ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT THE
HENRY BROOKS AND JOHN WASHINGTON SITES,
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT, VIRGINIA

by

Brooke S. Blades

Introduction by

Dr. John L. Cotter

Office of Planning
and Resource Preservation
Mid-Atlantic Region
National Park Service

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TO

CHARLES E. FUNNELL, JR.,
FRIEND AND NATIONAL
PARK SERVICE HISTORIAN
WITHOUT PEER
ABSTRACT

Preliminary archaeological excavations were conducted at the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia, in March-April 1977. Henry Brooks had erected a building on his property prior to 1651; archaeological evidence suggested that the property was abandoned c. 1730-50. Two building sites - a dwelling and an outbuilding - and related features dating to the late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries were exposed and recorded. Although John Washington purchased his dwelling in 1664, construction was apparently begun nine years earlier by David Anderson. The Anderson/Washington dwelling site and two (possibly three) outbuilding sites were recorded. A terminal date for occupation of c. 1720 was suggested for this site. Although aboriginal remains were limited on each site, evidence of late Archaic and Woodland phases of occupation were encountered.

The project yielded important data concerning the architectural details of the buildings on both of these seventeenth-century farmsteads. The layout of each farmstead was also partially revealed. In addition to the artifacts recovered, significant data relating to dietary practices was recovered from faunal remains. In sum, the excavations provided a very limited but none the less valuable perspective on cultural behavior in this small segment of Tidewater Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
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The sites were leased under special use permit to the family of James Latane at the time of the project. Mr. Latane and his son kindly allowed us to excavate on the sites, and were extremely cordial throughout the entire project. Mr. Latane's father had assisted the 1930's excavations, and was willing to talk at length about that early period in the infancy of the park. This elder Mr. Latane also consented to a taped interview in the spring of 1978 in which he discussed his ancestors and the building practices which he learned from them.

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Helen Schenck prepared all of the drawings for the report, and Marti Degen photographed all of the artifact plates except XXIII and XXIV. The metal artifacts were treated by Conservator Dan Riss at Harpers Ferry Center. Denise Domian prepared the final manuscript of the report. To all of these folks, we are indebted.
INTRODUCTION

by

Dr. John L. Cotter

Preliminary Investigation of the
John Washington and Henry Brooks Plantation Structures,
George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia

The initial discovery of evidence indicating evidence of the structures related to the adjacent plantations of John Washington, the grandfather of George Washington, and of his contemporary and neighbor Henry Brooks took place in 1930, 33 and 34. This early work, directed by National Park Service engineer O.G. Taylor, was to have been continued so as to prove out evidence superficially located. The advent of World War II, however, forced cancellation of programmed work, and it was not until April, 1977 that authorization and funding of a definitive preliminary investigation to define the location and problems relating to existing evidence in the ground at both sides permitted the one-month campaign which is the subject of this report.

The scope of the present investigation was limited, and the objective was only to define positively the location of previously encountered structural features and to explore thoroughly stripped contiguous areas at both Washington and Brooks sites so as to prove out all related and adjacent features relating to the respective plantations. The present report, therefore, is not the account of a complete, definitive exploration of any of the structures encountered. Rather, it is presented in order to record accurately the location and inter-relationship of all structures at both plantation sites, and detail archaeological evidence encountered.

The present campaign represented a fielded party totalling 8 persons, all but one trained in archaeology, under the supervision of field supervisor, Brooke S. Blades, Mid-Atlantic Region archaeologist and the overall direction of Dr. John L. Cotter, Regional Archaeologist. Funding for the project was furnished by George Washington Birthplace National Monument and the Mid-Atlantic Region of the National Park Service.

It is expected that the information contained in this report will enable the Service to mark and interpret the historical structures encountered, and make possible continued and more comprehensive ground excavation in order to answer questions evoked from this exploratory investigation.
HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The primary research study on George Washington Birthplace National Monument is Charles Hatch's thorough and excellent report entitled *Chapters in the History of Popes Creek Plantation* (1968). The work contains detailed chapters which discuss both the Henry Brooks and John Washington properties. Hatch referred often to Westmoreland County Court records, having investigated several volumes of *Deeds, Wills, Patents, &c.* and *Court Orders*.

Due to the survey nature of the archaeological project, and the limited time available, no attempt was made to investigate primary sources, either in the Westmoreland County Courthouse or elsewhere. Therefore, the historical data presented below, unless otherwise cited, was taken solely from the Hatch report. This complete reliance upon Hatch's findings should by no means be construed as an indication that additional data cannot be located in original sources. Nevertheless, a report of this quality provided an historical background for the two properties which was more than adequate for the present study.
Henry Brooks, a shipwright, obtained a land patent for 1000 acres in 1657 from the Governor and Council of the Colony of Virginia. The land was located in a section of Westmoreland County known as "Mattox Neck" - located between the confluences of two creeks (Bridges and Pope's) with the Potomac River. (The patent was reissued on March 18, 1662.) Brooks was residing on the property as early as 1651, however; a patent of that date for adjoining property mentions "...this land of Henry Brooks." His occupation thus predated the establishment of Westmoreland County by three years. He was one of the earliest English settlers on the "Northern Neck" of the colony, and the first to claim direct ownership of the 1000 acres on Mattox Neck.

Little is presently known of the personal life of Henry Brooks except that he married a Protestant widow named Jane (or Joane) Wickliffe sometime after 1642. She moved with her two sons from their home in Maryland to Mattox Neck. She presented Brooks with three daughters.

Before his death in 1662\(^1\) (Pothergill 1925:6), Brooks divided most of his patent among various daughters, sons-in-law and other relatives. The remainder was parcelled out in his will. That document specified that his wife Joane (Jane) was "full and whole Executor" and was to have the "seat of land whereon I now Live bounding upon David Anderson and so running to a place called the Arrowhead during her life." Upon Jane's death, the property (approximately 300 acres) was to become the possession of their unmarried daughter Dorothy. The will further stipulated that Jane was to receive for her life "all my Goods Cattle, moveable and unmovable both within doors and without" and half of "the stock of hogs" the other half belonging to Richard Cole. Dorothy would also inherit these upon her mother's death. If Dorothy was to have died prior to marriage, "what doth or shall belong unto her" was to be divided between the two married daughters Liddia Abington and Jane Higdon.

Thus the Brooks homestead became the object of matrilineal inheritance. Since Brooks' two stepsons had been granted property earlier and

\(^1\)Brooks' will was proved on June 21, 1662, indicating that he had died shortly before that date.
he had no male heirs, his home became the property of his wife and their female descendants. This inheritance pattern was the crucial factor in determining the nature of subsequent occupation on the property.

Jane Brooks continued to reside at the home site, and apparently outlived Dorothy, for the property was divided between Lydia and Jane upon their mother's death. Jane, now married to Original Brown, received the home site and approximately 200 acres. On August 21, 1683, Robert Chamberlaine surveyed Jane's inheritance of 215 acres at the request of Original Brown. The survey sketch (Plate I) located "the house where old Mrs (Henry) Brooks Lived." (H), as well as "Mr John Washingtons (house)" (G). Since Mrs. Brooks' occupancy was referred to in the past tense and the property had evidently become the possession of Brown and his wife, it seemed that Mrs. Brooks died before August 21, 1683.

The survey indicated that Original and Jane Brown were residing in a house near the original Brooks homestead. The property upon which this house was built had been granted to Jane by her father Henry Brooks in 1662. Therefore, the Brooks homestead in 1683 became the property of a couple who had established their dwelling elsewhere. In the period c. 1650-1683, the house had served as primary housing (i.e. dwelling) for the owners. After 1683 it has become secondary housing, and probably served as a tenement or rental property.

The pattern of matrilineal inheritance for the Brooks homestead continued, since Original and Jane Brown passed the property to their daughter Jane. The date of this transfer was not determined; the will of Original Brown was proved on April 27, 1689 (Fothergill 1925:22). His wife Jane obviously outlived him as she was named executor of his estate, but for how long was not discovered. By the time of her father's death, the daughter Jane had married Nathaniel Pope, a gentleman of considerable means (Fothergill 1925:22). Thus, Jane Pope inherited the Brooks homestead and surrounding 215 acres from her mother sometime after April 1698.

The location of Nathaniel Pope's dwelling is not known at present. His will was proved on March 9, 1719 (Fothergill 1925:70). By 1726 Jane Pope was both the owner and occupant of the Brooks homestead. In February of that year, Augustine Washington purchased the 215-acre tract from her, described as the "messuage plantation and land where Mistress Jane Pope now lives." Augustine, whose own dwelling on Pope's
Creek was nearing completion, incorporated the property into his Popes Creek Plantation. He most likely returned the house to its status as a tenement, since he listed the farm as a separate land parcel in 1726. Archaeological evidence suggested that occupation ceased on the property c. 1730-50.

The life of the Henry Brooks homestead, which spanned nearly one hundred years, may be summarized thusly: dwelling for Henry and Jane Brooks, c. 1650-1683; tenement (?) for Original and Jane Brown, 1683 - c. 1700; property of Nathaniel and Jane Pope, c. 1700-1719; tenement of Augustine Washington, 1726 - c. 1730-50.

THE JOHN WASHINGTON SITE

One of Henry Brooks' earliest land division occurred on October 30, 1655. David Anderson and Richard Cole (apparently a relative of Jane Brooks) received "one hundred Acres of land Joining the creeke (Bridges) which is patented in my (Brooks') patent." Cole, it may be remembered, was part-owner with Brooks of a herd of hogs. (see above, p. 3)

Cole sold his portion of the tract to Anderson on March 10, 1656. Thus Cole surrendered his "right and title of two hundred Acres of Land bounding upon the land of Henry Brookes Creek with all the building that is upon the said land." In less than six months after Brooks had relinquished control of the property, a "building" was standing or at least under construction. While it is possible that the improvements had taken place before Anderson and Cole obtained the land, it is more probable that one of the men was establishing his residence on the property. Since Cole sold his rights to the property, the resident was obviously Anderson. 2

Anderson filed a revised ownership patent, or confirmation of ownership, on October 25, 1662. By this time he had obtained an additional 50 acres:

...one hundred fifty acres of land...one hundred acres northwesterly upon a creeke (Bridges) dividing this land from the land of Hercules Bridges northeast upon a branch of the said creeke southeasterly upon a line

2One of the artifacts recovered from the Washington site was an iron brand bearing the initials "CA", possibly indicating ownership by a member of the Anderson family.
running from a marked poplar near the head of the said branch south by east into the woods
... and 50 acres the other part bounding
northerly upon the said land and the land of
Henry Brooks westerly upon the main wood
said land being formerly granted unto the
said David Anderson by patent dated 24th
October 1655...

This revised patent may well have been prompted by a suit
which Henry Brooks filed against Anderson, apparently in 1661.
The Court of Westmoreland ruled in favor of Anderson on August 31,
1664, two years after Brooks' death:

The Court date Order that ye report in writing
of Capt. John Alexander Surveyor be entered upon
period & that David Anderson shall have & impay
ye hundred Acres of land laid out by ye said
Surveyor with the neighborhood & solde unto him
by Henry Brookes and ye Court doth further Order
that ye said Anderson shall have & injoy what
(his) hath inoyed & manured for five years
before he was forwarned & suite Commenced by ye
said Henry Brookes.

Nevertheless, the Court did stipulate that 'a Jury of the
neighborhood' was to be "impanelled to finde what waste ye said
David Anderson hath Comitted on any ye land since he ye said
Anderson hath bene forwarned & claime made by Commencem of suit
by ye aforesaid Henry Brookes." Apparently Anderson was to be
finded for any improvements made upon the disputed property after
filing of the suit. David Anderson sold the 125 acre property to
John Washington on December 3, 1664. Anderson thus surrendered...

all my right title and interest of this pattent
and the land therein contained with all edificies
thereunto belonging with all the land conveyed by
Henry Brookes to me...as also all land that we are
now possessed withal by virtue of an order of
Westmoreland County court aforesaid and have
been for five years possessed without commence-
ment of suit by Henry Brookes or his assigns...

Washington purchased an adjoining 195 acres at the same time,
and in March 1665 added yet another 250 acres. He thus possessed
a farm totalling 570 acres, and he decided to establish his plan-
tation seat on the former Anderson tract, probably in the house
which had been occupied by Anderson.
John Washington, born in England about 1632, entered the Virginia scene in late 1656 as first mate on a vessel involved in the tobacco trade with Scandinavia. He decided to remain in Westmoreland County the next year, having made the acquaintance of Nathaniel Pope, a prominent resident. He married Pope's daughter Anne in late 1658 and established his home on a 700 acre farm given to Anne by her father. This first Washington home in America was situated on Mattox Creek.

Washington immediately began to raise tobacco and to acquire additional land, both through purchase and as a Colonial reward for financing the passage of other immigrants. His status in Westmoreland County was recognized by the residents who elected him to the parish vestry in 1661 and to the county court as a justice of the peace in 1662. Washington received a commission as a major in the militia shortly afterwards. He had thus established himself as a religious, political and military leader in Westmoreland County by the time he moved his family to the former Anderson property.

In 1666, he was elected to the House of Burgesses, a post which he retained until his death in 1677.

Anne died in 1668, and was buried on the property in the family plot. An entry in Washington's will suggested that he had constructed an addition onto his house prior to his wife's death: he bequeathed their daughter Anne "wch was her mothers desire & my promise, yt Cash in ye new parlour & the Diamond ring and her mothers rings & the white quilt & the white Curtains & vallians." (see below, page 53).

Washington married twice more: Anne Gerrard, who died in 1675; Frances Gerrard, who survived him. His three children were all from his first marriage.

Rebellion arose in Virginia in 1676. A disgruntled planter named Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., led an uprising against the government of Governor William Berkely. Washington, now a colonel in the militia, remained loyal to the governor, and directed that various goods be shipped from his plantation to Maryland, apparently for safe-keeping, in his absence.

Rebel leaders considered these shipments to be of a serious enough nature to warrant seizure of the Bridges Creek plantation. On October 21, 1676, Daniel White was informed by the rebels that "Coll John Washington's overseers are carrying off corni meate & Tobacco in a sloop or sloops over to Maryland." White was consequently ordered:

immediately to go to ye plantacon of ye sd Washington by ye river side (Bridges Creek farm) & cease & Impresse all ye corni &
p'visions, Tobacco, Stocke yet belong to ye sd Washington either one (sic) that plantacon or one ye other plantacon Called ye Round Hills & to command ye overseers of both plantacons In his Majts name not to suffer any come, cattle, horses, mares, servants or any other things to be conveyed by any psion or psions till further order from ye generall (Bacon) & to cease (Seize?) ye Sloope or Sloops yt shall any wise attempt ye taking p'vision conveying or any pt or parsels of goods yet either belong to the said Washington or any other delinquents yt are fled . . .

White, accompanied by at least six men with "14 gunns loaden", occupied the property. The rebellian was, however, fading since Bacon had died earlier in the month. William Amherst, leading a band of Loyalists, surprised the rebels and took them prisoner. Washington was awarded 15,500 pounds of tobacco for his services and expenses, as well as for damages to his property.

Returning home, he resumed the duties of a planter and county official. On August 25, 1677, a session of the county court was held at his plantation. Between that date and September 26, he died and was buried on his plantation.

His will indicated that his possessions were considerable, for he stipulated that "after my debts & dues are sattisfied out of my Cropps, which I doe not question but will be far more than I do owe," the estate was to be divided between his wife and three children. His eldest son Lawrence received property on Mattox Creek, and his second son John was granted "yt plantation wheiron I know live wch I bought of David Anderson." All of the children were under age. Thomas Pope was charged with the responsibility of supervising Lawrence and John until they come of age, while Anne became the charge of her stepmother. It would appear that the children remained in residence at their father's home until they came of age.

John, the son, eventually became master of the property. He was not the public figure in his father's image, although he did become a church vestryman and a militia captain. He married Ann Wichliffe, who bore him three sons.

The Chamberlaine survey of 1683 (Plate I) was conducted during the occupancy of this John Washington. In addition to indicating
the location of the house, the survey mentioned a "fence" located north of the house site.

Washington's will was dated January 23, 1698, and he evidently died shortly afterwards. He was by no means as wealthy as his father, for there was an indication that his widow had difficulty in settling some of his accounts. He requested that he "be buried in Christian like manner in the Burying Place on the Plantation where I (sic) now live, by my Father, Mother and Brothers.

His wife Anne retained possession of the property until her death in 1709, when the hosmeside passed to their eldest son John. It was not determined whether John established his residence here. Archaeological evidence suggested that occupation of the site ceased in the period c. 1720-30. Certainly John was not residing on site in 1742 when he became embroiled in a boundary dispute with his cousin, Augustine Washington (who had purchased the Brooks property in 1725). The dispute centered on acreage on Mattox Neck, including the Washington homsite. The dispute was settled by arbitration in the county court on April 12, 1743. Augustine was granted rights and title to the 100 acres which contained the John Washington homsite and burial ground.

\footnote{Hatch mentioned that by tradition the John Washington House served as housing for tenants or servants and had disappeared before 1810. The archaeological evidence indicated that the house was destroyed nearly a century before 1810.}
PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH - 1930's

Archaeological work at Wakefield in the 1930's was initially supervised by Mr. O.G. Taylor, in cooperation with the Wakefield Association. During November 1930, Mr. James Latane, under the direction of Taylor, uncovered a brick foundation near Bridge's Creek. Taylor believed that the building was an outbuilding associated with the John Washington homestead:

I was at Wakefield again on November 25th and found that Mr. Latane had uncovered the foundation of a building 14'3" by 20' located on a south slope and 180 feet southeast of the graveyard vault. These foundations were found only a short distance below the plow depth. The building has a brick floor at the depth of the foundations and 22" to 33" below the surface of the ground. The north, east and south walls are 8" thick, and laid with large bricks approximately 2-1/2 x 4-1/8 x 8-3/4 inches, while the west wall is 10-1/2 inches thick of very small bricks 1-1/2" x 3-1/4" x 5-1/2".

The foundation walls do not form a sharp corner and there is (sic) 9 x 9 inch spaces at each corner for wood posts. Mr. Latane discontinued the excavation after uncovering this one building. He desired further instructions before doing more excavating. I thought the building uncovered was probably an outbuilding. I instructed him to do additional excavating with the hope he might uncover a larger building.

Horace Albright, Director of the National Park Service, sent three letters on December 6, 1930, to the following persons: Mrs. H.L. Rust, Wakefield Association; Dr. Charles Moore, Chairman of the National Commission of Fine Arts; Mr. Ed Donn. He mentions in these letters that Latane has located another foundation which could be part of the larger Washington house. There is no further mention of this excavation in any report or correspondence. This other foundation may well have been the chimney base (Rodnick 1941:66).

Dr. Moore believed that the excavated foundation was a minor building, rather than a part of the homestead as originally suggested by Taylor:

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4O.G. Taylor to Director Horace Albright, December 4, 1930.
Your letter of December 6, enclosing a map of the foundations already uncovered near the Washington graveyard excavated was a minor building. The frame house bought by John Washington in 1666 and occupied by his son and also by his grandson is understood to have been located at the left of the present path leading to the graveyard and about three quarters of the way along that path. The Latane boys know the location ... (Rodnick 1941:66).

No further work was done until the property entered the National Park Service. On May 14, 1932, the Wakefield acreage became a national monument and all subsequent archaeological projects were conducted by the Park Service. The Wakefield Association, however, did subsidize Park Service excavations in 1934. One of the foundations at the John Washington site was screened. In the August 1934 report from the Superintendent of the National Monument to Director Albright, a brief description of some of the artifacts recovered was given:

1. A silver coin dated 1679 ... It was found a foot or more under the surface and outside the basement walls of the building (the foundation excavated under Mr. Taylor's direction in November 1930-DR).

2. A bottle seal bearing the inscription of John Washington.

3. Two additional "J.W." seals.

4. A copper tavern token inscribed "Foxall-Dublin."

5. Additional pieces of broken slipware, glass, nails, iron ware, etc.5

The same report also mentions excavations at the Henry Brooks site. The foundation of a building which had been located during the previous year was uncovered.  

An excavation was made of the site of what is believed to be a Brooks family building. This Brooks was of the first white family to own the land. An interesting foundation was bared and several fine relics secured. The site is situated about a quarter of a mile from the John Washington place toward the river, and about 100 yards in from its banks, making him a near neighbor of Washington's ancestor.

Rodnick, upon examination of an attached photograph, stated that the building was 12 sq. feet and probably an outbuilding. He felt that the brickwork was English bond, and in rather good condition. Rodnick speculated that the foundation may have been an element of the Washington farm, since Brooks had died in 1662 and his family had then probably moved to the "Pope's Creek site" (Rodnick 1941:67).

Superintendent Philip Hough submitted a proposal for a comprehensive archaeological program to the Director on December 18, 1935. The program was designed to encompass all archaeological sites at Wakefield. The project was to be undertaken by CCC labor. Five areas were to be included in the program: Popes Creek, Bridge's Creek, Brooks Place, Gray Place and two privately owned properties which were associated with the Washington family. His recommendations for Bridges Creek and Brooks Place are as follows:

**B. BRIDGES CREEK**

1. A general exploratory survey is requested, to determine the complete building layout of the John Washington home place. The positions of two brick structures were discovered by Mr. O.G. Taylor in 1930, neither of which were completely run out nor are believed to have been the main building.

In the event that foundations are found they should be excavated for the purpose of de-

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termining their nature, extent and period, including the recovery, cleaning, classification and recording of relic materials.

C. BROOKS PLACE

1. A general exploratory survey is requested of the region marked "C", believed to have been the home place of Henry Brooks, who was the first white man to own any of the land now embraced within this National Monument, having obtained a crown patent in 1657 from which all of our titles descend.

Brick foundations of three structures have been discovered by Superintendent Hough, only one of which has been excavated.7

Although the program was approved by the Director on March 25, 1936, no evidence exists to indicate that it was ever undertaken. (Rodnick 1941:68).

Superintendent Hough reported in September 1941 that a new archaeological program to examine three areas -- among them Bridge's Creek -- had been approved. The advent of World War II and its subsequent curtailment of the CCC caused the program to die still-born (Powell 1968:18). The Washington and Brooks sites have not been reinvestigated until 1977.

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7 Superintendent Philip Hough to Director Horace Albright, December 18, 1935, George Washington Birthplace National Monument Files.
The 1977 excavations were designed to accomplish several goals. The broad survey nature of the project attempted to gain a clearer understanding of the physical extent of occupation and to resolve certain questions raised following the 1930's work. Supplied with this information, the Superintendent would be able to prepare a much more specific development/study proposal (10-238) for the more thorough investigations which each site warranted. In addition, it was hoped that some immediate benefit to the interpretive program in the park might be derived from a determination of the general spatial arrangement and temporal range of occupation on the sites.

It was necessary to constantly bear in mind during the project that a future archaeological excavation will be conducted on either or both of these sites. Therefore, a concerted effort was made to disturb as little of the resource as possible, and to make those disturbances easily recognizable to future researchers. Since both sites were located in agricultural fields which had been cultivated well into the twentieth century, removal of the plow-disturbed topsoil was accomplished with power equipment (Plate II). The plow zone was removed by a light tractor with an adjustable blade in increments of 3'-6" to the bottom of the plow zone, which nearly invariably rested upon the undisturbed sand/clay subsoil (Figure 2). The brick-lined cellars, post holes, trash pits, trenches, etc. (generally appearing as dark soil stains in the yellowish subsoil) were carefully recorded and only partially excavated in an effort to identify the particular feature and determine its proper temporal period (Plate III). This procedure of removing only a portion of the fill from a feature enabled the field crew to determine a depth dimension and at times to recover datable artifacts, and yet preserved a portion of the feature undisturbed for future examination.

All of the test holes and partially-excavated features were backfilled with road bedding sand (a mixture of course gold-yellow sand and gravel) to ensure quick identification at a future date. The sand was tamped, particularly in the cellars, to retard collapse of cellar walls due to removal of the packed fill. Several of the features had recent coins and even a college identification card mixed with sand. As a final touch, the test hole in Outbuilding B at the Washington site contains a champagne bottle - devoid of champagne but holding instead a sketch of the crew.
PLATE II

Removal of Plow Zone at Brooks Site (top) and Washington Site (bottom).
North profile of test hole

Henry Brooks Site

Legend

topsoil

plow zone: brown loam with oyster shells and brick flecks

black loam

yellow sand

natural sandy clay

limit of excavation

FIGURE 2
Trash Pit B and cellar entrance (dark stains) at Brooks Site shortly after removal of plow zone (top).

Trash Pit B and drainage ditch shortly after removal of plow zone (bottom).
THE HENRY BROOKS SITE

Excavations at the Henry Brooks site revealed the locations of two structures as well as trash pits and related features (Figure 3). The remains of one of these structures, composed principally of a brick-lined cellar 17'6" and a detached chimney base, indicated the site of a dwelling apparently constructed by Henry Brooks before 1651 (Plate IV).

The brick foundations of an outbuilding which measured 13'7" by 12'9" lay 47'6" northwest of the dwelling cellar. Both the dwelling site and the outbuilding had been located in the 1930's, but only the outbuilding site had been excavated. The dwelling cellar remained undisturbed.

Artifacts recovered from the dwelling cellar and from the plow zone indicated that occupation of the property ceased in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.
THE HENRY BROOKS DWELLING

Architectural Details - As originally constructed, the Henry Brooks dwelling was probably a hall plan structure - one room on the ground floor with a loft or garret overhead. It measured approximately 20'0" north-south by 19'0" east-west (Figure 4). The brick chimney probably projected from the northwest corner of the building, although it may have been enclosed, expanding the north-south dimension to 26'0".

The west wall of the dwelling most likely extended from the west side of the chimney to a 1'3" by 1'0" by 8" hole lying 1'8" southwest of the brick-lined cellar (Plate V). The east wall of the building may have been supported by the cellar wall and have extended to the hole, 9 10" x 8" x 1'-3", located 19'0" east of the northwest corner of the chimney. Although this hole may mark the northeast corner of the house, it more likely supported a pent or framed shed erected beside the chimney on the rear wall of the house.

The protruding soil stain at the northeast corner of the cellar strongly suggested the location of a bulkhead entrance. The entrance would have been located along the exterior of the east wall of the dwelling (Plate V).

It would appear that the walls of the Brooks dwelling were supported on wooden posts buried in the ground, at least along the west side. The absence of any indication of holes at the interpreted southeast or northeast corners may suggest that wooden blocks or shallow piers were used at those locations. Evidence of features may have been destroyed by subsequent plowing; since only the bottom course of chimney foundation remained intact, it seems safe to assume that no less than one foot of original grade has been plow disturbed.

The location of the chimney was indicated by ten bricks surviving in situ from the bottom course. These bricks rested on a mortar base varying in thickness from 1/2" to 3/4". Enough of the mortar base remained to indicate that the chimney foundation had been quite substantial: 1'6 on the rear and 1'1" on each side (Plate VII). Detached fragments of the mortar base suggested that the external dimensions of the chimney were 11'0" by 4'9". Given the above-mentioned

8GN 116C.
9GN 107H.
FIGURE 4

24 - 25
Cellar and chimney of Brooks dwelling. Chimney remains lie in front of stadia rod, outlined with string. Note hole at lower left, possibly marking the southwest corner of the dwelling. Photo facing north.
Soil stain (outlined with string) of eastern end of Brooks cellar. Cellar entrance in center. Photo facing north.
foundation widths, the chimney would have contained a hearth measuring 8'10" wide and 3'3" deep. Chimney foundations containing hearth openings of similar size were uncovered throughout the site of Jamestown (Cotter 1958). Hall plan dwellings of the seventeenth century invariably contain large hearths as the ground floor room served as kitchen, dining and general living room and master bed chamber. As such a fire was almost constantly being maintained.

Evidence was uncovered which suggested that the structure had been modified and enlarged. A clay-filled feature 10 at the northwest corner of the cellar may represent a portion of an earlier storage cellar. The feature measured 8'10" by 2'6", but appeared to have been partially obliterated by the construction of the brick-lined cellar. The western end of the feature aligned perfectly with the interpreted location of the west wall of the dwelling. The construction of the second cellar beneath an existing dwelling would explain the different orientations of the chimney and the brick-lined cellar. The smaller storage cellar, evidently dug during the initial construction of the house, reflected the orientation of the chimney. Storage cellars or "potato holes" are often encountered in front of hearths, apparently so placed for warmth. Indeed, the Washington dwelling appears to have had a similar feature (see above page 61).

The presence of an addition to the dwelling or an enclosed yard was suggested by trenches to the west of the chimney base. A trench filled with dark loam and brick fragments 11 abutted the northwest corner of the chimney base and extended westward a distance of 7'8". The trench was 1'9" in width and cut into natural subsoil 5'-5 1/2". Artifacts recovered from a two-foot long test hole excavated at the western end of the trench did not reveal a close date range for the backfilling of the feature (Plate VII).

A deeper, narrower trench depression 12 extended an additional 5'6" further west from the end of the first trench. The feature varied in width from 10" at the east end to 7 1/2" at the west end. The depression itself was actually 6'10" in length; it overlapped and cut into the bottom of the earlier trench a distance of 1'4". At this point the depression was 1" deeper than the earlier trench. The feature may represent the impression left by a wooden sill.

10GW 116H.
11GW 124B.
12GW 124C.
Chimney bricks in situ and mortar base. Photos facing north (top) and east (bottom).
Small test holes were excavated at each end of the depression, and the dark loam fill yielded only one wine bottle fragment, one nail fragment and one oyster shell.

Three linear soil stains\(^{13}\) lying nearly perpendicular to the first trench and possible sill trench were also observed. The two westernmost stains became narrower and more shallow from north to south. These stains may well have been "plow scars", or disturbances created by subsequent agricultural cultivation. Indeed, the center stain appeared to pass through the first trench and continued northward. Nevertheless, the junction of the stains with the western ends of both the earlier trench and the possible sill trench appeared to be rather significant.

Two rectangular post holes with molds\(^{14}\) were observed at the rear of the chimney base. The molds, approximately 6" square, were 9'6" apart. These holes probably held scaffold posts put down during the construction of the chimney. The mottled loam fill in the southwest corner of the holes\(^{15}\) was removed, revealing a depth ranging from 9" to 1'3" (Figure 6, No. 1).

An oval pit\(^{16}\), 2'6" by 2'1", lay 1'9" south of the robbed wall line and 2'0" west of the chimney base (Figure 6, No.3). The western half of the pit was excavated to the bottom of the feature, a depth of 1'5" below subsoil grade. Although no artifacts were recovered, the mixed loam fill did contain numerous tiny brick fragments. These fragments suggested that considerable amounts of activity had occurred on the property prior to backfilling of the feature (Plate VIII).

A doorway into the ground floor hall of the dwelling must have been located along the west wall to provide easy access to Outbuilding A. A doorway may have been located along the east wall as well. A hole, 10" square,\(^{17}\) may have held a post which framed the door, although a second framing post hole was not located. The hole lay 3'0" north of the southwest corner of the cellar.

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\(^{13}\) GW 116G, 124D, 124E. (east to west).

\(^{14}\) GW 106D, 106C, GW 106E, 106F.

\(^{15}\) GW 106F.

\(^{16}\) GW 106G.

\(^{17}\) GW 116J.
Junction of earlier trench and later sill (?) trench lying west of chimney (upper left corner). Possible storage pit (partially excavated) located at upper right. Photo facing southeast.
North profile of section of post hole

North profile of section of trash pit A and unidentified feature

East profile of section of storage pit (?)

Features associated with Dwelling
Henry Brooks Site

Legend
- dark loam
- brown loam and yellow sand
- plow scar
- mixed clay with brick rubble
- dark loam with oyster shells
- mixed topsoil, subsoil and brick fragments
- natural sandy clay
- limit of excavation
The cellar wall along the west side consisted of fifteen courses of brick laid in a bond which may best be described as common or American. This pattern is composed of a course of headers separated by four or five courses of stretchers. This bond variant is generally considered to be an early nineteenth-century technique in Virginia, yet it was utilized at the Brooks site in this late seventeenth-century cellar (McKee 1973:49-52).

A brick niche was located in the west wall, 6'0" from the northwest corner of the cellar (Plate IX). The niche was formed by a gap in the wall which was 1'9" long, 9" wide and 1'2" high (to the present top of the wall). A semi-circular projection of bricks enclosed the niche on the west side, increasing the width to 1'2" in the center. The east side, which faced into the cellar, was left open. The feature was neatly formed and thus had been installed as the wall was being constructed. Excessive wear was evident on three bricks in the floor of the niche. Although several explanations are plausible, the niche probably served as a lighting platform similar to the recesses seen in seventeenth and eighteenth-century hearths. The distance of the west end of the cellar from the sole apparent source of light - the cellar entrance at the northeast corner - would have required the use of artificial lighting at all times. The permanent need for a candle platform would seem to be sufficient explanation for the care devoted to the installation of the niche.

Archaeological Stratigraphy - A five foot square test hole excavated against the west wall of the cellar revealed the stratigraphic pattern of the fill (Figure 7). As the section indicates, the size of the test hole was drastically reduced due to time limitations.

Natural clay was encountered at a depth of 4'6" below modern grade. A layer of mixed clay with oyster shells 18 (15), 7"-9" thick, lay above the natural clay and extended beneath the brick wall, indicating that the clay was deposited prior to the construction of the cellar. The deposit may relate to the possible earlier root cellar located beyond the northwest corner. No artifacts were recovered from the layer.

A thin (1/2" thick) spread of dark, packed loam19 (14) sealed the clay and abutted - but did not pass beneath - the cellar wall. The densely packed nature of this layer suggested that it was a flooring surface, and thus would have been deposited during occupation of the cellar.

18 GW 121R.
19 GW 121P.
Niche in west wall of Brooks cellar. Photo facing west. Scale in inches.
FIGURE 7

Legend

1. Plow zone
2. Black loam with brick rubble
3. Dark clay loam with ash and overstory material
4. Dark sandy loam with brick rubble
5. Brown loam with light sandy loam
6. Blown loam-green sandy loam
7. Mixed clay with overstory shingles
8. Natural sand
9. Bricks and sand with brick rubble
10. Grey sand with brick rubble
11. Tamped clay
12. Ash and overstory shingles
13. Mixed clay with overstory shingles
14. Dark packed loam
15. Clay

Henry Brooks Site

North profile of test

Trench in cellar

Of Dwelling
A layer of packed or rammed clay\textsuperscript{20} (12), 3'' thick, lay above the dark loam and would appear to represent a later flooring layer. The clay floor was probably installed to create a level surface after ruts and depressions had been worn into earlier floor. No artifacts were recovered from either of the floor layers.

A rectangular depression filled with dark loam\textsuperscript{21} (11), measuring 1'0'' x 10'2'' cut into the clay flooring. The fill contained 4 lbs., 8 ozs of oyster shell. The depression may have been created by a floor joist.

A thick (1'2'') deposit of gray sand and brick rubble\textsuperscript{22} (10) represents the time period when occupation of the dwelling apparently ceased. The silty soil matrix suggested that the building may have been razed at this point, exposing the cellar to the elements. A layer of brick rubble and brown sand\textsuperscript{23} (9) overlay the silty gray sand, and a thin lens of silty sand\textsuperscript{24} (8) sealed the brick rubble.\textsuperscript{25} Additional layers of brown sandy loam (5 & 6) lay in the cellar. The brown sandy fill of the wall niche\textsuperscript{26} yielded a sherd from an Astbury bowl, manufactured c. 1725-50, (Noël Hume 1970: 122, 123). This find, coupled with the presence of wine bottle bases dating c. 1730 (Noël Hume 1970:65), suggested that the cellar was abandoned in the period 1730-50.

Two layers of dark organic loam fill\textsuperscript{27} (3 & 4), 1'3'' thick overlay the sand silt. The large concentrations of artifacts and oyster shells indicate that the dark loam was deposited during a period of refuse disposal, probably in a conscious attempt to backfill the cellar.

\textsuperscript{20}GW 121M.
\textsuperscript{21}GW 121L.
\textsuperscript{22}GW 121K.
\textsuperscript{23}GW 121J.
\textsuperscript{24}GW 121H.
\textsuperscript{25}GW 121E. and GW 121F.
\textsuperscript{26}GW 121G.
\textsuperscript{27}GW 121C. & GW 121D.
A layer of black loam with numerous brick fragments, 6" thick, sealed the refuse layers. The brick fragments apparently represent the collapse of the upper courses of the cellar wall. Plow-disturbed loam and turf, 7" thick, lay above the black loam.

28 GW 121B.

29 GW 121A.
Outbuilding A

Architectural Details - The brick foundations of an outbuilding which measured 13'7" by 12'9" lay 47'6" northwest of the dwelling cellar (Plate X). The outbuilding site was excavated in the 1930's, and consequently it was impossible to determine when this structure was abandoned. The structure originally was supported on a brick foundation 9" in width which was intact to a height of 2'6" above natural clay. The walls were laid in eight courses of stretchers capped by a course of headers. An interior spread footing, two courses wide, lying parallel with the foundation walls was observed. The footing was not mortared.

A raised pad of natural clay, 3"-4", higher than the subsoil beneath the cellar wall, was located in the center of the building. This raised pad was evidently created as the surrounding earth was removed during the original construction of the brick foundation.

The function of the outbuilding is at present unknown. The site was not completely exposed during this project; a test hole was excavated at the interior of the northeast corner. A building of this size may have served as a smokehouse, dairy or small storage structure. The presence of a brick foundation suggests a building with some degree of permanence.

Archaeological Stratigraphy - The test hole excavated at the northeast corner revealed that the 1930's investigations had removed all evidence of stratigraphy, at least at this location.

Related Features

Trash pits - Three trash pits lay around the Brooks dwelling cellar. All had been dug into natural subsoil. Although two had been cut by later features, none intruded upon earlier ones.

Trash pit A, which measured 3'6" by 2'0" by 6", lay 5'0" west of the dwelling cellar (Figure 6, No.2). A small portion of the feature along the south edge was excavated. The trash pit was disturbed on the east end by the clay-filled storage cellar (?) and was cut by a plow scar. The pit yielded few artifacts and bones but a large quantity of oyster shell (6 lbs., 4 ozs.). Thus, the disposal of food garbage appeared to be the primary function of this pit. A sherd from a Portuguese maiolica plate or bowl (Hurst 1978: public lecture) suggested that the fill had been deposited after the late seventeenth century.

30 GW 104.
31 GW 116F.
Foundation of Outbuilding A as revealed by test hole at northeast of corner of structure. Photo faces north. Scale in inches.
A pear-shaped feature, Trash pit B, lay 7'6" northeast of the dwelling cellar. The feature measured 6'4" by 4'7" by 4'. The southern third of the feature was excavated. Numerous fragments of brick were located in the fill. The pit also contained ash. No precise date could be assigned to the feature (Figure 8).

Trash pit C, 6'8" x 5'2" x 1'11", was uncovered 26'6" south of the dwelling cellar. The feature was filled with dark loam, oyster shell (1 lb.) bones, brick fragments and artifacts. Obviously, the pit had functioned as a receptacle for both domestic refuse and food garbage. Although only the northern third of the pit was excavated, the artifacts recovered suggested a deposition date of c. 1690-1720. A later post mold/hole disturbed the north end of the feature. (Figure 9, No. 1).

Drainage Ditch - A loam-filled linear feature of irregular shape lay 23'0" northeast of the dwelling cellar. The feature was oriented northwest-southeast and the falling grade at the northwestern end suggested that the feature may have been a drainage ditch. The ditch, only partially exposed, measured 18'0" in length, 2'0" - 3'0" in width, and 5"-8" in depth. A test hole, 3'5" by 1'4", excavated in the center of the ditch yielded few artifacts but did reveal a profile of the feature (Figure 9, No. 2). A brass candlestick stem, probably made in England c. 1690-1720 (Schiffer 1978: p. 148, fig. 168A; Wills 1974: figs. 37, 39), lay at the northwest end of the ditch (Plate XI). Thus, the ditch could not have been backfilled prior to the early eighteenth century.

Detached post holes - Two post holes, each with molds, lay approximately 26'0" south of the dwelling. A circular hole, 2'4" diameter, with an 8" square mold cut into trash pit C. Numerous artifacts were recovered from the hole fill, apparently disturbed refuse from the trash pit. The hole extended 2'6" below grade. A second post hole,

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32 GW 113A.
33 GW 119A, 119P.
34 GW 114A.
35 GW 114B.
36 GW 119B.
37 GW 119C.
38 GW 120A.
Northeast profile of section of trash pit B

Henry Brooks Site

Legend

\[ \text{black loam with oyster shells, brick flecks and ash} \]
\[ \text{natural sandy clay} \]

FIGURE 8
South profile of section of trash pit C
Henry Brooks Site

Legend

black loam with oyster shells and charcoal

natural sandy clay

Southeast profile of section of drainage (?) ditch
Henry Brooks Site

Legend

black loam with oyster shells and brick fragments

natural sandy clay

Figure 9
Drainage ditch with candlestick in situ. Wooden stake marks position of possible fence post hole. Photo facing southeast.
Henry Brooks Site

Northeast profile of section of post hole/mould

Legend

- black loam
- concentration of brick rubble
- natural sandy clay

Figure 10
2'2" square, and brick-filled mold, 39 10" x 6 1/2", lay 11'0" west of the circular hole (Figure 10). The two post holes may have been functionally related, possibly in a post building. Investigations, however, failed to reveal additional holes north or south of these features (Plate XII).

Numerous post impressions and soil stains lay west of trash pit B near the dwelling cellar. Two post molds, 11"40 and 10"41 in diameter, appeared to relate to a circular soil stain 42 near the drainage ditch. The two molds and the stain were each 10'0" apart. They apparently indicate the positions of round posts within a fence oriented northeast-southwest. A continuation of the fence is suggested by two features lying south of the southwestern mold in this chain. A post mold, 43 8" square, and a loam-filled hole 44 were located respectively 4'0" and 9'0" to the south. A fence gate may have been located in the 4'0" wide opening. (The loam-filled hole, as mentioned above, may also indicate the northeast corner of the Brooks dwelling or more probably a tent attached to the dwelling.)

It would therefore appear that some attempt had been made to subdivide the service yard surrounding the dwelling. A fence extending from the northeast corner of the dwelling would effectively separate the east side of the house from the rear (north) side. Trash pit B would appear to have been filled with refuse from the cellar since it lay 7'6" from the bulkhead entrance. The fence line also suggests that a livestock yard was located either to the rear or east of the house.

Aboriginal (?) pit - A circular pit, 45 2'11" diameter, lay 21'6" southeast of the dwelling cellar. The feature extended 6' into subsoil. The fill contained only one possible chert flake. Since the fill contained no debris of European origin (brick flecks, mortar fragments, etc.), it seems to have been related to aboriginal occupation.

39 GW 120B.
40 GW 107A.
41 GW 107C.
42 GW 107D.
43 GW 107E.
44 GW 107H.
45 GW 122A.
Post mold/hole cutting into north edge of trash pit C (at bottom of photo).
The Evidence of the Artifacts

A total of 1131 artifacts were recovered during the 1977 excavations at the Brooks site. In terms of material, the collection may be catagorized as follows:

- Ceramic 497
- Glass 181
- Metal 422
- Lithic 30
- Other 1

The vast majority of that collection represented objects used and discarded by Anglo - or Afro-Americans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Aboriginal occupation was reflected in the presence of eleven pottery sherds, 17 lithic flakes, a projectile point and a possible ax head.

The artifacts collected from the site represent a very small portion of total assemblage of material culture present. The technique of removing the plow zone by machine did not permit recovery of most of the unstratified objects. None of the features encountered were completely excavated. As such, the use of artifact quantifications and minimum vessel counts in the traditional sense would be meaningless and probably misleading.

The basic artifact types and vessel forms in use on the site were revealed during the project, and an examination of them will comprise the principal element of this section of the report.

The Brooks Dwelling Cellar - The test hole in the Brooks dwelling cellar yielded 31% of the artifacts from the entire site. The objects recovered from this feature provide a cross-section of the collection as a whole.

Although all of the objects would appear to have been associated with the dwelling and its occupants, particularly during the last years of residence, none were actually deposited while the dwelling was in use. The objects from this test hole were deposited in the cellar shortly after the dwelling was abandoned.
The test hole contained 136 ceramic sherds. Red earthenwares, generally glazed with a lead coating, were the common utilitarian wares associated with food preparation and consumption. Most of these milk pans, jugs, and storage jars were imported from England and Wales; a grit-tempered ware was imported from North Devon, and coarse redwares were produced in the Buckley district of Wales and possibly in the Midland counties (Noël Hume 1970: 132-134; Watkins 1960). Sherds from two North Devon milk pans and two Buckley vessels - a storage jar and milk pan - were recovered in the cellar test hole.

A potter in Westmoreland County was responsible for some of the redware vessels present on the site. Morgan Jones emigrated from Maryland and had established a pottery manufacturing operation by 1669. He continued to produce redware at least until 1678. His products - jars, jugs, milk pans, cups - were similar in basic form and function to the English and Welsh products (Kelso and Chappell 1974). Jones may have been typical of many craftsmen, for it has been suggested that "regional potters supplying utilitarian wares for a localized market may well have been a common economic pattern in seventeenth century Virginia." (Kelso and Chappell 1974:59).

More decorative forms would generally be found in use as tableware or ornamental items. A sherd from a North Italian red slipware vessel - probably a bottle or costrel - produced c. 1610-80 was recovered. Fragments of a slipware cup or mug from either Staffordshire or the Bristol area dated to the early eighteenth century. This type of ware is common on colonial sites. English tin-glazed or "delftware" vessels - one bowl and three plates - were also found (Noël Hume 1970:77, 106-111, 134,135). (Plate XIII).

One particular form of refined tableware proved important in establishing a date after which the cellar was backfilled. A rim sherd from red earthenware bowl of a type known as "Astbury" was recovered from the fill of the brick niche. Since Astbury ware was produced primarily in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the dwelling cellar was not abandoned before 1725 (Noël Hume 1970: 122,123).

Three different types of stoneware, representing five vessels, were recovered from the cellar. Fragments of two drinking mugs and a jug of gray stoneware from the Rhineland dating from the early eighteenth century were present. An English brown stoneware mug rim and a handle from an English slip-dipped stoneware mug were also found (Mountford 1971:35-38; Noël Hume 1970: 111-115, 276-284).
PLATE XIII

BROOKS SITE ARTIFACTS

With the exception of the gunspall, the objects portrayed here were recovered from the Brooks dwelling cellar and discarded ca. 1730-1750.

a. Gunspall, 1" wide, brown chert, probably French, early 18th century.

b. North Italian slipware, red-bodied earthenware, "marbelized" white pipeclay decoration beneath lead glaze, ca. 1610-1680. This molded sherd represents a table vessel, possibly a costrel or other type of bottle.

c. Tin-glazed earthenware bowl rim; original 7" diameter, about 2 1/4" high; English, blue floral hand-painted decoration on exterior, two parallel blue hand-painted lines on interior, red iron oxide coating on rim, 18th century.

d. Two-tined fork, 3 1/2" long at present, iron (possibly cast iron), originally with bone or wood handle.

e. Slip-decorated earthenware, combed iron oxide slip beneath lead glaze, probably from a chamber pot, produced primarily in Staffordshire and the west of England ca. 1725-1775.
The cellar also yielded 56 tobacco pipe stems and two bowl fragments.

Two sherds of a low-fired earthenware generally referred to as "Colono-Indian" ware were recovered. Although produced by aboriginals, this ceramic was generally based on European forms for sale to the colonists.

The cellar contained remains of three "wine" bottles, all dating c. 1730-50 (Noël Hume 1970: 65,66). The presence of these objects suggested a time frame for abandonment of the cellar - and, by extension, the dwelling - in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. A base from a square, straight-sided "case" bottle, of a type being produced by 1740, was recovered. Boxes of at least one pharmaceutical phial and possibly a wine drinking glass were retrieved (Noël Hume 1970: 65,66, 73,202). No window pane fragments were found in the test excavation, and indeed throughout the entire site.

Many of the metal objects recovered from the cellar reflected aspects of domestic activities within the Brooks dwelling. Architectural hardware was also evident: 76 wrought iron nails, 45 nail heads and two wrought spikes were found in the test hole. Two iron strap hinge fragments, apparently used to secure wooden doors, and a small iron hinge fragment were recovered.

A strip of turned lead in the sand silt above the flooring levels indicated that leaded casement windows were associated with the Brooks dwelling (Noël Hume 1970: 233, 235-237, 252).

Hardware associated with the massive hearth above the cellar was present: an iron pot hook or trammel which hung from a crane attached to the wall of the fireplace, and an iron pot handle. A second pot hook was recovered from fill above the west wall of the cellar (Lindsay 1964: Pls. 1-19, 29-42; Cotter and Hudson 1957:30).

Table implements included an iron fork (Plate XIII) and knife as well as a pewter spoon handle. A portion of two horse harness bits - a jointed-mouthed bridoon and a snaffle or watering bit - and a possible iron harness buckle represented the extent of horse furniture present in the test hole. A base from a flat iron (Plate XIV) and a wrought iron chisel were also recovered. The presence of a dining fork, generally associated in America with eighteenth century occupation, and of eighteenth century horse bits supported an abandonment date in the second quarter of the century (Deetz 1977: 122, 123; Noël Hume 1970: 177-184, 240-242).
PLATE XIV
BROOKS SITE ARTIFACTS

Other objects portrayed here recovered from the Brooks Site.

a. Base from a flat iron, handle missing, 5" long; 3 1/8" wide (rear), 1 3/4" wide (front); 1/2" thick, cast iron.

b. Candle stick stem, two-piece brass over lead core, 6" high, candle opening 13/16" diameter, flaring rim, inverted baluster, English, ca. 1690-1720.

c. Spout and key of spigot or tap, brass or bell metal, 3" high. The rear portion of the spout (broken off) would have been driven into a wooden pipe, hogshead, etc. The key would have been turned to open the spout. Since the spigot was broken behind the key the contents of the cask would have spilled onto the floor of the cellar or storage area.
A flint module, apparently a core from which gun flints or gunspalls were produced, lay in the cellar (Noël Hume 1970: 219-222). (Plate XIII).

Trash Pit A - This feature, apparently dating c. 1700, yielded 13 artifacts from a test hole. A base sherd from a Portuguese maiolica plate or bowl and five pipe stems comprised the ceramic assemblage from the pit. A wine bottle fragment, five wrought iron nails and an iron hinge fragment represented the remainder of the collection.

Trash Pit B - This oval trash pit, a third of which was excavated, held 23 artifacts which dated to the period 1700-50. One sherd of English slipped earthenware, a pipe bowl fragment and three pipe stems were found. Glass objects were confined to a case bottle fragment and a piece of a wine glass or tumbler. Eleven wrought nails, three pieces of iron wire and a fragment of a brass apparel buckle (Noël Hume 1970: 85), as well as brick fragments, were present.

Trash Pit C - This pit, disturbed by a later post hole and mold, apparently dated c. 1700. Although all of the area disturbed by the post hole was excavated, very little of the undisturbed pit was examined. Nevertheless, the pit yielded 79 artifacts and the hole 33 objects (most of the latter were originally discarded in the hole).

The pit contained sherds from an English slipware cup, a Buckley storage jar, a mug of an English buff-colored earthenware glazed with lead and a Rhenish stoneware jug. A highly-decorated tableware commonly encountered on late seventeenth century sites in North Devon sgraffito slipware; a jug sherd was recovered from the pit (Noël Hume 1970: 104, 105; Watkins 1960). Sherds from additional unidentified vessels were also found: lead-glazed earthenware, North Devon grit-tempered ware, tin-glazed earthenware, and English stoneware. Two pipe bowl fragments and ten stems were recovered.

The post hole and mold contained miscellaneous sherds of Colono-Indian ware, English slipware, buff earthenware and tin-glazed earthenware. A rim sherd of blue tin-glazed earthenware suggested a late seventeenth century vessel from Lambeth in London (Noël Hume 1977). Two pipe bowl fragments and six stems were encountered.

The pit yielded a wine bottle base dating c. 1690-1720 and twenty bottle fragments, evenly divided between wine and case vessels. A possible window pane fragment was also found. The post hole contained three wine bottle and five case bottle fragments.
The portion of the pit fill excavated contained 13 wrought nails and six nail heads, as well as a wrought iron chisel. The post hole yielded 11 nail fragments and a portion of a possible iron pintle, which would have been driven into wooden door or window frames to provide a hinge pivot.

A flint core and two flakes were also recovered from the pit.

Drainage Ditch - The small portion of the ditch fill excavated yielded six objects, although objects classified as unstratified but located spatially directly above the feature totaled ten. The ditch was backfilled after c. 1720.

The plow zone above the ditch contained a Rhenish stoneware mug base and a slip-dipped stoneware mug handle, sherds of English slipware and Astbury and two pipe stems. The ditch fill held a North Devon grit-tempered milk pan rim, an English slipware sherd, and a pipe stem.

Two sherds of wine bottle glass as well as a base sherd dating c. 1700-10 were classified as unstratified, while an apparent wine glass fragment was recovered from the ditch fill.

Two nail fragments - one from the ditch fill and the other unstratified - were found. The most dramatic find in the ditch fill was clearly a brass candlestick stem (Plate XIV). The stick was cast in two pieces and brazed together over a lead core. Presently six inches tall, it apparently became separated from a broad base to which it was attached and was discarded. The flaring rim, knops and inverted baluster on the stem indicate English manufacture c. 1690 - 1720 (Schiffer et. al. 1978: 148, fig. 168A; Wills 1974: figs. 37, 39).

Unstratified Objects - The majority of the artifacts recovered from the Brooks site were retrieved from plow zone and as such no longer retained a temporal association.

A minimum count of ceramic vessels reveals a similar distribution of forms and fabrics as indicated in the stratified contexts. A lead-glazed redware bowl or cup, two Buckley milk pans and two storage jars, a North Devon grit-tempered milk pan and storage jar represented the food storage and preparation vessels. Tableware items included a buff earthenware mug, an English slipware posset cup or chamber pot, one tin-glazed earthenware bowl, three tin-glazed plates and one tin-glazed tea bowl. The tea bowl was decorated in foliate Chinese motifs, an indication of the use of tin-glazed wares as substitutes for more expensive Chinese porcelains (Noël Hume 1970: 109).
Numerous Rhenish stoneware vessels were indicated: two storage jars, six mugs, and three jugs. A mug fragment of Nottingham brown stoneware was also recovered (Noël Hume 1970: 114). Two pipe bowl fragments and 103 stems were found in the plow zone.

A minimum of six wine bottles - one c. 1710, three c. 1700-20, one c. 1730 and one c. 1740-50, - were recovered. A wine glass foot with an opaque ribbon and a clear handle were also retrieved.

The plow zone yielded 83 wrought iron nails, and 56 nail heads. Fragments of four buckles were found: a brass-plated iron shoe buckle, two iron knee (?) buckle fragments and a brass buckle fragment. A brass ring, 1" diameter, lay in the plow zone above the west end of the dwelling cellar and may have been used to support bed curtains.

A portion of a horse bit, either a jointed-mouthed or solid-mouthed bridoon, and an iron Jew's harp similar to an example from Jamestown were found (Cotter and Hudson 1957:84). The spout and key from a broken spigot of brass or bell metal was recovered. The rear portion of the spigot, now missing, would have been driven into a wooden pipe, hogshead, etc. The key would have been turned to open the spout. Since the spigot was broken behind the key the contents of the cask would have spilled onto the floor of the storage area, probably the dwelling cellar (Plate XIV).

A gunspall of brown chert, probably French in origin, was also recovered from the plow zone. (Noël Hume 1970: 219-222). (Plate XII).
THE JOHN WASHINGTON SITE

The locations of three structures, and possibly a fourth, were determined at the John Washington Site. The largest - a 40'0" by 20'0" post building with projecting additions - apparently served as a dwelling for the family of David Anderson in the period 1655-1664, and then for John Washington and his heirs.

The brick foundations and brick-floored cellars of two frame outbuildings lay southwest of the dwelling. One building, 20'6" by 14'8", was excavated in 1930 by O.G. Taylor and thus contained no stratified fill. The second building, 19'9" by 11'9", had not been located in the 1930's and thus was undisturbed. A 3-foot square test hole revealed that the structure had been abandoned and then burned, apparently in the last quarter of the seventeenth century-first quarter of the eighteenth century.

A hole filled with ash and burned bones lay 10' south of the west end of the Washington dwelling. This feature may well have represented the fire-pit from a seventeenth-century smokehouse.

Artifacts recovered from the plow zone and from the stratified features indicated that occupation on the site ceased during the first quarter of the eighteenth century.
THE JOHN WASHINGTON DWELLING

Architectural Details - The remains of a wooden post building 40'0" long and 20'0" wide were uncovered southeast of the burial ground. The building possessed neither running foundations nor brick piers, but had been supported on a series of wooden posts placed in two parallel rows lying along the east-west (long) axis of the building. Five posts were contained in each row. (Figure 11). The posts on the northern side of the building had been placed a uniform distance (10'0") from each other. The posts on the southern side, however, reflected an irregular placement pattern in which separations alternated between 8'6" and 11'6".

The posts had been placed in rectangular holes averaging 3'0" by 2'6". One of the holes on the north side was sectioned, and proved to be 2'4" deep (below subsoil grade). (Plate XV) The holes had been dug into the yellow clay subsoil, and then backfilled with a mixture of dark topsoil and yellow subsoil. (Figure 12, No. 1). Most of the holes contained concentrations of dark loam, or post molds, which marked the precise positions and dimensions of the posts in the holes. The posts ranged in size from 8" square to 1'0" square, with the exception of the two easternmost posts on the south side, which measured 8'6" by 8'7.47

The structural function of posts in seventeenth-century Virginia buildings is rather unclear. While it is possible that these holes held vertical posts which actually served as integral structural members of the building's framework - timbers which stretched from ground to plate - it is also possible that these posts terminated several inches above ground level and supported horizontal wooden sills.

The foundation of a brick chimney, 10'8" wide and a minimum of 3'6" deep, projected from the east end of the dwelling. (Plate XVI). The foundation was one and one-half bricks (or 1'3") wide, and was badly disturbed on the south end, probably from plowing. Interior dimensions of the foundations - which reflected the hearth size - were 8'0" wide and a minimum of 2'3" deep. The full depth was not measurable since each of the wings of the chimney had been robbed or disturbed. As this chimney would have been an exterior one (i.e. projecting from the gable end of the building), it is logical to assume that the feature would have extended to the east end wall line. The position of this wall line, as indicated by post molds,

46 GW 203K.

47 GW 210A and 210D.
South profile of section of post hole/mould in Dwelling

John Washington Site

Legend

- Dark loam
- Mixed dark loam and natural sandy clay
- Natural sandy clay

Assumed feet ASL

East profile of test pit in root cellar of Dwelling

John Washington Site

Legend

- Mixed loam
- Natural sandy clay
- Ash and charcoal
- Limit of excavation

Assumed feet ASL
Sectioned post mold/hole of Washington dwelling in foreground and brick chimney base (in front of stadia rod) in background. Photo facing southeast.
PLATE XVI

Brick chimney base of Washington dwelling, with post mold/hole outlined with string at left. The egg-shaped discoloration in the foreground represents a backfilled test hole excavated into subsoil in 1977 and should not be interpreted as a feature of cultural significance by future researchers. Photo facing north.
lay 4'3" from the exterior face of the chimney. The hearth would have therefore been 3'0" deep.

The presence of a chimney base attached to this 40'0" by 20'0" building proved to be extremely significant, since it indicated that the structure had served as a dwelling.

The position of a projection 10'0" wide and 6'0" long, was indicated by two post holes which lay 6'0" west of the southwest corner of the dwelling. The holes were 10'0" apart. One hole 48 aligned with the southwest corner post hole while the other 49, which contained an 8" square mold 50, aligned with the center post hole along the west end wall line. This second hole and mold intruded upon an earlier hole 51.

This projection was originally interpreted as an entrance porch, as indicated on Figure 11. Additional research and comments by Garry Wheeler Stone, archeologist with the St. Mary's City (Maryland) Commission, strongly suggest that the projection actually represents a timber-framed or "catted" chimney. The placement of a root cellar in front of the assumed hearth location would parallel the internal arrangement at the Brooks dwelling.

The root cellar measured 7'5" by 5'0". A 2'0" square test hole was excavated along the western edge of the feature. The northern portion of the test revealed a deposit of ash and charcoal 52 which cut into natural subsoil to a depth of 1'0" (Figure 12, No. 2). Mixed loam 53, which overlay the ash, filled the southern portion of the test. The cellar in this area only cut into subsoil a distance of 7".

The location of an apparent addition was defined at the northwest corner of the dwelling. The two original post holes located at this corner were cut by two later holes 54. The molds of these later holes were square and nearly identical in size, measuring 9" and 8". They were

48 GW 207D.
49 GW 207G.
50 GW 207F.
51 GW 207H.
52 GW 207K.
53 GW 207J.
54 GW 203N, 203P; GW 203V, 203U.
located 12'0" apart, an indication of the length of the addition.

Only one of the post holes which lay along the north end of the addition was located. This mold/hole combination marked the position of the northeast corner post of the addition. The mold measured 7" by 6", while the hole was 2'5" by 1'4". The mold lay 10'6" from the post hole along the north wall line of the dwelling; therefore the addition was 10'6" wide.

The northwest corner post hole for the addition was not located. A circular post hole (1'5" in diameter) with a rectangular mold (6" by 3') was found in the area where the northwest corner should have been located. This circular hole lay 12'6" from the north wall of the dwelling, however, which was 2'0" farther than the northeast corner post hole. The circular design of the hole and the small size of the mold, coupled with the location, indicated that this hole was not structurally associated with the addition. It may have held a post in a fence line which terminated at the northwest corner of the addition. Historical documentation revealed that a fence stood north of the Washington house in 1683. (see above, p.10).

A linear soil stain (7"-1'1" wide) extended southwest from the northwest corner of the apparent "catted" chimney a distance of 24'0". The stain terminated 5'6" from a post mold (8" square) surrounded by a hole filled with dark loam and oyster shells.

The soil stain appears to represent a paling fence line extending from the dwelling in the general direction of Outbuilding B. The post mold/hole may indicate the position of a gate post.

Two other linear stains (each 1'0" wide) were found cutting into the two rows of post hole for the dwelling. These stains ran east-west, and one extended to the north wing of the brick chimney. The features apparently represented test trenches dug during the 1930's excavations.

It is important to note that the plan as shown in Figure 11 presents the final, not necessarily the original, form of the building. Anderson may well have erected only the western half, with its apparent timber-framed chimney, initially, creating a one-room or hall plan house measuring 20 feet square. As such, the Anderson dwelling would have

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55 GW 203W, 203X.
56 GW 203Z, 203Y.
been a virtual carbon-copy of the Brooks dwelling. Two other buildings
with similar dimensions and chimney placements were excavated at
Jamestown: Structure 8 (Cotter 1958:40) and structure 21 (Cotter
1958: 57-60) or the house 'on the land of Issac Watson', c. 1644,
(Forman 1938: 135-137; Morrison 1952:140, 141).

The brick chimney at the eastern end of the dwelling suggests
that this portion was erected later, possibly as the "new parlour"
of John Washington (see above, p. 8 ). The final plan of the
Washington dwelling reflects a two-room, or hall-parlor, division on
the ground floor. The western end would probably have continued to
function as a general purpose living and dining area, while the parlor
would have served as the master bed chamber and as a setting for formal
events. A gathering such as the session of the Westmoreland County
Court which was held at the Washington plantation on August 25, 1677,
would certainly have assembled in the parlor (See above, p. 9 ). The
second floor or garret (depending on whether the house stood two or
one and one-half stories in height) would contain additional bed
chambers and storage space (Barley 1961; Brunsfield 1971: 100, 101).

Archaeological Stratigraphy - Excavation of Virginia post houses
located in plow fields to date has revealed a simple stratigraphic
pattern. The plow zone overlies natural subsoil and the various
features which cut into natural. Thus, the principal stratigraphic
components lie within the cellars, post holes, trash pits and other
features on a site.
OUTBUILDING A

Architectural Details - A cellar, 20'6" by 14'8", represented the remains of an appurtenance related to the John Washington dwelling. The cellar had brick walls laid in English bond and a brick floor. No evidence of a chimney was observed. The outbuilding originally stood 48'0" south of the dwelling. The cellar was excavated by O.G. Taylor in 1930. (Plate XVII).

The outbuilding which originally stood at this spot was in all probability of frame construction. The foundation was 9" wide on three sides; the west wall was 10 1/2" wide. A foundation of this width generally could support no more than a frame building one or one and one-half stories in height. Indeed, there was some doubt that the wall bore even this much of a load. Neither of the four walls originally abutted at the corners. The walls stopped approximately 9" from the corners, leaving a gap 9" square at each corner. Dark soil stains were observed cutting into natural at the northwest and southeast corners of the building, in the gaps formed by the incomplete foundation walls. The obvious inference is that wooden posts, running vertically from ground to plate, were inserted at each corner to serve as principal structural members. If this was the case, a major portion of the structural load would have been borne by the posts and not the foundations.

An average of eight brick courses remained above the cellar floor, resulting in a cellar depth below grade of 1'2"-1'4". Bricks used in the construction of the cellar were of two types: a red brick which generally measured 8 1/2" by 4 1/2" by 2 1/4" (approximately the English statute size) and a smaller salmon-pink brick usually measuring 6 1/2" by 3 1/2" by 1 3/4". The red bricks composed the 9" wide walls; the smaller salmon brick, laid a stretcher and a header to each course, formed the 10 1/2" wide west wall.

A brick drain trough, 10" by 10" by 1 1/4", was located in the floor of the cellar, 2'10" east of the southwest corner. The trough was designed to conduct water from the interior of the building through an opening in the south foundation wall and into a brick sump box against the foundation wall. A dark soil stain (1'10" wide) ran south from the sump box a distance of approximately 16'0" to the edge of a ravine. (Plate XVIII). Sections excavated through the stain (Figure 13) revealed it to be a trench or ditch57 filled with dark loam. The ditch cut into natural to a depth of 1'0". A shallow, U-shaped depression lay beneath the loam fill at the bottom of the trench. The depression was filled with dark clay and sandy silt, indicating that the trench was exposed to the elements for a time prior to backfilling.

57 GW 201A.
Soil stain - possibly drain trench - running from drain trough (exposed by test hole in foreground) in floor of Outbuilding A. The ravine discussed in the text is visible in background. Photo facing south.
John Washington Site

South profile of section of drain ditch

Legend

- dark loam
- dark sandy silt
- dark clay
- disturbed natural clay
- natural sandy clay

Figure 13
It would appear that the trench was designed to conduct water from the sump box into the ravine. No evidence of a brick drain was found in the trench, but the bricks may have been robbed after the drain ceased to function. The trench itself could have served as an open drain, but the straight sides and minimal silt deposit in the bottom suggested that such a condition did not exist for very long, if at all. The artifacts recovered from the trench indicated that backfilling did not occur before 1700-10.

It is possible that the trench was dug during the 1930's excavations at the site; the remarkably straight sides seem to favor this contention. Nevertheless, the dark loam fill of this trench was very different from the mottled loam and clay fill of the other two 1930's trenches at the dwelling site. (See above, p. 62.) In addition, some means of conducting liquids away from the sump box must have existed, which most likely accounts for the presence of the trench.

The drain trough may have been installed in the outbuilding floor for a variety of reasons. Dirty water from a cleaning operation could have been swept into the drain. Ground water accumulation in the cellar may have been a problem; the outbuilding was constructed on a grade which sloped into the ravine to the south. The brick floor at the southern end of the building, near the drain, was approximately 8' lower than at the northeast corner. The drain may have functioned to channel ground water out of the basement.

Archaeological Stratigraphy - As far as could be determined, all the fill in the cellar was removed and then redeposited during the excavations conducted by Taylor in 1930. Thus, no stratigraphic relationships were preserved. Nevertheless, large quantities of artifacts were recovered during excavation of test holes at the northeast corner and above the drain trough. It cannot be determined with certainty whether all of the fill - and thus the artifacts - redeposited in the cellar was originally found in that location.

OUTBUILDING B

Architectural Details - The cellar of a second appurtenance was located 42'3" west of the dwelling, and 24'6" northwest of Outbuilding A. The cellar measured 19'11" by 11'6", and possessed brick-lined walls and a brick floor. (Plate XIX). Unlike Outbuilding A, this structure had not been discovered in the 1930's and therefore was undisturbed.

A frame superstructure probably rested on the brick foundation, which was 9" wide and apparently laid in English bond. The foundation did not, however, possess gaps at the corners as was the case with Outbuilding A. No indication of an exterior chimney was discovered.
The cellar floor lay 3'2" beneath subsoil grade along the north wall.

The cellar walls were constructed of the red bricks which averaged 8 1/2" by 4 1/2" by 2 1/4". Excavation of a three-foot square test hole along the north wall of the cellar revealed a portion of a wall constructed of yellow "Dutch" bricks. The wall had toppled into the cellar, but ten courses were found bonded together, apparently in English bond. (Plate XX). The wall had obviously stood upon the red brick foundation at the northeast corner of the building. The discovery of this wall was a find of considerable significance since it indicated both the function and bond pattern of these yellow bricks in the outbuilding.

The foundation wall of the cellar was in tremendously poor condition, having apparently been partially robbed. The wall appeared to have been laid in English bond, but the condition of the wall was such that the bond pattern was not definately determined.

As mentioned above, no evidence of an exterior chimney was located on the building. An exterior hearth or burned area, however, was uncovered 9'0" south of the southwest corner of the cellar. (Figure 14). The burned area was marked by an irregular patch of fire-hardened clay measuring approximately 3'3" by 2'4". The burned area was surrounded by a circular deposit of dark loam and oyster shells approximately 4'0" in diameter. (Plate XXI). The dark loam fill yielded 2 bones, 2 quartz stones and oyster shells; thus, the cultural origin of the burned area was uncertain. The presence of the oyster shells suggested that the burned area was a heat source during food preparation, and its proximity to Outbuilding B would seem to indicate a connection with European occupation.

Archaeological Stratigraphy - As mentioned above, a three-foot square test hole was excavated in the cellar along the north wall. The floor of the cellar was composed of red bricks laid unmortared in running bond pattern. (Plate XIX). The floor was covered by a layer of grey sand mixed with charcoal flecks (11). (Figure 15). This stratum, which varied in thickness from 3" to 5", represented the only layer deposited in the cellar while the outbuilding was still in use.

Among the artifacts recovered from the grey sand were sherds from two vessels which have tentatively been identified as Morgan Jones products. Since Jones' Westmoreland County kiln ceased operations in 1677, this date would seem to serve as a terminus post quem for the abandonment of the building. (Kelso and Chappell 1974). These sherds

58 GW 205A.

59 GW 204 L.
Test hole against north wall of Outbuilding B after excavation. Collapsed brick foundation wall and brick floor are visible. Photo facing west.
Collapsed wall composed of ten courses of yellow "Dutch" brick apparently laid in English bond. The wall was exposed in the east section of the test hole in Outbuilding B. Photo facing east.
Hearth
John Washington Site

Legend

- fire-hardened pink clay
- dark loam
- natural sandy clay
- oyster shell

FIGURE 14

72
Hearth marked by patch of fire-hardened clay lying south of Outbuilding B. Hearth may be aboriginal in origin. Photo facing west.
represented the only objects recovered from the test hole which were useful in dating the fill of the cellar.

A very thin (1/2" thick) and compact spread of mixed sandy loam lay above the grey sand occupation stratum. The spread contained large quantities of tiny bones and crushed egg shell. The layer appeared to be the same deposit as the underlying sand, but its compactness dictated that it be archaeologically separated. This compact spread of sandy loam was apparently a floor surface prior to the abandonment of the building. It is surprising that the Washingtons would allow a brick floor to become covered with 5" of sand and refuse, but the grey sand with a compacted top surface was definately deposited prior to abandonment of the building.

A thick (1'5"-1'9") deposit of brown loam containing ash, oyster shells and brick rubble (9) sealed the occupation stratum and filled the cellar to the top of the collapsed north wall. This deposit represented a period when the outbuilding had been abandoned. The presence of brick rubble and wall plaster amid the fill suggested that the wooden superstructure of the outbuilding had been dismantled and that some foundation bricks had tumbled into the cellar fill. Fragments of egg shell and bones in addition to the 9 lbs., 12 ozs. of oyster shell in the fill indicated that the abandoned cellar had served as a receptable for food refuse.

A layer of dark loam with heavy deposits of charcoal (7) sealed both the brown loam fill and the collapsed wall. The toppled wall composed of "Dutch" bricks lay in this stratum (See above, p. 69). This layer was deposited as a result of a fire. The large quantities of ash supported this observation, as well as the staggering quantity of intact nails (457), the vast majority of which were fire-redened. These intact nails were obviously freed from burning timbers (apparently the framework and roof of the outbuilding) during the fire and fell into the ash. The timbers may have burned while standing in place or may have collapsed in a heap upon the fill of the cellar. In any event, the fire occured after the building had been abandoned and thus was probably not caused by any activity occurring within the structure. Indeed, the building may have been intentionally put to the torch to remove the abandoned structure.

A deposit of mixed oyster shell mortar and plaster (6) lay above the dark loam and ash layer. This layer was 6" in thickness along the

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60 GW 204K.
61 GW 204J.
62 GW 204G.
63 GW 204F.
eastern edge of the test hole, but tapered to 1" at the western edge (as indicated in Figure 15). This deposit was apparently associated with the fire as well; it contained 41 intact nails, most of them fire-reddened. This stratum evidently was composed of a mixture of wall plaster from the interior of the outbuilding and mortar from the brick foundation.

A deposit of dark loam fill mixed with oyster shells (3 & 5)64 sealed the plaster and mortar deposit. This dark loam fill was dumped into the cellar to obliterate the remaining depression and level the ground surface. The deposition probably occurred shortly after the fire which consumed the framework of the outbuilding. As this final backfilling was occurring, the cellar was again utilized as a repository for food refuse; 49 lbs. of oyster shell (but only 2 bones) were recovered from the dark loam.

The site of the cellar was sealed by approximately 6"-7" of plow-disturbed soil and sod (1 & 2)65.

OUTBUILDING C

The site of a third outbuilding was suggested by a hole,66 1'8" X 1'7", lying 10'0" south of the west end of the dwelling. The feature was filled with charcoal, ash, charred bones and artifacts, although none were excavated. The feature was surrounded by an irregular patch of clay,8'7"x6'9", as well as a possible post mold and a section of charred timber. The feature may represent the firepit of a smokehouse.

64 GW 204C, 204E.
65 GW 204A, 204B.
66 GW 209B.
West profile of test trench in North wall of Outbuilding B
John Washington Site

Legend

- Limit of excavation
- Plow zone
- Dark loam with oyster shells
- Yellow clay
- Plaster and mortar
- Black sandy loam with charcoal
- Brown sand and mixed clay loam
- Brown loam with brick rubble
- Spread of mixed loam with eggshell and bone

11 - Grey sand with charcoal
12 - Natural sandy clay
13 - Quartz stone

Assumed feet ASL

FIGURE 15
The Evidence of the Artifacts

The Washington site investigations yielded a total of 2258 artifacts, broken down by type as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>1331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithic</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 23 aboriginal artifacts - eleven lithic flakes and twelve pottery sherds - were located on the site and were included in the above totals.

Three principal stratified contexts were examined on the site - the cellar of Outbuilding B, the root cellar and one post hole associated with the dwelling.

Outbuilding B - Nearly one-half of the artifact collection (986, or 44%) was recovered from the test hole in the cellar of this outbuilding. Three ceramic vessels - a North Devon grit-tempered milk pan and a redware cup and milk pan, apparently Morgan Jones products - were identified. (Plate XXII). Since the Jones cup sherd was found amid occupation debris on the cellar floor, its presence suggested that the cellar remained in use at until the mid-1670's when Jones was operating a pottery kiln. The total ceramic assemblage from test hole was 75; tobacco pipe fragments represented 57 pieces of that assemblage.

All but seven of the 58 glass fragments from the test hole were from square-sided case bottles. A possible window pane fragment and the neck from a pharmaceutical bottle dating to the last quarter of the seventeenth century were also recovered (Noel Hume 1970:72-74). The bottle neck was found in the occupation debris on the floor of the cellar.

Wrought iron nails comprised the vast majority of the 847 metal objects from the test hole. A total of 620 nails, 121 nail heads and 87 nail fragments were retrieved. A large number of these nails (498) had been burned in a fire in the cellar and were in an excellent state of preservation. The strata in the cellar suggested that it did not burn before abandonment, thus, these nails may have fallen from the collapsed framework of the building. Other iron objects included a wrought eye hook, a buckle and a hinge pintle from the occupation layer.
PLATE XXII
WASHINGTON SITE ARTIFACTS

Objects portrayed here recovered from the Washington Site.

a. Brass tack, 1/2" diameter, shank 5/8" long, concavo-convex head generally used to decorate and secure fabric, leather, etc. to furniture, probably deposited ca. 1675-1725.

b. Lead-glazed earthenware, base sherd from a storage jar, pan or bowl, probably made by Morgan Jones, a Westmoreland County potter in the period 1669-1681.

c. Fragment of multi-colored glass goblet or compote, Venetian or "facon de Venise", 17th century.

d. Seal from a glass "wine" bottle, embossed "J.W.". Three generations of Washingtons bearing the name John resided on the property. The curvature of the bottle portion to which the seal had been affixed suggests a late 17th century form; thus the seal may be the mark of George's grandfather, who died in 1698.

e. Brass button, 1" diameter, hollow two-piece, brazed brass eye with observe decoration of concentric circles around two five-pointed stars, late 17th-early 18th century.

f. Neck and lip of glass pharmaceutical bottle, (lip 1 1/16" diameter), last quarter of 17th century.
Brass objects included a straight pin and two furniture tacks with convex-concave or "domed" heads. These tacks were used both to decorate and secure fabric on seventeenth-century chairs (Noël Hume 1970:227,228). One of the tacks lay in the occupation refuse.

A hollow, two-piece brass button dating to the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century lay in the cellar fill. It exhibited an obverse decoration of concentric circles around two five-pointed stars (Noël Hume 1970:88,89) (Plate XXII).

Three pieces of turned lead were recovered from the fill, suggesting the presence of leaded casement windows.

A lump of metal slag, apparently brass, was found in the plow zone above the cellar, suggesting that the outbuilding may have been a metal worker's shop. The food bones and egg shells in the occupation trash do, however, support the contention that food preparation was at least one function of the structure.

Two slate fragments - one with a drilled hole - were found in the fill, as well as numerous fragments of wall plaster which appeared to have been bonded to brick. The plaster bore traces of a whitewash base coat and a buff-colored second coat.

Root Cellar, Dwelling - A very small test hole in the root cellar at the southwest corner of the dwelling yielded a tin-glazed earthenware sherd and a tobacco pipe bowl rim amid the loam and ash fill. A wrought nail head and two nail fragments, in addition to bones, oyster shell and mortar fragments, complete the artifact collection.

Post Mold/Post Hole, Dwelling - Only one post mold and hole combination was sectioned (i.e. partially excavated). The mold remains contained 14 ceramic sherds - a rim from an aboriginal shell - tempered pot, two fragments of an English yellow slipware cup, three tin-glazed earthenware sherds and eight tobacco pipe fragments. The mold also contained four case bottle fragments, four window pane fragments, an iron spike, thirteen nail fragments, brick pieces, shell and bones. The hole fill yielded one nail fragment, four quartz flakes, a shell-tempered aboriginal sherd and oyster shell. The hole fill, with its dearth of European objects, suggests that the post was erected during the early years of occupation by Anderson or Washington, while the numerous objects in the mold indicate that the post was removed after European occupation, and resulting accumulations of trash, were well-advanced.

67 GW 203J.
Additional Features - One of the apparent scaffold post holes lying southeast of the brick chimney base was partially excavated. The hole was filled with oyster shell (one pound, four ounces were removed) and 70 artifacts. Ceramic vessels represented included a North Devon grit-tempered milk pan and a Rhenish stoneware mug. A total of 31 tobacco pipe fragments and 21 nails were also removed.

The dark loam fill of the apparent drainage ditch contained 22 objects as well as shell, bones, mortar and brick flecks. An English slipware cup base represented the only identifiable ceramic vessel. Fragments of a wine bottle neck dating c. 1690-1710 and 13 nails were also retrieved from the test hole.

Unstratified Finds - Numerous types of ceramic vessels were recovered from the plow zone, producing a minimum earthenware vessel count as follows: three North Devon grit tempered storage jars, two bowls and one milk pan of Morgan Jones redware, three English slipware cups and one dish, one redware (Midlands?) mug, one North Italian slipware bottle, five tin-glazed vessels - three plates, a drug pot and an apparent pitcher. Fifteen stoneware vessels were identified: seven Rhenish stoneware mugs, five Rhenish stoneware jugs, two English brownstone mugs and a brown Rhenish stoneware bottle of a type referred to as "Bellarmine" (Noel Hume 1970: 55-57). A total of 376 pipe stems and pipe bowl fragments were found in the plow zone.

Miscellaneous sherds from the site indicated the international mixture of household possessions in the seventeenth century. Twelve sherds of a coarse, unglazed redware probably from Merida, Spain, were found. These sherds probably came from bottles or bowls (Hirst 1978). One sherd of slip-decorated redware with green copper decorative splotches may have been produced in the West of England, but may also be a fragment of Manfried, a Rhenish product dating to the late sixteenth-early seventeenth century (Noel Hume 1970: 105, 107, 139).

One wine bottle base dating c. 1700-20 was retrieved. The re-deposited fill of Outbuilding A contained a wine bottle seal embossed "JHW", obviously the possession of one of the three John Washingtons who owned the property. (Plate XXII). In contrast to the Brooks site, ten fragments of window pane were recovered from the site.

Unquestionably the most significant glass object discovered during the project was a fragment of the Venetian or "façon de Venise" goblet or compote. (Plate XXIII) The fragment was multi-colored (blue and clear metal) and appeared to be a decorative feature, possibly a dolphin or other marine creature. Arlene Palmer, a curator at the Winterthur

68 GW 203A.
69 GW 201C.
PLATE XXIII

Venetian or "facon de Venise"

Goblet or compote fragment
Museum, considered it to be one of the first multi-colored fragments of Venetian-style glass to be recovered from a colonial American site, (Palmer 1977).

Metal artifacts included 220 wrought iron nails (and 118 nail heads), three iron pintles and a bolt from an eighteenth-century stock-lock (Noël Hume 1970: 247). The fill of Outbuilding A contained one of the pintles, two iron hinges, a brass belt buckle and iron hoe eye. A wrought iron brand with the letters "G A" may have once belonged to the Anderson family. (Plate XXIV). The brand was apparently used to impress the mark of ownership into wooden or leather objects. One pewter fragment, possibly from a spoon handle, was recovered. (A spoon handle found on the site in the 1930's was marked "G Morrin," an as yet unidentified pewterer.)

A flint core, from which gun flints and gunspalls would have been knapped, and a fragment of a comb carved from animal horn were retrieved from the plow zone.
Wrought iron brand, 6 3/4" in length, bearing the letters "GA". Arm which held "A" was twisted into a decorative spiral.

Detail of letters from brand. Letters measured 7/16" in height and 3/8" in width.
FAUNAL ANALYSIS - BROOKS AND WASHINGTON SITES

The report (Appendix A) prepared by Sharon Ann Burnston, Temple University, represents an analysis of most of the faunal remains recovered during the 1977 excavations at the Henry Brooks and John Washington sites. While the report deals extensively with the bones, it should be noted that fragments of egg shells and large quantities of oyster shell were also recovered.

This section translates some of the data presented by Sharon into a form that is more useful for interpretation. Wherever possible, dates will be attributed to collections of bones. Most, if not all, of the bones were probably associated with the seventeenth and eighteenth century occupations of the properties. However, areas which have been plowed have objects from all time periods mixed together. At a later date bones from dairy cows, plow horses, rodents and birds may all have intruded upon the scene. Therefore, the most diagnostic bones from the standpoint of interpretation are those which may be dated by other objects found in an undisturbed association with them.

Five such associations could be established at the Brooks site. They are listed below:

Trash pit A (116 F) Pre-1750
Trash pit B (113A) Pre-1750
Trash pit C (119D) c. 1700
Drainage ditch (114A) Pre-1750
Dwelling cellar (121 B-L) c. 1730-50

Trash pit A contained only one bone from an unidentified fish and 6 pounds, 4 ounces of oyster shell. Trash pit B held pig bones as well as bones from an unidentified wild bird and fish. No significant quantities of shell were encountered. Trash pit C contained cow, sheep or goat, and pig bones and two bones from an unidentified wild bird. The feature also yielded one pound of oyster shell.

The drainage ditch fill contained scales and bones from gar and catfish. Once again, no appreciable quantities of oyster shell were encountered. The Brooks dwelling cellar held bones from numerous animals: cow,
sheep or goat, pig, chicken, goose, turkey, ringneck duck, unidentified wild duck and wild bird, sturgeon, gar, catfish, unidentified fish and turtle. Claws from crabs (probably blue crab), egg shells and 90 pounds, 11 ounces of oyster shell were also recovered.

Three datable features contained bones at the Washington site. They were as follows:

Post mold [203 J] c. 1720
Outbuilding B cellar [204 C-L] c. 1675-1720
Root cellar, dwelling [207 J & K] c. 1720

The rotted remains of one of the posts on the north side of the dwelling yielded numerous catfish bones, as well as bones from sturgeon, a song bird, and an unidentified wild bird. The root cellar held one catfish bone. Each area held minimal amounts of oyster shell.

The collar of Outbuilding B contained bones from the following animals: sheep or goat, pig, chicken, goose, mouse, song bird, unidentified wild bird, sturgeon, gar, catfish and frog. A total of 65 pounds, 12 ounces of oyster shell were also recovered.

It should be noted that none of the features mentioned herein were completely excavated. Indeed, only a small portion of fill within each cellar on the two sites were removed. Nevertheless, the significant quantities of faunal remains recovered enable one to make certain observations on the dietary habits at the two plantations.

The predominance of domestication is quite evident. No bones from wild mammals were encountered in any datable context or, for that matter, in the disturbed plow zone on either site. No doubt such wild animals as deer and wild rabbit were consumed, but their presence was not reflected in the faunal remains from either site. Unquestionably domesticated animals, at least by the late seventeenth century, represented a major element of the meat source on both plantations.

The proximity of the plantations to the Potomac River and marshland enabled the residents to obtain mollusks, crustaceans, fish and wild fowl for food consumption. Copious amounts of oyster shell were recovered from both sites, and bones from sturgeon, gar, catfish and ringneck duck were also present in quantity. Crab claws were recovered in the Brooks dwelling cellar. A few Passerine (song bird) bones were recovered; although their presence may be explained as accidental,
small birds have been a food source in England since the mediaval period (Glassie 1968: 67-74). The continuation of this practice in America is suggested at the Washington site.

Henry Miller, faunal analyst at St. Mary's Commission (Md.), commented on Sharon's report. A copy of his comments is provided in Appendix B.
EVIDENCE OF ABORIGINAL OCCUPATION

Given the proximity of the Brooks and Washington sites to the Potomac River and tributary creeks, evidence of the presence of prehistoric Indians was anticipated. Archaeological excavations elsewhere within the boundaries of George Washington Birthplace National Monument conducted by Southside Historical Sites, Inc. in 1974-75 exposed a Woodland phase shell midden in the modern boxwood garden south of the Memorial House, and two woodland shell middens and a cooking hearth on the site of the new Visitor Center and parking lot. The Woodland phase dates from 500 B.C. to the arrival of European colonists. A disturbed shell midden of uncertain phase association and artifacts associated with both the Woodland and Archaic (8000 B.C. to 500 B.C.) were recovered in the ice pond area (Barka 1978).

A total of 56 artifacts of aboriginal cultural association were recovered from both sites. The collection was composed as followed: 23 ceramic sherds, one lithic point, one possible fossil shark's tooth point, 28 lithic flakes, one lithic core and two possibly lithic artifacts. Two features of possible aboriginal origin were exposed - a circular pit\textsuperscript{70}, 2'11" in diameter and 6" deep, at the Brooks site which yielded only one possible chert flake, and the burned area, 3'3" by 2'4", south of Outbuilding B at the Washington site. The fill of a 4'0" diameter deposit\textsuperscript{71} around the burned area contained two bones, two quartz stones and oyster shell. (See Figure 14 and Plate XXI).

Ceramic sherds were shell-tempered or grit-tempered, and at least six showed evidence of cord-impressed decoration. One of the shell-tempered fragments was a pot rim. Undecorated sherds resembled the Prince George pottery type discovered elsewhere in the park (Barka 1978:Plate 35).

Lithic flakes consisted of rose and white quartz and white chert. One rose quartz projectile point, 2 9/16" + long and 13/16" + wide (base), was broken at the base. This point resembled the Savannah River type attributed to the late Archaic phase (Coe 1964: 120-124). A fossil shark's tooth which appeared to have been worked was recovered from the Brooks site; such fossils are commonly found along the Potomac River shore and it is quite possible that prehistoric Indians would have viewed the triangular teeth as nearly completed points to be sharpened.

\textsuperscript{70} GW 122A.

\textsuperscript{71} GW 205A.
In sum, it would appear that this area of the park was the scene of aboriginal occupation during the Woodland and possibly late Archaic periods. The presence of a possible aboriginal hearth and a shallow circular pit suggests that this occupation revolved around one or more habitation areas. However, no shell middens were encountered.
CONCLUSION

The artifacts recovered from the Brooks and Washington sites reflected occupation periods spanning the period 1650 to 1750. Excavations in the 1930's and in 1977 yielded large collections of objects which provided valuable insight into the cultural influences at work in this small segment of Colonial Virginia. A wide variety of English ceramics was recovered - North Devon grit-tempered and sgraffito wares, coarse redwares from the Buckley district of Wales and possibly from the Midland counties, tin-glazed earthenware, slipped earthenwares, brown and slipped stonewares from Staffordshire and Nottingham. Excavations in the 1930's revealed larger quantities of finer quality dishes and bowls (sgraffito and tin-glaze) at the Washington site, a possible indication of higher social position. The utilitarian bowls and storage jars - grit-tempered wares and coarse redwares - were in abundance at both sites.

The ceramic products of other European countries were also encountered. At present, four different types of wares have been tentatively identified - red slipware from Northern Italy, coarse redware from Spanish potteries such as Merida, Portuguese maiolica (tin-glaze) and German stonewares, both grey and brown. The presence of these wares indicated the cosmopolitan nature of household possessions in the seventeenth century. The development of Staffordshire as the leading ceramic center in Europe by the mid-eighteenth century would virtually eliminate all of these European wares except German grey stoneware from the American market.

The contributions of a local Virginia potter were also in evidence. Morgan Jones emigrated from Maryland to Westmoreland County and had established a pottery manufacturing operation by 1669. He continued to produce redware at least until 1678. His products have been uncovered at several seventeenth-century sites in Westmoreland County.

The majority of glasswares were fragments from wine bottles and case bottles necks and bases from pharmaceutical vessels were also found. Fragments of clear lead glass, suggestive of finer tablewares, were recovered. The most significant glass object discovered was an elaborate multi-colored fragment from the Washington site. Arlene Palmer, a leading glass connoisseur at the Winterthur Museum, considered it to be stem fragment from a "façon de Venis" goblet or compote (glasswares either produced in Venice or reflecting Venetian design influence). She further believed it to be one of the first pieces of multi-colored glass to be recovered on a colonial American site.

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Personalized wine bottle seals have also been found at the Washington site. Two different types have been recovered, both reflecting the ownership of John Washington - one type is embossed "John Washington" while the other bears the initials "J.W.". Since three generations of John Washingtons owned and/or lived on the property, it is difficult to determine who possessed the seals. Indeed, the two different types may reflect different generations. All appear to have been affixed to the squat globular wine bottles associated with the late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries (The "John Washington" seals were found in the 1930's.)

Metal objects were generally confined to architectural hardware such as wrought iron nails, turned lead from casement windows and iron hinges which were driven into wooden frames to hold windows and doors. Two iron hinges from casement windows were found at the Washington site in the 1930's. Additional iron objects included fragments of a harness bit, a flat iron base and a knife and fork, all found in the Brooks dwelling cellar. A broken brass spigot, used to tap wooden casks of wine and other spirits, and a brass candlestick stem were also recovered from the Brooks site. The stem, actually two pieces of molded brass over a lead core, was lying in the fill at the north end of the drainage ditch. It has been dated stylistically to the period 1690-1720.

Numerous pewter fragments were found at the Washington site in the 1930's. These objects included threaded caps, apparently designed to seal case bottles, and spoon handle and bowl fragments. One handle was marked "G. Morrin" by an as yet unidentified pewterer.

Clay pipe fragments were legion, both English white kaolin and reddish-brown (possibly aboriginal or local) examples being present. Fling nodules, a source for gun flints, were also encountered.

The Brooks and Washington sites shared several architectural characteristics. Outbuildings at both sites were arranged asymmetrically in relation to the dwelling. The Washington dwelling was oriented east/west, evidently to gain maximum advantage from a southern exposure. All of the buildings at both sites were of frame construction, and the Washington dwelling was supported by hole-set posts. Archaeological research in Virginia strongly suggests that frame buildings - particularly those supported by posts - were statistically dominant in the seventeenth century. However, the use of brick foundations on outbuildings does not appear to have been common, at least in Westmoreland County.

Two other seventeenth-century domestic sites have been excavated in Westmoreland County. Both are located on the Potomac River to the east of Popes Creek. The Hallowes Site contained a post dwelling,
measuring 40.0 - 50.0 feet by 20.0 feet. This structure possessed a brick chimney like the Washington dwelling, although H-shaped (for two fire-places) and centrally located rather than positioned on the gable end. No evidence of outbuildings was encountered, as the excavations were rather restricted in scope (Buchanan and Meite 1971). The Clifts Plantation Site, located on the grounds of Stratford Hall Plantation, was more intensively investigated. Evidence of 14 buildings, all supported by hole-set posts, has been uncovered. Despite the extensiveness of this complex, which evidently represented three phases of construction the only brickwork encountered was the .3 foot wide lining of a root cellar within the 50.0 by 18.0 feet dwelling. (Ross 1977: 15,16; Neiman 1977).

It would seem that the presence of brick foundations, while not unusual at such seventeenth-century Virginia settlements Jamestown and Henrico, may have reflected a degree of status in Westmoreland County. This may be particularly true in the case of the Washington site, where the outbuildings with brick foundations and the brick chimney on the dwelling possibly represent Washington's improvements to the Anderson property. Conversely, the restricted use of outbuildings supported on hole-set posts at the Washington and Brooks sites as compared with the Clifts Plantation site suggests a greater degree of concern for the quality and permanence of service buildings.

A comparison of the Washington and Brooks sites also exposes differences in both architecture and land use patterns. The dwelling plans obviously evolved differently, although both may have began as hall plan (one cell or room) structures. The cellar beneath the Brooks dwelling evidently served as the primary area for storage on the site, a function which was relegated to the service buildings at the Washington site.

The service yard at the Brooks site was located north of the dwelling, as indicated by the position of the only outbuilding found to date. The outbuildings at the Washington site lay south and west of the dwelling, defining the orientation of the service yard in relation to the dwelling.

The Washington burying ground, excavated in the 1930's, was located northwest of the dwelling. No graves were located at the Brooks site.

The Brooks dwelling was encircled by pits containing domestic refuse. No such features were located at the Washington site. The presence of a ravine south of Outbuilding A may have provided a large natural pit for trash, thus accounting for the absence of such features at the site.
Both the Brooks and Washington plantations were physical realities when Augustine Washington began to form Popes Creek Plantation in 1718. The remains of Augustine's dwelling complex reflect certain changes in the reality of domestic habitation, but also reveal a continuity of cultural behavior. The placement of outbuildings in relation to the dwelling reflects the imposition of rigid symmetry associated with the "Georgian Revolution" of the eighteenth century. The foundation of the structure referred to as the "smokehouse" and the post storehouse lay parallel and perpendicular respectively to the dwelling. While symmetry became an element of town planning throughout colonial America in the late seventeenth century, its influence upon rural farmsteads extended more slowly. Nevertheless, a conscious desire for order and balance permeated much of colonial society by the mid-eighteenth century. This desire has been seen as a rejection of the medieval willingness to accept the control of nature over man in favor of a Renaissance world view emphasizing human control of the environment through reason. (Gowans 1964: 116, 117, cited in Deetz 1977: 39-40). This difference in world views in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is embodied in the symmetrical orientation of outbuildings at Popes Creek Plantation as compared with the Brooks and Washington plantations.

Tradition, however, is a persistent cultural force, particularly in Westmoreland County. A trash pit was placed between the Augustine Washington dwelling and post storehouse, creating a service yard suggestive of that at the Brooks site. The pit was, however, much larger than any found at the Brooks site and thus suggested a greater concern for the disposal of domestic refuse in one convenient repository. (Barka 1978:15, 37-50)

The two posts storehouses at the Popes Creek represent the strength of this particular architectural tradition. Structures supported on posts continued to be erected in the eighteenth-century, to serve as barns, storage sheds and dwellings. The central portion of Augustine Washington's home was constructed of brick, but the post storehouses maintain the architectural link with the construction traditions of his grandfather. (Barka 1978:20, 29-33, 59-65)

The tradition of post architecture has remained a viable mode of construction in Westmoreland County to the present time. Mr. James Latane erected a barn in the 1920's less than a mile from the Washington site. The barn measured 40.0 by 19.0 feet (not including a lean-to shed added against one side); the sills of the structure rest on posts buried in the ground. The combined influences of tradition and design particularity resulted in the building which mirrored the Washington dwelling in both form and basic mode of construction (i.e. wooden posts inserted in the ground). Mr. Latane confirmed the force of tradition; when asked why he had constructed the barn on posts, he replied "Because they've always built them this way around here."
A degree of continuity is also discovered when one examines the dynamics of cultural geography for the land between Bridges and Popes Creeks in the period 1650-1978. By 1662, the year of Henry Brooks' death, numerous farmsteads were located on his original patent of 1000 acres. The three homes shown on the 1683 survey - Brooks, Washington and Brown - were in all probability visually linked. The feeling of isolation would seem to have been reduced by the presence of several neighbors within close proximity.

The growth of Popes Creek Plantation, which began in 1718, led to a consolidation of these farmsteads by the mid-eighteenth century. The seventeenth-century dwellings and outbuildings apparently served as quarters or tenements until being demolished. The area was therefore less populated in 1780 than in 1680.

The dissolution of Popes Creek Plantation was completed by the early years of the nineteenth century. The acreage was again divided between several farmsteads, and houses constructed throughout the century are still standing. This division of the land produced in effect a revision to seventeenth-century land use patterns.

The establishment of George Washington Birthplace National Monument in 1931-32 created a block of 394 acres (currently 455.98 acres), most of which had belonged to Popes Creek Plantation. Houses erected during the previous century were removed as the park sought to re-evoke the appearance of Popes Creek Plantation.

In terms of cultural geography, these efforts represent another revision, in this case to the eighteenth century land use patterns established by Augustine Washington.
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REPORT ON THE FAUNAL REMAINS.
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE EXCAVATIONS, 1977

GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT

Sharon Ann Burnston
May, 1978
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE EXCAVATIONS, 1977

FAUNAL LIST

Horse
Cow
Sheep/Goat
Pig
Chicken
Goose (domesticated?)
Turkey
Cat
Dog
Rabbit (domesticated?)
Mouse
Whale (probably Beluga or white whale)
Wild duck (probably Ringneck duck)
Wild bird (unidentified passerine)
Sturgeon
Gar (probably Longnose gar)
Catfish
Snapping turtle
Frog
Crab

Equus caballus
Bos taurus
Ovis aries/Capra hircus
Sus scrofa
Gallus gallus
Anseriformes sp. cf. Anser anser
Meleagris gallopavo
Felix familiaris
Canis familiaris
cf. Oryctolagus ouniculus
(unidentified species)
cf. Delphinapterus leucas
cf. Aythya collaris
Passeriformes sp.
Acipenser sp.
Lepisosteus cf. osseus
Ictalurus sp. or Pylodictis sp.
Chelydra serpentina
Rana sp.
(unidentified species)
REPORT ON THE FAUNAL REMAINS,
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE EXCAVATIONS, 1977

Excavations at the Henry Brooks house site and the
John Washington house site at George Washington Birthplace
National Monument in the spring of 1977 yielded a total of
1224 bone fragments. All bones were washed, numbered,
sorted, identified and tallied (see Table 1). However,
despite the high total count of bone fragments, detailed
levels of faunal analysis could not be undertaken, for
the following reasons.

Most assemblages on which detailed faunal analysis has
been done were from well-defined areas such as privy pits
or trash pits, each of which contained a small number of
closed, tightly dated deposits (cf. Burnston, 1975a, 1975b,
George Washington Birthplace were collected from a large
number of proveniences, which collectively spanned nearly
300 years of occupation. Many of these proveniences were
"plow zone" or were otherwise disturbed and/or undatable,
and most contained none or only a handful of bone material.

Most assemblages on which detailed faunal analysis has
been done contained a relatively high proportion of identi-
fiable bones (usually 75% or more) and a correspondingly
low proportion of the meaningless bone fragments that cannot
be identified in any more refined sense than simply as "bone".
Of the bones from the 1977 excavations at George Washington
Birthplace, nearly 38% were in the totally useless "unidentifiable" category (see Table 1). The relatively high percentage of unidentifiable fragments in this assemblage is a result of the fact that many of the bones were from disturbed proveniences or those acted upon by frost. The high percentage of unidentifiable fragments is also a marker of the less than ideal condition of even the identifiable bones, many of which show signs of weathering or of rodent gnawing damage.

Given the number of proveniences or contexts from which they were excavated, the time span encompassed by those proveniences, the small number of bones from any one provenience, the high percentage of unidentifiable fragments, and the poor condition of all the bones, certain aspects of the faunal analysis were impossible, or at least meaningless.

Some analyses depend on population sample size. These include determination of the sex of animals represented and determination of the presence of sheep versus goat (cf. Lawrence, n.d.) Since significant population samples were available for none of the species present, sex determination was not attempted. Likewise, no attempt was made to determine whether the "sheep/goat" bones were actually sheep, or goat, or both. While it is probable that these bones are from sheep, they have been designated "sheep/goat", as is customary.

The usual form of quantification when faunal analysis is undertaken on closed contexts is in the form of "minimum
numbers". A minimum number is the least number of animals that could have produced a given assemblage of bones. Minimum numbers are usually determined by this analyst for each species for each major bone or portion of the anatomy, e.g., femur, tibia, bones of the pes, as separate categories (cf. Burnston, 1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1975d, & 1976), utilizing three age categories which will be discussed below. Minimum numbers computed in this fashion allow for discussion of ages at death as well as which parts of the animal are represented, how they might have been used on the site, what may have happened to the other parts of the animal's anatomy, et cetera. Since the bone assemblage from the George Washington Birthplace excavations was the product of many proveniences which span a long period of time and may have no relationship to each other, to compute "minimum numbers of animals" would be meaningless, or worse, misleading.

What follows, then, is a non-quantified, descriptive analysis of animal use at the George Washington Birthplace during the past three hundred years as represented by the bones from the 1977 excavations. Mention will be made in this discussion of three age categories, "mature", "immature" and "very immature". "Mature" means that all epiphyseal fusion had occurred and bone growth had stopped, or in the case of crania and mandibles that all teeth were erupted and occlusal. "Immature" means that epiphyseal fusion was incomplete or had not yet occurred, but that the bone had reached a mature size within reasonable limits.
of variation for the species. "Immature" in the case of crania and mandibles means that all permanent teeth were present but not all were erupted or in occlusal position. "Very immature" means that the individual was distinctly undersized as compared with adults of the species, beyond the limits of reasonable individual variation, that there was no epiphyseal fusion whatever, and that in the crania and mandibles the deciduous teeth were still present. These three age categories have been found useful in analyzing historic sites faunal remains since they embody functional distinctions of animal use evident in the terminology of both the historic period and the present, e.g. "veal", "calf" and "beef"; "house lamb", "lamb" and "mutton".

Table 1 summarizes the findings of the faunal identifications in terms of species identified and archaeological provenience. Note that only those proveniences with bone content are listed. The two house sites (the Henry Brooks site encompassing the GW 100 series and the John Washington site the GW 200 series) will be discussed separately, even though there is general similarity in the faunal remains of the two sites.

The Henry Brooks House Site

The Henry Brooks house site excavations yielded 548 pieces of bone, representing 17 species. Cow (Bos taurus) is represented by 81 pieces of bone. Except for three teeth, one mandible fragment, and the 38 small cranial
fragments from GW 107, the cow bones of the Brooks house site are all large pieces of long bones, scapulae, pelvises, ribs and vertebrae. In other words, the cow bone at the Brooks site is predominantly composed of the edible parts of the butchered carcass and represents large joints of meat as opposed to small chops or steaks. One radius is very immature or "veal" while the rest represent animals both "mature" and "immature". The immature animals would be those butchered when they first reached full size, that is, at about 2 to 3 years old, while the other animals might represent draft or milch animals who served other functions for several years before being slaughtered.

The sheep/goats (Ovis aries/Capra hircus) are represented by 26 pieces of bone. Except for two teeth and one hyoid, the sheep/goat bones are those of the butchered carcass: ribs, vertebrae and limb bones. All the sheep/goat bones from the Brooks site are immature or recently mature animals, that is, those of optimal butchering age, and at least some were from a fairly small, slender-legged breed.

The pigs (Sus scrofa) at the Brooks site are represented by 60 pieces of bone, of which 47 are teeth or mandible fragments. The remainder are a scapula fragment and limb bone fragments. Almost all the bones and teeth are from recently matured animals, those of prime butchering age. It should be noted that one large tusk (lower canine) showed evidence of having had its tip broken off before the death of the animal. This tooth also had a cut mark about
two inches below the broken tip.

Chicken (Gallus gallus) is represented by 18 pieces of bone. Six tiny body and wing fragments from the contents of Feature 5 are in poor condition, with gnaw marks. Twelve nearly whole pieces in good condition from the contents of Feature 2 include two crania, three pieces of a mandible, two pieces of sternum and five long bones. Goose (sp. Anatidae) may be either the domesticated species (Anas anas) or a wild migratory form. It is represented by 9 long bone fragments, of which one is a femur fragment and the rest are wing bones. Turkey (Meleagris gallopavo) is represented by only two pieces, a cranial fragment and part of a wing bone.

The domestic cat (Felis familiaris) is represented by one immature bone, a foot bone. The dog (Canis familiaris) is represented by 9 bones from GW 1210, including vertebrae, ribs, and limb bones, all parts of one immature dog. The horse (Equus caballus) is represented by two fragments of one phalanx or foot bone and by one well-worn incisor.

The rabbit represented by one femur fragment is of unknown species, and may be European domesticated rabbit (Oryctolagus cuniculus). The only definitely wild mammal present in the Brooks site faunal remains was one bone from a whale (probably Delphinapterus leucas, the white or Beluga whale). This bone, a cervical vertebral centrum, was at least partially mineralized and had an encrustation of oyster shell. Since the Beluga whale is an arctic species,
and the mineralized condition of this bone suggests that it is from a long-dead animal, no interpretation can be made that live Beluga whale was ever present at this site in the historic period. The presence of this bone fragment in the excavations cannot readily be explained.

Wild duck at the Brooks site is represented by 25 pieces of bone which are tentatively identified as ring-neck duck (*Aythya collaris*). Of these 25 pieces, 21 are from GW 121K. The remains represent the sternum, long bones and ribs, in other words, carcass parts. There are also 21 pieces from GW 121K which are wild duck bones but which cannot be identified as to species: long bone shaft fragments, rib fragments and foot bones.

There are three species of fish represented. Sturgeon (*Acipenser* sp.) is represented by 12 pieces of bone, including one vertebra, five cranial bones and six scales. Gar, probably Longnose gar (*Lepisosteus* sp. cf. *osseus*), is represented by 21 bones, including 18 cranial bones and 3 scales. Catfish (*Ictalurus* sp. or *Eurydactylus* sp.) are represented by eight pieces of bone: three cranial bones and five spines. One turtle, a snapping turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*) is represented by eight pieces of long bones and plastron from two adjacent proveniences, GW 121C and GW 121D. (It should be noted that two bones of gar from GW 121C and GW 121D glue together, as do two bones of turtle from the same contexts. In other words, GW 121C and GW 121D probably represent one deposit.) The Brooks
house site excavations also produced 10 pieces of crab claws (species unknown).

The John Washington House Site

Excavations at the John Washington house site yielded 676 pieces of bone, representing 15 species. Cow (Bos taurus) is represented by 41 bone fragments. Besides the fragments which represent the edible parts of the carcass, in other words the limb bones, pelvis, ribs and vertebrae, there are 9 teeth, 3 cranial fragments and 10 pieces of foot bones. All cow bones are from immature or recently matured animals.

Sheep/goat (Ovis aries/Capra hircus) is represented by 27 pieces of bone. There are five teeth and one cranial fragment and the rest are parts representing the butchered carcass. Except for one very immature metapodial diaphysis fragment, all bones are from recently matured animals. All the bones are from a small, slender breed of animal.

Pig (Sus scrofa) at the John Washington site is represented by 24 pieces of bone, of which 12 are teeth or mandible fragments. Of the 12 postcranial bones, 9 are from GW 201A and represent the vertebrae and long bones of at least two immature or recently matured pigs. None of the tusks show the signs of having been broken in life as was the tusk from the Henry Brooks site excavations.

Chicken (Gallus gallus) at this site is represented
by 210 pieces of bone. Four nearly whole long bones came from GW 201C. GW 204J yielded 180 fragments, mature and immature, representing nearly all parts of chicken anatomy except the cranium. Twenty three mature and immature chicken bones from GW 204J include long bones, foot bones and one cranial fragment.

Goose (Anseriformes sp.) is represented by only five fragments of wing bone. Turkey (Meleagris gallopavo) is represented by only one bone fragment, from a tibiotarsus. The wild duck (probably Anhima collaris, ringneck duck) is also represented by only one bone, a coracoid fragment. There are in addition 13 pieces of songbird (Passeriformes sp.). Passerine bones are difficult to identify at best, but since these thirteen bones are all long bones which have had their ends crushed, no specific identification could be made.

There are no cat or dog bones from the John Washington house site. Horse (Equus caballus) is represented by only two tooth fragments, both molars or premolars and both extremely worn. Of rabbit (possibly Oryctolagus cuniculus, the European domesticated rabbit), there is one bone, a mandible fragment. An unknown species of mouse is represented by eight bones including one mandible, one rib and six long bone fragments.

Three species of fish are present in the faunal remains from these excavations. Sturgeon (Acipenser sp.) is represented by one vertebral fragment and three scales. Gar (Lepisosteus of, osseus, Longnose gar) is represented
by three cranial bones and 21 of the characteristic scales. Catfish (*Ictalurus* sp. or *Pylodictis* sp.) is represented by 60 assorted bones, of which 24 are from GW 203J, 13 from GW 204J and 20 from GW 204L.

One frog (*Rana* sp.) is represented by four bones, a mandible fragment from GW 204J and three long bone fragments from GW 204L.

Conclusions

The evidence of animal use at the Henry Brooks and John Washington house sites which can be inferred from these faunal remains may be summarized as follows.

The large size of the cow, pig and sheep/goat bone fragments indicates a consistent dietary preference for large roasts and joints as opposed to small steaks and chops. The cow provided the major source of meat. Most cattle were butchered at first maturity. This is the optimal time for butchering if cattle are being raised for the table. However at the Henry Brooks site at least some cattle were butchered when older, suggesting that they served some other function, such as milking or draft, before being eaten. While it is probable that the animals were all locally butchered, the evidence is inconclusive.

Unlike the cattle, the sheep/goats were probably all raised with meat (not some other product, like wool) as the primary goal, since all the bones were of animals of prime
butchering age. And as with the cattle, local butchering is probable, but the evidence is inconclusive.

Of the pig remains, it should be noted that 59 out of 64 pieces of bone (or 70.34%) are teeth or mandible fragments. This pattern suggests that pigs were being butchered locally but that their carcasses were being shipped elsewhere for consumption. Despite the fact that the pig bones well outnumbered the sheep/goat bones, it cannot be determined from the available evidence whether pork or mutton was more important in the local diet. Although pork was undoubtedly eaten locally, the primary function of these pigs was apparently the production of meat for sale. The broken tusk with cut-mark from the Henry Brooks house site marks an effort by the farmer to protect his stock. The tusk would have been cut or broken by him to prevent that pig from injuring the other pigs in the sty.

Smaller domesticated animals supplemented the meat supply. Chicken was undoubtedly eaten, but the turkey, goose and rabbit bones are too few to permit interpretation of the uses of these species. (It must be stated that while the goose, turkey and rabbit bones have been assumed here to be from domesticated animals, they may in fact represent wild forms.) Cat and dog were present, at least at the Henry Brooks site, and horses were present at both sites. These animals probably existed in greater numbers than their bones from these excavations would suggest. Since they weren't eaten, their bones might not commonly have been
disposed of in or around dwelling sites.

Although bones that were definitely from wild animals made up a substantial proportion of the remains (19.69% of the total count, see Table 2), wild animal meat was surprisingly insignificant in the diet. Ringneck duck was probably eaten, as was snapping turtle. Sturgeon, gar and catfish, all freshwater or estuarine species, were utilized. An unidentified species of crab was apparently also consumed. The remaining wild species were probably not eaten. These include the whale discussed previously, the mouse, the frog, and the passerine bird. The condition of the passerine bones, with their ends crushed, suggests some sort of predation, since the action of a predator such as a cat would leave the bones in that state. Several wild animals which might have been expected to be part of the diet are missing, such as deer, squirrel and raccoon. Why wild sources of meat were relatively ignored on a rural site where they might have been expected to be more heavily exploited is unknown. The wild species which were utilized all inhabit the water or the shoreline: duck, turtle, fish and crab.

Further evidence for the diet may be seen in eggshell fragments found at both sites (in CW 121K and CW 208A), and in the oystershell found throughout the excavations.

There are not enough animal bones from dated contexts to permit a discussion of changes in animal use at these two sites over time. It is not impossible that the patterns of bone distribution observed in these remains were merely
caused by accidents of deposition. More intensive excavation of the two house sites, yielding a more complete assemblage of the faunal remains associated with these sites, would render a quantified, more detailed faunal analysis fruitful.
Bibliography

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---------------------1975b "Report on the Bone Content of Feature 22", in Franklin Court Project IV, ms. on file at Independence National Historic Park, Phila.


Bibliography (continued)


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