Archaeological Investigations of Two Possible 19th Century Quarters Sites at Belle Grove Plantation, Frederick County, Virginia: 44FK520 and 44FK521

Redacted Edition

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Chapter 1: Introduction

During the spring of 2015, a Phase II archaeological investigation was undertaken at Belle Grove Plantation to assess two potential enslaved quarter sites associated with the early 19th century occupation of the property. Both sites (44FK520 and 44FK521) had been previously identified through limited shovel test pit testing and oral history. Unfortunately, since the initial discovery of these sites, their precise locations have been lost, with only their general location within the northern portion of the large field immediately west of Belle Grove Road, currently referred to by Belle Grove staff members as "Parking Field," remaining (Figure 1). In order to relocate these sites and assess their potential for future research, 147 shovel test pits (STPs) at 20' to 40' intervals were excavated within a 3.18 acre area within Parking Field and the wooded areas immediately to the north and west of the field. Additionally, six judgmental STPs were excavated into the wooded hill slop to the north of Parking Field. This report presents the results of this testing as well as preliminary interpretations of the recovered data.

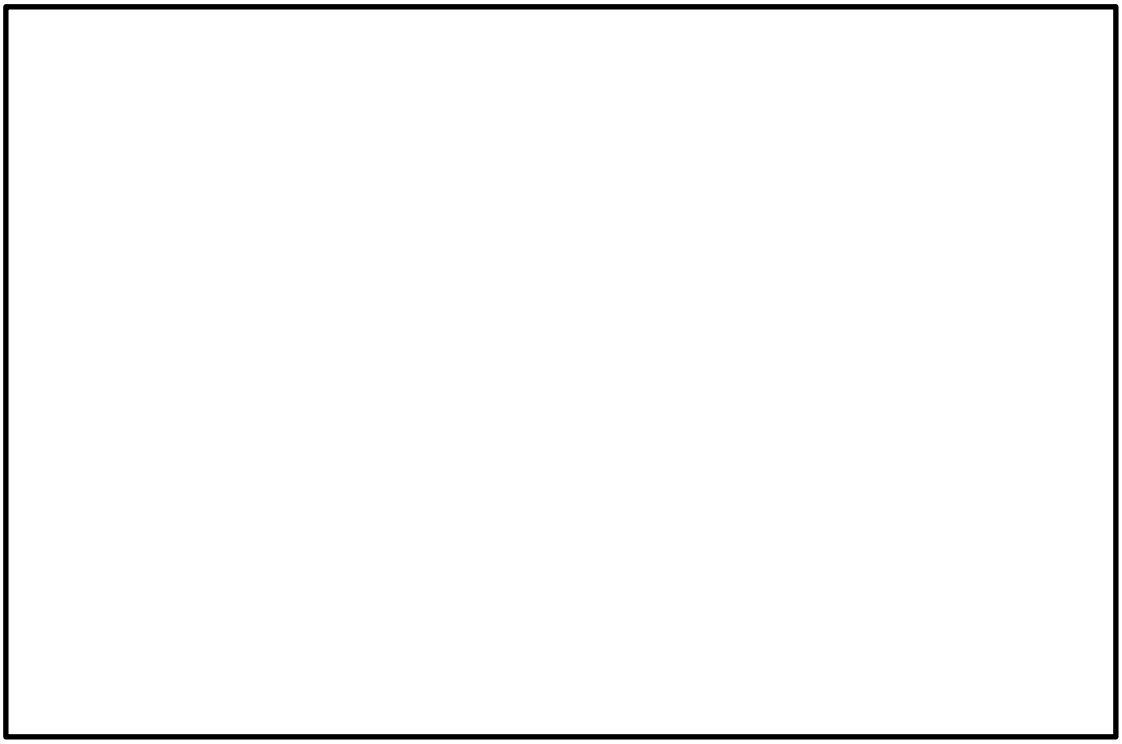

Figure 1. ***Location of 44FK520 and 44FK521*****. 44FK16 represents the location of the mansion. North is to top of map. Map by Clarence Geier (1995).** REDACTED

At 44FK520, the testing confirmed the presence of a large (approximately 1.42 acre) site, located approximately 550' west northwest of the mansion, that was almost certainly inhabited by members of Belle Grove's enslaved community from the 1800's to the 1830-40's. A large

quantity of artifacts (675) were recovered from this site, distributed in such a manner as to suggest the presence of at least two potential house yard complexes. As the soils in this site appear to have never been subjected to plowing, this site possesses a high degree of integrity for future research. In particular, future research has the potential to expand upon our current understanding of enslaved life in the Shenandoah Valley as well as to provide a more thorough understanding of slavery and enslaved life at Belle Grove. Before such Phase III excavations can commence, continued shovel testing and the excavation of test units should be conducted to provide a more refined understanding of the artifact scatters in the field, to confirm the extent of the site, and to further assess the integrity of the soils.

Testing at 44FK521, however, failed to identify the presence of a large barn and its associated cabins and outbuildings, which were said to have been removed from this area in the 1920's (see Chapter 2). In fact, testing in the area generally failed to identify anything but the ephemeral occupation of the western edge of Parking Field over the course of the last three hundred years. Future testing of the south and southwest of the 2015 project area may, however, reveal the location of this complex.

Chapter 2 presents a brief history of Belle Grove Plantation that focuses on its enslaved community along with a discussion of Parking Field's role in the history of the property in order to contextualize the findings from these investigations. Following this, a short discussion of the methodologies employed in the investigations is presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will cover the results of the excavations, providing both a summary of the encountered stratigraphy and the artifacts recovered from the 95 positive STPs. Lastly, Chapter 5 applies the findings from 44FK520 to the known history of Belle Grove's enslaved community, allowing us to both take stock of what is currently known and suggest avenues for future research.

This version of the report has been edited so as to remove any detailed information about the location of archaeological sites at Belle Grove, or in the larger Shenandoah Valley region of Virginia. For complete version of the report, contact the author at mcgreer@syr.edu.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

Before any assessment of the two sites can begin, the property must be placed within its historical context. To facilitate this process, relevant information on the plantation's Antebellum, Civil War, and Post-Emancipation past is presented below. However, due in part to the multitude of research that has occurred at Belle Grove Plantation in the last forty years, these are intended solely to serve as summaries that provide the necessary background to the history of 44FK520 and 44FK521, rather than serving as an in depth history of the plantation. Several authors have written extensively on Belle Grove's history, including Katherine Brown (2009) and Clarence Geier (e.g. 1995; Geier and Tinkham 2006; Geier and Whitehorne 1994); their work can be consulted for additional information on the plantation. The last section of this chapter presets the history of Parking Field within the larger history of Belle Grove in order to give a sense of the actions that may have left their mark on the archaeological record.

Brief History of Belle Grove

Prehistoric Occupation (ca. B.C.E. 10,000 to ca. C.E. 1700)

Native American occupation in the lower Shenandoah Valley began during the Pliestecene era, as evidenced by the Thunderbird and Flint Run Complex sites in the vicinity of Front Royal, Virginia, and continued until European settlement in the region (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:16). As the main goal of the archaeological investigations reported here is to determine the historic occupation of the property, no further summary of the Native American occupation of the region will be given. For readers interested in an additional understanding of this history, see Clarence Geier and Joseph Whitehone (1994:16-19). It is, however, worth noting that several prehistoric sites have been identified in the vicinity of Belle Grove, the majority of which appear to have been occupied as temporary camps (possibly for hunting) or used as base camps for these activities. The most extensively studied prehistoric site in the immediate vicinity of the property is Panther Cave (44FK17), a rock shelter occupied periodically from the Archaic to Late Woodland eras (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:19).

Hite Ownership (1748-1860)

The land that eventually became the 483 acre core of Belle Grove Plantation was initially purchased and settled by two individuals: James Hoge and William Vance (Geier 1995:8-9). In 1748, Isaac Hite, Sr., son of Jost Hite (a land speculator from Germany who, at

one point, owned up to 140,000 acres of land in the Shenandoah Valley [Rockwell 1974:7]) purchased 300 acres from Hoge. Issac Hite, Sr. acquired the remaining 183 acres of the plantation from Vance in 1770. These purchases, however, do not represent the full extent of Isaac Hite Sr.'s landholdings, as he held the patent to 1,689 acres of land between Cedar Creek and the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, upon which sat his plantation at Long Meadow (Geier 1995:9). The purchase of the 300 acres from Hoge in 1748 would have extended his land holdings to Meadow Brook, potentially providing the initial motivation for this transaction. Belle Grove Road, which currently runs through the property, may have been first used after Hite's acquisition of the land, as it links Belle Grove with Hite's Long Meadow plantation (Geier 1995:9).

At the moment, little is known about the activities occurring on the 483 acre Belle Grove tract prior to 1783. If this land was to be farmed, then clearing the largely wooded land would have had been a necessity (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:15); and unless James Hoge sold cleared fields to Isaac Hite, Sr. in 1748, Virginians enslaved by Isaac Hite likely began this laborious process sometime around mid-century. Along with this initial clearing, a domestic complex, consisting of a wooden dwelling later referred to as "Old Hall" (potentially used as an overseer's house [Geier 1995:10-11]) and several supporting outbuildings were constructed - likely serving as the core of the fledgling plantation complex. An additional 18th century archaeological site (44FK511) has been located ¾ of a mile northeast of Old Hall, which may be related to the Hite's 1748-1783 activities on the property (Figure 2).[1]

In 1783, Isaac Hite, Sr. granted Belle Grove property to his son Isaac Hite, Jr. as a wedding gift following his marriage to Eleanor Conway Madison earlier that year. The newly married couple took up residence in Old Hall, where they continued to live until 1797, when they moved to the newly constructed limestone mansion they had commissioned immediately to the east of Old Hall. This dwelling and the numerous outbuildings needed for its operations (smokehouse, icehouse, etc.) are referred to for the remainder of this report as the mansion complex. Unfortunately, Eleanor Hite only lived in the home for four years, as she passed away in 1802, and Isaac Hite, Jr. married Ann Tunstall Maury in 1803.

[1] Although 44FK511 has only been investigated through a limited STP survey, the site was noted as containing intact soils and may be able to expand our current understanding of the Hite's initial usage of the property (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:63). It has also been suggested that this property was occupied by tenets of the neighboring Cedar Grove plantation (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication, 2015)

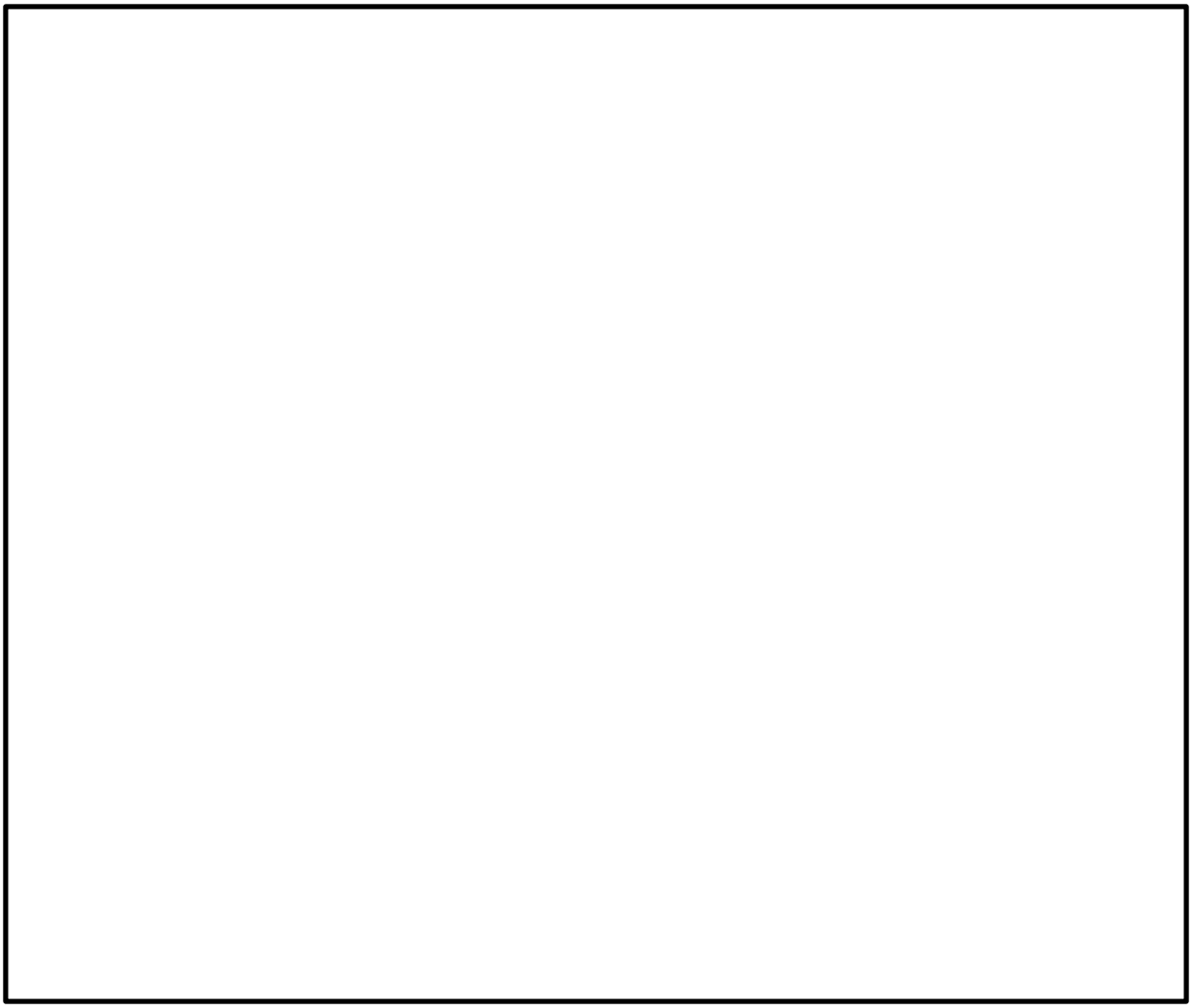

Figure 2. ***Major Hite era sites at Belle Grove*****. The blue dots represent the locations of 44FK520 and 44FK521. The green dot represents the location of Belle Grove Mansion Complex (44FK16), including the location of Old Hall. The red line represents the proposed location of the road connecting the Mansion Complex to the Mill Complex (located to the west of the map). The yellow dot represents the location of the potential Blacksmith's Quarters (44FK522). The orange dot represents the location of 44FK511, the 18th centu ry site potentially occupied during the early years of the Hites' ownership of Belle Grove. North is to top of map. REDACTED**

In addition to the large changes happening inside of Belle Grove's mansion complex around the turn of the century, the property as a whole underwent a dramatic transformation during these decades. To the northwest of the manor house a grist mill was established at the confluence of Meadow Brook and Cedar Creek, which appears to have been joined by a second mill somewhere on Isaac Hite, Jr.'s landholdings by the early 1790's, as Hite commissioned the construction of two water wheels from a Maryland craftsman in 1793 (Geier 1995:13). Also joining the mill on Meadow Brook was a distillery and a general store. This set of structures may have been connected to the mansion complex by a road running northwest to southeast up

the ravine resting at the base of the hill on which Parking Field sits (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication, 2015). On the north side of this ravine sits a complex of five structures (44FK522), including one dwelling, likely constructed sometime between the 1790's and the early 1800's (see Geier and Zienty 2001), which is currently believed to have housed the plantation's blacksmith (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication, 2015).[2] Although poorly documented at this point in time, woodworking and shoe making / repairs also appear to have occurred at Belle Grove, as indicated by the presence of the tools needed for these activities in an 1837 appraisal of the estate (Blosser ed. n.d.*b*: Doc. 40), and these activities would have taken place somewhere on the property.

These industrial and craft activities, however, were not the only economic activities practiced at Belle Grove. Similar to other farmers / planters in the Shenandoah Valley (cf. Hofstra and Koons 2000), the Hites employed a system of mixed farming, growing "wheat, rye, oats, clover, flax, hemp, and buckwheat," in addition to raising horses, cattle, oxen (used as draft animals in agricultural production), pigs, and sheep (Geier 1995:18). Tobacco cultivation also appears to have occurred at Belle Grove for an unspecified length of time in the late 18th century, as Isaac Hite, Jr.'s 1785 contract with overseer Benjamin Little stated that Little was to receive "one sixth of all grain and *tobacco*" grown under his care (Blosser ed. *n.d.*b: Doc. 3; emphasis added). Interestingly, Geier and Whitehorne have suggested that, due to the presence of relativity unfertile Carbo-oaklet and Frederick-Poplimento soils over the majority of the areas adjacent to Belle Grove, and the presence of fertile Massannetta loam solely in the floodplains associated with the area streams, the core of Belle Grove Plantation was "best suited for pasture and hay," as "early forms of intensive agriculture could have been of uncertain and inconsistent productivity" (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:14). Therefore, in order to grow the various grains listed above, Isaac Hite, Jr. needed to acquire additional land in more fertile soils. In doing so, Hite had expanded his original 483 acres to 4,106 acres by 1805 (including a 1,689 acre inheritance from his father in 1795) and to 7,535 acres by 1813 (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:31). Interestingly, perhaps motivated by the quality of the fields at Belle Grove, Isaac appears to have begun importing Plaster of Paris as a source of fertilizer instead of solely relying on gypsum (which had been the standard practice) in the 1790's, and in 1821, he was in the process of

[2] The site was initially identified as Belle Grove's stable complex (Geier and Zienty 2001), but new photographic evidence indicates that the stables sat across Belle Grove Lane from the Overseer's House (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication, 2015).

having kilns prepared "for burning limestone" in order to produce a localized source of fertilizer that was "inexhaustible in [the] valley [sic]" (Blosser ed. *n.d.*b: Doc. 33). Even fields, which would have been better suited for pasture / hay production (despite the fertilizer), appear to have played an important role in Belle Grove's economic output, as the Hite's routinely purchased large numbers of cattle in the fall and "fed them through the winter on straw [hay] and corn fodder… and fattened them the next summer and fall," before selling for "little less than double their first cost" (Blosser ed. *n.d.*b: Doc. 33). In fact, despite the "size and fertility" of Belle Grove in 1821, an article in *The American Farmer* noted that "so low was the price of wheat and rye, that both were ground, and either fed to fattening cattle [sic] or distilled" (Blosser ed. *n.d.*b: Doc. 33). It must, however, be noted that this article appeared at the tail end of the financial Panic of 1819 (cf. Rothbard 1962), and therefore, may have been atypical for the Hites' operations.

Staffing these various enterprises was Belle Grove's enslaved community. Currently, no known records directly speak to the presence of enslaved Virginians residing at Belle Grove prior to 1783, although it seems almost certain that some enslaved individuals were present during this time period (see above). As the dowry from her marriage to Isaac Hite, Jr., Eleanor Madison Hite was given 15 enslaved individuals from her father's Montpelier plantation in Orange County, Virginia. These included "Jerry, Jemmy, Sally, Milly, Eliza and Eliza's five children Joanna, Dianna, Demas, Pinder, and Webster, and Truelove and her four children Peggy, Priscilla, Henry, and Katey" (Chambers 2005:241). By at least 1785, these 15 Black Virginians were held at Belle Grove with at least two additional enslaved men, Ned and Primus, who appear to have been at the plantation long enough for Primus to have developed a reputation as a rebellious individual. This can be seen in the fact that Isaac Hite, Jr. "agree[d] [that] if Primus [did] not work in the crop" Hite would "to make up his lost time or make allowance" in regards to the "one sixth of all grain and tobacco" that was to be Little's pay (Blosser ed. *n.d.*b: Doc. 3). Throughout the rest of the 18th century, the Hites continued to actively expand Belle Grove's enslaved community, both through inheritance (for instance Isaac Hite, Jr. inherited 10 enslaved individuals from his father in 1795 [(Blosser ed. *n.d.*b: Doc. 14]) and through the purchase of African-American women and men (for example, George Hite sold four individuals to Isaac Hite, Jr. in 1791 [Blosser *n.d.a*: Doc 62).

Throughout the course of the early 19th century, the size of the Hite's enslaved community continued to grow, reaching over one hundred individuals in the early 1820's. Both the children borne by Belle Grove's enslaved women and the purchase of individuals account for this growth (the Hites purchased at least 15 women and men between 1805 and 1812 [Blosser ed. *n.d*.a: Doc 62]). These individuals and families were likely divided across southern Frederick county, southeastern Clarke county, and northern Shenandoah county on the four primary tracts (or quarters) the Hites operated (see Geier 1995:18).[3] These included Belle Grove tract (situated around Belle Grove mansion), the Guliford tract (1,100 acres of land located in 11.1 miles northeast of Belle Grove in Clarke County), the Rockville tract (1,700 acres of land located three miles north northwest of Belle Grove in Frederick county), and lastly the Long Meadow tract, which Isaac Hite, Jr. inherited from his father in 1795 (located southeast of Belle Grove in Shenandoah county). Unfortunately, at this point in time, we do not have a sense of how the plantation's Black community was dispersed between these tracts. We do, however, know that whatever sense of community these women, children, and men managed to create for themselves during the 19th century was demolished on 26 October, 1824 when the Hites auctioned off "sixty slaves, of various ages" (Daily National Intelligencer 1824). While the specific reason for this sale is currently unknown, it does seem to represent a larger trend in the lower Shenandoah Valley, as Frederick County was the eighth largest exporter of enslaved humans to the New Orleans slave market from 1829 to 1831 (accounting for a total of 63 individuals; Baptist 2014:x). Belle Grove's Black community never again reached its pre-1824 size, as 44 individuals were enslaved at the plantation at the time of Isaac Hite, Jr.'s death in 1836 (Blosser ed. *n.d*. b: Doc 40), and only "Jim, Elijah, Sally, and Martha" remained at Belle Grove by the time of Ann Tunstall Hite's death in 1851 (Blosser ed. *n.d*. b: Doc 41).

Antebellum Cooley Ownership (1860-1864)

Following Ann Tunstall Hite's death in 1851, Belle Grove was managed by various members of the Hite family until it was sold to John and Benjamin Cooley, two local land owners, in 1860. Although available records have not been extensively interpreted, it appears as if the newly married Benjamin Cooley, his wife Hetty Cooley, and his mentally handicapped

[3] While only a portion of the enslaved women and men referred to above as Belle Grove's enslaved community resided on the property at any one point in time, the term is used in this report to refer to the totality of the individuals enslaved by Isaac Hite, Jr.

brother David Cooley resided on the plantation by 1861, as well as James Gordon, who occupied the overseer's house with his wife (*Commonwealth's Witnesses* 1861:7). During this time, the plantation continued to produce wheat and other grains, grown both by hired free labor (both White and Black) and the eight Virginians enslaved by the Cooleys (*Commonwealth's Witnesses* 1861:35; Johnson 1915:392). These enslaved individuals appear to have lived in an area referred to as the "negro quarters" (*Commonwealth's Witnesses* 1861:7), although no further definition of this space is provided. Also living "at Belle Grove place" during the "war time" was an unnamed Black woman in her early-to-mid-twenties who described herself as being "bound… [but] never a slave" (Johnson 1915:392). In the fall of 1864, this woman reported living "right at the yard in a two-story log cabin" with her "father and four of his chil'en [sic]" (Johnson 1915:392; the biographical information this woman provided does not match any of the enslaved individuals documented by the Hites). The best documented episode during the Cooley's tenure at Belle Grove is the 1861 apparent murder of Hetty Cooley by Harriette, a woman enslaved on the property (cf. *Commonwealth's Witnesses* 1861), which resulted in Harriette's incarceration.

Battle of Cedar Creek (1864)

Fought on October 19, 1864, the Battle of Cedar Creek remains perhaps the best documented event that took place at Belle Grove. By October 16, 1864, General Philip Sheridan's 31,600 Union soldiers took up residence in the lands immediately to the east of Cedar Creek, with Belle Grove's mansion serving as Sheridan's headquarters (Geier 1995:24). Sometime around 4:30am on the morning of October 19, the Confederate Army of the Valley, under the command of General Jubal Early, attacked the Union forces encamped south of Belle Grove, scattering the Federal troops in the vicinity. Given the importance of Belle Grove to the Union command structure, Early directed two of his lead divisions toward the main house (Geier 1995:24-25). In order to slow this advance, elements of the Union army took up position in the fields west and southwest of Belle Grove, with the goal of slowing the Confederate advance until their forces could regroup and headquarters could move. Some of the most intense fighting in this delaying action took place in the vicinity of Belle Grove. This managed to delay the Army of the Valley long enough for Sheridan's men to regroup on the north of Middletown by the early afternoon. Around 4:00pm, Sheridan began to push his troops south, through the fields

they had previously abandoned, routing the remaining Confederate forces, and regaining their previous positions by nightfall.

Postbellum Developments (1865-2015)

The war years saw a wave of devastation wash over Belle Grove, particularly due to its association with both the Battle of Cedar Creek and the subsequent looting by Union forces. These conditions lead the Cooley's to sell the property in 1867 to James Davison (Geier 1995:29). Davidson, an Englishman, appears to have sold the plantation to John Grant Rose of Scotland at some point prior to 1881, when Rose sold the property to J. Wilson Smellie (Geier 1995:29; Rockwell 1974:9). Other than a few instances, such as a reunion of Civil War veterans on the property, not much is known about Belle Grove at this time, except that it appears to have been used as a residence, the grounds appear to have been attended to, and Old Hall remained extant (although its chimneys had been removed and it may have been converted into a storage area; Geier 1995:30).

Belle Grove changed hands again in 1907, when the property was purchased by Andrew Jackson Brumback from Smellie, later passing to his son, J. Herbert Brumback, following Andrew's death in 1912 (Geier 1995:30). The Brumback's tenure saw the construction of a modern farm complex around the mansion, including a large bank barn built in 1918, which included "chicken coops, a hog barn, sheds, and other facilities," all of which were completed by 1922 (Geier 1995:30-31). During this phase of construction, Old Hall appears to have been dismantled (the dismantling of the building around the time of the construction of the new barn further suggests its late 19th century usage as a storage facility). These buildings, along with a five car garage and a new fence line, are extant on the landscape today. After construction was completed, the Brumbacks opened up Belle Grove as an inn, and the property saw a constant movement of guests for the duration of the decade. Much of the food used for the guests appears to have been produced on site, either through the newly constructed farm complex or on the newly tilled fields located west of these structures and extending to Belle Grove Road (Geier 1995:32). Although not managed by the Brumbacks, during the early 20th century, the overseer's house appears to have been used as a store and had a frame addition constructed on its east façade (Geier *et al*. 2006).

In 1929, Frances Welles Hunnewell of Massachusetts purchased the property from the Brumbacks (Geier 1995:32; Rockwell 1974:9). Hunnewell, a preservationist, made efforts to restore the architectural integrity of Belle Grove during his tenure of the property, employing Horace Peaslee of Washington D.C. to renovate the mansion's exterior. In 1964, in keeping with the ethos of Hunnewell's tenure, Belle Grove was bequeathed to the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) (Rockwell 1974:9). During its ownership, the NTHP had new facilities constructed on the property to accommodate visitors, such as the current parking lot (Geier 1995:33).

During this time period, archaeological testing occurred on the property both in advance for proposed construction (cf. Geier 1994: Verry 1984) and for research purposes (cf. Geier and Whitehorne 1994: Rockewell 1974). The majority of this work has been conducted by the staff archaeologists from the NTHP and staff and student archaeologists from James Madison University (JMU), primarily under the direction of Dr. Clarence Geier. Clarence Geier and Kimberly Tinkham (2006) have compiled a summary of the work conducted both at Belle Grove and the surrounding properties. Currently, while the NTHP continued to own the property, Belle Grove, Inc. operates the plantation as a tourist attraction.

History of Parking Field

Prehistoric Occupation (ca. B.C.E. 10,000 to ca. C.E. 1700)

To date, no evidence for the prehistoric occupation of Parking Field has been discovered. However, given the hills in the area, which overlook Mill Creek, it may have been an attractive location for a prehistoric hunting camp.

Early Hite Ownership (1748-1790)

To date, no evidence for the occupation of Parking Field prior to 1790 has been discovered. It is entirely possible that the area may have served an agricultural purpose that went unmentioned in the available documentary record. As noted above, however, the soils in this field are not well suited for agriculture. Additionally, large limestone bedrock outcrops dot the field, and as such, it would have been difficult to work – suggesting that the area was not used for farming. Parking Field, however, could potentially have been used for pasture or the production of hay.

Later Hite Ownership (1790-1860)

Currently, no direct documentary evidence discusses the role of the Parking Field from 1790-1860 (see below for indirect evidence). Archaeological surveys conducted in the summer of 1994, however, do provide evidence for the occupation of Parking Field during this time period, as two 19th century sites identified this area (see Figure 1 for location of both sites).

The first site is 44FK520, which is located on the same axis as the mansion and lies immediately west of Belle Grove Road. The excavation of 45 STPs at this site yielded:

> 1 heavy hand forged iron bar, 5 pieces of wire, 4 machine cut and 3 hand forged nails, 1 piece of amber and 1 blue green container glass, 1 mollusk, 2 pieces of red earthenware, 4 pieces of pearlware, and 1 piece of blue, edge molded white refined earthenware (Tinkham and Geier 2006:92).

While this assemblage is not large (yielding only 23 artifacts), the diagnostic ceramics and nails do seem to suggest an early 19th century occupation. This lead the JMU team to interpret 44FK520 as a domestic site, possibly a "slave quarter associated with Belle Grove," although they also noted that "a program of archaeological testing is needed to more specifically define the site boundaries, assess its age and functional status, and confirm its significance" (Tinkham and Geier 2006:92). Additionally, "a flattened or platformed area measuring approximately 40 feet east-west by 40 feet north-south" was noted in the northeast quadrant of the site, with artifacts not being "common within [this] landscaped area" (Tinkham and Geier 2006:92). Unfortunately, site maps depicting the location of this feature were not able to be located.

The second site is 44FK521. This site was primarily identified through oral history, as Malcom Brumback related to researchers from JMU that:

> his father had identified the presence of *two possible slave quarters* at [this] site. He also noted that a *barn and corncrib* had been removed from this area early in the twentieth century and had been moved to the area of the barn complex opposite the Overseer's quarters on Belle Grove Road (Tinkham and Geier 2006:90, emphasis added).

During the summer of 1994, several STPs were excavated in this area, and a visual reconnaissance of the cleared portions was completed. Unfortunately, during this time the site remained heavily overgrown, preventing the JMU team from thoroughly evaluating the area (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication, 2015). While artifact concentrations were not seen (due, in part, to the limited testing), a "rectangular shaped landscaped and platformed area measuring 60 feet north-south by 80 feet east-west" was identified, which "sets the site off from the surrounding landscape" (Tinkham and Geier 2006:91). Given the strength of the oral history

surrounding the site, it was suggested that "it may reveal evidence for the development of Belle Grove Plantation complex," providing additional testing could identify the sites "age, function, and historic significance" (Tinkham and Geier 2006:91).

Combined, the suggested presence of these sites within the boundaries of Parking Field suggest that this area became occupied sometime in the late 18th to early 19th century, with the suggested dates of occupation being primarily derived from 44FK520's artifact assemblage.

Antebellum Cooley Ownership (1860-1864)

Documents from the Cooley ownership finally begin to provide a documentary glimpse of the activities occurring in Parking Field during the late Antebellum era. An indirect reference to the location of the enslaved homespaces can be found in the transcripts of the Hetty Cooley murder trial. After Mrs. Cooley had been attacked and left in the plantation's smokehouse, a segment of her dress caught fire from the building firebox. James Gordon, a white man working for John Cooley, reported smelling "something burning like wool" while in the vicinity of the mansion. In response to this, Gordon sent Lewis Robinson, a man enslaved by Cooley, to "go into the negro quarter [sic] to see if any of the little negros [sic] was afire [sic]" (*Commonwealth's Witnesses* 1861:7). This suggests that members of Belle Grove's ca. 1860 enslaved community lived close enough to the mansion that the smell of burning hair in the quarter could be smelled from the mansion. The site in Parking Field is potentially close enough to have allowed for this, suggesting this may have been the 1860's quarters.

The second major documentary reference to the occupation of Parking Field comes from a map of the property drawn by Jed Hotchkiss. This map was intended to outline some of the major troop movements that occurred during the Battle of Cedar Creek. Luckily for researchers, however, Hotchkiss included in his map the preexisting cultural landscape upon which the battle was fought. This has allowed for a fascinating glimpse of Belle Grove and the surrounding properties in 1864. In the area of Parking Field, Hotchkiss depicts two buildings, both located on the western edge of the field, likely near the modern day tree line on that side. While the nature of these buildings is not clear (home and outbuildings are both drawn the same on the map), they do sit roughly in the same location as the barn and slave quarters that the Brumback's tore down in the 1920's (see above). This suggests that an early 19th century quarter site may have

remained in use on the edge of Parking Field through 1864, specifically at the location of 44FK521. Interestingly, no structures appear at the location of 44FK520.

Figure 3. *Hotchkiss Map at Parking Field*. The red circle depicts the location of 44FK520 and the orange circle is the location of 44FK521. North is to top of the map. Map from Clarence Geier (1995).

Battle of Cedar Creek (1864)

While some of the heaviest fighting during the Battle of Cedar Creek occurred within the vicinity of Belle Grove, much of it even occurring within the property's current boundaries, Parking Field does not appear to have played a major role in the battle. Rather, the main Union positions, which the Army of the Valley advanced upon, are located to the west of Parking Field, in the fields located between Parking Field and Route 11 and to the south of the mansion. In fact, Clarence Geier and Joseph Whitehorne have suggested that the only troops to occupy the location were members of Lowery's Battery of Union artillery (Geier and Whitehorne 1994:101). In fact, although not specifically referenced by these authors, Lowery's Battery appears to have taken up a position in roughly the same area as the proposed location of 44FK521, suggesting that the previously constructed buildings in Parking Field played a role in the troop movements during the battle.

Postbellum Developments (1865-2015)

To date, little is known about Parking Field during the hundred years between the end of the Civil War and the acquisition of Belle Grove by the NTHP. However, based on a large

amount of exposed limestone bedrock in the project area, it appears as if Parking Field was not used for agriculture, although, again, it may have been used for pasture and / or hay production. As the Brumback's did not remove the barn, corncrib and quarters until the 20th century, it is possible that the land may have been occupied, or at least used as a work space, into the early 1900's. Aerial photos of the field taken in the early 1970's depict the location of a possible hedgerow running across the field, while a lone tree is depicted to the southern end of 44FK520 (Figure 4). Since the property fell under the management of Belle Grove, Inc., the field has been sporadically used as overflow parking, particularly during large events.

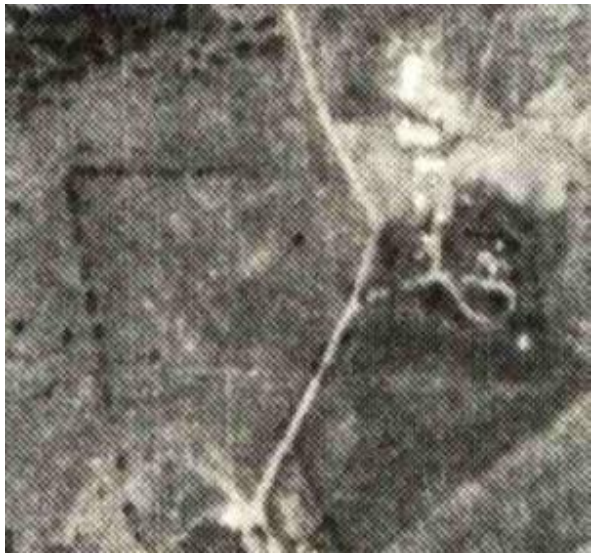

Figure 4. *1972 Arial Photograph*. The center is the location of Belle Grove Road, with the complex seen to the right of the center, being Belle Grove mansion. North is to top of map. Image is available in the 1972 Middletown quadrangle Map (Department of the Interior 1972)

Chapter 3: Methodologies

At the beginning of the project, arrangements were made with Belle Grove, Inc. and the NTHP for the excavation of approximately 50 to 60 STPs at 20' intervals. However, during the course of their excavation, it was determined that far more STPs needed to be excavated in order to explore and assess 44FK520 and 44FK521. Chapter 3 details the field methodologies used during the course of the project as well as the laboratory methodologies.

Datum Location

During the initial 1994 fieldwork conducted on the two sites, the JMU field crew excavated 10" round STPs at 20' intervals across Parking Field. Initially, it was hoped that the 2015 field work would be able to tie into their survey grid, easing the process of relocating the sites and allowing the previously excavated STPs to be incorporated into the current research project. Unfortunately, however, the location grid's datum is no longer recorded, preventing this for occurring.

Figure 5. ***Location of 2015 Survey Datum*****. The purple dot represents the datum location. Facing north. REDACTED**

The datum location from JMU's explorations of the mansion lawn, undertaken during the course of the previous summer (1993), was able to be determined. This was located at the intersection of two lines, one projected westward from the northern edge of the mansion's northern stairs, measured along the same angle as the stairs, and the second projected northward from the western edge of the north portico, measured long the same angle as the portico (Figure 5). While a segment of rebar was imbedded into the ground during the 1990's at this location to allow the datum to be easily relocated (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication), it could not be located, and as such, its location was measured out to, providing an approximation of the datum location. A 10" nail was driven into the ground to mark this location. While not the ideal datum point we had initially hoped for, this does tie in the survey grid to the previous surveys of the

mansion lawn and allows us to spatially relate the location of the quarter site to the formal layout of the mansion complex. In order to extent the grid out to Parking Field, four additional datum points were shot in. The location of these points and all other transit data are presented in Appendix A.

At the completion of the field season, steps were undertaken to ensure that the control points used for the survey grid could be easily relocated. This involved the placement of two 8" nails pierced through metal Mason jar lids, set at fixed locations to the gate leading into Parking Field. Further information about the location of these points can be found in Appendix A.

Survey Grid

Once the datum points were placed, the center point of each site, as identified in 1994, was located. As the location of these two sites was solely recorded on a topographic map of the area, their distance to known points on these maps were compared against the location where that point should fall within the newly established grid system. Centered on each of these points, a 100' by 100' grid was established, with the locations of 25 STPs, set at 20' intervals, marked out. Based on the initial testing of these two sites in 1994, it was believed that this regiment of close interval STPs should have been adequate to not only relocate the sites, but also to define their boundaries and any artifact concentrations within them. It is worth noting that the two original grids were never intended to intersect with one another, due to the presumed size of each site. As a result, the STPs excavated in 44FK520 are located 10' further south than those of 44FK521. In both sites, it was decided that the center point of each grid would fall on a northing and easting that ended in a -7.5, rather than base the center point on coordinates that ended in 0, which is typically used for such surveys. This was done to allow the grid to be easily used for the excavation of units, which could then be placed on coordinates with whole numbers.

Rather than test both sites at once, 44FK520 was selected to excavate first, with 44FK521 to follow once work at the first site had been completed. Once excavations began at 44FK520, however, it was realized that the site was far larger and contained far more artifacts then was initially believed. In order to account for this, the survey grid was extended beyond the initial 100' by 100' area, and testing was to continue at 40' intervals across the landscape until artifact concentrations dissipated (Figure 6). Thirty seven 40' interval STPs were excavated. At times, two additional testing methods were employed. In cases where artifact concentrations differed dramatically between two transects, an additional transect was excavated in between them in the

hopes that this additional testing would aid in smoothing out the artifact distributions. Rather than excavate these in line with the initial transects, they were offset 20'. Overall, four of these delineating transects were excavated, totaling 10 STPs. In cases where a single STP yielded unusually high artifact counts or potential features, radial STPs were excavated at 20' out from the initial STP in all four cardinal directions (relative to the grid). Overall, 12 20' radial STPs were excavated. This expanded testing covered an area of 1.29 acres, and delineated the southern, eastern, and northern boundaries of the site. The western edge of 44FK520, however, continued to produce artifacts, but it was determined that, rather than continue to excavate STPs in the grid for this site, the STPs from 44FK521 could be used to provide an understanding of the activities in this area.

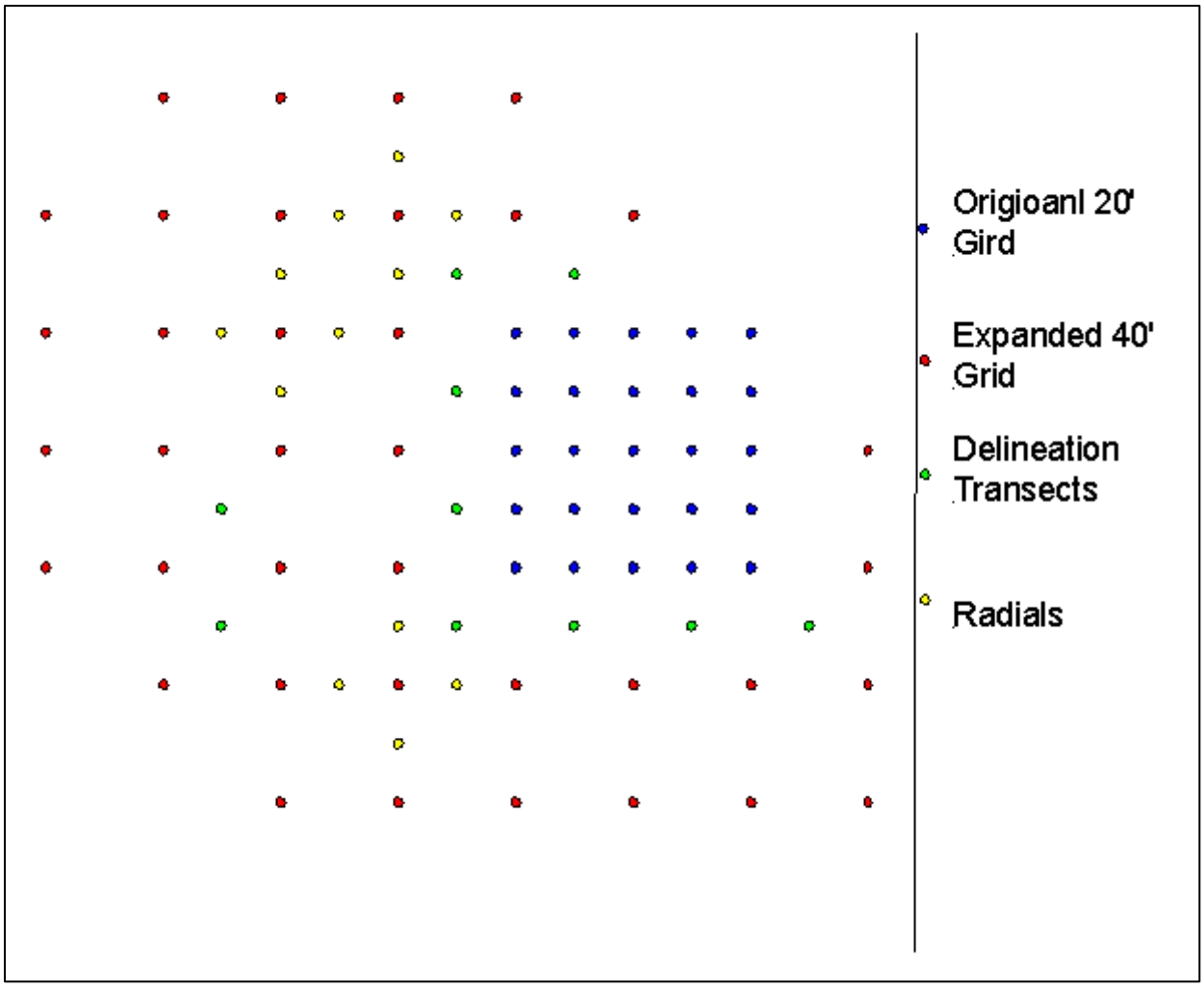

Figure 6. ***Survey Grid at 44FK520*****. North is to top of map.**

At this point, the testing of 44FK521 began. In keeping with the lessons learned from the initial 100' by 100' section of 44FK520, the original gird for the second site was expanded to include 67 STPs over a 1.87 acre area (Figure 7). One STP, located at N-112.5 E-957.5, was not excavated due to the location of an approximately 20' wide brush pile on the landscape. Due to low artifact counts, no delineating transects or radial STPs were excavated. Through this excavation, the western edge of 44FK520 was identified. Although low density artifact scatters were seen throughout the area, nothing evocative of the barn, corncrib, or quarters reportedly torn down in the area could be identified. It, however, must be noted that due to time constraints the survey grid was not extended south and southwest enough to allow for the continued exploration of 44FK521.

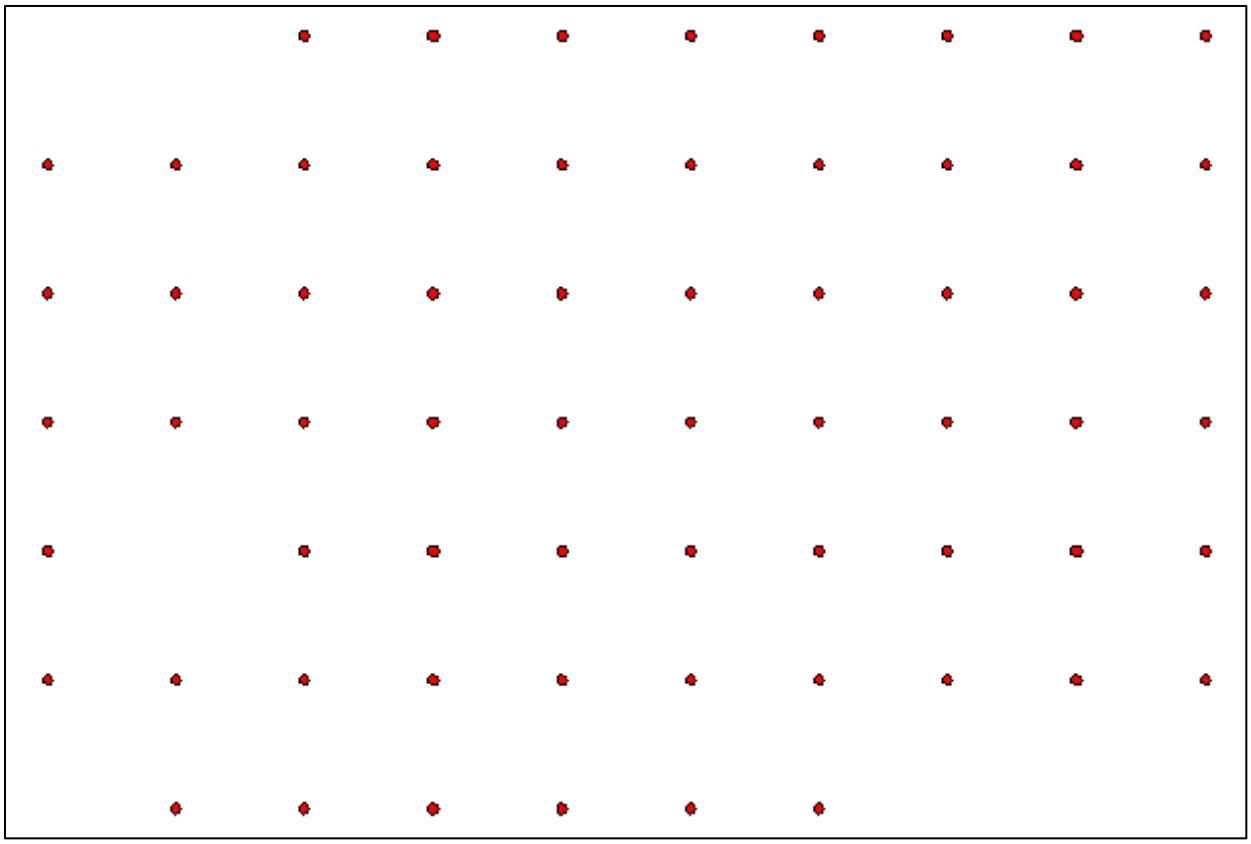

Figure 7. *Survey Grid at 44FK520*. The red circles are the location of STPs at 40' intervals. The missing STP in bottom left corner was the unexcavated STP at N-112.5 E-957.5. North is to top of map.

During the testing, the hill slope that defines the northern boundary of Parking Field was explored in order to determine if any cultural features could be identified on it. During this, a flat, narrow terrace was identified approximately 120' down the slope. Due to the possibility of this land form being used for a variety of activities, four judgmental STPs were excavated along

the terrace, one of which yielded a bone fragment. Based on this, an additional two STPs were excavated in this vicinity, one of which yielded a piece of slag.

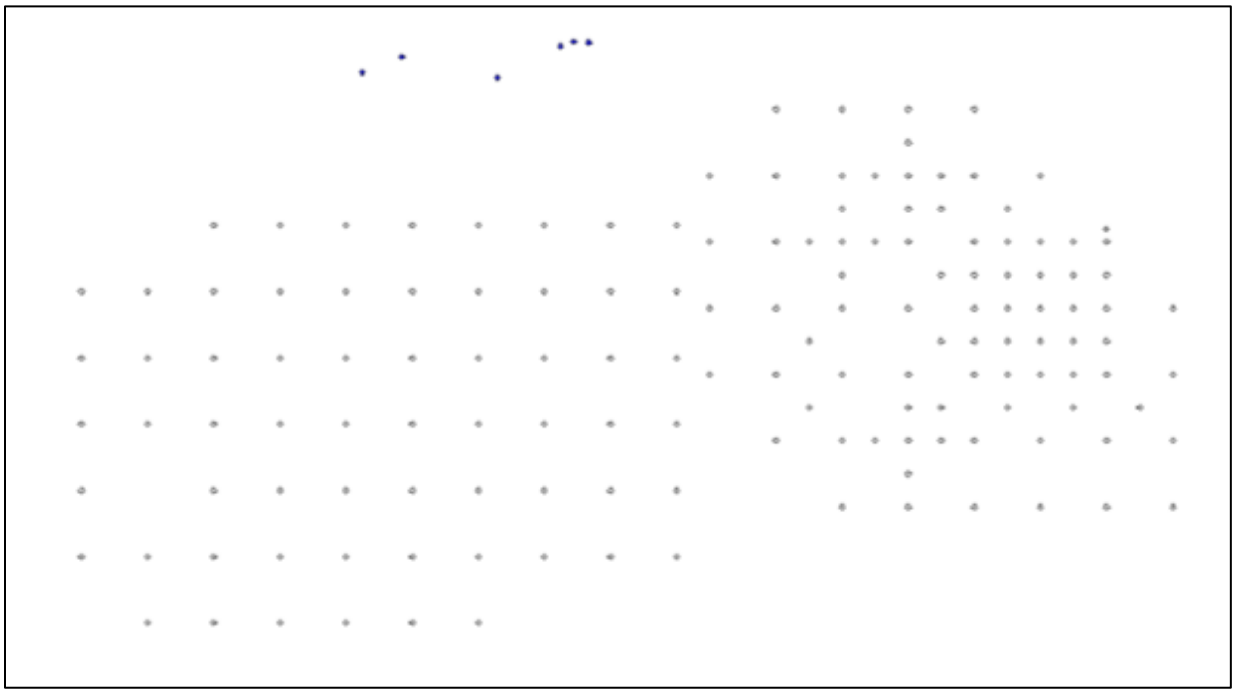

Figure 8. ***Location of judgmental STPs.*** **The judgmental STPs are in blue, and gridded STPs are white. Facing grid north.**

Excavation Methodologies

During the course of the testing, the excavated STPs measured roughly 1.0' to 1.2' in diameter, giving the test pits a total surface area of 0.78' to 1.0'. Each STP was excavated at least .3' into subsoil, unless limestone bedrock was encountered before this depth could be reached. When bedrock was encountered, it was noted in the STP forms. Following the excavation of the STP, the excavated soil color, soil texture, and basal depth of all excavated strata were recorded, along with any additional notes. This information was later data entered into the project's database, allowing it to be easily accessed and permanently recorded. The deposits encountered during the testing are reported in the following chapter.

During the initial excavation of the STPs, they were simply identified by their northing and easting. In order to ease the analysis and later curation of the test pits, as their information was entered into the database, they were assigned a unique three digit STP number, beginning with STP001. The only exception to this was the judgmental STPs, which were assigned a single digit number, proceed by a "-J." The first judgmental STP, therefore, is STP-J1. It is important to note that the order of the STP numbers reflects the order in which the STPs were data entered, rather than the order in which they were excavated. Therefore, for instance, while STP023

precedes STP037 in the database, STP023 was a radial test pit later excavated to further delineate the stratigraphy in STP037.

With the exception of the sod cap, all soils excavated from test pits were screened through ¼" mesh, with any artifacts being recovered. When encountered, all brick fragments larger than ¼" were recovered. Previous excavations at Belle Grove, particularly in the mansion yard, noted the presence of New Market limestone spalls – the residual debitage from shaping quarried limestone into blocks for construction (Geier 1995:40-41). No such limestone debitage was identified during the 2015 testing. However, it must be noted that the field crew had not been previously versed in the identification of this material type, and therefore, its presence can not be discounted. One limestone nodule with visible signs of burning was identified and recovered from the field, with the assumption that this burning may have been intentional.

Laboratory Methodologies

Following the completion of the excavation of the STPs, all artifacts were washed and dried. Once dry, each positive STP was assigned an inventory number, which was used to keep track of the artifacts once they were entered into the database. During the cataloguing process, individual and batched artifacts were counted, weighed, and assigned to a size category based on the diameter (rounded up to the nearest centimeter). Additional manufacturing types, wear patterns, and post-depositional alterations were noted when applicable, and additional dimensional data was collected for many artifact types.

Following the cataloguing process, the individual and batched artifacts were bagged separately (allowing for their easy recovery) before being placed into a single bag for each STP. Some artifacts, however, were discarded, including smaller brick fragments, slag, coal, and 20th century fencing wire. Discarded artifacts were noted in the database.

Curatorial Methodologies

Following the completion of the laboratory analysis, all of the materials from 2015 were prepared for curation. This includes the artifacts, in their appropriate bags, as well as the STP forms and any relevant field maps. Additionally, a hard copy of this report will be curated with a CD containing electronic copies of the report, the database, all map files and any other relevant files. All of these materials are currently located in a single banker's box that is labeled "Belle Grove Quarters 2015" and located with the other Belle Grove collections at the NTHP Archaeological Research Center, Montpelier Station, Virginia. As of the publication of this

report, these collections are stored with the Montpelier Archaeology Department, Montpelier Station, Virginia. However, at a future date these collections will be transferred to Belle Grove. For additional information, contact the author (Matthew Greer [mcgreer@syr.edu]), the Director of the Montpelier Archaeology Department (Matthew Reeves [mreeves@montpelier.org; 13384 Laundry Road, P.O. Box 67, Montpelier Station, VA 22957]), or the Executive Director of Belle Grove Plantation (Kristen Laise [info@bellegrove.org]).

Chapter 4: Results

The archaeological testing in Parking Field has dramatically increased our understanding of the activities that occurred in this area, and the role they played in the history of Belle Grove. This chapter presents these findings, first, through a discussion of the site strata encountered during the survey, and second, through a discussion of the recovered artifacts. Lastly, these findings are used to reassess the history of Parking Field presented in Chapter 2.

Site Definition

As noted above, the purpose of the 2015 archaeological investigations was to identify and delineate two sites previously identified in Parking Field – 44FK520 and 44FK521. While this work was able to define the presence of a large quarter at 44FK520, which extended much further to the west than previously noted, no evidence of the structures at 44FK521, which were reportedly removed in the 1920's, could be identified. In fact, almost no evidence for an early 19th century occupation could be identified at 44FK521. Therefore, in the following discussion of the sites, when no site is specifically identified, it can be assumed that the writing refers to 44FK520.

Despite this, a large area was tested in order to locate 44FK521, which did yield artifacts. In order to distinguish this area from 44FK520, all of the area east of the East -757.5 grid line is to be considered within the boundaries of 44FK520, while all of the STPs located to the west of this line have been designated "Parking Field West," as they are not associated with an archaeological site. Continued testing to the south and southwest of the 2015 project area will be needed in order to determine the location of 44FK521. This division of the two sites, however, was not defined until after the analysis had been conducted. During the initial testing, and recorded permanently in the STP paperwork, 44FK520 and 44FK521 were defined separately based upon the location of these sites from the 1990's. Once in the lab, however, all of the artifacts were labeled as 44FK520, as at that time, it appeared as if this site spread out across the entirety of Parking Field. After the artifacts had been catalogued and the two sections of Parking Field (44FK520 and Parking Field West) became formally split along the East -757.5 line, the database was edited to record this division and currently stands as the definitive source on the STPs associated with each site.

Testing in the vicinity of 44FK520, however, allowed the boundaries of the site to be mostly defined, as seen in Figure 9. The only exception to this is the site's southwest boundary, which was not able to be defined during the course of the 2015 investigations.

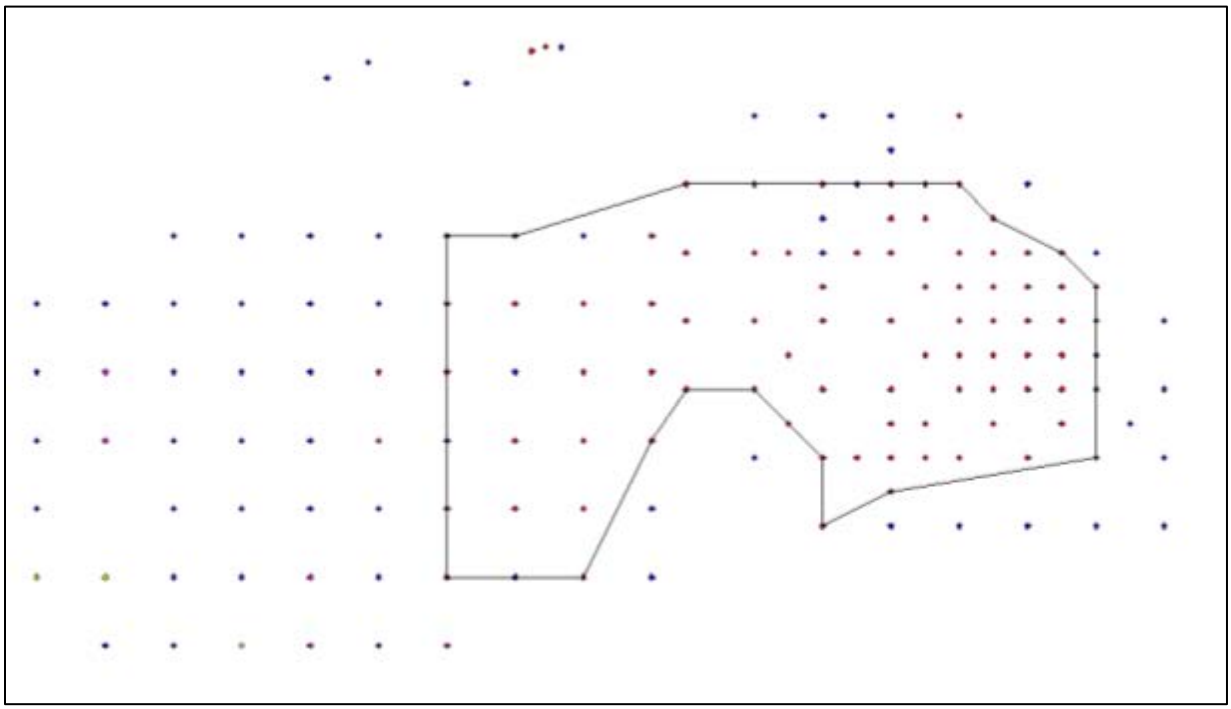

Figure 9. *Boundaries of 44FK520*. Facing grid north.

Site Stratigraphy

Following the excavation of the STPs, the excavated strata were grouped into eight "site strata" designations. The goal of this was to group together similar deposits, allowing them to easily be discussed and analyzed. For instance, all of the historic topsoils excavated during the course of the testing were grouped together into a single site strata. The descriptions of each site strata are provided below, in addition to any broader interpretations that can be derived from these deposits. Rather than present these in numerical order, the site strata are presented chronologically to facility their discussion of the past activities in Parking Field.

Sod / 20th Century Topsoil (SS 1)

The Sod and 20th Century Topsoil was generally defined by the presence of a brown to very dark greyish brown loamy silt, which typically was encountered at 0.1' below the surface of the STP. This deposit represents the 21st century sodcap as well as the topsoils that accumulated in this area over the course of the 20th century. While the 20th century topsoil was screened, the

sodcap was not, as this would have prevented the sod from being placed back in the STP when the excavation was complete (an action required as the field is periodically used for cattle grazing, and STPs without sodcaps form potential hazards for these animals).

While this deposit was encountered in every STP, no artifacts were recovered from these soils, primarily due to the limited screening that occurred. In the STP paperwork, this site stratum is referred to as the O (Organic) layer.

Disturbed Area from Telephone Pole (SS 4)

In the vicinity of the telephone pole, located north of the bend in Belle Grove Road, a deposit of disturbed fill soils was encountered below the Sod / 20th Century Topsoil. This fill was defined by the presence of a dark reddish brown silty clay, which was identified at 0.1' below ground surface, before sharply transitioning to Subsoil (*SS 3*). No artifacts were recovered from this fill deposit.

Despite being shallow, the presence of this fill soil indicates that the area surrounding the telephone pole has been impacted by modern activity, likely the result of the construction of the pole itself. Based on this, the soils in the immediate vicinity of the telephone pole are to be considered highly disturbed, and are unlikely to contribute to any greater understanding of Belle Grove's past. This deposit, however, was only identified in a single STP (STP013) excavated next to the pole, suggesting that this disturbance is highly localized.

Gravel Pad West of Gate (SS 5)

Located adjacent to the contemporary gateway leading into Parking Field, a layer of gravel was identified under the Sod. This deposit was identified by the presence of dark brown loamy silt with up to 75% gravel inclusions, and was 0.1' to 0.4' in thickness. At its base, this deposit transitioned sharply to the underlying subsoil. A visual inspection of the ground surface between these deposits and the gate identified the presence of a modern gravel pad, which extended southwest towards the gate, suggesting that this buried gravel lens was at one time the western extent of the pad. The gravel pad was only identified in two STPs (STP017 and STP043), both of which were located on the East -337.5 line, suggesting that this deposit is a localized phenomenon. No artifacts were recovered from this deposit.

Historic Topsoils (SS 2)

Dispersed across almost the entirety of Parking Field was a layer of Historic Topsoils. While large variations occurred within the soils characteristics of these deposits, they were generally characterized by a brown to dark yellowish brown loamy to clayey silt, identified below the Sod and 20th Century Topsoils (SS 1) and extending 0.05' to 0.9' in depth before transitioning gradually into the underlying subsoils. This clear transition strongly suggests that the soils have never been plowed, as plowing tends to leave a sharp transition down to the underlying deposits (in this case subsoil). While more intensive excavations will be needed to confirm the lack of plowing, for the time being, the historic soils in Parking Field can be considered to possess a high degree of integrity.

As seen by the recorded basal depth of these deposits, they vary widely in thickness across the expanse of Parking Field. The deposits excavated in the western half of the project area are on average shallower than the western half (a difference of approximately 0.15'), which roughly corresponds to greater erosion observed on the western slope of the second hill as it enters the tree line. This, however, is not the only evidence for erosion in the project area, as the deposits located further upslope are generally shallower than those located downslope – almost certainly due to years of slope wash and other formation processes. While the area is considered to possess intact soils, these erosional factors must be taken into account as further excavation continues.

The Historic Topsoils yielded the vast majority (95%) of the artifacts recovered during the survey, the distribution of artifacts within these soils will be discussed at length later in the report. Currently lumped into this site's strata are the various cultural landscapes of Parking Field, including the yardspaces of several early 19th century enslaved households. Upon future excavations, these deposits will likely need to be broken out into additional site strata as a more nuanced understanding of the stratigraphy of Parking Field is acquired.

Dark Soils at North of 44FK520 (SS 9)

During the testing of the vicinity of North 57 East -570, a deposit of very dark brown to black silt / loam with occasional chard woof flecking was identified in four STPs. While in one STP (STP047) this deposit transitioned down to a dense layer of gravel, this deposit generally

transitioned naturally to the underlying subsoils. Few artifacts were recovered from these soils, and those that were recovered generally date to the 19th century. At the moment, the nature of these dark soils are uncertain, and future testing is recommended to determine how they relate to the other deposits encountered in Parking Field.

Figure 10. ***STPs with dark soils*****. To the left is the dark soil transitioning to a gravel lens. To the right is the dark soil transitioning to a natural subsoil.**

Deep Soils off South Hill (SS 6)

During the excavation of STP037, located at North -77.5 East -497.5, a thick layer of dark yellowish brown loamy silt was encountered at 1.6' below ground surface, before the test pit was terminated, as this was the thickest deposit yet encountered in Parking Field. Four radial STPs were excavated at 20' north, east, south, and west of this location in order to further assess the nature of this deep deposit. Three of these STPs yielded normal layers of Historic Topsoil, which transitioned to subsoils at .55' to .6' below the surface, the western radial was excavated to a depth of 1.1' through similar soils as those seen in STP037 before it too was terminated. While STP037 is located on the southern slop of the hill, based on the results of these radials, it appears as if these deep deposits are the result of colluvial slopewash, as they were not identified in the STP located further downhill. Rather, it is possible that STP037 and STP023 were

excavated into cultural or topographic features. At the moment, the data from the STP survey is not inclusive enough to determine if this is true, and further testing is recommended in this location.

Figure 11. ***Deep soil off south hill*****. Note the consistent soil profile down to the base of excavation.**

Potential Limestone Foundation (SS 10)

In one STP (STP061), located at North -77.5 East -537.5, the Historic Topsoils were excavated to a depth of 0.7' below ground surface surface, before transitioning sharply to a flat limestone surface. While the identification of limestone bedrock at the base of an STP was not an uncommon occurrence, no subsoil was identified between the topsoils and the limestone, which was identified in all the other STPs terminated by limestone. Additionally, this STP is located in the southern end of the site, an area in which no other patches of bedrock were encountered, due in large part to deeper colluvial soil deposits at the base of the hill. Combined, these suggest that the observed limestone may not be natural, but rather a potential foundation.

At this moment this interpretation is extremely tentative and future excavations will be needed to determine if this is indeed a segment of a foundation, or if it, instead, is simply a limestone protrusion.

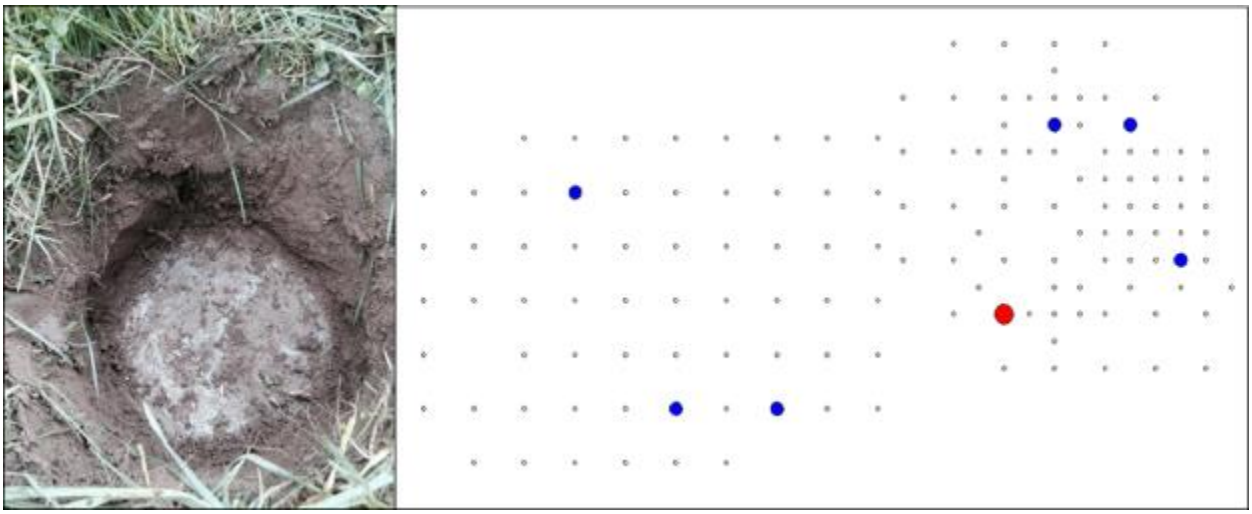

Figure 12. ***Possible limestone foundation and the location of the identified limestone bedrock*****. The location of the foundation is depicted in red and the identified bedrock in blue.**

Subsoil (SS 3)

At the base of the majority of the STPs (89%) excavated during the survey, a layer of yellowish brown silty clay was identified, which represents local subsoils. Once this stratum was encountered, excavation was halted. As noted earlier, the transition from the overlying historic topsoils down to this deposit occurred at dramatically different depths, suggesting that Parking Field was never plowed.

Recovered Artifacts

During the archaeological testing of Parking Field, 693 artifacts were recovered from 95 of the 153 excavated STPs. During the course of the laboratory analysis, the artifacts were divided into eight Chronological Categories, which are presented in Table 1. Broadly speaking, these categories include prehistoric artifacts, diagnostic artifacts from three different Antebellum date ranges, Antebellum artifacts that cannot be divided into any of these groupings, Civil War era artifacts (almost certainly deposited during the Battle of Cedar Creek), Postbellum artifacts, and artifacts whose chronology could not be determined. Amongst the artifact categories, the vast majority (74%) date to the Antebellum era, suggesting that Parking Field was occupied

during this time frame. More specifically, the majority of these (75%) date to between 1790 and 1830, suggesting that these years saw the bulk of the site's occupation.

Table 7. Artifacts during 2015 field season by Chronological Destination.

Chronology Description	Number of Artifacts	Percentage
Prehistoric	3	0.43%
1750 - 1790	18	2.59%
1790 - 1830	148	21.50%
1830 - 1860	31	4.47%
1861 - 1865	3	0.43%
1865 - Modern	64	9.23%
Likely / Indeterminate Antebellum	319	46.03%
Indeterminate	107	15.44%

Presented below is a brief overview of the artifacts recovered from each of the chronological designators, occasionally followed by a short discussion of the artifacts themselves. This is intended solely to inform the reader as to the range of artifacts recovered from the area before moving on to the interpretations about the history of Parking Field presented in the next section, and the specific interpretations about enslaved life in this area presented in Chapter 5.

Prehistoric Artifacts

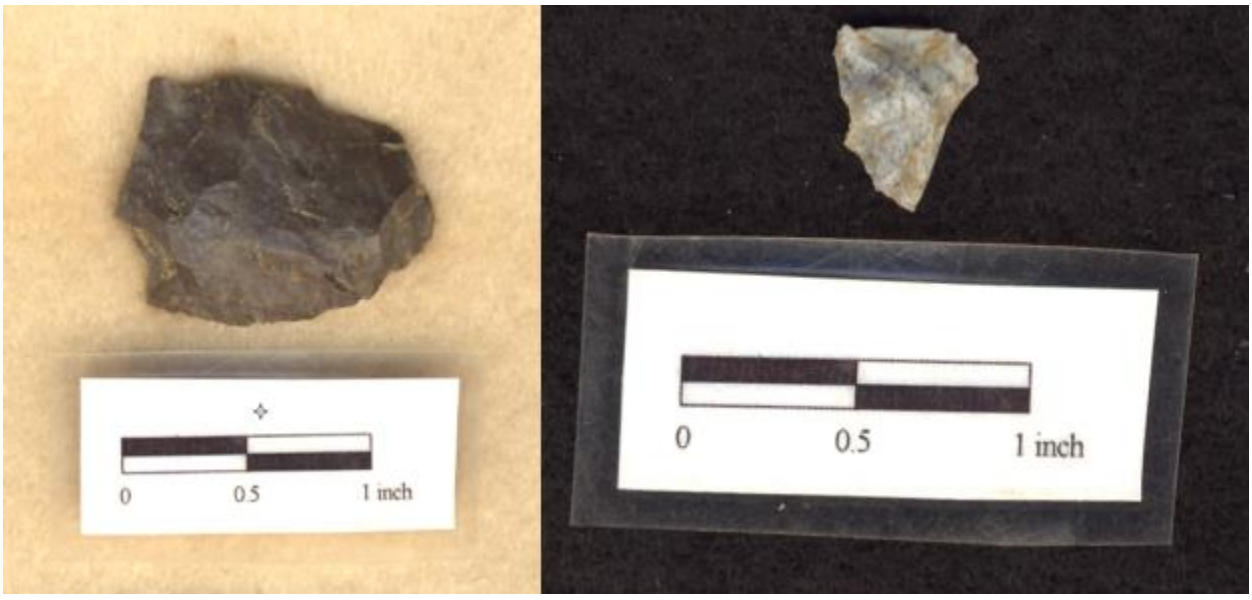

Figure 133. *Prehistoric Artifacts.* To the left is a chert secondary flake (44FK520-83.AD), and to the right is a probable hornfels thinning flake (44FK520-92.AA).

During the course of the archaeological testing, three prehistoric artifacts were recovered. These included a dark grey chert secondary flake, a probable hornfels thinning flake, and a piece of light grey chert shatter. All of these artifacts were recovered from the hill top located at the western edge of 44FK520 and the eastern edge of 44FK521.

1750 – 1790

During the course of the archaeological testing, 18 artifacts dating to between 1750 and 1790 were recovered. These included 15 whole or fragmented hand wrought nails, one sherd of tin glazed earthenware, a kaolin pipe stem fragment with a bore diameter of 4/64", and a single shard of 0.78mm thick aqua window glass.[4] While the ceramic and glass definitively date to the 18th century, obtaining firm dates on the recovered nails is more problematic. Machine cut nails did begin to enter into local markets in the 1790's, but they do not appear to have taken over the market until much later (cf. Adams 2002). In fact, many wrought nails appear to have been used in construction projects into the 19th century. Based on the larger percentage of machine cut nails from the site (see below), the presence of these nails does not strongly suggest the presence of 18th century buildings in Parking Field.

Figure 14. *18th Century Artifacts*. To the left is a sherd of tin glazed earthenware (44FK520-26.AH) and to the right is a kaolin pipe stem fragment (44FK520-20.AJ).

[4] All window glass dates were obtained using Randall Moir's formula for dating window glass recovered archaeologically in the eastern United States (see Weiland 2009).

1790 – 1830

During the course of the archaeological testing, 148 artifacts dating to between 1790 and 1830 were recovered. This includes 112 sherds of pearlware, one sherd of soft glaze porcelain, three copper alloy buttons, 22 whole or fragmented early machine cut nails (nails with double struck, L-shaped, side pinched heads, or indeterminate cut nail shanks), and nine shards of 1.02mm to 1.39mm thick aqua and light aqua window glass. Of the recovered pearlware, the largest majority contained no visible decoration. Of the decorated sherds, edge wares and handpainted tea / hollow wares dominated the assemblage.

Table 8. Decorative Techniques on Recovered Pearlware.

Pearlware Decoration	Number of sherds	Percentage of Assemblage
No Visible Decoration	74	66.07%
Shell Edge	16	14.28%
Hand Painted	12	10.71%
Slipped	4	3.57%
Transfer-Printed	4	3.57%
Relief Molded	2	1.78%

The early 19th century nail assemblage contained three hand headed (double struck) machine cut nails. Although these nails do not dominate the assemblage, they do provide an interesting link to some of the larger actions occurring at Belle Grove during the 1790's. During the 1993 survey of Belle Grove's mansion complex, Clarence Geier noted that 43% of the machine cut nail assemblage was comprised of double stuck nails, suggesting that this type of nail was widely used in the construction of the 1797 mansion (1995). Nails manufactured in this style represent some of the earliest machine cut nails – with the shank being machine cut before the head is formed from the top of the shank by two blows of a hammer; this manufactured type began to be replaced by fully machine cut nails in the early years of the 19th century. Several naileries specializing in this type of manufacture sprung up across Virginia during the 1790's, in the hopes of providing cheaper nails for local consumption. One such nailery was constructed at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello plantation in 1794 (cf. Sanford 1996). Given the role Jefferson played in the final designs for the new mansion, it is tempting to speculate that the Hites may have purchased nails manufactured at Monticello for part of the construction of the mansion,

with any surplus nails eventually being used by members of the enslaved community to build their homes in Parking Field following the completion of the mansion. Although no records of this potential purchase have been located by researchers at Belle Grove, it is possible that an examination of Jefferson's accounts may indicate if this purchase occurred.

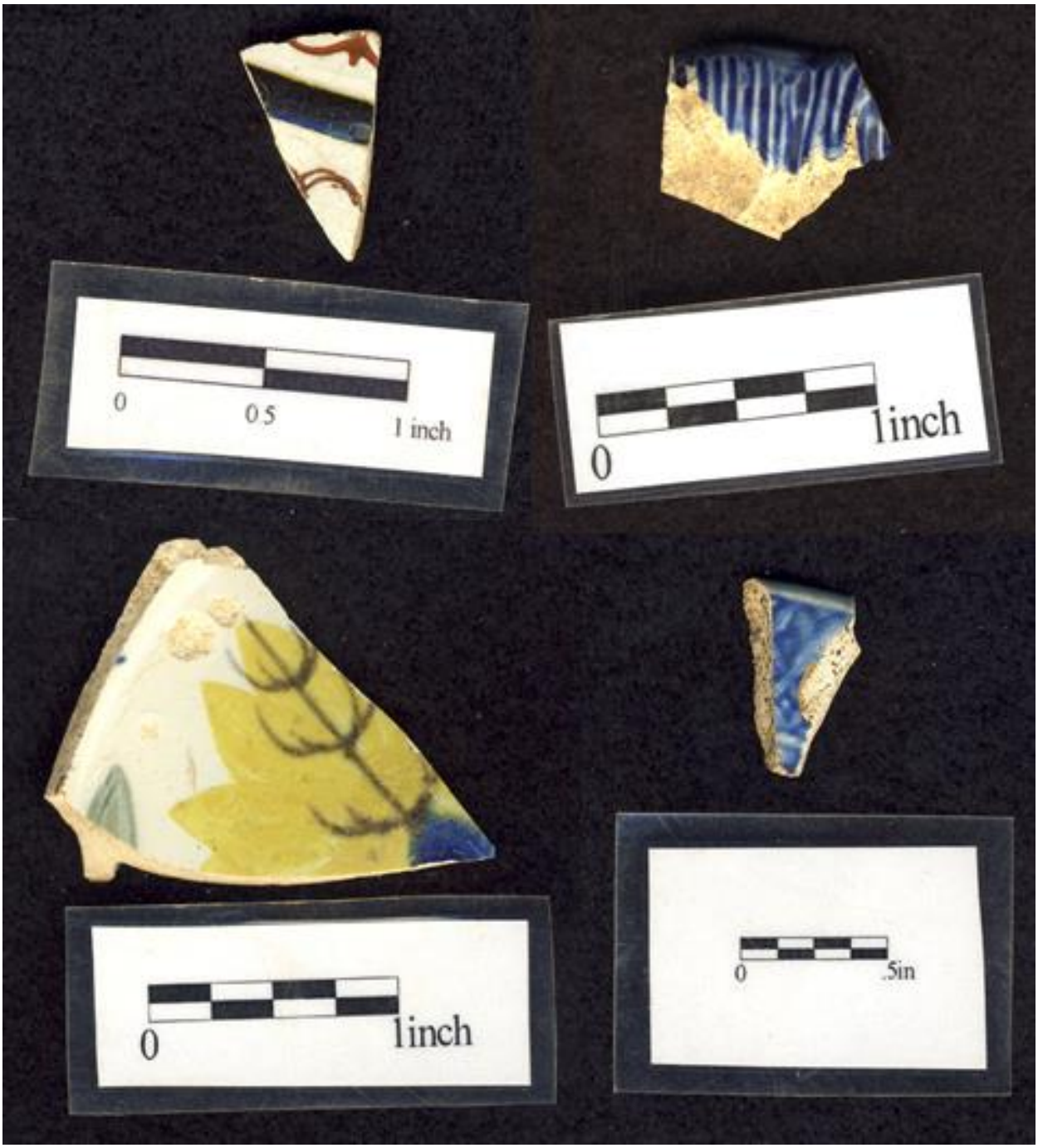

Figure 155. ***Early 19th Century Ceramics*****. The top left is slipped decorated pearlware (44FK520-20.AE), the top right is shell edged pearlware (44FK520-74.AA), the bottom left is hand painted pearlware (44FK520-34.AA), and the bottom right is transfer-printed pearlware (44FK520-40).**

Figure 166. *Double Struck Nails from 44FK520*. Artifact numbers 44FK520-10.AA (top) and 44FK520-1.AA (bottom).

1830 – 1861

During the course of the archaeological testing, 31 artifacts dating to between 1830 and 1861 were recovered. These include one sherd of ironstone, two sherds of yellowware, 20 sherds of whiteware, seven whole or fragmented face pinched machine cut nails, and one shard of 2.02mm thick aqua window glass. Although the majority of the whiteware sherds were undecorated, one hand painted sherd, one sponge decorated sherd, and three transfer-printed sherds were identified. While the majority of these artifacts were still manufactured after the Civil War, the lack of diagnostic late 19th century domestic artifacts from the majority of the survey area (see below) suggests that these items were deposited between the 1830's and the 1860's.

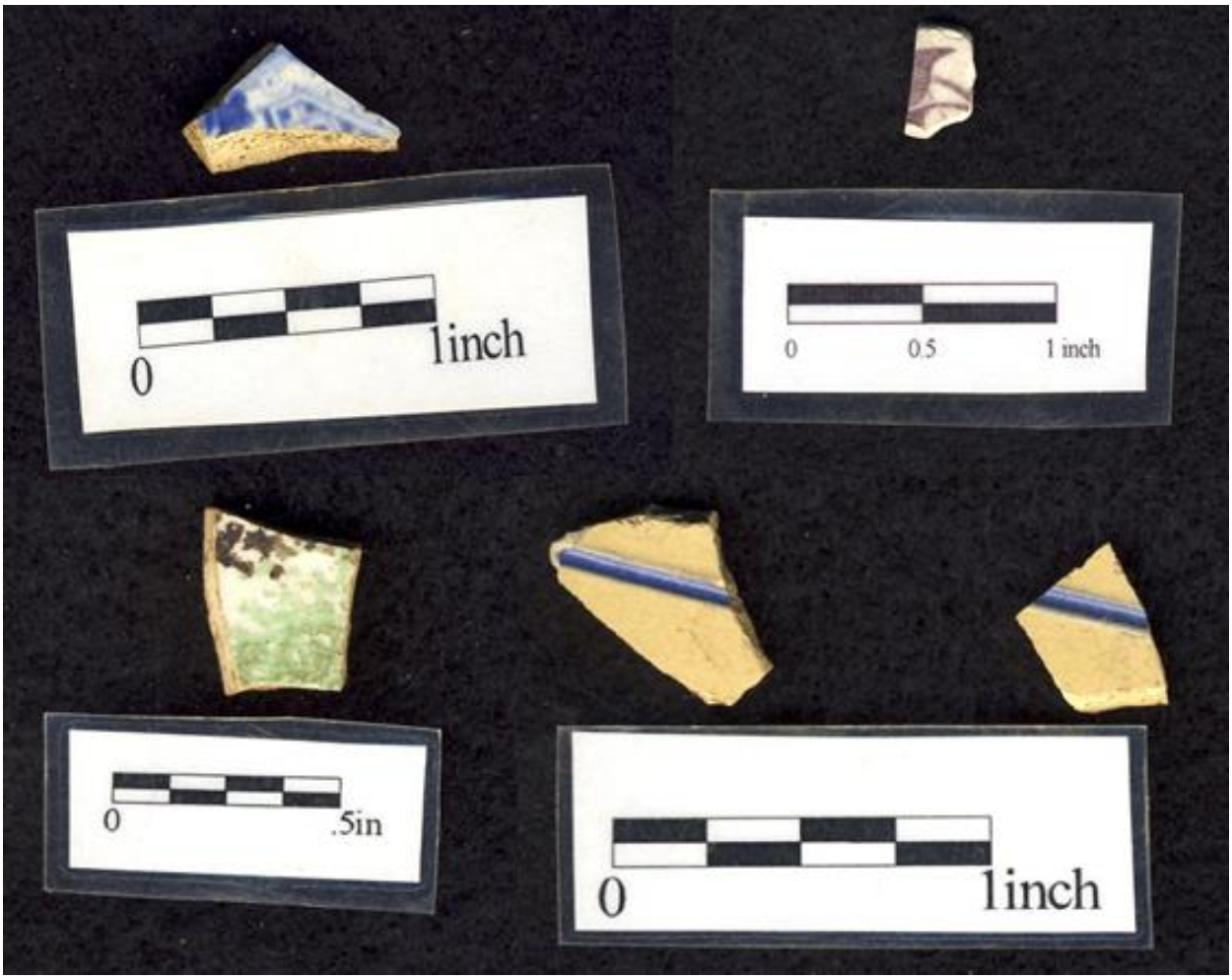

Figure 177. *Decorated Ceramics, 1830 to 1861*. The top row is transfer-printed whiteware (44FK520-6.AA and 48.AJ). The bottom left is sponge decorated whiteware (44FK520-49.AD), and the bottom right is banded yellowware (44FK520-60.AB/AC).

Likely / Indeterminate Antebellum

Unfortunately, not all of the artifacts recovered from the survey, while historic, are diagnostic enough to have been included in the previous three sections. This includes both artifacts that, while definitely dating to the Antebellum era, were manufactured in both the 18th and 19th centuries, and artifacts that, while not strictly speaking are only indicative of Antebellum occupations, can be assumed to date to this time period due to the relative paucity of later dating diagnostic materials recovered during the survey. Given the large amount of artifacts in this category, specific artifact types are presented in Table 3. Broadly speaking, however, this group was compromised of 95 ceramic sherds, 152 faunal elements or element fragments, 13

shards of vessel glass, three shards of other household glass, 26 architectural elements or element fragments, and 29 other miscellaneous items.

Table 9. Artifact Groupings in Likely / Indeterminate Antebellum.

Artifact Grouping	Artifact Type	Count
Ceramic	Course Earthenware	59
Ceramic	Stoneware	5
Ceramic	Indeterminate Refined Earthenware	12
Ceramic	Common Creamware	18
Ceramic	Porcelain	2
Faunal	Bone / Teeth	128
Faunal	Shell	24
Bottle Glass	Wine Bottle	7
Bottle Glass	Case Bottle	4
Bottle Glass	Pharmaceutical Bottle	2
Other Glass	Household Glass	3
Architecture	Building Materials	24
Architecture	Hardware	2
Misc.	Metal	25
Misc.	Other Items	4

Given the limestone bedrock present in the project area, a large amount of faunal elements were recovered, the majority of which were in good condition. This suggests that future excavations in the area may be able to provide insight into enslaved foodways in the Shenandoah Valley.

1861 – 1865

During the course of the archaeological testing, three Civil War era artifacts were recovered. These include a Union issue belt adjuster, a percussion cap fragment, and an impacted Gardner bullet. All of these artifacts were recovered from the hill top located at the western edge of 44FK520 and the eastern edge of 44FK521.

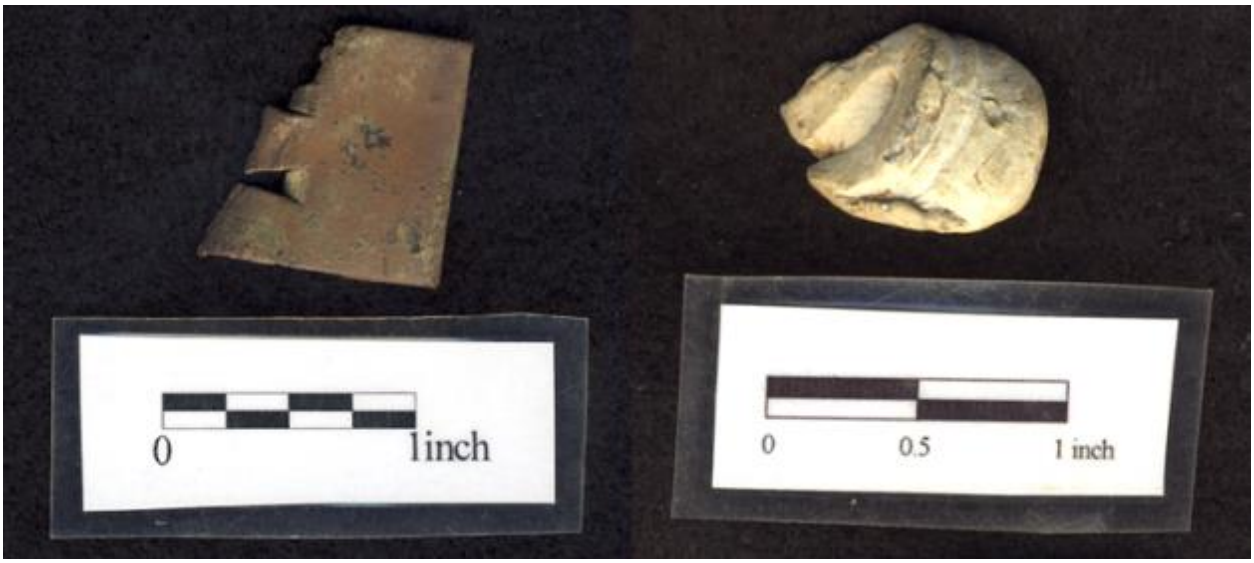

Figure 1818. *Civil War Era Artifacts*. To the left is a Union issue belt adjuster fragment (44FK520-75.AY), and to the right is a Gardner bullet (44FK520-83.AE).

1865 - 2015

During the course of the survey, a total of 64 artifacts were recovered, which date to between 1865 and 2015. These include one shard of 2.1mm thick window glass, one rim sherd from an unscalloped umolded blue shell edge whiteware plate, 16 shards of bottle glass (six clear, eight amber, and two light amber), 16 fragments of coal, two machine made wire fence staples, 16 fragments of barbed wire, nine fragments of indeterminate fencing / bailing wire, and three fragments of indeterminate wire.

Indeterminate

The artifacts whose date range could not be determined can roughly be divided into two categories. The first are naturally occurring minerals, which may have been used by the inhabitants of Parking Field at some point. These include one nodule of burned limestone and 25 fragments of an indeterminate tannish mineral deposit.

The second grouping includes blacksmithing scrap from the vicinity of the Dark Patch located at the north end of the site. While the artifacts recovered from this area are historic in nature, we are currently unable to determine when they date to. These include 39 fragments of slag (both magnetic and nonmagnetic), 12 farrier nails, a hand wrought chain link, eight indeterminate cast iron fragments, three bolt fragments, and 17 other ferrous and one cupric

indeterminate metal object. More intensive excavations will be needed in this area to determine when these items were deposited.

History of Parking Field Revisited

With the compiled soil descriptions and a cursory analysis of the recovered artifacts, it is now possible to compile a more comprehensive history of Parking Field than was previously presented in Chapter 2. These updated interpretations about this area are presented below.

Prehistoric Occupation (ca. B.C.E. 10,000 to ca. C.E. 1700)

Despite their low rates of recovery, the three prehistoric flakes indicate that Parking Field, or at least the western edge of the field, was used by Native Americans. With so few artifacts recovered over such a large area, it is probable that the area was used as a temporary camp, presumably for hunting. Unfortunately, the lack of diagnostic artifacts prevent us from determining when this occupation occurred.

Early Hite Ownership (1748-1790)

Within the Antebellum assemblage recovered from Parking Field, artifacts dating to between 1748 and 1790 formed the smallest amount (9%). Additionally, wrought nails comprised the bulk of these artifacts (83%); while these were primarily used during the 18th century, they are also commonly recovered from early 19th century sites as well (see above). If these nails did belong to an 18th century structure, however, it is likely that their distribution would be different than that of the later dating machine cut nails. Both hand wrought and machine cut nails, however, were recovered from the same areas of Parking Field, suggesting that they were used in the same buildings, instead of representing an 19th century occupation in the area. The remaining three 18th century artifacts, therefore, were likely deposited in the survey area during its 19h century occupation.

Later Hite Ownership (1790-1860)

Of the diagnostic artifacts recovered during the course of the survey, the vast majority date to the last 70 years of Hite's ownership of Belle Grove, suggesting that, as earlier archaeological surveys suggested, Parking Field was occupied during this time period. During

these years, the vast majority of Belle Grove's population was enslaved. Given this, it is almost certain that segments of Parking Field were used as a slave quarters.

As noted above, most of these artifacts date to between 1790 and 1830, suggesting that the bulk of the site's occupation occurred during these years. Only one definitively 18th century ceramic was recovered from the site. At most sites, ceramics that predate the occupation of the site tended to occur in recognizable numbers. For instance, at the Montpelier Plantation's South Yard Quarter, occupied from the 1810's to the 1840's, ceramics that definitely date to the 18th century accounted for 9% of the total ceramic vessels recovered (see Greer 2014). Given this relative lack of early ceramics, it is possible that Parking Field was not occupied until well into the 19th century. The recovery of double struck machine cut nails provides some clarity on the subject, as they were likely purchased for the 1797 construction of the main house, and any excess nails could have been used in the construction of any of the buildings in this quarter, only after 1797. While not fully explored in the archaeological literature, another factor that may have prevented an excess of earlier ceramics to be seen at the site is the particular history of Belle Grove's enslaved community. By 1800, almost every enslaved adult at Belle Grove had been either given to or purchased by the Hites in the 1780's and 1790's. During this forced relocation, it may not have been possible for these women and men to bring all of their possessions with them, especially their breakable plates, bowls, and cups. Therefore, it is possible that the site could still have been occupied ca. 1800 (as potentially suggested by the double struck nails) and still lack ceramics purchased before 1790. It must be stressed, however, that these are only to be considered preliminary numbers, and further excavation and more extensive artifact assemblages will be needed to begin to provide more information about when this quarter was built.

The end date for the quarter, however, is easier to determine. As noted earlier, only 31 Antebellum artifacts that postdate the 1830's were recovered. Of these, the majority (22) are ceramics that began to be manufactured in the 1820's, before fully replacing earlier ceramic types in the 1830's. The comparatively low recovery rate of the earlier ceramics suggests that 44FK520, the site to which these ceramics belong, ceased to be lived on either by the 1840's or at some point during this decade. This timing fits with what we know of Belle Grove's enslaved community, as many individuals once owned by the Hites were inherited by, or sold to, new owners by this time. Interestingly, however, seven face pinched machine cut nails were

recovered from the site. This type of nail began to be manufactured in the late 1830's and into the 1840's; the exact time period of the recovered ceramics suggests that the quarter fell out of use. This suggests two possibilities. These homes may have been repaired during the early 1840's by their inhabitants - as the dwellings could potentially have been 40 years old by this time – before falling out of use shortly thereafter. Alternatively, it is possible that after they were no longer lived in, they could have been renovated to serve a work / storage function. Regardless, they appear to have been razed prior to 1864, as they do not appear on the Hotchkiss map. Again, further excavations will be needed to assess the validity of these interpretations. Additionally, a more refined understanding of when these nails entered into markets of the Shenandoah may provide additional clarity.

During the course of these investigations, no evidence of 44FK521 could be identified. There is a strong likelihood that the structure that Jed Hotchkiss depicted at this location, and which the Brumback's dismantled in the 1920's, was constructed sometime between 1790 and 1860. Further investigations to the south and southwest of the 2015 project area will be needed to test this possibility.

Lastly, a concentration of blacksmithing scrap was identified on the northern edge of the site, which to date represents the largest mystery unearthed during the course of the investigations. No artifacts associated with this deposit are diagnostic enough to allow us to determine if it relates to the Hite ownership of Belle Grove or that of a subsequent owner. Additionally, the limited testing of this concentration could not determine if it is in its *in situ* location, or if it was dumped onto the site after at a later point in time. If this deposit does date to the Hite era and does represent the in situ deposition of blacksmithing scarps, then it is possible that the plantation's blacksmithing activities may have occurred in this area. Previous testing at 44FK522, located to the northeast of this concentration, has also identified concentrations of blacksmithing scrap, and Malcom Brumback had previously noted that a historic blacksmith shop had stood at the corner of Belle Grove Road and Meadow Mills Road, both of which suggest that blacksmithing occurred in the vicinity. Future testing, including the excavation of units in this concentration, will be needed to determine the extent of these activities.

Antebellum Cooley Ownership (1860-1864)

No artifacts dating to the Cooley's ownership of Belle Grove, which began in 1860, could be identified during the course of these investigations. Therefore, it appears as if most of Parking Field, specifically the area covered by 44FK520, was not occupied during these years. Furthermore, while the location of 44FK521 could not be identified during the course of these investigations, it is still likely that the structures depicted by Hotchkiss were present in 1864, and therefore were used during the Cooley years.

Battle of Cedar Creek (1864)

Late 19th century maps depicting the movement of troops during the Battle of Cedar Creek suggest that Parking Field did not play a major role during the engagement. The fact that only three artifacts dating to this action were recovered reinforces this interpretation. It must be noted, however, that the excavation of STPs has been proven to be an ineffective survey method on Civil War battlefields. For example, the excavation of STPs at Matthew's Hill, a component of the First Battle of Manassas, only yielded a single Civil War era artifact, while a metal detector survey of the same area yielded almost 900 Civil War era artifacts (Reeves 2001). Therefore, while further archaeological explorations in the project area are not expected to encounter more than an ephemeral scatter of artifacts deposited in October, 1864, the possibility of larger concentrations of artifacts cannot be discounted.

Postbellum Developments (1865-2015)

Overall, only a few late 19th to early 20th century domestic artifacts were recovered from Parking Field, indicating that the area was not occupied following the Civil War. This is further substantiated by the fact that the vast majority of these artifacts (89%) are bottle glass, which may have been deposited through a variety of activities rather than indicating a later occupation.

Alternatively, artifacts related to fencing, including machine made staples and fencing wire formed, comprise almost half of this assemblage. Specifically, the STPs that yielded barbed wire and fencing wire appear to form a linear arrangement, suggesting that a fence line once ran across Parking Field. This line, interestingly, does not fall along any fence lines identified during the background research on the project area, suggesting that it may form a late 19th to

early 20th century fence that was dismantled before the National Trust acquired the property in 1964.

Summary of Results

This analysis of the excavated soils and recovered archaeological materials has allowed us to reach a more nuanced understanding of how Parking Field was used throughout its history. Specifically, it appears as if the area was used ephemerally for most of its existence, serving as a hunting camp for local Native American groups, and potentially as pasture / hay production for most of the last 250 years. The period between ca. 1800 and ca. 1840, however, saw a large scale occupation in Parking Field, as the area was used as one of the Hite's quarter complexes during their ownership of Belle Grove (44FK520). While this last usage was briefly mentioned in this chapter, primarily as it relates to the overall history of the project area, the following chapter will delve into the specific interpretations we can derive about this quarter and its occupants, as well as the research and interpretative potential of this site.

Chapter 5: Current Interpretations and Future Work in Parking Field

The archaeological investigations of Parking Field confirmed the location of a large, early 19th century slave quarter, as detailed in the previous chapter. This chapter begins to offer interpretations about the lives of the women, children, and men who called 44FK520 their home. In doing so, preliminary interpretations are provided on the location and chronology of enslaved housing at Belle Grove, the types of dwellings and their location within the site, and the ways in which the site's occupants participated in local economies. It must be stressed, however, that all of these interpretations are preliminary and based on the limited amount of artifacts recovered for the site during the 2015 field season. If these findings are to be confirmed, more intensive testing would need to be conducted at this site. To facilitate this, recommendations for future work at 44FK520 and for location 44FK521 are provided. Lastly, a brief overview of the current state of the archaeology of slavery in the Shenandoah Valley is presented in order to place the importance of these sites with a regional context.

Overview of Enslaved Homespaces at Belle Grove, ca. 1780 to 1860

With our newfound understanding of the chronology of the occupation of 44FK520, it is possible to begin to construct a rough sketch of the enslaved quarters at Belle Grove during the ownership of the Hites and the Cooelys. While we know that Belle Grove began to be occupied sometime during the second half of the 18th century, firm documentation on the location of any domestic spaces during this time has not been identified. However, one archaeological site, 44FK511, was identified as containing a strong 18th century component, which may be associated with the early occupation of the property, likely under the direction of Isaac Hite, Sr. This, however, does not appear to have been the primary core of the fledgling property, which was situated in the area around Old Hall and today is the center of the mansion complex. Clarence Geier has previously suggested that Old Hall may have served initially as an overseer's home (1995:10-11). Therefore, if 44FK511 was occupied at the same time as Old Hall and was associated with the property, then it most likely served as the earliest slave quarter at Belle Grove and would have been home to Truelove, Eliza, and the other enslaved Virginians who were forcibly relocated to Belle Grove following Nelly Madison's marriage to Isaac Hite, Jr., as well as Primus, Ned and any other women and men who comprised Belle Grove's early enslaved community. It must be stressed that this interpretation is based only on preliminary evidence for 44FK511, and the site is in dire need of further testing before these interpretations can be

confirmed. Furthermore, if further work shows that this site is not an early slave quarter associated with the Hites, it does not discard the suggestion that such a site (or sites) did not exist, but rather that it simply did not exist at that site.

The 1790's, however, brought large-scale changes to the plantation's built landscape. This included the construction of a new limestone mansion in 1797 as well as a restructuring of the layout of the mansion complex. During the years the Hites lived in Old Hall, the mansion complex has been described as being in an "I" formation, with Old Hall forming the southern point of the "I," and its associated outbuildings stretching northward, creating the other end of the "I" (Geier 1995). With the construction of the new mansion, however, the layout of the outbuildings shifted to what has been described as an "L" formation, with Belle Grove mansion forming one arm of the "L," and the previous outbuildings forming the other (Geier 1995). This restructured landscape, however, also appear to have crossed over Belle Grove Road and extended into Parking Field (Clarence Geier, Personal Communication, 2015). Looking at 44FK520, the site is centered roughly on the North 0 line, which is in line with the northern edge of the mansion. This suggests that the quarter site may have been intended to serve as an additional arm of the mansion complex, thereby creating a large "T" shaped landscape, stretching from the mansion to the western edge of 44FK520. As noted in the previous chapter, several double struck nails were recovered from the site, which were likely left over from the 1797 construction of the mansion, suggesting that 44FK520 was constructed after the mansion. If this chronology is correct, then the construction of this quarter in the late 1790's / early 1800's may have been intended to serve as part of this broader restructuring of the planation landscape.

This, however, does not appear to have been an isolated change, as 44FK522, an enslaved home / work space, appears to have been constructed around the same time period. Taken together, these two early 19th century sites suggest that the Hites moved their enslaved community to the area between the mansion complex and the mill complex around this time, potentially to free up land to the east for agriculture. As few 19th century artifacts appear to have been recovered from 44FK511, it appears as if this site was similarly abandoned during this transition (again, assuming that this site was an early quarter). While it was not identified archaeologically during the course of these investigations, if 44FK521 was first occupied in the early 19th century than it likely was similar constructed during this shift in the plantation landscape. It is also important to note that during the early 19th century, Belle Grove's enslaved

population was dramatically increasing, both through natural increase and through the purchase / inheritance of new individuals by the Hites. Therefore, the larger amount of early 19th century quarter sites (potentially three) compared to the relatively few late 18th century sites that have been identified (potentially only 44FK511) may be a reflection of this growth, and the transfer of the community to the west side of Belle Grove Road may reflect the need to allocate more land to the housing of this growing community.

Forty years later, however, the enslaved community would have looked very different, as inheritance and the slave trade had long since taken their toll on the community they helped to establish. With far fewer enslaved individuals at Belle Grove during these years, it appears as if 44FK520 was either razed or converted to work / storage spaces once it was no longer needed for housing. Other domestic spaces in the vicinity, however, appear to have continued to be inhabited during this time period, including 44FK521 (based on the Hotchkiss map) and 44FK522 (based on the recovered ceramics). This suggests that these two sites are the most likely candidates for the homespaces that James Gordon reported as being close to the mansion in 1861 and that the unnamed Black woman lived in with her father and siblings in 1864.

Housing Styles at 44FK520

During the course of the 2015 investigations, 82 pieces of early 19th century architectural material, or likely architectural material, were recovered from 44FK520. This includes 46 whole or fragmented nails, 11 shards of window glass, 18 brick fragments, and seven other architectural elements. While this small assemblage does not allow us to definitively assess the types of houses that once stood at the site, it does allow us to begin to interpret what these homes looked like.

While relatively mundane artifacts, nails can provide a significant amount of information about the buildings they are used to construct (cf. Young 1991). Generally speaking, larger nails are recovered from timber frame structures, as this requires larger nails to hold structural members in place, along with smaller nails, which connect the siding to the structure's frame. On the other hand, smaller nails tend to be recovered from log cabins, whose structural members (i.e. logs) rest upon one another and are not required to be held in place by fasteners. Rather, nails are used to attach non-structural elements, such as roofing materials. Overall, the whole nails recovered from 44FK520 are small, averaging 2.27" in length. In particular, the two most common nail sizes present in the assemblage are 6d nails (2" in length) and 8d nails (2.5" in

length), which account for over half of the recovered whole nails. The whole wrought nails tend to, on average, be slightly smaller (2.14"), while the recovered cut nails (both early cut nails and face pinched nails) tend to be slightly larger (2.4"), but at the moment, this variation does not appear to have been particularly meaningful. Based on the presence of these smaller nails, it appears as if the dwellings at 44FK520 were log cabins, rather than timber frame structures, which tends to be typical for 19th century enslaved housing in Virginia. Furthermore, this nail assemblage is fairly consistent with the nails recovered from a recently excavated log cabin at the nearby Stickley Quarter (Cosby *et al.* 2013:88-92), further suggesting that the homes that once stood at 44FK520 were log cabins. Additionally, a fragment of daub – clay which was packed into the gaps between a cabin's logs – was recovered, which further supports the assertion that these homes were log cabins. Daub tends to be fragile, as it is comprised primarily of unfired clay, and therefore, it is possible that more fragments were excavated, but did not survive the screening process. Future excavations at 44FK520 should take care to assess the possibility of daub concentrations at the site, which could yield important information about these dwellings.

Table 10. Pennyweight sizes of nails recovered from 44FK520. Penny weight can be converted into inches by multiplying the number in front of the "d" by .25.

Nail Size	3d	5d	6d	7d	8d	9d	25d	Total
Wrought Nail	1	2	3	2	3	0	0	11
Early Cut Nail	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	6
Face Pinched Nail	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	1	3	6	2	5	1	1	19

Less evidence, however, is available for the foundation upon which these cabins sat. Unfortunately for archaeologists, log cabins were not always situated on permanent foundations. For instance, the excavation of two log cabins at Montpelier's Field Slave Quarter (44OR333) failed to yield any evidence of a foundation, or even of the structures' footprints, despite the fact that the site had not been plowed after it was abandoned (Heacock and Reeves 2015; Trickett 2014). Instead, these dwellings likely sat upon rocks or bricks arranged at the cabins' corners. At 44FK520, only 17 fragments of brick were recovered, 16 of which were under 2 cm in diameter, along with a large brick bat. No stones large enough to have been used for a foundation were recovered. While this lack of evidence for any foundation features prevents us

from further discussing this element of these structures, it does not mean that *in situ* remains are not present at 44FK520.

Although dating to later in the 19th century than 44FK520, excavations at the cabin at the Stickley Quarter identified the presence of a 16' by 17' limestone foundation and an associated 6.2' by 6.2' firebox (Cosby *et al.* 2013). While such elements tend not to be present in cabins built for housing enslaved individuals east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Caitlin Cosby *et al.* noted that this type of construction tends to be typical of cabin construction in the Appalachian Mountains (2013:95-99). Given the fact that 44FK520 lies less than a mile from Stickley Quarter, the exciting possibility that these cabins may have sat upon limestone foundations cannot be ruled out.

While several potential roofing nails (hand wrought spatula tipped nails) were recovered from 44FK520, no other evidence of any roofing materials was unearthed (slate roofing tiles, etc.). Given this, the cabins in 44FK520 most likely had wooden roofing shingles (referred to as shakes), which were commonly used throughout Virginia – typically crafted from cedar or oak (Cosby *et al.* 2013:85). Additionally, a fragment of a large pintle was recovered, which likely supported a door on one of these cabins. Lastly, it appears as if some of the windows in the cabins at 44FK520 had window glass in them, based on the recovery of 11 shards of window glass from the site. The majority of this glass dates to between 1816 and 1829, based upon the thickness of the glass (see Weiland 2009). If these cabins date to the early 1800's, as can be assumed based on the domestic materials and nails recovered from the site, it appears as if these windows would not have been installed at the time as the construction of these homes. Rather, their later dates suggest that the enslaved individuals who lived at the site may have purchased this glass at a later point in time and installed the glass themselves. Such actions would not be inconsistent with the purchasing patterns at other Virginia plantations (see Reeves 2015).

House Yards at 44FK520

While we can begin to gain an understanding of the types of homes which once stood at 44FK520, the previous discussion left out one critical detail: how many houses stood at the site. Unfortunately, the architectural artifacts themselves do not allow us to answer this question with any amount of certainty. Based on the size of the site, which covers approximately 1.4 acres, it is highly probable that multiple cabins existed at 44FK520. Assessing the distributions of

artifacts within this area, however, can provide a more fine-grained understanding of the location of these potential homes as well as their associated yard spaces.

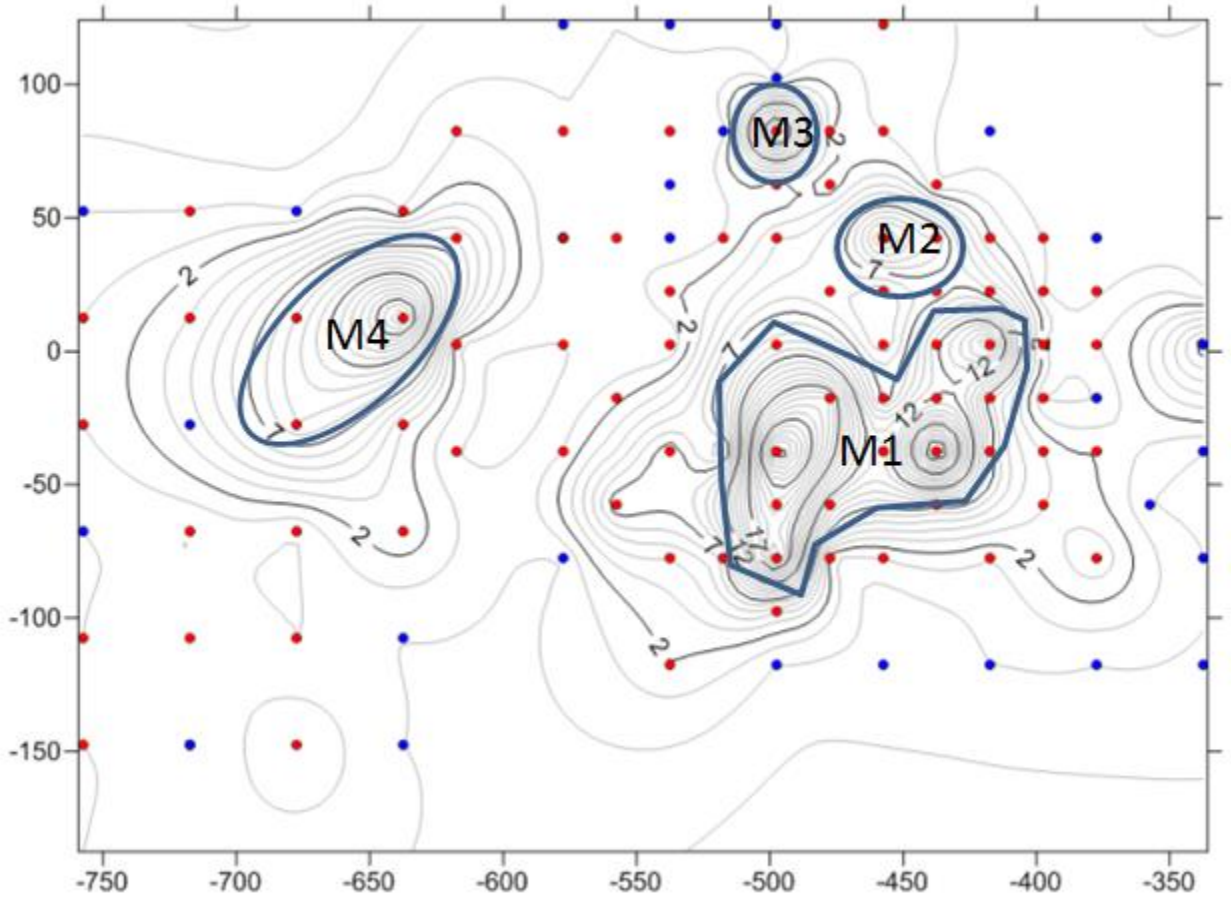

Figure 199. ***Distribution of Domestic Artifacts at 44FK520*****. Grid north is to top of the map. M1-M4 refers to the midden numbers associated with these deposits.**

One of the key features of both African and historic African-American homespaces is their utilization of the yardspaces adjacent to the house (cf. Gundaker 2005; Heath and Bennett 2000; Westmacott 1992). It was in these yardspaces, rather than within the walls of their associated dwellings, that the majority of the day to day activities were carried out. In order to prepare the yard for these activities, these spaces were swept with a broom on a daily basis, preventing the growth of any grass in the area and creating a smooth, manicured yard surface – actions which not only yielded the mundane benefits of keeping bugs out of the yard (cf. Fesler 2010:33), but which also could be endowed with spiritual significance (Battle-Baptiste 2010). Over the course of the last two decades, archaeologists have taken an ever greater interest in the constant sweeping that created African-American yardspaces, as the identification of such surfaces can be critical to identifying the location of both houses and activity areas. Garret

Fesler has previously noted that based on excavations at the Utopia Quarter, located in James City County Virginia, swept yards tend to be identified by an absence of artifacts, as the daily sweeping prevents artifacts from accumulating in the yardspace. Yardspaces can be identified archaeologically by the presence of a "halo" of artifact concentrations ringing the edges of the yard, created as all of the trash is swept away from the yard (2010).

At 44FK520, a similar pattern was observed. As seen in Figure 19, the majority of the domestic artifacts recovered from the site came from four concentrations, which were identified by the presence of seven or more domestic artifacts per STP. Each of these has been assigned a midden number, ranging from Midden 1 to Midden 4, in order to allow them to be easily discussed (Figure 19). Midden 1 is a large cluster of artifacts located between North 2.5 and North -77.5 and East -517.5 and East -417.5; Midden 2 is clustered around North 42.5 and East -448; Midden 3 is clustered around North 82.5 and East -497.5; and, Midden 4 is around North -4 and East -660.[5] In between these clusters is a large, quarter acre area, mostly devoid of artifacts. This area likely represents the location of a large yard, in which the cabins would have been located. Typically, house yards are not nearly as large as the continuous area seen here, and as such, it is possible that the area represents two discrete yards, with the area in between communally kept clean of debris simply by its deposition in other parts of the site. Similar patterns have been seen at some of Monticello's quarter sites, leading researchers to suggest that a "clean" space between discrete house yards facilitated social bonds between the residents of the individual cabins (Nieman *et al.* 2013). To the north end of the yardspace, the Dark Soils at North of 44FK520 (*SS 9*) were identified, potentially preventing this area from being interpreted as the site of one of the cabins located at the site (Figure 20). Within the remaining yard area, however, two areas were identified, based on the artifact distributions and topography, that may have served as the location of some of the cabins at 44FK520.

[5] Some previous research on the archaeology of Black house yards (Heath and Bennet 2000) has suggested that yard sweepings are likely to affect artifacts differently based on their size – with smaller artifacts staying in their original location despite the sweeping, and larger artifacts being swept to the yard's perimeter. The distribution of artifact in different size grades all conform to the general pattern noted above, in which the house yard at 44FK520 is defined by an absence of artifacts. The distribution plots of the various artifacts' sizes are available in Appendix B.

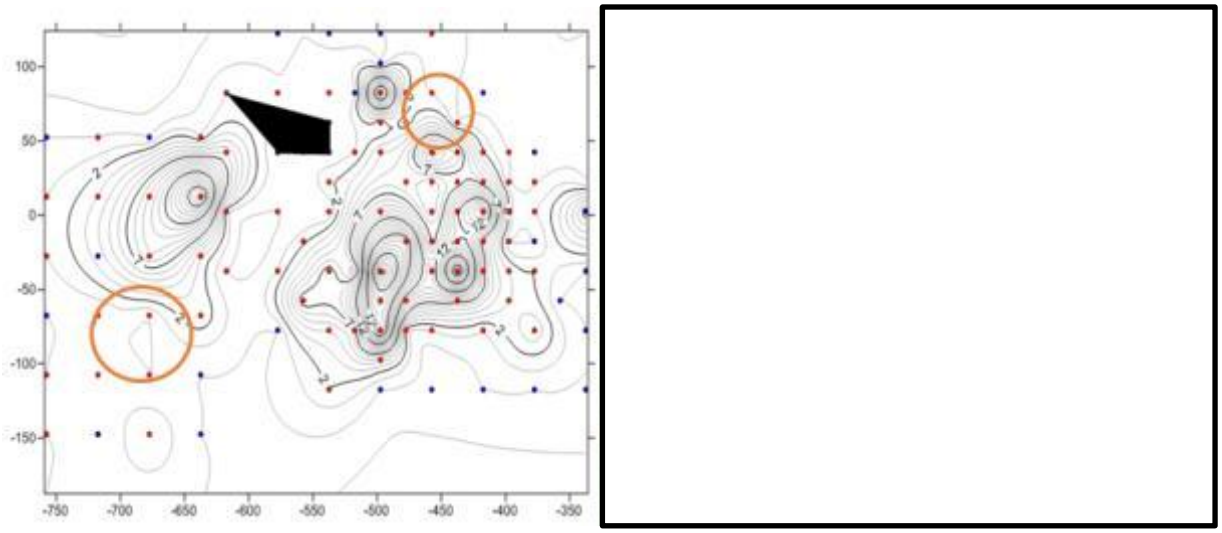

Figure 200. ***Location of House Sites at 44FK520*****. The orange circles depict the locations of the two house sites, with the circle in the top right being House Site 1, and the circle to the bottom left being House Site 2. The dark area on the map to the left represents the extent of the Dark Soils (SS 9). Aerial imagery (REDACTED) accessed through Google Earth (accessed July, 2015).**

Overlaying these locations with aerial imagery available through Google Earth, limestone outcroppings can be seen on the landscape, potentially the remains of the foundations of two of the cabins located at the site (assuming these cabins had stone foundations). While this interpretation is highly tenuous at the moment, future testing may be able to confirm or deny the presence of two cabin foundations in these areas. The distribution of the architectural material, however, presently seems to confirm the location of one of these house sites. As seen in Figure 21, the vast majority of the architectural debris was recovered from the area in between the two house sites. Within this, the largest concentration of architectural materials was recovered from the vicinity of House Site 1, indicating that a structure was likely constructed and later razed at this location. Furthermore, the location of this area seems to coincide with the "flattened or platformed area" originally identified in the 1990's as being devoid of artifacts (Tinkham and Geier 2006:92). Until this testing can be conducted, the northeastern house site will be referred to as House Site 1, and the southwestern house site as House Site 2. These identifiers, however, will need to be reassessed in light of continued excavations in the area. While at the moment these are the only two potential homespaces that could be identified, the possibility exists for more to have stood outside of the project areas or to have left signatures that were not identifiable through the course of the STP survey conducted during the 2015 field season.

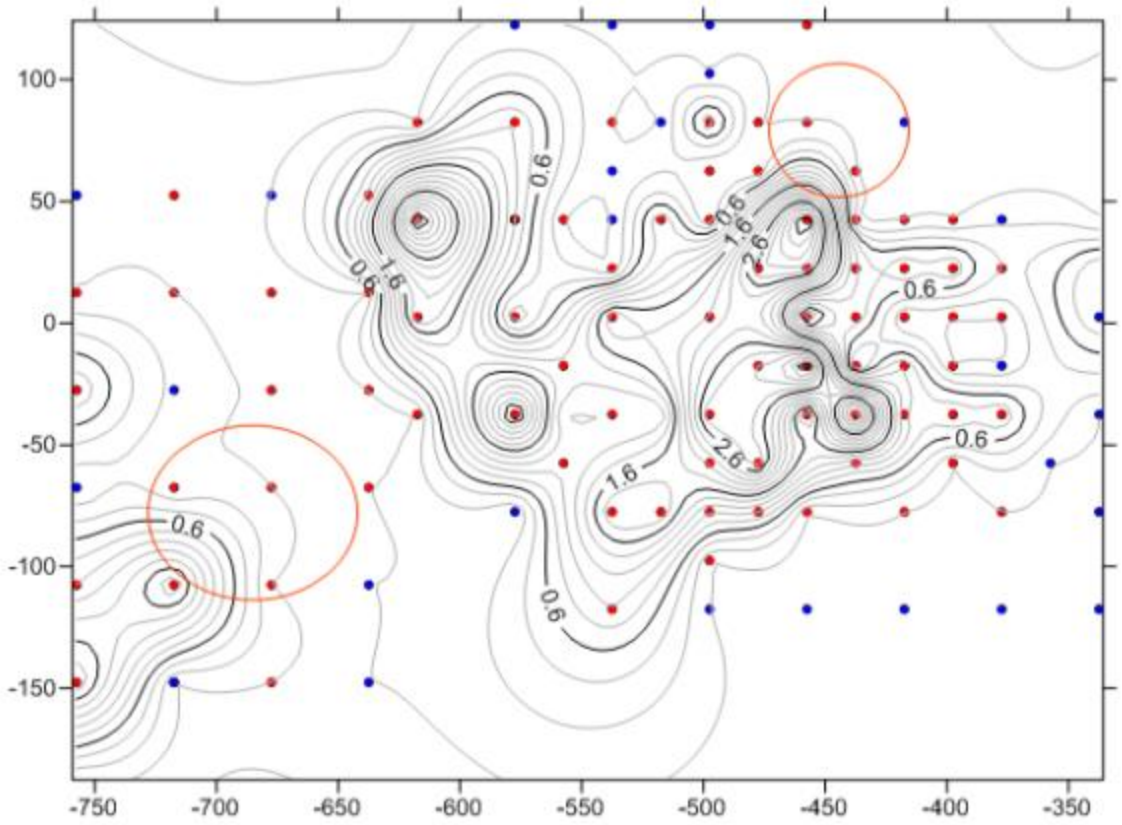

Figure 211. ***Distribution of Architectural Material at 44FK520*****. Orange circles represent the location of the two house sites.**

If these do represent the location of two cabins at 44FK520, a few possible interpretations about the Black landscape at Belle Grove can be proposed. First, the largest midden identified at 44FK520, Midden 1, is located in the area between the site and the Mansion Complex. By depositing their refuse in this area, it is possible that the women and men who lived at the site could have been creating a boundary on the landscape: dividing their own homespaces from the mansion and its formal landscape through discarding their trash. Additionally, this potentially indicates that the areas of the site used for day to day activities were to the northwest of these two cabins, an area which would have been further removed from the mansion and potentially out of sight of the plantation's White inhabitants. Additionally, no middens were identified in the area between the two potential house sites, indicating that these two households maintained a shared yardspace, which would have been equally accessible to individuals who lied at these cabins. If the yard area had been maintained as two separate yards, the residents of these households would have likely swept debris out towards the other house site, creating a midden in between that would have demarcated the boundaries of each yard.

As there are two potential house sites identified at 44FK520, it is likely that each household would have slight variations in their artifact assemblages. Perhaps the women and men who lived in House Site 1 chose to purchase more expensive ceramics than their neighbors (see next section). It is possible that House Area 2 was inhabited for a longer period of time than House Area 1. In order to see such differences, the distribution of various ceramic types was compared across the landscape, the results of which are presented in Appendix B. Despite extensive attempts to see differences between the two house areas, the distribution of both expensive and later dating ceramics did not differ by house site. Additionally, the distribution of window glass recovered across Parking Field, however, does tend to concentrate around House Site 1, indicating that only the individuals living at this site had glass windows. This distribution, however, is similar to the major distributions of architectural artifacts from 44FK520, and as such, this may simply indicate the ways in which the building materials from both sites were dispersed throughout the landscape following the destruction of these cabins.

Market Access

Despite the fact that the Hites owned the women, children, and men who lived in the cabins at 44FK520, these Black Virginians appear to have actively involved themselves in both selling and buying goods in the local economy. For instance, the window glass mentioned above was almost certainly purchased by one (or more) of these individuals, likely a person who wished to have a window that let in light, but which also kept out the wind in the winter and bugs in the summer. While such activities, at first glance, appear to be contrary to our contemporary image of slavery, Enslaved Africans and their descendants participated in market activities throughout the Americas (cf. Berlin and Morgan eds. 1991; Hauser 2008; Wood 1995). Contextualizing the artifacts recovered from the site along with written records, especially from the Hite Family Commonplace Books, allows us to begin to piece together an understanding of how these individuals interacted with the economic world around them.

In the Commonplace Books, members of the Hite family recoded a variety of information, including: details of the management of Belle Grove and its associated store, names of family members, the dates of some of their major life events, and information about the community the Hites enslaved. Jacob Blosser has previously transcribed two commonplace books belonging to the Hite family, one used from 1776 to 1859 (*n.d.*a: Doc. 62) and the other dating used from 1785 to 1847 (*n.d.*a: Doc. 62). While the first Commonplace Book (1776 to

1859) possesses a wealth of information about the enslaved community, including several lists of the individuals owned by the Hites, no information about the items these women and men bought and sold was recorded in it. The second Commonplace Book (1785 to 1847), however, does possess entries related to this part of enslaved life. Unfortunately, however, in its current form, transcribed in *Letters From Belle Grove: An Edited Collection of Hite Family Papers From the Archives of Handley Regional Library and the Virginia Historical Society, Volume I* (Blosser *n.d.*a), the Commonplace Book is not listed with any page numbers, with the only available reference to the document being its number within this collection - Document 63. Because of this, the following information from the second (1785 to 1847) Commonplace Book will be given without any citation, with the understanding that they can be found within the document. When other documents are referenced, however, they will be clearly differentiated and listed in conjunction with their proper citation.

Virginian slaveholders often allowed the women and men they owned to grow food and raise fowl as a means of providing extra rations for their families. While some families were only able to produce enough food in the few hours a day allotted for these activities to feed themselves, others managed to acquire more food than they or their families could eat. This surplus could then be sold either to slaveholders or at local markets (cf. Heath 2004). In fact, the sale of excess food appears to have been one of the primary ways in which enslaved Africans and their descendants accumulated wealth across the Americas (cf. Berlin and Morgan eds. 1991; Handler and Wallman 2014; Heath 2004; Samford 2004; Wood 1995). While we, at present, have no record of what anyone enslaved by the Hites sold off the plantation, two entries in the 1785 to 1847 Commonplace Book record the sale of poultry to the Hites by members of the enslaved community. The first entry, which dates to 10 May 1835, lists six individuals who sold the Hites a total of 37 chickens (Table 5). Interestingly, this same entry notes that an additional 18 chickens were ready to be eaten, which were the product of "my own raising," indicating that while purchasing poultry from the enslaved community was perhaps the largest source of the chickens eaten in the mansion, the Hites were not totally dependent on this source. The second entry from the Commonplace Book, which dates to 1 September 1835, records the purchase of "4 Chickens at 6½ cents, 4 Ducks at 20 cents [and] 1 Tray at 33 2/3 cents" from an unnamed source(s), which can be assumed to be one or more member(s) of the enslaved community. Combining the price of chickens from September with the list of how many individuals sold

chickens to the Hites earlier in the year, we can see that the enslaved community stood to make a decent sum of money from selling poultry to the Hites.

Table 11. Chickens Put Up to Kill, 10 May 1835.

Individual	Number of Chickens	Estimated Price
Old Frank	12	¢78
Shadrack	6	¢39
Nancy	4	¢26
Sam	4	¢26
Sally	5	¢32.5
Fanny	6	¢39

While the sale of poultry cannot be seen from the animal bones recovered from a site, as the animals are not butchered, eaten, or discarded in the context of an enslaved homespace, other items related to chickens, particularly gullet stones, can be recovered archeologically. Gullet stones are items, generally rocks, that poultry (as well as other animals) swallow in order to aid in digesting food in their stomachs, before eventually passing them. When fowl are kept in close proximity to trash deposits, however, they sometimes swallow discarded items as gullet stones. This can be especially identifiable on ceramic sherds, as the process of being swallowed, kept in the stomach, and eventually leaving a bird tends to remove the glaze from the sherd and wear down the edges of the ceramic. During the investigations at 44FK520, two ceramic gullet stones were recovered, which suggests that chickens were being kept at the site, potentially for the purpose of selling them to the Hites.

Craft production could also be an important source of income for enslaved families. Jacob H. Coffman, recalling life in the Shenandoah Valley during slavery in 1932, noted that as long as they had "a permit on paper from their masters" Black women and men enslaved in the area "would make brooms and sell them among the people" (in Moore 2009). While home grown "broom corn" was often used to construct broom heads, wooden shafts still needed to be cut and shaped before they could be sold. One object recovered from 44FK520, a scraper made from the base of a wine bottle (artifact 54.AA), could potentially have been used in the construction of these shafts, if the residents of this site were involved in the production of brooms for sale (see Wilkie 1996 for an extended discussion of the use of knapped glass tools by Black Southerners).

In addition to selling food and wares, enslaved Virginians also had the ability to sell their time – taking on extra tasks after hours in return for cash (Schlotterbeck 1991). The second Commonplace Book notes that at an unspecified date, "Young Truelove" rolled eight pounds of yard and "thread[ed] and bleached[ed]" "20 skiens [sic]" of wool, although it is uncertain whether Truelove took on these actions after hours in return for cash or if this processing was part of her official, unpaid slave labor. A similar issue is present in two entries in late January 1837, when Nancy was given four pounds of "yarn to spin," while Betty was given four and a half.[6] Regardless of whether or not these women were working on this wool production for cash, the fact that all three are women begins to provide us with some sense of the gendered division of labor at Belle Grove, and the impact that this distribution of skills had on the ways these women and men could participate in the local economy.

Our discussion of the market activities participated in by the women and men enslaved by the Hites, however, does not end with the items these individuals sold to make money. It also includes the things these Black Virginians chose to purchase with this money. The 1785 to 1847 Commonplace Book identifies one item the enslaved community purchased from the Hites, as Old Rueben bought 25 pounds of flour at three cents a pound on an unspecified date. As the Hites maintained a store at Belle Grove, it is highly likely that members of the enslaved community, and potentially women and men enslaved at neighboring plantations, purchased items from it. Unfortunately, at this point in time, no account books from the Hites store are present to shed light on this matter. Regardless of whether they purchased them from the Hites or from neighboring merchants, the artifacts recovered from the 2015 investigations demonstrate that the households living at 44FK520 were actively purchasing items from local merchants.

One of the most obvious signs of this market participation is the refined earthenwares recovered from 44FK520. These ceramics were all manufactured in English factories before being shipped across the Atlantic and sold to local merchants, who in turn sold them to their customers. Across the South, it was not uncommon for White planters to supply enslaved households with some ceramic tablewares (cf. Galle 2004; Olin 2008). In these cases, however, the ceramics tend to be cheaper and more uniform in their decorative motifs, as they were likely

[6] Both instances occurred in late January, after the inventory of Isaac Hite, Jr.'s estate. However, while we have record of these women being enslaved at Belle Grove, they were not included in this inventory. More research must be carried out on this case to determine if these women where in fact at Belle Grove, or if they had been recently inherited / sold and were receiving payment for past spinning.

purchased in bulk (Olin 2008). While the ceramic assemblage recovered from 44FK520 is small and difficult to make definitive statements from, it does possess a fair amount of more expensive wares as well as a variety of decorative motifs, suggesting that the enslaved community likely purchased a large portion of the plates, cups, and bowls they used at home.

Another potential source of the ceramics recovered from 44FK520 is the Hites' dining room. It is not uncommon for planters to distribute chipped, worn, or outdated tablewares to the women and men they enslaved, rather than throwing them away. When this does occur, however, the overlap between the planters' ceramics and those of the enslaved households can be seen (cf. Greer 2014). While detailed archaeological investigations of the Hites' dining activities has yet to occur, a comparison of the vessel sets recovered from 44FK520 with those recovered from excavations of the mansion's South Service Yard, located in between the extant icehouse and the extant smokehouse (Geier *et al.* 2008), can begin to let us see if any of the ceramics recovered from the site originated in the mansion.

A variety of small personal items were recovered that would have been manufactured overseas before being purchased at local markets. These include, among other items, a kaolin pipe stem fragment and a spall from a French gun flint. Some of the most interesting personal finds recovered during the 2015 field season, however, are three copper alloy buttons, one of which has an anchor motif stamped on its face. During the early 19th century, copper alloys were some of the most fashionable and expensive materials for buttons (cf. Galle 2010; Heath 1999). Although, again, the sample size recovered from the site is small, the fact that all of the buttons recovered from 44FK520 were copper alloys suggests that the men who lived in these cabins may have been actively choosing more expensive buttons over less expensive buttons, none of which were recovered.

Lastly, the ceramic assemblage from 44FK520 also yielded 59 coarse earthenware sherds and five stoneware sherds, which likely came from vessels manufactured locally in the Shenandoah Valley. If this proves to be the case, then the women and men appear to have been purchasing locally made goods, in addition to the imported refined earthenwares, indicating that enslaved individuals played an important part in local economies west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Overall, the artifacts recovered from 44FK520, as well as the available written records, suggest that the women and men who called this site home were active participants in the local

economy, selling items they grew, raised, or made in order to buy the tablewares they needed, the flour they wanted, and the buttons they desired. Future archaeological and archival research on the enslaved community of Belle Grove has the potential to continue to expand our understanding of these practices.

Future Work at 44FK520 and 44FK521

While all of these preliminary interpretations can be proposed based on the material recovered from the 2015 archaeological investigations at Parking Field, more work is needed before these findings can be confirmed. In order to facilitate this process, recommendations for the next steps at both 44FK520 and 44FK521 are provided below.

44FK520

Future work at 44FK520 should focus on two main objectives: further defining the distribution of artifact scatters and providing additional information on several of the areas of interest identified during the course of the 2015 field season.

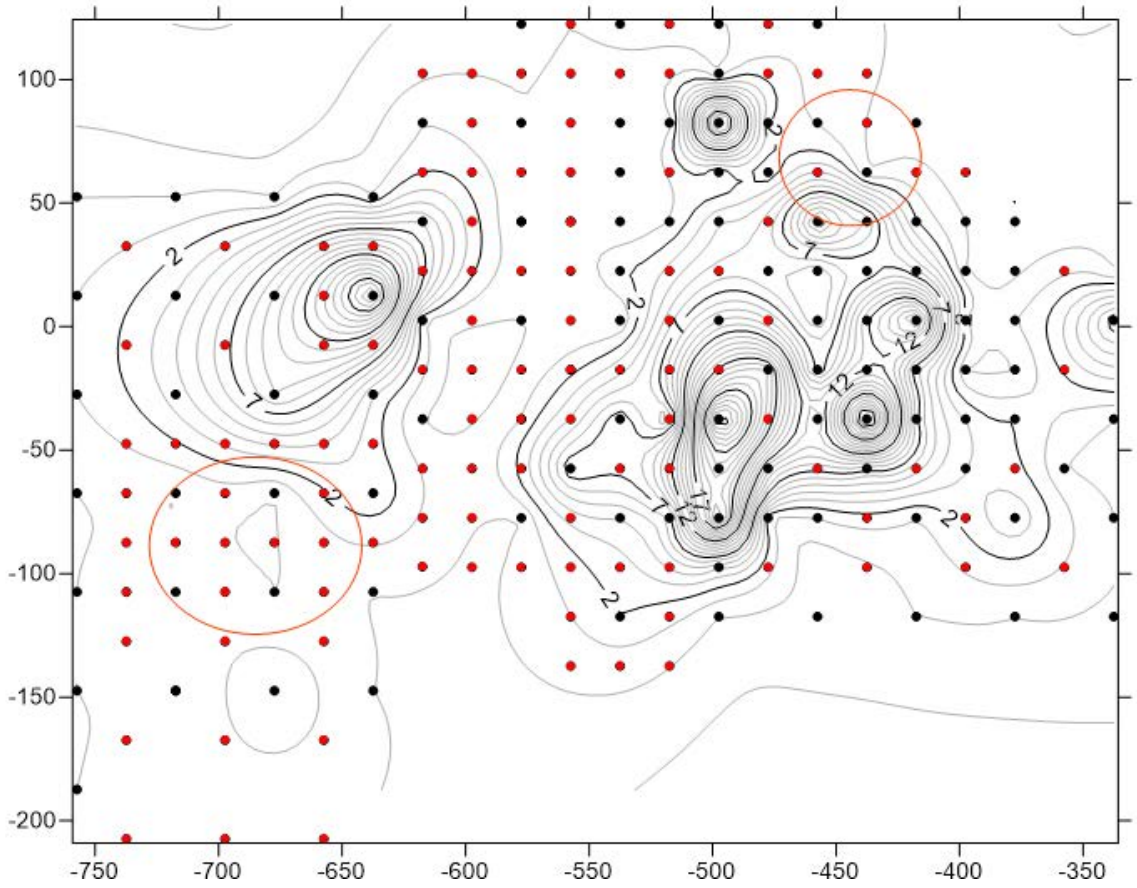

Figure 222. *Proposed STP at 44FK520*. Previously excavated STPs are in black, proposed STPs are in red. Grid north is the top of the map. House yards 1 and 2 are depicted by orange circles.

The first goal, gaining a more refined understanding of the artifact distributions at the site, should be conducted by additional close interval (20') shovel testing. Specially, future STPs should be excavated across the core of the site, tying into the 2015 grid, thus allowing the entirety of the site to be assessed through a close interval grid. Additionally, STPs at 40' intervals should be excavated on the edges of the site to ensure that its boundaries have been fully defined and to ensure that additional components of the site do not exist beyond the current boundaries. Figure 22 depicts the location of these proposed STPs. In total, it is recommended that a minimum of 115 STPs should be excavated across the area, although more will almost certainly be needed to continue this delineation. However, as this site appears to be unplowed, it is important that any testing of this site at closer intervals (e.g. 10') should only be utilized on a as needed basis, ensuring that the rest of the intact soils are preserved for unit excavations. If additional spatial data is needed, the exaction of a series of small (1.5' to 2') test units at close intervals is recommended, as this would allow any potential features to be assessed while this spatial data is being recovered.

In order to accomplish the second goal, the assessment of areas of intrest, it is recomemdned that a series of 3' by 3' test units be excavated at 44FK520. During the 2015 field season, several potential features were identified, includeing the Dark Patch (*SS 9*), the Deep Soils of the South Hill (*SS 6*), and the Potential Limestone Foundation (*SS 10*) (see Chapter 4). At least a single test unit should be excavated in the vicinity of the STPs in which these entities were identified in order to further assess them and see if continued work in these locations is required. Based on the artifact distributions at the site, the presence of four potential middens were identified, and at least one test unit should be excavated in these in order to assess their concentrations and stratigraphy (although a second or even a third test unit should be excavated in Midden 1 due to its size). Two potential house sites were also identified from the artifact distributions, but as noted above, these are highly tentative and additional testing will be needed to determine if these are house sites. As such, it is highly recommended that two to three test units be excavated in each of these locations as well as additional test units in their surrounding yard surfaces. Lastly, the placement of two test units should be considered in the space between the two house sites. As noted above, this area appears to have been kept fairly clean of debris, and while the close interval shovel testing in this area will allow for a further definition of this, test units might be able to aid in identifying if this represents a yard space, or a grassy area

intentionally kept clear of debris. In total, it is recommended that a minimum of 15 3' by 3' test units should be excavated to assess the deposits identified during the 2015 field season, although the excavation of up to 20 test units (if not more) may provide a better assessment of this.

44FK521

The testing carried out in the proposed location 44FK521 during the 2015 field season failed to identify any evidence for the site. Despite this, the combined oral history of the site and its inclusion on the Hotchkiss Map still appear to be strong enough to warrant further testing. Due to time constraints, the 2015 survey grid was not able to extend any further south than North -187.5 or any further west than East -757.5. This left large portions of the land located on the top of the hill untested, particularly to the southwest of the 2015 grid. In order to determine if 44FK521 is in this vicinity, the 40' survey grid should be extended into this area.

Additional Sites

It is important for any future work at these sites to bear in mind that these do not represent the entity of the sites of slavery associated with Belle Grove. As such, additional delineation and testing should continue at other sites. Specifically, 44FK522, located just to the north of 44FK520, should be cleared of the extensive underbrush that has grown up since it was first documented in 2000. This would allow the site to be remapped, as the locations of its associated structures are no longer tied into the overall landscape at Belle Grove. Additionally, any surface artifacts could be recovered and documented (explorations in the area in May 2015 identified the presence of remaining surface scatters). This would also allow a select area to be assessed through the excavation of test units. Regardless of any of this activity, the artifacts recovered from this site in 2000 should be reassessed along with the artifact assemblages from the work at 4FK520 (and potentially 44FK521, if it is located), which would allow us to begin to compare enslaved life at these locations. Additionally, this would allow for a comparison of the blacksmith debris recovered from both sites, which may begin to provide answers on why these materials appear to be so wide spread at Belle Grove.

Enslaved Life in the Shenandoah Valley

While slavery existed in the Shenandoah Valley, the subject has long been ignored in both public and academic literature (cf. Denkler 2010). Historians, for instance, appear to be

largely divided not only on how slavery operated within the Valley, but the extent to which the region's White populace embraced slave labor. Some have suggested that, by-in-large, slavery remained peripheral to life in the Valley (cf. Hofstra 2005), except for Clarke County, which due to the large presence of slavery in the county has been referred to as "a separate place" in comparison to the remainder of the Valley (Hofstra 1999). Such a view has led some to suggest that the 1807 ban on "the importation of slaves" only "minimally impacted the Shenandoah Valley *as slavery was not prevalent there*" (Commisso 2007:21-22; emphasis added). On the other hand, Nancy Sorrells has suggested that while slavery took hold across the breadth of the Valley, it operated at a small scale, with few plantations across the region but with large amounts of enslaved Virginians hired out by their owners to local farmers, often on a yearly basis (2000). Kenneth Koons, however, confronted this view suggesting that Sorrells's research reflects only a single county and that slavery was practiced on a far larger scale than has been previously suggested (2000). While the research on slavery mentioned above focuses primarily on agricultural and craft production, the role of slavery in industrial settings in the Valley, particularly in iron foundries, has been previously explored (cf. Dew 1994) – although further work contextualizing these industries as local slave holding settings is needed. Based on all of this, it seems clear that future research should be directed towards creating a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of slavery and enslaved life in the Valley.

A recent survey of standing quarters and archaeological quarter sites across Virginia's primary geophysical proveniences, conducted by Barbara Heath and Eleanor Breen (2009:3), has identified 101 sites in the Tidewater, 73 sites in the Piedmont, and only a single site in the Shenandoah Valley. This site, the Slave Quarters at the Kentland Plantation, however, is located in Montgomery County (Heath and Breen 20009:28), south of the area traditionally associated with the Shenandoah Valley, and therefore, not capable of shedding light on slavery within this specific region. Heath and Breen's research draws exclusively upon previously published academic research, which both focuses on work done in the Tidewater and Piedmont, in order to discuss the differences between the work that has been done in these two regions. Both the lack of sites in the Shenandoah Valley and the focus of their research on slavery east of the Blue Ridge Mountains necessitate that if we are to gain an understanding of the historic resources related to the Black experience in the region, a list of comparative sites will have to be generated, rather than relying upon previous research.

In order to help this process and to better place the research potential of 44FK520 into its regional context, the Archaeological Site Records and the Architectural Survey Forms available in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources' (DHR) Data Sharing System (DSS) were queried in order to compile a comprehensive listing of all of the known historic resources associated with Black Virginians in the Shenandoah Valley. Once this listing was complied, however, it was recognized that it does not contain all of the known sites in the area. For instance, none of the sites at Belle Grove appeared in this query, neither did the recently excavated Stickley Quarter. Therefore, in order to round out this listing, other known sites were added. Table 6 provides a summary of the types of historic resources that this compilation identified, while a full listing of the individual sites is provided in Appendix C. While the data retrieved from the DSS is to be considered the sum of all of the information recorded into the system as of August 2015, the listing of the other sites solely reflects the sites that I have personal knowledge of, and therefore, does not represent the totality of the sites in the Valley. Because of this, the listing is only to be considered a work in progress, to be added onto in the future.

Lastly, neither this listing nor the tables provided in Appendix C include a comprehensive overview of plantation sites at which no enslaved components have been recorded. While this is a massive oversight, the current DSS querying options do not allow for these types of sites to be independently identified, and manually checking all of the recoded historic resources in the region was outside the parameters of this research. But, as by their very nature, all plantation sites are sites of enslavement, and thus, such a comprehensive listing will need to be compiled in the future if we are to gain an understanding of the available historic resources in the Valley.

Table 12. Black Historic Resources in the Shenandoah Valley. Plantation* refers to the known plantations without recorded quarters.

Resource Type	Quarter Site	Postemancipation Household	Plantation*	Church	Cemetery	Other
Archeological Site	6	5	4	2	1	5
Standing Resource	15	3	2	28	67	2
Total	**21**	**8**	**6**	**30**	**68**	**7**

The first thing that is immediately obvious with this listing is the large amount of cemeteries that have been recorded in the Shenandoah Valley (three of which are homes

associated with White residents that do not appear to be plantations, based on their listing, but that do list an African American cemetery.). Additionally, all 28 standing churches contain adjoining cemeteries, bringing the total count of Black cemeteries in the Valley up to 96. This large number of cemetery sites, coupled with the 30 identified standing or archaeologically known church sites, provides us with an excellent starting point for discussing some aspects of the Black experience in the regions – particularly religious life. Specifically, a small but significant number of these sites were first used by enslaved residents of the Valley, allowing a study of these resources to address the transition to freedom in the Valley. If, on the other hand, one were to only use these to interpret the Black experience in the region, one would get the impression that the Valley's African American population were people who only went to church and people who died, as only a small number (three) of standing homess associated with Postemancipation life in the region have been identified, and the five that have been archaeologically located have only been subject to phase I surveys.

A significantly larger number of quarter sites, however, have been identified. These include 15 sites with standing structures, eight of which are associated with plantations in Clarke County's Chapel Rural Historic District (all of which appear to have been associated with enslaved domestic laborers). Another standing quarter located in Clarke County is located at the Guilford plantation. This quarter is particularly interesting for Belle Grove as it began as one of Belle Grove's outlying quarters before being inherited by James Madison Hite, who had this two-story brick quarter constructed. The final example, a standing quarter in Clarke county located at the Clermont Farm, is a c. 1821 log cabin, which has recently been rehabilitated. Five additional properties containing quarter sites have been identified in Rockingham County; three of which are in rural plantation contexts (accounting for a total of five individual structures), and one of which stands in Harrisonburg and was originally inhabited in this urban context, serving as both a kitchen and a quarter site.

Additionally, seven quarter sites, or potential quarter sites, have been identified archaeologically in the Shenandoah Valley. While this seems to be a large number, four are located at, or in association with, Belle Grove (44FK520, 44FK522, potentially 44FK521 - if the site can be located, and 44FK511 - if in fact future testing can confirm this). The fifth site is located on the Monterey property in Roanoke County, at which limestone foundations have been observed, but no subsurface testing conducted. The sixth site is located at the White House Farm

in Page County, where Carol Nash has conducted periodic limited excavations in conjunction with the Virginia Archaeological Society. The final site, and the only one which has received extensive excavations, is the Stickley Quarter, which is located in Frederick County and was occupied during the 1830-40's up until Emancipation.

Given this context, future excavations at 44FK520 may be of inordinate value to our understanding of enslaved life in the Shenandoah Valley, as it would be the only c. 1800-1840 quarter site excavated in the region; and, while other examples of contemporary quarters stand today, this site has the proven archeological integrity to allow such understandings to be interpreted. Additionally, the excavation at Stickley unearthed the remains of a quarter associated with a small scale plantation (Cosby et al. 2013:22-23), and therefore, future excavations at 44FK520 would allow enslaved life at a larger plantation to be assessed.

* * *

Based on the relative lack of similar excavations and the demonstrated quality of its archaeological record, it is highly recommended that future excavations take place, as this site has the ability to not only increase the understanding of slavery and enslaved life at Belle Grove, but across the broader Shenandoah Valley.

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Appendix A: Datum Locations and Grid Reestablishment

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Appendix B: Artifact Distributions at 44FK520

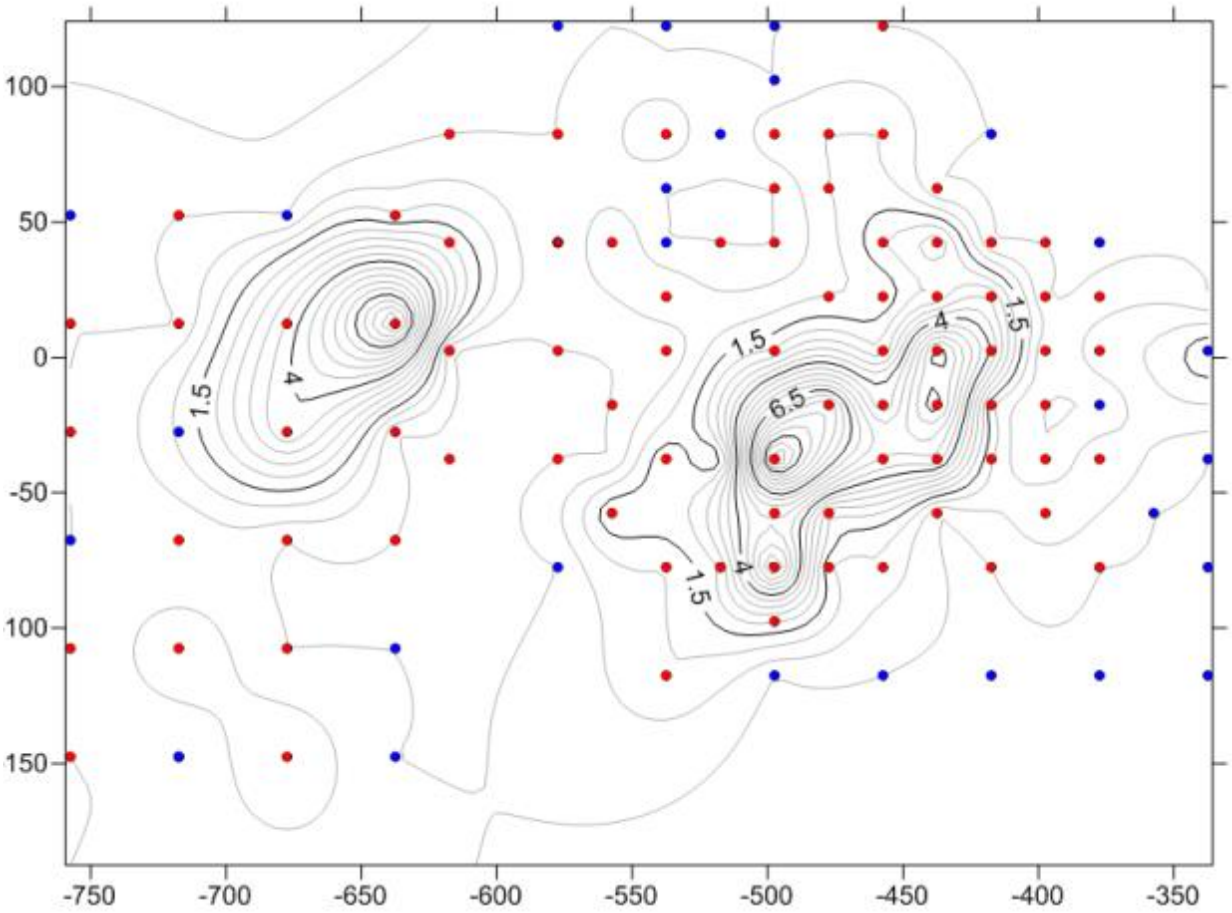

Figure B-1. Distribution of Domestic Artifacts, 0.1 cm to 1 cm in Length.

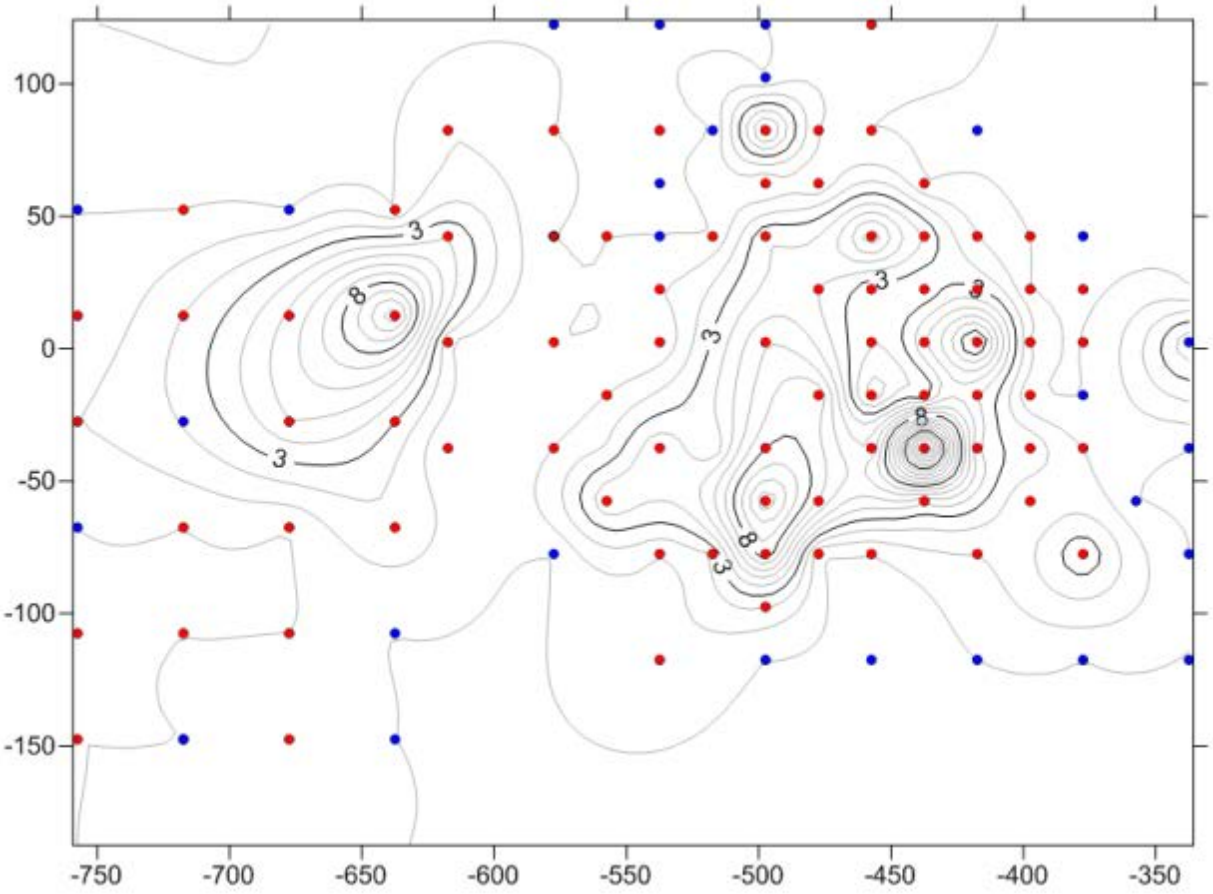

Figure B-2. Distribution of Domestic Artifacts, 1.1 cm to 2 cm in Length.

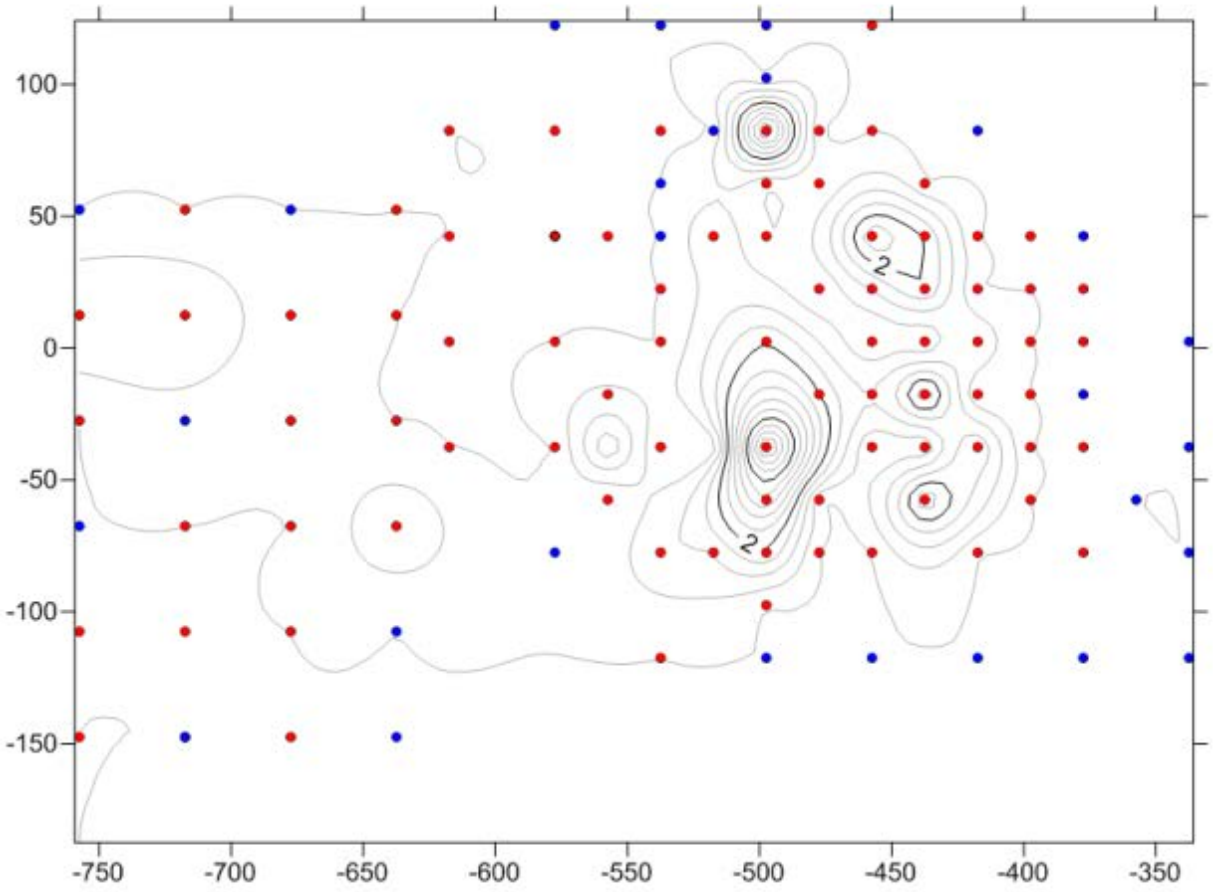

Figure B-3. Distribution of Domestic Artifacts, 2.1 cm to 3 cm in Length.

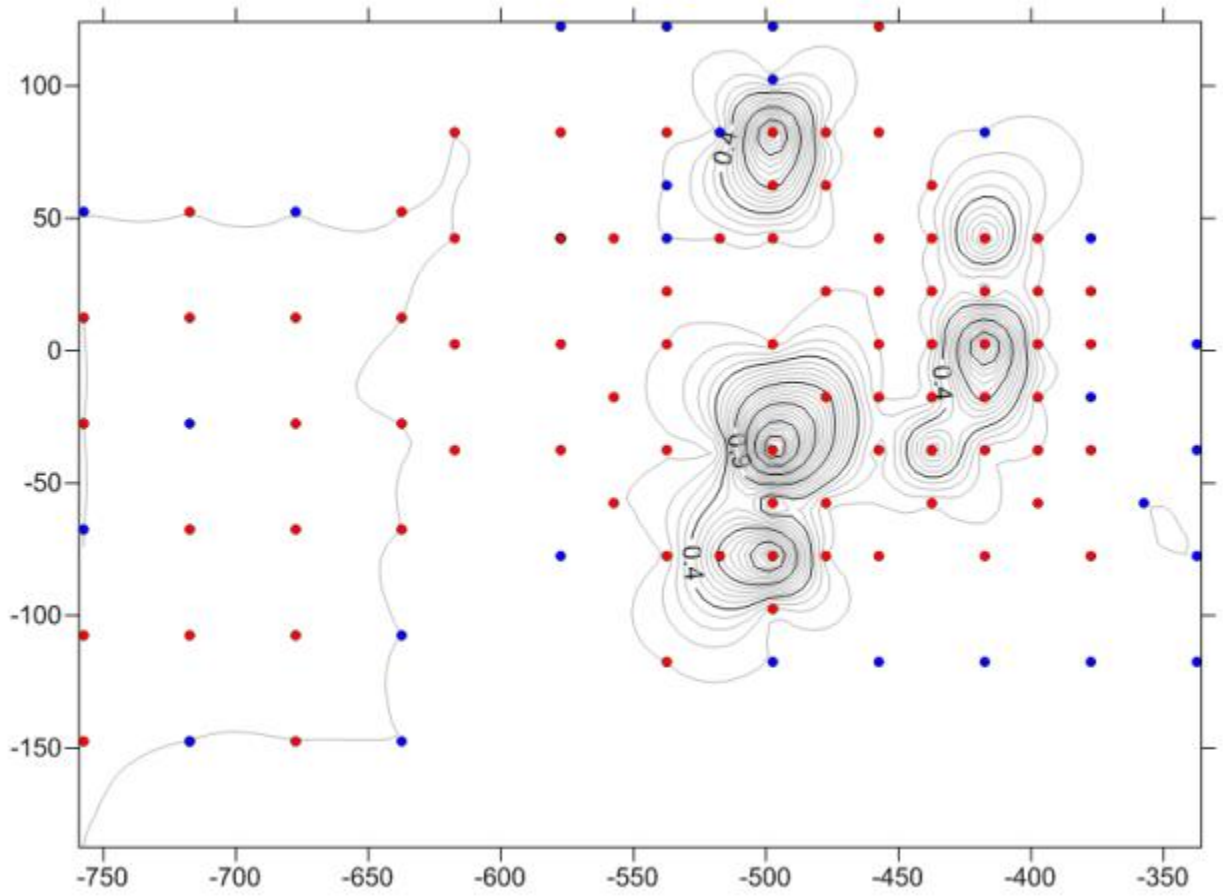

Figure B-4. Distribution of Domestic Artifacts, 3.1 cm to 4 cm in Length.

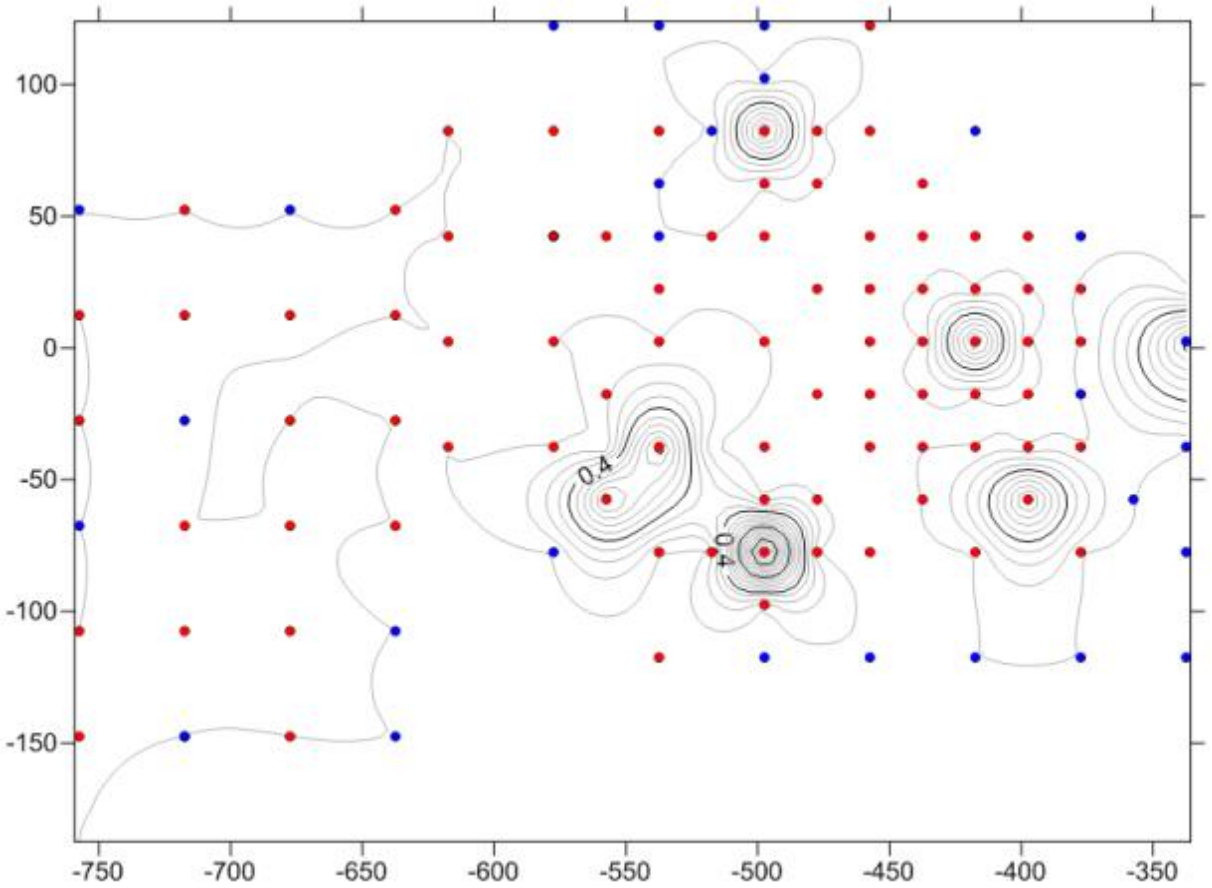

Figure B-5. Distribution of Domestic Artifacts, 4.1 cm to 5 cm in Length.

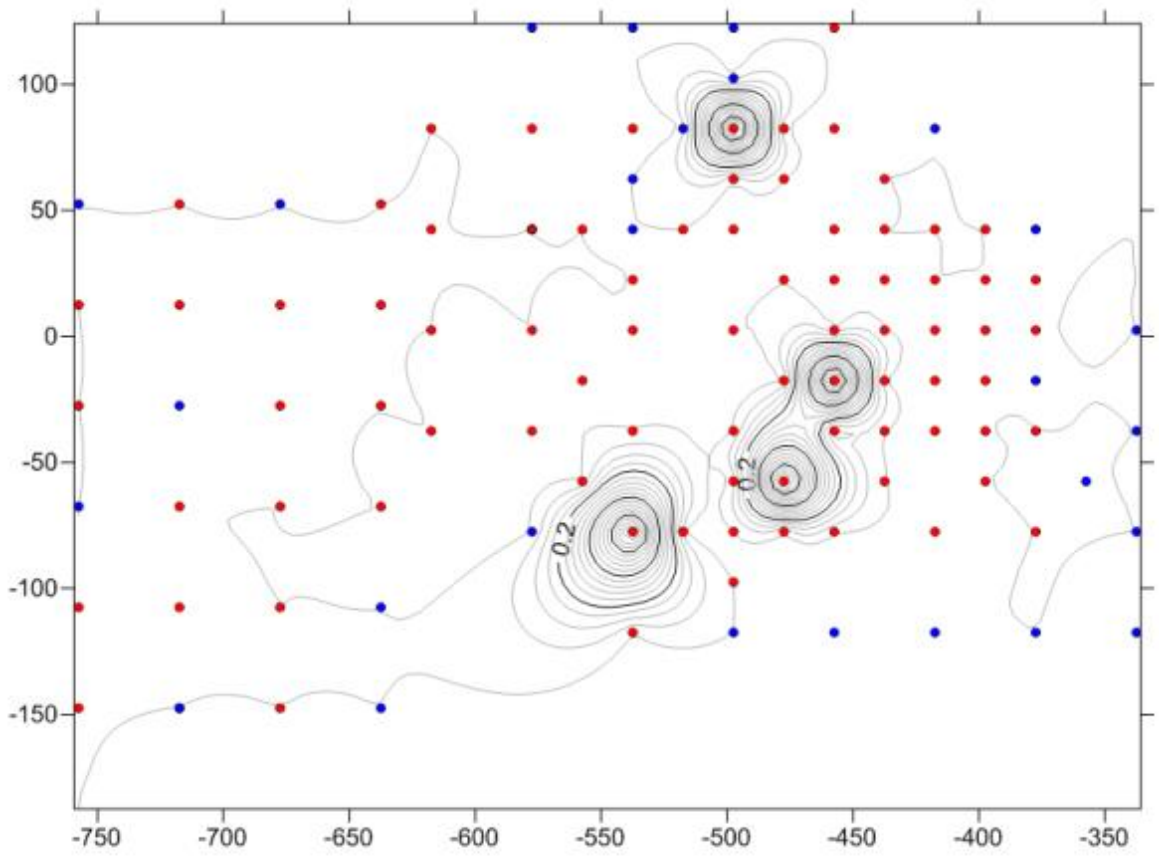

Figure B-6. Distribution of Domestic Artifacts, 5.1 cm to 10 cm in Length.

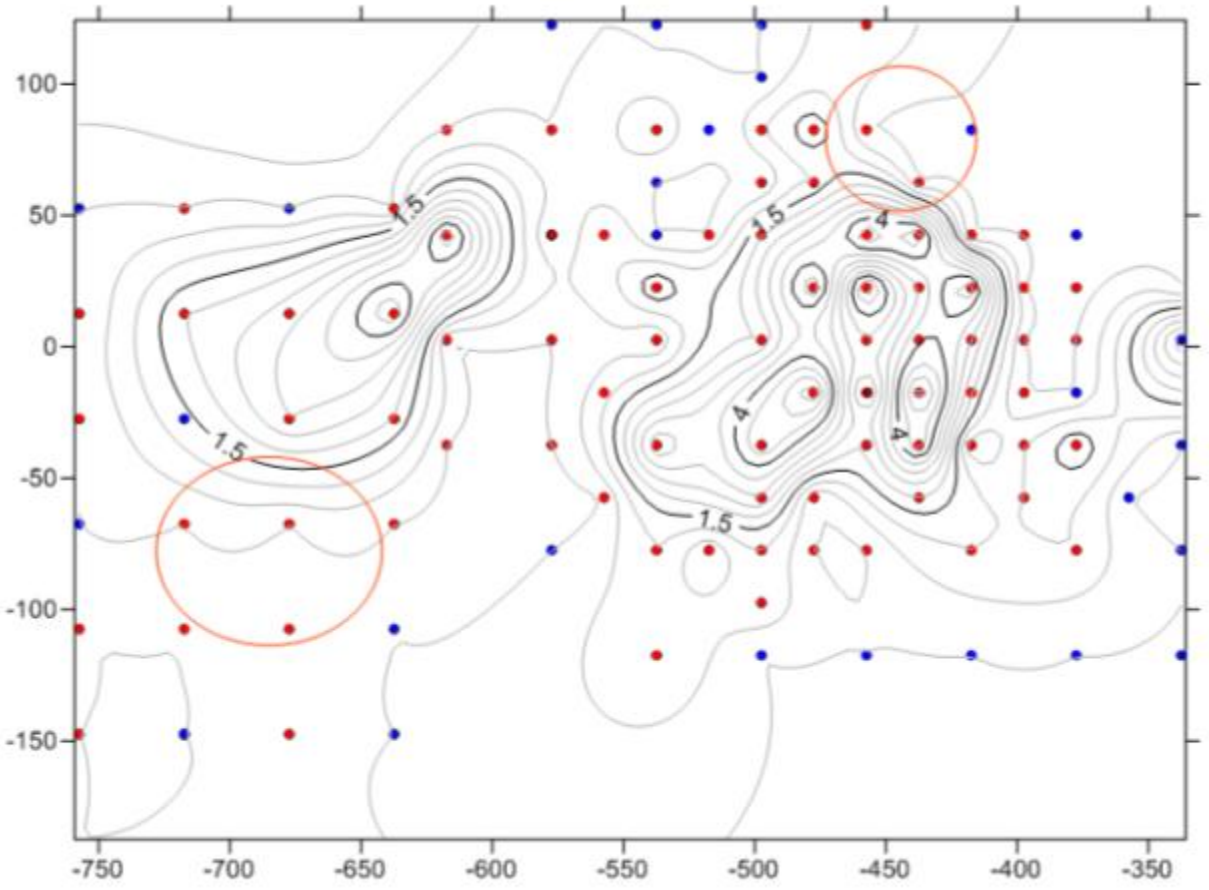

Figure B-7. Distribution of Ceramic Tablewares, 1790 to 1830. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

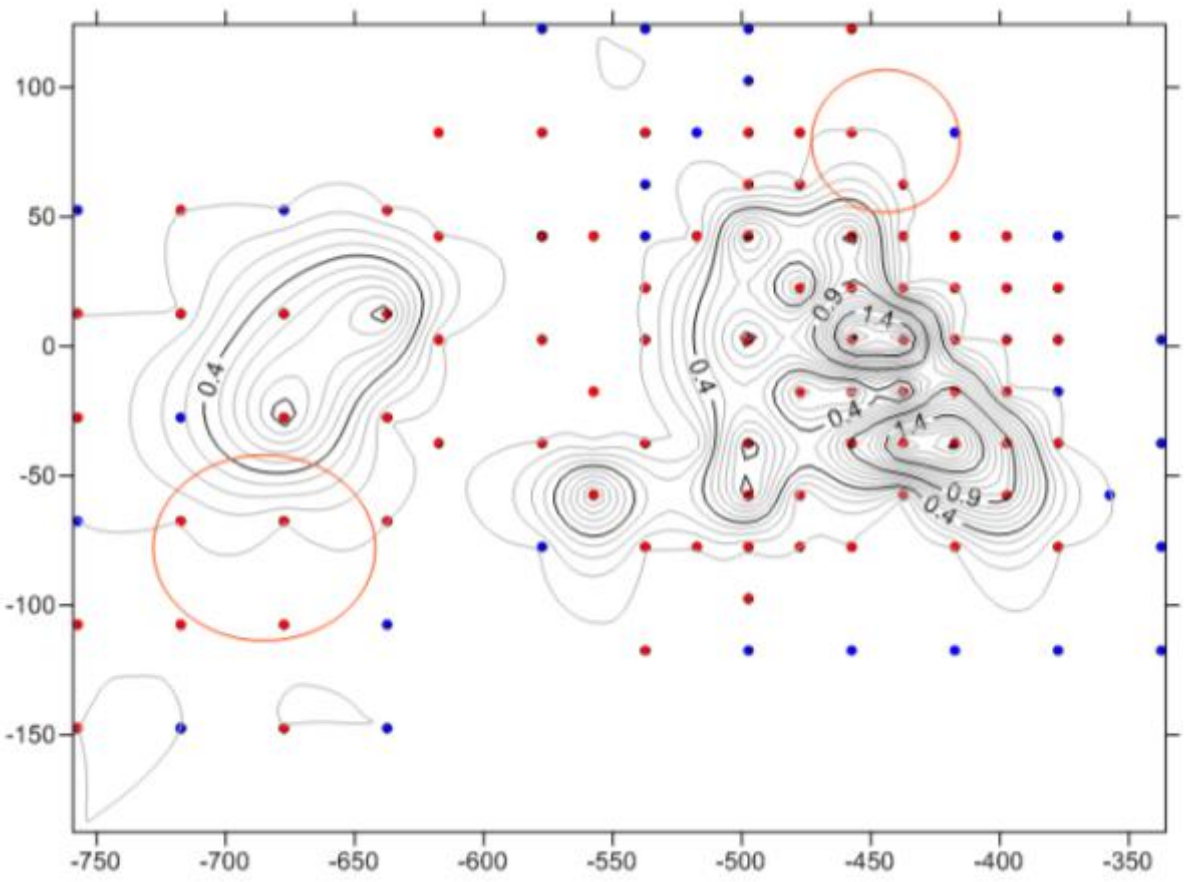

Figure B-8. Distribution of Ceramic Tablewares, 1830 to 1860. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

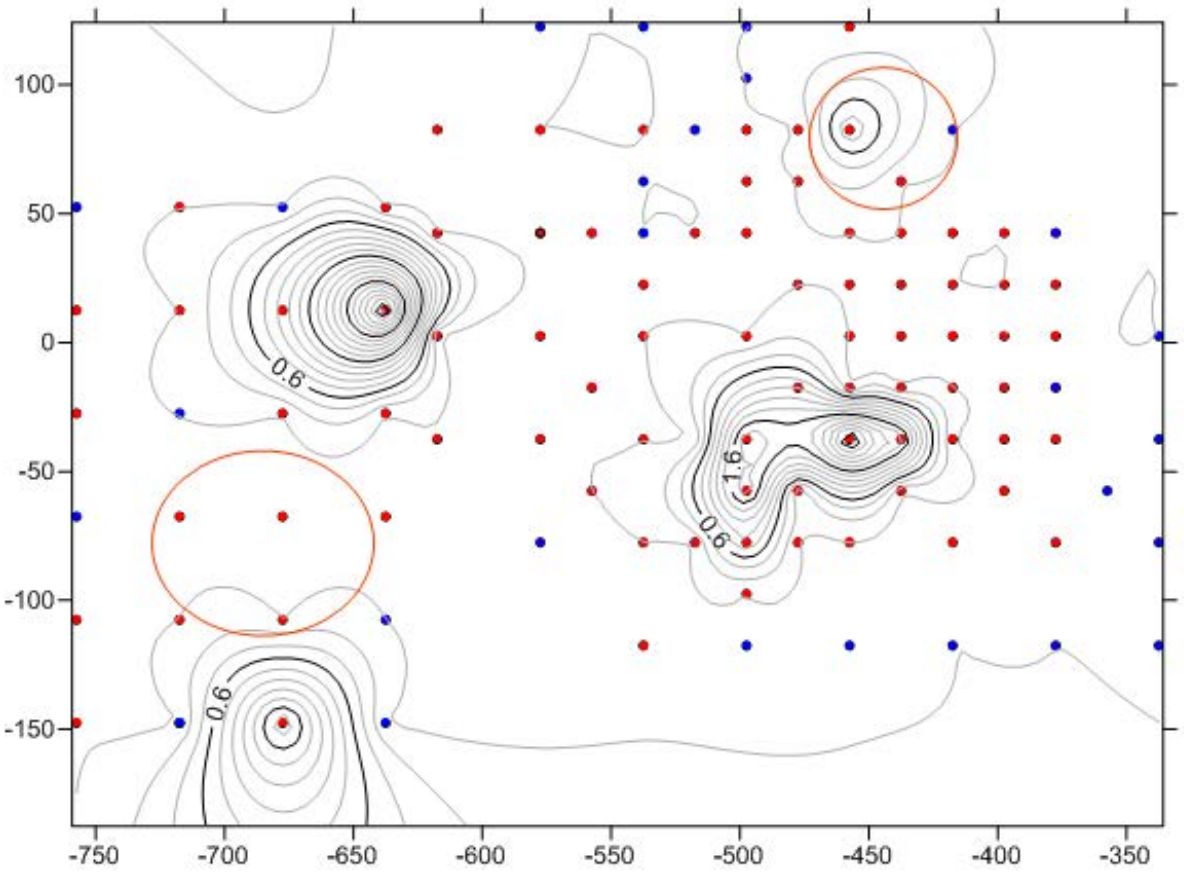

Figure B-9. Distribution of Common Creamware. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

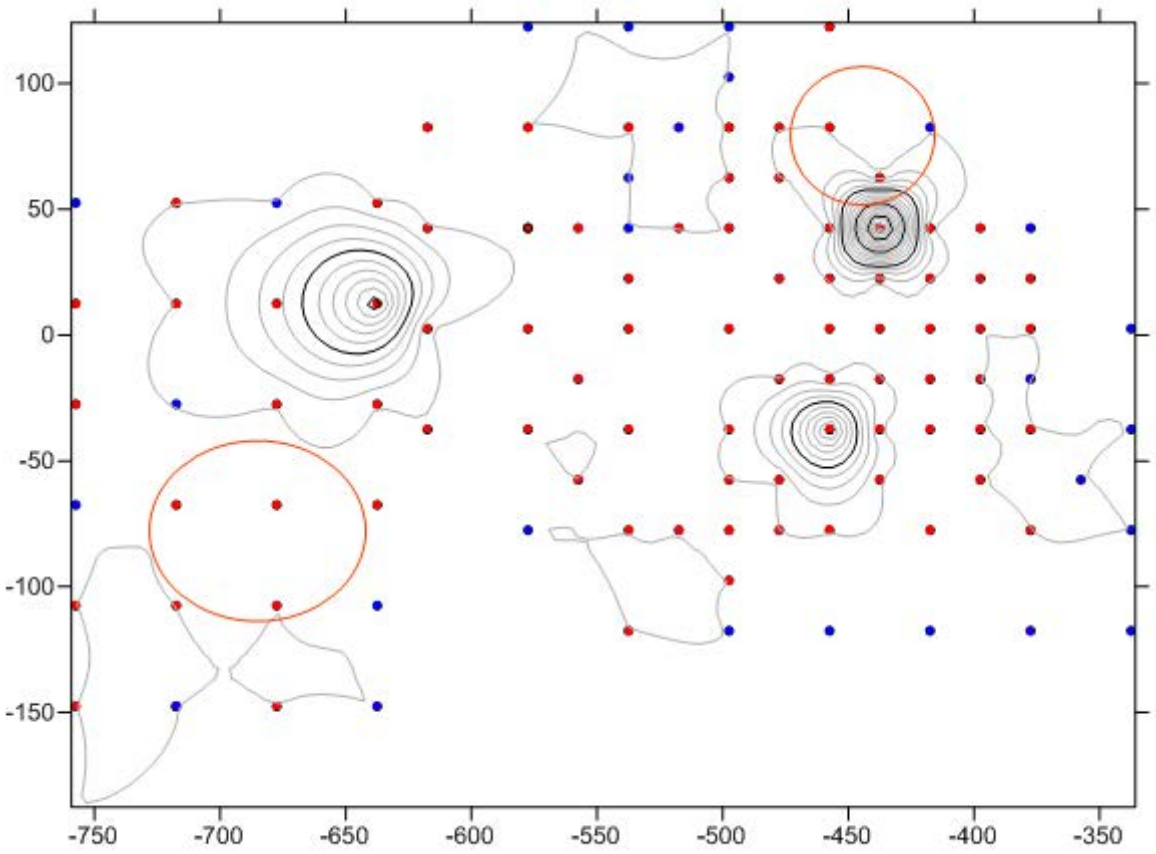

Figure B-10. Distribution of Slipped Decorated Pearlware. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

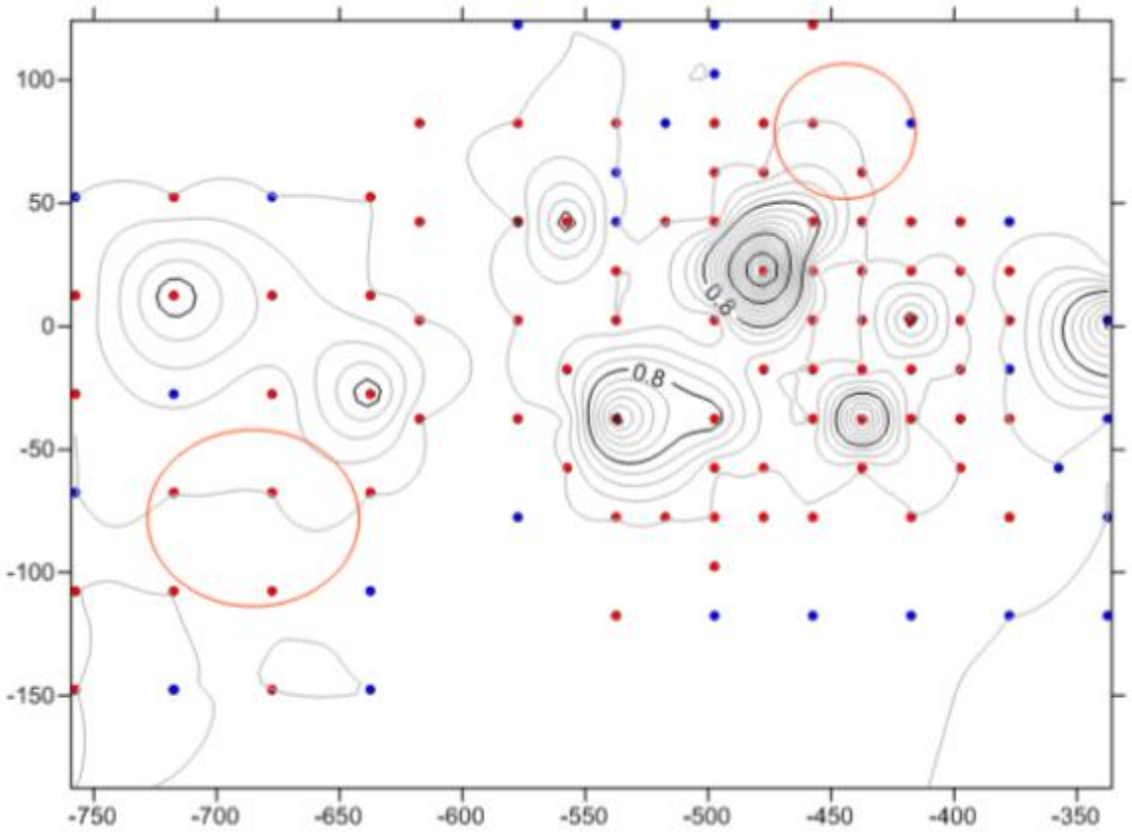

Figure B-11. Distribution of Edge Decorated Pearlware. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

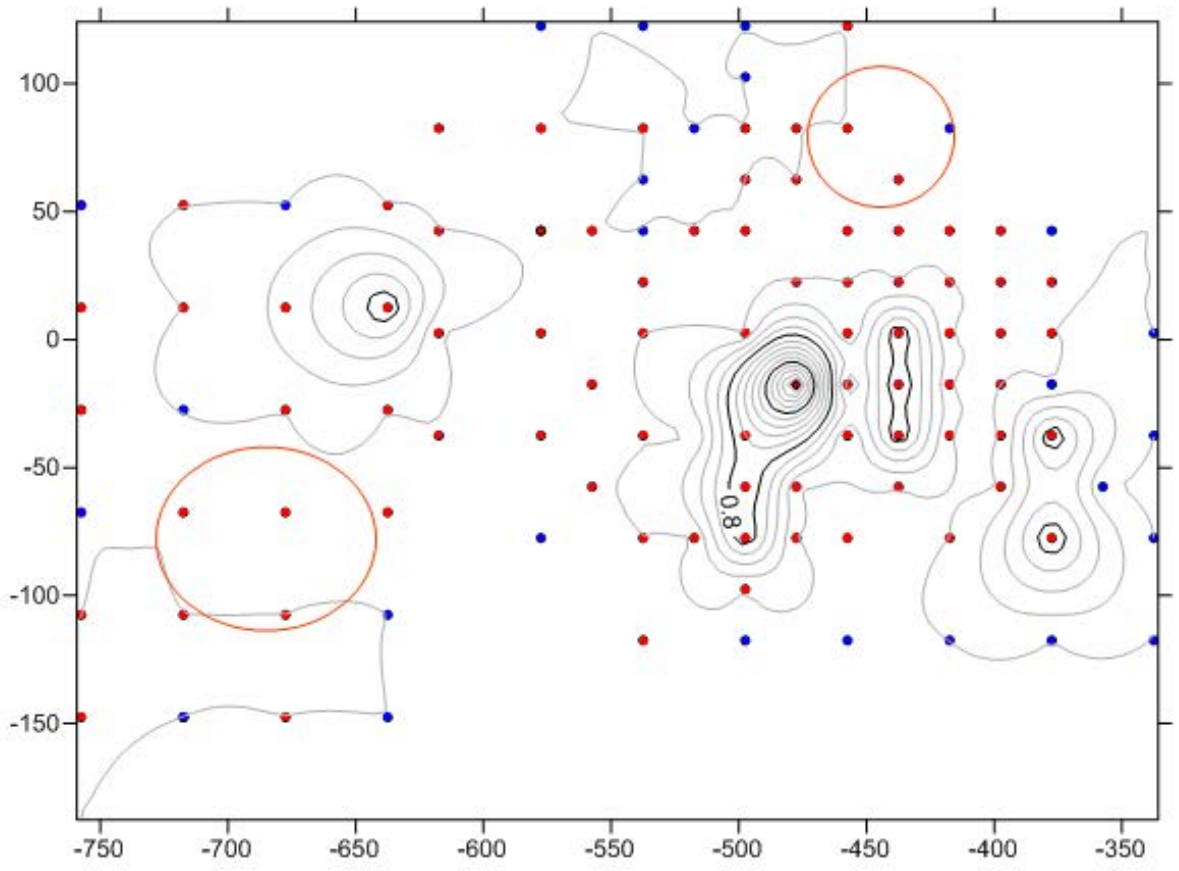

Figure B-12. Distribution of Hand Painted Pearlware. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

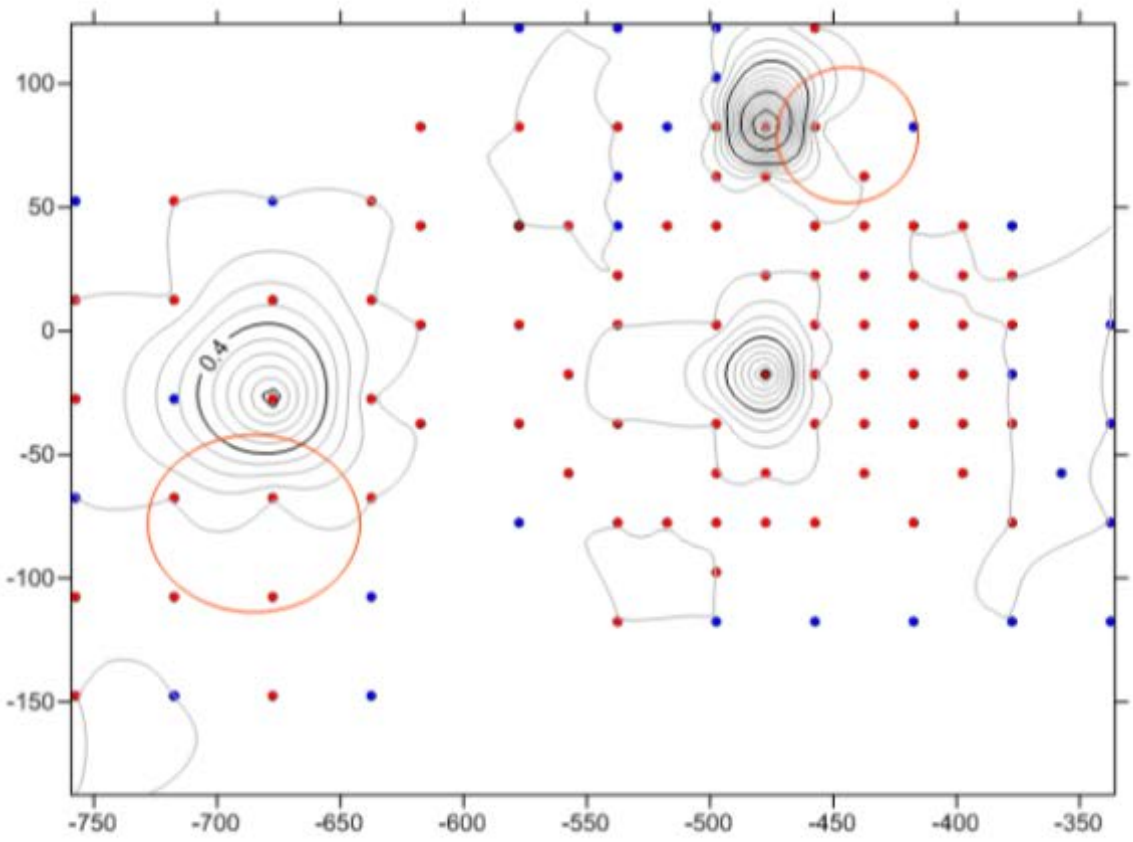

Figure B-13. Distribution of Transfer-Printed Pearlware. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

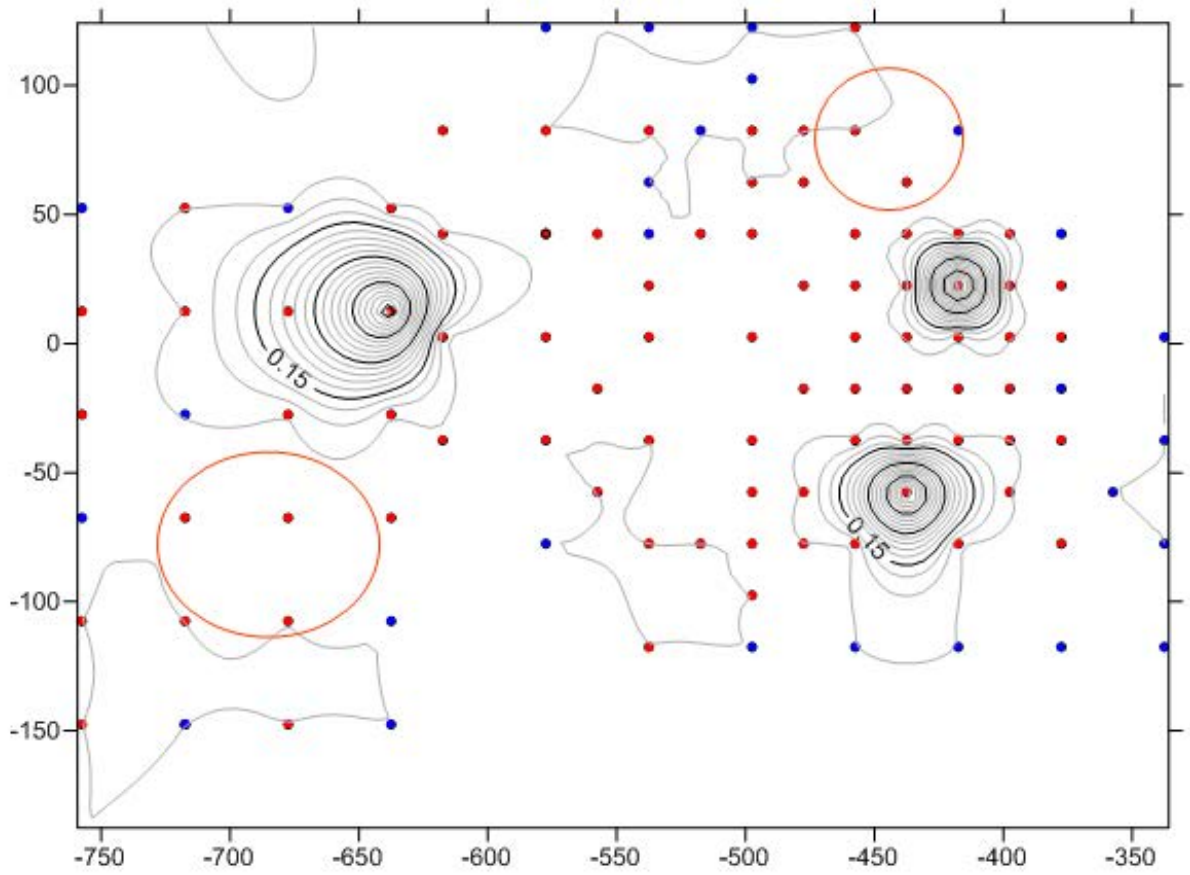

Figure B-14. Distribution of Porcelain. Grid north to top of map. The orange circle to the northeast depicts the location of House Site 1 and the orange circle to the southwest depicts the location of House Site 2.

Appendix C: Black Historic Resources in the Shenandoah Valley

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