at the outset of the Spanish-American War that for the first time the newly incorporated city of Newport News was involved in war preparations. The city helped to provide housing and soldiers, and its residents built vessels for the U.S. Navy. During the war, the U.S. government took over Chesapeake and Ohio Railway's piers to facilitate the transportation of soldiers (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Newport News was also the stage for military action during World War I on Mulberry Island, where land was claimed for Fort Eustis, displacing many African-American families who had settled the island at the close of the Civil War (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Archaeological evidence from Camp Algiers and its vicinity has the potential not only to provide finer detail into the material conditions of enlisted men, but also to describe the impact of a large population of young male soldiers upon surrounding communities.

Research Questions

1. Did the U.S. takeover of Newport News piers and the resulting influx of young male soldiers during the Spanish-American War significantly alter the day-to-day management of docks, dockyards, warehouses, and nearby stores and saloons?

Requires the presence of military artifacts.

Work

Freedmen's aid organizations and the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (known as the Freedmen's Bureau) assisted former slaves in making the transition to freedom by helping them to find education and employment (McDonald et al. 1992). While many former slaves worked in agriculture, some worked in factories, mechanical trades, and businesses, or for the railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). Black men also worked in sawmills, and as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers (Netherton et al. 1978). The first record of a black ordained minister in Warwick is from 1866.

Women, particularly those who widowed or single, worked as domestic servants, laundresses, waitresses, farm laborers, factory workers, seamstresses, teachers, and secretaries, among other types of employment. Women who were widowed often took over their husband's business. Female employees generally were paid approximately half as much as men who occupied similar jobs (Lebsock 1987).

In the 1880s, Newport News' tin shops, iron works, and shipbuilding industry would have offered employment to many men (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In 1883, one doctor is recorded as being in practice in Newport News, but no lawyers or ministers are listed (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In the following decade, a jeweler, a drug store, a transfer and hauling business, a YMCA, and a Salvation Army are known to have been in operation, and the newly created Board of Police was employing constables to patrol the city. Boys in the city rarely finished high school, expecting instead to find gainful employment as soon as they were able (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

The early twentieth-century landscape of Mulberry Island included farms, small stores, and a brickyard, where labor would have been in high demand (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Farmers from Warwick's Mennonite Colony sold lumber and cordwood in Newport News. They also peddled milk, potatoes, strawberries,

and other produce at Colony Farmer's Market in the city (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In 1906, the first (white) Warwick hospital was founded, staffed by three nurses. Warwick's first black hospital, with four doctors, opened its doors two years later (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). Many also sought employment in industrial work, including members of the Mennonite community (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions of shipyard and dockworkers in Newport News?

This question would best be addressed through an examination of waste materials produced in dockyards.

2. How did the lives of Newport News residents differ from those of citizens of rural, agricultural counties struggling to recover from the transition from slavery to wage-based labor?

Household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be necessary in conjunction with comparative data from agriculturally based counties.

3. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

4. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

Education, Health, and Recreation

Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In Warwick County, two schools were opened and taught by a black American Missionary Association worker. In 1866, Warwick's school for former slaves burned. In 1868, a new school for African-Americans was built in Newport News. African-American school houses were usually built of log and mud, and sparsely furnished, often missing locks and hinges on doors. Some children were unable to attend school because of a lack of clothing (Netherton et al. 1978).

Census records from the 1870s found that 90% of Warwick's black population and 25% of the county's adult white population were illiterate. In an effort to change this, the county was divided into three school districts of Newport, Denbigh, and Stanley, subsequent with the appointment of the first superintendent of public schools (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did (Netherton et al. 1978). By 1887, two public schools, black and white, with 25 teachers, and 833 students, were available to Newport News residents in addition to one private school that offered evening classes. There was no high school, however, until 1899, as most boys expected to find employment rather than continue their educations. (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

At the turn of the century, 730 private schools for black Virginians were in operation throughout the state. Half were run by African Americans. Industrial schools trained black students as farmers, servants, and for manual labor. Many were discouraged or prevented from teaching academic subjects (Lebsock 1987). Newport News public school enrollment had doubled by this time. In response to higher student enroll-

ments, a two-story high school was built in Denbigh in 1913. The first graduating class consisted of only four students. By 1916, 3,747 students in Newport News public schools were being taught by 104 teachers (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In addition to providing schools for the education of its citizens, the community of Newport News had the challenge of maintaining sanitation standards for a rapidly growing population. In the 1890s, the city still lacked a sewer system. In 1893, Warwick County Poorhouse and Pau-pers Graveyard was established, including on its grounds a log house for people with incurable diseases. 1899 witnessed a yellow fever scare on the Peninsula. Hundreds of tourists rushed home from Newport News as quarantines were imposed, and ferries, trains, and trolleys were shut down. Evidently these measures were sufficient to keep the disease in check, as the fever spread no further. Even as epidemic disease was not unknown, the first true hospitals in the city were not built until the turn of the century. In 1906, the first hospital for whites was opened in Warwick, staffed by three nurses caring for up to 15 patients. Two years later a black hospital followed, where four doctors were available, but few beds (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In good health, the citizens of Newport News had plenty of options for leisure and recreation. In 1883, six blocks along river was set aside for recreational purposes, where parks with bandstands, slides, and swings, were located. In addition, this section of town housed a bowling alley. By the following decade, there were at least 72 saloons in the city. Live dancing bears were known to perform for public entertainment, and the city hosted cycling and hunting clubs (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). At the turn of the century, Newport News had a hometown baseball team and other forms of entertainment ranged from honky-tonk and burlesque to dramatic theater (Netherton and Netherton 1986, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). A velvet and gilded theater that could welcome up to 1600 people graced the city, but this stage theater soon had to compete with several movie theaters in the city (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the mid-nineteenth century, particularly for African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented. Research into recreation presents the potential to provide further information into Newport News' many saloons and theaters, and their economic and social influence upon the city.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

4. How did the spread of movie theaters influence popular culture at the turn of the century? Which members of the community were most likely to embrace this new medium?

This question requires a comparison of artifacts and memorabilia.

5. Were Newport News' many saloons mainly frequented by adult men, or did women and children also use them as centers of social activity?

Research to address this question would rely primarily upon artifact assemblages.

Social Movements

Warwick County was witness to early demands for reparations for slavery. In the 1870s, a group of former slaves squatted on vacant land, demanding to receive "forty acres and a mule," but their efforts to support themselves were unsuccessful. They were threatened by a local white posse and eventually evicted by the U.S. Army (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Virginia women's suffragists were also organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights, hampering the suffragists' cause (Lebsock 1987).

During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in the state in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In Newport News in the 1890s, both a YMCA and a Salvation Army were organized to combat such social ills. In 1891, the Library Association formed with over two thousand volumes, to promote literacy in the area. (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Civil rights activism against racial segregation was also prominent in Newport News, though not until the turn of the century. As in all Virginia cities, the street cars were racial segregated, despite opposition from streetcar companies, throughout Newport news by 1906. Protests were staged in every major city in the state, including a boycott in Newport News from 1906-1907. Like other protests elsewhere, the boycott failed to change the segregationist policy (Meier and Redwick 1969).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an

examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

During the Civil War, some 70,000 free blacks moved into the lower peninsula of Virginia, including Mulberry Island (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, McDonald et al. 1992). Many arrived with no possessions (McDonald et al. 1992). The Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48), and set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In Warwick County, two schools were opened and taught by a black American Missionary Association worker. In 1866, Warwick's school for former slaves burned. Violence against African Americans, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials was widespread in the late 1860s (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In 1868, a new school for African-Americans was built in Newport News. African-American school houses were usually built of log and mud, and sparsely furnished, often missing locks and hinges on doors.

Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not

(Quarstein and Rouse 1996:48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. In Warwick, this violence subsided when Virginia was readmitted to Union in 1870 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

During the 1870s, many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. Among African-American families, the father was almost always present, with an average of three to four children. High infant mortality resulted from small pox, malaria, and poor health conditions and medical facilities. African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African-Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Living in old slave cabins or in cabins they built after the war, neighbors helped each other with the harvest in tight-knit communities (McDonald et al. 1992). In Warwick County, a group of former slaves squatted on vacant land, demanding to receive "forty acres and a mule," but their efforts to support themselves were unsuccessful. They were threatened by a local white posse and eventually evicted by the U.S. Army (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Religion was a central part of the lives of most African-American Virginians in the late nineteenth century. They were active in churches, especially those of the Baptist faith, while black and white worship styles began to diverge. Some members of black communities continued to attend white churches, while black communities formed their own churches (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1883, Gum Grove community in Newport News, home to several black landowners, included an Anglican church, a school, and a post office. The first black minister in Warwick County was ordained in 1866 (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). These churches were built by com-

munity effort and served as centers of education and social and business gatherings (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1881, a black Baptist church was formed, followed by a black Methodist church in 1887. White churchgoers commuted to Hampton until Episcopalian services began to be held in a dormitory, then in the dining room of a boarding house (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Middle-class, white women were often involved with progressive and religious movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In Newport News in the 1890s, both a YMCA and a Salvation Army were organized to combat such social ills, and in 1891, the Library Association formed with over two thousand volumes, to promote literacy in the area. (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987). By 1906, streetcars had been racially segregated all of Virginia's cities, despite opposition from streetcar companies. This discrimination led to protests in urban areas that were widespread, if unsuccessful. Among these was a 1906-7 boycott in Newport News. Like parallel movements elsewhere in the state, it failed (Meier and Redwick 1969).

Even as racial tension characterized the area, Warwick County was becoming increasingly ethnically diverse. In 1897, a Mennonite Colony had been founded in Warwick. Its members from around the country were attracted by cheap farmland. In the 1910s, the community at the Warwick Mennonite Colony was made up of some thirty families, active in coastal trade. They transported wood to Newport News in sail-rigged canoes and sailboats, and were involved in oystering, prompting Chesapeake and Ohio

to create Oyster Point depot (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1876, burials within town limits were banned across the state of Virginia (Wells 1997). In 1888, as Newport News became the county seat, a new mortuary is known to have been built (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In 1893, Warwick County Poorhouse and Paupers Graveyard was founded, with a log house to accommodate people with incurable diseases. During this time, Newport News is known to have had a high murder rate (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Little else is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly

helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Newport News changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

7: Prince George County: Historical Themes and Research Questions

Prince George County is located south of the confluence of the Appomattox and James rivers (Figures 20 and 21). Fort Lee, an army installation, is located in the northern portion of the county, between the cities of Petersburg and Hopewell.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 International slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county,

are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period.

The City Point Railroad Company was also chartered in 1896, and succeeded in joining City Point to Petersburg by rail just two years later (Horning 2004:105-106). In that year, the population of City Point was listed as 100 people living in 25 houses. The town itself included three taverns, three grocery stores, and a single school (Horning 2004:106).

Prince George County's antebellum records were destroyed by fire during the Civil War, but private documents, such as Dr. Richard Eppes' diaries and letters, remain available to researchers. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. A study of the physical evidence of enslaved worker housing during the time that large numbers of slaves were being sold southward, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the breakup of African-American families in the wake of



Figure 20. Prince George County locator map

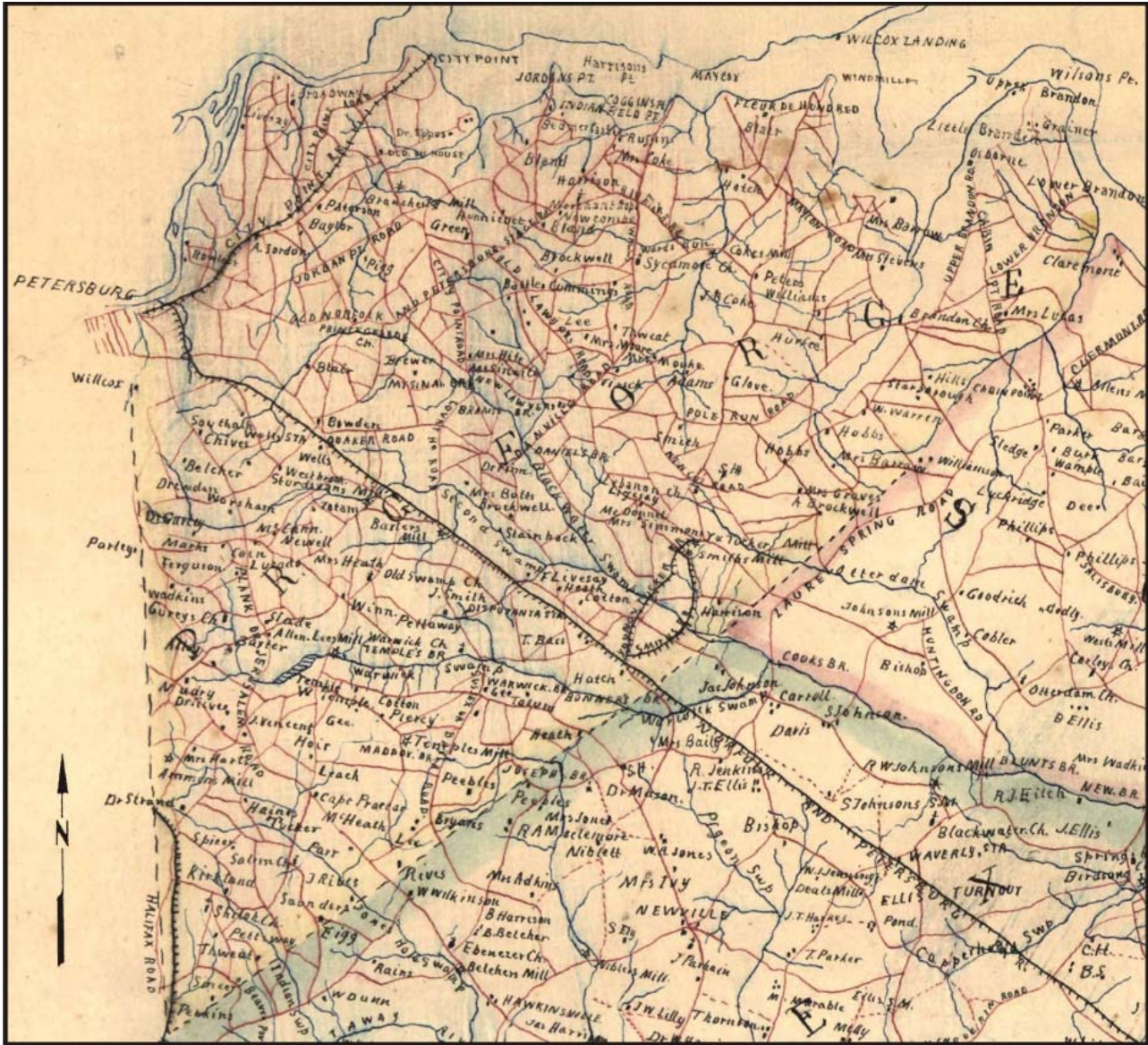


Figure 21. Historical map of Prince George County

tobacco profit failures affected the daily lives of enslaved workers.

Research Questions

1. Were enslaved worker quarters more likely to include non-kin residents following sales of large numbers of slaves to cotton plantations in the wake of tobacco profit failures?

A higher incidence of sub-floor pit features or "hidey-holes" of valuables or personal belongings

within quarters for the antebellum period might indicate an increase in co-residence among unrelated individuals (see Neiman 1997).

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

In 1836, the population of City Point was listed as 100 people living in 25 houses (Horning 2004:106). Presumably these figures do not in-

clude enslaved people or their dwellings. In that year, the House of Representatives funded the construction of a marine hospital at City Point, at the cost of \$8,000. This hospital served not only local planters, but enslaved workers as well. The City Point Railroad Company was also chartered at this time, and succeeded in joining City Point to Petersburg by rail just two years later (Horning 2004:105-106).

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county, are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period.

Prince George County's antebellum records were destroyed by fire during the Civil War, but private documents, such as Dr. Richard Eppes' diaries and letters, remain available to researchers. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about regional developments in technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. A study of the physical evidence of enslaved worker housing during the time that large numbers of slaves were being sold southward, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the widespread adoption of the cotton gin further south affected the daily lives of enslaved workers affected the daily lives of African-American families after

some of their members were sold away from Prince George County.

Research Questions

1. How did the early development of the railroad in Prince George County affect the quantity and variety of non-local goods in the area?

A discussion of non-local material items would rely primarily upon the presence of artifacts known from documentation to have arrived by rail.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes, and regular stagecoach schedules led to greater personal travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986). City Point was the recipient of Virginia's second railway. The City Point Railroad Company was also chartered in 1836, and succeeded in joining City Point to Petersburg by rail just two years later (Horning 2004:105-106).

Enslaved Virginians were restricted in their ability to travel. The largest slaveholder in the area prevented his enslaved workers from marrying someone who lived on lands owned by another planter. He also required his slaves to carry passes when traveling between his own plantations, even to visit spouses, children, or other relatives, but there are several documented accounts of his enslaved workers visiting their families in secrecy (Horning 2004:98). African Americans did have access to the water and to boats. Enslaved children were often charged with rowing boats, among other tasks (Horning 2004:99), and an 1860 petition by Dr. Richard Eppes of City Point to the state legislature de-

scribes “ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes.” As well as working aboard ships that passed through the area, the free black community of Israel Hill on the Appomattox River was not far by boat from Prince George County (Horning 2004:108).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories the politics of identity affecting access to travel and shipment of goods. Archaeology may be more helpful in leading to a practical understanding of the layouts and arrangements of residences and businesses in relation to railways and navigable rivers, or the impact of improved transportation systems upon the quantity and variety of material goods found locally.

Research Questions

1. How did the early development of the railroad in Prince George County affect the quantity and variety of non-local goods in the area?

A discussion of non-local material items would rely primarily upon the presence of artifacts known from documentation to have arrived by rail.

2. How much access to the rivers did enslaved African Americans of Prince George County generally have during the antebellum period?

An investigation into the proximity of enslaved worker housing to the county's waterways, and of the ease or difficulty of surveillance of these dwellings and the river from the main house would contribute to this area of research. Intact features related to slave quarter structures would be necessary for this kind of study. In addition, an analysis of artifacts found within workers' quarters (e.g. those related to fishing and boating) would be useful.

Agriculture

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened

by market instability. The 1808 international slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county, are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period.

Enslaved workers resident on lands owned by the Eppes family at City Point, Hopewell, Bermuda Hundred, and Eppes Island are well documented through the nineteenth-century diaries of Dr. Richard Eppes, and offer a glimpse into what the other Prince George County African Americans may have experienced. These African Americans worked in a variety of skilled occupations, not only as field hands but also as plowmen, gardeners, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, butchers, and cooks. Enslaved children were often responsible for herding livestock, among other tasks (Horning 2004:98-99).

The enslaved communities of the Eppes family lands made use of a variety of wild and cultivated food sources. Each family tended quarter-acre vegetable gardens provisioned by the Eppes family, but they were required to tend them on their own time. Rations on these plantations supplemented what enslaved gardeners produced for themselves. These were provided to the senior woman of the enslaved family, and consisted of 4 pounds of meat, 2 pecks of meal, 1 quart of molasses, and 6 herrings per family per week in 1859. These rations apparently did not prevent hunger and malnourishment, as Eppes' diary lists episodes of poisoning from the consumption of wild tubers, and frequent theft of livestock, fish, fruit, and vegetables both from the Eppes estate and within the enslaved community (Horning 2004:102-103).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

2. Are there any archaeological traces of the quarter-acre subsistence gardens of enslaved African Americans? If so, what plants did they include, and did their form differ significantly from gardens designed by planters of European descent?

Garden archaeology relies upon the presence of intact features in combination with phytolith analysis and the scrutiny of macrobotanical remains.

Markets and Commerce

In 1836, the population of City Point was listed as 100 people living in 25 houses. The town included three taverns, three grocery stores, and a single school (Horning 2004:106). Presumably, these figures do not include enslaved people or their dwellings. In that year, the House of Representatives funded the construction of a marine hospital at City Point, at the cost of \$8,000. This hospital served both local planters and enslaved workers. The City Point Railroad Company was also chartered at this time, and succeeded in joining City Point to Petersburg by rail just two years later (Horning 2004:105-106).

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 International slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county, are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period.

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

In 1836, the population of City Point, then in Prince George County, was listed as 100 people living in 25 houses. The town itself included three taverns, three grocery stores, and a single school (Horning 2004:106). Presumably these figures do not include enslaved people or their dwellings. In that year, the House of Representatives funded the construction of a marine hospital at City Point, at the cost of \$8,000. This hospital served not only local planters, but enslaved workers as well.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 International slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county, are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period when tobacco profits failed.

Often working to load and unload cargoes on the James and Appomattox Rivers, members of enslaved communities in Prince George County may have had ample opportunity to interact with free African American tradesmen and laborers. An 1860 petition by Dr. Richard Eppes to the state legislature describes "ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes." As well as working aboard ships that passed through the area, the free black community of Israel Hill on the Appomattox River was not far by boat

from Prince George County. The proximity of free African Americans was evidently a source of great concern to James River planters, who feared they would incite local enslaved workers to rebel (Horning 2004:108).

The vernacular construction of enslaved worker housing, and the geographic relationships between the residences of the enslaved, planter houses, outbuildings, and nearby rivers, which potentially offered escape and communication with the outside world, have yet to be systematically documented for the county. For instance, while the main house of Appomattox manor still stands today, and has been well explored archaeologically as has the property's earlier planter residence, the quarters of its enslaved workforce remain to be investigated. Though antebellum county records were burned during the Civil War, the private diaries, deeds, bills of sale, and letters of some local planters remain. The details and frequency of slave sales to Deep South plantations and their effects upon people remaining in Prince George County may therefore be addressed through the historical record; however, a comparison of the material conditions under which enslaved laborers worked in Prince George County as opposed to those they met with once resident on southern tobacco plantations, would benefit greatly from an archaeological examination of slave quarters and plantation layout.

Prince George County's antebellum records were destroyed by fire during the Civil War, but private documents, such as Dr. Richard Eppes' diaries and letters, remain available to researchers. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about architectural trends and changes in landscape use, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. Studies of enslaved worker housing, for example, would be valuable additions to our knowledge of how the area's African American population lived during the antebellum period.

Research Questions

1. How much access to the rivers did enslaved African Americans of Prince George County generally have during the antebellum period?

An investigation into the proximity of enslaved worker housing to the county's waterways, and of the ease or difficulty of surveillance of these dwellings and the river from the main house would contribute to this area of research. Intact features related to slave quarter structures would be necessary for this kind of study. In addition, an analysis of artifacts found within workers' quarters (e.g. those related to fishing and boating) would be useful.

2. What forms did the quarters that housed enslaved workers take, and how were these buildings organized in relation to one another?

Answers to this question would rely upon detailed mapping of features related to the architecture of enslaved worker housing.

Government and Politics

In 1836, the population of City Point was listed as 100 people living in 25 houses (Horning 2004:106). Presumably these figures do not include enslaved people or their dwellings. In that year, the House of Representatives funded the construction of a marine hospital at City Point, at the cost of \$8,000. This hospital served not only local planters, but enslaved workers as well.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international legislation banning the importation of enslaved Africans meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further

south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county, are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period.

From 1830-60, the law was used to threaten African Americans, placing other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. An 1860 petition from Prince George County's Dr. Eppes to the state legislature begs the state's assistance in restricting the movements of free African Americans. He describes "ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes." State laws prohibited teaching African Americans to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988: 45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987: 58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures, and into the effects of legal restrictions upon individual households. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

Enslaved workers resident on lands owned by the Eppes family at City Point, Hopewell, Bermuda Hundred, and Eppes Island are well documented through the nineteenth-century diaries of Dr. Richard Eppes, and offer a glimpse into what the other enslaved African Americans in Prince George County may have experienced. These African Americans worked in a variety of skilled occupations, not only as field hands but also as plowmen, gardeners, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, butchers, and cooks. Women were also often charged with childcare, cleaning, and other domestic activities. Enslaved children rowed boats and herded livestock, among other tasks (Horning 2004:98-99).

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Netherton et al. 1978, Bloomberg 1988:222). African-American men found wage-based employment after their emancipation as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, and sailors, among other professions (Blomberg 1988: 222, Netherton et al. 1978). They were also employed to work on roads and bridg-

es (Netherton et al. 1978), and an 1860 petition by Dr. Eppes to the state legislature describes “ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes.” Free African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or seamstresses (Lebsock 1987). They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock 1987: 59). Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

In 1836, the population of City Point was listed as 100 people living in 25 houses. The town itself included three taverns, three grocery stores, and a single school (Horning 2004:106). In the same year, the House of Representatives funded the construction of a marine hospital at City Point, at

the cost of \$8,000. This hospital served not only local planters, but enslaved African Americans as well (Horning 2004:105). Dr. Richard Eppes, of City Point's Appomattox plantation, was a local physician, but evidently disliked his chosen profession, as he chose to receive medical services both for family members and his enslaved workers at the marine hospital. He later refused to practice medicine even when called upon to do so during the Civil War. Dr. Eppes is one example in the area of a university-educated man from a wealthy planter family. He was educated first at the College of William and Mary, then at University of Pennsylvania medical school, receiving his degree in 1847 (Horning 2004:96-97).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from practicing doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to

tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Following the 1831 rebellion of Nat Turner and 40 other enslaved men, a raging debate ensued in Virginia over whether the state should outlaw slavery, and continued throughout the antebellum period. An 1860 petition by Dr. Eppes to the state legislature describes "ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes." As well as working aboard ships that passed through the area, the free black community of Israel Hill on the Appomattox River was not far by boat from Prince George County (Ely 2004). James River planters were evidently fearful of a slave rebellion led by free African Americans working in the area, and urged members of the Virginia legislature to protect them from potential insurgency (Horning 2004:108).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, and documented participants in Warwick's timber trade, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their

community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quakers abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988: 60). By contrast, some Baptist leaders used biblical quotation to justify the existence and continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

Middle-class white women of the 1830s had the responsibility of presenting their homes as sanctuaries from the rest of the world, but the line between the home and the world was blurred by women's involvement in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987: 65, 70, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, middle-class women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. The Eppes family of Appomattox Manor in City Point, the largest slaveholders in the county, are documented in 1836 as having sold many members of their enslaved workforce to ease their personal debts (Horning 2004:94-95). It is likely that enslaved African-American families elsewhere in Prince George County suffered similar fates in the antebellum period.

Enslaved workers resident on lands owned by the Eppes family at City Point, Hopewell, Bermuda Hundred, and Eppes Island are well documented through the nineteenth-century diaries of Dr. Richard Eppes, and offer a glimpse into what the other Prince George County African Americans may have experienced. These African Americans worked in a variety of skilled occupations, not only as field hands but also as plowmen, gardeners, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, butchers, and cooks. Women were also often charged with childcare, cleaning, and other domestic activities. Enslaved children rowed boats and herded livestock, among other tasks (Horning 2004:98-99). At least one enslaved resident of the Eppes plantations attended Episcopal church services with the Eppes family. Other African-Americans are recorded as attending a Methodist church in City Point during the antebellum period. White planters' children were sometimes baptized alongside enslaved children (Horning 2004:104).

Dr. Eppes' regulations for his enslaved workforce forbid his workers from taking a husband or wife who lived on lands owned by

another planter. He also required his slaves to carry passes when traveling between his own plantations, even to visit spouses, children, or other relatives, but there are several documented accounts of his enslaved workers visiting their families in secrecy. Eppes' diary records also other acts of resistance by his workers, including "destruction of tools by carelessness," feigned illness, and occasionally physical confrontations with overseers (Horning 2004:98).

The enslaved communities of the Eppes family lands made use of a variety of wild and cultivated food sources. Each family tended quarter-acre vegetable gardens provisioned by the Eppes family, but they were required to tend them on their own time. The possession of hunting guns was forbidden by Eppes, though some enslaved men were able to get consent to use them occasionally. Rations on these plantations supplemented what enslaved gardeners produced for themselves. These were provided to the senior woman of the enslaved family, and consisted of 4 pounds of meat, 2 pecks of meal, 1 quart of molasses, and 6 herrings per family per week in 1859. These rations apparently did not prevent hunger and malnourishment, as Eppes' diary lists episodes of poisoning from the consumption of wild tubers, and frequent theft of livestock, fish, fruit, and vegetables both from the Eppes estate and from other enslaved households (Horning 2004:102-103).

An 1860 petition by Dr. Eppes to the state legislature describes "ships with crews consisting in part or wholly of free Negroes." As well as working aboard ships that passed through the area, the free black community of Israel Hill on the Appomattox River was not far by boat from Prince George County (Ely 2004, Horning 2004:108).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior.

They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African-Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known

of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plain region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Prince George County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by the railroad, as well as exports of timber and peanuts (Voigt et al. 1998). City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, was the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. Forts Abbott, Craig, Graves, McKeery, Lewis, and Morris were constructed in a line protecting City Point docks. After the end to hostilities, the U.S. government retained control over structures erected by the Union, including 90 log cabins staffed by U.S. Sanitary Commission and Army Medical Corps doctors and nurses as a field hospital (Horning 2004:199-120).

As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men. African American laborers' hours were as long in the late 1860s as they had been prior to Emancipation, and the infractions that had previously been grounds for whipping were now punished by fines. Dr. Richard Eppes' diary records groups of African-American laborers in the area organizing to demand higher wages from James River planters, who banded together to form the "James River Farmers' in 1865. This organization of planters sought to standardize the treatment of formerly enslaved laborers, and to ensure that wages were kept low (Horning 2004:138-142).

Some newly freed people of City Point returned to find employment at Appomattox Manor where they had previously worked as slaves, and this pattern is likely to have been followed elsewhere in the county. Dr. Eppes' diary indicates that though his African-American employees performed the same tasks they had fulfilled as enslaved workers, his authority over them no longer went unquestioned.

Poor white farmers in the area also often sought employment with larger planters, after the events of the war ruined their crops, killed their livestock, and destroyed their homes. Competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area. In 1866 in nearby Petersburg, three African-American churches were burned. Some local planters, including Dr. Eppes, encouraged resentment and competition for employment between African-American and poor white wage laborers, in the interest of increasing productivity (Horning 2004:144-145).

When World War I began E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company began to make munitions for the English and French at a factory located on an old farm in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). By 1916, the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company had bought much of the land at City Point formerly owned by the Eppes family, and the City of Hopewell was incorporated. Forty thousand workers, including immigrants from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

Archaeological investigation into the material consequences of economic reorganization following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the adjustments made by African-American wage labor.

Research Questions

1. As wage-earning employees who organized to request higher salaries, did newly emancipated African-American plantation employees in Prince George County make significant changes to the material surroundings?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by the railroad, as well as exports of timber and peanuts (Voigt et al. 1998). City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, was the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. Forts Abbott, Craig, Graves, McKeery, Lewis, and Morris were constructed in a line protecting City Point docks. After the end to hostilities, the U.S. government retained control over structures erected by the Union, including 90 log cabins staffed by U.S. Sanitary Commission and Army Medical Corps doctors and nurses as a field hospital (Horning 2004:199-120). As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men (Horning 2004:138-142). Little development occurred in the area until after the turn of the century.

When World War I began, E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company began to make munitions for the English and French on an old farm site in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). By 1916, the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company had bought much of the land at City Point formerly owned by the Eppes family, and the City of Hopewell was incorporated. Forty thousand workers, including immigrants from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

While histories based upon documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to investigate the effects of the growth of industry

and technology households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities, and of how industrialization and modernization were uniquely expressed in Prince George County.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions at E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company factories for workers of diverse ethnic and geographic backgrounds in the early twentieth century?

This question would best be addressed through a combination of documentary research into segregated worker housing and archaeological investigation. The presence of intact features and artifacts would be necessary.

2. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

Transportation and Communication

Roads were in poor condition in the years immediately following the war, leading many farmers to ship their harvest by steamer (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, however, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992). During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by the railroad (Voigt et al. 1998). City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, had been the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men.

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the frequencies of shipments to and from Prince George County over time. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of patterns related to the goods that arrived or were markedly absent as shipping was disrupted in the aftermath of the war.

Research Questions

1. How did the abrupt withdrawal of thousands of troops and the people who earned a living in their service affect shipping in Prince George County?

A discussion of these issues would benefit greatly from thorough documentary analysis, supplemented by an examination of material culture at late nineteenth-century dock sites.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Southern plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. Landlords received a portion of these tenants' crops. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to antebellum landowners following the Civil War. Following Emancipation, most former slaves rented houses and worked as sharecroppers for their former masters.

During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by exports of timber and peanuts (Voigt et al. 1998). As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men. Many African American laborers' hours were as long in the late 1860s as they had been prior to Emancipation, and the infractions that had previously been grounds for whipping were

now punished by fines. Dr. Eppes' diary records groups of African-American laborers in the area organizing to demand higher wages from James River planters, who banded together to form the "James River Farmers' in 1865. This organization of planters sought to standardize the treatment of formerly enslaved laborers, and to ensure that wages were kept low (Horning 2004:138-142).

Some newly freed people of City Point returned to find employment at Appomattox Manor where they had previously worked as slaves. Poor white farmers in the area also often sought employment with larger planters, after the events of the war ruined their crops, killed their livestock, and destroyed their homes. Competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area. In 1866 in nearby Petersburg, three African-American churches were burned. Some local planters, including Dr. Richard Eppes, encouraged resentment and competition for employment between African-American and poor white wage laborers, in the interest of increasing productivity (Horning 2004:144-145).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Prince George County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978). During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by the railroad, as well as exports of timber and peanuts (Voigt et al. 1998). City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, had been the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men.

Up to the turn of the century, the economy of Prince George County was still heavily based upon agriculture. When World War I began, E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company began to make munitions for the English and French on an old farm site in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). By 1916, the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company had bought much of the land at City Point formerly owned by the Eppes family, and the City of Hopewell was incorporated. Forty thousand workers, including immigrants

from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company munitions factory and its workers spur the development of new stores in the area? What were their physical characteristics and what products did they carry?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the incorporation of the City of Hopewell.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

Whereas the landscape once had been defined by dispersed plantations, it now was characterized by clustered villages (Underwood et al. 2003). The houses and public buildings of Prince George County were destroyed and fences were torn down (Voigt et al. 1998). Confiscated lands,

administered by Freedmen's Bureau, were sold or leased to ex-slaves or cooperatives such as Lincoln Land Association (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48).

During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by the railroad, as well as exports of timber and peanuts (Voigt et al. 1998). City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, was the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. Forts Abbott, Craig, Graves, McKeery, Lewis, and Morris were constructed in a line protecting City Point docks. After the end to hostilities, the U.S. government retained control over structures erected by the Union, including 90 log cabins staffed by U.S. Sanitary Commission and Army Medical Corps doctors and nurses as a field hospital (Horning 2004:199-120). As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men.

Some newly freed people of City Point returned to find employment at Appomattox Manor where they had previously worked as slaves. Poor white farmers in the area also often sought employment with larger planters, after the events of the war ruined their crops, killed their livestock, and destroyed their homes. Competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area.

When World War I began, E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company began to make munitions for the English and French on an old farm site in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). By 1916, the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company had bought much of the land at City Point formerly owned by the Eppes family, and the City of Hopewell was incorporated. Forty thousand workers, including immigrants from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated

worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

Archaeological investigation of changes to public buildings, private residences, and landscape use during the postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about the material conditions which Prince George County's residents faced in the aftermath of war. The effects of increasing industrialization and immigration upon the surrounding areas with the arrival of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company munitions factories might also be examined through material evidence, as well as through an analysis of changing settlement patterns within the county during the early twentieth century.

Research Questions

1. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

2. How did the material aspects of African Americans working on Prince George County's plantations differ from those of enslaved workers following Emancipation?

This question would be resolved through study of artifact assemblages in conjunction with features related to architecture.

Government and Politics

The Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges. Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. "Black Codes" replaced the old slave codes, which had restricted the activities of slaves. In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. The wages earned by some black farm workers were reduced by various fines

and penalties. Still, following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and file lawsuits (McDonald et al. 1992).

As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men. African American laborers' hours were as long in the late 1860s as they had been prior to Emancipation, and the infractions that had previously been grounds for whipping were now punished by fines on laborers by employers. Dr. Eppes' diary records groups of African-American laborers in the area organizing to demand higher wages from James River planters, who banded together to form the "James River Farmers' in 1865. This organization of planters sought to standardize the treatment of formerly enslaved laborers, and to ensure that wages were kept low (Horning 2004:138-142).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Nethererton et al. 1978). This cause widespread social unrest leading to racial violence in many areas. In 1866 in nearby Petersburg, three African-American churches were burned, as competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area. Some local planters, including Dr. Richard Eppes, encouraged resentment and competition for employment between African-American and poor white wage laborers, in the interest of increasing productivity (Horning 2004:144-145).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent

political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

Military and Defense

During the 1860s, the recovery of Prince George County was aided by the railroad, as well as exports of timber and peanuts (Voigt et al. 1998). City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, was the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. Forts Abbott, Craig, Graves, McKeery, Lewis, and Morris were constructed in a line protecting City Point docks. After the end to hostilities, the U.S. government retained control over structures erected by the Union, including 90 log cabins staffed by U.S. Sanitary Commission and Army Medical Corps doctors and nurses as a field hospital (Horning 2004:199-120). As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men.

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the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

Archaeological investigation of changes to public buildings, private residences, and landscape use during the postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about the material conditions which Prince George County's residents faced the aftermath of the Civil War. The effects of increasing industrialization and immigration upon the surrounding areas with the arrival of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company munitions factories during World War I might also be examined through material evidence, as well as through an analysis of changing settlement patterns within the county during the early twentieth century.

Research Questions

1. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century in response to the needs of the U.S. military during World War I alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

Work

As Union troops left the area following the Civil War, African Americans in the area of City Point working the docks, ships, and railroads were suddenly left without employment, as were countless others around the riverfront selling food, liquor, and clothing to military men. African American laborers' hours were as long in the late 1860s as they had been prior to Emancipation, and the infractions that had previously been grounds for whipping were now punished by fines. Dr. Eppes' diary records groups of African-American laborers in the area organizing to demand higher wages from James River planters,

who banded together to form the “James River Farmers” in 1865. This organization of planters sought to standardize the treatment of formerly enslaved laborers, and to ensure that wages were kept low (Horning 2004:138-142).

Some newly freed people of City Point returned to find employment at Appomattox Manor where they had previously worked as slaves. Poor white farmers in the area also often sought employment with larger planters, after the events of the war ruined their crops, killed their livestock, and destroyed their homes. Competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area. In 1866 in nearby Petersburg, three African-American churches were burned. Some local planters, including Dr. Richard Eppes, encouraged resentment and competition for employment between African-American and poor white wage laborers, in the interest of increasing productivity (Horning 2004:144-145).

When World War I began, E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company (du Pont) began to make munitions for the English and French on an old farm site in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). By 1916, du Pont had bought much of the land at City Point formerly owned by the Eppes family, and the City of Hopewell was incorporated. Forty thousand workers, including immigrants from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with tran-

sient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. What were the labor conditions at E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company factories for workers of diverse ethnic and geographic backgrounds in the early twentieth century?

This question would best be addressed through a combination of documentary research into segregated worker housing and archaeological investigation. The presence of intact features and artifacts would be necessary.

2. How did the lives of industrial workers and their families differ from those of farming families in the area?

A comparison of household sites including sufficiently abundant artifacts would be useful in considering this question.

3. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

4. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers in Prince George County compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

5. Did newly emancipated people who had organized in Prince George County to advocate better labor conditions on plantations succeed in their aim of improving their access to material items through higher pay?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

6. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

Education, Health, and Recreation

City Point, at the advantageous juncture between shipping lanes and railroad networks, was the site of Union occupation during the Civil War. Forts Abbott, Craig, Graves, McKeery, Lewis, and Morris were constructed in a line protecting City Point docks. After the end to hostilities, the U.S. government retained control over structures erected by the Union, including 90 log cabins staffed by U.S. Sanitary Commission and Army Medical Corps doctors and nurses as a field hospital (Horning 2004:199-120). Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals for African Americans in need of medical care (McDonald et al. 1992). Archaeological investigation of these structures may offer insight into the conditions under which medical care was provided to African American communities.

The Virginia Constitution of 1869 replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state (Netherton and Netherton 1986). School houses were often still located in log buildings, but also might be set up in two-story frame houses or brick buildings (Netherton et al. 1978). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did take advantage of public educational opportunities (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the mid-nineteenth century; particularly for African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

4. What forms did hospitals erected by the Freedmen's Bureau take, and what materials were used in their construction?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003).

Dr. Richard Eppes, of Appomattox Manor in City Point, records in his journal groups of African-American laborers in the area organizing to demand higher wages from James River planters following the Civil War. The areas planters banded together to form the "James River Farmers" in 1865. This organization of planters sought to standardize the treatment of formerly

enslaved laborers, and to ensure that wages were kept low (Horning 2004:138-142).

Competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area. In 1866 in nearby Petersburg, three African-American churches were burned. Some local planters, including Dr. Richard Eppes, encouraged resentment and competition for employment between African-American and poor white wage laborers, in the interest of increasing productivity (Horning 2004:144-145)

When World War I began, E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company began to make munitions for the English and French on an old farm site in Prince George County (Voigt et al. 1998). By 1916, the E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company had bought much of the land at City Point formerly owned by the Eppes family, and the City of Hopewell was incorporated. Forty thousand workers, including immigrants from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages, settled in Hopewell to work for the munitions factory making guncotton. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance examine material remains to determine whether practice conformed to stated belief.

Research Questions

1. Did newly emancipated people who had organized in Prince George County to advocate better labor conditions on plantations succeed in their aim of improving their access to material items through higher pay?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

Some newly freed African Americans of City Point returned to find employment at Appomattox Manor where they had previously worked as slaves. The Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by helping them to find work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

Poor white farmers in the area also often sought employment with larger planters, after the events of the war ruined their crops, killed their livestock, and destroyed their homes. Competition for jobs between newly freed African Americans and impoverished small farmers fueled growing racism and violence in the area. In 1866 in nearby Petersburg, three African-American churches were burned. Some local planters, including Dr. Richard Eppes, encouraged resentment and competition for employment between African-American and poor white wage laborers, in the interest of increasing productivity (Horning 2004:144-145).

The creation of job by E.I. du Pont de Nemours Company lead to an influx of immigrants from Europe and the Middle East speaking 35 languages. Black and white American workers were also present in racially segregated worker housing, and the tension between the two groups erupted violently in a 1918 riot that caused around a thousand African Americans to leave Hopewell permanently (Horning 2004:147-149).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Prince George County changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

8: Prince William County: Historical Themes and Research Questions

All but the eastern edge of Prince William County lies above the fall line; the coastal plain is limited to the floodplain of the Potomac River, which forms the county's eastern boundary (Figures 22 and 23). The Marine Corps Base Quantico is located in the southeastern corner of the county, as well as the northeastern portion of Stafford County, and the eastern tip of Fauquier County.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

As much of Virginia experienced an economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new prospects. For white women, these included educational opportunities traditionally reserved for men, and for both white and African-American women, the ownership of businesses and property became possible. Despite these changes, women largely had the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover

from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987: 55, Netherton et al. 1978).

Prince William County experienced the loss of most of its antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small free-



Figure 22. Prince William County locator map

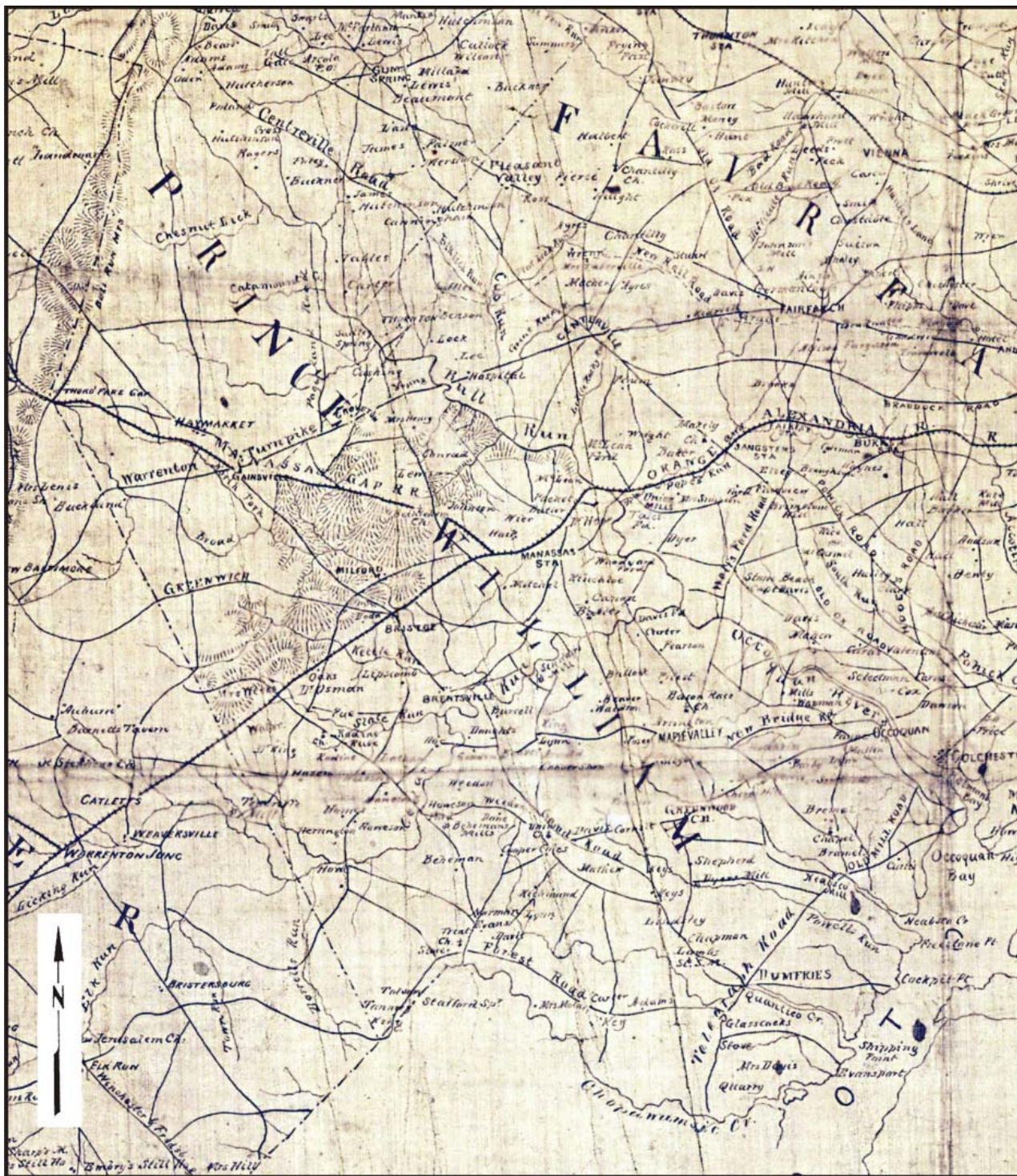


Figure 23. Historical map of Prince William County

holders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

A discussion of this question would rely upon the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. Did the shift from tobacco to grain production influence the diets of farmstead residents?

A consideration of this question would be supported by an analysis of food cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and/or paleoethnobotanical evidence

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, the reaper, the cook stove, and the sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. They performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors. Industrial slaves were more likely to rebel than plantation slaves, and they did so in a variety of ways, including through negligence, slowdowns, feigned ignorance, theft, arson, and sabotage. Some white workers perceived hired slaves as competition for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, as was the housing for laborers (Delle et al. 2000).

Prince William County experienced the loss of most of its antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local information related industry. While histories gleaned from

documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional trends in industry and technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends on households and individuals. The study of the material remains of mills, for example may improve understanding of the labor required in their operation.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of grist and saw mills or other mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

3. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s, some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes, and regular stagecoach schedules led to greater personal

travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986). In Prince William County in the 1830s, two stagecoach lines were in operation providing both transportation and mail services. One ran between Alexandria and Dumfries. The other (established in 1836) ran between Occoquan and Petersburg. (Virginia Writers' Program 1941:44). Beginning in 1847, the area's first telegraph wire, from Alexandria to Richmond along Telegraph Road, likewise improved communication in eastern Virginia (Virginia Writers' Program 1941:69).

Documentary evidence would be the most efficient avenue of research for understanding the impact of communication by telegraph upon the residents of Prince William County. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns and the movement of consumer goods as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of road networks and stagecoach lines influence settlement patterns and town development in the antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

Agriculture

During the antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

In 1830, much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). Farms of this

period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). Agriculture continued along Quantico Creek and the Potomac River, but it consisted mainly of subsistence farming rather than large-scale surplus crop production (Botwick and McClane 1998).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Were the enslaved residents on plantations with absentee owners, run by free African Americans, more likely to receive better treatment?

An examination of this issue would require documentary evidence of an absentee landowner and a free black overseer, as well as a consideration of foodways and material evidence in comparison with other contemporary plantations of similar size.

2. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

3. How did the division of plantations into smaller subsistence farms affect the lifestyles of enslaved families?

Requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Markets and Commerce

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988: 62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987: 55, Netherton et al. 1978)

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

By the 1820s, some well-developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). Along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979), as well as wayside inns built along turnpikes. These taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 54, Netherton et al. 1978).

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Luccetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Sometimes streams were dammed to power these mills (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation into the changes in landscape use over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. Because Prince William County's public records were destroyed in the Civil War, there is much about antebellum life in the area that remains vague. Archaeological research can contribute to historical knowledge of such issues as the differences in the construc-

tion of vernacular buildings, farmstead management, and the types and forms of plantation site layouts in Prince William County.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

Intact stratigraphy, architectural features, artifacts, and comparative archaeological data would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house, as well as the material signature of enslaved antebellum households.

2. Did mills serve as centers for social activity in addition to agricultural production?

This question can be answered with the aid of an archaeological assemblage of artifacts.

Government and Politics

In 1816, Virginia established the “Fund for Internal Improvement” to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect highways. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines (Salmon n.d.).

In 1846, the Virginia legislature’s District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court, which Prince William County’s residents did not choose to do. The Primary System, active in the county, provided only for the education of poor children who were both free and white. School enrollment of children in the county included 362 students (Virginia 1941:8, 61).

From 1830-60, the law was used to threaten African Americans, placing other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. State laws prohibited teaching African Americans to read and write, denied them jury trials

except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988: 45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987: 58). In 1850, Agnes, an enslaved African-American woman of Prince William County, was tried and sentenced to death for killing her master, Gerard Mason. The execution became the focal point of the controversy between abolitionists on the one hand and proponents of slavery on the other (Virginia 1941:45).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures, and into the effects of legal restrictions upon individual households. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Did toll houses established by Virginia’s “Fund for Internal Improvement” serve as hospitable waypoints for travelers seeking rest, refreshment, and information, or were they merely administrative outposts?

Requires the identification of a toll house site, and a sufficient quantity of artifacts, whose origins might be closely examined.

2. Is there any material evidence of literacy within antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

During the antebellum period, many former farmers left their land to operate general stores or engage in other businesses after tobacco production proved unpredictable and financially risky (Netherton et al. 1978). In the early nineteenth century, a white urban middle class was developing, made up of the families of professionals, clergymen, artists, professors, shopkeepers, and upper mechanics (Delle et al. 2000). Tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved, were often engaged in labor on farms held by absentee landowners in the 1830s (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). During this agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Netherton et al. 1978, Bloomberg 1988:222). African-American men found wage-based employment after their emancipation as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, and sailors, among other professions (Netherton et al. 1978). They were also employed to work on roads and bridges, but often lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978). Free African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or

seamstresses (Lebsock 1987). They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock 1987: 59). Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

During the 1830s, the average school year was 107 days. Only two schools operated in the county, attended by only a fraction of eligible indigent children (Phinney 1941:8). By the following decade, Prince William's free schools were in operation at least nine months out of the year (Virginia 1941:62).

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts,

headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court, which Prince William County's residents did not choose to do. The Primary System, active in the county, provided only for the education of poor children who were both free and white. School enrollment of children in the county included 362 students (Virginia 1941:8, 61). By the 1850s, the average school year in the county was just 40 days, less than half its length in 1830. School enrollment was similarly low relative to the 1830s (Virginia 1941:8, 62).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional

and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Among white middle-class communities, women of the 1830s were often involved in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987: 65, 70, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, these women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quakers abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988: 60). By

contrast, some Baptist leaders used the Bible to justify the existence and continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition can test for physical evidence of whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

As much of Virginia experienced economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new opportunities, including education for white women and property ownership for both black and white women. Some women even owned their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55). Over the course of the century, however, Virginia women turned from an interest in politics and public life to an increasing focus on the domestic sphere and family life (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Handbooks of the 1830s prescribed home furnishings for suburban wives (Delle et al. 2000). Women were charged with the responsibility of creating a sanctuary from the rest of society, but the line between the home and the outside world was often blurred by women's involvement in schools, libraries orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance

societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987: 65, 70, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). They formed the majority in white protestant churches, and some Quaker women were ministers (Lebsock 1987: 60-62, 69).

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, including both slaves and free African Americans, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically illiterate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988: 207, McDonald et al. 1992). They often worked performing skills they learned on plantations, or found employment as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, laundresses, seamstresses, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, or sailors, among other occupations (Blomberg 1988: 222, Netherton et al. 1978). They also often worked on roads and bridges but eventually lost most of these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978).

The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987: 58). In 1850, Agnes, an enslaved African-American woman of Prince William County, was tried and sentenced to death for killing her master, Gerard Mason. The execution became the focal point of the controversy between abolitionists on the one hand and proponents of slavery on the other (Virginia 1941:45).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior.

They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African-Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plain region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European

customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Prince William County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Confederate money lost its value, causing severe financial hardships for most Virginians (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of the changes to landscape use following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated wage earners. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the

physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how new systems of labor and tenancy arising from Emancipation affected the material aspects of the lives of planters, poor white laborers and tenants, and newly freed African Americans.

Research Questions

1. As wage-earners, did newly emancipated African-American farmers manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

2. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of slavery?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

Transportation and Communication

Roads were in poor condition in the years immediately following the war, leading many farmers to ship their harvest by steamer (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, however, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992). The growth of the Potomac Railroad as well as the increasing number of shipyards in the area spurred development in the town of Potomac in the 1890s, which was promoted as an excursion for travelers coming from Richmond and Washington, D.C. (Botwick and McClane 1998, Virginia 1941:54-55).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of road networks influence settlement patterns and town development in the antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

2. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Southern plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. Landlords received a portion of these tenants' crops. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to antebellum landowners following the Civil War. Many emancipated African Americans in Fairfax continued to work the same jobs they had held under slavery (Netherton et al. 1978).

During the 1870s, many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. African Americans lived in old slave cabins or in cabins they built after the war. Neighbors helped each other with the harvest in tight-knit communities (McDonald et al. 1992). African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African-Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Most of these farms kept cattle for

dairying, but few were slaughtered. Chickens, ducks, turkeys, hogs, and horses were also commonly kept livestock (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Most farmers in the nation, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). At the turn of the century, many black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987), but still only one in four Southern black farmers owned land. Tenancy locked the farmer into a cycle of poverty and was considered the greatest economic and social problem in the South (Leone et al. 1999). Agriculture continued along Quantico Creek and the Potomac River, but it consisted mainly of subsistence farms, rather than profitable monocrop production (Botwick and McClane 1998).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978). As the railroad industry burgeoned later in the century, the growth of the Potomac Railroad as well as the increasing number of shipyards in the area spurred development in the town of Potomac, which was promoted in the 1890s as an excursion for travelers coming from Richmond and Washington, D.C. (Botwick and McClane 1998, Virginia 1941:54-55). As the population of Prince William County grew into the twentieth century, it became a part of metropolitan Washington, D.C. (Gardner et al. 1999).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

The population of Prince William County had fallen during the Civil War, from 8,565 in 1860 to 7,504 in 1870 (Virginia 1941:54). The numbers of men who did not return from the war were offset by Northerners who settled on inexpensive land in Prince William and Stafford counties in the late 1860s (Balicki et al. 2003). The activities of the war had eroded the land and destroyed the woods and transportation routes in Stafford and Prince William counties (Botwick and McClane 1998, Gardner et al. 1999, Linebaugh et al. 1995).

The growth of the Potomac Railroad beginning in the 1870s, as well as the increasing number of shipyards in the area spurred development in the town of Potomac, which was promoted in the 1890s as an excursion for travelers coming from Richmond and Washington, D.C. (Botwick and McClane 1998, Virginia 1941:54-55). The towns of Potomac and Manassas were incorporated in 1873, followed by Occoquan in 1874, and Haymarket in 1882 (Virginia 1941:55). As the population of Prince William County grew into the twentieth century, it became a part of metropolitan Washington, D.C. (Gardner et al. 1999)

Archaeological investigation of the changes in landscape use during the postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns due to expanding transportation networks, and the impact of industrialization on previously rural landscapes. Differences in the construction of vernacular buildings, farmstead management, and site layout might also be considered through archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. How did increasing contact with metropolitan Washington, D.C. alter county residents' access to non-local goods?

Research to address this question would rely primarily upon artifact assemblages.

2. How did the transient lifestyle of many newly emancipated people affect their material wealth, comfort, and diet?

Requires documentary evidence of high attrition or turnover rates in a landlord's tenants or sharecroppers, considered in conjunction with household artifacts, and faunal and paleoethnobotanical evidence.

Government and Politics

The Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges. Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. "Black Codes" replaced the old slave codes, which had restricted the activities of slaves. In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. The wages earned by some black farm workers were reduced by various fines and penalties. Still, following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and file lawsuits (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. By this time, Virginia's post-war constitution

had created a public education system, in addition to township boards of supervisors to take administrative roles in county courts (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1877, Virginia became the last state to allow women to own property in their own names (Lebsock 1987: 100), but they still had no legal voice in government or politics. They nevertheless undoubtedly held opinions in a political climate following Reconstruction in which controversy predominated. The 1880s in Virginia were plagued by political tension between Funders, who supported full repayment of pre-war debt, and Readjusters, who advocated a reduction in debt in consideration of the South's financial hardships in the aftermath of a war fought primarily on Southern soil (Netherton et al. 1978).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987: 91).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

Work

Throughout the South during Reconstruction, the antebellum plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. A sharecropper normally paid the landlord a portion of the crop in exchange for this assistance. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999).

African-American tenants were especially susceptible to exploitation and abuse during the Reconstruction period. Many freed slaves lived on former masters' lands (Netherton et al. 1978). In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. Many former slaves left plantations for fear of re-enslavement, and some feared permanent work, moving often. While many former slaves worked in agriculture, some worked in factories, mechanical trades, and business, or for the railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). Black men also worked in sawmills, and as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers (Netherton et al. 1978).

White farmers feared competition from former slaves or a loss of order following the end of slavery. The loss of slaves and of white males killed in the war decreased the number of workers engaged in agriculture (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). In response to labor shortages, farmers turned to less labor-intensive products, maintaining fruit orchards, growing vegetables, raising poultry, and dairying (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). They also looked to immigrants for cheap wage labor (Orser 1999).

Women worked in postbellum Virginia as well, particularly if they were single, if their husbands were disabled, or if they were poor. They could find employment as domestic servants, laundresses, waitresses, farm laborers, factory workers, seamstresses, teachers, and secretaries. Women who were widowed often took over their husband's business. Women generally were paid only half as much as men who occupied similar jobs (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

3. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of enslaved fieldwork?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

4. What were the purchasing habits of working women, and how do they compare to households of similar means supported by male employment?

This would require documentary evidence of female employment, the presence of a large assemblage of artifacts, and comparison with contemporary sites known to be male-headed and of similar income.

Education, Health, and Recreation

Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary

schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1869, a new Virginia constitution replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state (Netherton and Netherton 1986). School houses were often still located in log buildings, but also might be set up in two-story frame houses, or brick buildings (Netherton et al. 1978). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did (Netherton et al. 1978).

Prince William County was divided into 6 school districts (Phinney 1941:10). In at least one of these districts, the white schools were provided with books by the county, but the black school was not (Phinney 1941:39). In 1866, 29 teachers were employed within Prince William County to teach in racially segregated schools. All of these teachers were white. Three years later, the first truly public school, free and open to students of all financial means, was established in Prince William County. Many county residents looked upon these schools condescendingly, as charity. The idea of educating black children was unpopular with white county residents. Many people were also resistant to the idea of state-run instruction of their children. In 1870, the Brown School, a formerly privately funded school for black children in Manassas, was turned over to the Manassas District Board, as was the free local white school (Phinney 1941:8-10).

In Prince William County in the 1870s, although public schools had been established, the majority of white school-age children continued to attend the county's private schools. Schoolhouses in Prince William were usually small, one- or two-room wooden buildings, heated by wood-burning, pot-bellied stoves. The buildings were usually painted white. Purcell was an exception, building its schoolhouse out of metal (Phinney 1941:31). Brick schoolhouses would not become common until the 1930s. A single teacher was employed per schoolhouse. Hot lunches for the students were prepared on the stove and served by the teacher assisted by female students or by students' mothers. Drink-

ing water was stored in a pail kept on a bench at the back of the room. Students were expected to drink from a communal dipping scoop. (Phinney 1941:9, 31-32)

Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the mid-nineteenth century, particularly for African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented. Research into the prevalence of arson and other violent acts toward African-American schools motivated by racism would also benefit from an examination of the material record.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage

(Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

After the Civil War, Northerners bought inexpensive land in Prince William and Stafford counties and settled there in high numbers (Balicki et al. 2003). The Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fesler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white

communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials.

In 1869, the first truly public school (free and open to students of all financial means) was established in Prince William County. Many county residents looked upon these schools condescendingly, as charity. The idea of educating black children at the expense of taxpayers was unpopular with white county residents. Many members of the middle and upper classes were also resistant to the idea of state-run instruction of their children (Phinney 1941:9).

Religion was a central part of the lives of most African-American Virginians in the late nineteenth century. They were active in churches, especially those of the Baptist faith, while black and white worship styles began to diverge. Some members of black communities continued to attend white churches, while black communities formed their own churches (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1878, 2,000 locals and visitors from nearby counties attended lectures at Virginia's first Summer Normal sessions at Asbury Methodist Church in Manassas, run by Maryland's State Superintendent (Virginia 1941:65).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were

ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American com-

munities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Prince William County changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

9: Stafford County: Historical Themes and Research Questions

Formed in 1664, Stafford County is located in the northern portion of Virginia and straddles the fall line (Figures 24 and 25). The county lies on the Potomac River, between the Chopawamsic River to the north and Potomac Creek to the south. The Marine Corps Base Quantico is located in the northern portion of the county, as well as in southeastern Prince William and the eastern tip of Fauquier counties.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

As much of Virginia experienced an economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new prospects. For white women, these included educational opportunities traditionally reserved for men, and for both white and African-American women, the ownership of businesses and property became possible. Despite these changes, women largely had the same responsibilities of previous generations, including making clothes, cooking, washing, and raising and supervising children (Delle et al. 2000).

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo

on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988: 62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987: 55, Netherton et al. 1978)

Stafford County experienced the loss of most of its antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local economic information. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead



Figure 24. Stafford County locator map

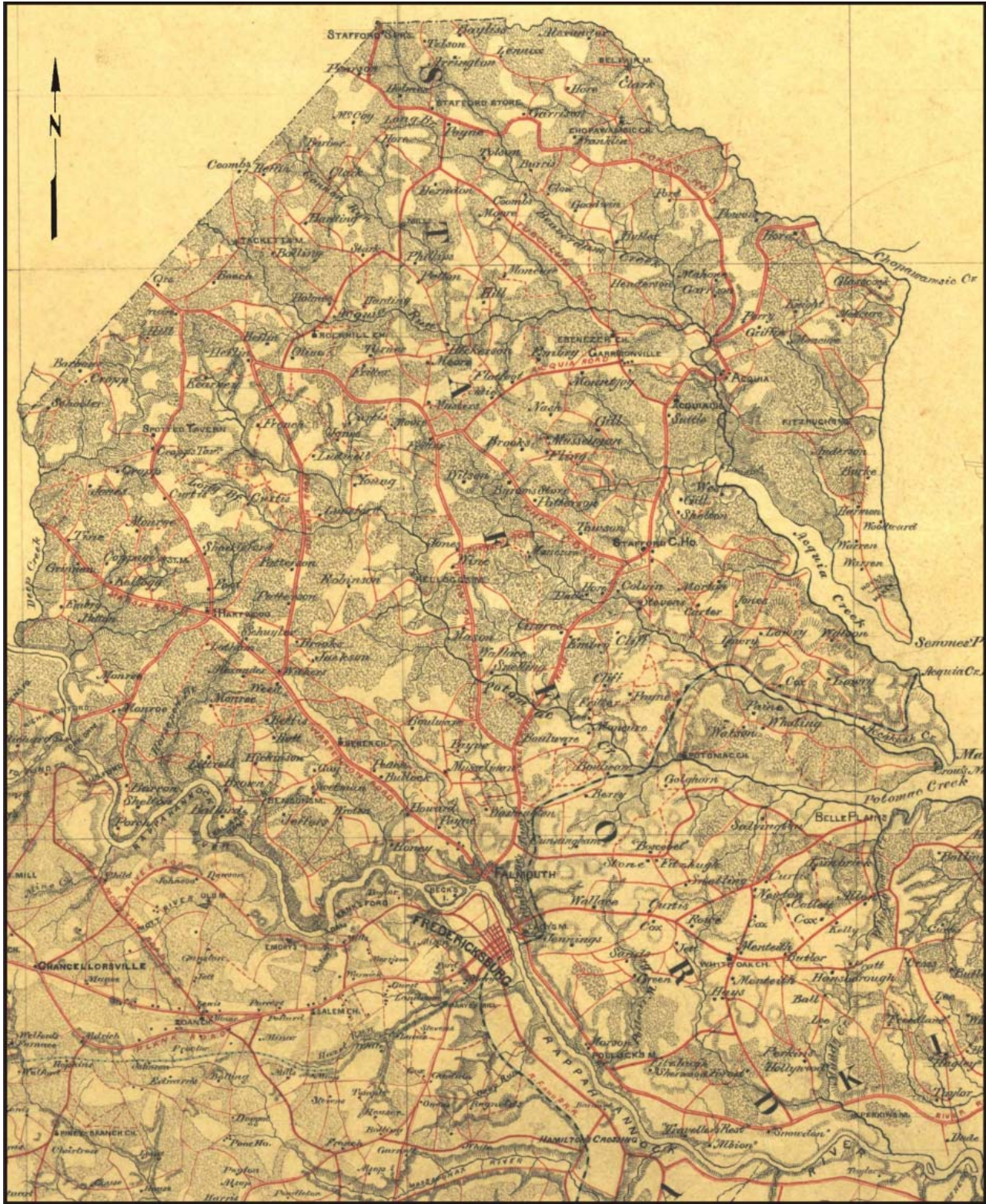


Figure 25. Historical map of Stafford County

organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A consideration of this question requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, the reaper, the cook stove, and the sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. They performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors. Industrial slaves were more likely to rebel than plantation slaves, and they did so in a variety of ways, including through negligence, slowdowns, feigned ignorance, theft, arson, and sabotage. Some white workers perceived hired slaves as competition

for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, as was the housing for laborers (Delle et al. 2000). In 1859, a paper mill, woolen mill, and a tobacco factory were in operation in Fredericksburg, relying primarily on hired slaves as their workforce. These slaves were often drawn from surrounding rural counties, most likely including Stafford (Fitzgerald 1979:21).

Stafford County experienced the loss of most of its antebellum county records during the Civil War, but private business accounts and letters are alternative sources of local information related industry. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional trends in industry and technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the material remains of mills, for example may yield a better understanding of the labor required in their operation.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of grist and saw mills or other mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

3. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the “Fund for Internal Improvement” to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s, some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes, canals, and regular coach schedules led to greater personal travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Construction of the Rappahannock Canal, completed in 1849 with the assistance of free and enslaved laborers from Stafford and other neighboring counties, was of central importance to the region, though it failed financially and fell into disrepair shortly after its completion. (Fitzgerald 1979:20). The area’s first telegraph wire, from Alexandria to Richmond along Telegraph Road, likewise improved communication in eastern Virginia (Virginia 1941:69).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served, or the impact of telegraph networks upon local communication. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns and the movement of consumer goods as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of road networks influence settlement patterns and town development in the antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

2. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

Agriculture

During the antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

In 1830, much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county’s agricultural landscape over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Were the enslaved residents on plantations with absentee owners, run by free African Americans, more likely to receive better treatment?

An examination of this issue would require documentary evidence of an absentee landowner and a free black overseer, as well as a consideration of foodways and material evidence in comparison with other contemporary plantations of similar size.

2. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

3. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect the lifestyles of enslaved families?

Requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Markets and Commerce

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988: 62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987: 55, Netherton et al. 1978)

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

By the 1820s, some well-developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). Along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979), as well as wayside inns built along turnpikes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Netherton and Netherton 1986:54, Netherton et al. 1978). Canals were another rapidly developing system of transport. From its proposal in the 1811 Virginia legislature to its bankruptcy in 1853, funding and construction of the Rappahannock Canal promised to improve shipping and communication in the Fredericksburg and surrounding areas. (Fitzgerald 1979:20).

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more

prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Nethererton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Sometimes streams were dammed to power these mills (Nethererton et al. 1978).

An influx of settlers from northern states to Virginia during the 1840s and 1850s boosted populations. The newcomers were motivated by the expensive cost of land in New England, the growth of the Washington, D.C. market, and the success of transportation improvements and progressive agricultural practices in Virginia (Nethererton and Nethererton 1986: 57). While some Northerners failed at farming and returned home, many elected to stay (Nethererton et al. 1978). By 1860, tens of thousands of Northerners had bought land in Virginia, mostly small tracts. The plank roads (where muddy tracks were augmented by the addition of plants or logs, which improved traction) that became increasingly common in Virginia during this time may have been brought by the Northern settlers (Nethererton and Nethererton 1986: 51).

In 1850, a federal census recorded that Stafford County had a population of 8,093, including a documented free black population of 315 and an enslaved population of 3,360. (Fitzgerald 1979:6). This census demonstrates that local slave owners held between 13 and 51 slaves, and that 39 free blacks lived and worked on a single white farmers plantation, probably as sharecroppers. By 1860, federal census records demonstrate the county's free black population remained constant 320 people (Fitzgerald 1979:55).

Archaeological investigation into the changes in landscape use over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. Because Stafford County's public records were destroyed in the Civil War, there is much about antebellum life in the area

that remains unknown. Archaeological research can contribute to historical knowledge of such issues as the differences in the construction of vernacular buildings, farmstead management, and the types and forms of plantation site layouts in Stafford County.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

Intact stratigraphy, architectural features, artifacts, and comparative archaeological data would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house, as well as the material signature of enslaved antebellum households.

2. How did the material conditions under which free antebellum African-American sharecroppers differ from those who were enslaved?

An answer to this question might rely upon artifacts, faunal remains and other evidence of foodways, and/or intact features related to architecture.

Government and Politics

In 1816, Virginia established the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect rivers and make them navigable and to connect highways. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines (Salmon n.d.). Increased access to the waterways led to widespread fishing with huge seines that had a devastating impact on spawning fish in the Potomac River after the 1830s. The General Assembly passed laws to protect fisheries, but they were unable to recover. The loss of the spawn drove fisheries out of business (Nethererton et al. 1978:62).

All free African Americans during the antebellum period lived under harsh restrictions. They were required by the state to register with the city or county clerk. The intent of the law was to prevent enslaved people from posing as free in order to obtain paid work, but the

vast majority of free people never registered. A brief peak in freedmen's registrations followed the 1831 slave rebellion led by Nat Turner, perhaps in response to stricter enforcement of the law following the insurgence (Sweig 1977: 1-6). Stafford County's independent black preachers were banned from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion, and members of Stafford County's free black community were forbidden to congregate in schools or church meetings (Fitzgerald 1979:9, 73).

Virginia's citizens in the 1830s and 1840s found entertainment not only in their homes and in taverns, but also by attending political rallies and court days. Both blacks and whites caught stealing were whipped on public whipping posts for spectators to observe in the 1830s. On court days, people gathered from throughout the county to sell produce and attend meetings. Enslaved African Americans were sold publicly at auction alongside cattle and real estate on these days (Netherton et al. 1978). In Falmouth, all slaves that were not resident were required by law to leave town on Sundays and holidays under penalty of five lashes. Oral history records that Stafford County slaves were flogged publicly at a prison-like building in the center of Falmouth called "Captain Pickett's." (Fitzgerald 1979:62-63)

From 1830-60, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. Laws prohibited teaching them to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988: 45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). In 1857, Hannah Coalter of Chatham plantation in Stafford County freed 92 of her slaves with her will, specifying that they might relocate to Liberia, a free Union state, or that they might select one of her relatives as an owner. This action was refuted

by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals who ruled that slaves did not have the legal right to decide between slavery and freedom (Fitzgerald 1979:86).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

2. Did toll houses established by Virginia's "Fund for Internal Improvement" serve as hospitable waypoints for travelers seeking rest, refreshment, and information, or were they merely administrative outposts?

Requires the identification of a toll house site, and a sufficient quantity of artifacts, whose origins might be closely examined.

Work

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Netherton et al. 1978, Bloomberg 1988:222). African-American men found wage-based employment on roads and bridges, but often lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978). Construction of the Rappahannock Canal promised to improve shipping in the area. During the 1840s, the project employed laborers at five to seven dollars per month, plus generous food rations. The Rappahannock Navigation Company preferred to hire able-bodied black men over white immigrants,

but stopped hiring when it went out of business in 1853 (Fitzgerald 1979:20).

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved workers in industrial settings performed the most menial jobs, as carters, draymen, and food processors (Delle et al. 2000). During the 1830s, surplus slaves could be hired out to work the Fredericksburg and Orange County gold mines at an especially high profit to the slave owner during the winters when plantation fields did not require as much labor (Fitzgerald 1979:20-21). Some white workers, particularly immigrants, perceived them as competition for employment, and in many places, factories were segregated, as housing was housing (Delle et al. 2000). In the following decade, Stafford slaves could be hired out to work the cotton factory of Franklin and Warren Slaughter in Fredericksburg, and by 1859, a paper mill, woolen mill, and tobacco factory were in operation in Fredericksburg, relying primarily on hired (often rural) slaves from the surrounding areas as their workforce. (Fitzgerald 1979:21)

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

During the 1830s, youths of both sexes were educated in home schools, free schools, orphanages, academies, boarding schools, and seminaries. Some youth were sent to school in northern states. Wayside inns were built along turnpikes and road networks under construction in the early nineteenth century, and these taverns sometimes served as schools, and meeting places for dance lessons and tutoring sessions (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 54, Netherton et al. 1978). Teachers were often well educated, having attended schools elsewhere in the United States or in Europe. Some were ministers or prominent church members (Eaves 1936).

In some areas, free African Americans petitioned for schools but failed (Lebsock). In 1838, Fredericksburg area free blacks attempted to establish a school for black students, but were prevented from doing so (Fitzgerald 1979:38). In 1831, in the aftermath of Nat Turner's rebellion, free African Americans in Virginia had been forbidden to congregate in schools or church meetings, but classes were illegally taught in the Fredericksburg area to free and enslaved black children by members of the free black community and by whites who disapproved of the law. An 1870 Virginia Herald account documents

such instruction among Stafford slaves prior to Emancipation (Fitzgerald 1979:73-74).

Antebellum recreational activities took place in a variety of public arenas. In the 1830s, people found entertainment in their homes and in newspapers, through music, dancing, and foxhunting, and at taverns, churches, fairs, court days, political rallies, and militia displays. By the 1850s, Virginians found entertainment in circuses, community celebrations on holidays, balls, parades, and a few organized sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 68-79). Jousting tournaments also became popular at this time (Netherton et al. 1978).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

In 1838, Fredericksburg area free blacks attempted to establish a school for black students, but were prevented from doing so (Fitzgerald 1979:38). In 1831, in the aftermath of Nat Turner's rebellion, free African Americans in Virginia had been forbidden to congregate in schools or church meetings, but classes were illegally taught in the Fredericksburg area to free and enslaved black children by members of the free black community and by whites who disapproved of the law. An 1870 Virginia Herald account documents such instruction among Stafford slaves prior to Emancipation (Fitzgerald 1979:73-74).

White landowners in Stafford County, even those who owned slaves, were deeply divided over the issue of slavery versus abolition. Fredericksburg Methodist Church, which included families that were residents of Stafford among its congregation, split over the issue of slavery, some being in favor of abolition while others staunchly defended the system of slavery. The Stafford County/Fredericksburg area had an active American Colonization Society chapter, an organization run by white men, and often funded through the efforts of white women, responsible for shipping many freed slaves to Africa. Some Stafford free people of color and/or former

slaves may have migrated to Liberia between 1822 and the 1850s, as Fredericksburg area slaves are known to have done, after Fredericksburg area (white) citizens signed a petition in 1837 asking the state legislature to assist them in forming a Virginian colony of free blacks in coastal Africa (Fitzgerald 1979:78-80). Hannah Coalter of Chatham plantation in Stafford County freed 92 of her slaves with her will, specifying that they might relocate to Liberia, a free Union state, or that they might select one of her relatives as an owner. This action was refuted by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals who ruled that slaves did not have the legal right to decide between slavery and freedom (Fitzgerald 1979:85-86).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test whether practice conformed to belief through an examination of material remains.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern abolitionist households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

In the 1830s, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches in Fredericksburg all provided services for both whites and enslaved blacks. Stafford County had a smaller enslaved population than neighboring Spotsylvania County, but included many free African-Ameri-

can residents (Fitzgerald 1979:22). According to nineteenth-century deeds, Graysontown appears to have been the primary center of a free black community in the county. Many free African Americans also chose to live in Fredericksburg, after being emancipated from surrounding rural counties including Stafford. Stafford County court documents record numerous requests of free black men and women to remain in Virginia (contrary to a 1793 state law) from at least 1810 (when the free black community enumerated in the census totaled 315) until Emancipation (Fitzgerald 1979:36-37, 40).

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Not all white landowners in Stafford County, even those who owned slaves, were opposed to abolition. Fredericksburg Methodist Church, which included families that were residents of Stafford among its congregation, split over the issue of slavery, some being in favor of abolition while others staunchly defended the system of slavery. The Stafford County/Fredericksburg area had an active American Colonization Society chapter, an organization responsible for shipping many freed slaves to Africa (run by white men, and often funded through the efforts of white women). Some Stafford free people of color and/or former slaves may have migrated to Liberia between 1822 and the 1850s, as Fredericksburg area slaves are known to have done, after Fredericksburg area (white) citizens signed a petition in 1837 asking the state legislature to assist them in forming a Virginian colony of free blacks in coastal Africa (Fitzgerald 1979:78-80). Hannah Coalter of Chatham plantation in Staf-

ford County freed 92 of her slaves with her will, specifying that they might relocate to Liberia, a free Union state, or that they might select one of her relatives as an owner. This action was refuted by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals who ruled that slaves did not have the legal right to decide between slavery and freedom (Fitzgerald 1979:85-86).

In 1850, a federal census recorded that Stafford County had a population of 8,093, including a free black population of 315 and an enslaved population of 3,360 (Fitzgerald 1979:6). This census demonstrates that local slave owners held between 13 and 51 slaves, and that 39 free blacks lived and worked on a single white farmers plantation, probably as sharecroppers. By 1860 federal census records demonstrate that at least 320 free blacks were living in Stafford County (Fitzgerald 1979:55).

A 1978 renovation of Carlton plantation's kitchen (previously the quarters of the family's enslaved cook) resulted in the discovery of painted gourds, seedpods, and cattails preserved in the dirt surrounding the loft's fireplace. These artifacts were interpreted as a series of charms, once strung together over the hearth, possibly a remnant of African cultural influence (Fitzgerald 1979:22).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be

located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African-Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion. While a few marked slave graves are known in Stafford County, many rural graveyards remain to be located and surveyed (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plains region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Stafford County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Confederate money lost its value, causing severe financial hardships for most Virginians (Netherton et al. 1978). Stafford County was abruptly emptied of thousands of Union troops in the aftermath of the Civil War, at a time when livestock and fields had suffered damage. A severe labor shortage, due to the emigration of freed former slaves or the financial inability of plantation owners to pay laborers wages, in combination with these events resulted in economic depression and social unrest. Stafford County became known as the poorest county in the state (Fitzgerald 1979:100-101).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of the changes to landscape use following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated wage earners. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be

used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how new systems of labor and tenancy arising from Emancipation affected the material aspects of the lives of planters, poor white laborers and tenants, and newly freed African Americans.

Research Questions

1. How did Stafford County's shortage of labor affect farmstead layouts, and building styles and forms?

This question requires the presence of intact features.

Transportation and Communication

Economic recovery following the Civil War occurred more easily near urban markets, which enjoyed ready access to land and river transportation networks. Roads were in poor condition in the years immediately following the war, leading many farmers to ship their harvest by steamer (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, however, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992). As a result of the growth of the railroads, many laborers left Stafford in the 1880s for employment opportunities to do railroad work, to mine coal further west, or to work the mills and factories further north. (Fitzgerald 1979:162-163). The expansion of the railroad also spurred development in the town of Potomac in the 1890s which was promoted as an excursion for travelers coming from Richmond and Washington, D.C. (Botwick and McClane 1998). In 1916, a shipyard was begun in Stafford County, further improving its access to other ports (Balicki et al. 2003).

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeol-

ogy may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

2. How did Stafford County's shortage of labor affect farmstead layouts, and building styles and forms?

This question requires the presence of intact features.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Southern plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. Landlords received a portion of these tenants' crops. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999). The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands returned most land to antebellum landowners following the Civil War. Many emancipated African Americans in Fairfax continued to work the same jobs they had held under slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). Many formerly enslaved Stafford County residents returned to work for their former owners after the Civil War. Others turned to farming or left the area (Fitzgerald 1979:100, 149). Some Stafford landowners rewarded newly emancipated African Americans who returned to work for them after the war by giving them land of their own to farm (Fitzgerald 1979:150).

During the 1870s, many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. African Americans lived in old slave cabins or in cabins they built

after the war. Neighbors helped each other with the harvest in tight-knit communities (McDonald et al. 1992). African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African-Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Most of these farms kept cattle for dairying, but few were slaughtered. Chickens, ducks, turkeys, hogs, and horses were also commonly kept livestock (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Most farmers in the nation, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). At the turn of the century, many black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987), but still only one in four Southern black farmers owned land. Tenancy locked the farmer into a cycle of poverty and was considered the greatest economic and social problem in the South (Leone et al. 1999).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978). Stafford County was abruptly emptied of thousands of Union troops in the aftermath of the Civil War, at a time when livestock and fields had suffered damage. A severe labor shortage, due to the emigration of freed former slaves or the financial inability of plantation owners to pay laborers wages, in combination with these events resulted in economic depression and social unrest. Stafford County became known as the poorest county in the state (Fitzgerald 1979:100-101).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

Whereas the landscape once had been defined by dispersed plantations, it now was characterized by clustered villages (Underwood et al. 2003). Buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). In many places, fences and buildings gone, replaced by stockades and entrenchments (Netherton et al. 1978).

Confiscated lands, administered by Freedmen's Bureau, were sold or leased to ex-slaves or cooperatives such as Lincoln Land Association (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48). War-related activities had eroded the land and destroyed the woods and transportation routes in Stafford and Prince William counties (Botwick and McClane 1998, Gardner et al. 1999, Linebaugh et al. 1995). Stafford County was abruptly emptied of thousands of Union troops in the aftermath of the Civil War, at a time when livestock and fields had suffered damage (Fitzgerald 1979:100-101). In the unsettled years following the war, many people relocated to northern Virginia so that their children could grow up in a rural area that was still within reach of metropolitan Washington, D.C. (Netherton et al. 1978). Northerners were among those who bought inexpensive land in Prince William and Stafford counties (Balicki et al. 2003).

By 1890, the forests of Stafford County had regrown sufficiently to allow harvesting for firewood, which remained the main source of income for the county until World War I (Gardner et al. 1999). In 1916, Stafford County saw the construction of its own shipyard (Balicki et al. 2003). Shipyards and the railroad spurred development in the town of Potomac, which was promoted as an excursion for travelers coming from Richmond and Washington, D.C. (Botwick and McClane 1998).

Archaeological investigation of changes to public buildings, private residences, and landscape use during the postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about the material conditions which Stafford County's residents faced the aftermath of war. The effects of increasing industrialization and the expansion of transportation systems might also be examined through material evidence, as well as through an analysis of changing settlement patterns within the county during the early twentieth century.

Research Questions

1. Did the growth of shipping, travel by rail, and tourism from Richmond and Washington, D.C. affect the material goods to which local residents had access?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

2. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in Stafford County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

Government and Politics

The Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges. Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. "Black Codes" replaced the old slave codes, which had restricted the activities of slaves. In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. The wages earned by some black farm workers were reduced by various fines and penalties. Still, following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and file lawsuits (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. By this time, Virginia's post-war constitution had created a public education system, in addition to township boards of supervisors to take administrative roles in county courts (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1877, Virginia became the last state to allow women to own property in their own names (Lebsock 1987: 100), but they still had no legal voice in government or politics. They nevertheless undoubtedly held opinions in a political climate following Reconstruction in which controversy predominated. The 1880s in Virginia were plagued by political tension between Funders, who supported full repayment of pre-war debt, and Readjusters, who advocated a reduction in debt in consideration of the South's financial hardships in the aftermath of a war

fought primarily on Southern soil (Netherton et al. 1978).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987: 91).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

Work

Throughout the South during Reconstruction, the antebellum plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. A sharecropper normally paid the landlord a portion of the crop in exchange for this assistance. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999).

African-American tenants were especially susceptible to exploitation and abuse during the Reconstruction period. Many freed slaves

lived on former masters' lands (Netherton et al. 1978). In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. Many former slaves left plantations for fear of re-enslavement, and some feared permanent work, moving often. While many former slaves worked in agriculture, some worked in factories, mechanical trades, and business, or for the railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). Black men also worked in sawmills, and as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers (Netherton et al. 1978).

White farmers feared competition from former slaves or a loss of order following the end of slavery. The loss of slaves and of white males killed in the war decreased the number of workers engaged in agriculture (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). Many laborers left Stafford for employment opportunities to do railroad work or mine coal further west, or to work the mills and factories further north. (Fitzgerald 1979:162-163). In response to labor shortages, farmers turned to less labor-intensive products, maintaining fruit orchards, growing vegetables, raising poultry, and dairying (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993). They also looked to immigrants for cheap wage labor (Orser 1999).

Women worked in postbellum Virginia as well, particularly if they were single, if their husbands were disabled, or if they were poor. They could find employment as domestic servants, laundresses, waitresses, farm laborers, factory workers, seamstresses, teachers, and secretaries. Women who were widowed often took over their husband's business. Women generally were paid only half as much as men who occupied similar jobs (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

3. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of enslaved fieldwork?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

4. What were the purchasing habits of working women, and how do they compare to households of similar means supported by male employment?

Requires the documentary evidence of female employment, the presence of a large assemblage of artifacts, and comparison with other contemporary sites known to be male-headed and of similar income.

Education, Health, and Recreation

Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1869, a new Virginia constitution replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state (Netherton and Netherton 1986). School houses were often still located in log buildings, but also might be set up in two-story frame houses, or brick buildings

(Netherton et al. 1978). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did (Netherton et al. 1978). Stafford County developed a free, racially segregated public school system for both black and white students at this time. In 1874, the first black teacher in Stafford County was employed at a black public school. Prior to this, all black schoolhouses in the county were run by white teachers. Black schools were generally located at an impractical distance from their students' homes, leading many children to forgo the opportunity for a free education. Many of the black students who did attend were older than typical white graduates. After the eighth grade, continuing students might attend a black boarding school in Mayfield (Fitzgerald 1979:129-141). Both white and black public schoolhouses in Stafford were financially underfunded and often ill-equipped. (Fitzgerald 1979:141). Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the mid-nineteenth-century, particularly for schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth-century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

After the Civil War, the Freedmen's Bureau sold or leased confiscated land to ex-slaves or cooperatives, such as Lincoln Land Association (Fessler 1993, Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48). These agencies helped ex-slaves adapt to freedom by assisting them in finding work, homes, health care, and education. They also cared for those who had been unsuccessful in these endeavors (Netherton et al. 1978). Many Stafford County

former slaves returned to work for their former owners after the Civil War. Others turned to farming or left the area (Fitzgerald 1979:100, 149).

Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48-49). These changes were unwelcome to many members of Virginia's white communities and sparked widespread violence against blacks, white missionaries, teachers, and Freedmen's Bureau officials. In 1866, a racial riot occurred at Falmouth, in which 15 African Americans were killed and many wounded by white residents (Fitzgerald 1979:225).

In the 1870s, Stafford developed a free, racially segregated public school system for black and white children. In 1874, the first black teacher in Stafford County was employed at a black public school. Prior to this, all black schoolhouses in the county were run by white teachers. Black schools were generally located at an impractical distance from their students' homes, leading many children to forgo the opportunity for a free education. Many of the black students who did attend were older than typical white graduates. After the eighth grade, continuing students might attend a black boarding school in Mayfield (Fitzgerald 1979:129-141). Churches soon followed public schools in becoming racially segregated. By the 1880s, Stafford white churches who had formerly run black Sunday schools and counted African Americans among their congregations, begin to lose their last black members (Fitzgerald 1979:124).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity,

religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Burials of African Americans in Stafford were located in family plots, in former owner's cemeteries, or in church cemeteries. The bodies of black family members who had moved away as children, or as adults to work elsewhere were often shipped back to Stafford for burial (Fitzgerald 1979:224). Funerals for both blacks

and whites in the county followed a period of 3 days in which the body was laid out for viewing, except during hot weather, when the bodies were buried more quickly (Fitzgerald 1979:224).

Little else is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on religious affiliation, funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African-American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Stafford County changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

10: CITY OF VIRGINIA BEACH: HISTORICAL THEMES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The City of Virginia Beach is located in what was originally part of the shire of Elizabeth City, one of the eight original shires formed in 1634 (Figures 26 and 27). Princess Anne County was created in 1691 and existed until the county and the City of Virginia Beach were consolidated in 1963. Camp Pendleton, a 325-acre military reservation within the city, was formed in 1912, and its mission is training personnel of the Virginia National Guard (www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/camp-pendleton-va.htm).

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 International slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. In Princess Anne County, agriculture

began to diversify as corn, fruits, and vegetables became profitable commodities, and the number of dairy cattle in the region tripled between 1782 and 1859 (Traver and Ralph 1989).

In addition to Princess Anne County's antebellum records, private documents, such as diaries and letters, are available to researchers. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. A study of the physical evidence of enslaved worker housing during the time that large numbers of slaves were being sold southward, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the break-up of African-American families in the wake of tobacco profit failures affected the daily lives of enslaved workers.

Research Questions

1. Were enslaved worker quarters more likely to include non-kin residents following sales of large numbers of slaves to cotton plantations in the wake of tobacco profit failures?

A higher incidence of sub-floor pit features or "hidey-holes" of valuables or personal belongings



Figure 26. Princess Anne County (City of Virginia Beach) locator map

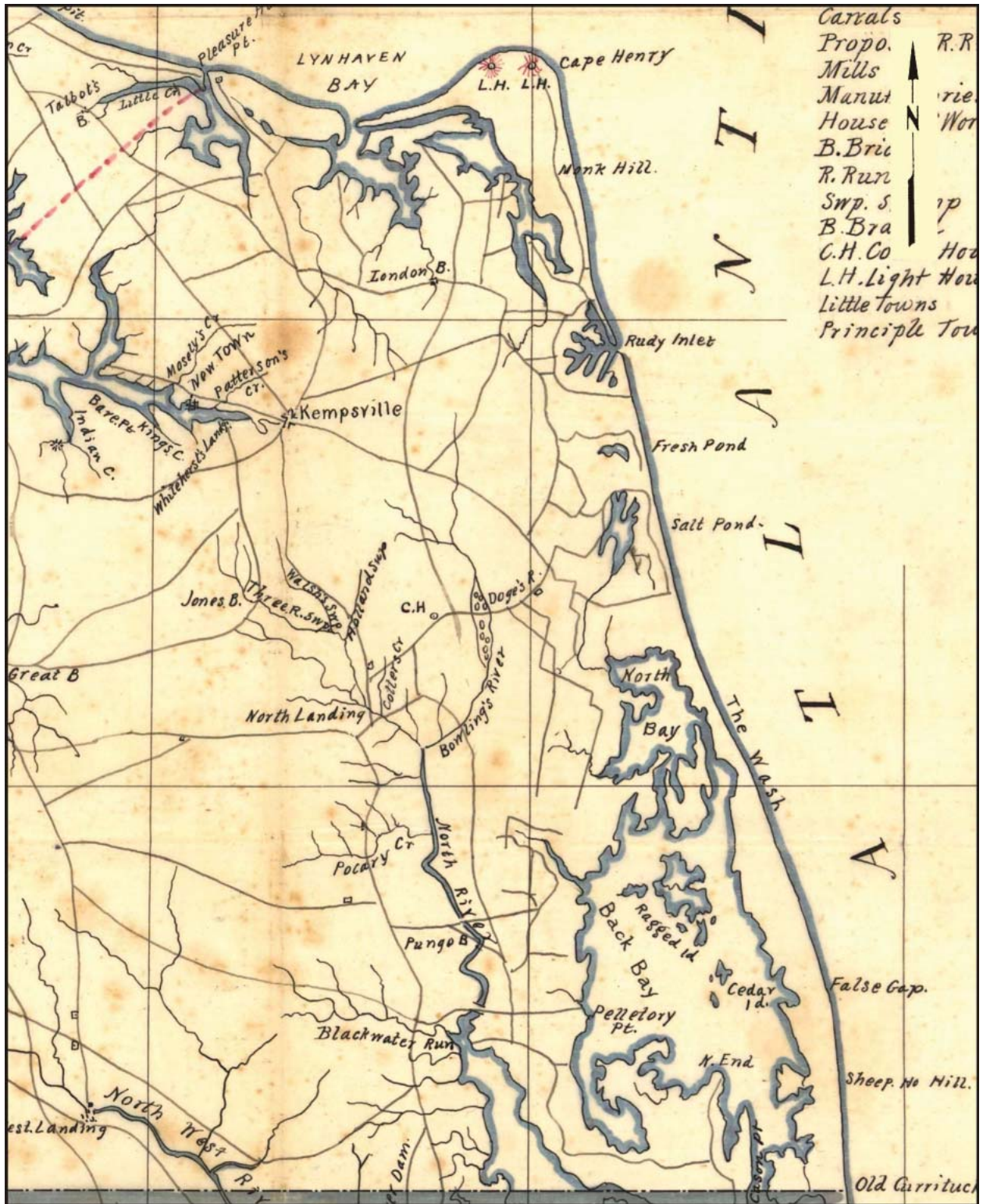


Figure 27. Historical map of Princess Anne County (City of Virginia Beach)

within quarters for the antebellum period might indicate an increase in co-residence among unrelated individuals (see Neiman 1997).

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

The improvement of transportation in the region linked small communities and farmers to larger markets. Specifically, the Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal, which opened in 1859, and the Norfolk and Petersburg and the Norfolk and Southern Railroads connected Princess Anne County to the burgeoning hubs located in those cities (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-42).

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south.

In addition to Princess Anne County's antebellum records, private documents, such as diaries and letters, are available to researchers. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about regional developments in technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. A study of the physical evidence of enslaved worker housing during the time that large numbers of slaves were being sold southward, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the widespread adoption of the cotton gin further south affected the daily lives of enslaved workers affected the daily lives of African-American families after some of their members were sold away from Princess Anne County.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of canal and railroad networks in Princess Anne County affect the quantity and variety of non-local goods in the area?

A discussion of non-local material items would rely primarily upon the presence of artifacts known from documentation to have arrived by rail.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). The development of turnpikes, and regular stagecoach schedules led to greater personal travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Since overland routes were long, especially those leading to the important port of Norfolk, canal routes were built and improved (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-42). When linked with existing waterways, canals provided direct water access to the marketing center. The Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal was opened in 1859. This waterway extended from Great Bridge to North Landing, and it connected the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River to the North Landing River. The Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal now forms part to the Intracoastal Waterway. Railroads were also established during this time, the most important of which were the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad and the Norfolk and Southern Railroad (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-42). A number of communities were founded adjacent to the important railroad stations.

In general, documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories the politics of identity affecting access to travel and shipment of goods. Archaeology may be more helpful in leading

to a practical understanding of the layouts and arrangements of residences and businesses in relation to railways and navigable rivers, or the impact of improved transportation systems upon the quantity and variety of material goods found locally.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of railroad canal networks in Princess Anne County affect the quantity and variety of non-local goods in the area?

A discussion of non-local material items would rely primarily upon the presence of artifacts known from documentation to have arrived by rail.

2. How much access to the ocean and rivers did enslaved African Americans of Princess Anne County generally have during the antebellum period?

An investigation into the proximity of enslaved worker housing to the county's waterways, and of the ease or difficulty of surveillance of these dwellings and the river from the main house would contribute to this area of research. Intact features related to slave quarter structures would be necessary for this kind of study. In addition, an analysis of artifacts found within workers' quarters (e.g. those related to fishing and boating) would be useful.

Agriculture

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south. In Princess Anne County, agriculture began to diversify as corn, fruits, and vegetables

became profitable commodities, and the number of dairy cattle in the region tripled between 1782 and 1859 (Traver and Ralph 1989).

Documentary and archaeological evidence from other counties and regions indicate that many African Americans worked in a variety of skilled occupations, not only as field hands but also as ploughmen, gardeners, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, butchers, and cooks. Enslaved children were often responsible for herding livestock, among other tasks (Horning 2004:98-99). Enslaved communities also made use of a variety of wild and cultivated food sources (Horning 2004:102-103).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

2. Are there any archaeological traces of the quarter-acre subsistence gardens of enslaved African Americans? If so, what plants did they include, and did their form differ significantly from gardens designed by planters of European descent?

Garden archaeology relies upon the presence of intact features in combination with phytolith analysis and the scrutiny of macrobotanical remains.

Markets and Commerce

The development of turnpikes led to greater predictability in the shipment of goods (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Since overland routes were long, especially those leading to the important port of Norfolk, canal routes were built and improved (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-42). When linked with existing waterways, canals provided direct water access to the marketing center. The Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal was opened in 1859. This waterway extended from Great Bridge to North Landing, and it connected the Southern Branch of the Elizabeth River to the North Landing River. The Albemarle and Chesapeake Canal now forms part to the Intracoastal Waterway. Railroads were also established during this time, the most important of which were the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad and the Norfolk and Southern Railroad (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-42).

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 International slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south.

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in antebellum stores and market places?
2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 International slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south.

The vernacular construction of enslaved worker housing, and the geographic relationships between the residences of the enslaved, planter houses, outbuildings, and nearby rivers, which potentially offered escape and communication with the outside world, have yet to be systematically documented for most regions.

In addition to Princess Anne County's antebellum records, private documents, such as diaries and letters, are available to researchers. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about architectural trends and changes in landscape use, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. Studies of enslaved worker housing, for example, would be valuable additions to our knowledge of how the area's

African American population lived during the antebellum period.

Research Questions

1. How much access to the ocean and rivers did enslaved African Americans of Princess Anne County generally have during the antebellum period?

An investigation into the proximity of enslaved worker housing to the county's waterways, and of the ease or difficulty of surveillance of these dwellings and the river from the main house would contribute to this area of research. Intact features related to slave quarter structures would be necessary for this kind of study. In addition, an analysis of artifacts found within workers' quarters (e.g. those related to fishing and boating) would be useful.

2. What forms did the quarters that housed enslaved workers take, and how were these buildings organized in relation to one another?

Answers to this question would rely upon detailed mapping of features related to the architecture of enslaved worker housing.

Government and Politics

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international legislation banning the importation of enslaved Africans meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south.

From 1830-60, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. State laws prohibited teaching African Americans to

read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988: 45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987: 58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures, and into the effects of legal restrictions upon individual households. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Work

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved

African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

Documentary and archaeological evidence from other counties and regions indicate that many African Americans worked in a variety of skilled occupations, not only as field hands but also as ploughmen, gardeners, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, butchers, and cooks. Enslaved children were often responsible for herding livestock, among other tasks (Horning 2004:98-99).

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Bloomberg 1988: 222, Netherton et al. 1978). African-American men found wage-based employment after their emancipation as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, and sailors, among other professions (Netherton et al. 1978). Free African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or seamstresses (Lebsock 1987). They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock 1987: 59). Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987: 59).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

Public schools in Princess Anne County did not become widespread until the mid-nineteenth century. Traditionally, families with the financial means often hired tutors for their children or sent them to privately run institutions. "After the revolution schools were established to provide a three year education for all free people" (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-31). While the system was slow to develop, many parents were regularly enrolling their children by the time of the Civil War (Traver and Ralph 1989:I-31).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such

as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from practicing doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Following the 1831 rebellion of Nat Turner and 40 other enslaved men, a raging debate ensued in Virginia over whether the state should outlaw slavery, and continued throughout the antebellum period. Religion was used to fuel both sides of the debates in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, and documented participants in Warwick's timber trade, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971, Quarstein and Rouse 1996). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and

shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quakers abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988: 60). By contrast, some Baptist leaders used biblical quotation to justify the existence and continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971).

Middle-class white women of the 1830s had the responsibility of presenting their homes as sanctuaries from the rest of the world, but the line between the home and the world was blurred by women's involvement in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987: 65, 70, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, middle-class women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance and abolition has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

2. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, cotton production in the Deep South was rapidly expanding as the cotton gin's efficiency led to increased productivity. At the same time, Virginia's tobacco plantations were threatened by market instability. The 1808 international slave ban meant that Southern cotton plantations, though reliant on slavery, could not import new slaves to meet their rising labor demands. These factors converged to create an economic climate in which Virginia's enslaved families were often torn apart, as slaveholders sold off many of their workers to labor in the cotton fields further south.

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African-Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plain region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European

customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of Princess Anne County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

The economy of Virginia Beach was founded on the tourists attracted to the coastal location. The hotel industry was particularly prominent. In 1883, the Virginia Beach Hotel, with accommodations for 75 guests, was built by the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company on the oceanfront near Sea Tack Lifesaving Station. Two years later, the Princess Anne Hotel was constructed on the oceanfront built near Sea Tack station. Within three years, the hotel hosted up to 400 guests and offered electric lights, an elevator, bath houses, a ballroom, a post office, a telegraph, and a telephone (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996).

Some agricultural products were also produced in the area, though the techniques used

on these farms were often outdated. Late eighteenth-century windmills, used to grind corn into meal and grain into flour, were still in operation by local farmers into the 1880s (Jordan and Jordan 1974:35). Shortly after the turn of the century, most farmers in the nation, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). Some black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987); approximately one in four Southern black farmers owned land in the following decade.

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of economic changes following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide information about the conditions under which Virginia Beach's permanent communities were formed, and how participation in maritime and service industries influenced the lives of members of the working class and their families. The effects of increasing development with the arrival of railroads and resort tourism might also be examined through material evidence.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of local flour mills using eighteenth-century technology?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

In the 1870s, the U.S. Congress funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the east coast. Four of these (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) were built along Virginia Beach coast prior to the early 1880s,

approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward (Jordan and Jordan 1974). Each of these stations consisted of an all-weather building with a lookout platform, a boat room, 2 surfboats, and rescue equipment such as breeches buoys (Swetnam et al. 1996). In 1874, prior to the construction of the Cape Henry lifesaving station, the U.S. Weather Bureau operated a weather station at Cape Henry to observe and record climatological data, giving warnings when storms were approaching, reporting vessels in distress, and recording all vessels entering and leaving the area (Jordan and Jordan 1974:38). Despite the presence of a scientific observatory, the area's agricultural technology was not new. Late 18th century windmills, used to grind corn into meal and grain into flour, were still in operation by local farmers (Jordan and Jordan 1974:35).

In 1881, Cape Henry's lighthouse was abandoned and replaced with a second tower built of cast iron and concrete. A new railroad track was laid to bring in construction supplies (Swetnam et al. 1996). The same year, the Dam Neck Mills Lifesaving station was established, and Princess Anne Hotel was built on the oceanfront near Sea Tack lifesaving station. (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39)

By 1888, Princess Anne Hotel could accommodate 400 guests, and boasted electric lights, an elevator, bath houses, a ballroom, a post office, a telegraph, and a telephone (Swetnam et al. 1996). In the following decade, cars replaced trains in Virginia Beach, spurring the construction of roads (Swetnam et al. 1996). The first streets were laid down at Sea Tack, paved with shell. (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39). It was not until 1913 that the first concrete road could be found in Virginia Beach (Swetnam et al. 1996).

While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional trends in industry and technology, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the material remains of mills, for example may yield a better understanding of the labor required in their operation.

Research Questions

1. Were lifesaving and weather stations used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or information or commerce centers, and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

Requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

2. What was the layout of local flour mills that continued to use 18th-century technology?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

Transportation and Communication

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward (Jordan and Jordan 1974). The U.S. Lifesaving Service rescue station at Cape Henry, built in 1878, had been preceded by an 1874 U.S. Weather Bureau station that served to observe and record climatological data, give warnings when storms were approaching, report vessels in distress, and record vessels entering and leaving the area.

Each of Virginia Beach's lifesaving stations was staffed by a crew of six, and consisted of an all-weather building with a lookout platform, a boat room, 2 surfboats, a horse-drawn wagon, and rescue equipment including breech-buoy. Lifesaving station crew patrolled the shoreline 24 hours a day. In addition to their primary purpose as centers of rescue operations, the stations also served as hospitals for shipwreck survivors. Small communities developed around these sta-

tions and their crews' families, eventually forming the resort town of Virginia Beach (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

In 1881, Cape Henry's second lighthouse was built of cast iron and concrete. A new railroad track was laid to bring in construction supplies. Dam Neck Mills lifesaving station was also established in that year (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996). In 1883, the Virginia Beach Hotel, with accommodations for 75 guests, was built by the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company on the oceanfront near Sea Tack Lifesaving Station. Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company absorbed the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company and built a 19-mi.-long narrow-gauge railroad from Virginia Beach at Sea Tack to Norfolk (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996).

In 1885, the Princess Anne Hotel was constructed on the oceanfront built near Sea Tack station. Within three years, the hotel hosted up to 400 guests and offered electric lights, an elevator, bath houses, a ballroom, a post office, a telegraph, and a telephone. A boardwalk was added to Virginia Beach at this time (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996).

During the 1890s, the first streets were laid down at Sea Tack, paved with shell (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39). Cars were beginning to replace trains by the turn of the century, spurring further road development, but rail was still the primary mode of transportation to Virginia Beach in the early twentieth century, and only one dirt road passed between Norfolk and Virginia Beach. The first concrete road in Virginia Beach was paved in 1913. The new century saw an electric rail on the track from Norfolk to Virginia Beach. By 1906, 16 trains ran between Norfolk and Virginia Beach each day, in addition to ferry with service to North Carolina (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

By 1915, when the U.S. Lifesaving Service was replaced by the new U.S. Coast Guard, 185 shipwrecks had been documented on the Virginian coast since 1874 (Swetnam et al. 1996). Documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories

of specific railroad companies and ferry services and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Maps and historical documents are also better equipped to address research questions surrounding the placement of transportation routes in relation to certain communities and businesses. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did economic competition with newly constructed railroads affect port towns, and those members of the community who relied on the previously booming shipping industry?

An examination of the construction features and layouts of late nineteenth-century shipwrecks, piers, or dockyards could contribute significantly to our understanding of how those involved in inland shipping adapted to the growth of rail transportation.

Agriculture

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward (Jordan and Jordan 1974). Small communities developed around these stations and their crews' families, eventually forming the resort town of Virginia Beach (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996). Because Virginia Beach grew up as a resort town, based on maritime industries and tourism, agriculture was less socially and economically prominent in the area. The farmlands that did neighbor the lifesaving stations were technologically conser-

vative. As late as the 1880s, eighteenth-century windmills were still being used to grind corn into meal and grain into flour by local farmers. (Jordan and Jordan 1974:35).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Most farmers, both white and black, were tenants (Leone et al. 1999). At the turn of the century, many black renters and sharecroppers had become landowners (Lebsock 1987), but still only one in four Southern black farmers owned land. Tenancy locked the farmer into a cycle of poverty and was considered the greatest economic and social problem in the South (Leone et al. 1999).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county's agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of African-American sharecroppers.

Research Questions

1. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. What were the layout and design of local flourmills that continued to use 18th-century technology?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

3. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward (Jordan and Jordan 1974). Small communities developed around these stations and their crews' families, eventually forming the resort town of Virginia Beach (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

In 1883, the Virginia Beach Hotel, with accommodations for 75 guests was built by the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company on the oceanfront near Sea Tack Lifesaving Station. The Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company absorbed the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company later that year and built a 19-mi.-long narrow-gauge railroad from Virginia Beach at Sea Tack to Norfolk (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996). Another hotel, the Princess Anne Hotel, followed two years later on the oceanfront near Sea Tack station. Within three years, the hotel hosted up to 400 guests and offered electric lights, an elevator, bath houses, a ballroom, a post office, a telegraph, and a telephone (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996).

It was not until 1897 that Virginia Beach's first grocery store was opened near Sea Tack lifesaving station. It was quickly followed by a drugstore, hardware store, and several general stores (Jordan and Jordan 1974:40, Swetnam et al. 1996). Virginia Beach also hosted rail stations that were ideal locations for stores in the late nineteenth century. In 1883, the Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company absorbed the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company and built a 19-mi.-long narrow-gauge railroad from Virginia Beach at Sea Tack to Norfolk. By

1906, 16 trains ran between Norfolk and Virginia Beach each day.

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common among the late nineteenth-century stores and market places of Virginia Beach?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

3. What were the differences between stores catering to wealthy seasonal tourists and those selling wares to permanent residents in the area?

Floor plans, construction methods and materials, and artifact assemblages would all contribute to such a comparison.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately

every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward. The U.S. Lifesaving Service rescue station at Cape Henry, built in 1878, had been preceded by an 1874 U.S. Weather Bureau station that served to observe and record climatological data, give warnings when storms were approaching, report vessels in distress, and record vessels entering and leaving the area. Cape Henry was also marked by the old Cape Henry lighthouse, first lit in 1792 (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

Each of Virginia Beach's lifesaving stations were built of local pine heartwood, and staffed by a crew of six, and consisted of an all-weather building with a lookout platform, a boat room, 2 surfboats, a horse-drawn wagon, and rescue equipment including breech-buoy. Lifesaving station crew patrolled the shoreline 24 hours a day. In addition to their primary purpose as centers of rescue operations, the stations also served as hospitals for shipwreck survivors. Small communities developed around these stations and their crews' families, eventually forming the resort town of Virginia Beach (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

The 1880s witnessed rapid growth and development in the new town. In 1881, Cape Henry's aging lighthouse was replaced with a new structure of cast iron and concrete. A new railroad track was laid to bring in construction supplies. Dam Neck Mills lifesaving station was also established in that year, neighbored by farms that still employed 18th-century windmills to grind corn into meal and grain into flour (Jordan and Jordan 1974:35, Swetnam et al. 1996). In 1883, the first wooden clubhouse was constructed, followed by Virginia Beach Hotel, built by the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company on the oceanfront near Sea Tack Lifesaving Station, with accommodations for 75 guests. Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company absorbed the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company later that year and built a 19-mi.-long narrow-gauge railroad from Virginia Beach at Sea Tack to Norfolk (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996). Two years later, the Princess Anne Hotel was constructed on the

oceanfront built near Sea Tack station. By 1888, a boardwalk graced the waterfront, and the hotel itself hosted up to 400 guests and offered electric lights, an elevator, bath houses, a ballroom, a post office, a telegraph, and a telephone (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996).

Throughout the 1880s, Virginia Beach remained a seaside summer resort, whose population mainly consisted of seasonal residents or short-term visitors; however, the next decade saw the growth of a stable community in the area. Churches were erected in the town, using lumber salvaged from shipwrecks, including an Episcopal mission, Eastern Shore Chapel, which was founded at Dam Neck in 1889. It was constructed of salvaged timber from the wrecked *Agnes Barton*, a three-masted bark (Jordan and Jordan 1974:35). In 1895, the first brick year-round home was constructed in the resort town. It was followed two years later by Virginia Beach's first grocery store, opened near Sea Tack lifesaving station, then a drugstore, hardware store, and several general stores (Jordan and Jordan 1974:40, Swetnam et al. 1996). But it was not until the early years of the next century that basic public services were provided to Virginia Beach's year-round residents. In 1907, a town hall was built, housing a volunteer fire department, Virginia Beach's first school, and a jail (Swetnam et al. 1996).

By the 1910s, with the town's infrastructure in place, development focused once again upon recreation. In 1912, Norfolk and Southern Railroad funded the construction of Seaside Park which offered visitors a saltwater pool, bath houses, a restaurant, concession stands, and a ballroom. In 1916, a golf club was created from undeveloped land (Swetnam et al. 1996). In 1915, the U.S. Coast Guard replaced the lifesaving stations (Swetnam et al. 1996).

Archaeological investigation of changes in landscape use during the postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about the conditions under which Virginia Beach's permanent communities were formed, and how participation in maritime and service industries influenced the lives of members of the

working class and their families. The effects of increasing development with the arrival of railroads and resort tourism might also be examined through material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Did the high reliance of Virginia Beach businesses upon tourism result in high numbers of non-local and luxury material items?

This question can be answered with the aid of an archaeological assemblage of artifacts.

2. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

3. Were lifesaving and weather stations used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or information or commerce centers, and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

Requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

Government and Politics

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward (Jordan and Jordan 1974). The U.S. Lifesaving Service rescue station at Cape Henry, built in 1878, had been preceded by an 1874 U.S. Weather Bureau station that served to observe and record climatological data, give warnings when storms were approaching, report vessels in distress, and record vessels entering and leaving the area.

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By 1915, when the U.S. Lifesaving Service was replaced by the new U.S. Coast Guard, 185 shipwrecks had been documented on the Virginian coast since 1874 (Swetnam et al. 1996). In 1915, the U.S. Coast Guard replaced the lifesaving stations (Swetnam et al. 1996)

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. Were U.S. lifesaving and weather stations used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or information or commerce centers, and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

Requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

Military and Defense

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and

funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward (Jordan and Jordan 1974). The U.S. Lifesaving Service rescue station at Cape Henry, built in 1878, had been preceded by an 1874 U.S. Weather Bureau station that served to observe and record climatological data, give warnings when storms were approaching, report vessels in distress, and record vessels entering and leaving the area.

Each of Virginia Beach's lifesaving stations was staffed by a crew of six, and consisted of an all-weather building with a lookout platform, a boat room, two surfboats, a horse-drawn wagon, and rescue equipment including breech-buoy. Lifesaving station crew patrolled the shoreline 24 hours a day. In addition to their primary purpose as centers of rescue operations, the stations also served as hospitals for shipwreck survivors. Small communities developed around these stations and their crews' families, eventually forming the resort town of Virginia Beach (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

By 1915, when the U.S. Lifesaving Service was replaced by the new U.S. Coast Guard, 185 shipwrecks had been documented on the Virginian coast since 1874 (Swetnam et al. 1996). In 1915, the U.S. Coast Guard replaced the lifesaving stations (Swetnam et al. 1996). While the primary role of the U.S. Lifesaving Service was to protect the country's coastal shipping and prevent loss of life, it also spurred economic development along Virginia's sparsely populated coast.

Research Questions

1. Were U.S. lifesaving and weather stations used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or information or commerce centers, and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

This requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

2. How did the socially isolated lives of U.S.L.S. officers and their families change after the development of Virginia Beach's resort industries?

This requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

Work

A series of severe storms resulted in an increased number of ships wrecked between Cape Henry and Cape Hatteras over the course of the 1860s. In the following decade, the U.S. Congress established the U.S. Lifesaving Service, and funded the construction of lifesaving stations along the country's east coast. These included four lifesaving stations (Dam Neck, Cape Henry, Little Island, and Sea Tack) built prior to the early 1880s along Virginia Beach's coastline, approximately every 7 miles from Cape Henry southward. Each of Virginia Beach's lifesaving stations were built of local pine heartwood, and staffed by a crew of six men. These officers patrolled the shoreline 24 hours a day. In addition to their primary purpose as centers of rescue operations, the stations also served as hospitals for shipwreck survivors. Small communities developed around these stations and their crews' families, eventually forming the resort town of Virginia Beach (Jordan and Jordan 1974, Swetnam et al. 1996).

The 1880s witnessed rapid growth and development in the new town. A new railroad track was laid to bring in construction supplies. In 1883, Virginia Beach Hotel was constructed, built by the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company on the oceanfront near Sea Tack Lifesaving Station, with accommodations for 75 guests. Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company absorbed the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company later that year and built a 19-mi.-long narrow-gauge railroad from Virginia Beach at Sea Tack to Norfolk (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996). Two years later, the Princess Anne Hotel was constructed on the oceanfront built near Sea Tack station (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et

al. 1996). Both the Virginia Beach Railroad and Improvement Company, and the hotels would have employed many in the area, whether seasonally or permanently.

Throughout the 1880s, Virginia Beach remained a seaside summer resort, whose population mainly consisted of seasonal residents or short-term visitors, however the next decade saw the growth of a stable community (presumably with permanent employment opportunities) in the area. In 1897, Virginia Beach's first grocery store opened its doors near Sea Tack lifesaving station, followed by a drugstore, hardware store, and several general stores (Jordan and Jordan 1974:40, Swetnam et al. 1996). But it was not until the early years of the next century that basic public services were provided to Virginia Beach's year-round residents. In 1907, a town hall was built, housing a fire department staffed by volunteers, Virginia Beach's first school, and a jail (Swetnam et al. 1996).

By the 1910s, with the town's infrastructure in place, development focused once again upon recreation, offering employment in service industries. In 1912, Norfolk and Southern Railroad funded the construction of Seaside Park which offered visitors a saltwater pool, bath houses, a restaurant, concession stands, and a ballroom. In 1916, a golf club was created from undeveloped land (Swetnam et al. 1996). The new century saw an electric rail on the track from Norfolk to Virginia Beach. By 1906, 16 trains ran between Norfolk and Virginia Beach each day, transporting lawyers, hunters, fishers, produce, beachgoers, and dancers, among others (Swetnam et al. 1996).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient employment such as railroad work and seasonal tourism, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Were U.S. lifesaving and weather stations used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or information or commerce centers, and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

This requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

2. How did the socially isolated lives of U.S.L.S. officers and their families change after the development of Virginia Beach's resort industries?

This requires the presence of artifacts not associated with the operation of lifesaving or weather stations.

3. How did the growth of local industry in the early twentieth century alter the lives of the working class?

A discussion of these issues would rely primarily upon artifacts.

4. Are the occupations of transient and/or seasonal workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

Education, Health, and Recreation

Virginia Beach's rapid development in the late nineteenth century was founded upon its recreational activities for tourists as a seaside resort. In 1883, the first wooden clubhouse was constructed, followed by Virginia Beach Hotel, built by the Seaside Hotel and Land Development Company on the oceanfront near Sea Tack Lifesaving Station, with accommodations for 75 guests. Two years later, the Princess Anne Hotel was constructed on the oceanfront built near Sea Tack station. By 1888, the hotel welcomed up to 400 guests and offered bathhouses and a

ballroom for their enjoyment (Jordan and Jordan 1974:39, Swetnam et al. 1996).

A new Virginia constitution had replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state as early as 1869 (Netherton and Netherton 1986), but the new resort town of Virginia Beach, with large portions of its population made up of seasonal tourists, did not receive its first public school until 1907. At this time several Sunday schools were also instructing the children of Virginia Beach, often holding yearly picnics at beach pavilions (Swetnam et al. 1996).

Development of recreational industries thrived in the 1910s. In 1912, Norfolk and Southern Railroad funded the construction of Seaside Park which offered visitors a saltwater pool, bath houses, a restaurant, concession stands, and a ballroom. Four years later, a golf club was created from undeveloped land (Swetnam et al. 1996). Archaeological investigation into late nineteenth-century education offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses, particularly for schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented.

Research Questions

1. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the antebellum period.

2. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

3. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

Religion was a central part of the lives of most African-American Virginians in the late nineteenth century. They were active in churches, especially those of the Baptist faith, while black and white worship styles began to diverge. Some members of black communities continued to attend white churches, while black communities formed their own churches (McDonald et al. 1992). During the 1870s, former slaves in the Virginia Beach area

left the Methodist church they had previously attended to worship in private homes, log cabins, or log churches (Swetnam et al. 1996). Other churches of the 1880s and 1890s were erected in the town, using lumber salvaged from shipwrecks. These included an Episcopal mission, Eastern Shore Chapel, which was founded at Dam Neck in 1889. It was constructed of salvaged timber from the wrecked *Agnes Barton*, a three-masted bark (Jordan and Jordan 1974:35).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in Virginia Beach changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

11: York County: Historical Themes and Research Questions

Originally established as Charles River Shire in 1634, the county was renamed around 1642 (Figures 28 and 29). York County stretches for over 20 miles along the York River, from its mouth to its confluence with Skimino Creek. The county is home to the Naval Weapons Station Yorktown.

Antebellum Period

Domestic Economy

During the antebellum period, the economic focus remained agricultural, but began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse system of grain production. The tobacco crop suffered from both soil depletion and the fluctuations of a volatile market. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, some areas still failed to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade (Underwood

et al. 2003). Agricultural prices declined due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988: 62). Some farmers, rather than switch crops, chose to leave Virginia for the West. Others stayed in the area, but abandoned their farms, turning to business. Often these former farmers succeeded in operating general stores (Netherton et al. 1978). Other Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1830, much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). In 1860, Middle Plantation Agricultural Society formed with members from James City, York, Warwick (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

York County's records survived the Civil War intact and have been compiled into a comprehensive biographical database as part of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's York County Project. While histories gleaned from



Figure 28. York County locator map



Figure 29. Historical map of York County

documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how the reduction in farm size resulting from economic pressures affected the daily lives of tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved.

Research Questions

1. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

2. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A consideration of this question requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

New technology, including the steam engine, the reaper, the cook stove, and the sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills. The appearance of mills along the landscape reflected a

shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Some mills were powered by dammed streams (Netherton et al. 1978).

York County's records survived the Civil War intact and have been compiled into a comprehensive biographical database as part of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's York County Project. While histories based upon documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to investigate the effects of the growth of industry and technology households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities, and of how industrialization and modernization were uniquely expressed in York County.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. Were mills used for other purposes, such as community gathering places or commerce centers and is this reflected in the artifacts present?

A discussion of mills as community focal points would rely upon the presence of artifacts not associated with the mill operation.

Transportation and Communication

In 1816, Virginia created the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect highways and rivers, and make inland waterways navigable. The fund would also be used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines. These projects were funded by the state because they were deemed too expensive to burden private investors (Salmon n.d.). As a result, by the 1820s, some well-developed road networks existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al.

1996). The development of turnpikes, and regular stagecoach schedules led to greater personal travel and predictable shipments (Netherton and Netherton 1986).

York County's records survived the Civil War intact and have been compiled into a comprehensive biographical database as part of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's York County Project. Documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did the development of road networks influence settlement patterns and town development in the antebellum period?

Requires a comparison of documentary evidence and archaeological interpretation of intact features.

2. Did the communities that arose around railroad stations enjoy greater access to non-local goods and novel luxuries?

Requires sufficient preservation of a large assemblage of artifacts and comparison with contemporary communities of similar means at a greater distance from a railway station.

Agriculture

During the antebellum period, the agricultural focus began to shift away from tobacco as a staple crop to a more diverse economy based on grain production. The tobacco crop suffered from both soil depletion and the fluctuations of a volatile market. The new prevalence of grain fostered the appearance of gristmills in rural areas of Virginia (Balicki et al. 2003). The product of these mills was flour that was both easier to transport and fetched a higher profit than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986:52).

Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, some areas still failed to recover from

the collapse of the tobacco trade (Underwood et al. 2003). Agricultural prices declined due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988: 62). Some farmers, rather than switch crops, chose to leave Virginia for the West. Others stayed in the area, but abandoned their farms, turning to business. Often these former farmers succeeded in operating general stores (Netherton et al. 1978). Other Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978). Free people of African descent often worked performing agricultural labor they learned on plantations (Netherton et al. 1978).

In 1830, much of the arable land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). The landscape was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining a large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). Farms of this period were often held by absentee owners, worked by tenants, or by small freeholders, slaves, or free blacks (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). In 1860, Middle Plantation Agricultural Society formed with members from James City, York, Warwick (Quarstein and Rouse 1996).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of changes to the county's agricultural landscape over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. It also presents the possibility of linking differences in the design and layout of farmsteads and plantations to ethnicity, class, or local region.

Research Questions

1. Were the enslaved residents on plantations with absentee owners, run by free African

Americans, more likely to receive better treatment?

An examination of this issue would require documentary evidence of an absentee landowner and a free black overseer, as well as a consideration of foodways and material evidence in comparison with other contemporary plantations of similar size.

2. Did the scientific methods of progressive agriculture in the early nineteenth century have any effect on the diets of Virginians?

An examination of farm equipment and foodways, as evidenced by cooking and storage vessels, ceramic tablewares, faunal remains, and paleoethnobotanical evidence, would be relevant to this question, along with comparative data.

3. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect the lifestyles of enslaved families?

Requires intact stratigraphy and comparative research. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

Markets and Commerce

In 1830, much of the land in Virginia was selling at a loss (Netherton et al. 1978). Agricultural prices were also in decline due to an embargo on exports to Britain between 1815 and 1846 and other restrictive laws (Blomberg 1988: 62). Despite the adoption of improved agricultural practices, many areas still struggled to recover from the collapse of the tobacco trade. Many Virginia farmers responded by diversifying their crops. The produce of these farms was exported to ports along the east coast of the United States. Flour was easier to transport and its worth was higher than unmilled grain (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 52), leading to appearance of gristmills within Virginia's rural landscapes (Balicki et al. 2003). During this period of agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber, and women were more prominent in the marketplace, some

owning their own businesses (Lebsock 1987: 55, Netherton et al. 1978)

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. In particular, the involvement of female business owners in the marketplace would be more visible through the documentary record than through archaeological study. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in antebellum stores and market places?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How commonly were places of business separate from private residences?

This discussion would rely upon intact features and artifact assemblages.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

By the 1820s, some well-developed systems of roads existed in northern Virginia (Linebaugh et al. 1996). Along these roads were mills and churches (Ayres and Beaudry 1979), as well as wayside inns built along turnpikes. These taverns also served as post offices, schools, temporary offices for merchants, and meeting places for dance lessons, tutoring, auctions, and other social and commercial purposes. These inns were often surrounded by sheds and pens for animals (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 54, Netherton et al. 1978).

The landscape of the 1830s was covered by farms, orchards, and marshes, and much of the land remained wooded (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Underwood et al. 2003, Wheaton et al. 1991). In some areas, small farms became more

prevalent than large farms and these large farms were broken up, partly due to the difficulty of maintaining the large plantation lifestyle (Netherton et al. 1978). The appearance of gristmills along the landscape reflected a shift away from tobacco to an economy based on grain production (Balicki et al. 2003). Sometimes streams were dammed to power these mills (Netherton et al. 1978).

York County's records survived the Civil War intact and have been compiled into a comprehensive biographical database as part of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's York County Project. These historical documents would normally be the most efficient source of information for questions related to settlement patterns and town planning, as well as identity and interracial interaction. Archaeological investigation of the changes in landscape use over the course of the antebellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as changing settlement patterns and the impact of progressive agricultural techniques upon farm layouts and family structure. The material evidence gleaned from archaeological sites would also be useful in determining individual property layouts, and the construction details of mills, churches, and other vernacular buildings.

Research Questions

1. How did the division of plantations into smaller farms affect enslaved families?

A discussion of these issues would rely upon intact stratigraphy and comparative archaeological data. Intact architectural features would be necessary to examine the location and size of quarters in relation to one another and the main house.

2. Did mills serve as centers for social activity in addition to agricultural production?

This question can be answered with the aid of an archaeological assemblage of artifacts.

Government and Politics

In 1816, Virginia established the "Fund for Internal Improvement" to connect rivers and

make them navigable and to connect highways. These projects were state-funded as they were deemed too expensive for private investors. The funds were also used to build toll bridges, locks, toll houses, and telegraph and telephone lines (Salmon n.d.)

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court. The 1850 Virginia constitution abolished the property requirement for voting and allowed the public to elect administrative officials (Netherton et al. 1978). Although women still could not vote under the new relaxed suffrage laws, the Whig party began to target white women, recognizing the moral influence they carried in their communities (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). After the Whig party split later in the decade, other parties followed suit in appealing to women (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Women at this time attended political meetings and were intimately involved in the social and political activities of churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978), but over the course of the century, Virginia's white, middle- and upper-class women turned from an interest in politics to an increasing focus on the domestic sphere of family life at the expense of their involvement in the government of society (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003).

Virginia's citizens in the 1830s and 1840s found entertainment not only in their homes and in taverns, but also by attending political rallies and court days. Both blacks and whites caught stealing were whipped on public whipping posts for spectators to observe in the 1830s. On court days, people gathered from throughout the county to sell produce and attend meetings. Enslaved African Americans were sold publicly at auction alongside cattle and real estate on these days (Netherton et al. 1978).

From 1830-60, the Law was used to threaten African Americans, and other legal restrictions were placed on free African Americans. Laws prohibited teaching them to read and write, denied them jury trials except for capital offences, and prevented them bearing arms, purchasing slaves other than family members, or from congregating without a white person present (Blomberg 1988: 45). The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987: 58).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of antebellum eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide evidence of literacy in some cases among antebellum African Americans, demonstrating local resistance to state laws that prohibited instruction of African Americans in reading and writing.

Research Questions

1. Is there any material evidence of literacy within antebellum African-American households?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

2. Did toll houses established by Virginia's "Fund for Internal Improvement" serve as hospitable waypoints for travelers seeking rest, refreshment, and information, or were they merely administrative outposts?

This would require the identification of a tollhouse site, and a sufficient quantity of artifacts, whose origins might be closely examined.

Work

New technology, including the steam engine, reaper, cook stove, and sewing machine, endeavored to make slavery obsolete in the nineteenth century (Netherton and Netherton 1986: 47), but ironically, rather than witness the end of slavery, this period of antebellum industrialism saw the institution of slavery reach its pinnacle (Gardner et al. 1999). Industrial operations owned by slaveholders made use of free and enslaved African Americans as well as white workers. Enslaved laborers worked in factories run by their owners or were rented out to ironworks, textile factories, and gristmills.

During the antebellum period, many former farmers left their land to operate general stores or engage in other businesses after tobacco production proved unpredictable and financially risky (Netherton et al. 1978). In the early nineteenth century, a white urban middle class was developing, made up of the families of professionals, clergymen, artists, professors, shopkeepers, and upper mechanics (Delle et al. 2000). Tenants, small freeholders, and African Americans, both free and enslaved, were often engaged in labor on farms held by absentee landowners in the 1830s (Fesler and Lucchetti 1993, Wheaton et al. 1991). During this agricultural decline, some Virginians made money fishing or selling slaves or timber (Netherton et al. 1978).

Free people of African descent often worked performing skills they had learned on plantations under slavery (Bloomberg 1988:222, Netherton et al. 1978). African-American men found wage-based employment after their emancipation as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, and sailors, among other professions (Netherton et al. 1978). They were also employed to work on roads and bridges, but often lost these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978). Free African-American women were employed in domestic trades as laundresses or seamstresses (Lebsock 1987). They also stemmed tobacco, ran bathhouses, and worked as cuppers, leachers, confectioners, and nurses (Lebsock

1987: 59). Some women, both black and white, owned businesses (Lebsock 1987).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades in the nineteenth century. Temporary worker housing associated with transient tradesmen, and the conditions of industrial slavery, in particular, are poorly understood and would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of antebellum Virginians visible archaeologically within the remains of their households, and if so, how did they influence the material aspects of family life?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of enslaved industrial workers compare to that of enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

Education, Health, and Recreation

In 1846, the Virginia legislature's District Free School System was established. Each county in the state was divided into school districts, headed by a commissioner, and supported by a county superintendent. Free public school systems for all free children of any class were permitted but not mandated, supported by local taxes only if the citizens petitioned the court (Virginia 1941:8, 61). Many white families who could afford to educate their children privately saw public schools as a form of charity, choosing instead to send their children to preparatory institutions.

Antebellum recreational activities took place in a variety of public arenas. In the 1830s, people found entertainment in their homes and in newspapers, through music, dancing, and foxhunting, and at taverns, churches, fairs, court days, political rallies, and militia displays. By the 1850s, Virginians found entertainment in circuses, community celebrations on holidays, balls, parades, and a few organized sports (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 68-79). Jousting tournaments also became popular at this time (Netherton et al. 1978).

Very little is known of early nineteenth-century healthcare, particularly the practice of traditional folk medicine, which may have encompassed traditions that varied according to region and ethnicity. Similarly, little is known of educational practices in Virginia prior to the formulation of mandatory tax-supported public educational systems following the Civil War. During the antebellum period, education took many forms and varied widely according to class and race. Classrooms and schoolhouses may also have varied widely by region. Archaeological research into local educational practices may shed light on the types of buildings used for instruction and the materials available to teachers and tutors. As the educational resources available to wealthy families, are often represented by documentary evidence, archaeological efforts should focus on members of the lower classes.

Research Questions

1. What evidence of education is present at sites that served primarily in other capacities, such as early nineteenth century roadside inns, or private homes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with education or children's play.

2. What information on early nineteenth-century healthcare can be retrieved from doctors' residences? What does the material evidence related to this profession have to tell us about the segregation or integration of professional and private life among the developing professional middle classes?

Requires the presence of artifacts associated with medicine.

3. What can the material record contribute to our understanding of informal folk traditions related to healthcare? Are these traditions regionally variable? Do they vary according to ethnicity?

The presence of artifacts associated with herbal remedies and their preparation, in tandem with documentary evidence, could greatly expand our understanding of folk medicine and midwifery in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

4. Is there any evidence of instruction in literacy within enslaved worker housing?

This discussion would rely upon artifacts associated with books, ink, or writing utensils.

Social Movements

Among white middle-class communities, women of the 1830s were often involved in the establishment and maintenance of schools, libraries, orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987: 65, 70, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In the 1850s, these women often attended political meetings and were involved in churches and the temperance movement (Netherton et al. 1978).

Religion was used to fuel both sides of the raging antebellum debates for and against slavery in Virginia. Quakers, newly arrived to the state from New England, often saw slavery as keeping the South from prospering in the same ways as industrializing states. They led abolitionist movements in Virginia, urging their community members to speak against slavery peacefully and to avoid association with radical groups (Hickin 1971). In their opposition to slavery, they created self-help groups, and shifted to less labor-intensive dairy farming (Williams and Saint Onge 1994). Quaker abolitionists sometimes went as far as to sue slave owners for the freedom of their slaves if the owner's title to the slave was in doubt (Blomberg 1988: 60). By contrast, some Baptist leaders used Bible to justify the continuation of slavery (Hickin 1971). In 1860, Middle Plantation Agricultural Society formed with members from James City, York, Warwick (Quarstein and Rouse 1996). While political and

religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

Research Questions

1. Did households associated with the temperance movement appear to abide by their beliefs in restricting their consumption of alcohol?

This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

Identity and Religion

As much of Virginia experienced economic decline in the first half of the nineteenth century, many women saw new opportunities, including education for white women and property ownership for both black and white women. Some women even owned their own businesses (Lebsock 1987:55). Over the course of the century, however, Virginia women turned from an interest in politics and public life to an increasing focus on the domestic sphere and family life (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). Handbooks of the 1830s prescribed home furnishings for suburban wives (Delle et al. 2000). Women were charged with the responsibility of creating a sanctuary from the rest of society, but the line between the home and the outside world was often blurred by women's involvement in schools, libraries orphanages, asylums, biblical and temperance societies, and charities (Lebsock 1987: 65, 70, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). They formed the majority in white protestant churches, and some Quaker women were ministers (Lebsock 1987: 60-62, 69)

In many areas throughout the coastal plain, people of African descent, including both slaves and free African Americans, made up a large part of the population (Clarke et al. 1994, McDonald et al. 1992). A free black family was typically il-

literate, and might own a cabin, some livestock, gardens (Blomberg 1988: 207, McDonald et al. 1992). They often worked performing skills they learned on plantations, or found employment as barbers, coopers, carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, laundresses, seamstresses, painters, tanners, gardeners, servants, washers, or sailors, among other occupations (Blomberg 1988: 222, Lebsock, Netherton et al. 1978). They also often worked on roads and bridges but eventually lost most of these jobs to Irish and German immigrants (Netherton et al. 1978).

The 1850s saw particularly severe laws placed upon free African Americans. Beginning at this time, if free blacks were convicted of certain crimes, they could be sold back into slavery (Netherton et al. 1978). At the beginning of the next decade, even the social behavior of black Virginians was strictly legislated, such that they were prohibited from smoking in certain areas, and were legally required to step off the sidewalk to let whites pass (Lebsock 1987: 58).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Were slaves who were legally owned by free African-American masters only enslaved nominally? How did the constraints of their lives compare to those of enslaved men, women, and children owned by white families?

Archaeological evidence, including intact features and/or foundations, could be used to determine whether or not the slaves of free African-Americans resided in separate quarters, or as equal members of an integrated household. Comparative research into the archaeology of enslaved African-American households living under the ownership of white families would also be of value.

2. Did Southern Quaker households abide by their religious beliefs against slavery and conspicuous displays of wealth?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

3. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

4. How were Virginia's Quaker households furnished and equipped? Did they continue to adhere to the plain and modest styles to which New England Quakers had traditionally favored?

Architectural remains or related intact features, and a sufficiently preserved abundance of artifacts would be necessary to consider these issues in depth.

5. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

Funerary

In the early nineteenth century, family burials became increasingly popular and would remain the most common form of burial throughout the century (Wells 1997). Slave graves could be located in slave family plots, white family cemeteries, or white church cemeteries. They were marked by fieldstones, wooden markers, bottles, shells, or tree plantings (often cedars). In rural areas, enslaved African-Americans were often buried without the aid of formal clergy members, after a law banned independent black preachers

from practice after Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. (Fitzgerald 1979:8-9).

Archaeological investigation of gravesites has the potential to provide a wealth of information on the county's antebellum funerary practices to supplement what little is currently known of these customs. Archaeological research may focus on such issues as the effects of slavery on African-American funerary customs, and the origins and development of African-American religion within the Coastal Plains region during the nineteenth century. Artifacts recovered from gravesites have the potential to yield undocumented information about antebellum funerary practices, particularly for African-American populations that did not leave church records. Vlach (1978) notes that objects found on graves in African-American cemeteries can include cups, saucers, bowls, medicine bottles, marbles, and numerous other artifacts that have both cultural meaning and datable attributes that can be used to address specific questions concerning how variation in funerary practices may be derived from ethnic differences, regional differences in slaveholding practices, and rural versus urban enslavement. In addition, researchers such as Jamieson (1995) have noted significant regional variation in African-American funerary customs. Burial practices consistent with European customs can be documented for some African-American communities, whereas elsewhere African Americans persisted in funerary rituals that were not of EuroAmerican origin.

Research Questions

1. What do family groupings in gravesites reveal about gender and class differentiation within families?

This would require the presence of grave markers or remains with sufficient integrity to determine sex, and adequate preservation of artifactual evidence of wealth and social status.

2. To what extent have African customs been retained, modified, or abandoned as reflected in the funerary practices evidenced within antebellum burial grounds of enslaved communities?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

3. How did the funerary practices of African-American residents of York County differ from those in other areas of Virginia?

This would require the presence of religious or funerary artifacts.

Postbellum Period

Domestic Economy

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Confederate money lost its value, causing severe financial hardships for most Virginians (Netherton et al. 1978).

Archaeological investigation of the material traces of the changes to landscape use following the resolution of the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about such issues as the impact of the dissolution of many large plantations, and the rapid rise in land ownership among newly emancipated wage earners. While histories gleaned from documentary evidence are better equipped to answer broad-scale questions about countywide or regional economic trends, archaeology can be used to measure the effects of these trends upon households and individuals. The study of the physical evidence of plantation and farmstead organization, for example, may contribute to an improved understanding of how new systems of labor and tenancy arising from Emancipation affected the material aspects of the lives of planters, poor white laborers and tenants, and newly freed African Americans.

Research Questions

1. As wage-earners, did newly emancipated African-American farmers manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

2. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late

nineteenth century differ significantly from that of slavery?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

Industry, Technology, and Modernization

By 1870, the majority of African Americans in Yorktown owned land near an area called “the reservation,” settled in small neighborhoods along a limited system of unpaved roads. Many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. In the 1880s, the average African-American farm was nine acres and grew corn, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes. African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. There was one mill located in “the reservation,” an area of African-American settlement, with a white owner (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early years of the twentieth century, kerosene powered steam engines had replaced draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Many more black farmers in York County owned land, but they no longer constituted the majority of the population. These black farmers still lived on isolated farmsteads or in small clusters of houses near roads or creeks. The landscape was a mix of active and abandoned fields, forests, and wetlands (McDonald et al. 1992).

While histories based upon documentary evidence are better equipped to describe broad regional trends, archaeology can be used to investigate the effects of the growth of industry and technology households and individuals. Studies of the impact of industrialization and technological development upon the landscape may enrich our understanding of how modernization affected local communities, and of

how industrialization and modernization were uniquely expressed in York County.

Research Questions

1. What was the layout of mills, and what was the technology used there?

In the absence of documentary evidence of the layout and technology at similar mills, architectural features or features associated with deposits of waste materials would be needed.

2. How much labor was involved in mill operation, and how did that differ from agricultural work?

An analysis of the mill’s layout and operation based on intact features could lead to a better understanding of the labor required of it is workers.

Transportation and Communication

Roads were in poor condition in the years immediately following the war, leading many farmers to ship their harvest by steamer (Netherton and Netherton 1986). From 1860 to 1870, however, the number of miles of railroad track nearly doubled as railroads replaced roads and rivers as the primary means of transportation (McDonald et al. 1992).

Documentary evidence would be a more appropriate avenue of research for understanding the histories of specific railroad companies and ferry services and their economic and social impact upon the communities they served. Maps and historical documents are also better equipped to address research questions surrounding the placement of transportation routes in relation to certain communities and businesses. Archaeology may be able to contribute to a better understanding of settlement patterns as they relate to transportation networks.

Research Questions

1. How did economic competition with newly constructed railroads affect port towns, and those members of the community who relied on the previously booming shipping industry?

An examination of the construction features and layouts of late nineteenth-century shipwrecks, piers, or dockyards could contribute significantly to our understanding of how those involved in inland shipping adapted to the growth of rail transportation.

Agriculture

In the aftermath of the Civil War, the Southern plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Over-farming had left the soil in York County badly depleted, even in comparison with other areas of postbellum Virginia. Some black residents, many new to the area, bought this exhausted land. Others became tenants on the farms of landowners, as sharecroppers or as renters. In the Nelson district, the majority of black farmers were tenants. Whether they owned the land or worked as tenants, they grew cotton, corn, sugar, and rice. Some built cabins while others lived in old slave cabins. Neighbors helped each other with the harvest, forming tight-knit agricultural communities (McDonald et al. 1992).

By 1870, the majority of African Americans in Yorktown owned land near an area called “the reservation,” settled in small neighborhoods along a limited system of unpaved roads. Many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. In the 1880s, the average African-American farm was nine acres and grew corn, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes. African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Most of these farms kept cattle for dairying, but few were slaughtered. Chickens, ducks, turkeys, hogs, and horses were also commonly kept livestock (McDonald et al. 1992).

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draft animals (usually mules) (Netherton and Netherton 1986). Many more black farmers in York County owned land, but they no longer constituted the majority of the population. These black farmers still lived on isolated farmsteads or in small clusters of houses near roads or creeks. The white population of York County was similarly scattered. The landscape was a mix of active and abandoned fields, forests, and wetlands (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1918, Congress funded the establishment of Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, originally known as the U.S. Mine Depot, and the land was seized by eminent domain. Residents were ordered to abandon their property within thirty days, to be compensated with an unspecified amount at a later date. The executive order displaced 600 African American families, and most felt that they were under-compensated for their farmlands. Many could no longer firmly document their ownership of their property, resulting in the seizure of their land with no compensation in return (McDonald et al. 1992).

Archaeological investigation into the physical evidence of changes to the county’s agricultural landscape following the Civil War has the potential to provide more detailed information about the disparity in material wealth between tenant farmers and landowners, as well as any differences in their land management. It also offers a window into the lives of the African-American landowning family farmers of York County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Research Questions

1. Is ethnicity visible in the site layouts and material signatures of farming methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

Unless such information can be confidently inferred from the material remains, this question requires documentary evidence of a farming household’s ethnic background. Intact agricultural features (such as plow scars) and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

2. Did farming practices differ significantly between tenant farmers and those who owned their farmland?

This question requires documentary evidence of a farming household's landowning or tenancy status. Intact agricultural feature and artifacts related to farming practices would also be necessary.

3. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

4. How did the outbuildings and layouts of farmlands change as steam engines replaced draft animals?

This question would necessitate intact features.

Markets and Commerce

At the close of the Civil War, buildings had been destroyed and resources had been depleted (Linebaugh et al. 1995). Land prices were low (Balicki et al. 2003), and many desperately sought loans to replace Confederate money, now worthless (Netherton et al. 1978). Many members of the black community in York County provided for their families by fishing or gathering oysters (McDonald et al. 1992).

Historical research into local account books and other primary documents related to the economic conditions of the county would generally contribute more to research questions related to this theme than would archaeological investigation. The physical aspects of stores, however, such as their floor plans and construction details, would be an appropriate subject of archaeological research.

Research Questions

1. What forms, floor plans, and construction materials and methods were common in late nineteenth-century stores and market places, and how did they differ from their antebellum counterparts?

This discussion would rely upon intact features.

2. How did the proximity of stores to newly-constructed railway stations alter settlement patterns in the late nineteenth century?

Requires a comparison of documentary and archaeological evidence in conjunction with information from the excavation of sites that were abandoned or established with the coming of the railroads.

Landscape, Buildings, Settlement, and Immigration

During the Civil War, 70,000 free blacks had moved into the lower peninsula of Virginia. General Isaac J. Wister and his troops had created a village of cabins for freed slaves near Yorktown called Slabtown. Many arrived with no possessions (McDonald et al. 1992). Those free blacks who were dependent on the government lived in Newtown, a government camp, or they settled near Fort Monroe. These former plantations formed the center of an area called "the reservation," a black community on the land now occupied by the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station (McDonald et al. 1992).

While many residents of Virginia left to settle the Southwest after the close of the war, York County did not experience high rates of attrition. In fact, the black population of Yorktown doubled. The new residents settled in the Bruton, Grafton, Nelson, and Poquoson districts. In Bruton, 80% of residents were African Americans. In Nelson, the ratio of black to white residents was seven to one (McDonald et al. 1992).

By 1870, the majority of African Americans in Yorktown owned land near "the reservation," settling in small neighborhoods along a limited system of unpaved roads. An organization called the Friends Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen sent teachers, merchants, and representatives from the industrial and agricultural industries to Yorktown, to set up schools, farms, and stores for this new community (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early twentieth century, the county was connected to Richmond and Petersburg by the railroad and to Norfolk, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and New York by shipping routes

(Wheaton et al. 1991). Many black farmers in York County owned land, outnumbering white landowners, but they no longer constituted the majority of the population. These black farmers still lived on isolated farmsteads or in small clusters of houses near roads or creeks. The white population of York County was similarly scattered (McDonald et al. 1992). The physical landscape itself was a mix of active and abandoned fields, forests, and wetlands.

In 1918, Congress funded the establishment of Yorktown Naval Weapons Station (originally the U. S. Mine Depot), and the land was seized by eminent domain. Residents were ordered to abandon their property within thirty days, to be compensated with an unspecified amount at a later date. The executive order displaced 600 African-American families, and most felt that they were under-compensated for their lands. Many could no longer firmly document their ownership of their property, resulting in the seizure of their land with no compensation in return (McDonald et al. 1992).

Archaeological study of landscape use during the postbellum period has the potential to provide more detailed information about the material conditions which York County's residents faced the aftermath of war. The effects of northern settlement and Quaker involvement in African-American schools might best be studied through primary historical documents, but archaeological investigations may illuminate the material conditions, house plans, and community layouts of postbellum Yorktown.

Research Questions

1. Do the material remains of the late nineteenth-century African-American community located on land currently managed by the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station demonstrate that their land and houses were undervalued?

Intact features used to determine the floor plans and construction details of houses on properties within "the reservation" may be used in conjunction with documentary evidence of acreage and comparative land evaluations to assess whether African-American families were unfairly compen-

sated when their land was appropriated through eminent domain.

2. Did newly emancipated African-American farmers in York County manage their land in a way that significantly differed from the methods they had used under slavery?

This question would need to be considered in light of documentary evidence and intact features.

Government and Politics

The Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges. Some members of black communities became active in politics, which many whites resented. At the same time, many blacks and whites were disillusioned with politics in the years after the war. "Black Codes" replaced the old slave codes, which had restricted the activities of slaves. In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. The wages earned by some black farm workers were reduced by various fines and penalties. Still, following the Civil War, former slaves were now able to own property, make contracts, and file lawsuits (McDonald et al. 1992).

In 1867, Reconstruction Acts divided the South into military districts, suspended state governments, and placed the federal military in charge. Delegates were then elected to a constitutional convention. In this election, 68% of voters were black, as former slaves could now vote, and former Confederate soldiers could not (Quarstein and Rouse 1996: 48-49).

In the new century, Virginia's racial strife was expressed in state law books. In 1902, Virginia's new constitution disenfranchised blacks through poll taxes and literacy requirements (Netherton et al. 1978). Virginia's delegates succeeded in their aim of eliminating the black vote, disenfranchising 90% of African-American Virginians from the polls (Lebsock 1987: 91).

In York County in 1918, Congress funded the establishment of what is now the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, and the land was seized by eminent domain. Residents were ordered to

abandon their property within thirty days, to be compensated with an unspecified amount at a later date. The executive order displaced 600 African-American families, and most felt that they were under-compensated for their lands. Many could no longer firmly document their ownership of their property, resulting in the seizure of their land with no compensation in return (McDonald et al. 1992).

Traditional historical narratives based on documentary evidence are typically far better suited to further research into the political events and government of eastern Virginia. Archaeology is most likely to provide additional information into the personal lives of prominent political figures. In addition, it may be able to provide finer detail into the impact of changes to legal restrictions or rights upon individual households.

Research Questions

1. For the period after the 1877 legislation allowing women to own property, do the households of single and widowed women differ in site layout, in household furnishings, or in the types or amounts of artifacts recovered?

Requires documentary evidence of a female-headed household and sufficiently preserved and abundant artifacts interpreted in comparison with contemporary excavated male-headed households.

2. Do the material remains of the late nineteenth-century African-American community located on land currently managed by the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station demonstrate that their land and houses were undervalued by the U.S. government?

Intact features used to determine the floor plans and construction details of houses on properties within "the reservation" may be used in conjunction with documentary evidence of acreage and comparative land evaluations to assess whether African-American families were unfairly compensated when their land was appropriated through eminent domain.

Military and Defense

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Research Questions

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Work

Throughout the South during Reconstruction, the antebellum plantation system was replaced by a system of farm tenancy. Some tenants were sharecroppers, providing only labor while the landlord provided tools and other inputs. A sharecropper normally paid the landlord a portion of the crop in exchange for this assistance. Other tenants were renters, paying the landlord a fixed price for the ability to farm the land (Orser 1999).

African-American tenants were especially susceptible to exploitation and abuse during the Reconstruction period. Many freed slaves lived on former masters' lands (Netherton et al. 1978). In some cases, a black farm worker was not allowed to leave a farm without permission. Many former slaves left plantations for fear of re-enslavement, and some feared permanent work, moving often. While many former slaves worked in agriculture, some worked in factories, mechanical trades, and business, or for the railroads (McDonald et al. 1992). Black men also worked in sawmills, and as carpenters, ministers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, teachers, and barbers (Netherton et al. 1978).

By 1870, the majority of African Americans in Yorktown owned land near an area called "the reservation," settled in small neighborhoods along a limited system of unpaved roads. People came from Yorktown to this area known to trade coffee, flour, and sugar eggs, butter, and vegetables. Many black farmers lived similarly to landless whites in the area, but the two groups felt no kinship. In the 1880s, the average African-American farm was nine acres and grew corn, Irish potatoes, and sweet potatoes. African-American farms tended to be smaller and less productive than those with white owners, despite a diversity of crops. This may have been due in part to the fact that black farmers lacked the same access to lime and fertilizer enjoyed by their white counterparts. African-Americans were therefore more likely to supplement their diets by hunting and fishing in the river. Most of these farms kept cattle for dairying, but few were slaughtered. Chickens, ducks, turkeys, hogs,

and horses were also commonly kept livestock (McDonald et al. 1992).

Historical documents such as federal census records can provide valuable information on common occupations in Virginia counties, along with associated household estate values, but archaeological research may be more useful in seeking to understand the health, diets, and working environments associated with different trades. Temporary housing associated with transient newly emancipated people, for example, would benefit from material evidence.

Research Questions

1. Are the occupations of transient workers visible archaeologically at the household level, and if so, what type of housing did they use and how did their migrant occupations influence the material aspects of their lives?

This requires the presence of artifacts or patterning of artifacts associated with labor (see Jordan 2005).

2. How did the health, diet, and nutrition of sharecroppers compare to that of earlier enslaved agricultural laborers?

Such an analysis could be achieved through an examination of foodways through ceramics, faunal evidence, and/or paleoethnobotanical remains, or through an investigation of human remains.

3. Does the material signature of African-American sharecropping tenancy in the late nineteenth century differ significantly from that of enslaved fieldwork?

This question requires sufficient preservation of an assemblage of artifacts, in comparison with archaeological data from enslaved communities.

4. What were the purchasing habits of working women, and how do they compare to households of similar means supported by male employment?

Requires the documentary evidence of female employment, the presence of a large assemblage of artifacts, and comparison with other contemporary sites known to be male-headed and of similar income.

Education, Health, and Recreation

Following the war, the Freedmen's Bureau set up hospitals and schools ranging from elementary schools to colleges (McDonald et al. 1992). In 1869, a new Virginia constitution replaced the old county court administrative system with a board of supervisors, setting up free public schools for all children in the state (Netherton and Netherton 1986). School houses were often still located in log buildings, but also might be set up in two-story frame houses, or brick buildings (Netherton et al. 1978). By the late 1870s, less than 50% of Virginia's enrolled white students attended school, but most enrolled black students did take advantage of public educational opportunities (Netherton et al. 1978). In York County, a Quaker organization called the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen sent teachers, merchants, and representatives from the industrial and agricultural industries to Yorktown, specifically for the purpose of setting up schools, as well as assisting this new community in other ways (McDonald et al. 1992). Archaeological investigation offers the opportunity to shed light on both the structural conditions and educational resources available in Virginian schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century, particularly for African-American schools that were poorly funded, poorly supplied, and therefore poorly documented.

Research Questions

1. Did Quaker involvement in York County's African-American schools influence the styles in which they were furnished?

This would require an analysis of artifacts related to furniture in comparison with that of Quaker sites.

2. How did schoolhouses of the late nineteenth century differ from early nineteenth-century buildings, once constructed with public funds?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations, along with comparative data from the antebellum period.

3. Do late nineteenth-century African-American households include artifacts that demonstrate an exceptional commitment to literacy and education?

This requires the presence of artifacts or games associated with education.

4. How did public schoolhouses serving African-American communities differ in form and construction materials from those serving white children?

This would require the presence of intact architectural features or foundations.

Social Movements

In the wake of the Civil War, social disarray led to increasing conservatism in society toward women's rights (Lebsock 1987). Despite this, Virginia women's suffragists were organized in 1870s. Some were closely associated with the black suffrage movement, while others argued against black but in favor of women's suffrage (Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). During this time period, progressive movements in favor of temperance, settlement houses, child labor laws, and the organization of YWCAs were also underway in response to the prevalence of urban poverty, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment (Delle et al. 2000, Hardwick and Hofstra 2003). In York County in the 1870s, a Quaker organization called the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen sent teachers, merchants, and representatives from the industrial and agricultural industries to Yorktown, specifically for the purpose of setting up schools, as well as assisting this new community in other ways (McDonald et al. 1992). While political and religious movements are often best suited to study through the historical record, archaeological investigation of households associated with social movements such as temperance has the capacity to test

through an examination of the physical evidence whether practice conformed to belief.

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This discussion would rely primarily upon the proportion of alcoholic beverage containers within a site's artifact assemblage.

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An organization called the Friends Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen sent teachers, merchants, and representatives from the industrial and agricultural industries to Yorktown, to set up schools, farms, and stores for this new community (McDonald et al. 1992).

By the early twentieth century, the county was connected to Richmond and Petersburg by the railroad and to Norfolk, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and New York by shipping routes (Wheaton et al. 1991). Many black farmers in York County owned land, outnumbering white landowners, but they no longer constituted the majority of the population. These black farmers still lived on isolated farmsteads or in small clusters of houses near roads or creeks. The white population of York County was similarly scattered (McDonald et al. 1992). The physical landscape itself was a mix of active and abandoned fields, forests, and wetlands.

In 1918, Congress funded the establishment of the U. S. Mine Depot, which was later renamed the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, and the land was seized by eminent domain. Residents were ordered to abandon their property within thirty days, to be compensated with an unspecified amount at a later date. The executive order displaced 600 African-American families, and most felt that they were under-compensated for their lands. Many could no longer firmly document their ownership of their property, resulting in the seizure of their land with no compensation in return (McDonald et al. 1992).

Ethnic and religious identities cannot normally be reliably determined from artifact assemblages, but archaeological inquiry can provide information about the intersection of ethnicity, religion, and social conflict where documentary evidence of ethnicity, religion, or race is available. Material remains can attest to wealth or poverty, social isolation, and habitual behavior. They therefore present the opportunity to link documented social identity with associated cultural practices.

Research Questions

1. Did women who owned or ran businesses exercise greater economic power in their personal purchases than those who relied upon a husband's income?

This question requires the presence of gender-related artifacts.

2. What expressions of religious affiliation were present in African-American homes? Were ritual practices incorporated into black Christianity that were novel innovations absent in white communities or survivals of African folk traditions?

Such a study would rely upon sufficiently preserved assemblages of artifacts from sites known to have been occupied by African-Americans through documentation.

3. Does the material signature of African-American life in the late nineteenth century demonstrate a wide class range in the wealth or poverty of African-American households?

This discussion would rely on artifact assemblages and intact architectural features or foundations.

Funerary

Among African Americans in the postbellum period, high infant mortality resulted from poor health conditions and inadequate medical facilities. High death tolls were also present among black adults, resulting from small pox and malaria among other diseases (McDonald et al. 1992). Little is known of nineteenth-century mortuary practices, particularly for African-

American communities. Osteological evidence has the potential to yield gendered patterns of life expectancy, infant mortality, and paleopathology, and artifactual evidence may provide information on funeral rituals, grave visitation offerings, and the wealth and status of the interred. Oral histories would be particularly helpful in supplementing the material record of African-American cemeteries in the period following the Civil War.

Research Questions

1. How have the funerary practices of African-American communities in York County changed over time?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains to determine gender and disease, and documentary evidence of ethnicity where it cannot be determined from human remains.

2. Are the physical signs of hard labor, well-documented for enslaved communities for the antebellum period still visible in emancipated African-American communities?

Requires sufficiently preserved human remains and comparison with osteological evidence from enslaved burial grounds.

12: Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this document is to aid cultural resource managers in evaluating the research potential of nineteenth-century sites on the Virginia Coastal Plain's military installations. This document can be used throughout the process of archaeological survey or evaluation or later in management decisions.

The first step in using this document is to determine, through the documentary record or the dating of artifacts, whether components of a site date between 1830 and 1917. Users of this guide should maintain a basic familiarity with the general historical narratives for the Coastal Plain in the Antebellum and Postbellum periods. Users should then turn to the discussions of historical themes for the county in which the site is located.

The description of each theme and how they can be manifested in the archaeological record should aid users in determining to which themes may be appropriate to the site in question. One site will likely relate to a number of themes, but this does not indicate that the site has research potential for each of these themes. The themes presented here are not the only topics that can be addressed by a site; they are intended to stimulate thought about what questions a site might have potential to answer and what characteristics a site must possess to answer those questions.

Some research questions can only be answered by documentary evidence. Therefore, the presence of useful documentary evidence contributes to a site's research potential. Some questions can only be addressed through the recovery of material evidence. Others require or benefit from both documents and physical remains.

In order for a site to have research potential, it must contain the evidence necessary to address specific research questions. While the presence of documentary evidence contributes to a site's research potential, the site has potential only if there are some questions which can be answered only by turning to the material remains. Even if a site contains the evidence needed to answer research questions, its research value is diminished if there are many sites that contain the same evidence. Therefore, the research potential of a site also depends on whether the site is of a rare type, redundant, or among the best representative sites of its type.

Non-domestic sites are rare enough that redundancy is not an issue. Domestic sites, especially farmsteads, are ubiquitous and seem homogenous, but this is not the case. If this document is used help evaluate a farmstead, the site should be considered in terms of the typology of farmsteads. Characteristics of the site can

help place it into the categories specified. Some categories will be more common than others. As we begin to identify farmsteads more specifically, it will become clearer which sites are rare, redundant, or best representative.

This knowledge will help users make more informed judgments about a site's research potential. The integrity of the archaeological remains should be a prerequisite for research potential but not the deciding factor. This document is not a checklist to determine NRHP eligibility. It is a tool, and as such, it requires flexibility and creativity on the part of its users. Used properly, it should help make eligibility determinations more reliable and consistent, and it should help enable more detailed technical reports that help advance research on nineteenth-century Virginia.

The tools presented here do not, however, turn archaeological evaluation into a purely mechanical process. Archaeological sites potentially hold multiple values for diverse parties. This project makes no pretense of aiding evaluations of any value other than research potential. In fact, because so many variables and intangible factors are involved in the other values a site may possess, it seems unlikely that any similar document could provide the same sort of guidance for these decisions.

Even restricted to evaluations of research potential, this project is not intended to produce a mere checklist in which a sufficient number of checkmarks indicates NRHP eligibility under Criterion D. The intent of the historic context, farm typology, and research topics is to be comprehensive, in that it expresses the diversity of historic activity in each region of the coastal plain over the entire period under consideration, but it is not intended to be exhaustive or all-encom-

passing. The intention is for the document to be flexible, allowing archaeologists to use their judgment and expertise in evaluating the unique characteristics of each individual archaeological site.

The purpose of this project is to produce a tool. As a tool, it will not do the thinking for the archaeologist but is intended to make it easier for the archaeologist to produce more consistent, descriptive, and objective technical reports, which in turn will make it easier for cultural resource managers to make more reliable and defensible judgments about a class of sites that have long troubled archaeologists and planners.

In addition to the caveats mentioned above, it is important to note that there are numerous gaps in the data used to create the historical context presented here. Some counties have received more attention than others in terms of archaeological investigation and historical research. Likewise, some research themes have long been the subject of study, while others, particularly those related to gender or ethnicity, have only recently become the focus of investigation.

In light of this information, this document has a limited "shelf life." Much of the information will remain relevant for a considerable period, but new research may alter current thinking or interpretations of sites, additional research themes may come to prominence, data gaps may be filled, and additional gaps may be identified. The historical context, research themes, and county-specific information should be reassessed after about 5 years, synthesizing recent site evaluations and academic research conducted on the Coastal Plain. After approximately 10 years, a thorough revision of this document will probably be in order.

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Appendix A:

DoD Installation Phase II Evaluations

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<i>Installation/Site</i>	<i>Century</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Determination</i>	<i>Rationale for Determination</i>
Fort Behavior				
44FX619			not eligible	disturbed, no features
44FX1497			not eligible	field scatter, disturbed
44FX1674	late 19-early 20	domestic	not eligible	disturbed, research value; abundance of agricultural sites
44FX1678	mid 19-early 20	domestic	eligible	intact, 19c small land owner poorly understood, 18c potential
Quantico MCB				
44PW914	19-20		eligible	intact, artifacts
44PW917	19	farm, gardens, orchard	not eligible	disturbed, phase II exhausted potential
44PW938	late 19-early 20	farmstead	eligible	features, artifacts, documentation, postbellum agriculture, economy, lifeways
44PW939	late 19-early 20	farmstead	eligible	features, artifacts, documentation, postbellum agriculture, economy, lifeways, consumer behavior, markets
44PW941	18-early 20	farmstead	eligible	features, artifacts, documentation, postbellum agriculture, economy, lifeways, material culture, settlement
44PW962	18-20		not eligible	disturbed, research potential
44ST196	late 19-early 20	farmsteads, cemetery	eligible	
44ST206	through early 20	dairy farm	eligible	artifacts, features
44ST215	18-20	farmstead, mill	eligible	
44ST231	18-20	house, store	eligible	research potential, material culture, landscape, features, single family occupation, oral history potential
44ST257	19	mill	eligible	research potential, rural mills as social, communication, commercial centers
44ST300	18-early 20	farmstead	eligible	features, artifacts, documentation, representative, postbellum agriculture, economy, lifeways, markets, health
44ST302		Civil War camp, potentially associated with mine	eligible	
44ST304	18-early 20	Civil War camp	eligible	Civil War, unique, intact, military, modernization, socioeconomic
44ST322	18-19	farmstead	eligible	excellent example, near subsistence, woman-led household, known inhabitants, intact, features
44ST323	19-early 20	homestead	not eligible	few artifacts, disturbed, common type
44ST337		farmstead, store, post office	eligible	excellent example, rare type, intact, features
44ST492	19		not eligible	impacted, long occupation
44ST494	18-early 19	ceramic scatter	eligible	intact, good example
Fort A.P. Hill				
44CE31	19-early 20	church	eligible	
44CE39	late 19	domestic, perhaps tenants	not eligible	
44CE44	late 19-early 20	occupation	not eligible	
44CE45	late 19-early 20	house	not eligible	
44CE46	19	domestic, mill complex	eligible	
44CE48	18-20	house, tavern, post office	not eligible	
44CE49	19	house	eligible	
44CE50	19	house	eligible	
44CE51	20	farmhouse	not eligible	
44CE52	late 18-early 19	domestic	not eligible	
44CE53	19-20	domestic	not eligible	
44CE54	19-20	house	not eligible	
44CE55	19-20		not eligible	disturbed
44CE60	18-19	domestic	not eligible	
44CE61	19		eligible	
44CE62	19	domestic	eligible	
44CE65	18-19	domestic	eligible	
44CE69	20	domestic	eligible	
44CE72	19	house	eligible	
44CE76	late 18-20	domestic	eligible	
44CE77	early 19	kiln	eligible	
44CE78	20	homesite	not eligible	
44CE79	late 18-20	domestic	not eligible	

<i>Installation/Site</i>	<i>Century</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Determination</i>	<i>Rationale for Determination</i>
44CE81	early 19		not eligible	
44CE82	19-20	farmstead	not eligible	
44CE83	20	church	eligible	
44CE84	19	tavern complex	not eligible	
44CE85	19	farm where J.W. Booth killed	not eligible	
44CE86	19	domestic	eligible	
44CE110	18-20	house	eligible	
44CE116	late 19-early 20	house	not eligible	
44CE121	late 19-20	domestic	not eligible	
44CE125	mid 19		not eligible	
44CE128	20	domestic	not eligible	
44CE129	20	domestic	not eligible	
44CE130	20	domestic	not eligible	
44CE131	late 19-20	domestic	not eligible	
44CE132	19-20	domestic	not eligible	
Fort Lee				
44PG171	late 18-early 19	domestic	not eligible	
44PG172	19	domestic, trash deposit	not eligible	
44PG176	18-19	domestic	eligible	settlement
44PG179		slave quarters (not found)	not eligible	disturbed, can't establish occupation
44PG184	19-20	domestic	eligible	prehistoric, 18c components
44PG189/250	18-19	domestic	eligible	artifacts, research potential
44PG190	19-20		eligible	prehistoric component
44PG200	19	railroad tracks, potential Civil War battle	not eligible	disturbed
44PG206	late 18-early 19	domestic	not eligible	
44PG207	19-20	domestic refuse	not eligible	disturbed
44PG208	late 18-early 19	homestead	eligible	
44PG228	19	domestic refuse	not eligible	
44PG231	19-20	domestic refuse	not eligible	few artifacts
44PG239	19-early 20	domestic refuse	not eligible	
44PG240	19-20	military training	eligible	intact
44PG241	19	domestic refuse	not eligible	
44PG247	19	domestic refuse	not eligible	
44PG248	19	domestic	not eligible	
44PG249	mid 19	domestic	not eligible	
44PG254	19-20	domestic, military refuse	not eligible	
44PG256	late 19-early 20	domestic	not eligible	
44PG257	19-20	mill, dam	not eligible	no related artifacts
44PG258	late 19-20	African-American church	not eligible	
44PG259	19-early 20	domestic	not eligible	
44PG260	late 18-19	homestead	eligible	intact, artifacts, architecture, economy, technology, ceramic change
44PG261	19	domestic	not eligible	
44PG262	late 19	domestic refuse	not eligible	
44PG266	19	domestic refuse	not eligible	
44PG267	mid 19	domestic refuse	not eligible	few artifacts
44PG271	mid 19	domestic	not eligible	
44PG272	mid 19-early 20	domestic refuse	not eligible	disturbed
44PG277	18-20	homestead	eligible	
44PG278	18-early 20	domestic, military refuse	not eligible	

<i>Installation/Site</i>	<i>Century</i>	<i>Site Type</i>	<i>Determination</i>	<i>Rationale for Determination</i>
44PG279	19-20	domestic, WWI earthworks	eligible	
44PG317	18-19	homestead	not eligible	prehistoric component
Yorktown NWS				
44Y0807	through 20		eligible	17-18c component
44Y0896	through 20		eligible	17-18c component
44Y0980	through 20		eligible	17-18c component
Fort Eustis				
44NN13	late 19-early 20	domestic, mixed race	eligible	development of city, ethnicity, gender/sexuality, racism, discrete occupations, documentation
Langley AFB				
44HT29		school	eligible	

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Appendix B:

Typology of Farmsteads

As was previously stated, one purpose of the historic context is to help archaeologists differentiate among seemingly uniform domestic farmsteads. The typology of nineteenth-century Coastal Plain farmsteads should also aid in such differentiation. While it is often believed that the universe of domestic sites became more homogenous in the nineteenth century, with the mass production and distribution of consumer goods and homogenization of taste through mass media, great diversity exists among nineteenth-century farmsteads.

While farms in the Coastal Plain were linked through their agrarian purpose, their owners, laborers, size, and production styles varied greatly. White ownership of Coastal Plain farmsteads predominated but was by no means complete. African Americans owned, rented, and operated farmsteads throughout the period. Immigrants arriving from Europe and elsewhere also capitalized on farming as a way to insert themselves into the American cultural fabric. Women, especially during and after the Civil War, played key roles in the maintenance and development of the region's agriculture and had a profound effect on the predominantly agrarian-based economy.

A nineteenth-century farmstead may or may not include vegetable gardens, fruit orchards, or livestock. It may or may not have employed progressive farming techniques or been closely connected to major transportation networks. The farmer may have engaged in a variety of other activities, such as fishing and oystering, and the outbuildings and their arrangement could vary greatly from farm to farm.

The following questions will help archaeologists identify to which categories a farmstead belongs, using material and documentary

evidence. It is essential that evaluated sites be reported in terms of these categories.

Status of Owner: Present or absentee, small or large landholder

- Is there evidence of housing that indicates the presence of the landowner?
- Does the layout of the house or artifacts suggest the economic status of its inhabitants?
- Does documentary evidence suggest the landholdings and residence of the landowner?

Farm Labor: Farmed by owner, tenant, sharecropper

- Is there evidence of housing that indicates labor other than the owner?
- Do the artifactual remains suggest short- or long-term occupation?
- Do artifacts, such as personal farm implements, suggest tenancy or sharecropping?
- Does documentary evidence suggest the presence of tenants or sharecroppers?

Identity of Owner and Labor: White, black (slave, ex-slave, free), Northerner, new immigrant, other race/ethnicity/group

- Does material or documentary evidence suggest the identity of the owner or laborers?
- Content of Farm: Single or mixed crop, orchards, gardens, livestock
- Do floral or faunal remains or other indicators of farm organization suggest the content of the farm?
- Does documentary evidence suggest the content of the farm?

Access to Markets: Near to or distant from transportation networks

- What is the distance of the farm to markets or transportation networks?
- What transportation routes connected the farm to these markets or networks?

Consumer of Output: Subsistence, contract, market

- Does the content of the farm and connections to markets suggest the consumers of farm output?
- Does other documentary evidence suggest the consumers of farm output?

Progressive or Mechanized Farming: Additives, methods, mechanization

- Does material or documentary evidence suggest agricultural additives (fertilizer, lime,

gypsum, etc) or methods (deep plowing, crop rotation)?

- Do the artifactual remains suggest the use of mechanized equipment?

Non-Agricultural Work: Fishing, oystering, other work

- Does artifactual evidence, such as boat hardware or fishing or oystering implements, suggest that farm owners or laborers engaged in non-agricultural work?
- Does documentary evidence suggest that owners or laborers engaged in other work?